

The Nordic Languages

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The Nordic Languages

An International Handbook of the History
of the North Germanic Languages

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Preface

1. State of Research and Aims of the Handbook

In recent years and decades, interest in language history has increased in general and also within the field of Nordic studies. Therefore, it seems appropriate to investigate the current state of Nordic language history and, where applicable, to attempt to rewrite it. For this reason, the series editors of HSK expressed a desire to the publisher and the undersigned to publish a new handbook on the history of Nordic languages – an idea which was well-received and the results of which are presented to the public here in this work. Whereas a synopsis of Nordic language history was previously lacking to a great extent (with the exception of both descriptions by Einar Haugen), the aim of this new handbook is to provide an extensive overall picture of linguistic developments in Scandinavian languages, embedded in a broad culture-historical context under consideration of all modern methods available today. In 230 articles written by renowned specialists and divided into 21 chapters, the Nordic language history is expanded in comparative descriptions vis-à-vis previous studies on the subject and enriched through new methodical approaches.

A glance at the Nordic language histories available today reveals different possibilities for describing language history. Despite their titles, most previous works (i. a. Wessén's standard work *Svensk språkhistoria*) are actually historical grammars which provide a one-sided list of facts about the phonetic, morphological and, in some cases, syntactic developments. These works neglect important linguistic categories such as the lexicon and fail to touch upon the culture-historical context, i.e. external language history at all, and do not include any summarizing standpoints.

The concept of the current handbook naturally rules out such a limited method of description as well as the stringing together of language history in an isolated observation of individual language levels (as is the concept of Haugen's *Scandinavian language structures*), or the division of isolated observations in the individual national language histories (as in Wessén's *De nordiska språken*). Despite the problems in practice, the most suitable principle seems to be that of a division into periods, each being dealt with under various different viewpoints such as level of description, methodical approach, external linguistic aspects and culture-historical embedding. This also calls into question the relationship between the conveyance of individual data and the weighing of systematic viewpoints, in other words, the question of to what degree language history can be conceptualized as a systematic history. In this regard, a handbook such as the current one must strive for a compromise in which it combines the conveyance of a large amount of individual data with an accentuation of systematic viewpoints, i.e., diachrony with synchrony, longitudinal sections with cross-sections (with cross-sections especially in more or less clearly defined periods such as Early Nordic, Old Nordic and present-day languages), so that the description of single historical facts continually flows into systematic-structural discussions, just as systematic aspects must also be considered within the discussion of diachronic developments. Such correlations also contribute significantly to the explanation of language-historical processes.

In a Nordic language history, the division into periods, which each attempt to combine diachronic and synchronic viewpoints, is complicated further by the fact that a comparative description of six languages (including *Nynorsk*) must be managed, and the conventional but also factually justified division of each language into periods deviates from that of the others at different points. For example, the period called *Olddansk* precedes the remaining Old Nordic, so that the period temporally corresponding with the rest of Old Nordic is often termed (*Ældre*) *Middeldansk*; the beginning of the 19th century is a much more drastic boundary for Norwegian than for the remaining Nordic languages, etc. Here, a middle course for all Nordic languages must be found by carefully weighing all relevant factors. In this, if possible, the special interests of individual readers must be taken into account by providing as consistent divisions as possible between individual languages, levels of description, etc., whereas more general, summarizing viewpoints will be discussed at the beginning and at the end of the handbook.

2. Method

The consideration of the various different aspects of the course of language history means that the linguistic facts are not only included in a culture-historical, but also in a broad scientific and science-historical context reaching from the positivist-comparative to sociolinguistics and text type linguistics, even to modern discourse analysis. The handbook is not committed to a certain method. The principle is method pluralism, in which the most important rule is simply to consider the most current state of research and which consists of an extensive search of methodical possibilities. This methodical approach results in an overall structure which is relatively loose, but at the same time, it also produces an overall picture which is illuminated from all sides, consciously taking certain overlaps between the articles into account. In addition to language-historical facts, this approach also necessitates a prominent meta-area which covers the relationship of Nordic language history to different linguistic theories in Chapters III–V, and which discusses the relationships to the various neighbouring disciplines ranging from archaeology to literary and translation history and to text edition in Chapter VI. It is an unavoidable fact that a language-historical description is traditional to a certain degree (a retrogressive language history, for example, might be original, but it would not lead to any substantial new realizations). In the current handbook, however, more modern approaches are also considered, which are partly integrated into the historical description (not only structuralistic, but especially also language typological, sociolinguistic, contact-linguistic or text-type-linguistic approaches), and partly into theoretical discussions about the relationship to language history (i.e., with regards to generative transformational grammar, pragmatics, phraseology, contrastive linguistics or computer linguistics).

The basis of data of the present language history is also very extensive and stretches from all kinds of written records (incl. poetic works) to present-day spoken languages (incl. dialects, sociolects, etc.). Since the time allotted for preparing the articles was proportionally limited, the description had to support itself to a great extent on the scientific literature which was already available. Nonetheless, the articles in this handbook present their own research results in several areas which had not been carefully examined until now (i.e., translation history). Another important task of the current handbook is to point out existing gaps in research.

As the exclusive use of English shows, this handbook is directed with regards to theory, method and terminology at an international readership with a scientific interest in the

topic. However, care has also been taken to ensure that the content of the handbook is also accessible to interested laypersons and scholars from other disciplines.

3. Contentual Concept

In accordance with the fundamental humane-scientific concept mentioned above, the contentual structure of the handbook is characterized by the attempt to combine internal and external language history as well as factual knowledge with theoretical considerations: in a general sense, to understand language history as part of an extensively understood cultural history. It seems sensible to divide such a structure into three parts: the central part of the individual language-historical description with the respective culture-historical references is flanked by a meta-area in Chapters II–VI and a description of general topics with regard to period and region in Chapters XVII–XXI. An introduction providing initial information about the Nordic language area, the genetic relationship of the Nordic languages to other Germanic languages, the relationship between diachrony and synchrony, the problems of the division into periods, and the basis of data on Nordic language history is followed by critical discussions of the research history until ca. 1950. The research history of the individual Nordic languages and the contributions of Scandinavian researchers to the international development of linguistics are dealt with in separate articles; in article 14 the contributions of non-Nordic researchers to Nordic language history are treated. The relationship of Nordic language history to the methods available today (since ca. 1950) is examined in Chapter IV with regard to theoretical possibilities as well as to currently available research results. Chapter V discusses the relationship between language history and dialectology, which is very intense in the Nordic language region. In the meta-area, the links between Nordic language history and the various aspects of political, social and cultural history (archaeology, history of realia, legal history, history of ideas, religious history, literary and translation history) are then discussed systematically (Chapter VI).

Chapters VII–XVI comprise the central part of the handbook, in which language-historical facts are described and analysed according to period and classified with respect to their historical and systematic contexts. This central part begins (Chapter VII) with a discussion of the relationship of the (Old) Nordic languages to the other Germanic languages and to other neighbouring languages, in which language contact plays an important role. The next chapter (Chapter VIII) presents an overview of Proto-Nordic, in which, in addition to the language system, lexicon, personal and place -names, special attention is paid to the question of its sources – hence also touching upon the origin and development of runic writing. As the use of the common term “Late Proto-Nordic” is avoided here, the period from the 6th century to Old Nordic (ca. 1100), which is so important from a language-historical viewpoint, is dealt with summarily and is associated with historic and culture-historical relationships and developments from the Vendel/Merovingian and Viking Ages, whereas special attention is paid to the sociolinguistic aspect already here (Chapter IX). In view of its long tradition, literary importance and its position as the starting point of all other language developments, three chapters are devoted to the period of Old Nordic (ca. 1100–1350). Chapter X begins with introductory descriptions of the cultural and historical conditions, as well as the distinction and structure of the term Old Nordic, followed by a discussion of its tradition with regards to the history of handwritten texts and the development of the Latin script. Chapter XI

covers various aspects of Old Nordic, from the phonological and grammatical system to the lexicon, text type structure and problems in translation. Chapter XII, entitled “The ecology of language”, describes the most important problems of the general living conditions of Nordic languages during the Old Nordic period, from the relationship between written language and dialects to various language contact situations and the development of Nordic languages outside of what is known today as Scandinavia.

The second part of the handbook begins in Chapter XIII with the transitional period between Old Nordic and Early Modern Nordic (ca. 1350–ca. 1550), a complex and problematic topic of discussion which must be divided up into several individual aspects. The central part is a detailed description of language changes, especially those which greatly influenced the structure of mainland Scandinavian languages. This central part is preceded by a few sections covering historic and culture-historical aspects (i.a., on the relationship between handwritten texts and letterpress printing) and followed by a few sections dealing with special aspects such as text type inventory, the language of translations, development of oral and written styles, language contact, language loss and the loss of standard language (in Norwegian).

Classifying those language developments which took place after the early modern period is problematic insofar that, with the exception of isolated cases such as 19th century Norwegian, no clear boundaries can be detected, at least not with respect to all Nordic languages. However, a cut-off in or at the end of the 18th century is justifiable, not only due to internal linguistic criteria (i.a., the emergence of logical syntax), but also because of the general living conditions of language (firm establishment of standard languages, increasing language cultivation and the efforts of grammarians). Chapter XIV, which covers this period, focuses on comprehensive descriptions of individual languages, which are supplemented by descriptions of sociolinguistic and dialectic variations with reference to a growing national standard language tradition. In contrast to the previous chapters, new findings are presented here in special sections about education and language cultivation and their importance for language development (i.e., grammarians).

As a period with a character of its own, including such crucial developments as the establishment of the middle class, urbanization and (the beginnings of) industrialization, the 19th century receives special treatment in Chapter XV with a focus on specific occurrences and problems which characterize the 19th century: to some extent contradictory ideologies such as nationalism and Scandinavianism and their effects on language (the establishment of the independence of Norwegian, the beginnings of Finland-Swedish as an independent language, Icelandic purism, the establishment of Faroese as a written language / the interrelations between Scandinavian languages, i.a., in the exchange of loanwords between Danish and Swedish), expansion of the spectrum of text types, relationships between standard language and forms from colloquial speech, stylistic developments in poetry and literary prose, and development of a middle-class conversational culture.

In Chapter XVI, which covers the 20th century, three events are in the forefront:

- a detailed description of the systems of modern standard languages in cross-sections, but taking into account the changes during the 20th century;

- problems in linguistic layering: written language vs. spoken language in a survey of their main characteristics, their interrelations, and their development during the 20th century: interrelation and development of dialects and regional languages in Sweden, Norway and Denmark during the 20th century; social stratification in individual Nordic languages, language of the media such as radio and television;
- tendencies since World War II, including future prospects for the history of Nordic languages.

In Chapters XVII–XXI, certain special aspects of historical development are discussed in summary within the scope of the entire Nordic language history. Chapter XVII describes the typological development, which led to the contrast between Mainland Nordic and Island Nordic and which affects phonology on the one hand, morphology and syntax on the other. In Chapter XVIII, the social stratification of the Nordic languages is analysed once again, this time from an overall perspective with regard to time and region. Chapter XIX describes the special languages which otherwise only receive brief mention in the previous sections:

- languages of socially correlating groups, such as students', soldiers', sailors', thieves' slang, etc.,
- technical languages and jargons, such as craftsmen's language, miners' language, scientific language, sports language, etc.,
- slang.

With regard to more recent language history, Chapter XX describes language cultivation and language planning in Scandinavian countries, also from an overall perspective. Chapter XXI discusses the various aspects of language contact again in summary and in consideration of internal Nordic correlations, and according to minority languages in Scandinavia and Nordic emigrant languages, especially those which spread to America.

4. General Comments

The overall concept of the current handbook is modelled after the volume *Historical Linguistics (Sprachgeschichte)* to a certain extent. It differs, however, insofar that the research-historical and theoretical-methodical parts are more strictly separated from the main empirical-historical part. The 230 articles were distributed among the editors as evenly as possible. Each of the editors focused on the approx. 40 articles which were allocated to them, whereas O. Bandle, as the main editor, reviewed all articles. The supervision of each article was allocated to one of the six editors such that the topics corresponded, where possible, to the individual linguistic-geographic affiliation and/or special area of interest and research of the editor. Finding enough authors with a certain interest in historical linguistics among the relatively small number of Nordic language experts seemed doubtful at first, especially since the editors were instructed not to allocate more than three articles to one author. Surprisingly, contributors were able to cover the entire work plan after all. Only later would some articles have to be omitted, partly due to failure to deliver promised manuscripts but also due to overlapping in content with other articles.

Although the search for authors led for the most part to satisfactory results, it was not altogether unproblematic. Since linguistic research in Scandinavian countries is tradi-

tionally carried out within national boundaries, it was difficult in some cases to find authors for the articles on the entire Nordic region. It was therefore partly necessary to divide these articles up according to individual Scandinavian countries or language areas. In this sense, the article originally planned to cross-linguistically discuss the translation language of the 19th century for the Nordic region was divided up into five parts, namely 168–172.

Allocating those articles dealing with internal and external language history, i.e., articles covering interdisciplinary topics (e.g., language and history, archaeology, etc.) also proved to be difficult. Finding suitable authors interested in working on the theoretical-methodical articles was also not always easy. Following the death of the contributor Kristian Ringgaard, it was decided to print Article 33 in its unfinished state, partly in honour of the deserving author, but also because it would have been impossible to find another author on such short notice for such a large field as Nordic dialectology.

It remains for the editors to thank several persons and institutions which have supported this work by active collaboration. Apart from the publishers' staff and the series editors this is above all Mrs Jean Hannah (Lausanne) who has carried out the control of the English language with unequalled perspicacity and in this way made the handbook easily readable for an English-speaking public. It remains also to thank the assistants of the Scandinavian department of the University of Zurich: lic. phil. Christof Reiber and lic. phil. Sonja Gisler for their unselfish work in connection with the production and control of the handbook which essentially lightened the chief editor's burden, and last but not least the editors would like to thank the editor of the "Thurgauer Namenbuch", Dr. Eugen Nyffenegger, for good advice in computer problems.

The editors hope to have accomplished a comprehensive work which for a pretty long time to come may serve as a substantial aid for linguistic research.

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Hans-Peter Naumann

Ulf Teleman

with the consulting editors Lennart Elmevik and Gun Widmark

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations Languages

AGmc	Ancient Germanic
Am.Scand.	American Scandinavian
AN	Ancient Nordic
Angl.	Anglian
AS	Anglosaxon
ASl.	Ancient Slavic
Att.	Attic
Av.	Avestian
B	Baltic
BF	Balto-Finnic
Bm.	Bokmål
Bulg.	Bulgarian
Ce.	Celtic
ChSl.	Church Slavic
CON	Common Old Nordic
Cont.	Continental
Cymr.	Cymric
Dan.	Danish
Du.	Dutch
E	English
EGmc	East Germanic
EN	East Nordic
Est.	Estonian
F	Finnic
Far.	Faroese
Finl.Sw.	Finland Swedish
Finn.	Finnish
Fr.	French
Fris.	Frisian
FU	Finno-Ugric
G	German
Gall.	Gallic
Gmc	Germanic
Go.	Gothic
Gotl.	Gotlandic
Gr.	Greek
HG	High German
Icel.	Icelandic
IE	Indo-European
Ing.	Ingveonic
Ins.NFris.	Insular North Frisian
Ins.Scand.	Insular Scandinavian
Ir.	Irish
Ital.	Italian
Jut.	Jutish
Kent.	Kentish
Lat.	Latin

Latv.	Latvian
LG	Low German
Lith.	Lithuanian
Lp.	Lappish/Lappic/Lapponic
Mainl.NFris.	Mainland North Frisian
Mainl.Scand.	Mainland Scandinavian
MDan.	Middle Danish
MDu.	Middle Dutch
ME	Middle English
MHG	Middle High German
MLG	Middle Low German
MNorw.	Middle Norwegian
Mod.	Modern
Mod.Dan.	Modern Danish
Mod.E	Modern English
Mod.Far.	Modern Faroese
Mod.G	Modern German
Mod.Icel.	Modern Icelandic
Mod.Ins.Scand.	Modern Insular Scandinavian
Mod.Ir.	Modern Irish
Mod.Mainl.Scand.	Modern Mainland Scandinavian
Mod.Nord.	Modern Nordic
Mod.Norw.	Modern Norwegian
Mod.Scand.	Modern Scandinavian
Mod.Sw.	Modern Swedish
MSw.	Middle Swedish
NFris.	North Frisian
NG	North German
NGmc	North Germanic
NHG	New High German
Nord.	Nordic
Norw.	Norwegian
NwGmc	Northwest Germanic
Nyno.	Nynorsk
OCe.	Old Celtic
OChSl.	Old Church Slavic
OCz.	Old Czech
ODan.	Old Danish
ODu.	Old Dutch
OE	Old English
OEN	Old East Nordic
OEur.	Old European
OFar.	Old Faroese
OFr.	Old French
OFranc.	Old Franconian
OFris.	Old Frisian
OGmc	Old Germanic
OGotl.	Old Gotlandic
OGr.	Old Greek
OGu.	Old Gutnish
OHG	Old High German
OIcel.	Old Icelandic
OInd.	Old Indian
OIr.	Old Irish
OLG	Old Low German
ON	Old Nordic
ONorse	Old Norse

ONorw.	Old Norwegian
OPr.	Old Prussian
OScand.	Old Scandinavian
OSl.	Old Slavic
OSw.	Old Swedish
OSx.	Old Saxon
OWN	Old West Nordic
PB	Proto-Baltic
Pers.	Persian
PF	Proto-Finnic
PGmc	Proto-Germanic
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PN	Proto-Nordic
Pol.	Polish
PreF	Pre-Finnic
PreGmc	Pre-Germanic
PreS	Pre-Sami
PS	Proto-Sami
PSl.	Proto-Slavic
Rm.	Rumanian
Russ.	Russian
S	Sami
Scand.	Scandinavian
SEN	South East Norwegian
SGmc	South Germanic
Sl.	Slavic
Sloven.	Slovenian
Slovak.	Slovakian
Sp.	Spanish
SrCr.	Serbo-Croatian
Sw.	Swedish
Sx.	Saxon
WFinn.	West Finnish
WGmc	West Germanic
WIE	West Indo-European
WJut.	West Jutish
WN	West Nordic
WSx.	West Saxon

Abbreviations Periodicals, Dictionaries, Collections, Sources

ABäG	Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik
Årbøger	Årbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie
AfdA	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
Alvissmál	Alvissmál. Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Kultur Skandinaviens
AM	Den Arnamagnaeanske samling
ANF	Arkiv för nordisk filologi
Annaler	Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie
AphS	Acta philologica Scandinavica
Archiv	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
AUU	Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Philologiae Scandinavicae Upsaliensia, Stockholm/Göteborg/Uppsala
Bisk., Bysk.	Biskupa Sögur
BNF	Beiträge zur Namenforschung
DaSt	Danske Studier
DEPN	The concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names
DF	Danske Folkemål
DGa	De la Gardie's collection at Uppsala University Library
DgF	Danmarks gamle Folkeviser
DGK	Danmarks gamle købstadlovgivning
DGP	Danmarks gamle Personnavne
DI	Diplomatarium Islandicum/Íslenzk Fornbréfasafn
Dipl.Dan.	Diplomatarium Danicum
Dipl.Sv.	Diplomatarium Suecanum (cf. SD)
DKB	Det kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen
DR	Danmarks Runeindskrifter
DRA	Dansk Rigsarkiv
DS	Danmarks Stednavne
DSH	Det danske sprogs historie
EDD	The English Dialect Dictionary
Ét.germ.	Études germaniques
FL	Fornsvenska legendariet
FUMS	Rapport från Avdelningen för Forskning och Utbildning i modern Svenska, Uppsala
FVS Bidrag	Finska vetenskaps-societeten. Bidrag till kännedom om Finlands natur och folk 1858 ff.
GG	Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen, Gammeldansk Grammatik
GHÅ	Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift
GKS	Gammel Kongelig Samling
GRM	Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen. Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft
IMAM	Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði
Ísl.Fornr.	Íslenzk Fornrit
ÍT	Íslenzk tunga
JbIG	Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik
JEGPh	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
KB	Kungliga Biblioteket [Stockholm]
KLNM	Kulturhistorisk lexikon för nordisk medeltid/for nordisk middelalder
KUML	Archaeol. periodical
KVHAA	Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien
KZ/ZfvglSpr.	Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung
Lbs.	Landsbókasafn/National Library, Reykjavík
LiLi	Li.Li. Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik
LUÅ	Lunds Universitets Årsskrift
Med.Scand.	Medieval Scandinavia, Odense

MINS	Meddelanden från Institutionen för nordiska språk, Stockholm
ML	Modern Language. Journal of the Modern Language Association
MM	Maal og Minne
ModSpr.	Moderna språk
MS	Medieval Scandinavia, USA (Pulsiano)
NdM.	Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen
NdW.	Niederdeutsches Wort. Beiträge zur niederdeutschen Philologie
NG	Olof Rygh: Norske Gaardnavne
NIyR	Norges Inskrifter med de yngre Runer
NJL	Nordic Journal of Linguistics
NKS	Ny Kongelig Samling
NLT	Norsk lingvistisk tidsskrift
NN	Namn og Nemne
NoB	Namn och bygd
Noreen, Aschwed.	Adolf Noreen, Altschwedische Grammatik
NOWELE	NOWELE. North-western European language evolution
NRA	Norsk Riksarkiv, Oslo
NROB	Norsk Riksmålsordbok
NS	Nysvenska studier
NT	The New Testament
NTS	Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap
NyS	Nydanske studier og almen kommunikationsteori
ODS	Ordbog over det danske Sprog
ONP	Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog/Dictionary of Old Norse Prose, Register/Indices 1989, 1ff., 1995ff.
Orbis	Bulletin international de documentation linguistique
PBB	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Tübingen/Halle)
PMLA	PMLA. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PWRE	Wissowa, Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
Reall.	Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde
Saga	Saga. Tímarit Sögufélags
SÁM	Safn Árna Magnússonar
SAOB	Svenska akademien ordbok
SAS	Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica
Sc.Isl.	Scripta Islandica
Scand.St.	Scandinavian Studies
SD	Svensk diplomatarium/Diplomatarium Suecanum (cf. Dipl.Sv.)
SiN	Sprog i Norden
Skand.	Skandinavistik: Zeitschrift für Sprache, Literatur und Kultur der nordischen Länder
SKB	Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm
Skj.	Finnur Jónsson, Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning
SMP	Sveriges medeltida personnamn
SMPs	Sveriges medeltida personnamn, samlingar
SNF	Studier i nordisk filologi
SNSS	Skrifter utgivna av Nämnden för svensk språkvård, also for: Skrifter utgivna av Svenska språknämnden
SO	Sveriges ortnamn
Sociolinguistica	Sociolinguistica. Internationales Jahrbuch für europäische Soziolinguistik
SoS	Saga och Sed
SOU	Statens offentliga utredningar (in Sweden)
SS	Språk och stil
SS NF	Språk och stil. Ny följd
SSF	Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet

StEPh	Studien zur englischen Philologie
St.Isl.	Studia Islandica
StNeoph.	Studia neophilologica
SvLm.	Svenska landsmål
Teuth.	Teuthonista
Þjms.	(Icelandic) National Museum, Reykjavík
Þskj.	(Icelandic) National Archives, Reykjavík
UUÅ	Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift
Wessén, Språkh.	Elias Wessén, Svensk språkhistoria
WuS	Wörter und Sachen
ZDL	ZDL: Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik
ZfdA	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
ZfdMaa.	Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten
ZfdPh	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
ZfM	Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung
ZGL	Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik

Abbreviations Linguistic terms

acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
advl.	adverbial
app.	apposition
attr.	attributive
C	consonant
com.	common gender, <i>genus commune</i>
comp.	comparative
d.f.	definite form
dat.	dative
def.	definite
dem.	demonstrative
det.	determiner
dial.	dialect
dim.	diminutive
du.	dual number
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperative
ind.	indicative
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental
interrog.	interrogative
masc.	masculine
N	noun
neut.	neuter
nom.	nominative
NP	noun phrase
num.	numeral
obl.	oblique [case]
part.	participle
pers.	person
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive
pres.	present tense
pret.	preterite
pron.	pronoun, pronominal
refl.	reflexive
regst.	regional standard
rel.	relative (clause)
sb.	substantive, noun
sg.	singular
st.	standard
subj.	subjunctive
sup.	supine
v	vowel
vb.	verb
VP	verbal phrase

I. Introduction

1. The Nordic language area and the languages in the north of Europe

1. General overview
2. Old Nordic
3. From Old to Modern Nordic
4. The Fenno-Ugric languages
5. Greenlandic
6. Text examples
7. Literature (a selection)

1. General overview

The adjective “Nordic” in English has two different meanings. One is geographical, denoting a large area in the north of Europe. It consists of five independent states: from west to east, *Iceland*, *Norway*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Finland*. It also includes three territories which are largely autonomous without having acquired full independence: *Greenland* and the *Faroe Islands* (both under Danish sovereignty) and the *Åland Islands* (under Finnish sovereignty). The other meaning is linguistic, and in this sense, *Nordic* will in this work be synonymous with North Germanic and include *Swedish*, *Danish*, *Norwegian*, *Icelandic*, and *Faroese*. Besides these, the Nordic region consists of three non-Germanic, even non-Indo-European, language communities: *Finnish*, *Sámi* (both *Fenno-Ugric*) and *Greenlandic*.

The North Germanic languages are the proper theme of this handbook. But in this introductory chapter, a brief treatment will be given of the non-Germanic communities, too. The population of the Nordic countries had, except minorities in the outskirts, long been homogeneous, but this has changed since the Second World War (but see art. 230).

The present geographical range and number of users of these languages is roughly outlined here, starting with the “biggest” in terms of speakers:

Swedish is the national language of Sweden, where it is spoken by more than 95 per cent of the population, around 8.5 million people. It is also spoken by about 300,000 people in southern and western Finland; they constitute

a recognized linguistic minority and have equal formal status with the Finnish-speaking majority. In Åland, only Swedish is used and formally recognized.

Finnish is the majority language of Finland, spoken by about 5 million people. It is also spoken by the largest minority in Sweden, about a quarter of a million people, mostly recent immigrants, but including a long-standing population of about 20,000 in the border area in the north (Tornedalen). There is a small minority of Finnish speakers in northern Norway, too. In the ex-Finnish province of Karelia in Russia, there are about 15,000 Finnish speakers besides 80,000 speakers of the closely related language Karelian, and emigrant Finnish colonies in the U.S., Canada and Australia maintain their language reasonably well.

Danish is spoken by close to 100 per cent of the population in Denmark, about 5 million people. In Schleswig, which borders Germany, it lives in symbiosis with German; there is a German linguistic minority north of the border and a Danish one in the south (some 10,000s in both groups). In the Faroes and Greenland, Danish is a secondary official language.

Norwegian is spoken by close to 100 per cent of the population in Norway, a little more than 4 million speakers. There are two standard varieties of the language, *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk*, which are officially recognized as equal. Nynorsk is used mainly in western Norway and adjacent areas, probably by up to half a million people (according to a reasonable estimate; a census on language choice has never been taken), Bokmål by the rest in writing. Dialectal speech is more widespread than in any other Nordic country.

Icelandic is spoken by 100 per cent of the ca. 270,000 Icelanders.

Faroese is spoken by 100 per cent of the ca. 45,000 inhabitants in the Faroes (a few thousand Faroese live in Denmark).

Greenlandic is spoken by almost 100 per cent of the population in Greenland, almost 60,000 people. It is linguistically close to the Inuit languages of northern Canada.

Sámi is spoken by around 40,000 people (uncertain estimate) living in the north of Norway (about 20,000), Sweden (10,000–15,000), Finland (5,000), and Russia (2,000). There are several varieties classified as dialects or languages, but most are not mutually intelligible. The major variety is North Sámi, spoken by the largest concentrations of Sámi people in Finnmark in Norway, and also by a majority in Sweden and Finland.

We shall now give brief sketches of the “external” history of the languages; i. e. the historical development of the language communities more than the languages themselves. We start with a survey of the Old Nordic stage, then we look at the common developments of the language communities from late medieval to modern times, and after that we treat Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic and Faroese separately before proceeding to the non-Indo-European languages.

2. Old Nordic

The term *Old Nordic* is used in this handbook for the totality of medieval North Germanic (while *Old Norse*, when used, will have its traditional meaning “Old West Nordic”, and will particularly denote the written language employed in medieval Norway and Iceland). Old Nordic was a single language (i. e. a continuum of mutually intelligible dialects), developed from Proto-Nordic and spoken in Denmark, Norway and Sweden (and areas populated from these countries) from the seventh till the fifteenth centuries. It is normally divided into two main branches: Old West Nordic (Norwegian, Icelandic) and Old East Nordic (Danish, Swedish and Gutnish). Old Nordic is the sole representative of the North Germanic branch as compared to West Germanic (Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon, Old High German) and East Germanic (Gothic). All the main branches of Old Nordic are represented in extant written texts, but the western branch (“Old Norse”), in particular the Icelandic variety, possesses a corpus of unprecedented abundance, especially from the thirteenth century when Icelandic literary culture was at the height of its creativity and productivity. This variety, which may also be called “classical Old Icelandic”, is therefore usually employed as the representative of the whole

language when examples are given in comparative treatments.

Old Nordic was originally spoken in present-day Denmark, Norway and Sweden, except the northernmost parts of the latter two countries, where Sámi was used. From this base, the Nordic peoples and thus their language expanded tremendously, probably from the seventh century onwards, and its geographical range was widest from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. The expansion first went northwards, where the Sámi were gradually pushed back until – in modern times – the whole coastal area of Norway was Norwegian-speaking. The expansion westwards from Norway commenced rather early, beginning with Shetland and the Orkney Islands, continuing southwards to the Hebrides, the Isle of Man and northwest England, culminating in the ninth century. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Faroes, Iceland and southern Greenland were populated by Norwegians. Eastern England was settled by Danes in the ninth and tenth centuries, while Swedes began colonizing the Finnish and Estonian coasts two centuries later. The Viking Age also saw the creation of Nordic aristocracies in parts of Ireland (Norwegians), Normandy (Danes) and Russia/the Ukraine (Swedes). These were assimilated after a few generations by the local populations, and during the later Middle Ages, Old Nordic died out in England, the Isle of Man, the Hebrides (probably during the fourteenth century), and around 1500 in Greenland. In Shetland and the Orkneys, the language (there known as Norn) persisted until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when it was replaced by Scottish dialects. With these exceptions, the Nordic languages had reached their present geographical range by about 1500. Finland belonged to Sweden until 1809, while the three kingdoms Norway, Sweden and Denmark were united in the Kalmar union and also went through similar linguistic developments. Icelandic and Faroese had already constituted themselves as separate languages.

Nordic language is documented since early Proto-Nordic times in the form of runic inscriptions. From the ancient 24-character futhark used in the Proto-Nordic period, a newer, 16-character futhark developed, in which many of the characters represented different although related phonemes. There were two main types of this alphabet, viz. the Norwegio-Swedish and the Danish. In the twelfth century, new characters were developed

through the use of small points, again aiming at a more accurate grapho-phonemic representation. The written language seems to have been quite close to the spoken, although very formulaic. Standardization of an autonomous written language does not seem to have taken place, though there were clearly established spelling traditions. Runes were used far into Christian times with the result that a large amount of inscriptions is preserved.

The Roman alphabet was introduced with Christianity, and the indigenous language was written in this alphabet from the eleventh century in Norway and Iceland, from the twelfth or thirteenth in Sweden and Denmark. Latin was the most frequently used written language in the latter two countries. Different writing traditions developed, based on different ecclesiastical centres where writing was taught and practised. Today, a vast body of manuscripts from Iceland are extant, but the use of the mother tongue in writing was also well established in Norway – in different genres. In both these countries, the decisive influence came from England and probably Ireland. In Sweden and Denmark, which were more directly influenced by Germany, Latin remained dominant far into the Middle Ages. Laws were the first genres of written texts in the mother tongue; later, religious literature began to appear. The writing traditions were still mostly regional (Zealandic, Scanian, Western Götish etc.), but the linguistic differences between the existing varieties throughout the area seem to have been rather modest (although Danish was already moving more rapidly towards the “modern” phase of language development than the others). The introduction of printing in the late fifteenth century ushered in a new era.

No standard spoken language seems to have developed before 1500, although there may have been tendencies towards a more formal “courteous” language in the aristocracies. We must suppose that everybody spoke his or her dialect, and that these dialects were not too far removed from each other. Linguistic accommodation towards other varieties on the part of those who travelled was probably normal here as in comparable circumstances elsewhere, especially if the dialects were more different than we now tend to believe that they were.

3. From Old to Modern Nordic

3.1. General

The decisive period in the transition between the “old” and the “modern” stage of the Nordic languages seems to have been the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We can summarize the common developments in this way before turning to the separate languages:

(1) Linguistically, the old division between West and East Nordic was superseded by a much more fundamental split between Scandinavian and Insular Nordic (Icelandic and Faroese). Scandinavian experienced a radical simplification of its morphology and a strong Low German impact on its vocabulary, while Insular Nordic remained markedly conservative in both these respects. Within Scandinavian, Danish went furthest in its deviation from the Old Nordic patterns, and within Insular Nordic, Faroese accepted a degree of morphological simplification while Icelandic remained staunchly conservative.

(2) Old Nordic already consisted of numerous dialects, but it seems that the dialectal fragmentation of Scandinavian and Faroese increased markedly during this period, producing the patterns which still prevailed in the early parts of the twentieth century.

(3) The use of the Nordic languages in writing was strongly extended because of two developments: the introduction of paper and of the printing press. The first printer appeared in Denmark in 1482, in Sweden in 1483, in Iceland in the middle of the sixteenth century, and in Norway only in 1643. The consolidation of two Scandinavian monarchies – Denmark (with Norway, the Faroes and Iceland) and Sweden (with Finland) – made the use and spread of the written language more urgent than before, both for communication and for the integration of the peoples in the bureaucratically governed states. The churches were nationalized after the break with Catholicism (1527 in Sweden and 1536 in Denmark), and the Bible was translated into Swedish in 1526/1541 and Danish in 1550 (Icelandic in 1584). The Danish, Swedish and Icelandic written languages were gradually codified and stabilized from the sixteenth till the eighteenth centuries. Norwegian and Faroese were developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries under quite different historical circumstances.

(4) The written language was gradually spread among the people. In Iceland, literacy was widespread quite early, and in Denmark

and Sweden, common people increasingly learnt to read for religious reasons. The eighteenth century saw the introduction of a schooling system, where reading became a main component. The ability to write, however, was spread among the general population through an improved and extended “people’s school” only towards the close of the nineteenth century, when the modernization and democratization of society made higher formal qualifications necessary for most people in order to find a position and a livelihood and to function well in society.

(5) The development of standard spoken languages within the most prestigious layers of the population (the bureaucracy, clergy, high urban bourgeoisie) seems to have started gradually from the seventeenth century onwards. Only in the twentieth century have these varieties spread throughout the population because of radically altered socio-economic structures. In modern times, linguistic homogenization of the languages has taken place everywhere, rapidly forcing the dialects back to the margins of society (although Norway is a special case), while new differentiations have developed between generations, social groups, ethnic groups, professions, and sexes. Social equalization and increased mobility have led to a “de-formalization” of language which has also been promoted by the mass media.

(6) As a result of modernization, the languages have accepted vast quantities of loanwords from prestigious international sources: Latin, Greek, French, German. From the middle of the twentieth century, the strong impact of (American) English has “internationalized” the languages in their vocabularies and modes of expression more than ever before. Only Icelandic and in part Faroese have energetically and successfully resisted this influx of foreign words.

3.2. Danish

Danish underwent a number of phonological developments in the early Middle Ages which clearly set it off from its northern neighbors Norwegian and Swedish, among them the voicing of post-vocalic unvoiced plosives, the reduction of unstressed vowels in inflectional suffixes to a schwa, and the development of the glottal stop as a prosodic feature. Around 1500, some sources indicate that Danish was difficult to understand for Swedes, although one should be careful about accepting this as

a neutral description; it is contradicted by other sources. By 1500, the morphological simplifications and phonological revolution had run their course, and a more stable period set in; at the same time, the standardization of the written language began. Around 1700, a literary renewal started, ultimately leading to modern written Danish.

As a written standard language, Danish has for much of its history remained in a rather curious position, suppressing other languages (Norwegian, Faroese, Icelandic) as an imperial language in the Scandinavian union while at the same time having to assert itself at home against Latin and German dominance. The earliest extant records of Danish written in Roman characters date back to the thirteenth century; they are law texts from different parts of the country. While Latin was generally used for writing, laws were recorded in the mother tongue because it was important that common people knew them, and because they were already available through oral transmission in the vernacular. From the fourteenth century, legends, chronicles and religious literature were also written down in Danish, many of them being translations. This “Danish” in fact reflected local dialects; a standard language did not yet exist. But a certain dominance of Zealandic forms was visible already in the late Middle Ages: the administrative, ecclesiastical and commercial center of Denmark lay on Zealand (Roskilde, Copenhagen), and a Zealandic chancery style (inspired by German and Latin syntax) was developing.

The orthographic standardization of Danish began in the sixteenth century; the introduction of printing in 1482 and the Lutheran Reformation of 1536 were crucial events. Through the Reformation, Danish ousted Latin as the main ecclesiastical language. The Bible was published in Danish in 1550 (referred to as the *Bible of Christian III*) and became extremely influential both because it used a comparatively consistent orthography and because its style was unusually “pure”, inspired by “plain Danish” and purged of learned Latinisms and Germanisms. Another important text was the Danish Law of King Christian V, published in 1683. In the seventeenth century, the first grammars of Danish appeared, giving rules for “good Danish”, mainly based on upper-class Copenhagen speech. But at the same time, German was the prestige language of the court and the nobility. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French also acquired a prestigious posi-

tion. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, a language movement developed which resorted to purism in order to make the language more authentic and more intelligible to the general public. The movement was often inspired by German, however, and directed its aggression primarily against French and Latin words: examples are *Digter* ‘poet’ and *Forfatter* ‘author’, which were to replace *Poet* and *Autor* (German *Dichter*, *Verfasser*). This purist wave subsided after some decades, and since then, Danish has been rather liberal in accepting loanwords – at first mostly from German, French, Latin and Greek, and since the 20th century mainly from English.

The dominance of German declined towards the end of the eighteenth century. At that time, Danish became a field of study in its own right at school and at the university of Copenhagen for the first time. Orthographic standardization was largely completed before 1800, although discussions about spelling continued throughout most of the next century. The standard variety was firmly based on upper-class Copenhagen speech. With improvements in schooling, this variety began to penetrate the rest of the country as well.

The dialects of Danish have traditionally been divided into three groups: Jutish in Jutland; Insular Danish on the islands of Funen and Zealand and the smaller islands to the south of them; and “East Danish” in Bornholm and the southern Swedish territories of Scania, Halland and Blekinge, which belonged to Denmark until the middle of the seventeenth century. The so-called East Danish dialects could, however, just as well be called “South Swedish”, since linguistically they are transitional between Danish and Swedish. Today, most of the traditional dialects have disappeared because of rapid urbanization and the revolution in communications and education during the last century. Only in West and South Jutland and in Bornholm are they still used by young and middle-aged people as well as by the oldest generation.

3.3. Swedish

Swedish emerged as a written language in the 13th and 14th centuries. The first kind of longer texts to be written down in Roman characters in the local language were the laws here as well, and both they and the language were regional; the oldest one was the Older Law of Västergötland from around 1225. While Latin was the dominant written language at the out-

set, Swedish was used for popular literature both of a worldly and a religious character. The use of Swedish intensified from the latter half of the fourteenth century, especially because it was employed by the Birgittine religious order (named after its founder, St. Birgitta), which was influential all over northern Europe for a period.

In 1526, the Swedish translation of the New Testament appeared. This event marked the dawn of a new era, the development of the modern independent Swedish state and the introduction of Lutheranism as its state religion. Printing had already been introduced in 1483. At this time, the structural transition of Swedish to its modern analytical stage had largely been completed, and the standardization and cultivation of Swedish as a modern written language, able to fill all the society’s needs, began. In the preceding period, Danish and German had exerted a strong influence on the written Swedish chancery style. But the strong anti-Danish sentiments which accompanied Sweden’s struggles for national liberation paved the way for a linguistic reaction. The codification of a Swedish written standard, based on the speech of central Sweden and in particular of Stockholm, was deliberately undertaken in such a way that its differences from Danish were stressed as much as possible. This is one of the reasons why the vowel *-a* is so dominant in Swedish inflectional endings. This *-a* had been weakened to schwa in many dialects, and this weakening had left traces in the written language. But the nationalistic reaction in Sweden encouraged the use of *-a* as one among several ways of emphasizing the distance between Swedish and Danish. The choice of the characters *ä*, *ö* and *å* instead of the Danish *æ*, *ø* and *aa* may have a similar explanation.

Like Danish, Swedish was deeply influenced in its development as a written language by the first complete translation of the Bible (*The Gustav Vasa Bible*, published 1541). Its language was based on the speech of the Stockholm district, and the translators aimed at some degree of orthographic standardization. In the worldly sphere, the chancery style became dominant as the monarchs of the Vasa dynasty (1523–1654) built up a centralized and efficient national bureaucracy. In the eighteenth century, new media (journals and newspapers) were to influence culture and society to an increasing degree, introducing a new and more oral and direct style of language, less Latinized than the conventional

style of the time. As in Denmark, a purist tendency appeared, but with less intensity. Stronger than this purism was the influence of French, which seems to have been more profound in Swedish than in Danish (where German was the main source of influence). The eighteenth century saw an increasing preoccupation with the cultivation of the Swedish language, reaching a climax during the reign of Gustav III (1771–92), who in 1786 founded the Swedish Academy.

The first signs of a standard spoken Swedish became visible in the seventeenth century. This variety had its main roots in the aristocratic speech used over a wide area of central Sweden, particularly Stockholm. In 1801, the Swedish Academy issued a standard spelling, as codified on its behalf by the poet Carl Gustaf Leopold.

Swedish has always been divided into many and very diverse dialects. The dialects have been retreating during the last several generations in Sweden, too. They have been maintained better than in Denmark, but less well than in Norway.

3.4. Norwegian

The first manuscripts in the Old Norwegian written language were probably written in the eleventh century, although the oldest extant ones date from the twelfth. The language was extensively used and (relatively) stabilized in a conservative form which did not reflect the changes in speech very well. It persisted until the middle of the fourteenth century. From then on, it gradually yielded to Danish as Danish power in Norway tightened its grip. The replacement of Norwegian by Danish was nearly complete in the early sixteenth century. When Latin yielded as an ecclesiastical language because of the Lutheran Reformation (1536), Danish took its place. Christian III's Danish Bible was introduced in Norway, too. The only Norwegian texts still used after 1536 were old law texts, ultimately dating from the thirteenth century, and these were replaced by Danish texts around 1600. Danish was the only written language employed in Norway from this time until the second half of the nineteenth century. In speech, Norwegian dialects were used, but in the cities, a Danish-based upper-class spoken variety gradually arose, especially for formal use, but it also strongly influenced the everyday language of the elite.

After the secession of Norway from Denmark in 1814, this situation continued, but it was felt to be increasingly problematic. Europe, including Scandinavia, had now entered the Romantic Age, and one of the new insights was that there was a deep connection between a nation and its language. The question arose of how Norway should attain linguistic autonomy. In the decisive period between 1830 and 1860, two methods to achieve this appeared. One was formulated by the self-taught linguist Ivar Aasen. After extensive research, he presented a comparative study of the dialects. Based on this material, he developed a standard written norm for modern Norwegian. This became the basis of the variety called *Nynorsk*. The other method is associated with its most prominent spokesman in the nineteenth century, the teacher Knud Knudsen: using the Danish written language as a basis and Norwegianizing it according to the norms of urban upper-class speech. The variety resulting from this approach was the basis of modern *Bokmål*.

At the outset, the Norwegian language struggle was a competition between these two policies and the language varieties resulting from them. *Nynorsk* was acknowledged formally by Parliament in 1885 as being on a par with Danish, and in 1892 it became possible to choose it as a language of instruction in primary schools. By 1920, it had been introduced as such in most of rural western Norway and the interior mountain valleys, where it still has its stronghold. The cities and towns, however, along with the populous southeastern part of the country, remained solid "Dano-Norwegian" territory. But this variety was transformed to suit Norwegian speech better through two linguistic reforms, in 1907 and 1917. From then on, it has been customary both in Denmark and Norway to view Norwegian *Bokmål* as a language distinct from Danish. The first book that was translated from *Bokmål* into Danish appeared in 1919.

Although *Nynorsk* experienced a rapid expansion, *Bokmål* remained the majority written language. Since the linguistic difference between the two varieties was not so great, the idea arose of gradually bringing them closer together, aiming at amalgamation into a single Common Norwegian (*Sammorsk*) written language. Linguistically, this plan was supported by the fact that the dialects of the most populous areas of Norway had many core features in common with both written standards, so

that an amalgamation should be possible by using these dialects as a basis. In 1917 and 1938, two very ambitious linguistic reforms aiming at convergence on the levels of spelling, underlying speech forms, and morphology were issued after several years of debate and struggle. After World War II, a reaction set in against this policy, especially on the Bokmål side. A bitter struggle developed in the 1950s and early '60s concerning "Common Norwegian". At the same time, Nynorsk was ousted as an instructional language in many districts, but it retained its position in its heartland in western Norway, where it is still strong.

While a slow convergence, mostly in idioms and style, can be discerned in written usage, the official policy of amalgamation was given up – definitely or temporarily – in the 1960s. A partial reversal has even taken place in Bokmål through a reform in 1981 which allowed many traditional forms that had earlier been discarded, but both Bokmål and Nynorsk today exist in several sub-varieties, some traditional, some "radical" – i. e. approaching the other variety and the most common forms in the dialects.

No census has been taken of Bokmål vs. Nynorsk users, but 15–16 per cent of all school children are taught Nynorsk as their first written variety, the rest Bokmål. Many in the former category change to Bokmål later in life, but it seems reasonably realistic to assume that there are approximately half a million Nynorsk users, i. e. around 12 per cent.

The dialects of Norway are customarily divided into five main groups: Western, Central (comprising the mountain valleys of the interior), Eastern, Trønder (from Trøndelag), and Northern. Nynorsk was traditionally most closely related to the Western and Central dialects, but through the spelling reforms it has grown closer to the three other groups. Bokmål is a compromise between originally Danish-based upper-class speech and southeastern dialects. Dialects have a much higher prestige in Norway than in the other Scandinavian countries, and they are used relatively freely in most contexts.

3.5. Icelandic

Modern Icelandic is the most direct descendant of Old Norse, being structurally the most conservative language of northern Europe. The changes which justify the distinction between Old and Modern Icelandic have primarily taken place within phonetics and phono-

logy, and they were by and large completed during the sixteenth century. At the same time, the Scandinavian languages and Faroese had developed in very different directions, so that mutual intelligibility was probably lost around 1500.

Icelandic has been in continuous written use since medieval times. Its spelling tradition underscores this fact by preserving the phonetic characteristics of Old Norse without much regard for later developments, and this tradition was fixed during the formal spelling codification in the nineteenth century, which coincided more or less with the codification of Old Norse spelling in "normalized" text editions. Beside this fixed and traditional orthography, written Icelandic has been marked by strong traditionalism at other levels, too. There is a strong resistance against morphological and syntactic innovations which have entered the spoken language and become quite entrenched there, such as analogical plural forms like *læknirar* 'doctors' for the traditional *læknar* (sing. *læknir*), and the use of dative forms instead of the traditional accusative to mark the subject of certain verbs like *vanta* 'lack' and *langa* 'long for' or 'want'. Above all, the Icelandic written language has been cultivated on a strong puristic basis: a massive, almost industrial, creation of neologisms based on indigenous roots to replace or prevent the entry of loanwords has been carried out by official bodies (especially the Icelandic Language Council) as well as by private organizations. Among the countless examples, we mention some common ones: *skrifstofa* 'office' ("write-room"), *lýðveldi* 'republic' ("people-power"), *sjónvarp* 'television' ("sight-throwing"). In informal speech, however, loanwords, primarily from Danish and more recently English, have been and are more readily accepted, but they are considered inappropriate in writing and formal speech.

Icelandic is quite unique in having an almost uniform spoken language, too, without dialects. This, combined with the lack of minority languages, makes Iceland the linguistically most homogeneous nation-state in Europe, possibly in the world. There are a few established phonetic differences between the regions of the country, most of them on the sub-phonemic level. In addition, a generational split seems to be evident especially in the capital area, mostly regarding word choice, but to a certain extent also in some phonetic features.

3.6. Faroese

Faroese developed as a separate spoken language from late medieval times onwards. The oldest written records we have of modern Faroese date from the late eighteenth century, by which time it was considered a Norwegian dialect, but its characteristics show clearly that it was autonomous from Norwegian. It is often grouped together with Icelandic under some term, e.g. “insular Nordic”, but this grouping depends mostly on the heavily etymologizing orthography, which makes the written language appear very similar to Icelandic while not reflecting actual Faroese speech very well. Structurally, Faroese occupies a middle position between Icelandic and Scandinavian at the morphological level, while Faroese phonology is markedly distinguished from all the other Nordic languages.

Faroese is spoken only in the Faroes, where it is the mother tongue of the entire population and an official language on equal footing with Danish. Since Home Rule was introduced in 1948, a gradual Faroization of the national institutions has taken place, and the Faroese language is now almost universally used except in direct contact with Danes and Denmark (although in popular culture, Danish still dominates alongside English).

The Faroese orthography was created by the cleric V. U. Hammershaimb around the middle of the nineteenth century. Before that, some texts in Faroese (ballads, translations of parts of the Bible and the medieval *Saga of the Faroese*) had been published in a phonetically based spelling. Hammershaimb, however, based his system on the newly codified Old Norse and Icelandic orthographies, and thus created a highly etymological spelling. The effect of this was to give the language historical dignity, very important at the time, to underscore its relationship with Old Norse and Icelandic, and to impose a unity on the language without favoring one present-day dialect above others. Hammershaimb's orthography was accepted by the Faroese language movement, and today it is the only officially acknowledged (and in practice the only used) spelling of Faroese.

A purist language cultivation has been implemented here as in Iceland, but in the Faroes, purism has been less categorical and less successful. The spoken language borrows quite freely from Danish, and while a written style has been established which is much more restrictive about such loans and prefers

Faroese neologisms, many Danicisms are nevertheless accepted also in writing.

There are several different dialects of Faroese, but most of the differences between them are rather superficial, e. g. different pronunciations of certain vowel phonemes in certain environments. These differences are socially accepted on an equal footing, although there is a tendency towards dominance of the dialect of the capital, Tórshavn.

4. The Fenno-Ugric languages

4.1. General

The Fenno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family is divided into two groups, Fennic and Ugric. The most important Ugric language is Hungarian, while the Fennic group contains several sub-groupings, including the two which are represented in Scandinavia: Sámi and Balto-Fennic. The two major Balto-Fennic languages are Finnish and Estonian. The Uralic languages not mentioned here are all spoken by small ethnic groups within the former Soviet Union.

The Fenno-Ugric languages are structurally quite different from the Indo-European ones. They are strongly synthetic; in particular, the nominal declension system is extensive, with a great number of cases fulfilling many of the functions served by prepositions in Indo-European languages. The languages are agglutinative rather than inflecting: the morphological functions are indicated by stable morphemes which are clearly distinguished from the stem form. This picture is somewhat complicated by the so-called “grade alternation”, a kind of regular stem change in inflected forms. But the entire morphological system shows a great degree of regularity.

4.2. Finnish

The Finnish language has been spoken in the south of Finland for at least 2000 years, and it has gradually pushed Sámi northwards. It has developed quite different dialects, which can be divided into a Western and an Eastern group, but the transition between them is gradual. In late medieval times, Finnish was used in writing for administrative purposes. Since the administrative center at that time was Turku, the Western dialects formed the basis of the written language. The basic structure of the language at that time was very similar to present-day Finnish. We have no documents

showing earlier stages of its development, so its history can only be tentatively reconstructed by comparing its forms and structure with those of the other Fenno-Ugric languages.

In the sixteenth century, Finnish was adopted as a written language on a larger scale. The cleric Michael Agricola (ca. 1510–1557) is regarded as the founder of this written language, although he did base his usage on earlier traditions. But he recodified the language, modernized it according to the usage of his own day and broadened its base by adopting elements from different dialects. Its basis remained Western Finnish, though. Agricola translated the New Testament into Finnish and wrote large amounts of ecclesiastical literature in it. He was a Lutheran, and may justly be regarded as the Finnish Luther as far as his impact on language is concerned. Both religious literature and legal documents were published in Finnish during the following centuries, even though the centralization and consolidation of the Swedish state in the seventeenth century led to a reduction in the official use of Finnish. But the church and the Pietist movement, which gained a strong grip on the Finnish population from around 1700 onwards, had to use Finnish in order to reach the people. Swedish was an upper-class language only (except in the coastal areas, where there was a Swedish-speaking population of farmers and fishermen).

After the Russian takeover in 1809, Swedish remained the administrative language of Finland, as it was the language of the upper class, the bureaucracy and the intelligentsia. Even though the Russian authorities themselves used Russian, they did not try to impose it by suppressing Swedish and Finnish. However, national romanticism and the linguistic revival generated by it surfaced in Finland, as it did in Norway, Iceland and many other European countries at about the same time. A milestone in this revival was the publication of the great epic cycle *Kalevala* by the folklorist Elias Lönnrot in 1835. *Kalevala* was actually based on a large number of different folk ballads containing related legends and myths. Its linguistic form was codified by Lönnrot, who instigated a break with the Agricola tradition. In the years preceding the publication of *Kalevala*, a heated discussion took place among the Finnish intelligentsia about the basis of a Finnish standard language. A strong current favored a move towards the Eastern Finnish dialects, which were more conservative and less “corrupted” by Swedish influ-

ence. Lönnrot did indeed adopt Eastern Finnish forms and words that until then had not been accepted, but like Agricola, he tried not to make the standard too one-sidedly Eastern or Western. In any event, his version was accepted and is the basis of modern standard Finnish.

Soon attention turned from discussions about norms to the larger struggle for linguistic equality. The economic and social prosperity enjoyed by the Finnish population around the middle of the nineteenth century led to increased self-reliance, even linguistically. Demands arose for a stronger position for Finnish; after all, the majority of the population still understood only this language. In 1863, under the regime of the reformist tsar Alexander II, Finnish was officially put on an equal footing with Swedish (with a transition period of 20 years). From then on, the position of Finnish was secure. A Finnish-speaking bourgeoisie evolved, and Finnish was taught to all officials and introduced at all levels of education. The modernization of the lexicon was carried out in a puristic spirit (although less so than for Icelandic).

In the constitution of independent Finland (1919), Finnish and Swedish received an equal position as “national languages”. However, since Finnish was spoken by almost 90 per cent of the population, it inevitably obtained a dominant position. The antagonism between the two language groups persisted until the Second World War but has to a large degree subsided since then.

4.3. Sámi

Sámi is actually not a single language, but rather several languages constituting a branch of the northwestern Fenno-Ugric language group. The different varieties within the branch are often called “dialects”, and this is defensible insofar as there generally are – or have been – no sharp boundaries between the varieties, only dialect continua. However, the intrusion of the majority populations (Scandinavian and Finnish) has destroyed these continua in many places, so that we now have a number of more or less isolated varieties often spoken by small populations spread over wide areas and interspersed among the totally dominant majority population.

It is customary to acknowledge nine Sámi “dialects”, but two of them are spoken only on the Kola peninsula (Russia). Two others (Enare Sámi and Skolt Sámi) are spoken in a

small area in northeastern Finland – Skolt Sámi also across the Finnish border, in Norway and in Russia. They are grouped together with the Kola varieties to form the East Sámi branch. The central Sámi area comprises the northernmost parts of Norway (Finnmark, Troms), Sweden (Lappland) and Finland (also called Lappland or, in Finnish, Lappi). In this area, North Sámi is spoken, a single language where all the dialects used are closely related and mutually intelligible. The North Sámi speakers are by far the most numerous, and their written standard language therefore is stronger and more vital than any of the others. Its core area, with regard to the number and concentration of its speakers, its official and social standing, and its linguistic and cultural vitality, is in the interior part of the Norwegian province of Finnmark. To the south of Troms and Swedish Lappland, we find four Sámi dialect or language areas: Lule Sámi, Pite Sámi, Ume Sámi and South Sámi. Ume Sámi is spoken only in Sweden, the three other groups both in Sweden and Norway. South Sámi is used as far south as Røros in Trøndelag, Norway. Neighboring varieties of Sámi seem to be mutually intelligible, except North Sámi in relation to East Sámi, where there is a real language boundary. But South Sámi and North Sámi are mutually unintelligible and are standardized as two very different written varieties, so they should be regarded as different languages.

Sámi first appeared as a written language in the seventeenth century in Sweden. The publication of written materials in Sámi was then viewed as desirable for missionary purposes, and Sámi language cultivation, both on the Swedish and the Norwegian side, was for a long period the prerogative of clerics and missionaries. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Swedes tried to develop a Sámi spelling system based on the southern varieties, later also on Lule Sámi. The latter variety was used in the writings of Lars Levi Læstadius, a missionary and religious reformer who had a great impact on the creation of a distinctly Sámi form of orthodox Christianity. His conscious use of the Sámi language has contributed greatly to the ethnic and cultural self-esteem of the Sámi. On the Norwegian side of the border, the chief emphasis was on North Sámi. A North Sámi written language was codified in the nineteenth century, based on the pioneering work of the clergyman and linguist Knud Leem, who published the first grammar of the lan-

guage in 1748. Another clergyman, Nils Vibe Stockfleth, introduced a phonetic spelling in his grammar of 1840, employing several special characters for Sámi phonemes: č /tʃ/, š /ʃ/, ž /dʒ/, ƛ /θ/, ǫ /ð/ and ƞ /ŋ/. Thus he created an enduring tradition: the basic features of his spelling have been preserved in the subsequent reforms.

A scientific systematization of the orthography was carried out in the twentieth century. In 1951, a unified Norwegian-Swedish spelling system for North Sámi, strongly phonemically based and using Stockfleth's special characters, was authorized for use in schools. In Finland, however, another spelling system based on Finnish conventions was used. This split was not overcome until the Sámi took the matter into their own hands in the 1970s and agreed on a unified North Sámi spelling based on a compromise between those in use. This unified orthography has been official since 1978. Unified official orthographies have also been developed for South Sámi, Lule Sámi, and Enare Sámi. These orthographies, however, do not use special characters and diacritics; they employ digraphs to designate phonemes not covered by the conventional alphabet. In addition, diverse unofficial orthographies have been created for several of the varieties.

The official and social position of Sámi will be treated in articles 228 and 229; suffice it to say here that North Sámi in particular has flourished as a language of literature and the media since 1970, although it is still under heavy pressure from the majority languages.

5. Greenlandic

Greenlandic is a major branch of the Eskimoic language family (itself a branch of a larger family called Eskimo-Aleutic or Eskaleutic). Eskimoic has two sub-groups: Yupik in southwestern and southern Alaska, and Inuit in northern Alaska, Canada and Greenland. The Inuit dialects are mutually comprehensible. A written language was not developed for them until comparatively recent times.

Greenland was “rediscovered” by the Norwegian missionary Hans Egede in the early eighteenth century, and the creation of a Greenlandic written language for proselytizing purposes soon came to be viewed as an important task. The foundation of such a written language was laid around 1750 by Hans Egede's son, Poul Egede. Better knowledge of the language led to improvements in spelling

during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, the Greenlanders themselves did not take part in the development of their written language; the process was led by the Danish ecclesiastical and political authorities. Only after World War II did a class of educated Greenlanders evolve, and from the end of the 1960s a cultural and linguistic autonomy movement made its presence felt. Until then, Greenlandic was used only as a necessary auxiliary language in the schools and in church. The early 1970s saw the development of Greenlandic language cultivation conducted by Greenlanders themselves. The traditional Greenlandic orthography – created by the German missionary Samuel Kleinschmidt in 1851 – was criticized because it was difficult to learn, and a spelling reform was introduced in 1973. When home rule was granted in 1979, Greenlandic became the main official language of Greenland, although Danish remains in an equal position and both languages are compulsory subjects in primary and secondary school. The social and legal relations between Danish and Greenlandic will be treated in art. 228.

The main dialect of Greenlandic, West Greenlandic, spoken by 90 per cent of the population, is used along the entire west coast. There are two other distinct dialects: in the extreme north a small group speaks North Greenlandic, and in the southeast two other small groups speak East Greenlandic. The latter dialect is particularly different from West Greenlandic, although a transitional dialect between these two is spoken around the southern edge of the island. From Egede's time until now, the written language has been based on West Greenlandic, as spoken in the central part of the west coast.

6. Text examples

Finally, we include a few verses from the Bible (Matt. 1:18–21) in the various languages as text examples.

Danish

Med Jesu Kristi fødsel gik det sådan til: Hans mor Maria var forlovet med Josef, men før de havde været sammen, viste det sig, at hun var blevet med barn ved Helligånden. Hendes mand Josef var retsindig og ønskede ikke at bringe hende i vanry, men besluttede at skille sig fra hende i al stilhed. Mens han tænkte på dette, se, da viste Herrens engel sig for ham i

en drøm og sagde: “Josef, Davids søn, vær ikke bange for at tage Maria til dig som hustru; for det barn, hun venter, er undfanget ved Helligånden. Hun skal føde en søn, og du skal give ham navnet Jesus; for han skal frelse sit folk fra deres synder.”

Swedish

Med Jesu Kristi födelse förhöll det sig så: hans mor, Maria, hade blivit trolovad med Josef, men innan de hade börjat leva tillsammans, visade det sig att hon var havande genom helig ande. Hennes man Josef, som var rättfärdig och inte ville dra vanära över henne, tänkte då skilja sig från henne i tysthet. Men när han hade beslutat sig för det, uppenbarade sig Herrens ängel för honom i en dröm och sade: “Josef, Davids son, var inte rädd för att föra hem Maria som hustru, ty barnet i henne har blivit till genom helig ande. Hon skall föda en son, och du skall ge honom namnet Jesus, ty han skall frälsa sitt folk från deras synder.”

Norwegian Bokmål

Med Jesu Kristi fødsel gikk det slik til: Hans mor Maria var trolovet med Josef; men før de var kommet sammen, viste det seg at hun var med barn, ved Den Hellige Ånd. Josef, hennes trolovede, som var en rettskaffen mann og ikke ønsket å føre skam over henne, ville da skille seg fra henne i stillhet. Mens han nå tenkte på dette, viste en Herrens engel seg for ham i en drøm og sa: “Josef, Davids sønn! Vær ikke redd for å føre Maria hjem som din hustru. For barnet som er unnfanget i henne, er av Den Hellige Ånd. Hun skal føde en sønn, og du skal gi ham navnet Jesus, for han skal frelse sitt folk fra deres synder.”

Norwegian Nynorsk

Då Jesus Kristus vart fødd, gjekk det såleis til: Mor hans, Maria, var trulova med Josef; men før dei kom saman, syntet det seg at ho var med barn, ved Den Heilage Ande. Josef, festarmannen hennar, var ein rett-tenkt mann og ville ikkje føra skam over henne; han sette seg føre å skilja seg frå henne så stilt han kunne. Medan han no tenkte på dette, syntet ein engel frå Herren seg for han i ein draum og sa: “Josef, Davids son! Ver ikkje redd for å ta Maria heim til deg som kona di. For barnet som er avla i henne, er av Den Heilage Ande. Ho skal få ein son, og du skal kalla han Jesus, for han skal frelsa folket sitt frå syndene deira.”

Icelandic

Fæðing Jesú Krists varð með þessum atburðum: María, móðir hans, var föstnuð Jósef. En áður en þau komu saman, reyndist hún þunguð af heilögum anda. Jósef festarmaður hennar, sem var grandvar, vildi ekki gjöra henni opinbera minnkun og hugðist skilja við hana í kyrrþey. Hann hafði ráðið þetta með sér, en þá vitraðist honum engill Drottins í draumi og sagði: “Jósef, sonur Davíðs, óttastu ekki að taka til þín Mariu, heitkonu þína. Barnið, sem hún gengur með, er af heilögum anda. Hún mun son ala, og hann skaltu láta heita Jesú, því að hann mun frelsa lýð sinn frá syndum þeirra.”

Faroese

Men við føðing Jesu Krists gekk tað soleiðis til: Tá ið María, móðir hansara, var trúlovað Jósefi, so kendist tað á henni, áðrenn tey komu saman, at hon var við barn av hinum heilaga anda. Men við tað at Jósef, maður hennara, var ein rættvísur maður og ikki vildi gera hana opinberliga til skammar, ætlaði hann í loyndum at skilja seg frá henni. Men meðan hann hugsaði um hetta, sí, tá sýndi eingil Harrans seg í dreymi fyrri honum og segði: “Jósef, sonur Dávids! Óttast ikki fyrri at taka Mariu, konu tína, til tín; tí at tað, sum hon ber undir belti, er av hinum heilaga anda. Og hon skal føða ein son, og Jesus skalt tú kalla navn hansara, tí at hann skal frelsa sítt fólk frá syndum teirra.”

Finnish

Jeesuksen Kristuksen syntymä tapahtui näin. Maria, Jeesuksen äiti, oli kihlattu Joosefille. Ennen kuin heidän liittonsa oli vahvistettu, kävi ilmi, että Maria, Pyhän Hengen vaikutuksesta, olin raskaana. Joosef oli lakia kunnioittava mies mutta ei halunnut häpäistä kihlattuun julkisesti. Hän aikoi purkaa avio-liittosopimuksen kaikessa hiljaisuudessa. Kun Joosef ajatteli tätä, hänelle ilmestyi yöllä unessa Herran enkeli, joka sanoi: “Joosef, Daavidin poika, älä pelkää ottaa Mariaa vaimoksesi. Se, mikä hänessä on siinnyt, on lähtöisin Pyhästä Hengestä. Hän synnyttää pojan, ja sinun tulee antaa pojalle nimeksi Jeesus, sillä hän pelastaa kansansa sen synneistä.”

North Sámi

Jesus Kristusa riegeádeapmi dáhpáhuvai ná: Su eadni Márjá lei lohpadallan Jovssehiin; muhto ovdal go soai leigga ealligoahtán ovttas, de šattai albmosii ahte Márjá lei máná vuostái Bassi Vuoiŋŋa bokte. Jovsset, su irgi, gii lei rehálaš olmmái ii ge háldidan heahppašuhttit su, áiggui earránit sus suoli. Go Jovsset dal lei jurddašeamen dán, de Hearná enggel almmustuvai suinje niegus ja celkkii: “Jovsset, Dávveda Bárdni! Ale bala váldimis Márjja ruktosat áhkkán. Dasgo mánná mii lea su siste, lea sahkanan Bassi Vuoiŋŋa bokte. Son riegeádahtta bártni, ja don galggat gohčodit su Jesusin, dasgo son beasta álbmogis sin sutuin.”

Greenlandic

Jiisusillu Kristusip inunngornera ima pivoq: Arnaa Maaria Juuserfimut angereerami, suli katitsinnatik malunnarsivoq naartulersoq anersaakkut illernartukkut. Uissaatali Juuserfiip naapertuilluarniartarami mitannarsisikkumanginnamiullu, oqarnani isumakkiilersaarpaa. Taamali isumalermat, ata, Naalakkap inngiliata sinnartortillugu saqqummerfigaa oqarluni: “Juuserfi-aa, Daavip ernera, siooraqinak nuliassat Maaria ilinnut pisissallugu, ilumiaua anersaakkut illernartukkut pimmat. Ernertaarumaarporlu; taanna Jiisusimik atsissavat, innuttani annaassammagit ajortaannit.”

7. Literature (a selection)

- Braunmüller, Kurt (1991), *Die skandinavischen Sprachen im Überblick*. Tübingen.
- Braunmüller, Kurt (1998), *De nordiske språk*. Oslo (a revised version of Braunmüller 1991).
- Braunmüller, Kurt (1999), *Die skandinavischen Sprachen im Überblick*. 2., vollst. überarb. Aufl. Tübingen/Basel.
- Haugen, Einar (1976), *The Scandinavian languages. An introduction to their history*. London.
- Karker, Allan/Birgitta Lindgren/Ståle Løland (eds.) (1997), *Nordens språk*. Oslo.
- Vikør, Lars S. (1995), *The Nordic languages. Their status and interrelations* (Nordisk Språksekretariats skrifter 14). Oslo. (New and revised edition 2001).
- Wessén, Elias (1965), *De nordiska språken*. Stockholm.

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2. The Nordic languages in a Germanic perspective

1. The Modern Gmc languages and the Gmc language area
2. Distinctive linguistic features common to all modern Nordic languages
3. Internal relations within the Nordic language group
4. Language contact and mutual intelligibility within the Gmc language area
5. Literature (a selection)

In this article we will touch briefly upon the internal relationship between the different Nordic languages and discuss the relationship between the Nordic group and its Gmc neighbours. The main point of view will be contemporary and synchronic, but references will also be made to earlier stages as elements in understanding the present situation. However, the historical relationship between the different branches of Gmc and the placement of Nordic within the Gmc family in a strictly historical-genetic perspective will be discussed more thoroughly in later articles (cf. art. 62).

1. The Modern Gmc languages and the Gmc language area

In the terminology of the German sociolinguist Heinz Kloss, a distinction can be made between so-called “Ausbau languages” and “Abstand languages” (cf. Kloss 1978, 23–30; Vikør 1994, 52–55). An Ausbau language is what most people in everyday use would call a language (vs. “merely a dialect”). Closely tied up with the idea of “language” in this sense is obviously the existence of a written and normally also a spoken standard. Although the distinction “language” : “dialect” is far from clear-cut in all cases, it is nevertheless widely used in everyday speech.

1.1. The Gmc Ausbau languages

Taken in this rather popular sense, the following Gmc languages can be ranked according to their estimated total number of native speakers.

Table 2.1: Gmc languages and number of native speakers

LANGUAGE	native speakers in Europe	native speakers outside Europe
1. English	60,000,000	400,000,000
2. German	98,000,000	?
3. Dutch	21,000,000	?
4. Swedish	8,000,000	?
5. Afrikaans	?	6,000,000
6. Danish	5,000,000	?
7. Norwegian	4,000,000	?
8. Frisian	400,000	?
9. Yiddish	?	400,000 (?)
10. Icelandic	260,000	?
11. Faroese	44,000	?

(The source for the E, Du., and Yiddish language figures is Grimes 1992; other figures are from various official country sources. For Yiddish, Henriksen/Auwers 1994, 12 gives the grossly deviant figure “between one and three million speakers”; other figures may also vary somewhat in different sources.)

As can be seen from this table, E (of course) is the most widely spoken Gmc language in a global perspective, while German has the largest number of native speakers in Europe. This holds even when the non-Gmc European languages are included.

The following table suggests the main geographical extension of each language.

The table only shows countries and/or areas where the language in question is used by a majority of the population. For that reason

no mention is made of Gmc languages other than E e.g. in the United States, although most of them still are spoken by minority groups there as well as in other European overseas emigrant societies. For the same reason it has not been possible to designate any specific area for Yiddish.

The table also shows that there is one language which is not spoken by an indigenous population within Europe; viz. Afrikaans, the native language of the so-called Boers of South Africa. This language is clearly de-

Table 2.2: Gmc languages and their geographical distribution

LANGUAGE	USED BY A MAJORITY IN
1. English	Great Britain, USA, Canada, Australia etc.
2. German	Germany, Austria, (part of) Switzerland
3. Dutch	The Netherlands, (part of) Belgium
4. Swedish	Sweden, (parts of) Finland
5. Afrikaans	(parts of) South Africa and Namibia
6. Danish	Denmark
7. Norwegian	Norway
8. Frisian	West Friesland (The Netherlands)
9. Yiddish	?
10. Icelandic	Iceland
11. Faroese	Faroe Islands

Table 2.3: The Gmc Dialect Continua in Europe

DIALECT CONTINUA	AREAS SPOKEN
1. Continental Germanic	Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Northern Belgium and (most of) The Netherlands
2. English	most of The British Isles
3. Scandinavian	most of Denmark, Sweden and Norway; parts of Finland
4. Frisian	West Friesland
5. Icelandic	Iceland
6. Faroese	The Faroes

(Two additional very small dialect continua have not been included, viz. *East Frisian* (in Saterland) and *North Frisian* (in Schleswig-Holstein, both in Germany); cf. Henriksen/Auwers 1994, 15f. and Hoekstra/Tiersma 1994, 505ff.)

scended from Dutch and is still very close to Dutch in vocabulary and syntax, so that mutual intelligibility is largely preserved, despite considerable simplifications, particularly in morphology (e. g. loss of grammatical gender in nouns and past-tense forms of verbs; cf. Donaldson 1994, 480).

1.2. The Gmc dialect continua in Europe

A dialect continuum is an area within which neighbours everywhere understand one another's speech. More distant dialects within a continuum need not, however, be mutually comprehensible.

Within the Gmc language area in Europe the Table 2.3 6 dialect continua can be distinguished (again arranged according to number of speakers).

If we relate these dialect continua to the concept of Ausbau languages, the following picture emerges (dialect continua which do not correspond to any particular Ausbau language are italicized).

Table 2.4: Dialect continua and Ausbau languages in Europe

1. <i>Continental Germanic</i>
a. German
b. Dutch
2. English
3. <i>Scandinavian</i>
a. Swedish
b. Danish
c. Norwegian
1) Bokmål
2) Nynorsk
4. Frisian
5. Icelandic
6. Faroese

As can be seen from the table, two of the dialect continua contain more than one Ausbau language, viz. Continental Gmc and Scand. This brings the number of Gmc Ausbau languages within Europe up to 9 or 10, depending upon whether Norw. should be counted as one Ausbau language – *Norw.* – or two – *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk* (cf. e. g. Halvorsen 1997, 47; Askedal 1994, 219f.). This issue will be considered more closely in later sections (e. g. art. 182); at this point we will simply refer to the

official Norw. terminology, where a distinction is made between *språk* ('language') and *målform* ('language form'). According to this distinction, Norw. is one *språk*, while Bokmål and Nynorsk are two different *målforms*. The only linguistic domain where Bokmål and Nynorsk are totally congruent in their present-day shape is in *orthography*, cf. other intra-Scand. purely graphic or orthographic differences like Dan./Norw. *her* : Sw. *här* ('here'); Norw./Sw. *hatt* : Dan. *hat* ('hat') or Dan./Norw. *bakke* : Sw. *backe* ('hill').

1.3. The Gmc Abstand languages

An Abstand language ('language by distance') is a language which is distinct from other languages not for socio-political reasons (cf. Ausbau language), but because of linguistic distance from other languages. Different Abstand languages are thus linguistic codes where mutual intelligibility is excluded. Even different "dialects" of the same "language" in the everyday sense of the word may therefore in certain cases be viewed as Abstand languages, since they may be mutually incomprehensible. This is the case with e. g. the dialects in Upper Dalecarlia in Sweden, which are more or less totally incomprehensible to speakers of other varieties of Sw. (cf. Levander 1925, 46–48). In most cases, however, different dialects will be mutually comprehensible and hence belong to the same Abstand language.

If we now relate the concept of Ausbau language to the previously discussed notions of dialect continuum and Abstand language, we get the following Gmc Abstand languages.

Table 2.5: Gmc Abstand languages in Europe

1. German
2. Dutch
3. English
4. Scandinavian
5. Frisian
6. Icelandic
7. Faroese

By comparing table 2.4 and 2.5, we discover that the two Ausbau languages within the Continental Gmc continuum, German and Dutch, also constitute different Abstand lan-

guages in their standardized varieties, whereas all Scand. standard languages make up just one Abstand language. This conclusion emerges from the fact that speakers of standard German and Dutch never use their respective native languages when communicating (unless the participants have learned the language of their interlocutors as a foreign language), whereas Scandinavians (Danes, Norwegians and Swedes, including Finland Swedes) normally communicate with each other by means of their native languages (cf. Henriksen/Auwera 1994, 3; Vikør 1993, 112ff.). The Scand. areas thus demonstrate that several Ausbau languages within a dialect continuum may constitute just one Abstand language, whereas the Continental Gmc area shows a case where two Ausbau languages within a continuum at the same time are Abstand languages in relation to one another. The number of Abstand and Ausbau languages within a dialect continuum is consequently to a large extent determined by socio-political and historical coincidences.

2. Distinctive linguistic features common to all modern Nordic languages

The primary reason for regarding the Gmc languages as one group is of course primarily historical, because of their common PGmc origin more than two thousand years ago (cf. Haugen 1976, 97ff.). However, even in their modern forms the different Gmc languages exhibit several conspicuous similarities, which are largely due to their common origin but also to some extent to contact between differ-

ent groups in later centuries. In this section we will only discuss the internal relations within the Gmc group, not external relations to non-Gmc languages.

It is not very easy to point out linguistic peculiarities characteristic of *all* Nordic languages and at the same time lacking in the rest of the Gmc area. The following presentation includes both cases where the Nordic feature in question is unique within the Gmc group of languages as well as cases where the Nordic languages exhibit a unique combination of features all of which occur separately also in other Gmc languages. The following survey does not include features from non-standard Scand. dialects (e.g. Jutlandish, which exhibits quite a few contact phenomena with Continental Gmc).

2.1. Phonology

It is hardly possible to find any phonetic or phonemic peculiarity which would fit the definition given above. However, if we look at particular lexical items, there are a couple of common Nordic phonological innovations whose reflexes are still to be found all over the Nordic area, viz. the consistent elimination of initial /j/, and of /w/ before rounded vowels, as can be seen from these examples (cf. Haugen 1976, 154 f.).

2.2. Morphophonology

The consonant *-r* plays a prominent part in the morphology of all Nordic languages, viz. as the most common marker of present tense in verbs and plural in nouns (in Far. and Icel.

Table 2.6: Initial elimination of /j/ and /w/ in Nordic

"West Germanic"			Nordic	
English	Dutch	German	Norwegian	Icelandic
young	jong	jung	ung	ungur
year	jaar	Jahr	år	ár
yoke	juk	Joch	ák	ok
word	woord	Wort	ord	orð
wool	wol	Wolle	ull	ull
wolf	wolf	Wolf	ulv	úlfur
wonder	wonder	Wunder	under	undur

restricted to 2nd and 3rd person singular indicative in verbs and nominative in nouns). It is in this respect similar to the E *-s* (to which it is also genetically related).

This consonant is, on the other hand, practically absent from the morphological system of all other Gmc languages, except in the comparative of adjectives, where it is a general Gmc feature (West Gmc *-er*, Nordic *-ere/-are/-ari*); see Table 2.7.

2.3. Morphology

The most conspicuous common Nordic peculiarity in morphology is probably the suffixed definite article (cf. Vikør 1993, 34f.); see Table 2.8.

Another salient Nordic feature is the morphological so-called mediopassive ending in *-s* or *-st*, which has developed historically from a cliticized reflexive pronoun (cf. Vikør 1993, 35), e. g. Norw. (Bokmål) *han kalles Tjukken* 'he is called Fatty' (original meaning: 'he calls himself Fatty'). In addition, periphrastic passive constructions are also used like in other Gmc languages (e. g. *han blir kalt Tjukken*, which is almost synonymous with the former example).

A couple of morpho-syntactic peculiarities should also be mentioned. In all Nordic lan-

guages, adjectives show agreement in gender and number not only in (a) attributive position (like in Continental Gmc and Frisian), but also (b) as a predicative; e. g. Sw.:

- (a) en *stor* bil (common gender) : ett *stort* hus (neuter) : *stora* bilar/hus ('a big car, a big house, big cars/houses')
- (b) bilen är *stor* : huset är *stort* : bilarna/husen är *stora* ('the car is big : the house is big : the cars/houses are big')

Another distinctive common Nordic morpho-syntactic feature is the preservation of the old Indo-European distinction of reflexive and non-reflexive possessive pronouns in the 3rd person, a distinction which has been lost in all other Gmc languages (cf. Haugen 1976, 78); cf. Sw. *hon tog sin/hennes hatt*; Icel. *hún tók hattinn sinn/hennar* ('she took her (own)/her (somebody else's) hat').

2.4. Syntax

A common Nordic feature shared with the Continental Gmc languages (and Frisian) is the V2 principle, i. e. the obligatory placement of the finite verb as the second constituent in declarative sentences, as opposed to the ModE more or less dominant SV pattern (cf. König 1994, 553f.; Haugen 1976, 83f.; Nordic is re-

Table 2.7: The Nordic/E *r/s* correspondences

Swedish	Danish	Icelandic	English
kastar	kaster	kastar	'throws'
köper	køber	kaupir	'buys'
biter	bider	bítur	'bites'
backar	bakker	bakkar	'hills'
gäster	gæster	gestir	'guests'
visor	viser	vísur	'tunes'

Table 2.8: The definite article

"West Germanic"			Nordic	
English	Dutch	German	Scandinavian	Icelandic
the hat	de hoed	der Hut	hatten	hatturinn
the mouse	de muis	die Maus	musen/-a	músin
the house	het huis	das Haus	huset	húsið

presented by Sw. and Continental Gmc by G in tables 2.9 and 2.10).

The dominant VO pattern is, on the other hand, a Nordic feature shared with E, as opposed to the frequent OV structures in Continental Gmc (including Afrikaans and Frisian; cf. Eisenberg 1994, 381 ff.; De Schutter 1994, 466; Donaldson 1994, 499; Hoekstra/Tiersma 1994, 522f.).

3. Internal relations within the Nordic language group

The term “Nordic languages” suggests that they constitute a well-defined entity within the Gmc group. However, as can be deduced from

the absence of this term in the tables 2.1–2.5, this is not self-evident from a strictly synchronic point of view, despite their undeniable AN unity up to about 500 A.D. Tables 2.4 and 2.5 show that the Nordic languages today are distributed over three different dialect continua and three different Abstand languages and five or six different Ausbau languages.

The division into three dialect continua/Abstand languages is, of course, the linguistic consequence of the emigration – mainly from Western Norway – to the Faroe Islands and Iceland in the 9th and 10th centuries (Baldur Jónsson 1997, 162f.; Poulsen 1997, 179). However, by the time of the emigration from Norway some minor dialect differences were already appearing within the AN dialect con-

Table 2.9: V2 and SV pattern

	S	V	A
Nordic	han	kommer	där
	A	V	S
	där	kommer	han
	S	V	A
Continental Gmc	er	kommt	da
	A	V	S
	da	kommt	er
English:	S	V	A
	he	comes	there
	A	S	V
	there	he	comes

Table 2.10: VO and OV pattern

		V fin.	V inf.	O
Nordic: han (jag vet att)	har	sett	huset	
English: (I know that)	han	har	sett	huset
	he	has	seen	the house
	he	has	seen	the house
Cont. Gmc (ich weiß, dass)	er	V fin hat	O das Haus	V inf gesehen
	er	O das Haus	V inf. gesehen	V fin. hat

tinuum, dividing the western part (\approx Norway) from eastern (\approx Denmark and Sweden; cf. Haugen 1976, 198 ff.). In accordance with the standard model for showing genetic linguistic relationships, the so-called Stammbaum model, the relations within the Nordic branch of the Gmc language family tree can be represented in this way.

As an illustration of the linguistic similarities and differences between the modern Nordic languages, this model of course is highly misleading, since it suggests a closer relationship between the three “WN” Abstand languages than within the Scand. dialect continuum. A different model, which is explicitly dedicated

to the classification of the non-standard dialects, is presented in Bandle 1973.

A more adequate way of describing the development and present state of the Nordic standard languages emerges from the application of the so-called wave model, where successive linguistic innovations are thought of as waves on a water surface (in the following table represented as vertical lines; cf. Norde 1997, 11 ff.).

This model suggests that the rather insignificant east-west differences during the Viking Age were superseded by a more fundamental north-south division later during the Middle Ages, which in turn was supplemented some

Table 2.11: Nordic languages according to the Stammbaum model

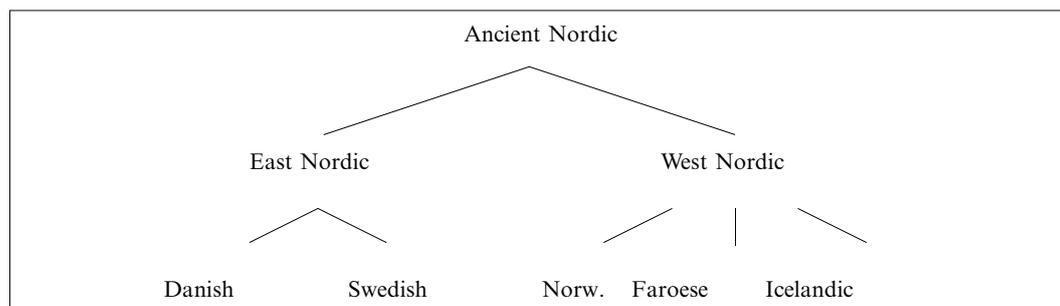


Table 2.12: A synchronic classification of Nordic languages at different stages

Stage 1: The Viking Age (from ca. 800 A. D.)

West Nordic	East Nordic
(Norwegian)	(Swedish and Danish)

Stage 2: Late medieval times (from ca. 1200 A. D.)

North Nordic		South Nordic
Norwegian (Faroese, Icelandic)	Swedish	(= Danish)

Stage 3: Modern times (after ca. 1500 A. D.)

Insular Nordic		Scandinavian		
Icelandic	Faroese	North Scand.		South Scand.
		Norw.	Swed.	Danish

centuries later by an even deeper split between the insular emigrant languages and Scand. (the number of vertical lines between each language is supposed to give an indication of their linguistic difference).

The most salient feature of the old east-west split was the monophthongization in EN, which is still reflected in several phonemic contrasts in specific lexemes between the modern Nordic languages (cf. Haugen 1976, 200f.).

One important effect of the second split is still reflected in the morphophonology of the modern languages, viz. the South Nordic (= Dan.) reduction of all unstressed vowels. This is why Dan., like all Gmc languages outside Nordic (and Swiss German dialects), exhibits only the reduced vowel ([ə]) in grammatical endings as opposed to a contrast between at least two (normally /e/ and /a/) or three (/e, i/, /u, o/ and /a/) different vowels in the rest of the Nordic area (cf. Vikør 1993, 37).

Despite these and other differences reminiscent of splits at stage 1 and 2 within the Nordic area, the main division between the modern Nordic languages should be the one indicated for stage 3 above; cf. Table 2.4. Dialect continua and Ausbau languages in Europe, where Icel. and Far. are represented as dialect continua of their own, whereas Dan., Norw. and Sw. are all part of one and the same continuum (cf. Løland 1997, 20ff.).

3.1. Common Insular Nordic features and special Icel. archaisms

From a modern point of view, the structural peculiarity of the Insular Nordic languages can be said to consist of a combination of the Nordic type of word order (cf. 2.4) with a German type of morphology. This means that Insular Nordic as well as German has an inflectional system with several *cases* in nominals – four in Icel. (nominative, accusative, dative and genitive); three in Far. (genitive only in written usage; cf. Lockwood 1964, 28) – agreement with the subject in number and person for verbs, and subjunctive mood (mainly Icel.), whereas Scand. has no case inflection except for some relics in personal pronouns (cf. also E *I – me* etc.), and no agreement in verbs and no subjunctive mood.

Historically, this means that the Insular Nordic languages (esp. Icel.) have remained closer to the Old Norse stage, whereas the Scand. group has moved in a “general West European” direction.

An archaic syntactic feature found only in Icel. among modern Gmc languages is the presence of certain so-called impersonal constructions, viz. sentences without any nominal element in the nominative case (1) or without any nominal element at all (2) (cf. Braunmüller 1998, 176):

- (1) *mig* (1 sg.acc.) *vantar* (3 sg.) *peninga* (acc.pl.) = ‘I lack money’
- (2) *nú rignir* ‘now it rains’; cf. art. 108.

Table 2.13: Reduced vs. “full” vowels in grammatical endings

Icelandic	Faroese	Norwegian (Nynorsk)	Swedish	Danish	English
Plural of nouns (<i>nominative</i> in Icel. and Far.)					
bakkar	bakkar	bakkar	backar	bakker	‘hills’
gestir	gestir	gjester	gäster	gæster	‘guests’
vísur	vísur	viser	visor	viser	‘tunes’
Present tense of verbs (3 <i>sg.</i> in Icel. and Far.)					
kastar	kastar	kastar	kastar	kaster	‘throws’
sendir	sendir	sender	sänder	sender	‘sends’
bítur	bítur	bit	biter	bider	‘bites’

Table 2.14: Consonantal differences between North and South Scand.

Danish	Swedish	Norwegian (Bokmål)	English
gade /ga:ðe/	gata /gɑ:ta/	gate /gɑ:te/	'street'
lækker /læɡø/	läcker /læker/	lekker /leker/	'delicious'
lægger /læɡø/	lägger /læger/	legger /leger/	'lays' (pres.)
ryk /røɡ/	ryck /ryk/	rykk /ryk/	'pull'
ryg /røɡ/	rygg /ryg/	rygg /ryg/	'back'

Icel., although less conservative in phonology than in morphology and syntax, also exhibits some conservative phonological features not found in other Gmc languages; e. g. the phonemic contrast between initial /hl/, /hn/ and /hr/ versus /l/, /n/ and /r/; e. g. *hlaupa*, *hnakki*, *hringur* (cf. E *leap*, *neck*, *ring*) : *laus*, *nasir*, *riða* (cf. E *loose*, *nose*, *ride*). Also the contrast between the phonemes /θ/ and /t/ has been neutralized in all other Nordic languages (but not in E; cf. *thin* : *tin*): Icel. *þak* ('roof') : *tak* ('grasp', noun) = Far./Norw. *tak-tak*, Sw. *tak-tag*, Dan. *tag-tag*.

3.2. Common Scand. features and Dan. versus "North Scand." (= Norw. and Sw.)

All the Scand. languages are, generally speaking, very similar with respect to syntax and morphology. Lexical differences are also rather moderate, Dan. and Norw. Bokmål being the closest relatives as far as vocabulary is concerned.

Phonologically, however, Dan. differs sharply from Norw. and Sw., which in turn exhibit several "North Scand." similarities (cf. Braunmüller 1998, 24 and 60). One salient prosodic difference is the tonal accent in the Northern group as opposed to the so-called *stød* in Dan., which is although in general agreeing in function similar to a glottal stop (cf. Braunmüller 1998, 76ff; Kristensen 1986, 48ff; Mårtensson/Fjeldstad 1982, 50ff; Lundebj 1973, 72ff); e. g. Sw. *anden* (accent 1, 'the duck') : *anden* (accent 2, 'the spirit'); Dan. *ånden* (*stød*, 'the spirit') : *ånden* (no *stød*, 'the breath'). Both tonal accent and *stød* are exclusive Scand. features within Gmc; neither is ever indicated in standard orthography.

Segmental quantity in the North and South is also different, Dan. always lacking phonetic

length in consonants, like most of the Gmc languages, whereas consonants in North Scand. as well as in Insular Nordic usually are somewhat longer after short than after long vowels (cf. Braunmüller 1998, 29ff).

On the segmental phonological level, there are also significant qualitative differences both in vowels and consonants between the North and South. A characteristic feature of the North Scand. vowel system is the presence of two high front rounded vowels, /y/ : /ʉ/ or /u/ (cf. Askedal 1994, 221f.; Andersson 1994, 272), as opposed to Dan. with just one high front rounded vowel, /y/ (cf. Kristensen 1986, 20f); e. g. Norw./Swed. /ly:s/, /lʉ:s/ : Dan. /ly:s/, /lu:s/ ('light, louse').

In the consonant system, two conspicuous differences are the absence of the phoneme /ð/ in North Scand. and the lack of contrast between voiced and unvoiced stops in medial and final position in Dan.; cf. these examples.

So-called retroflex consonants are also dominant within North Scand. but entirely absent in Dan., whereas uvular *r* is general in Mod. Dan. but restricted to the southern part of Sweden and the southern and western part of Norway (cf. Chambers/Trudgill 1980, 187ff.).

4. Language contact and mutual intelligibility within the Gmc language area

The similarity between the different branches of Gmc has been noted by people since medieval times. However, it is not entirely clear to what extent the relatedness of these languages has made it possible at any time since their initial split more than two millennia ago for speakers of e. g. a Nordic language to communicate by means of the native tongue with speakers of other Gmc languages (cf. Jahr

1995, 18ff.). At the present time this is obviously not the case; communication with people from outside the Nordic area today normally is conducted through the medium of E. E is also the preferred intra-Nordic lingua franca for most younger native speakers of Icel., whereas Far. speak Dan. with Scandinavians.

However, there are two historical periods during which one would suspect that some kind of semicommunication may have taken place on a fairly large scale between Gmc languages across the Nordic/non-Nordic borderline. This contact has also left its distinctive impact on the modern descendants of two of the languages involved, i. e. E and Scand.

4.1. Nordic influence on OE

The first period runs from the inception of the Viking raids in the British Isles before the year 800 up to some time after the Norman conquest in 1066. The considerable number of Nordic loanwords in Mod. standard E and even more so in North Eastern British dialects testifies very convincingly to an intense linguistic contact between the native Anglo-Saxon population and a probably rather numerous population of Nordic-speaking immigrants (cf. Nielsen 1998, 165ff.). By the end of the contact period, there is good reason to believe that this linguistic borrowing may have facilitated mutual intelligibility between the languages to a considerable degree.

The number of Scand. loanwords in Mod. standard E is estimated at 600–900; if dialect words are included, another 600 may be added to this figure (cf. Nielsen 1998, 181f.), which may not seem very high. However, one should remember that these borrowings comprise parts of the core vocabulary of nouns, adjectives and verbs, and even grammatical words like pronouns (*they, them*), prepositions (*till*), conjunctions (*though*) and auxiliaries (*am* and *are*). It is evident that ModE seems “less foreign” to Nordic-speaking people today because of these Scand. borrowings, just as it has become “more foreign” due to the later (and much stronger) Norman Fr. influence (cf. art. 115).

4.2. Low German influence on Scand.

The second period during which there was extensive oral communication between Gmc languages across the Nordic/non-Nordic borderline, is particularly the last three centuries of

the Middle Ages, when the Hanseatic league reached its peak of power. This contact took place mainly within Scandinavia itself, and primarily in the towns where the Hanseatic merchants had their trade stations, i. e. in places like Bergen, Stockholm and Visby. This contact with Low German has left a much deeper impact on all modern Scand. languages than the aforementioned influence by Scand. ever exerted on E. Loanwords of German (primarily Low German) provenance run into several thousands, accounting for perhaps between one third and one half of the everyday vocabulary (cf. Jahr 1995, 10). It is no exaggeration to say that most sentences in any modern Scand. language will contain several lexical items from Low German, and it is possible to create quite natural sentences where everything except the morphology and a few grammatical words is borrowed from Low German, e. g. (lexical items inherited from Old Nordic are italicized both in the original and in the literal translation; the sentence is taken from Hødnebo 1971, 41) Norw. (Bokmål): Skredderen tenkte *at* trøya passet fortreffelig, men kunden klaget *og* mente *at* plagget var kort *og* tøyet simpelt *og* grovt.

[Tailor-the thought *that* jacket-the fitted perfectly, but customer-the complained *and* meant *that* garment-the was short *and* material-the unsophisticated *and* coarse.]

Many of the most frequent derivational affixes in Mod. Scand. are also borrowings from Low German, e. g. prefixes like *an-*, *be-*, *er-*, *för-/for-* and suffixes like *-else* and *-het/-hed*, the last of which is still very productive in all Scand. languages.

There is no doubt that the Low German influence on the Scand. languages has been tremendous as far as lexical items and derivations are concerned. Whether this contact with Low German is also responsible for the major changes from Old Nordic to Mod. Scand. in morphology and syntax is less obvious. At any rate, there are few examples of transfer of Low German inflectional elements or syntactic patterns into Scand., the most salient of which is probably the so-called *garpegenitiv* in Norw. (i. e. constructions with resumptive possessive pronouns instead of genitive; e. g. Du. *Jan z'n huis* = Norw. *Jon sitt hus* (John's house'; cf. Norde 1997, 55ff.). It has been suggested, however, that the extensive morphological simplification of Scand. has also been induced by contact with Low German (cf. Jahr 1995, 11ff. and art. 115 and 135).

4.3. The present situation

Unfortunately, we have no reliable record of how communication with non-Nordic speakers was conducted in earlier centuries. It has been assumed, however, that there must have been some kind of semicommunication, with extensive use of convergent strategies, which eventually led to the permanent adoption in the vernacular of linguistic elements from the “superior” immigrant language (i. e. Nordic in the British Isles, Low German in Scandinavia; cf. references in 4.2.).

As mentioned above, speakers of Nordic languages today never rely on mutual comprehensibility when communicating with speakers of other Gmc languages if a lingua franca is at their disposal. Linguistic distance is, of course, very hard to measure in any objective way, but it seems reasonable to assume that there is a close connexion between linguis-

tic proximity and ease of learning as a foreign language. Because of the extensive use and knowledge of E today, people in the Nordic countries nowadays probably tend to regard E as being closer to Nordic than any other languages. However, this can hardly be true, particularly if we confine our scope to the Scand. branch. It is well known among teachers of Scand. as foreign languages that speakers of Continental Gmc (Dutch and German), other things being equal, reach a higher level of proficiency with less effort than speakers of other foreign languages, including E. This is no doubt mainly a result of the influence from Hanseatic German, which has led to a very high degree of lexical correspondence between Scand. and Continental Gmc. As a consequence of this, it is probably true to say that the Mod. Scand. languages are closer to

Table 2.15: Inherited words in some Nordic and West Gmc languages

Nordic		West Germanic		
<i>Insular Nordic Icelandic</i>	<i>Scandinavian Swedish</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	<i>Continental Germanic German</i>	<i>English</i>
heyra /hei:ra/	höra /hø:ra/	horen /ho:ren/	hören /hø:ren/	hear /hi:r/
auga /øy:ya/	öga /ø:ga/	oog /o:χ/	Auge /auge/	eye /ai/
dagur /da:yur/	dag /da:g/	dag /daχ/	Tag /ta:k/	day /dei/

Table 2.16: Foreign words in some Nordic and West Gmc languages

Nordic		West Germanic		
<i>Insular Nordic Icelandic</i>	<i>Scandinavian Swedish</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	<i>Continental Germanic German</i>	<i>English</i>
(þjóðlegur) (/ʰjəu:ðleɣɣr/)	national /naɦw'na:l/	nationaal /natsjə'na:l/	national /natsjə'na:l	national /ˈnæfɪnəl/
(andlag) (ˈandla:ɣ/)	objekt /əb'jekt/	object /əb'jekt/	Objekt /əb'jekt/	object /ˈəbɔdʒekt/
(fall) (/fadl/)	kasus /ˈka:səs/	casus /ˈka:sys/	Kasus /ˈka:zus/	case /keis/
(sálfræði) (/ˈsau:lfrai:ði/)	psykologi /sykølø'gi:/	psychologie /siχəlø'ɣi:/	Psychologie /sikəlø'gi:/	psychology /sai'kələdʒi/

Dutch and German than to Icel., as far as vocabulary and word formation are concerned.

However, phonological and phonetic factors probably also play an important part in establishing a feeling of proximity between Continental Gmc and Nordic, particularly Scand. This can be seen from a comparison of e. g. some common inherited lexical items in Nordic and West Gmc (examples given in orthographic and phonemic transcription).

More important, however, than the similarities in the common Gmc vocabulary are probably the phonological correspondences in the common borrowed vocabulary from Latin and Greek, where the phonetic similarity between Scandinavian and Continental Gmc is even more conspicuous (all the Icel. terms are native neologisms and therefore, of course, completely different).

There can be little doubt that the Scand. and Continental Gmc forms of these and numerous other borrowed items are much more closely related phonetically than the etymologically corresponding, but phonetically far more deviant E forms (and, of course, entirely different from the puristic Icel. neologisms). There is, therefore, good reason to assume that correspondences in this part of the vocabulary are a significant factor in establishing the aforementioned feeling of proximity between Continental Gmc and Scand.

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3. Diachrony and synchrony in Nordic language history

1. Introductory remarks. Ferdinand de Saussure
2. Saussure and modern linguistics
3. Language history and synchronic methods
4. Conclusion
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introductory remarks. Ferdinand de Saussure

As everybody interested in linguistics knows, the dichotomy between diachronic and synchronic methods has dominated large parts of 20th century linguistics. Ever since Saussure (1916) there have been lively discussions on which of the two methods is most adequate and in which connections.

After half a century of neogrammarian traditions with their diachronic oneness (Paul 1880), Saussure's theory was felt quite revolutionary and it had profound consequences, probably the most serious of which was the establishment of structuralism. As is well-known, Saussure distinguishes (among other things) between *langue* and *parole* and between synchronic and diachronic points of view, *langue* meaning the abstract system of a language behind the concrete realisation of it in individual speech; the synchronic view focuses on the more or less static system and the interrelations between its members, "où tout se tient", while the diachronic view is primarily interested in the development over time of individual linguistic phenomena. The connection between the two dichotomies is that the synchronic view is concerned with *langue* (system), the diachronic with *parole*. Although Saussure was aware that both points of view could be applied to the study of language (in the form of static vs. evolutionary linguistics), it is obvious that he gives priority to the synchronic view/method. He maintains (at that time with full justification) that synchrony has been totally neglected in modern linguistics and that – as a consequence of that – the linguist must ignore diachrony in order to understand a language's static condition. There is no connection between the two methods; a diachronic phenomenon is an isolated event not related to systems, and its impact on the system is more or less accidental.

Because of his emphasis on synchronic linguistics, Saussure has for a long time been identified with this method, so he has often –

although not quite justifiably so – been considered the father of European and even American structuralism. As is well-known, modern linguistics is widely dominated by synchronic or even structuralist methods and in consequence, historical linguistics has for quite a long time and in many language areas been thrust into the background. Saussure's standpoint, the devaluation of diachronic linguistics, was quite extreme, but at that time, in the midst of well-established historical-neogrammarian traditions, it must have been felt as something refreshingly new and inspiring, so it is easy to understand how he won many followers – not least since his theories got support from American structuralism. Thus it was a long time before historical linguistics experienced a revival and again competed with structuralism and other synchronic methods.

In Nordic linguistics the problem of synchrony vs. diachrony has been acute as a consequence of general methodological developments, but with quite different manifestations in the different Scandinavian countries. In Denmark, structuralism had a comparatively early breakthrough (especially in the form of glossematics, but also other, more moderate methods such as Diderichsen's) and has also been relatively long-lived, while Sweden and Norway only took it up several years after the 2nd World War and Iceland even later.

2. Saussure and modern linguistics

As will be shown in art. 6, before Saussure and structuralism some approaches to synchrony had already been made in historical linguistics, not only in a German standard work like Paul (1916–20), but also in the pioneering work of the Swedish "neogrammarian" Adolf Noreen (1903–24). But on the whole, works on Swedish language history and also dialectology followed a purely diachronic line right up to recent times. Even in Danish linguistics, which otherwise was dominated by structuralism to an especially high degree, such a well-known handbook as Brøndum-Nielsen (1928–73) is so traditional in method that it could be called a relic of a distant past (Haugen/Markey 1972), and in Sweden such a "classical" work as Wessén (1941–56) is actually, in spite of its title, a pure historical grammar in a neogrammarian style,

without any structural viewpoints or embedding in a sociocultural context.

But especially during the last twenty to thirty years, new theories and methods have been introduced also in Nordic linguistics; linguists have both discussed and applied new points of view and methods. Besides structuralism, other branches of “modern linguistics” have also been practised and the synchronic approach has become dominant. Hovdhaugen et al. (2000) draw a border-line around 1965 for the breakthrough of synchronic methods in Scandinavian linguistics, a breakthrough which at that time implied a new interest in general and theoretical linguistics, and the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s may to some extent be considered the heyday of modern linguistics also in Scandinavia. But at nearly the same time, it became obvious to many scholars that synchronic method on its own cannot meet all demands for linguistic knowledge in general and for language history in particular.

Criticism was therefore raised comparatively early against Saussure’s dichotomy and one-sided emphasis on synchrony. From the many examples I shall only mention here Coseriu (1974), who points out explicitly that Saussure’s rigorous contrasting of the two points of view is wrong, that on the one hand sound change is also system-bound, while on the other hand the grammatical system is also dynamic, that language changes and develops all the time and that it always changes as a system: the dichotomy of synchrony vs. diachrony is simply a matter of perspective. As in other European and even American linguistics, diachrony has therefore to some degree experienced a revival, and the trend has – to some extent – turned again from descriptive to historical linguistics, from abstract to concrete, from competence- to performance-based linguistics, from theory to empirical studies. Starting in the 1980s, we may thus reckon with new diachronic approaches in Scandinavian linguistics as well, a typical example being Sweden, where periodic conferences on *Svensk språkhistoria* were started in 1987 by Ulf Teleman, who had begun his academic career as generativist. But at the same time it is obvious that there can be no question of simply returning to the good old neo-grammarians traditions. The manifold theories and methods of modern linguistics have not been advanced for nothing, and our problem is therefore how to combine them with – more or less traditional – historical linguistics.

The motivation for combining these approaches does not need to be given in detail. Some critical points will be mentioned later on, here only what seems to me the main point, will be emphasized. Language is a human characteristic, to speak (and write) is a human activity, and therefore it is wrong to treat language as a sort of mathematics (as glossematics does). To be sure, it is right what has been said about studying language systems is correct: that only by looking at the system do the mutual relations among the individual elements really become perceptible; but only by putting them in relation to human beings and human existence can we learn something about man and his historical and socio-cultural conditions; in so far also historical stages of language are worthwhile analysing and not only present-day language which many of the modern methods are preoccupied with. Only diachronic linguistics provides us with access to language in a historical and socio-cultural context, which is one of the principal aims of language history. On a more general level: it is only through diachronic linguistics that we are able to learn something about how a language lives, how it changes and how it functions in different variants. What Vennemann (1976) says, may be correct: that empirical language study needs control by theory, but the relations between theory and practice should be mutual; theories alone have failed as often as purely empirical studies.

3. Language history and synchronic methods

But how can diachronic and synchronic linguistics be combined in the practice of writing language history? That diachronic facts can throw light on synchronic problems and vice-versa is obvious and has often been demonstrated since Gilliéron (1915–21) made his pioneering studies of French dialect words. Some examples from the Nordic languages may suffice here. As quite a simple example we can mention the irregular dat.sg. *hendi* of the fem. Old Nordic noun *hönd*: the form in *-i* and with umlaut goes back to the *u*-declension, which the word originally belonged to. More complicated are the interrelations between syncope, umlaut and breaking in Proto-Nordic: it may be quite obvious that breaking is a sort of umlaut, but what is the internal connection between umlaut and the loss of a final *-i* (etc.), which occur more or less simul-

taneously? Here a synchronic explanation may help us: the sound change $a > e$ etc. is probably earlier than the loss of the final vowel, but it was not marked before the new vowel became a phoneme because of this loss. Still more complicated is the interplay of diachrony and synchrony against the background of socio-cultural developments in the case of noun declension. As is well-known, the four cases of Old Nordic were reduced to two in the course of more recent developments, with a basic form and an agglutinated genitive in *-s*. This is one feature in the dominant tendency of deflexion, which in its turn is to be seen in the light of interplay with the development of a more fixed word order and increasing use of prepositions. This development in its turn is a part of the more general development from synthetic to analytic language structure and its socio-cultural context: the general evolution of European languages and German influence in particular.

3.1. The interplay between diachronic and synchronic linguistics

Explanations of synchronic problems using diachrony and of diachronic features using synchrony in individual cases is one thing, but it is quite another thing to incorporate synchronic aspects and/or methods into historical linguistics on a larger scale. Here there are several different possibilities for doing this, but until now these have only to a limited extent been tested in Nordic linguistics.

One of these possibilities is simply to utilize both historical description and the description of specific modern and historical language stages in mutual interplay, in other words, to alternate between diachronic, longitudinal sections and synchronic cross-sections for certain periods. To be sure, the description may be concentrated on these cross-sections, but this would only be practicable in the form of a tight sequence of cross-sections, e. g. at perhaps 200 years' intervals. Indeed some scholars like Coseriu (1974) tend to use such a method, but most language historians prefer, in some form or another, the combination of cross- and longitudinal sections, the exclusive concentration on a long chain of more or less abstract systems being difficult to carry out in practice.

Some sort of a combination of diachronic and synchronic linguistics had already been practised in the early days of historical linguistics, not only by its founders such as Rask or Jacob Grimm, but also e. g. by Rydqvist

(1850–83), the founder of Swedish historical linguistics. While systematic aspects were widely neglected after that and then, in the era of structuralism, the historical dimension was no longer felt to be up-to-date – with the exception of the Prague-School –, most representatives of recent linguistics have emphasized the importance of some synthesis of diachrony and synchrony, although in many cases without any concrete directions for how to put this into practice. In this connection, not only comparative but also contrastive aspects may be emphasized: different methods may be used for contrastive analyses – taxonomic, generative-transformational, as several linguists have recommended, or just simpler methods of comparison – but anyway, the comparative-contrastive aspect is of special importance in a language history, which comprises five-six different languages developed in parallel. Munske (1972) is perfectly right in pointing out the importance of a “multilateral contrastive linguistics”.

I shall not, however, go into these problems, but instead point to the preconditions for combining diachrony and synchrony, historical and descriptive linguistics as formulated above: periodization and its terminology. Every language historian aiming at an alternation between the two aspects has to decide what sort of periods to use in describing synchronic cross-sections and how to define the periods in between. Naturally, views on how Nordic language history should be divided into periods diverge quite a lot, not least because of the different patterns used: whether they are comprehensively Nordic or confined to one national language's history. A typical example involves the different periods in Haugen (1976) and Skautrup (1944–70), the former being a history of all the Nordic languages, the latter a detailed, minute history of a single national language, the former comprising five periods (Proto-, Common-, Old-, Middle and Modern Scandinavian), the latter no less than nine. As many linguists have pointed out, we must also be aware that every division into periods is to some extent arbitrary; there are no real borderlines between periods, and treating different chronological stages of language in different sections means abstraction to some degree. The divisions in this handbook are not quite consequent as regards their criteria: some of the periods are more or less clearly defined by language structures (Proto-Nordic, Old Nordic, Modern Nordic), others rest on important changes

(Early Modern Nordic, 19th century, Modern Nordic from 1900). There are also problems surrounding the terminology for the periods, e. g. the periods of Danish parallel to Old Nordic in the other languages, according to the most important handbooks (Brøndum-Nielsen, Skautrup): Olddansk (Runedansk), Middeldansk (beginning long before the “middle” period of the other languages), with Gammeldansk in different meanings.

An alternation between “static” periods and “dynamic” historical development in between is not necessarily bound to one specific method. Also more or less traditional methods can give valuable results (as can be seen in several previous Scandinavian language histories); in particular, the diachronic sections may be described in a rather traditional way, while in the systematic cross-sections a structuralist or even generative-transformational disposition may be more important. A more essential question is whether such a synthesis should be given in a purely internal-linguistic framework or consider also external, socio-cultural circumstances. In the former case, we would achieve what Germans call a *Systemgeschichte* (‘history of linguistic structure’, also called ‘structural diachrony’ or ‘synchronic diachrony’, cf. Jäger 1984), in the latter, what I would call a real language history. In Nordic historical linguistics both patterns have been realized: the former not only in many more or less traditional works, but also in a relatively recent book like Haugen (1982), the latter e. g. in a standard work like Skautrup (1944–70), but to some extent also in Haugen (1976). The present handbook aims at covering all the aspects mentioned here: a combination of longitudinal and cross-sectional descriptions with references in every imaginable direction: from diachronical accounts to previous and following systems, from synchronic systems to preceding (and subsequent) developments, and from internal linguistic facts to external, non-linguistic conditions. It goes without saying that such a pluralist view also implies a combination of more or less traditional, newer synchronic and recent linguistic methods.

3.2. Language history and modern theory

During the last few decades different attempts have been made to modernize Nordic language history in the sense of integrating modern theories and methods into the historical framework. As examples, I shall only mention

J. T. Faarlund (e. g. 1990), who combines historical method with modern syntactic theory, – B. Pamp (1971), who on the whole keeps to traditional diachronic methods, but uses a strictly systematic-phonemic pattern in the history of phonology, – Ch. Platzack, who to begin with carried out several studies in modern formalized variational linguistics and now is the chief Swedish representative of generative grammar with a historical perspective (see his own art. 19).

I shall not, however, go into these studies, but instead concentrate on the question of how some of the primarily synchronic methods which have enjoyed special attention during recent times may be used in historical Nordic linguistics.

3.3. Language history and modern methods

One of the most extensively discussed of the methods which are primarily synchronic (or panchronic), but which have also been applied to historical linguistics, is generative-transformational grammar. When it made its breakthrough, via Chomsky around 1960, it was purely synchronic, being essentially an abstract theory of language as a logical procedure from deep structure to surface structure, but in the course of the 60s some of the generativists began to claim to be able to apply this method also to historical linguistics – in spite of the fact that its shortcoming right from the beginning involved a contradiction between theory and reality: Generative grammar always operates with an ideal speaker who stands outside historical and social conditions, and thus it misses an essential dimension of linguistic reality, moreover: it fails to explain language change at a deeper level, the deep structure always remaining invariable. As a point of departure for historical generative grammar, King (1969) may be considered, whose chief argument consists of certain rules or rule categories, which he maintains to be general: rule addition, loss of rules, restructuring and generalization of rules. King pays special attention to children’s language acquisition and draws from it certain far-reaching conclusions as regards language change, conclusions which right from the beginning met severe criticism. The following objections may be raised against King and other generativists: (1) Rules may be logically suitable, but to take them without reservation to be historical – it is wrong, – (2) Among others Sigurd (1966) points out in 1966, synchronic rules *can* reflect

the chronology of innovations, but if they do, it is a mere coincidence, – (3) King's assertion that historical changes correspond to children's general tendency for rule generalization goes too far: children's processes of language acquisition are much more complicated, and King's argument is too simple.

The generativists' historical ambitions are not wrong in themselves. Labov (1966) showed that generative formalized method may throw light upon sociolinguistics' historical dimension and Lightfoot (1979) and others, not least Platzack and his disciples, who apply generative theory to historical linguistics, are certainly more convincing, but the basic contradiction between the ideal speaker and historical reality remains, so generative grammar's "explanatory force" is not as strong as Ralph (1972) proclaimed. The generative theory and method may be worth taking into consideration in certain cases in Nordic language history too, but it must be practised with care and a critical eye.

Another branch of modern linguistics which has attained considerable attention in recent times is pragmatics, which has its origin in the 1960/70s, when generative grammar became less popular (German scholars speak of "die pragmatische Wende" in the 1970s). It deals with several different aspects of language, the common basis of them being the study of language usage, with special reference to communication. Two aspects may be of special interest to the language historian: (1) speech act theory and discourse analysis, – (2) theory and history of the types of text. Both aspects are performance-oriented and, as in generative grammar, the methodological approaches were originally purely synchronic or theoretical, but in spite of difficult source problems, there has been an increasing historical interest in this branch during the last twenty years, so that today we can speak of historical pragmatics which is at least in the making. Needless to say, it is not yet applicable in a general survey of language history; although Jan Svensson has published a *Kommunikationshistoria* (1988) and the German specialist Cherubim (1984) has formulated a comprehensive programme for pragmatic studies, research work in general has been restricted to single problems until now: it is too difficult to trace all the situational contexts which can have played a part in the course of time. To be sure, there might be speech situations from earlier times which are relatively easy to get grip on (e. g. polite address), but

it is easy to see why historical pragmatics still has had only limited results.

What might achieve better results is the history of types of text which is situated in between pragmatics and text linguistics, a field that by now is relatively well established in Nordic linguistics (e. g. in Denmark), but where there is still a lot to be done – at least if we take "types of text" in the widest sense, comprising morphology and syntax, vocabulary, metaphors, rhetorical devices, text constitution etc. and if we consider both written and colloquial texts.

Research on texts and text types based on cultural and social history has some aspects in common with sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistics can be considered the most important branch of modern linguistics, but here again we meet the problem of the relations between synchronic and diachronic aspects. As is generally known, the origins of modern sociolinguistics lie in synchronic linguistics, but earlier linguists were also aware of language's social dimensions without knowing much about a sociolinguistic theory. To be sure, it has also in more recent times been claimed that historical sociolinguistics – due to deficient sources – has only limited possibilities and that researchers should thus concentrate on the 19/20th centuries, but not least Nordic linguistics has produced examples of language histories – such as Skautrup (1944–70) or Haugen (1976) – which to a considerable extent consider social stratification.

As a great number of Swedish, Norwegian and Danish studies show, sociolinguistics is today a very well-established branch of Nordic linguistics, and therefore there are several chapters on it in this handbook. It is for the most part concentrated on the modern languages and dialects, but that scholars are well aware of sociolinguistics' historical dimension is at least testified by several studies on the sociolinguistic development in certain places (or areas) in the recent past (cf. e. g. Steinsholt 1972). No doubt, Nordic sociolinguistics will in the long run not neglect older times and, in a wider context, it is to be hoped that more studies will be carried out which – like Karker (1993) – can be characterized as a "sprogets kulturhistorie".

4. Conclusion

As has been pointed out on several occasions (e. g. in *Brytpunkt* 2000), Nordic linguistics has for a long time relied on more or less tra-

ditional methods. For longer than in other language areas, it has been dominated by diachronic approaches; with the exception of Danish linguistics, the historical aspect has been overwhelmingly strong. During the last few decades, however, most theories and methods of modern linguistics have been introduced in the Nordic countries and synchrony has been fully accepted. But nearly at the same time, there has been a revival of interest in the historical dimension, and thus the dichotomy between diachrony and synchrony has, on a new level, achieved some sort of a balance.

According to that state of affairs the concept of this handbook is made.

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4. Previous attempts at establishing periods in Nordic language history

1. Preliminaries
2. Histories of Nordic
3. The relationship between Germanic and Nordic
4. Tribal migration and syncopation
5. The term Old Norse
6. A middle period?
7. The Black Death
8. The Modern Period
9. Literature (a selection)

1. Preliminaries

In the historiography of the Nordic languages, there are four works which explicitly state in their titles that their subject is the whole Nordic language area looked upon as one entity. However, most histories of the separate Nordic languages also have some kind of Nordic perspective in their outlook, and the more so for older than for younger periods. In this presentation, both kinds of works will be considered.

One reservation underlined by some language historians, and by general historians as well, is that the periods established do not represent any objective reality, in so far as there are no hard and fast lines separating one period from another. The set of characteristics that can be given to any one period does not stop at the chosen line of division, but continues from one period to the next, some of the same phenomena being found on both sides of the line. Statements to this effect may be seen as comments on the periods used or on the very principle of periodization. In the works examined here, such a stance is taken by Indrebø (1951, 31), Petersen (1829, 55), Sverdrup (1943, 78) and Wessén (I 24).

In spite of the unanimity expressed on the arbitrariness of periodization, there is much agreement in the use of periods for each separate language. This may be due both to the material treated and to scholarly traditions. Historiographic traditions are not necessarily a bad thing, and we confidently believe that the authors have not engaged in unconscious copying or, even worse, in conscious plagiarizing. On the other hand, a readiness to abstain from very original or idiosyncratic viewpoints may always be an asset, provided that it does not violate creativity or originality. There are more discrepancies in the use of periods between the languages, but apart from some naming differences, there is much consensus

on a rough scheme of division. One specific parallel in Nordic language historiography is the fact that most historians recognize three main periods, i. e. an old and a modern one (with some sub-periods) separated by one period in the middle. This will be treated further below.

Before leaving, for the time being, the principles underlying the periodization of language history, we should not forget another side to this question, the pedagogical value of structuring past time into discrete units. Mæhlum (1998a, 17; 1999, 135) emphasized this point in the following way: "Such a structuring and systematizing of past time into periods as distinct as possible will have an obvious *heuristic* value".

In language history, the use of periods will be connected to which mode of language is under consideration, especially whether oral or written language is the focus. Today's complex society is to a large extent founded on an extensive, one might say an all-pervasive, use of the written medium. The present situation has, of course, a definite historical background, and the different stages of development will be of interest as historical facts. Scholars treating Nordic language history may have placed their stress somewhat differently, but the general rule is that both spoken and written language have been considered.

A natural line of demarcation can be drawn between an external and an internal history of a language. The external history treats linguistic ecology, i. e. the conditions or presuppositions laid down by society in its relations to language. The internal history deals with linguistic essentials, such as elements of phonetics, maintenance or change of the phonological and grammatical structure of language, and changes in the lexicon. The language histories differ somewhat in this respect. Indrebø and Skautrup give broad surveys of society as a background for their presentation of language. Seip and Wessén, on the contrary, pay little or no attention to society, presupposing a knowledge of it or, as a matter of course, taking the various aspects of language as their only object of interest.

A *sine qua non* of all historical presentation is that it must make reference to temporal events. Some definite year or span of years will be chosen as a dividing line between the language periods. Frequently, important histori-

cal events are chosen as division markers. For example, Söderwall's (1870, 3) second epoch coincides with the establishment of the Kalmar Union and his third with its disintegration (1397–1521). In the history of Norwegian, the dreadful outbreak of plague in 1349–50 known as the Black Death (in Sweden as the Big Death) was chosen as a line of demarcation by several language historians. This was not only because of its impact on society at large, but because it was supposed to have had specific effects on the language itself; we will shortly return to a discussion of this. Another event having both societal and linguistic consequences was the Reformation. Its sociological and linguistic aspects went hand-in-hand, as the reformers' insistence on using the mother tongue as the medium of religious instruction had major consequences for the use of language in the all-important religious sphere. In the wake of the Reformation came translations of the Bible, production of religious literature of various kinds and a gradual increase in literacy. Phenomena taken from external or internal language history may be chosen as period markers. Undoubtedly, general historical facts are used the most. If both kinds of characteristics are employed in the same presentation, this may seem illogical and be open to criticism. An example in the Norwegian tradition is that the Syncopation Period, whose defining characteristic is the development of vowels, comes directly before the Viking Age period, which takes its name from general history.

2. Histories of Nordic

The first Nordic language history is the one N.M. Petersen published in 1829–30: *Det danske, norske og svenske Sprogs Historie*. There are two parts or instalments, the first and largest one treating Danish, the mother tongue of the author. The second part deals with Norwegian and Swedish, in that order. Petersen (1829, 55) recognized four periods for Danish, running from 1100 to 1700 A.D. At the close of the last period, the language had become Modern Danish. He saw the development of Danish as a gradual transition from Old Icelandic to Danish. To some extent, his periods for Norwegian and Swedish parallel those of Danish.

Adolf Noreen was the first scholar to write a language history with the adjective *nordisch* in its title. At its time of publication (its first edition appeared in 1891), his epoch-making

grammar of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian was only six years old (its first edition appeared in 1884), and in his language history he also concentrated on the earliest periods (Noreen 1913/1923). For another and younger Swede, Bengt Hesselman, in his voluminous work *Huvudlinjer i nordisk språkhistoria* (1948–52), periodization was no problem, because his method was a diachronic, contrastive one. He discussed and contrasted linguistic forms taken from two historical stages, i. e. modern dialectal forms in their relation to Old Nordic. Thus, he had no reason to treat the history of Nordic as a continuous process with several periods.

Eventually, in 1976 Einar Haugen published a history of all Nordic languages, covering both oral and written forms. One of his critics wrote that his integrated Nordic presentation was, characteristically, quite special (Ohlsson 1978, 149). However, a criticism might be made of his use of periods. The book opens with “the prehistoric era”, before 550 A.D., when the language was *Proto-Scandinavian*. After that follows *Common Scandinavian* (-1050). The Greek prefix *proto-* ‘first’ is generally used to refer to the transition from prehistory to history. *Proto-Scandinavian* corresponds to the Scandinavian term *urnordisk*. But so does the term *Common Scandinavian*, which is itself a bit misleading, as the split between East Nordic and West Nordic traditionally dates from that period (but cp. Bandle 1973, 19). Haugen's remaining periods are *Old Scandinavian* (-1350), *Middle Scandinavian* (-1550), and *Modern Scandinavian* (1550-).

3. The relationship between Germanic and Nordic

Periodization is problematic from the beginning, as we do not know exactly when Nordic became a separate branch of Germanic. Noreen (1913, 3) mentioned both the established fact that there were already Nordic-speaking people when Christ was born, and the loose supposition that they had also been present in the fifth millennium B. C. According to Skautrup (I 15), the general supposition of scholars is that Proto-Nordic became a separate branch of Germanic in the first two centuries before Christ. Indrebø (1951, 20) stated that Common Germanic lasted until the fourth century before Christ or a bit longer, and that Proto-Nordic carried on to about 500 A. D. Wessén (I 7) did not go back further than

Proto-Nordic, which, on the basis of runic inscriptions, he established as encompassing the period between 300 and 800 A.D. In neither edition of his language history did Seip (1931; 1955) write much on Germanic as a background to Nordic, and even what little he included was removed or changed by Saltveit in the final German edition of the book (Seip/Saltveit 1971, 1), in which a short chapter on Nordic and Gothic replaced it.

Some authors point out that Proto-Nordic was a real language and not just reconstructed, like Proto-Germanic or Indo-European. This means that Proto-Nordic corresponds to other known languages such as Greek or Sanskrit. The sources for the language are not rich, but they are still sufficient for it to be possible to ascertain how the language worked, both phonologically and grammatically. The furthest back the sources go is to the time when North Germanic had become so different from its sister branches that it could reasonably be characterized as a separate language. Scholars do not agree on when this occurred. Neither are they unanimous about the relationship between the branches of Germanic, not even whether there were two or three branches, or which of the three possible ones were closest to each other. Now it seems that the arguments put forward in favour of grouping North and West Germanic together, in contrast to East Germanic, have prevailed (Haugen 1976, 109ff.).

The relative chronology for Germanic and Nordic became topical recently when Torp (1998) rescued from nearly complete obscurity a forty-six-year-old work written by the Oslo scholar Håkon Melberg (1949–52). This voluminous (951 pages) treatise was devoted to what on the face of it seemed to be a rather limited subject, i.e. the signification of the nominal phrase *Danish tongue*, which in Icelandic and Norwegian written sources from the Middle Ages was frequently used with the same meaning as *norræna*, that is Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic taken together. Certainly, Melberg's work is an impressive piece of scholarship not only because of its length, but also due to the erudition, the depth of imagination and the analytic abilities the author demonstrates. Despite these positive qualities, one cannot say that his claim was proved. Melberg maintained that the *Danish tongue* was "the language of the Danes who founded Denmark and, from about A.D. 175 to 575, conquered and occupied permanently the Scandinavian peninsula". This would supply

the fundamental structure of the origin of the Scandinavian nations and languages:

It explains all the major historical features of Scandinavian speech – the fact that Scandinavian speech constitutes a separate unit within Teutonic; its extension in time and space and the general direction of its expansion; its early linguistic affinities; its sudden and universal revolutionary transformation; its universal homogeneity after the transformation; and its first dialectal cleavage. (II 916).

In Torp's opinion, the great asset of this theory was that it could explain one problem which he himself had always looked upon as nearly unexplainable: the fact that Proto-Nordic was so homogeneous in spite of its chronological and geographic range. Other reasons may certainly be adduced to explain this, but no conclusive ones. The problem of homogeneity would be lessened if, as implied in Melberg's theory, the language of the Danish conquerors was transferred to Norway and Sweden within so short a period that a split into dialects was less probable. We should also keep in mind the paucity of the sources and the fact that the capacity of the runic alphabet to express both phonemic and sub-phonemic characteristics was not very good. Certainly, more dialectal variations would have appeared if all linguistic essentials had been adequately revealed by the extant sources. This line of reasoning would also apply if Proto-Nordic had not been identical with the *Danish tongue* but was simply, as is postulated in the older historical linguistic tradition, the northern branch of Germanic, which was derived from Common Germanic and separated from the other branches some centuries earlier than was assumed in the theory of migration from Denmark to Norway and Sweden during the reign of King Frode.

Both Skautrup (I 15) and Wessén (I 24) have Proto-Nordic ending about 800 A.D., followed by Old Danish (Runic Danish) and Runic Swedish respectively. Seip and Indrebø distinguish the Syncopation Period from an earlier sub-period of Proto-Nordic but do not agree as to its exact timing, with Seip fixing it from 500–800, and Indrebø from 500–700. Indrebø's claim that the Proto-Nordic Period came to a close one century earlier than other scholars takes into consideration the fact that the runic inscription of Eggjum from about 650 was written in syncopated word forms, introducing something definitely new.

4. Tribal migration and syncopation

The causes of syncopation were discussed by Mæhlum (1991). She was primarily concerned with its alleged connection to the Germanic tribal migrations, calling attention to the fact that Norwegian archaeologists and prehistorians recently have had other thoughts about tribal migrations, as there were no or very few finds to support this. She asserted that the new view on migration must have consequences for its supposed concomitant of social unrest, which had been used as an explanation for syncopation. She found it a bit strange that tribal migrations were supposed to have taken place in quite opposite directions in ancient Scandinavia. One might also mention the curious coincidence that most migration voyages seem to have started in some remote Jutland province, such as Himmerland or Thy. Nevertheless, some evidence supports the claim that tribal migrations took different and even quite opposite directions. It is a manifest fact that wandering Germanic tribes clashed with Romans in several places in Southern Europe, and it is even better attested that the Angles and Saxons who invaded Britain came from Jutland and the Netherlands. There were, in fact, two waves of migration, starting in the second and the fourth centuries. In addition, data supplied by early historians and other evidence indicates that the Goths who resided in Poland about 100 A.D. had come from Sweden by crossing the Baltic. The claim that migrating tribes went northwards has some onomastic evidence to support it (such as the county names *Rogaland* and *Hordaland*) as well as the existence of kingdoms in Lejre, Uppsala and Western Norway. For his part, Skautrup (I 14) treated tribal migrations rather cursorily, stating that not all residents of a place left. Seip and Wessén did not mention tribal migrations at all, but Indrebø used them as an explanation for syncopation. Haugen reported fairly elaborately on the Germanic migrations southwards.

Quite rightly, syncopation was ascribed great importance in the process of language change in Nordic, but no one was able to state its cause(s) with any degree of certainty or probability. Of course, Wessén and others made a good case for claiming a connection between syncopation and the Germanic placing of dynamic stress on the root syllable of a word, but it is unlikely that this was the only cause, and it offers us no ultimate explanation, but rather just leads to a search for the cause(s) of the stress rule.

5. The term Old Norse

The fact that old West Nordic literature was partly Norwegian and partly Icelandic was given due consideration in the title of Noreen's classical textbook *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik*. A number of works from the 19th century written in English had titles of this kind, e. g. *A Grammar of the Icelandic or Old Norse Tongue* (Rask 1843). Other works disregarded the distinction between Norwegian and Icelandic, as demonstrated by titles like *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Cleasby/Vigfusson 1874) or *The Order of Words in Old Norse Prose* (Bernstein 1897). Irrespective of the texts' national origin, Norwegian writers such as Fritzner and Hægstad applied the word *gamalnorsk* 'Old Norwegian' to them. In English, the term *Old Norse* became the usual one for reference to the old language of Norway and Iceland. The unqualified word *Norse* denotes 'Scandinavians', 'Norwegians', 'any of the western Scandinavian dialects or languages' and 'the Scandinavian group of Germanic languages'. Etymologically, *Norse* is supposed to be the obsolete Dutch word *Noor(d)sch*, signifying both 'Scandinavian' and 'Norwegian', which is derived from Dutch *noord* 'North' (Klein 1966–67; Webster 1976). In this handbook (Old) Norse is generally synonymous with (Old) West Nordic.

6. A middle period?

Swedish language historians cite the Classical Old Swedish period as lasting from 1225 to 1375 (Noreen 1913, 42; Wessén I 44; Bergman 1968, 29). What defined the period was the fact that its written literature was rendered in the Latin alphabet. At the close of this period, Swedish developed into what Noreen called *mittelschwedisch*, which corresponds to *middeldansk* and *mellomnorsk*. Wessén and Bergman called the same period *Younger Old Swedish*, which, irrespective of its name, lasted until 1526, i. e. the year of the Reformation and the translation of the New Testament, which introduced New Swedish. Wessén stated that in the Younger Old Swedish period there were great changes in the language. These were not limited to the sound system but affected nearly all aspects of language. Wessén mentioned three such changes: the increase in vocabulary with the influx of Low German loanwords; Latin's great influence on style and syntax; and simplification of word inflection.

The oldest extant Danish texts, which date back to just before 1300, are younger than the oldest Swedish ones. The Danes Dahlerup and Skautrup divided Danish more or less similarly. Unlike the Swedes, they did not use the age of the oldest texts as a basis for periodization, looking on the time after Runic Danish, from 1100 to 1350, as one period, called *Oldest Danish* by Dahlerup (1921, 18) and *Older Middle Danish* by Skautrup (I 181). The basis of the written norm for Danish was laid during that period (I 216). In Skautrup's system, the interval from 1350 to 1500 was *Younger Middle Danish*. Characterizing this period, he said that the external history of the language was more interesting than the internal one. The vocabulary was greatly enlarged, but the speech fields did not change, and the constituent traits of the written norms were clear (II 28). On the other hand, many characteristics of the language varied greatly. Old and new, individual and general traits were found side by side in the same source, indicating that the writers were insecure in their choice of forms. Coming from official institutions, law texts and formal letters had a more stable norm than those of a private origin (II 40).

Comparing the terms for some corresponding periods used by the Dane Skautrup and by Swedish language historians (Noreen 1913 excepted), we note that the terms *Middle Danish* and *Old Swedish*, despite their different defining adjectives and some discrepancy in exact delimitation (1100–1500 and 1225–1526 respectively), both cover a two-part period between the very old form of the languages and the modern form. Skautrup's choice of the adjective *middle* was more appropriate than the Swedes' use of *forn*. Harmonization might be obtained in various ways, none of them quite satisfactory, the best one probably being that both Danish and Swedish reserve the term *middle* for the period between 1350/1375 and 1500/1526. This would correspond to the traditional use of the term in Norwegian.

The three-part division of language history was used not only by scholars treating Nordic material, but also by those writing on other Germanic languages, cp. Sverdrup (1943) for German and Baugh (1959) for English language history. Supporting the factual basis of this division, Baugh wrote (p. 189) that "The Middle English period was marked by momentous changes in the English language [...]". This shows that as far as English is concerned, the division into three parts was firmly

based on the material itself. Historians of Norwegian, Swedish and German expressed themselves in the same vein. Yet, the motivation given by the material may have been strengthened by the analysers' sense of symmetry, and it should also not be forgotten that these traditional divisions had a venerable origin, having been introduced by Jacob Grimm (1819–37). There is some reason to believe that respect for his authority had some influence in this matter. Nevertheless, not all today's historians of language accept the desirability, let alone the necessity, of postulating a middle period.

For the project of writing a Nordic language history, the incongruity between the historiographic traditions of the Nordic countries in the use or non-use of a middle period represents a complication. In a pan-Nordic perspective, a two-part division would be an advantage, as it also works for Icelandic, for which the dividing line between old and new is generally drawn in the middle of the 16th century (Magerøy 1981; cp. Bandle 1956, 4, 9; Jón Helgason 1931) but which is based on other criteria, as Icelandic retained its synthetic structure (Benediktsson 1962, 488).

Despite the differences in terms, Danish and Swedish language historians agree in considering the time span between 1350/1375 and 1500/1526 worthy of being separated from the periods before and after it so as to constitute a period of its own, but not a major period. This is so even though the linguistic situation in the two countries seems to have been quite different, as Denmark enjoyed stability both in speech and in having an established written norm, whereas there was linguistic instability in Sweden. The Middle Norwegian period, coinciding chronologically with Younger Middle Danish and Younger Old Swedish, is traditionally looked upon as a time of great linguistic change, the period in which Old Norse developed into New Norwegian, when the synthetic inflectional system was broken down and a new analytic one came into being. In all three countries, the period was also characterized by the importation of great numbers of words from Low German. In Norway, the cumulative effects of developments in several linguistic spheres were recorded by Seip (1931, 157), who stated that the language of letters changed abruptly about 1370. In his opinion, the cause of the change was that the clergy, who upheld the writing tradition, were so decimated by the Black Death that the old writing habits were no longer transmitted to new gen-

erations of writers. Indrebø, too, held the Black Death responsible for the change in the written language in the 14th century, taking the Plague itself to mark the introduction of a new language period. Seip placed the beginning of the Middle Norwegian period at 1370, Indrebø at 1350. Indrebø determined that the period ended in 1525, Seip/Saltveit in 1530.

7. The Black Death

The historian Benedictow, who recently treated the Black Death and its effects in a doctoral dissertation, found that there was about the same decline of population in Norway and England, and probably in Denmark, “between the pre-plague period and the second half of the fourteenth century” (1992, 113). The Swedish sources are less clear, but probably the Plague had similar effects in Sweden, whereas Finland enjoyed a prosperous period during the fourteenth century. Iceland was not hit by the Black Death, either, but had outbursts of plague at different junctures. In view of what is reported for Denmark, it is rather strange that Skautrup, with his broad view of society as the background to language, did not mention the Black Death at all. It is less remarkable that Wessén and Bergman were silent, as they did not pay so much attention to social issues.

There is every reason to believe that the Great Plague affected writing in the way Indrebø and Seip assumed. It is less obvious that the pestilence had much influence on speech, because spoken language was of course transferred from the older to the younger generations as usual during the Plague period, even though the number of speakers decreased because of the high death rate. However, spoken language might have been influenced by the greater societal mobility brought about by people searching for a living in regions where the soil was more fertile than where they grew up. Other circumstances attributable to the Plague might also have caused people to move from one place to another. If all inhabitants of some settled area died, which is reported for various districts, entire dialects might have disappeared.

Such possible linguistic consequences of the Black Death were not considered by Mæhlum, who instead, in two scholarly contributions (1998a; 1999), criticized Norwegian language historians for including the Black Death as a period-determining factor. In her opinion, there never was any distinct period worthy of

the term Middle Norwegian. The best argument supporting her view comes from Rindal (1993), who found a continuous linguistic development from the oldest to the youngest manuscripts. According to him, there was no new linguistic departure in the period called Middle Norwegian to justify this term. He based his claim on a general impression of the language of letters from Hamar in the period 1350–1525 and on occasional observations in the linguistic literature which showed that many changes in the language pre-dated 1350. Even if we want to do justice to all kinds of new information and points of view, we would do well to not draw conclusions too hastily, remembering that all previous language historians proposed one distinct period between the old language and the modern one. There is no reason to think that Hægstad, Seip, Indrebø, Hødnebo, Skard and others did not know the sources well, that they interpreted them too ideologically, wishing to make Old Norse more worthy and dignified than it really was, that they put in an extra period to obtain symmetry, or that they just followed the example of predecessors writing on other languages.

8. The Modern Period

Whether or not we include a middle period, the fact remains that at the time of the Reformation, all the central Nordic languages, based on internal criteria, had attained a stage that was clearly different from the language known to us through the written sources from the Middle Ages. Undoubtedly, this justifies proposing a new language period starting at the Reformation. Following the rough chronology we are using here, there is reason to say that the period beginning with the Reformation is the one that is still with us. An appropriate term covering its whole time span would be the Modern Period. In the words of the language historians, *Old Nordic* had become *Modern Scandinavian* (Haugen), *New Swedish* (Wessén, Bergman) and *New Norwegian* (Indrebø). Making finer distinctions, Skautrup (II 120) used the terms *Older New Danish* for the period 1500–1700 and *Younger New Danish* for the period 1700–1950. The chief characteristic of the language of the Modern Period, as compared with the period(s) coming before it, was that various other means of linguistic expression, such as a fixed word order and more use of prepositions and grammatical words, had replaced a language

characterized by inflectional endings. To simplify, the two stages represented synthetic and analytic language structure, respectively. As to the universality of the Modern Period, one reservation should be noted. It should be remembered that in the three countries mentioned (and also in Finland), dialects persist which have preserved much of the same synthetic structure that characterized Old Nordic (cp. also Modern Icelandic).

Skautrup (II 120) reports that Wimmer, in lectures delivered in 1872–73, expressed the view that at no time during the Modern Period could such linguistic changes be observed to make it justifiable to propose a new major period. In spite of this, historians of all Nordic languages divide it into sub-periods. From a Nordic perspective, it is rather difficult to do this, as the smaller time spans defined as periods generally coincide with historical events or cultural epochs which may differ considerably from one country to another. Thus, Skautrup included a period called “the Time of Learning”, which covered the 17th century, Bergman distinguished *Younger New Swedish* (18th century) from *Today’s Swedish* (19th century), and Indrebø made a division of *New Norwegian* in 1814 because of the great political events of that year. An attempt to draw common conclusions for all Nordic based on language would probably not succeed, and it would become evident that the division criteria really were and had to be cultural or historical more than strictly linguistic.

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5. The data basis of a Nordic language history

1. Introduction and general considerations
2. The pre-literary period
3. The manuscript era
4. The post-Reformation age of printing
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction and general considerations

A comprehensive language history has a variety of different research objects (cf. Ottósson 1992, 15–20). One is the written language as such, with elements alien to spoken language. Another object is the spoken *parole*, i. e. instances of language use in speech. The most central object of language history, however, must be the *langue*, the core language system for the spoken language. Superimposed on the core language system are text norms (in a wide sense) for written and special spoken genres, using different grammatical devices and especially different lexical resources than natural speech. Although various developments in the *parole*, as well as the superimposed norms and contact with other languages, can be of paramount importance for the development of the *langue*, these new features must then be incorporated by the language system, and in that process the immanent properties of the system, its limitations and preferences, are decisive. In this article, I will concentrate on what may be called the primary sources for language history, and on some essentials of the interpretation of these sources. When trying to exploit the various kinds of primary sources for earlier language stages, we face two fundamental problems (Ottósson 1988). One may be called the corpus problem, the fact that we often cannot produce or elicit the data that we wish. This calls for care in evaluating the scope of conclusions one can draw from what

one has, especially when one has exhausted the potential sources. The other, the bias problem, lies in the fact that we do not get a random sample of the language but a systematically biased one. Thus, one must evaluate whose language and what sort of language the sources reflect.

There are in principle three main types of primary sources for previous language stages: texts in the language, direct statements about the language, and various kinds of indirect evidence, mostly comparative (Ottósson 1988). Of the texts, manuscripts and printed books are the most central, but inscriptions are also important, in our case runic ones. Poetic texts have special properties which can provide information about e. g. stress, and rhyme and sometimes alliteration can reveal the real pronunciation of the poet, where the orthography is imprecise or conservative, or where his pronunciation is dialectal. However, poetry has its own rules which may or may not reflect the language system closely. This is obvious with respect to word order and vocabulary, and one can expect poetic license on other points such as morphology as well. But even phonological aspects are “filtered” through the metrical conventions (Benediktsson forthc.; Ståhle 1975), e. g. which sounds are considered so similar that they rhyme. – Direct descriptions of the language by a native speaker usually either take the form of grammars or, more commonly, lexical works: dictionaries, glossaries and the like. Works on poetics and orthography can also provide valuable phonological information. Common to all such descriptions is the danger that they may not describe actual language in all respects, but rather language as the author wants it to be, e. g. in only selecting words for a dictionary which are considered good lan-

guage. Grammars tended until recently to be unduly influenced by the traditional grammatical description of Latin. – Indirect evidence is an often underrated source of information. This applies to both comparison with related languages, aiming at reconstructing a common ancestor language, and with other stages of the same language, to put the attested forms into a context of development. The study of loans into other languages as well as from them can also be instructive. The phonological form of loanwords in the Nordic languages in conjunction with the time of their borrowing can also help date sound changes.

The importance of different kinds of sources varies a great deal with the different language components. Establishing the pronunciation of individual phonemes at any particular language stage is particularly tricky. For writing in the Latin alphabet, a starting point is provided by the pronunciation of the individual letters in Latin at the time when the vernacular writing tradition started. Comparison with modern pronunciation (from the earliest records based on the methods of modern phonetics) is also fruitful. In making sense of that comparison, our knowledge of commonly occurring sound changes is essential. The particular value of poetry to phonology has already been mentioned. One type of evidence which involves considerable interpretation is much used in phonology – the relative chronology of sound changes. For example, the change of Old Danish original *g* to *w* (*laga* > *lawe*) must have happened before *k* changed to *g*, otherwise this new *g* would have merged with the original *g* and yielded *w* as well. – In determining the meaning of words, old dictionaries as well as parallel texts in other languages (typically a Latin original) are especially important, because one cannot always determine the meaning of a word on the basis of context alone, e. g. for plant names. The meaning of a word in the modern language can also be of great help. The corpus problem is particularly acute with respect to the lexicon because it contains so many units. Many semantic fields, specialized as well as everyday ones, may be poorly covered in the sources. Comparison between the modern language in all its varieties and related languages may prove that a word has existed continuously in the language from the very beginning, even if it is not attested at earlier stages.

Evidence from modern dialects plays an important role in Nordic language history, in

particular the huge archives resulting from the systematic collection of material in the mid- and late 19th c. and into the 20th c. (Hesselman 1948–53; Bandle 1973). This material can in many cases provide more detailed information about earlier language changes than the contemporary sources, e. g. on the phonological environment of sound changes. In many cases, the living dialects give the researcher the opportunity to elicit information not found in the archives or the old sources, thus alleviating the corpus problem somewhat. This is especially valuable with respect to the vocabulary. Furthermore, dialect evidence can often help localize changes better than the written sources, and it gives information about the language in areas not covered by the sources. Evidently, the geographical distribution of linguistic features changes over time. However, traditional dialectologists developed an interpretive method which can, to the extent that it is sound, be of help in reconstructing the spread of a feature. Thus, certain more isolated areas can be seen as relic areas, and words for certain types of things spread more readily than others, supplanting forms resulting from regular sound change. – Place-names have by their nature special value for the history of the lexicon and for phonology, apart from the circumstantial fact that they are often attested early (Hesselman 1948–53; Dalberg/Sørensen 1979). Such names, by virtue of their strictly local denotation, are particularly well protected from influence from neighboring dialects and the standard language. Their value is enhanced to the extent that their origin can be dated typologically: Certain types of place-names have been dated to particular periods, e. g. Danish names in *-lev* and Norwegian ones in *-vin* to the Proto-Nordic period (e. g. Skautrup 1944, 25–29). In such cases, words preserved in compound place-names can substantially supplement the vocabulary of periods with sparse sources (e. g. Proto-Nordic) or poor coverage of particular semantic fields (e. g. in Old Danish). Place-names can also help in mapping the geographical spread of a word or a sound change in earlier periods. Compound place-names show a variety of rare sound combinations across the juncture, which may help delimit the phonological environment of individual sound changes. Furthermore, as the relative semantic opacity of such place-names makes them less subject to restitution of their individual parts, they may show sound changes in a purer form than other words.

2. The pre-literary period

For the Proto-Nordic and syncope period preceding the Viking age, the couple of hundred runic inscriptions, starting around 200 A.D., are by far the most important source of evidence, although only some of them have been reliably interpreted (Knirk et al. 1993). Since they are very short, comparative evidence from Gothic and other Germanic languages, and from later Scandinavian, has been crucial in interpreting them. Another important source are loanwords in Finnish, which were borrowed in the centuries around the birth of Christ and have remained remarkably little changed from the time of borrowing. Around 400 have been identified, e. g. *kuningas*, *kulta* (Skautrup 1944, 22). In Sami, around 600 loanwords from the Proto-Nordic era have been identified, but these are much more altered.

From around 800, after the advent of the so-called younger futhark, the runic inscriptions become much more numerous and remain the most important kind of source for Mainland Scandinavian for centuries (Knirk et al. 1993, with ref.). This alphabet is much less refined than the earlier one, as it has fewer letters while the number of vowel phonemes has increased. Over time, this is sometimes remedied in part by diacritics (*stungnar rímar*). In Denmark, there are several hundred inscriptions in this alphabet, with the highest concentration in the period ca. 950–1025. In Sweden, there are more than 2,500 inscriptions, 2,000 of them before 1100 A.D., with the highest concentration in Uppland. The Norwegian Viking Age inscriptions are the least numerous by far. Most of the inscriptions are short, and their rather uniform content detracts from their value as sources. Another kind of source consists of the many names in foreign language texts. This is an especially valuable source for Danish, e. g. *Necrologium Lundense* from the 12th/13th c., and Saxo Grammaticus ca. 1200 (Skautrup 1944, 198–207). – In the British Isles, there are some dozens of Norse inscriptions from the Viking Age and into the 12th c., with a concentration on the Isle of Man (Knirk et al. 1993). There are hundreds of Nordic place-names from the Viking Age in both English-speaking and Celtic-speaking areas, and many loanwords especially in English. However, these elements can be hard to interpret, as they have been Anglicized or Celticized and then followed the development of the language. The spelling of

Nordic words in Irish texts has been used as evidence for pronunciation at the time, but the conclusions are uncertain.

For Icelandic (Ottósson 1988), the only important texts from this period are old poems. Although some Eddaic poems go back to before 1000 and preserve linguistic features that are archaic in relation to the oldest preserved manuscripts, their relatively free metrical form makes them susceptible to modernization in oral tradition. More important are the scaldic poems dating as far back as the mid-9th c., by Norwegian and later predominantly Icelandic poets. The corpus from before 1100 is extensive, more than 1,500 verses. Because of the strict metrical form of the poems, they have commonly been assumed to have been preserved intact in oral tradition from the moment of composition. Although this may appear doubtful in principle, the extent to which these poems exhibit a coherent development, as shown especially by Finnur Jónsson and more recently Hreinn Benediktsson (forthc.), may be taken as an argument for the assumption. However, the vocabulary is not representative of the everyday spoken language.

3. The manuscript era

3.1. General

No other type of primary source from the period between the emergence of manuscripts in the vernacular and the advent of printing comes close to manuscripts in importance. However, evidence from dialects and place-names compensate for restricted geographic and lexical coverage (cf. sect. 1.). Before 1300, by far the largest portion of manuscripts comes from Iceland, and Norway has a fair share. After 1350, the volume and variety of Swedish manuscript books increases greatly, after 1450 for Danish ones, whereas Norwegian codices become scarce after 1350. In using manuscripts as a primary source for language history, two kinds of information are crucial, information which is usually not explicitly stated in the manuscripts themselves (Ottósson 1988). Firstly, the manuscripts must be dated, and if possible localized. In the best cases, the scribe or at least his scribal milieu can be identified. Sometimes what is known from other sources about the history of the manuscript helps in these respects. In most cases, however, paleographic and other features of the manuscript, such as orthographic peculiarities, must be compared to those of

manuscripts which can be dated by other means. From periods for which there are many original diplomas preserved (see later in sect. 3.1.), it has in a number of cases been possible to identify a hand in an original diploma with one in a manuscript and sometimes to identify a scribe with a known biography. The other kind of necessary information when using manuscripts has to do with exemplars. The question is where individual linguistic elements originated in the chain of copying (and/or redaction) from the original author to the manuscript in question, and how representative they are for the language of the scribe (or the author). Typically, rather little is known for certain about the transmission of the text, and often we have imprecise knowledge of the time of the original composition or translation. To minimize these unknown factors, it is advisable to try to choose manuscripts where the distance from the original is short, in time as well as in space (because of dialect differences).

It is commonly assumed that in matters of orthography, including the phonological form of words, the scribe's norm tends to predominate, although individual forms may be lifted from the exemplar. For grammar and the lexicon, one may assume less revision, although there was a tendency to replace obsolete elements. For phonology there are special problems having to do with the great variation in orthography, especially for vowels without a counterpart in Latin (Benediktsson *forthc.*). It is necessary to know the system of phonemic-graphemic relationships in individual manuscripts in order to be able to evaluate individual examples. Thus, the form *hauldr* does not provide evidence for diphthongal pronunciation in a manuscript where *au* is regularly used for *o*, but it does in a manuscript which reserves *au* for the diphthong. Vowel length is not regularly marked in the manuscripts, so here other evidence such as comparison with related languages and later language stages is crucial. In Danish and Swedish manuscripts, consonant length is regularly marked medially but not finally. Icelandic manuscripts in particular use abbreviations abundantly. The abbreviations are often ambiguous, e. g. *s* for either present *segir* or past *sagði*, so that the full form chosen in the edition cannot be taken at face value. The power of the scribal norms was strong, also in Iceland, where not only clerics but also well-to-do farmers wrote manuscripts. At the time when regional laws predominated the manu-

script production in Denmark and Sweden, regional differences were clear, but after that time, there was a marked tendency for a common norm for each country. Thus, one may assume that there was increased distance between the norms and the spoken language of the scribe, and the spelling of less trained scribes is often more instructive linguistically than that of trained ones. One aspect of this normalization is conservative orthography. When sound changes lead to merger, inverse spellings may be instructive, i. e. unsuccessful attempts at maintaining the original distribution of sounds, e. g. writing *y* in words with original *i* after *y* was unrounded. A prominent feature of the text norms is Latin syntactic influence, especially in religious translations in all the Nordic languages (cf. Skautrup 1947, 55ff.). Some of these syntactic elements disappear after 1500, indicating that they remained restricted to the written language. – One particularly interesting genre is the diplomas, which are witnessed records of all sorts of legal actions and transactions. Many of these are preserved in the original, and have the big advantage that they are in most cases both dated and localized. Usually, the scribe does not identify himself, but is most often mentioned as a witness or party in the diploma, so that comparison of the scribal hands can identify him. It can be hard to determine whose language is reflected in individual diplomas, as in many cases the text is dictated to the scribe, often by the recipient, the beneficiary of the legal act. The rather uniform content of diplomas and the extensive use of formulas in them detract from their value as linguistic sources, and the Swedish and Danish diplomas especially are heavily influenced by Latin syntax. However, diplomas contain a wealth of concrete and specialized words rarely found elsewhere. Furthermore, they sometimes contain purportedly direct quotations from the spoken language, especially in court case testimonies. The Icelandic and Norwegian diplomas from this period have been edited, although the editions are for the most part not absolutely accurate. Middle Norwegian diplomas, being almost the only sources from that language period, have been used fairly extensively, Icelandic diplomas rather little. Rather few of the diplomas in Swedish and Danish have been edited, and the existing editions are old; cf., however, *Gammeldanske diplomater* (8 vols.) covering the time between 1364 and 1435 (mimeographed in Copenhagen 1959–69). Diplomas have largely been ig-

nored in the investigation of the history of these languages, although the Danish ones would help considerably in filling the gap in the sources between 1350 and 1450.

One may assume that runic script was used much more than Latin script by the common man in Scandinavia in everyday communication before the spread of paper and later printed books (Spurkland 1998). This is indicated especially by the many hundred Bergen inscriptions from the period 1150 to 1350, but also from smaller finds in a number of other cities in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. The total volume of the inscriptions after 1100 is so small that the text could be printed on 15 pages. However, these inscriptions are originals and generally represent the language of the carver. Although runic script had some traditional spelling conventions of its own, these were weaker than those for Latin script, making the inscriptions more orthophonic in some respects. Thus, runic inscriptions provide valuable comparative material for the time when we have manuscripts with Latin letters. For the Nordic language in Greenland, from which no manuscripts are preserved, the ca. 75 inscriptions from the centuries before 1300 are our sole source (Stoklund 1993).

3.2. Icelandic, Norwegian, and Faroese

The oldest preserved manuscript fragment from Iceland is from the mid-12th c. (Ottósson 1988; 1992). Many manuscripts and fragments of varied contents are preserved from the 13th c., and their number and variety increases greatly after 1300. The oldest datable original diploma is from 1311, but they do not become numerous until around 1400. Of language descriptions, one only needs to mention the four grammatical treatises, especially *The First Grammatical Treatise* from the mid-12th c. Icelandic manuscripts, especially from the 14th c., show rather strong Norwegian influence, but this is for the most part limited to the written norm. – Old Norwegian manuscripts are much fewer in number than the Icelandic ones (Seip 1955). The oldest fragments are from the second half of the 12th c. From the 13th c. we have not only four regional laws, but also translations and original literature, whereas the first half of the 14th c. offers mostly law manuscripts. There are some dozens of original diplomas from the 13th c., and their number increases almost exponentially over the course of the 14th c. and remains high

through the Reformation (Indrebø 1951). However, Swedish and later especially Danish influence is very strong in the diplomas, so that it can be hard to discern the genuinely Norwegian elements. – Medieval records of Faroese are sparse, mostly some entries from the mid-14th c. to around 1500 in a Norwegian law manuscript (Matras 1960). In addition, half a dozen texts from around 1300 on have been claimed to show some Faroese features. In view of this sparsity, the oldest post-Reformation texts, not least the traditional ballads, and indeed the modern dialects may be said to be the most important sources for medieval Faroese, on which the fragmentary medieval evidence is highly dependent for its interpretation.

3.3. Danish, Swedish, and Gutnish

The oldest manuscript in Old Danish is from ca. 1250, and until the mid-14th c. the manuscripts mostly contain laws for the three main parts of the country (Skautrup 1947; Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–1973). The rather many manuscripts from the mid-15th c. onward mostly contain religious translations. In diplomas, there was a transition from Latin to Danish in the period 1378–1425. From around 1400, Swedish elements are rather common, in diplomas and especially the literature connected to the Birgittine order. – The oldest fragment in Old Swedish (Noreen 1904) is from the mid-13th c., and until the mid-14th c., the manuscripts mostly contain laws for regions (seven of them) and cities. From the late 14th c., religious translations are prominent in Swedish manuscripts (Åström 1993). Diplomas in Swedish become common after the mid-14th c. – Old Gutnish is only fairly well documented, with one important manuscript from ca. 1350 and a number of runic inscriptions (Noreen 1904).

4. The post-Reformation age of printing

4.1. General

The most important change in the Nordic countries around 1500 with respect to linguistic primary sources was the advent of printing. The first printed books in Danish (*Den danske rimkronike*) and Swedish (*Aff dyäfwlsens frästitelse*) appeared in 1495, and the first one in Icelandic in 1540, the New Testament. The whole Bible came out in Swedish in 1541, in

Danish in 1550, and in Icelandic in 1584. No books were printed in Norwegian until the 19th century, and the same goes for Faroese. Orkney and Shetland Norn apparently never became a written language, our sole sources of these dialects being rather short antiquarian records from the 17th-19th c. as well as numerous loanwords in Scots and English (Barnes 1998). The printshops were powerful centres for establishing norms for the language used in them, and especially in standardizing the orthography. To capture more of the linguistic variety at the time, it is therefore important to take other sources into consideration. As before, persons less versed in the written norm provide insights into the spoken language (e. g. Skautrup 1947, 179f.). An important development besides printing was the somewhat earlier spreading of a much cheaper writing material, paper, which became common in Sweden and Denmark from around 1400, but probably spread more slowly in Norway and certainly in Iceland. The Reformation also brought change with its tenet that every Christian must have direct access to the Holy Scripture, in turn stimulating the dissemination of religious books. The Reformation started in Sweden in 1527, and was decreed in the Danish realm in 1537. It is most convenient to count from around the Reformation here, as it was established all over the Nordic language area at about the same time.

As the historical linguist is most interested in the spoken language, the emergence of a standard spoken language transcending the local dialects is of vital interest, in particular the way in which this is reflected in the sources. This process is imperfectly understood and disputed, but it seems to have happened essentially in the 17th and 18th c. in Sweden and Denmark. Various phases must be distinguished. The preliminary phase consists of the formation of a special language register connected to reading aloud and used for solemn occasions such as sermons, lectures or court rituals. This register forms the basis, in the next phase, of a language variety used also in conversation among the upper classes, which in the final stage is learned as a first language by the child. All along, a certain degree of standardization is required, but there may still be some variation allowed. A more or less standardized register for reading aloud probably had already emerged in the late Middle Ages, and it was certainly strengthened by the norm in printed books. In Swedish, it seems certain that a Swedish spoken language with a clear

norm had emerged in Stockholm and the surrounding region before the mid-18th c., and it probably existed in a less clear form already in the late 17th c. (Widmark 2000; Wessén 1960, 80, 105f., 118). In Danish, the phases of the development may have begun roughly at the same time as in Swedish, although there seems to have been more variation in the standard spoken language throughout the 18th c. (Skautrup 1947, 315ff., 332f., 406f.; 1953, 181ff.; cf. Haugen 1976, 358f.). In Norway, a standard spoken language, based on written Danish, most probably emerged later, not earlier than the second half of the 18th c., as it depended to some degree on the standardization of spoken Danish. By the mid-19th c. this language variety is known to have acquired a fairly firm standard (see sect. 4.4.). Icelandic is a special case because of its minimal dialectal differences, and Faroese has not acquired a standard spoken language even today.

After the Reformation, more personal genres emerge or increase greatly, creating more room for spontaneous language use. These include private letters, rarely preserved before the late 15th c., later also diaries and autobiographical works. It must be kept in mind, however, that guides to letter-writing became popular soon after printing commenced, so that spontaneous and colloquial language must be sought outside the parts of the letters that are covered by the models (Skautrup 1947, 209). Furthermore, even in such works of a more personal nature, religious discourse tended to follow closely the models in the edifying literature which predominated in printed books for a couple of centuries after the Reformation. The element of daily spoken language and, a fortiori, of core language, in these texts must be seen against the background of the interaction of dialects and the emerging standard language. In actual practice, in evaluating the colloquial character of a text from earlier centuries, researchers have depended a great deal on the systematic differences between written and spoken language which they have become aware of as ordinary language users (cf. Ståhle 1975, 8). These are to a great extent matters of style, such as simple syntax, straightforward expressions rather than rhetorically embellished ones, and elements appropriate to face-to-face communication (e. g. interjections), which may be tacked onto the standard written norm. To get closer to the core language, comparison with all varieties of the older language, as well as modern dialects, is

necessary. After the Reformation, syntactic elements from High German were added to the earlier Latin ones in all the Nordic written languages, such as final position for the finite verb in subordinate clauses. Some of these imported features apparently remained alien to the spoken language (Skautrup 1947, 60, 203, 357f.; 1953, 36).

After 1500, much more is known about the primary linguistic sources than before. In particular, the authors of most sources, at least the larger ones, are known (cf. Skautrup 1947, 135). This is due to the explosive growth in the volume of written documents made possible by the advent of paper. Another side of this coin is the fact that whereas most of the pre-Reformation texts have been published (except for Danish and Swedish diplomas), vast amounts of manuscript material from after the Reformation remain unpublished. These are i. a. government documents and materials in the archives of all sorts of business and industrial enterprises, which are especially valuable with respect to the vocabulary of daily life (e. g. Skautrup 1947, 140ff.; 1953, 78). Such unpublished documents have been systematically utilised for *Svenska Akademiens ordbok*, and to a certain extent for the Icelandic dictionary project, but the Danish historical dictionaries (*Ordbog over det danske sprog* and the one by Kalkar) are not based on any systematic excerption directly from manuscripts.

4.2. Danish

In the first half of the 16th c., many books were printed in different parts of Denmark, but in the second half, as the number of printed books multiplied, printing was concentrated on Copenhagen (Skautrup 1947, 124–126). The orthographic norm established in the printshops, mostly by Christiern Pedersen in Malmö, was in various ways closer to the spoken language than the language of the earlier manuscripts, whereas the chancery stuck to the old forms (Skautrup 1947, 176–188, 320). The reformers used a more popular language than was usual either before or after their time and the same can be said about the translation of the Bible (Skautrup 1947, 156, 205f., 212ff.). As for genres especially close to the spoken language, private letters from the gentry abound from the early 16th c. onward, with colloquial elements clearest in letters from women (Skautrup 1947, 141f., 205, 209, 276, 310ff., 424). A large portion of the

early letters remains unpublished (esp. from the 1600s), although collections of letters by a number of distinguished persons have been published, e. g. Christian IV. Especially interesting are the letters of Queen Elizabeth to her husband, Christian II, from 1523–24, because she represented her pronunciation of Danish, which she had learned by ear, using French orthography. The volume of preserved private letters from after 1700 is vast, and what has been published stems mostly from learned and literary persons, but it does include women (Skautrup 1953, 10, 78). Of autobiographies (Skautrup 1947, 146, 277f., 313f.), the earliest published one, from the late 16th c., is by the official Rosenkrantz. Especially noteworthy is the autobiographical work of Countess Leonora Christina, *Jammers Minde*, from 1674–1685 and later, providing presumably accurate quotes from colloquial language as used by the upper and lower classes. The first independent and original play (Skautrup 1947, 159f., 204), by Ranch, was printed in 1585. In school comedies from the 17th c. one can find elements of peasant language (Skautrup 1947, 291f., 310).

The first Danish dictionary (Skautrup 1947; Jacoby 1990) was Christiern Pedersen's Latin-Danish one, *Vocabularium ad usum Dacorum* (1510), containing ca. 8000 Danish words. A number of other Latin dictionaries followed before 1700, of which Rhode's 1672 translation of Comenius' glossary in *Orbis sensualium pictus* is noteworthy for its large vocabulary. Materials for a Danish dictionary were first collected in the 17th c., culminating in Moth's unpublished giant dictionary from 1680–1709, which is especially rich for the contemporary vernacular, including peasant language. His work inspired others to collect material, not all of which has been utilised in published dictionaries. The earliest grammars of Danish, published in the late 17th c., by Pontoppidan 1668 and Syv 1685 (Skautrup 1947, 285, 351), are especially valuable for morphology. Earlier, the phonetician Aarhus in his *De literis* (1586), gave valuable information on contemporary pronunciation (Skautrup 1947, 189, 193f.). In the mid-18th c., Høysgaard wrote detailed works which are especially valuable with respect to pronunciation and syntax (Skautrup 1953, 13–16). Works on orthography, especially from the 18th c., often contain valuable information on pronunciation, e. g. an anonymous one from 1727 entirely written in an orthography close to the pronunciation, with accents (Skautrup 1953,

13; cf. the later edition by Caroline C. Henriksen, *Dansk rigssprog, en beskrivelse fra 1700-tallet*. København 1976).

As for texts intended to be written in dialect, they are rare before the 19th c., although there are strong dialect features, not least Jutish, in some texts which can be isolated by comparison (Skautrup 1947, 314f., 291). After Moth's previously mentioned giant effort, the chancery in 1743 asked district officials for reports on their regions, including conspicuous words and locutions (Skautrup 1953, 78). Much material was sent to *Videnskabernes Selskabs Ordbog* from 1807 on, and the lexicographer Molbech received collections from many collectors at his request in 1811, dealing with phonology and grammar as well as vocabulary (Skautrup 1953, 88ff.). A part of this material was made public in *Dansk Dialect-Lexikon* (1841), containing around 6,500 words alien to the common language, and some of the collections received are still preserved.

4.3. Swedish

In the period following the Reformation, two main currents can be discerned in written Swedish, Bible language and chancery language, both diverging in important ways from spoken language. The language of the Bible deviated by being morphologically conservative, but it avoided Danisms carefully. This provided the norm for the printed books emanating from the various printshops in Sweden. The chancery language is characterised by general Danish influence from the preceding period, which excluded archaic morphological forms, and by more Latin influence in the syntax. Of the wealth of material written in the period following the Reformation which remains unpublished, chancery texts are prominent, although Gustav Vasa's copy-book has been published (Ståhle 1975, 181, 9). Also many poetic texts, i.a. occasional poetry from the 16th and 17th c., remain in manuscript form (Ståhle 1975, 10, 37–40, 452–456). Of texts close to the spoken language (cf. Noreen 1903, 135–156), private letters increase drastically in number from the early 16th c., but only a small selection is published, mostly from government officials and learned men until 1700. An early example is Hemming Gadh's letters to a friend from 1498–1520, and later in that vein one has e.g. Gustaf II Adolf's letters to his mistress Ebba Brahe around 1615, and the letters of the nobleman Ekeblad to his brother 1639–55. Especially

close to the spoken language are letters from women of the court and the gentry, but less is preserved and published of those (cf. Ståhle 1975, 182). There are some diaries preserved from the late 1500s onward, mostly from kings, officials and learned men, but also from people like the minister Gyllenius (1622–75). Diaries and letters from soldiers in the war of 1700–18, from various layers of society, have been edited in many volumes. There are a few autobiographies preserved from before 1700. Agneta Horn's *Beskrivning över min vandringstid* from ca. 1660 has been taken by some to show contemporary colloquial language in the Stockholm region. Swedish dramatic tradition is quite rich from early on (Larsson 1988, 13–16, 19–46), and already in the late 16th c. one can find quite colloquial style there, e.g. in *Doctor Simon* (Ståhle 1975, 34). In the 17th c., colloquial elements are mostly concentrated in interludes and rustic scenes (cf. Ståhle 1975, 182f.), but putative colloquial forms become much more generally applied around 1680 (Wessén 1960, 105f.), like in some dramas by Börk in 1688. Gyllenborg's *Swenska sprått-höken* from 1737 shows elements of standard spoken Swedish (Widmark 1969), and Ristell's *Några Mil ifrån Stockholm* from 1787 marks the temporary triumph of the educated colloquial language of Stockholm on the Swedish scene.

The first Swedish grammars (Noreen 1903, 183–267) are from the late 17th c., by Aurivillius 1684 and Tiällman 1696. Two 18th-c. textbooks for Germans benefit from the contrastive perspective: Heldman's *Versuch Einer Schwedischen Grammatica* (1738) and Sjöborg's excellent *Schwedische Sprachlehre für Deutsche* (1796), containing a wealth of information on colloquial language. Other important grammars from that period include Sahlstedt's *Swensk Grammatika* (1769) and Botin's *Svenska språket i Tal och Skrift* (1777), as well as Moberg's *Försök till en lärobok* (1815). Some works on poetics and metrics give useful information on phonology, such as Arvidi's *Manuductio ad poesin svecanam* (1651), which includes a rhyme dictionary, as well as Nicander's *Öförgripelige Anmerckningar Öfwer Swenska Skalde-Konsten* (1737). Considerable information of that kind can also be extracted from the numerous contributions to the orthographic debates which arose from time to time from the end of the 17th c. These include Aurivillius' *Cogitationes de Lingvæ Svionicæ ... recta scriptura & pronunciatione* (1693) and Hiärne's *Orthographia*

Svecana (1716). Sweden has a rather rich lexicographical tradition from early on, which has been systematically investigated in recent years, see esp. Jacoby (1990); Hannesdóttir (1998, with refs.), cf. Noreen (1903, 183–267). All of this material, including unpublished work, has been utilised in *Svenska Akademiens ordbok*, which is approaching the end of the alphabet. The first printed lexicographical work for Swedish was *Variarum rerum vocabula* (1538), a rather comprehensive Latin-Swedish dictionary, thematically arranged and containing many rare words. Schroderus published a revised version of Comenius' phrase book *Janua linguarum* in 1640. More in the style of modern dictionaries were Grubb and Gothus' so-called *Lexicon Lincopense* of 1640, as well as Spiegel's *Glossarium Sveo-Gothicum* (1712). Schulze finished a colossal contemporary dictionary in 1755, but it was never published. Weste's *Svenskt och fransyskt lexicon* (1807) is particularly useful i.a. for its information on accent.

From the beginning of the 17th c. onward, there are a number of short texts preserved where the authors tried using dialect, with various degrees of success, and around the mid-18th c., such texts increase greatly in number (Noreen 1903, 156–180). The oldest texts in dialect are some rustic scenes in plays from the beginning of the 1600s, and such scenes occur into the 18th c. The bulk of older dialect texts, however, consist of wedding poems from the late 1600s through the mid-18th c. (Hesselman 1937). In the beginning, Dalecarlian was the most prominent dialect in these genres. As for descriptions of dialects (Noreen 1903, 268–286), Bishop Benzelius inspired many collections of dialect words from different parts of the country in the first half of the 18th c., i.a. Neogard's Gutnish collection with observations on the dialect. Most of this material has not been published, but it formed the core of Ihre's *Swenskt dialect lexicon* (1766), supplemented by collections initiated by the latter. The first detailed dialect monograph was Sven Hof's excellent *Dialectvs vestrogothica* (1772), which included a many-faceted grammatical introduction.

4.4. Norwegian

Over the course of the half-century after the Reformation, the last vestiges of the old Norwegian writing tradition disappeared, with especially some peasants' diplomas from Telemark holding out the longest (Indrebø 1951).

But there were a large number of Norwegianisms in what Norwegians wrote in Danish in the 16th c., and to some extent in the following centuries, not least in the vocabulary. What little there is of Norwegian dialect texts from the Reformation until 1814 has been edited by Venås (1990). From the mid-1600s on, a number of wedding poems in dialect are preserved, and this dialect literature increased with time and became more varied. Most parts of the country are represented, but the West and Telemark have contributed the most. Of works about the dialects (cf. Jacoby 1990, 731–736), the first one to be published was Jenssøn's *Den Norske Dictionarium* (1646), a high-quality glossary of almost 1000 words from Sunnfjord. Moth (cf. 4.2.) received a number of Norwegian dialect glossaries in response to a query in 1697–98. In the wake of a questionnaire from the Danish chancery in 1743 (cf. 4.2.), a number of independent glossaries were compiled, including Leem's *Een liden Glosebog* from 1743–48, with around 4000 mostly West Norwegian words. In the late 18th c., several important dialect glossaries were compiled but not published. Hallager's *Norsk Ordsamling*, published in 1802, incorporated various older collections into a West Norwegian base, and included a grammatical sketch with general characteristics of Norwegian phonology, morphology and syntax. The work of Ivar Aasen from the 1840s onward concerning dialect words and grammar revolutionized the situation, as he systematically investigated all the genuine rural dialects with remarkable thoroughness. Much information about the Danish-based upper-class colloquial language ("den dannede dagligtale") is found in the works of Knud Knudsen from the 1850s onward, and it emerges especially in Ibsen's late dramas from a bourgeois milieu from the late 1800s.

4.5. Faroese

Faroese language records (Werner 1964) are quite sparse from the Reformation until the 1770s, when Svabo started collecting material for a Faroese dictionary (published in 1966) and writing down traditional ballads in archaic language but reflecting dialect differences. Others continued collecting ballads in the following decades, and most although not all of that material has now been published. The earliest texts in contemporary Faroese were Schrøter's gospel and saga translations from 1822–32. In 1846, Hammershaimb in his text

editions laid the foundations of the present etymologically based orthography, and in 1854 he published the first real grammar of the contemporary language. It was only in the 20th c. that extensive and varied literature in Faroese emerged. A certain archaizing tendency in the accepted norm has led to the use of written forms that are unknown in the spoken language.

4.6. Icelandic

In Iceland (Ottosson 1988; 1992) there was only one printshop from the beginning in the mid-16th c. until 1773, printing almost only religious literature. Other kinds of literature, including popular poetry, were transmitted in numerous paper copies, to the detriment of text quality. The development of the printed norm after 1600 has scarcely been investigated. The extent and variety of printed material in Icelandic increased greatly from the late 18th c. From the mid-19th c., all that was published was intended to adhere to the puristic norm which had become accepted, including certain archaic elements. Before that, purism in various forms had influenced the writings of many authors, with the great manuscript collector Árni Magnússon introducing Old Icelandic as an ideal and a corrective. Purism inevitably led to certain differences between written and spoken language, while its elimination of foreign elements in syntax and vocabulary brought the two closer together. However, there has not been much effort made to ascertain the properties of the spoken language of this time. There are a number of private letters preserved from the 17th c., and a great many from the late 18th c. onward, and a fair number have been edited. Autobiographies and stories from one's own life become common in the 17th c. Dramas aiming to show popular discourse are not preserved until the late 18th c., and they are few in number. In many editions through the mid-20th c. of previously unpublished texts, the language has been corrected in accordance with the puristic norm, affecting especially post-classical inflections and word forms. The first grammars of Icelandic, the one by Runólfur Jónsson published in 1651, and the long unpublished one by Jón Magnússon (d. 1738), are especially valuable for morphology. Rask's grammar from 1818, although revolutionizing the analysis, suffered from a basic confusion of the classical and modern language. The earliest dictionaries, from the 17th

c., were geared to the needs of those reading the old literature. The unpublished giant and chaotic dictionary of Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík, from the first half of the 18th c., is basically synchronic, as is the first published one, by Björn Halldórsson (1814).

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II. Perspectives in research history I: From the beginnings to the middle of the 20th century

6. Previous attempts at writing a Nordic language history

1. Preliminary remarks
2. Some general problems of writing language histories
3. The most important Nordic language histories. A brief overview
4. Conclusion
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Preliminary remarks

The problems of writing language histories have been acute at least since the breakthrough of historical and comparative linguistics around the turn of the 18th century. Here, I shall not discuss the foundation of this new scholarly method in Scandinavia (see arts. 15 and 16), but shall begin with the first language histories in a proper sense at the beginning and around the middle of the 19th century.

2. Some general problems of writing language histories

2.1. The scope of the investigated material varies quite a lot in the existing Nordic language histories. Most of them concentrate on phonology and morphology (a typical example is Noreen 1889); an extreme is Hesselman (1948–53), who during his lifetime only succeeded in writing some 300 pages on the weakening of unstressed syllables (apart from an introductory overview). On the other hand, authors such as Skautrup (1944–70) and Bergman (1968) distinguish themselves by a variety of approaches, e. g. Skautrup includes not only syntax and stylistics, personal and place-names, but above all social stratification, a topic which has attained especially high currency during the last decades. Other authors confine themselves to adding syntax to phonology and morphology, thus remaining within the limits of internal linguistics; a typical example is Wessén (1941–56). Special studies of a still more limited scope, including

dictionaries, will in general not be mentioned in the following survey.

2.2. Another problem is the combination of diachrony and synchrony (see art. 3). It is self-evident that diachrony has to be the dominant principle, but how shall we combine it with synchrony which is such an important aspect in modern linguistics?

The problem has been acute ever since Saussure and the breakthrough of structuralism. The diachronic approach has long been dominant in Nordic linguistics, longer than in other language areas, but the relation between the two aspects was felt to be a problem by language historians long before that. To be sure, the Neogrammarians on the whole kept to Hermann Paul's axiom that the historical method was the only scholarly approach to language; however, not only did Paul himself take present-day German as a point of departure in his *Deutsche Grammatik* (Paul 1916–20), but Nordic language historians also tried to combine the two approaches in one way or another. Rydqvist (1850–83) already confronted Old Swedish and Modern Swedish sounds and forms and drew the diachronic lines between them, and Noreen's (1903–24) pioneering achievement was that he strictly separated descriptive and "etymological" phonology, primarily treating the former. There may be different ways of combining the two approaches, but the most practicable method is probably an alternation between periods which can be treated synchronically and those which can be treated best diachronically. As mentioned in art. 3, the precondition for this is that we have some idea for periodizing a language history.

2.3. To be sure, every periodization is more or less artificial, linguistic development being continuous and in reality not amenable to borderlines (cf. in particular Coseriu 1974), but

according to a more pragmatic interpretation we can discern more static from more dynamic periods. The Old Norse period e. g. certainly is comparatively stable, if we take into account the rich and relatively uniform Old Icelandic tradition, and also “classical” Old Swedish with its well-preserved morphological system appears to be more static than the disintegration and restructuring that followed (although one must admit that this difference is somewhat abstract and artificial). But in fact, periodizing is to some extent a matter of opinion, and in the course of time different propositions for periodizing Nordic language history have been put forward. While Rydqvist (1850–83) because of the lack of material from the epoch between Old Swedish and Modern Swedish hardly had any other choice than confronting the two main stages of Swedish, Söderwall (1870) was already able to divide Swedish language history from the introduction of Latin script into four epochs, to be sure mainly on general historical grounds (Old Swedish; “Kalmar union” = late Middle Ages; Reformation until the mid-18th century, mid-18th century until Söderwall’s own times), a pattern which has remained the basis for the periodization of all Nordic languages. The pattern has, however, been widened and differentiated, above all by incorporating Proto-Nordic from its beginnings (2nd c.) to about 1050, and by considering special developments in the different national languages. Thus, Proto-Nordic in most language histories has a subdivision, called by different names, such as Late Proto-Nordic/“Spätturnordisch”, the period of syncopation and umlaut or the like (ca. 500/550–800), the following period being called the Viking period (above all in Norwegian language history) or respectively Runic Swedish, Runic Danish. The history of the Icelandic language which has not developed far from Old Icelandic (apart from its phonology) most simply may be divided into Old and Modern Icelandic, while the term Middle Icelandic is not generally used. The periodization of Danish and Norwegian language history differs most from the Swedish pattern. Danish differs from the other Nordic languages in so far as the weakening of unaccented syllables and the typological restructuring on the whole belong already to pre-literary times (ca. 800–1100: Old Danish/*Olddansk*, *Runedansk*), and the period corresponding to Old Nordic/Old Norse in the other languages is differentiated by the term *Ældre Middeldansk* (1100–1350), while minor differences from Swedish in the

subdivisions of New or Newer Danish play a more subordinate role. Due to special historical conditions, periods of Norwegian language history are only partly comparable to the other Nordic languages: after Middle Norwegian (1370–1530), which still may be compared to “middle”, i. e. transitional, periods in other Nordic languages, Norwegian died out as a written standard languages, and therefore the whole period up to the beginning of the 19th century may be called the Danish period. The time of national revival which followed with the development of two Norw. standards is of different character than the corresponding period in the neighbour languages, a time full of both internal and external linguistic events which require special attention. Moreover, the criteria which periodizing rests upon, are in part different in the different Nordic languages: for Swed. and Dan. this essentially is the development of the standard (a new standard in Swedish, the stabilization and refinement of the older standard in Danish), for Norw. the destandardization, for Icel. the changes in the phonological system.

In view of such a confusing picture, which is complicated even more by some periodization problems which in recent times have been a matter of debate (e. g. the definition of Proto-Nordic: does it end in 500, 550 or 600?), we understand that some language historians renounce any strict periodization and keep to the most current periods (e. g. OSw./ModSw. as in Pettersson 1996). And it is obvious that the problem is especially difficult in a language history which covers the whole Nordic area: here some sort of a compromise between the different languages and between the different criteria is unavoidable. To be sure, a firm basis may be found in the notions of Proto-, Old and Modern Nordic: they are fairly clearly defined and can be treated synchronically, as more or less coherent systems, whereas the periods in between may be better treated diachronically. In this way a combination of diachrony and synchrony, of descriptive and historical linguistics, may be achieved; moreover, the method can be refined even more by pointing to preceding and succeeding systems in the diachronic parts and by referring to diachronic developments as explanations for synchronic phenomena. Through such a practice, a reasonably well-rounded picture of the dynamic/static interaction which constitutes language history may be achieved. It remains to be seen how far these principles have been

realized in the language histories hitherto published. As mentioned in art. 3, periodization is not quite consistent in this handbook. The basic periods are really synchronic, defined by systems, but divisions have also been made between purely diachronic periods, the editors having felt the need to signal breaks in a long development without being able to establish synchronic systems.

2.4. Apart from the problem of combining diachrony and synchrony, different approaches have been used in methodology in previous Nordic language histories. To be sure, methods of language history have not been discussed much in Nordic linguistics until recent times, and those actually applied in Nordic language histories do not bear witness to deeper methodological reflections. A “classical” work such as Wessén (1941–56) (at least in its original version) did not even have an introductory chapter where methods could have been discussed, and especially Norwegian language histories (in particular those by Nynorsk authors as Hægstad (1906–42) or Indrebø (1951)) have been severely criticised for having followed not only pragmatic principles, but above all the national ideology (cf. Hovdhaugen et al. 2000).

Comparative aspects are also rather rare, as are contrastive methods, since historical contrastive linguistics has been launched only in recent times. To be sure, it was natural for Rask and his generation to concentrate on the systematic comparison between different languages (also within the Nordic area), but since pan-Nordic language histories are rather few, comparative/contrastive aspects are in general not very well-developed, most of the existing works having concentrated on one language, so that comparison with neighbour languages is more or less accidental. Of comprehensive Nordic works, that by Haugen (1976) uses consequently the comparative approach, while the recently published Barðdal et al. (1997) pretends to do this as well, but is spoiled by other serious weaknesses.

Most of the Nordic language histories are more or less traditional in a chiefly neogrammarian sense: not only the works of the pioneers of neogrammarian methods such as Noreen and Kock, but also more recent works, e. g. Wessén (1941–56), which keeps to the principle of sound laws and analogy throughout, while Pamp (1971) is structuralist in phonology, but traditional in the other areas. A major question concerns the relation

between internal and external features of a language’s historical development: how far the description – be it diachronic or synchronic – is purely linguistic and how far it also considers socio-cultural facts as being relevant to linguistic development. In fact, there are not quite few Nordic language histories which more or less exclusively focus on internal developments. Although neogrammarians on the whole were not unaware of social influences on language, a pioneer like Noreen kept largely to internal linguistics: Noreen (1913) has a long introductory chapter in form of “a general historical survey”, exclusively dealing with facts such as extension of the Nordic language area, sources and the like before immediately going over to the history of the individual sounds and inflexions. A similar case is Wessén (1941–56) which, to be sure, on several occasions considers the mutual relations between standard and colloquial language, but otherwise is a pure grammar. In fact, quite many papers and books, which are called “language histories” are in reality “historical grammars”: this type of language history has been so common in Scandinavian linguistics that Inge Lise Pedersen (1995) states that at the university of Copenhagen as late as in the 1960s language history was essentially defined as historical grammar. It might be worthwhile to remember this difference when studying Nordic linguistic history: both genres may be scholarly disciplines in their own rights, but we must be aware that pure grammar is not language history. And we may also agree with Pedersen that language history and research on colloquial language belong more closely together than before, but that the ultimate goal of a Danish (and Nordic) language history on sociolinguistic grounds cannot be achieved yet. In contrast to historical linguistics in Copenhagen, Pedersen points to Skautrup, professor at the university of Århus, whose large-scale Danish language history (1944–70) may serve as a model, combining precise linguistic data and general cultural-historical background or, as Petersen puts it, describing language history as sociolinguistics. Skautrup’s work is not very modern in method, but for internal aspects, it goes beyond the normal traditional framework by trying to give a coherent description of sounds and sound systems, standard language and linguistic variants, different linguistic levels etc., while for external influences it is remarkable in embedding social and stylistic strata in political and socio-cultural facts; this pattern represents a

unique Nordic language history and indeed may serve as a point of departure for further research. Of course, socio-cultural relations play – in some way or another – a part in other Nordic language histories as well: already Rydqvist (1850–83) made many references to Swedish dialects, Söderwall (1870) pointed to special forms in OSw. chancery language, and in particular in Norw. language history (especially Indrebø 1951) the political and socio-cultural background plays a comparatively great part, due to the significant political and social conditions which to a high degree determined the fate of the language, in particular in the 19/20th c. – facts that do not diminish Skautrup's unique achievement of a systematic sociolinguistic approach.

3. The most important Nordic language histories. A brief overview

If we look at the various existing Nordic language histories, perhaps the most conspicuous fact is that the majority of them is limited to one of the Nordic languages. In *Brytpunkt* (2000) the authors claim several times that, on the one hand, more easily readable handbooks at language history should be written, and on the other hand, that more research than previously should be done in a general Nordic instead of a narrow national framework. It is generally acknowledged that work in Nordic humanities has hitherto been strongly limited to national boundaries, and therefore it will be useful in this overview to separate pan-Nordic language histories from works confined to one specific language. That the present work aims at a comprehensive perspective, is self-evident.

3.1. National language histories

The state of this art is quite different in the different Nordic countries. While in Iceland and the Faroe Islands works covering the whole language history are practically still lacking, the Danes have a fine, though perhaps in some respects somewhat outdated reference book in Skautrup (1944–70) and Sweden and Norway have several shorter, quite useful, but not especially outstanding handbooks.

3.1.1. Icelandic

Icelandic language history exists mainly in an Old Norse, viz. OIcel. – ONorw. frame-work.

There is a multitude of such handbooks, in general in the form of grammars not only for scholarly purposes but also for practical use in the context of Old Norse literature.

Here the “classical” work is still Noreen (1884) (5th ed. 1970), a thorough reference book on ONorse phonology and morphology on a diachronic basis: although strictly neogrammarian in method and based on partly outdated material, it is still the most comprehensive and reliable grammar of the ONorse languages, indispensable for every deeper understanding of ONorse. To be sure, there is no syntax in it, but in this field many generations of scholars and students have relied and still may rely on Nygaard (1905), a pioneering work for its time which among other things also paved the way for ONorse stylistic research.

Besides Noreen numerous shorter handbooks on ONorse grammar have appeared, one of the first (after Rask) being Wimmer (1870), which, thanks to a German translation gained international attention. But the most weighty of them was probably Heusler (1913), which not only gives clear and exhaustive information about the ONorse phonological and morphological systems, but also includes an excellent syntax section. Most of these handbooks are in the neogrammarian tradition, some more synchronic in approach (e. g. Iversen 1922, which also includes syntax), some more diachronic (Wessén 1958), and most of them aim to be used by students; there are only a few which deserve special mention: (1) Some of the most recent examples of this genre claim to be innovative in method, although in the traditional framework of sounds, inflexions and syntax. The authors of Hanssen/Mundal/Skadberg (1975) claim to give a historical description of 13th c. ONorse according to recent linguistic theory and terminology, but in reality only the phonology is partly in accordance with this programme (e. g. the notion of phoneme or the well-known explanation of umlaut through phonemizing of earlier allophones), while the alleged backward perspective in phonology and inflexions is only in part carried out. – More consistent in carrying out its innovations is O. E. Haugen (1993), which in phonology tries to combine synchrony and diachrony by emphasizing both aspects (e. g. on umlaut-phenomena) and in morphology abandons the traditional class division according to Proto-Nordic stem-suffixes in favour of a purely synchronic inflexional typology, the advantage of which, how-

ever, may not be self-evident. – (2) As indicated by the title, Gutenbrunner (1951) more than the usual ONorse grammars, follows the diachronic approach, tracing the historical development of sounds and inflexions until ca. 870 in a rather traditional but informative way, though not neglecting synchronic aspects. – (3) A nearly unique position is held by Hægstad (1906–42, here *Islandsk/islenzka* 1942). Hovdhaugen et al. (2000) are perfectly right in reproaching Hægstad for not having a method: being mainly motivated by ideological considerations, he cannot even be called a neogrammarian. On the basis of a large amount of material, mainly from OIcel., he mentions more or less at random a lot of linguistic features – both phonological and morphological – in order to show that Icelandic is part of the southwestern branch of Norwegian. It is only at the end that his analysis becomes really interesting, when he presents his results and tries to define the dialect-geographic position of (Old)Icelandic and its historical background in emigration from Norway, dialect mixture and subsequent levelling. This is interesting in itself, but we cannot call it an Icelandic language history. The dialect-geographic relations between Icel. and Norw. is also the subject of two more special and also more systematic studies, which deserve to be mentioned here because of their language historical implications: Chapman (1962) and Bandle (1967). Both of these argue for the thesis that common innovations rest on diffusion and not so much on a common predisposition; moreover, Bandle claims to have found traces of original dialect mixture in the Icelandic vocabulary; cf. also Sandøy (1994).

As mentioned before, an Icelandic language history does practically not exist yet, but its absence may be compensated for by a single small book like Sveinsson (1991), moreover by some collections of historically oriented papers edited by Halldór Halldórsson (1964) as well as by the monograph by Bandle (1956).

3.1.2. Faroese

Like Icelandic, a comprehensive history of Faroese has not yet been written, but in this case it is due to the poor sources from older times and to the fact that the Far. language only in recent times has received more attention. As we learn from Hægstad (1906–42, here 1917), Hamre (1944) or Hagström (1967), until Svabo at the end of the 18th c. wrote

down ballads and composed his dictionary, sources consisted chiefly of single words or names in documents otherwise written in Danish, but nevertheless several attempts have been made at drawing conclusions from this material, in particular in the field of phonology. The most complete analysis is given by Hægstad in connection with the western Norwegian dialects, but it has the same shortcomings as Hægstad's work on Icelandic: lack of systematizing and method. As in the Icel. work, Hægstad's chief concern is to show the relationship between Faroese and the north-western Norw. dialects, but here, contrary to the Icel. case, he also considers the vocabulary, claiming to be able to prove that Faroese vocabulary is a mixture of different Norw. dialects, while its phonology is definitely western Norw. in character.

While Hægstad's research is not satisfactory methodologically, some younger scholars have tried to describe various specialized areas in more thorough investigations. Hamre (1944) aims at filling the gap in Faroese language history between the Middle Ages and Svabo's documentation by investigating the sound system, and Hagström (1967) examines the fate of the weakly stressed vowels *i* and *u* which has led to a complicated pattern of different mixtures in the modern dialects. Others have contributed with minor studies (e.g. Christian Matras, Jørgen Rischel and Otmar Werner).

3.1.3. Norn

The dialectal status, origin and death of Shetland and Orkney Norn have often been discussed, but these studies are often not very reliable guesswork. A famous exception is Jakobsen (1928), whose introductory chapter yields valuable information on the history and relationship of the language, and in recent times it has been Michael Barnes more than anyone else who has done very good work in this field, e.g. in the excellent little book *The Norn language of Orkney and Shetland* (1998), which gives a thorough critical survey from colonization around 800 to the demise and death of the two variants around the mid-18th century or perhaps, (for Shetland Norn) the 19th c., including their survival in words and names up to the present day.

3.1.4. Norwegian

If we look at historical linguistic work carried out in Norway during the last 100–150 years, we notice a multitude of important books and papers ever since the pioneering work of Ivar Aasen, which, however, concerns dialectology more than language history. Indeed, Norwegian linguistics had its grand epoch at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th c., when a breakthrough occurred in onomastics with Oluf Rygh, when Hjalmar Falk and Alf Torp wrote their major works on language history and Marius Hægstad wrote his monumental *Vestnorske maalføre fyre 1350*. In more than one case this was pioneering work at that time, but seen from today, their innovative character has faded. Falk and Torp have become famous both for their etymological dictionaries (1903–06 and 1919 respectively) and their analyses of the history of Dano-Norwegian phonology and syntax (1898, 1900), but neither of them has accomplished a Norwegian language history of wider range, and Hægstad's work, imposing as it is for its wealth of material, suffers, as has already been mentioned in connection with Icel. and Far., from the lack of method, though one must admit that he was a real pioneer in descriptive historical linguistics.

The first attempt at writing a complete Norw. language history was Indrebø (1951), which covers all the periods from Proto-Nordic to the present. Written in an extremely conservative Nynorsk, it is, however, not easy to read for foreigners and moreover, it is quite traditional in method, although one might acknowledge that to a pretty high degree it takes account of the external language history in the form of socio-cultural relations.

Before that, probably the best known Norwegian language history had been published: Seip (1931), but as expressed in the title of the book, this work does not cover the whole history of Norw., ending around the death of the Norw. written language. It was later supplemented by Seip/Saltveit (1971), so that it can be said to be another complete language history, comprising also the Dano-Norwegian period in Early Modern times and the national revival from 1814/1830 onward. The new parts are, however, quite short and follow exactly the method of the previous book, with surveys of every single period from the language's external situation through sources to the language's internal system. These surveys are on the whole in the neogrammarian tra-

dition, in a way synchronically arranged, but mainly concentrating on the diachronic developments from one period to another. Seip's work cannot be called innovative, and it is at some points spoiled by his stubbornly maintained opinion that many of the so-called Danish forms in reality were genuine Norwegian ones. Seip's personality had a central position in his time, not least because of his fate during the German occupation, but has now lost much of its fascination.

Besides the two central language histories, several minor handbooks of Norw. language history have been published: from Lundeby/Torvik (1956) through Skard (1963ff.) to Ernst Håkon Jahr, who – besides several books on more special historical topics – has published shorter overviews of Modern Norw. language history and edited collections of papers in that field (see Jahr 1989). Language policy plays a prominent role in the shorter accounts mentioned, while linguistic methods in most cases are traditional, the purpose of several of these books being elementary.

3.1.5. Swedish

Perhaps the most extensive research work has been done in the field of Swedish language history, but most of it has been carried out in minor studies on special problems, and the works which have a wider range and may rightly be called language histories are nearly all in the neogrammarian tradition, which in Sweden has been even stronger than in the other Scandinavian countries.

In spite of the promising beginnings of relatively modern historical-comparative research with Johan Ihre (Noreen 1903–24 vol. 1, 212), it took a comparatively long time until the breakthrough of a really modern historical linguistics around the mid-19th c. Rask's pioneering work certainly became known also in Sweden at an early date, the first pan-Scandinavian language history by Petersen also had a Swedish section (1830) and not much later Rydqvist's volumes (1850–83) began to appear, but this work, which is often quoted as the first of the Swedish language histories, has various shortcomings which make it doubtful whether it is right to call it modern. In many respects, it comes up to the knowledge and methods of its time, but sometimes lapses into pure speculations; and moreover it suffers from a serious lack of material between Old and Modern Swedish. Rydqvist

may therefore be called a pre-neogrammarian rather than a real neogrammarian.

The real breakthrough of Swedish neogrammarian historical linguistics came a short time afterwards with the two “grand old men” Adolf Noreen and Axel Kock. As early as 1870, K. F. Söderwall had modernized Swedish language history in his book on *Hufvud-epokerna*: his focusing on sounds and inflexions, his periodizing into four epochs – Old Swedish, Late Middle Ages (“Kalmariunionen”), Early Modern Swedish (Reformation to mid-18th c.) and mid-18th c. to the present – and to some extent also his consideration of external linguistic features have remained as a model for both language history and historical grammar, although Söderwall’s name soon was overshadowed by Noreen and Kock, who thanks to their contacts with the Leipzig school of linguistics introduced the neogrammarian method into Sweden and in this way exerted a lasting influence in Scandinavia. Of the two scholars, however, only Noreen wrote a more comprehensive language history (Noreen 1889), which is incomplete in so far as it concentrates on the Old Nordic period(s) and in fact is a historical grammar rather than a real language history. Noreen is more generally known for his grammars of Old West Nordic (1884) and Old Swedish (1904), which have kept their position as neogrammarian classics until the present day, while Kock has become famous for more specialized studies, in particular on Swedish (and Nordic) accentology.

Many younger Swedish scholars have followed the historical tradition founded by Noreen and Kock, but none of them has produced the large comprehensive language history one might have expected in view of the strength of this tradition. The refined neogrammarian Bengt Hesselman tried to write a pan-Nordic language history (Hesselman 1948–53), but died before he could complete it (see below). Wessén (1941–56) did complete his *Svensk språkhistoria*, comprising the history of sounds, inflexions, word formation and syntax, so it is still an important handbook for students and researchers and may in some respects still be called a classic, but it nevertheless has its shortcomings. Keeping to a dry neogrammarian tradition, Wessén has neither a theory nor a methodology of his own; both his periodization and the division into levels of description are purely traditional; his explanations are entirely in the neogrammarian spirit of sound laws and analogy

and what is perhaps most deplorable: the embedding of linguistic features in a cultural and social context is minimal, so that the character of the whole work is that of a historical grammar rather than a language history. To be sure, Wessén’s manual has several good qualities (arrangement of phenomena in groups such as vowel changes, assimilation etc., comparison with West Nordic phenomena, relations between standard and colloquial language), but on the whole it is unsatisfactory and a real, comprehensive Swedish language history is still to be written.

During the last decades, however, several short handbooks on Swedish language history have been published. They are in general more or less popular or elementary, but most of them have wider methodological perspectives than the purely internal-linguistic one. Bergman (1968/1984) is not only very readable, but as well as treating sounds, inflexions, syntax and vocabulary, also considers social stratification, language cultivation etc. Pamp (1971) which has university students and interested laymen as a target audience, is, however traditional in general, consequently phonematic in the phonological parts and in the introduction has a number of valuable general remarks on linguistic change and phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic developments, while Pettersson (1996), one of the best of these short handbooks, starts with an overview of methods and research history from Bureus to the newest trends at the end of the 20th c., and in the central parts of the language history she applies not only systematic, but also e. g. sociolinguistic aspects (on the resurgence of historical linguistics in Sweden cf. Teleman 2000).

3.1.6. Danish

On the whole, work on national language history has perhaps not been so intensive in Denmark as in Sweden and Norway, it has instead to a high extent been concentrated on a single scholar’s, Peter Skautrup’s, achievement. As mentioned in art. 15, Danish scholars have made important contributions to language history at the dawn of modern humanities, above all in the works of Rasmus Rask and N. M. Petersen (see below), but after that not many books on Danish language history appeared. Danish linguists were not inactive in the latter part of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th c.; we can mention such illustrious

scholars as Ludvig Wimmer, Vilhelm Thomsen and later also Lis Jacobsen, and from 1901 Verner Dahlerup began to prepare his great dictionary (ODS). Dahlerup also wrote one of the first short handbooks of Danish language history which came up to modern standards, comprising both internal and external language developments (the genre was then continued by authors like Bertelsen (1913) and Oxenvad (1933), who, however, never reached the same level).

But the overshadowing standard work on Danish language history, both in size and quality, is Skautrup (1944–70). Let us have a brief look at one chapter of it: “Younger Middle-Danish” (Yngre middeldansk, 1350–1500). After a rather detailed account of the historical, economic and cultural frame, there follows an overview of the sources which is so comprehensive that it may be called a complete survey of that time’s repertoire of text types. Then follows an account of the language situation in general and of orthography, sounds, inflexions and word order in detail, and before the author comes to a conclusion, he treats (in a separate chapter) some special aspects, in particular stylistic and sociological ones. Without being pedantic, in the chapter “Younger Danish” (Nyere dansk, 1750–1870) Skautrup keeps to the same pattern, but adapts his account to the much more complicated situation of e. g. the social conditions of the language. To be sure, Skautrup is in general traditional in the description of language, but modern as to the variety of aspects included, and although traditional – with his background in the 30s and early 40s –, he incorporates systematic aspects to an extent which is unusual for his time; he considers a multitude of aspects hitherto mostly neglected, not least stylistics, social history and even language psychology. All in all, his language history may still be called a genuine classic, probably the last large work written by a single man in the field of linguistics.

Karker (1993) is of the opinion that Skautrup in a way is out of date but has no ambition to replace it by his own work: this book is just a short handy manual, rather elementary in concept and remarkable for its ever present exemplification with concrete texts. When speaking of Danish language history after World War II, one should also mention Diderichsen (1968), remarkable already as a historical work by a structuralist, but unfortunately unfinished because of the author’s untimely death.

Otherwise, Danish historical linguistics has almost been at a standstill during recent decades and also sociolinguistics’ acceptance has been rather slow, probably because of the dominant position of structuralism/glossematics. But now, both language history, sociolinguistics and parole linguistics in general may be about to enjoy a comeback (cf. Hansen 1983).

3.2. Comprehensive Nordic language histories

In *Brytpunkt* (2000) the authors time and again call for pan-Nordic perspectives. This is justified by the fact that there are relatively few works which cover all the Nordic languages. Rask, as the founder of historical-comparative linguistics and endowed with wide knowledge and ingenious analytic capacity, undoubtedly had the prerequisites for writing such a work, but did not do it, probably because of the lack of material at his disposal and partly because of his somewhat onesided interest in formal linguistics. It was therefore Jacob Grimm who for the first time dealt with the majority of Nordic languages in his *Deutsche Grammatik*, which in reality was a Germanic grammar: although he covered them in different chapters, he arranged the material in such a way to suggest a general development from Old Norse to modern Swedish and Danish. Of Scandinavian scholars, however, it was N. M. Petersen, a Dane and a school friend of Rask’s, who was the first to accomplish a language history covering the whole of the Nordic language area (1929/30). Written for the award of the “Society for the advancement of Danish literature”, it was originally arranged synthetically (comprising all the modern Nordic languages together), but for publication it was divided into a Danish, Norwegian and Swedish part. Referring to Rask as his teacher and predecessor, Petersen emphasizes in the preface his historic-diachronic method, aimed at an account of the linguistic development on historical grounds from Old Nordic as the proper “mother tongue” to the various modern Nordic languages. He operates from a well-balanced combination of diachrony and synchrony, makes comparisons with other (Old) Germanic languages (in particular with “Mösogothic” and Anglosaxon) on the one hand and masters to an admirable degree the many problems of more recent language history on the other hand. His dividing of Danish

language history into four periods is not too far from later scholars' opinions (although the terminology may not be fully adequate); he has e. g. a good understanding of the different kinds of umlaut or the general development of Danish from a synthetic type of language to a simplified one through weakening of endings and functionalizing of word order or word combinations, and he also considers the possible reasons for these developments. It is therefore not surprising that his language history remained an important reference book for quite a long time.

In the meantime, the interests of research and of university teaching focused more and more on national language history on the one hand and on the old languages, in particular Old Norse, on the other, so it was quite a long time before new comprehensive Nordic language histories were published. In a way, Noreen (1889) may be called an exception, being an overview of at least several language stages and including all the Nordic languages, but for the most part it concentrates on the old languages up to the Old Nordic period; otherwise it is characterized by the well-known qualities of Noreen's works: solid knowledge of the language material, reliable neogrammarian methods, consciousness of systematic aspects, which, however, decrease towards the end. Characteristically, the main part of the book is more of a historical grammar than a real language history, but in a fairly long introductory chapter the general historical development is described. Although the 3rd edition in 1913 is revised and enlarged, much of it is out of date today. Another Nordic language history, Hesselman (1948–53), is therefore more up-to-date and has become a standard work in spite of the fact that it is incomplete. This work is in more than one respect remarkable: (1) it is largely built upon innovative material – from modern Nordic dialects, other colloquial language and place-names (as well as language material from older texts, runic inscriptions, loanwords etc.) – (2) it is largely focused on modern dialect geography, – and above all (3) it concentrates not on the general history of sounds but on very special phonological developments such as weakening of sounds (*ljudförsvagningar*), sound changes (*ljudväxlingar*) and sound shifts (*ljudförskjutningar*). The author gives not only exact descriptions of these phenomena but in most cases also explanations of many difficult details, and he does not focus only on the phonological features mentioned,

but includes a multitude of other phenomena which can throw light on the chief problems. Thus Hesselman's work has for several generations served as a general reference book on Nordic language history, although the author could not complete it before his death.

In spite of some severe criticism it has met, Haugen (1976) may still be considered the best pan-Nordic language history. It is comprehensive, concise and combines in an intelligent way diachrony and synchrony; it is only sometimes a bit too compact, so that it might be difficult to survey the phenomena in question. But in its multitude of points of view and its energetic composition it is an excellent piece of work: it considers both internal and external linguistic factors, it follows linguistic and stylistic stratification and even language cultivation, and it considers always the languages' socio-historical relations. It is obvious that Haugen in many ways endeavours to apply a strict structural method, but he is not always successful, keeping in many respects to rather traditional methods, but although this has been criticized, he has written a useful book which moreover has been improved and supplemented in a German edition (1984).

Some years later, Haugen published another overview of the history of the Scandinavian languages (Haugen 1982), this time much more focused on linguistic structures. After a short general introduction about some preliminary questions of e. g. "Methods and points of view", there follow separate longitudinal sections on phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical structures, each of these chapters alternating between synchronic descriptions (of Proto-Scandinavian, of what Haugen calls "Common Scandinavian" ca. 550–1050, of Old Scandinavian and of the modern languages) and diachronic developments between these periods. Relations between the different levels of description are mentioned by cross-references, but the chapters in question are nevertheless quite isolated; this kind of organization may have made the author's work easier, but the readers never get a clear picture of *all* Scandinavian language structures at different times. Haugen's work also has other shortcomings: in addition to a series of factual mistakes or inaccuracies there is a methodological weakness. The goal of a structural (structuralist) language history is most strictly realized at the beginning (above all in the phonological section), but gradually gives way to a more or less traditional method. Nevertheless, the chief result, that there has

been a fundamental restructuring in the modern Scandinavian languages (apart from Icel.), is convincing and (on the whole) the book represents an impressive attempt to achieve a concise synopsis of a varied and difficult material.

The same cannot be said about another attempt at writing a synthesis of Nordic language history: Barðdal et al. (1997), the authors of which claim to have achieved an entirely new kind of language history, without chronological order, a real synopsis consequently arranged according to topics. In fact it is a puzzling piece of work and, in addition, full of factual errors. The authors of *Brytpunkt* (2000, 32) are perfectly right in wondering, why such a book could be published.

Two other works touching upon a Nordic language history, will only be mentioned in passing here. Bandle (1973) describes the division of Nordic dialects on the basis of their historical development, maintaining that we can discern three main dialect areas (West, South and North or Northeast Scandinavia), which, of course, in turn consist of various minor areas. – Braunmüller (1991/1999) has, on the whole, no ambitions to write language history, but declares his method as descriptive-structuralist. His book includes, however, plenty of historical information, to mention only one example: the opposite typological developments in the modern Scandinavian languages and in Insular Nordic.

4. Conclusion

As the result of this survey we can state that for minor areas and specialized problems, much valuable research work has been carried out in Nordic language history, but as regards more comprehensive surveys, much is still to be done. Moreover, in most cases working methods have been traditional, for the most part in the sense of neogrammarian patterns. The present handbook therefore tries to fill two gaps: by including a multitude of factual information and by considering all the methodological possibilities modern linguistics has at its disposal.

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7. Outline of research on Nordic language history before 1800

1. Introductory notes
2. Early interest in language history
3. The battle for the most prestigious Nordic language history
4. Culmination of the search for prestige, and coming to one's senses, in the 17th and 18th centuries
5. Some names of interest in research on language history, 1500–1800
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Introductory notes

In the following, the notions “research”, “Scandinavian” and “language history” will all necessarily have a rather tentative and vague character. The time limit “before 1800” indicates that there is a shift in attitude to the topic after that time, and it is common knowledge that the era of Romanticism introduced history – and not least language history – of a new type, characterized by ideas about language as something essential for nations. Like nations, languages were looked upon as organisms. During the 19th c., research on language history became a more and more specialized task, methodologically dependent on comparative historical linguistics, with Scandinavian language history developed as a sub-branch of Germanic language history, which in turn is part of Indo-European language history. Perhaps this has given a false impression that nowadays we have all the answers to language history in general, and that earlier attempts in this genre all failed in a most ridiculous way. Thus the study of research on language history before 1800 has often been regarded as an activity engaged in only for amusement. However, if we try – at least for a moment – to abandon this view, skilfully established by representatives of 19th c. research, it will be possible to find more of interest than we first thought.

2. Early interest in language history

It is impossible to know when human beings in Scandinavia started to think about their language in a theoretical way, or about their language history. Let us assume that old texts are a prerequisite for language history study, not necessarily in written form. Even so, there is a period of about 1600 years when older and younger written texts might have been compared in Scandinavia, before 1800. E. g.

the famous Icelandic historian Snorri Sturluson showed an interest in language history and language change when discussing metric forms and explaining old words and expressions from heathen poetry in his “Younger Edda” (from about 1225).

Another piece of evidence of an early interest that we can connect with the notion “language history” is the *Gutasaga* from the Baltic island of Gotland. Here not only is the myth of the original settlement of the island rendered but also the later fate of the population – a third of them had to emigrate eastwards due to overpopulation. In the Greek empire they found people who spoke a related language. Kinship with the Goths, probably hinted at in the *Gutasaga*, was a source of Scandinavian pride and self-esteem in mediaeval times elsewhere in Scandinavia as well, most ostentatiously demonstrated in connection with a council in Basel in 1434, where the archbishop of Sweden, Nils Ragvaldson, asked for an honourable place based on this kinship. During the following centuries the kinship between *göter* and *goter* formed a typical “Scandinavian leitmotiv” in almost everything that concerns language history writing.

3. The battle for the most prestigious Nordic language history

In the 16th and 17th c., scholarly interest in the local way of writing, the runes, must be regarded as the triggering factor for research on Scandinavian language history. Olaus Petri, the Swedish Lutheran reformer, is said to have decorated his house in Stockholm with a runic inscription: *skäggiot haka klädher icke väl i dansa* [almost nonsense: ‘a chin with a beard does not suit well in the dance’]. Together with “genuine” runic inscriptions from his childhood environment in Uppland, this awoke an interest in contemporary as well as historical grammar in the young Johan Bure (Johannes Bureus, 1568–1652).

With Bure another Scandinavian language history leitmotiv is introduced, and very forcefully: the antagonism between Denmark and Sweden over the right to the most glorious linguistic and historical past, reflected in the title of a work printed by Bure in 1636 (now lost): *Specimen primariae lingvæ Scanzianæ*, which included an attack on the Danish editor of mediaeval romances, Anders Sørensen Vedel

(1542–1616, *Et hundrede danske viser*, printed in 1591 and later; in 1575 Vedel had printed a Danish translation of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*). Vedel was called a liar, and Bureus (on false grounds) accused him of having embellished the romance "Ebbe oc Aage de Helledede saa fro" with faked old morphological forms. The romance deals with the historical connection to Scandinavia of the Langobards, and this made the philological question politically sensitive.

Bure continued to fight against supposed Danish attempts to claim Nordic history and language history for themselves. Ole Worm (1588–1654, a physician and antiquarian) also dared to publish thoughts about the origin of the runes (1636, *Runir seu Danica litteratura antiqvissima*), as well as an illustrated collection of all known Danish runes (1643, *Danicorum Monumentorum libri sex*). Worm also supported the "Icelandic Renaissance" characterized by new editions and translation of Icelandic sagas and Eddapoetry. In *Runa Redux*, published in 1644, Bure scrutinized this from a Swedish point of view, and his philological argumentation is supported by four songs with demagogic polemic against Worm and Denmark.

4. Culmination of the search for prestige, and coming to one's senses, in the 17th and 18th centuries

As already mentioned, two main characteristics of early research in language history have contributed to later condemnation and contempt: (1) the Gothic heritage, and (2) the bias created by the rivalry between the traditionally leading Nordic political power – the kingdom of Denmark – and the newcomer on the political scene – the kingdom of Sweden established by Gustav Vasa in 1523. It is much easier to perceive the political interest in a great linguistic past, rather naively demonstrated by Bure and his followers, with its culmination in the *Atlantica* by Olov Rudbeck, than it is to find exactly the same tendencies which are much more indirectly demonstrated in the 19th c. and later. The technically much more sophisticated and elevated discussions about branches and labels in the huge Indo-European Stammbaum – North, West and East Germanic, East and West Nordic and so on – sometimes make us forget that these are chiefly arbitrary labels and backward projec-

tions of later linguistic and political conditions, adapted to the past. Awareness of such arbitrariness can be regarded as one important outcome when studying the earlier attempts at writing language history.

To some extent the 17th and 18th c. language historians were no less aware of linguistic facts or the mechanisms of language change than the neogrammarians. But their labels were different, and we therefore have to analyse them carefully. Urban Hiärne (e. g. 1717, 76) uses the term "Nordic languages" in the same sense as 19th c. philologists use the term "Germanic languages", and with the same precision. When reading older authors carefully, drawing the limit at 1800 may turn out to be less important nowadays than it used to be.

Much research remains to be done before a fair picture can emerge and the right attributions of sound and lasting achievements within the area of language history can be made – if ever. Traditionally the Swedish 18th c. scholar Johan Ihre (1707–80) has been much praised for his contribution to comparative historical linguistics, just as the Dane Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) was – the latter is covered in art. 15. Ihre can be taken as an illustration of how historiographic mechanisms often work in a haphazard way. In a later period or scientific paradigm, when scholars are convinced that their modern way of looking at things, in the case of language history, is the only correct one, it is very tempting to return to older representatives of the science to look for predecessors. In the 19th c. and later, Ihre could easily be recognized as a forefather of Indo-European language history, both with regard to methods and results. However, many of Ihre's sound ideas about language history are inherited from Hiärne's publication *Orthographia Suecana* (1717). In this work and in his unpublished *Oförgripelige Tanckar* (about 1720) he attempted a periodisation of the language history of Swedish, which is still taken up by language historians, authors who probably never read Hiärne's work. Gösta Holm (SBL, Ihre) points out that much of what has been said about Ihre being the first to discover the Germanic consonant shift is an exaggeration, partly because similar observations had already been made by the Swede Erik Benzelius Jr. in material used by Ihre. Probably this is meant as a criticism of Jan Agrell's (1955) *Studier i den äldre språk-jämförelsens allmänna och svenska historia fram till 1827* (UUÅ 1955, 13).

5. Some names of interest in research on language history, 1500–1800

5.1. Denmark/Norway:

Ole Worm (1588–1654) is the oldest of the Danish scholars, whose achievements within the area of language history will be commemorated here at some length. Like many of those worthy of being focused on, he was a physician, with a background not only in the humanities but also in the natural sciences. To a large extent he received his university education outside Denmark, at Marburg, Giessen, Strasbourg, Basel, Padova, Montpellier, Paris and Leiden, just to mention a few of his destinations from 1605 until he finally matriculated at Copenhagen University in 1610. There he made his career as a teacher, passing over different chairs until in 1624 he settled down as a professor of medicine.

Worm goes back too far to be entirely connected with “The new philosophy” of empiricism in his works within the natural sciences. Yet his early interest in ancient Scandinavian history is to a large extent empirical, in the sense that he was eager to see and describe, and make public, all kinds of documents from earlier periods. His first publication in the area, *Fasti Danici* (1626), deals with old calendars. A runic calendar (a manuscript from Gotland, 1328) was described and interpreted as being from Jutland. This shows a certain lack of insight into language history, but otherwise his treatment still has value, especially as the original manuscript has been lost. The same goes to some extent for his main publication within runology, *Danicorum Monumentorum libri sex* (1643), where he collected, described and interpreted all 144 runic inscriptions known at that time in the Kingdom of Denmark, including Norway and the later Swedish provinces of Skåne, Blekinge and Halland. One of them, Runamo in Blekinge, has later been shown to be no inscription at all but rather a natural formation in the cliff. Nevertheless, his format for presenting the runes has been used by all later serious publishers of runic monuments in Scandinavia: illustrations (Jon Skonvig has to be credited for many of them, partly using a new technique – carving in tin), detailed information about the physical context of the inscriptions and how they were found, and the rendering and translation of the texts (into Latin in those days).

It must of course be emphasized that Worm’s opinions about the history of runic script as well as many of his interpretations have been superseded by later runologists. For Worm the runes were derived from Hebrew script, in accordance with the common opinion of the time that Hebrew was the mother of all languages. Worm continued his philological work as a collector and publisher of old documents. In 1642 he published part of the runic manuscript of the *Skånske Lov*. He was also convinced that “nowhere in the Nordic countries was the language of the runic inscriptions conserved more purely than on the famous Danish island of Iceland”. Therefore, when publishing some Old Icelandic poems (*Egils Höfuðlausn* and *Krákumál*), he printed the text with runic fonts.

As can be deduced from this short outline of Worm’s works within Nordic philology, he introduced two important and necessary methods, which were developed by later generations of philologists: critical analysis of original texts, and accuracy in presenting them in their original contexts.

Ole (Oluf) Borch (1626–1690) is another of those early physicians who combined natural sciences with linguistic and philological interests. Between 1660 and 1665 he visited Leiden, London, Paris, Florence, Rome and other universities in Europe. There he met famous scientists and scholars such as Robert Boyle, Steno, Bourdelot; in Rome he had discussions with Christina, the former Queen of Sweden. Back in Copenhagen he held several chairs at the university, where he could develop his ideas and interests in many fields, as one of the last great Danish polymaths.

Here only his *Dissertatio de causis diversitatis lingvarum* (1675) will be mentioned. His monogenetic view of the origins of language followed the general opinion of his time, but he added some factors after Babel that might influence linguistic variation and change, such as contact with different neighbouring languages, climatic impact on speech organs, neglect and different onomatopoeic interpretations of natural sounds.

The younger Swedish fellow physician Urban Hiärne (both received their medical degrees from Angers in France) visited Borch a couple of times when passing through Copenhagen. Their contact offers early counterevidence to the general view of animosity between scholars from Denmark and Sweden. Probably linguistic change was among the topics discussed between them, in an empiric

and scientific spirit. They both provided insights into mechanisms involved in language change. However, the contemporary more or less axiomatic view that both the earth and mankind were about 6000 years old was an obstacle to their attempts to develop a more realistic model of the origins of language, language history and language change, just as it was for realistic thoughts about geology.

Peder Syv (1631–1702) acquired a contemporary reputation for his *Nogle betenkninger om det Cimbriske Sprog* (1663), helping him to acquire a post as “Philologus regius lingvæ Danicæ” (in 1683). Syv used the term “Cimbric” for what has later been labeled “Germanic”, hinting at a connection with the Cimbrian people, known for their attacks against Rome, where they were finally beaten by Marius in 101 B.C. Together with the Teutonic people they were supposed to have emigrated from Jutland. In a similar manner to the way, about 15 years later, the Swede Olof Rudbeck tried to provide the Swedes with a glorious linguistic history, so Syv gave Denmark a central role through the Cimbric notion, although in a much more modest way. Most of *Betenkninger* deals with orthographic and morphological questions in connection with contemporary Danish, where Syv held opinions which were soon partly opposed by other Danish grammarians such as Henrik Gerner and Erik Pontoppidan. *Betenkninger* also played a role for the Swede Samuel Columbus, who used parts of it in his *En svensk ordeskötsel* (1678), published in the 19th c., which was highly esteemed by e. g. Adolf Noreen for its insights into language theory. The works of Syv and other old Danish grammarians have been published by Henrik Bertelsen in an admirable edition, making them easily available to modern readers.

“DG” (probably Hans Oluvsøn Nysted, 1664–1740, born in Norway) was brought to light by Caroline C. Henriksen when in 1976 she published a treatise on an anonymous manuscript from early 18th c. Denmark (GKS 789 fol., *Dansk Rigssprog – en beskrivelse fra 1700-tallet*). The main purpose of the anonymous author was to describe his contemporary Danish, but he also had some interesting things to say about language history in general, as well as about the connection between Danish and its neighbouring languages or dialects.

Henriksen starts by putting the author’s thoughts into a framework of early international theories about language and languages.

She quotes from the manuscript the author’s serious doubts about the monogenesis of languages, including the common theory about Hebrew as more or less identical with “Adamic”, the language used by the first humans. This “standard” view had been advocated by Peder Syv (1663, 1). Like Georg Stiernhielm and others, DG did not accept the myth of Babel as the truth about how the world’s diverse languages arose from one original language. His opinion, repeatedly stated throughout the manuscript, is rather that no language can be said to come from another, e. g. Latin from Greek, which was often maintained in earlier attempts at writing language history. “In the same way as an infinite number of melodies can be created from a finite set of musical tones, numerous languages can be formed on the basis of the limited set of ‘letters’, i. e. sounds, available to human speech.” DG was not willing to put a label on the original and lost language. “It was simply scrambled by God to form each individual language in existence [...] This mixing process explains how language can show similarities and still not derive directly from one another.” (77). Henriksen states: “He admits that the languages he finds around him are not in the same form as they were originally, but this he attributes to corruption through neglect and contact with each other.” (78). Thus he could work on re-establishing some original versions of the languages created through mixing by God from the unknown first language. At the same time he seemed to accept the view also held by Stiernhielm – and probably initiated by Isidore of Seville (c. 570–636) – that Europeans descend from Japheth.

In spite of this somewhat confusing idea about prehistoric language history, he shows a very clear notion about the relationships between contemporary languages and dialects:

[...] these neighbouring languages, Danish and Norwegian, are “con-languages” to each other, i. e. they are to a very large degree identical, with the exception of a few words, expressions, and changes in the places of letters, which they like every languages and dialect everywhere have for themselves [...] (79).

It is not easy to render his thoughts, which are formulated in a very special idiolect, but he also rejected the idea that Italian or French should be derived from Latin. The same goes for his comparisons of dialects within the kingdom of Denmark when discussing certain

regularities in differences between Danish, Jutlandic and Norwegian.

Here it seems possible to draw parallels with the core structural thoughts about “time dialects” which cannot be changed, formulated by Urban Hiärne (ca. 1720). Whether their views have a common source, or whether one was influenced by the other, is impossible to say. It is a fact, however, that neither of them liked the notion of one language emerging from the other. Languages just exist. Hiärne seemed to be theoretically more aware of this partly parallel existence, as can be seen in his term “time dialect” (See Hiärne below).

5.2. Sweden/Finland/Baltic provinces

Johan Bure or Johannes Bureus (1568–1652) has been mentioned earlier in this article (see 3.), primarily for his part in the dispute between Sweden and Denmark. He made his career as an official in the Swedish government under the father of King Gustav II Adolf, Karl IX. Bure was his herald at the declaration of war against Denmark in 1611. In a monograph from 1911, Hjalmar Lindroth promoted Bureus as “the father of Swedish grammar”, and this title obviously includes the same position in Swedish language history research as well as dialectology.

Bure was born in Uppland, close to Uppsala, in the part of Sweden with most runic monuments. In a way his role in Swedish language history became the same as that of Ole Worm in Denmark. Bure was also inspired by the interests and ideas of the Renaissance. However, he was mainly self-taught and never had an opportunity to study at universities abroad. He began work in many fields, but most of what he started was never completed, e. g. he spent a lot of time registering runic inscriptions. Together with assistants he collected about 200 inscriptions in Sweden, more than those published for Denmark-Norway by Worm, but this represented a much smaller proportion of available Swedish runic inscriptions, and only a part of the collection was published by Bure.

Just as Bure used his self-attained knowledge of Hebrew for studies of kabbalistic literature, thus showing an inclination to mysticism, so also was his interest in runes highly devoted to the magic of the runic messages. He wanted to revive the practical use of runic script and invented a cursive variant for this purpose. This enthusiasm for the practical use of the autochthonous writing tradition was

also partly shared by Worm, but Bure was much more intense about it. Bure was of the opinion that the runic script evolved from Hebrew.

Like Worm, Bure was eager to publish old manuscripts, but only got one into print: *En nyttigh bok, om konnunga styrilse och höfdinga, fordom för någre hundrade åhr, af en förståndigh svensk man skrifvin, och nu nyliga framkommen* [...], 1634. The original manuscript has been lost, and much later philological discussion has been devoted to the accuracy of Bure’s edition.

Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672) received European recognition as a scholar, and not least as an expert in language history, although certainly no human endeavour was foreign to him. Probably he regarded himself foremost as a scientist and mathematician. He seems to have been the first to use the decimal system in Sweden, and he reformed the systems for weights and measures (published in *Archimedes reformatus* in 1644). A few years before his death he was elected a foreign member of the Royal Society of London.

Perhaps his greatest achievement within language history was his establishment of a historical relationship between Finnish (including Sami and Estonian) and Hungarian, neither of which had any known relationship to neighbouring and surrounding languages. He published this discovery in the *Prefatio* of his edition of the Gothic Bible by Wulfila, edited from Codex Argenteus (1671), but unpublished documents (in KB, Stockholm) reveal that he had been working intensely on this hypothesis much earlier. The background of this was that for several decades starting in 1630 he served the Kingdom of Sweden as a Dorpat Court of Appeal judge in Livonia (now southern Estonia). His knowledge of Hungarian seems to have come mainly through a dictionary by Molnár. Finnish was not very well described at the time, but Stiernhielm must have mastered it, or rather Estonian, to some extent, mostly perhaps from his daily contacts with Estonian peasants. Now, neither this pioneering work, nor his edition of Wulfila and interest in the Gothic language, make Stiernhielm a hero within the area of the history of the Nordic languages. His interest in Old Icelandic and Swedish manuscripts also had mainly a practical purpose.

Stiernhielm’s main impact came through his poetry, both in Latin and as “the father of Swedish poetry”. His interest in establishing

a poetic tradition in his mother tongue seems to have been concentrated on a rather short period in the 1640s and 1650s. He became admired for (and can still be admired as) an inventor and introducer of new words to make his poetry powerful and indigenous. Some of these words have survived to this day, but most of them must be regarded as belonging only to his own poetic language. His ambition was to avoid French and other loans from the Romance languages. As a member of the Baltic aristocracy, he never hesitated about using loans from German, but his first priority was to create or use words and/or word formation elements from the Old Nordic languages and dialects, and – like most of his contemporaries – he regarded them as part of a common Nordic heritage. Thus the later division between West and East Nordic seems not to have bothered him at all. During this period he also tried to find Swedish equivalents for grammatical and rhetorical terms, probably inspired by similar attempts in Germany.

Much has been written about his language philosophy. It certainly also turned out to be helpful in his poetic work, which is full of alliterations, which carefully follow his theory about language roots, related to Pythagorean ideas and presented in his *Radix Ma* (1649). For example, the consonant *m* (pronounced with close lips) has an original connection to something closed, secret and dead: *Döden molmar i mull allt vad här fagert och fint är*. He traces such roots in most languages as a kind of linguistic universal. His theory often results in good poetry, and perhaps Stiernhielm can be regarded as a predecessor for some of Roman Jakobson's theories in *Kindersprache, Aphasie und allgemeine Lautgesetze*. Since he found Swedish very rich in such language universals, it had to be closely related to the first language, he concluded.

But Stiernhielm's language philosophy did not provide a helpful method for discovering language history clues. Much less for him than for his contemporaries (such as the Dane Peder Syv) the Bible, or the myth of Babel, was the theoretical framework from which a kind of Stammbaum must be established, assuming dialect splits had occurred during the few thousand years that had passed since the creation of the world. The Dutch scholar Goropius Becanus had already found a way around Babel, making it possible for Dutch to be a direct descendant of the language of Adam and Eve. Stiernhielm also avoided Babel, claiming that the first split originated

with the sons of Noah: Sem and Cham were the fathers of the Semitic languages (Hebrew, Arabic and Syrian) and the Chamitic (Egyptian, Ethiopian, Phoenician), while Japheth was the originator of Latin, Greek, Persian, Germanic and Slavic. This group, for which Stiernhielm used the word "Scythian", roughly corresponded to the Indo-European language family in later terminology. In such a macro-perspective, there was not much space for subtle subdivisions of the Germanic and Nordic languages, and Stiernhielm explicitly, as well as in his neologisms, regarded German and Swedish as

två fullbördige Systrar, af een Moder, den ur-
åldre förste iaphetiske-Skythiske Moderen födde
– och är i sielfue ätten ingen skildnat: fast
synas något serskilde i deras bonad, och Mun-
lagh. Kunne därföre otalige många Tyske ord up-
tagas, därmed vårt Tungemåål at rikhta och be-
pryda: allenast at the blifua lämpade, och lagade
till vårt Mååls wijs, och Muns-art.

For two sisters such as German and Swedish, from the same Scythian mother, there are no significant differences, only superficial ones, and therefore he felt free to incorporate and adopt whatever he needed from German. To a Swede working in the Baltic provinces, this harmonization of German and Swedish was certainly an attractive solution to practical everyday language problems.

Olof Rudbeck senior (1630–1702) has to be mentioned because of his contemporary national and international fame as the author of *Atland eller Manhem* (in Latin *Atlantica*; volume I 1679, volume IV 1702, in print at his death). Here most of what later on has been criticised and ridiculed as characteristic of fanciful older Nordic language history writing has been gathered into one huge work. Its central thesis is that Sweden was the lost Atlantis. A great deal of intellectual energy was used to convince the reader that Sweden had played a central role in the past of all mankind, by hazardous etymologies of Swedish place-names and works, tracing them back to the world of classical Greece, but in the conviction that Greek had borrowed them from Swedish. The runes of course represented the oldest alphabet and became the prototype for the Greek and Latin alphabets. For example, the Swedish mountain Helagsfjället had given its name to Helicon in Greece, and so on. What Stiernhielm had started in a comparatively modest way was taken here to megalomaniac perfection. At the same time Rudbeck also

sometimes worked empirically and in a scientific way, being a pioneer in the field of archaeological excavations.

Rudbeck's central position in Swedish cultural life, as a famous physician, technician and scientist, and a leading personality at the university of Uppsala as its rector for long periods, made him a central figure for a group of scholars in Uppsala all working within the same paradigm, the so-called *Rudbeckians*, including his son, Olof Rudbeck Jr. To strengthen their theories, even faked "old" texts were constructed by Rudbeckians. Mixed in with these "hyperborean" ideas, no doubt some interesting results can be found, e. g. within the area of archaeology, but the whole enterprise was soon condemned.

Urban Hiärne (1641–1724) was taught medicine by Olof Rudbeck in Uppsala in the 1660s. However, Rudbeck's supernaturalistic ideas cannot be noticed at all in Hiärne's linguistic contributions: *Orthographia svecana* (1717) and *Oförgriplige Tanckar* (ca. 1720; forbidden by the censor to be published; first in print in 1991).

Like Stiernhielm, Urban Hiärne has an important background in the Swedish provinces east of the Baltic. His father was born in Värmland but spent most of his life as a Swedish vicar in the province of Ingria, where Urban was born, and his father ended up as "prost" in Nyen. There Hiärne spent his early years. The multilingual environment of Nyen, where St. Petersburg was built later, was important, but at that time it was a young Swedish freetown in the easternmost part of the kingdom. Swedish, German, Finnish and Russian were all spoken in Nyen, and this was the basis for Hiärne's later reputation for being one of the most polyglot scholars of his time. During his career, first as the private physician to Governor General Claes Tott in Riga, he completed his language knowledge with Polish. In 1669 he went to London on his own initiative to learn more. As a young physician he thus was fortunate enough to be elected member of the Royal Society of London, and he spent an entire, receptive year there. Linguistics, not least phonetics, was at that time an important issue for famous members like John Wilkins (*Essay towards a real character and a Philosophical Language*, 1668) and John Wallis (*Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*, 1653, with a universal phonetic introduction, *De loquela*), and in 1669 William Holder published his *Elements of speech*. A quarrel between Wallis and Holder about who

was to be credited with having taught the deaf Alexander Popham to speak started at that time, no doubt making phonetics and linguistics a hot subject in London.

After a year in London, Hiärne moved on to the other scientific metropolis of Western Europe, Paris. During almost three years in France, he of course learnt French, just as he had learnt English in London. He studied chemistry and medicine, but in *Orthographia svecana* (65), written about 45 years later, he revealed another activity from his time in Paris: he had tried to make a speaking head, i. e. artificial sound production.

Returning to Sweden, he made a career as a physician, focusing on introducing spa cures in Sweden, which made him rich and socially successful. He became the leading physician and pharmacist of his time, responsible for the health of both Karl XI and Karl XII. His skill was used in almost all scientific activities of the Swedish Great Power, including mineral exploration and mining, and investigations of both natural and historical resources of the kingdom. In that connection he travelled a great deal in Sweden, not unlike Linneus some decades later. But his workplace was the capital Stockholm, not the universities of Uppsala or Lund.

His capacity as a linguist was first used for establishing an orthography for the revised Bible edition at the beginning of the 18th c. (*Karl den XII:s bibel*). Another important personality, Bishop Jesper Swedberg (father of Emanuel Swedenborg), had a quite different approach to this. The quarrel between these two forms the background for several linguistic publications in Sweden during the first decades of the 18th c., (*Schibboleth, Hedersförsvär* and *En kortt Svensk Grammatica* by Swedberg). Hiärne's linguistic works were triggered by this debate: Hiärne defended his own interpretation of the old orthography, where gemination of vowels to mark vowel length, together with the abundant use of the letter *h*, is essential, where Swedberg rejected both these features and advocated a modern spelling where vowel length was only indirectly marked to some extent by gemination of a following consonant when the preceding vowel was short, and which abandoned many cases of etymologically correct but no longer pronounced letters <t/d + h>. Swedberg's orthography was victorious in the long run. In the morphological aspects of the quarrel, where Swedberg stuck to the inherited inflectional system for nouns and verbs used in the Ref-

ormation Bible, Hiärne was in favour of a modern, simplified morphology, in accordance with contemporary colloquial Swedish.

Interesting here are the scientific results from this struggle about the shape of a written Swedish language. No doubt Hiärne's theoretical background from his youth in London and Paris, and his knowledge of both contemporary and historical language stages, resulted in partly very modern and interesting statements about language universals, language change and language typology. He was, for example, very interested in historical changes triggered by language contact situations, not only when explaining the relations between Latin and Italian, but also when trying to explain the development of medieval Swedish. The simplification of Swedish phonology with regard to the abandonment of <th> /þ/ and <dh> /ð/, was, according to Hiärne, due to difficulties for Germans in Sweden in pronouncing those dental fricatives.

On the whole, Hiärne "uses the present to explain the past" to an extent that makes him an early sociolinguist in his treatment of language history. Although when old Hiärne personally found developments in spoken Swedish, emanating from the linguistic melting pot of the capital of Stockholm, disgusting, he was very aware of these tendencies. Like later dialectologists, he was fond of resemblances with old language known from written sources, and surviving features in remote dialects: Icelandic, Dalecarlian, the dialect of Åland and so on. Implicitly, a kind of "Wellentheorie" can be found in his treatment of the Nordic dialects.

In his last contribution to linguistics, *Oförgripelige tanckar*, he seems to advocate a theoretical attitude to language change which is very similar to the most rigid structuralists of the 20th c. In it he presents the notion "time dialects". Each time dialect has an extension in time and space, but they cannot be changed, he says, because then we simply have a new structure, a new time dialect. Focusing on historical morphology, he tries to establish and illustrate some of the most important time dialects, which partly overlap each other: Old Swedish (from heathen times to the Early Middle Ages), Newer Swedish (Late Middle Ages?), Danish Swedish (characterized by endings in -e-) and Newest Swedish. The distinctions are not quite clear and the morphological patterns presented by him are to some extent abstractions and his own creations. But his basis for establishing them was

no doubt the result of his lengthy study of manuscripts and texts from different periods.

Finally, the empirical nature of Hiärne's work must be emphasized, taking into account the fact that language history was more or less a hobby, but a very serious hobby, of the first active Swedish member of the Royal Society. His activities in most of the scientific fields of the time characterize his work as the result of an early Swedish one-man academy for improving natural knowledge, including linguistics – just as Francis Bacon, the early ideologist of the programme followed by the Royal Society, clearly regarded linguistics as part of science.

Johan Ihre (1707–1780) was born in Lund into an academic family. He started his own academic career in Uppsala, where he matriculated in 1720. For three years (1730–33) he studied abroad (Jena, Utrecht, Leiden). In 1737 he received his first chair in Latin at Uppsala University. By 1738 he exchanged it for the chair founded by Johan Skytte in rhetoric and politics. He stayed in Uppsala and played an important role as a teacher to generations of students and as a productive author, mostly in linguistic subjects, over forty years. Several times he held the rectorship.

In 1755 he applied for the post as the official historiographer of Sweden, but it was given to Olof von Dalin, also well-known as an author and editor of the political magazine *Then svenska Argus*. Dalin deserves a mention in this connection for his ironic treatment of the etymologies of the Rudbeck school, but Ihre was the man who reestablished the reputation of linguistic studies at Uppsala University through his own scholarly activities, above all in the field of etymology. His most well-known contribution is *Glossarium Suiogothicum*, published in 1769 after years of preparation. It is this etymological dictionary, with its Proemium, which has given Ihre his reputation as a forefather of the 19th c. language history paradigm, developed by Rasmus Rask and Jacob Grimm and others. In *Dissertatio Academica De Mutationibus Linguae Sueogothicae* (1742), Ihre published his periodization of Swedish language history, discussed in sect. 4.

Ihre also believed that Scythian was the first language, with a close connection to Gothic. With the Gothic Bible, *Codex argenteus*, kept in Uppsala University library, it is obvious that Gothic studies were close at hand in Uppsala, and Johan Ihre and his pupils published several philological dissertations about Gothic.

6. Literature (a selection)

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Stig Örjan Ohlsson, Tartu (Estonia)

8. Research in Danish language history 1850–1950. An overview

1. The roots and development of the Danish language
2. Old sources and new dictionaries
3. The Danish dialects
4. Runes and chronology
5. Standard Danish
6. Descriptions of the Danish language
7. Literature (a selection)

Language history is a discipline which embraces all aspects of the language and all stages of its development. It involves both the structure of the language and its usage. Danish scholars, however, have concerned themselves particularly with phonetics and morphology and the sound developments that can be observed in older Danish texts.

In the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, Danish philologists were first and foremost historically orientated, but from the 1930s other and newer currents have left their mark on research into the Danish language.

Since the end of the '60s philological and language historical research in Denmark have not been particularly popular, although attention has been drawn several times in the '90s to the fact that there are many and significant gaps in the description of the history of Danish (cf. e. g. Rischel 1996), and there are also indications that interest in the history of the lan-

guage is beginning to experience a much-needed renaissance (Holmberg 1995).

1. The roots and development of the Danish language

1.1. The origin of the Nordic languages

In spite of his comparatively short lifespan, Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) managed to achieve the status of one of the most eminent figures in the history of philological research. In company with the German scholars Franz Bopp and Jacob Grimm, he created the methodical basis for modern comparative linguistics, and by employing this method on the Germanic languages, he demonstrated that the Nordic languages form a separate linguistic group which differs in significant ways from other, closely related groups of languages. In so doing, Rask was protesting against the view that the Nordic languages formed a sub-division of the German dialects and that Danish was a kind of corrupt Low German, a view which first and foremost found expression in earlier German research. Rask thus established Nordic Philology as an independent field of study, with the Nordic languages as its subject. He also made his own contribution to this subject by writing a grammar of Ice-

landic, *Vejledning til det Islandske eller gamle Nordiske Sprog* (1811), and as a continuation of this a Danish grammar (printed in 1820), in which he demonstrated how the simplified Danish inflexional system can be explained on the basis of Icelandic accident with its abundance of forms.

Rask's major work, however, is his monograph on the origin of the old Nordic language. This was an entry for an essay competition arranged by the Royal Danish Academy in 1811, although Rask did not submit his entry until 1814 (published in 1818). The monograph is epoch-making in that it includes the first closely reasoned presentation of the discipline of comparative linguistics with a formulation of principles which remain valid to this very day, as well as many important, concrete discoveries, including an introductory presentation of the rules which are now referred to as the First/Germanic Sound Shift or Grimm's Law.

In his linguistic method, Rask was not under the influence of either earlier or contemporary researchers. He, for his part, however, inspired and influenced Danish philologists for several generations and this to such a degree that many of them had to struggle to free themselves from his views on language where these proved to be wrong. This struggle continued until the end of the 19th century.

1.2. The development of the Danish language

Rask's monograph from 1818 established a historical perspective that made it natural to study the development of a language from its ancient to modern form. This task was carried out in an exemplary manner for its time by N. M. Petersen (1791–1882) in his pioneering work entitled *Det danske, norske og svenske Sprogs Historie under deres Udvikling af Stam-sproget* 1–2 (1829–30), where he describes the development of the literary language from the earliest times to about 1700 against its cultural-historical background. For several generations of scholars, this work formed the basis for the historical study of the Nordic languages.

As is evident from the title, Petersen – like Rask – considered Icelandic to be the parent language of Danish and the other Nordic languages, and this prevented him from arriving at the correct view of the development of the language and the relationship between its various stages of development. In addition, Peter-

sen – unlike Rask – was inspired by the Romantic period's view of history, and this led him to several peculiar explanations of linguistic phenomena. For example, he assumed that the weakening of stops took place as a result of "the oppressed and downtrodden condition of the people, especially the humbler people". It should be noted that Petersen was not the only one to accept uncritically Rask's mistaken view that Icelandic was the parent language of Danish. It is an error that left its mark on Danish philology for most of the 19th century, even though a few voices during that century, including those of Christian Molbech (1783–1857) and Israel Levin (1810–83), claimed that Danish was an independent language with its own development that needed to be studied without constant reference to Old Icelandic and other ancient languages.

2. Old sources and new dictionaries

2.1. Editions of texts

Since 1820 much effort has been spent by several scholars on the editing of old Danish texts. These editions are often provided with valuable introductions, descriptions of the language, glossaries and notes, but many of the 19th century's editions of texts have naturally been superseded by more recent and philologically more correct ones.

Some of the 19th century's editions, however, still remain the only available ones. This is the case, for example, with the oldest Danish Bible translation (1828, ed. Christian Molbech), *Holy women* (1859, ed. C. J. Brandt), *Mandeville's travels* (1882, ed. Marcus Lorenzen) and the leech-book in the Arnamagnæan manuscript 187,8° (1886, ed. V. Sâby).

2.2. Danish place-names and personal names

An important event for language studies at the University of Copenhagen was the establishment of a Chair of Nordic Languages. This occurred in 1845, and since then the subject has become increasingly specialised. Fields such as dialectology and name-studies have been cultivated as independent disciplines, while the literary side of philology has gradually come to forge closer and closer links with the study of literature.

The first holder of the chair was N. M. Petersen. He was interested in research in literature and culture, and he was above all a

historically orientated scholar with a good knowledge of the old Danish source material. In a pioneering monograph (1833), he created a firm basis for research into Danish place-names, with clearly formulated criteria. Later in the century, Oluf Nielsen (1838–96), Johannes Steenstrup (1844–1935) and other historians followed his lead, but it was only during the course of the 20th century that name-research freed itself from the embrace of historians and became established as an independent discipline. Several scholars contributed to this development, but the work of Kristian Hald (1904–85) was particularly important for the subject, for example his popular survey of Danish place-names (1965). It was also in the 20th century that the more systematic collection of place-name forms and the publication of Danish place-names and personal names began, with the appearance of such works as *Danmarks Stednavne* and *Danmarks gamle Personnavne*.

2.3. Dictionaries

The foundation of *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 1–28 (1918–56) goes back to the 19th century. The first step was taken in 1882, when Verner Dahlerup (1859–1938) began to record the words that he found missing from the 2nd edition of Christian Molbech's *Dansk Ordbog* 1–2 (1854–59). The kind of work that Dahlerup had in mind at the time was a book to supersede Molbech's dictionary, which in the 19th century was considered to be a true expression of the good and correct linguistic norm and which functioned as the orthographical guideline until 1889 – the year when the first official orthography was published. Over the course of time Dahlerup's original plan expanded, and in 1915 the dictionary project was taken over by The Danish Society for Language and Literature (DSL), which led to radical changes. The aim was now to produce a comprehensive, descriptive account of standard Danish from about 1700 up to the date of publication. After the Dictionary was finished, work continued under DSL's auspices to supplement it so that each individual volume describes the language of the time down to 1955 in a more or less similar way. So far three supplementary volumes have appeared (1993–97).

A pioneering work from the 19th century is Christian Molbech's *Dansk Glossarium eller Ordbog over forældede Ord af Diplomer, Haandskrifter og trykte Bøger fra det 13de til*

det 16de Aarhundrede [Danish glossary or dictionary of obsolete words from charters, manuscripts and printed books from the 13th to 16th centuries] 1–2 (1857–66). In this the words are elucidated with the aid of detailed examples, recorded in their original spelling and with indications of source and dating. Molbech did not include the words occurring in old Danish legal texts. This defect was remedied when G. F. V. Lund (1820–91) published a dictionary of old Danish legal language under the title *Det ældste danske skriftsprog ordforråd* 1877.

The standard dictionary of older Danish, however, is *Ordbog til det ældre danske sprog* 1–5 (1881–1918). This was compiled by Otto Kalkar (1837–1926) and explains the words and expressions which occur in Danish texts from 1300 to 1700. The words are elucidated with quotations from the sources, but it is in particular the vocabulary that differs from that of contemporary usage which is included in the dictionary – an error that Kalkar attempted to remedy in the final supplementary volume.

A handbook of more recent date, which explains the etymology of the general Danish vocabulary, is *Dansk etymologisk ordbog* (1966/1989), compiled by Niels Åge Nielsen (1913–86). This has, in several respects, been superseded by Jan Katlev's *Politikens Etymologisk Ordbog* (2000).

The only dialect dictionary to cover the whole country (with the exception of Bornholm) is Christian Molbech's *Dansk Dialect-Lexikon* (1833–41), but unfortunately this only contains words, expressions and phrases which were not found in the written language and in general usage. All the later dialect dictionaries have concentrated on individual dialects or groups of dialects, e. g. the great dictionary of the Jutland dialects, which was compiled by a priest, H. F. Feilberg (1831–1921), and published under the title *Bidrag til en ordbog over jyske almuesmål* 1–4 (1886–1914). This dictionary takes account of the whole vocabulary of Jutland, but Feilberg has also to a certain extent presented and explained the “cultural monuments concealed in the language”, and his dictionary therefore became a main work of reference for the words and objects employed by the common people of Jutland. In this connection, mention should also be made of *Ømålsordbogen*, an ambitious dictionary of the dialects of Zealand, Lolland-Falster, Funen and the surrounding islands. This is, like Feilberg's work,

more than just a dictionary – it is also an encyclopædia of the material culture of the agricultural population. The dictionary covers a period of approximately two centuries, with the main stress on 1850–1920. Five volumes have appeared so far (1992–2000).

3. The Danish dialects

Rasmus Rask showed an early interest in the Danish dialects, especially in the dialect of Funen, with which he grew up. He realised from the beginning the necessity of examining dialects using the same methods that were employed for the literary languages. Rask never completed his studies of the dialects, but he heralded a new era for dialectology, and his studies of the Funen dialect were later collected and published by Poul Andersen (1938).

After Rask, dialect research was first taken up again by K. J. Lyngby (1829–71), who was the first “roving” dialectologist in Denmark. Every summer from 1854 to 1861 he spent recording material in Jutland. He also collected material with the aid of questionnaires sent to various informants, and he devised a special phonetic script for his recordings in the form of a simple and easily read notation only intended for describing the phonetic nuances that play a significant role in the language. Lyngby’s notation was, incidentally, also employed by Feilberg, who, however, found it less suitable for recording some of the dialects. It was later replaced by a more precise phonetic script, *Dania’s phonetic script*, also known as *Dania*, which was devised by Otto Jespersen (1890). *Dania* is still predominantly used in Danish works which indicate pronunciation, but over the course of time it has been somewhat simplified and brought up to date.

Lyngby had plans for compiling both a Jutlandic grammar and a Jutlandic dictionary, but his early death prevented these plans from coming to fruition. Some of the material he had collected was employed in his *Bidrag til en sønderjysk Sproglære* (1858) and in his doctoral thesis on *Udsagnsordenes bøjning i jyske lov og i den jyske sprogart* (1863), in which he demonstrated that all the dialects of Jutland are Danish dialects of Nordic origin. Further sections of Lyngby’s material were later exploited by other scholars. Some of his material, for example, is included in Feilberg’s dictionary, and his Jutlandic grammar was eventually edited and published by Anders Bjerrum (1942).

Lyngby has occasionally been described as “the father of Danish dialectology”, and although he was active in various fields of research, it is within dialectology that he made his most valuable contribution. His published work is not voluminous but it is of great significance, for example because he applied the basic views and methods of comparative philology to dialectology. He claimed that the individual dialects were independent languages and that, with respect to their origin, they were to be ranked alongside with standard Danish. The idea that border dialects were mixtures of two languages, as both Rask and Petersen had thought, was openly rejected. The oldest dialectal differences were in the opinion of Lyngby not much older than the time of the oldest law manuscripts, and he considered all theories which claimed that dialect differences resulted from the settlement in Denmark of different tribes to be fanciful.

From 1863, Lyngby was employed on the teaching staff at the University of Copenhagen, from 1869 as professor. His influence on the students was great, but as a dialectologist he had no immediate successor. There were others who occupied themselves with dialects at the end of the 19th century, but it was still the historical form of presentation that Lyngby had employed in his description of Jutlandic that was the preferred one. It was not until the 1940s that Danish dialectologists changed track. In 1944, for example, two dialect monographs appeared which differed from earlier ones in both being structuralist. These are Anders Bjerrum’s doctoral thesis on *Fjoldemålets Lydsystem* and Ella Jensen’s book about the Houlbjerg dialect. These two publications were the first of a long series of structuralist descriptions of the sound systems of individual Danish dialects.

A dialect-geographical and linguistic-historical work of great significance is *Kort over de danske folkemål med forklaringer* (1898–1912), which was compiled by Valdemar Bennike and Marius Kristensen. It consists of 104 dialect-geography maps and an account based on linguistic history of the development of the individual dialects with respect to phonetics and phonology. The maps show clearly and conveniently the distribution of a sound, a group of sounds, a morphological phenomenon or in some cases an individual word.

4. Runes and chronology

The name of Ludvig F. A. Wimmer in particular is associated with runology, but before Wimmer (1839–1920) became a runologist in earnest, he wrote an important work that was a kind of proclamation for historical linguistics in Denmark, carried out according to the methods of comparative linguistics (1868). For Wimmer himself, this stringent method led to a necessary rejection of the established view that Old Icelandic is the parent language from which all Nordic languages can be derived. He had found in the runic inscriptions words and inflexional forms which – as compared with Gothic and other older languages – had undergone fewer changes than the corresponding forms in Old Icelandic. He was therefore compelled to assume that a parent language had existed from which both East Nordic (Danish-Swedish) and West Nordic (Norwegian-Icelandic) had developed. He proved that this Primitive Scandinavian language can be seen in the oldest runic inscriptions, which he dated to the period from ca. 200 to ca. 650. In this way he showed that Nordic at the very beginning of the Christian era was an independent language that was different from Gothic and other Germanic languages. This result was not only of linguistic significance – at that time it also had linguistic-political relevance. His conclusions also supported Lyngby's demonstration of the fact that the Jutlandic dialects were characteristically Nordic. It is among Wimmer's contributions to our knowledge, therefore, that he discovered and described the oldest language in Scandinavia, but he had to share the honour for this discovery with the Norwegian Sophus Bugge, whose first papers on the oldest runic inscriptions appeared almost at the same time as Wimmer's.

In an important monograph, Wimmer also treated the question of the origin of the runic script and its development (1874), but his major work is the great edition entitled *De danske Runemindesmærker 1–4* (1893–1908), for which he began to collect material in 1876. In the many subsequent years, he travelled round the country in the company of an artist and examined all the Danish rune stones. He succeeded in interpreting most of the inscriptions, although runologists have subsequently been able to improve and correct his results.

In addition to the drawings of the monuments, Wimmer's great work on runes contains descriptions of the individual inscrip-

tions, transcriptions and interpretations. One point to which posterity has had to adopt a critical attitude is his runic chronology, which includes a period without inscriptions between 650 and 800. His runic work has since been superseded by *Danmarks Runeindskrifter 1–3* (1941–42), which was edited by Lis Jacobsen and Erik Moltke in collaboration with Anders Bæksted and Karl Martin Nielsen. Unlike its predecessor, this work includes the Primitive Scandinavian inscriptions, inscriptions on loose objects from later periods etc. *Danmarks Runeindskrifter* also contains a dictionary and associated grammar and a subject index with commentary.

Two more recent surveys of the Danish runic inscriptions have been written by Erik Moltke (1976) and Niels Åge Nielsen (1983).

5. Standard Danish

5.1. The written standard language

The question of the development of Standard Danish has been treated in a number of publications from the end of the 19th century. Lyngby and Wimmer considered that there was no difference between written and spoken Danish in the period of the oldest Danish texts. For them, Latin was the written language of the medieval period, and they were therefore convinced that if anyone wrote in Danish, then he would write exactly as he spoke. Christian Molbech, Oluf Nielsen and others criticised this view. Nielsen expressed himself as follows:

In Scania, as in Jutland, people attempted to write in the Zealand dialect, in Scania by making their language younger, in Jutland by employing older forms than the ones they used in speaking. It is therefore necessary to conclude that there was already a striving towards a common written or standard language at an early period (Nielsen 1882, XXXI).

The conception of an early Common Danish written language was readily accepted by scholars such as P. K. Thorsen (1851–1920) and Marius Kristensen (1869–1941). Kristensen, however, could not accept that this written language had been derived from the spoken language of Zealand, although he was willing to recognize its age and significance. It is, incidentally, this recognition and a firm belief in the age of the dialects and the fixed nature of their boundaries that lie behind his attempts to localize a manuscript with the aid of some few dialectal forms. The article in

which he attempted to prove that the scribe of *Rydårbogen* [Annals of Ryd] came from Nørreherred in Djursland has achieved proverbial status (Kristensen 1909). This method was also employed by others but the belief in the age of the dialects and the stability of their boundaries paled over the course of time, and since the end of the 1920s there have been no Danish philologists who would base a localization simply on comparisons with modern dialects (Bjerrum 1965, 55ff.).

Lis Jacobsen (1882–1961) also took part in the debate about Standard Danish. In her doctoral thesis (1910a), she argued for the viewpoint that the Danish written language is built on the language of the medieval chancellery, which she considered to be a continuation of the language in Erik's law for Sjælland. Her work was greeted with general acclaim, but Paul Diderichsen (1905–64) in his *Fragmenter af gammeldanske Haandskrifter* (1931–37) presented a body of material which shows that significant dialectal features are not found in religious literature either, and he therefore argued that the Danish written language does not have its roots in the language of the chancellery but in that of religion. Verner Dahlerup (1896, 9) thought that the basis for the Danish written language in *Christian III's Bible* (1550) was the language of Sjælland and that the language of the chancellery may have functioned as an intermediate link. Peter Skautrup does not seem to have said what he thought to be the basis for the medieval language form, but he ascribed crucial significance to the art of printing in the development of the written standard language, and he considered that the individual person with greatest influence on this was Christiern Pedersen – “the founder of standard written Danish” (Skautrup 1947, 176).

5.2. Standard spoken Danish

While Lyngby and Wimmer considered that the medieval scribes wrote as they spoke, Verner Dahlerup (1896, 37), Lis Jacobsen (1910b, 211) and others thought that everyone at the end of the medieval period, of all classes, still spoke a language that was more or less characterized by dialectal features. Johs. Brøndum-Nielsen (1881–1977) argued against this view by pointing to the fact that the humbler characters in a comedy from 1607 had a more dialectally marked language than did those of higher rank. He has also shown that there were several layers of spoken language in the 17th

and 18th centuries and therefore considers that there must already have been a more or less dialect-free language spoken by people of rank, the nobility, the clergy etc. during the medieval period (Brøndum-Nielsen 1950, 25f.). Skautrup also (1944, 280) put forward the suggestion that people in certain circles at that time may have spoken a more or less dialect-free language, but he drew attention to the fact that the linguistic source material does not give any decisive support for this idea.

Our knowledge about the spoken language in older times is not great, and this is particularly true of the period from 1500 to 1800, when Danish standard pronunciation consolidated its position. Standard Danish, with special reference to the language in Copenhagen from ca. 1840 to 1955, however, has been described in detail by Brink/Lund (1975). They base their description on an authentic body of sound material, and they document among other things how so many sound changes have taken place in recent spoken Danish that each generation has its own distinctive stamp. This work has given rise to much debate, for one thing because the authors – inspired by Otto Jespersen (1860–1943) – have employed a detailed, phonetic description instead of the more traditional phonemic description which was inspired by Louis Hjelmslev (1899–1965).

6. Descriptions of the Danish language

6.1. Sound, form and syntax

Some of the historical grammars of Danish contain a description of the syntax and/or the morphology during a specific period, a certain text or text-group. To this category belong Johs. Lollesgaard's *Syntaktiske Studier over det ældste danske Skriftsprog (for ca. 1300)* from 1920 and Paul Diderichsen's structuralist description of the sentence structure in *Skånske Lov* (1941). Other historical grammars only contain discussions of the phonetics and morphology, e. g. both the structuralist descriptions of *Skånske Lov* (1966) and *De sjællandske Love* (1967), which were compiled by Anders Bjerrum (1903–84), and Johs. Brøndum-Nielsen's major work, *Gammeldansk Grammatik* (1928–74), which describes the period ca. 800–1525. In the Preface to vol. 1 (1928), Brøndum-Nielsen emphasizes his indebtedness to Swedish philologists, to works by Axel Kock, Adolf Noreen etc. Kock and

Noreen were influenced by the neogrammarians, who were responsible for the theory of the invariance of the sound laws. Two of GG's eight volumes contain a detailed description of regular sound changes, and the many exceptions to the rules are treated in circumstantial detail in note after note. The remaining volumes contain a detailed description of Old Danish morphology. The main stress here is also placed on the changes in the language. The description is accompanied by a wealth of examples with indications of sources and references to the relevant literature. It would appear from the Preface to vol. 1 (1928) that GG was originally to have included Old Danish syntax, but this plan was later abandoned.

Age Hansen also made a significant contribution to the history of Danish sounds in his book on *Den lydlige udvikling i dansk fra ca. 1300 til nutiden 1–2* (1962–71), but here it is only the sound changes that have led to the formation of modern Standard Danish which are described. Hansen does not attach great importance to explaining special cases and exceptions in the way that Brøndum-Nielsen does in GG. This is partly due to the different aim of his book, but it also reflects the fact that Hansen studied under Otto Jespersen, who was an avowed opponent of neogrammatical theories. As far as the dating of changes is concerned, Hansen follows a special principle. He considers the early examples of a sound change to be variants and claims that a change has not been completed until the new form has become universal. Since the written standard is conservative, this will often lead to a very late dating. Skautrup looks upon the matter in a different light. This is evident from his datings, which on the whole tend to be earlier than Hansen's, and from his statements, for example about the weakening of stops where he writes that "the first time an instance of weakening is registered in the written language, the change must have been realised and have been audible in the spoken language" (Skautrup 1944, 229).

In this connection, Hansen's *Moderne dansk 1–3* (1967) must also be mentioned. This work, which contains syntactic studies of Standard Danish, also includes linguistic sources from the 19th century.

6.2. From ancient language to modern language

Several philologists have provided surveys of the history of the Danish language. This is the

case, for example, with Verner Dahlerup (1896). The undisputed major work on the history of the language, however, was written by Peter Skautrup (1896–1982). This is *Det danske sprogs historie 1–5* (1944–70), which contains a description of the language in Denmark from the time of the oldest literary monuments to about 1950. Skautrup based his account on a series of descriptions of periods, and the individual descriptions have more or less the same structure: the historical background, the sources, the linguistic situation, the linguistic system (orthography, sounds, inflexions, syntax etc.), linguistic spheres, word-formation and the vocabulary. Seen from Skautrup's viewpoint, the history of the language is first and foremost an historical discipline, and the advantage of linking the history of the language with the general history of the speech community is documented particularly in his chapters dealing with the history of words, style and genres. For the description of the language system, however, the close coupling of language and community is more of a liability than an advantage.

The most recent account of the Danish language from ancient times to the present day is a work by Allan Karker (1993). This account, which only deals with the written language, is based on authentic text samples and aims to show in outline the development of the language, the cultivation of new genres and typical tendencies in the usage of the language. Karker is also the man behind *Politikens sproghistorie* (1996), a book whose roots go back to the 1950s, for it is a revised edition of the survey of the history of the language that was included in all the editions of *Politikens Nudansk Ordbog* from the very first one in 1953 to the 15th in 1992. It consists of a series of chronological sections discussing the history of sounds, inflexions, syntax and vocabulary.

6.3. From Rask to Wimmer and beyond

The Danish Society for Scandinavian Philology has marked its 25th, 50th and 75th anniversaries by taking stock of research into the Danish language. This stock-taking has so far resulted in three publications which contain bibliographical information of a more or less complete nature. The theme for the first publication, *Fra Rask til Wimmer* (1937), covered Danish researchers into the mother tongue in the 19th century. The theme for the second volume was the research disciplines included

under the subject “Danish” (Larsen/Lisse/Nielsen 1965), and the latest volume in the series deals with the most recent results of this research (Holmberg/Frederiksen/Ruus 1989).

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9. Research in Swedish language history 1850–1950. An overview

1. Introduction
2. Phonology, morphology and syntax
3. Word formation
4. Loanwords
5. Dictionaries
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

This account of research into Swedish language history during a period of approximately one century, from 1850–1950, is divided into four main parts: phonology, morphology and syntax; word formation; loanwords; and dictionaries. The many contributions which have been made to the fields of research covered by these divisions mean that the selection is inevitably partly subjective. Generally speaking, most attention is devoted to works from an earlier stage of the period. The motivation for this is partly due to considerations of historical aspects, but mainly, at least as regards sound change, because a great many of the problems with which later research was concerned were identified during this period.

2. Phonology, morphology and syntax

The founder of research into modern Swedish language history is Johan Erik Rydqvist (1800–1877), librarian at the Royal Library in Stockholm. His tutors were Jakob Grimm, Franz Bopp and Rasmus Rask. His greatest achievement was the six-volume *Svenska språkets lagar* (1–5, 1850–74, vol. 6 published in 1883 by K. F. Söderwall). He did not, however, manage to produce the comprehensive description of Swedish he envisaged. Medieval Swedish was described in detail, as was 19th-century Swedish, including the dialects – Rydqvist was well aware of the importance of dialects in language history and acquired an ever-increasing understanding of them; however, the interim period was described only sporadically or hardly at all. The absence of syntax is notable. Most important is the section on morphology, which set a precedent for later works, and the comprehensive contribution to lexicography. Even for its time, however, the section on phonology has palpable defects.

The first Professor of Scandinavian Languages in Uppsala, commencing in 1859, was Carl Säve (1812–76). Säve achieved his

greatest results as a dialect researcher, primarily studying the dialects of Gotland and Dalarna. Dialectology was put on a firm academic footing by Säve and his students. Säve's successor, in 1877, was Mårten Richert (1837–86), who made a significant contribution in introducing comparative modern language research to Uppsala. His most important work is his doctoral thesis, *Bidrag till läran om de konsonantiska ljudlagarna i äldre och nyare språk 1–2* (1863–66).

The first Professor of Swedish in Uppsala was the multi-talented, learned, independent and ingenious Leonard Fredrik (Frits) Löffler (1847–1921). Adolf Noreen (see below) said of him that he was “the first at Uppsala University to apply a strictly scholarly method of research to the field of Scandinavian Languages”. Löffler began his academic writing as a dialectologist and phonetician. His doctoral thesis from 1872 was entitled *Om konsonantljuden i de svenska allmogemålen*. Löffler pointed out that the dialects are often surprisingly old-fashioned but also that they quite often show evidence of younger features than standard Swedish, which according to him is due to the fact that they follow “general linguistic laws” more consistently. Löffler emphasised that the dialectal evidence must also be taken into consideration in language history and etymological research into standard Swedish. An excellent example of this focus is his article *Ordet eld belyst af de svenska landsmålen* (1881).

Inspired by his studies in Leipzig during 1874–75, Löffler devoted himself to investigations of older Germanic and Scandinavian language history during the late 1870s. Of especial importance is his work *Bidrag till läran om i-omljudet* (1875–76), where he comes to the now generally accepted conclusion that *i*-mutation of short *e* is pan-Germanic and older than that of the back vowels. Löffler also discusses mutation and breaking in his *Om v-omljudet af ĭ, ī och ei i de nordiska språken* (1877). He was the first to observe that *w*-mutation seems to be more common than pure *u*-mutation. There is no doubt that Löffler, through his writings from the 1870s, was a real pioneer in modern language research in Sweden.

Contemporary with Löffler was Fredrik Tamm (1847–1905), who during the last two decades of the 19th century held Löffler's pro-

fessorship. He was at the pinnacle of contemporary research in the fields of word formation and etymology (see sect. 3 and 5).

Adolf Noreen (1854–1925) dominated research into Swedish language history at the end of the 19th century and the two first decades of the 20th. In 1887 he became the third incumbent of the professorship in Scandinavian languages at Uppsala University. Noreen spent most of 1879 in Leipzig, the Mecca of the neogrammarian school, and his later academic production is affected by the influences and trends he encountered there; among much else, he studied Lithuanian under August Leskien, who had some years earlier proclaimed the invariability of sound laws. Noreen maintained close contact with German language research, and he remained faithful to the neogrammarian school all of his life.

Noreen's first great achievement was in dialect research. In his dissertation, *Fryksdalsmålets ljudlära* (1877), he discusses the dialect of his home district in Värmland. His work, the first in Sweden to apply the new phonetic findings, was a model of meticulous detail and clarity in systematisation, which influenced a great number of dialect theses several decades into the 20th century. Of Noreen's other dialectological works from the 1870s and the beginning of the 1880s, *Fårömålets ljudlära* (1879) and *Dalmålet* (1881–82) can be mentioned here. The latter was an important pioneering work as concerns research into the complicated, diversified and partly inaccessible linguistic world of Dalarna, and has been of great significance for Swedish and Scandinavian language history.

Noreen's scholarly production during the 1880s includes a number of investigations of language history, for example *Om behandlingen af lång vokal i förbindelse med följande lång konsonant i de östnordiska språken* (1880) and *De nordiska språkens nasalerade vokaler* (1886). The latter is one of Noreen's best works, in which he basically solves a complicated problem in linguistic phonology, building partly on information about nasal vowels in 12th-century Icelandic from the author of *The First Grammatical Treatise* (in Snorri's Edda), partly and not least on observations from the dialect of the province of Dalarna.

Noreen is most famous as a language historian thanks to his handbooks *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik* (1884; 5th ed. 1970), *Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen* (1889–91) and *Altschwedische Grammatik*

(1904). Both grammars occupy a leading position among grammatical descriptions of old Germanic languages; they continue to be indispensable tools in any academic study of Old West Nordic and Old Swedish. In the first, which deals with Old West Nordic, the historical perspective is extended to include the common pre-historic ancestor of the Scandinavian languages, Proto-Nordic, as it first appears in runic inscriptions in the older, 24-letter futhark. In the Old Swedish grammar, Noreen also refers to runic inscriptions, in this case the plentiful Viking Age material, for evidence of language development.

Noreen's most spectacular academic achievement was the great, unfortunately unfinished work *Vårt språk* (1903–24), in which he records his view of language and presents a basic outline of grammar. The work comprises four main sections: a general introduction and sections on phonology, semantics and morphology. In each of the last three sections the account is divided into an introduction as well as a synchronic-descriptive and an etymological-diachronic part.

Rydqvist's successor as language historian and lexicographer can be said to be K. F. Söderwall (1842–1924), Professor of Scandinavian Languages in Lund from 1886–1907. A masterpiece for its time, one of his works *Hufvudepokerna af svenska språkets utbildning* (1868) was the only overview of this subject for a long time. See also section 5 about Söderwall as a dictionary compiler.

While Adolf Noreen dominated Scandinavian languages in Uppsala at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, Axel Kock (1851–1935) did the same in Lund, where he was Professor of Scandinavian Languages from 1907–16. Kock was indubitably a neogrammarian. The emphasis of this school on the importance of finding universally applicable rules for language change appealed to him. Nevertheless, he took an independent stance against neogrammarian teaching, and was sceptical of the thesis of the invariability of sound laws.

Kock's doctoral thesis, *Språkhistoriska undersökningar om svensk accent 1* (1878), examines the different forms of accent (expiratory and musical) in Swedish and their distribution and use in simple words, but also discusses their appearance and change from the Old Swedish period. With this work, Kock had already laid the foundations of his reputation as a language researcher. In part 2 (1884–85) of this work, he investigated the ac-

cent in compound words, and he later discussed issues concerning Scandinavian accent in several articles. He provided a comprehensive account, in which the historical perspective is expanded, in *Die alt- und neuschwedische accentuierung unter berücksichtigung der andern nordischen sprachen* (1901). Notable in his work *Studier öfver fornsvensk ljudlära* 1–2 (1882–86) are the studies of the old terminal vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, resulting in a formulation of the rules for vowel balance (“vokalbalans”, a term coined by Kock) and vowel harmony, which has won general acceptance.

Kock’s various studies of mutation and breaking occupy a central position in his academic writing. He gave a comprehensive account in *Umlaut und Brechung im Altschwedischen. Eine Übersicht* (1911–16). Kock’s theory of the process of Scandinavian *i*-mutation has been the subject of most attention, but at the same time also of much debate and criticism. According to Kock, *i*-mutation occurred in three stages. In an older phase the loss of *i* would have caused mutation in long syllables (the older *i*-mutation), while in a younger phase the *i* remaining after syncope would have caused mutation in both short and long syllables. In the interim *i* would have been syncope after short root syllables without causing mutation. Kock later expanded his theory (1892) with the assumption of an *iR*-mutation, which would explain mutation of back vowels in short syllables in cases such as (OWN) pres. sg. *tekr* (< **takiR*) and adv. (comp.) *betr* (< **batiR*). As far as breaking is concerned, contrary to the earlier understanding that the diphthong OWN *jō*, OSw. *io*, occasioned by breaking of *u*, could be explained as the result of *u*-mutation of *ia*, Kock instead maintained that the development, through epenthesis, was *e* > *e*” > *eu* > *eo* > *io*. Kock summarised his many studies of Swedish vowel development, supplemented with new findings, in the great work *Svensk ljudhistoria* 1–5 (1906–29).

Otto von Friesen (1870–1942), Professor of Swedish at Uppsala University from 1906–35, launched his academic production with comprehensive and thorough studies of the older grammar of the Germanic languages, particularly their sound shifts. His doctoral thesis, *Om de germanska mediageminatorna med särskild hänsyn till de nordiska språken* (1897), is an extraordinarily learned investigation of the cause of the long consonants in words such as Sw. *gubbe*, *krabba*, *kudde*, *bagge*, *tagg*, *vagg*. According to von Friesen, these result

from a lengthening in late PGmc before the *n*-suffix, above all (or perhaps exclusively) in substantive *n*-stems. This notion of von Friesen’s was later contested by Elof Hellquist, however (see sect. 3), who in the two works *Några bidrag till nordisk språkhistoria* (1903–04) and *Några anmärkningar om de nordiska verben med mediageminata* (1908) showed that it was primarily a matter of the relatively late onomatopoeic lengthening of *b*, *d*, *g*. Several of von Friesen’s best works deal with the morphological and phonological changes of older Germanic and Scandinavian languages, including works such as *Till den nordiska språkhistorien* 1–2 (1901–06), which largely investigate the development of Proto-Nordic *ai* before *y*, *u*, and *Om det svaga preteritum i germanska språk* (1925).

Bengt Hesselman (1875–1952) was another outstanding figure in Swedish language history during the first half of the 20th century. After holding the professorship in Scandinavian Languages in Gothenburg for a short time (1914–19), he succeeded Adolf Noreen as Professor of Scandinavian Languages in Uppsala. Hesselman’s first work was concerned with syllabic quantity. In *Skiss öfver nysvensk kvantitetsutveckling* (1901), he discusses the development in words with originally short root syllable, and he takes up a related topic in his doctoral thesis, *Stafvelseförlängning och vokalkvalitet i östsvenska dialekter* (1902). From an early stage, Hesselman was an acknowledged authority in Swedish dialect research. One of his main works in this area is *Sveamålen och de svenska dialekternas indelning* (1905), where he asserted that the dialects of central Sweden are clearly distinct from those of the provinces of Götaland and Norrland. In the dialects, Hesselman saw the key to a full understanding of standard Swedish, as well as much of language history. A clear example of a problem in historical linguistics solved with recourse to dialects is *De korta vokalerna i och y i svenskan. Undersökningar i nordisk ljudhistoria* (1909–10). This work investigates the transition from OSw. *i*, *y* to *e*, *ö*, which Hesselman shows is dependent on the phonetic environment and as a result is chronologically and geographically distributed.

In the work *Några nynordiska dialektformer och vikingatidens historia. En undersökning i svensk och dansk språkutveckling* (1936), Hesselman discusses the form *hjär*, standard Sw. *här* ‘here’. *Hjär* is assumed to have arisen from *hēr* through diphthongisation of Germ. *ē*”. According to Hesselman, the diphthongisa-

tion would have taken place in Hedeby in Schleswig, where there was a Swedish colony, under the influence of Frankish and possibly also of Old Saxon or Old Frisian. From there, the form would have spread to the Viking Age Swedish empire, with centres in Birka and Uppsala.

Hesselman confronted a classic problem of Proto-Nordic phonology in *Omljud och brytning i de nordiska språken* (1945). Contrary to Axel Kock, who postulated a three-phase development of *i*-mutation (see above), Hesselman suggested a different process. The basis of his theory is that this mutation (as with mutation caused by *a* and *u*) is part of a uniform and continuous process during the entire pre-literary period from around the middle of the first millennium. Mutation of back vowels in root syllables, both long and short, occurred if there was a sharply articulated terminal *i* during the mutation period. Mutation occurred prior to Proto-Nordic syncope, with which it has no direct connection. As far as breaking is concerned, Kock maintained that it occurred during different periods, an older and a younger; the younger breaking would have been more frequent in East than in West Scandinavia. According to Hesselman there is no phonetic contrast between the various areas of Scandinavia.

An unfortunately unfinished work by Hesselman, the pinnacle of his scholarly writing, is *Huvudlinjer i nordisk språkhistoria* (1948–53), in which he intended to provide a comprehensive treatment of the most important matters relating to the changes in colloquial language in the Scandinavian area. The discussion was based on an enormous selection of material, much of which had not been used earlier in research into Scandinavian language history; not least, testimony from Scandinavian place-names and modern Scandinavian dialects was considered. In the completed parts of the work only sound shifts are discussed, with a focus mainly on sound weakening and loss. Hesselman emphasises that sound changes occur in sentences and that since weakening is dependent upon sentence rhythm, it first occurs in the sentence.

Methodically and theoretically, Hesselman comes closest to being classified as a neogrammarian. He was hardly a pure example, however, and he was wary of an uncritical approach to neogrammarian theses – especially in *Huvudlinjer*, where he distanced himself from these. He was sceptical of concepts such as “sound laws”.

Emil Olson (1876–1937), Professor of Scandinavian languages at Lund University from 1917 until his death, is probably most famous for his work on Old Swedish word formation (1916), see sect. 3. Other contributions to language history worth mentioning include his book *Studier över pronomenet den i nysvenskan* (1913) and his article *Till frågan om uppkomsten av den s.k. tredje svaga konjugationen i svenskan* (1913). The question of how the third weak conjugation arose was later (1948) discussed – and probably definitively solved – by Valter Jansson, Professor of Swedish at Uppsala University from 1947–73, whose greatest achievements were as a philologist and a researcher of place-names. Foremost among his works on place-names is *Nordiska vin-namn. En ortnamnstyp och dess historia* (1951), which is to a great extent a phonological investigation.

Elias Wessén (1889–1981), Professor of Scandinavian languages at what was then Stockholm University College from 1928–56, submitted his doctoral thesis in Uppsala in 1914. This was entitled *Zur Geschichte der germanischen n-Deklination* and was followed by a number of investigations of Scandinavian and Germanic morphology and phonology. Wessén’s greatest achievement as a language historian was, however, to produce a number of handbooks. The most famous is *Svensk språkhistoria* in three parts: (1) *Ljudlära och ordböjningslära* (1941), (2) *Ordbildningslära* (1943), (3) *Grundlinjer till en historisk syntax* (1956). Several editions have been published of parts 1 and 2, and two editions of part 3. This work is of great merit, not least because of its numerous references to relevant literature. The same can be said about *De nordiska språken*, which was also published in several editions, the first in 1941.

Erik Neuman (1883–1959) investigated a subject integral to language history in his dissertation submitted at Uppsala University in 1918, *Utbredningen av vokalbalansen a : å i medelvenskan*. Neuman shows that a significant number of Old Swedish manuscripts have an orthography with terminal *o* or *aa* after a short root syllable, but with *a* after a long root syllable.

Natan Lindqvist (1882–1963), Professor of Swedish at Uppsala University from 1936–47, made a great contribution to language history through his research into the language of the Swedish Bible during the Reformation, the earliest example of which was his doctoral thesis, *Studier över reformationstidens bibelsven-*

ska (1918). He was also the most prominent figure in work on dialect geography in Sweden. This branch of research, often with a partly diachronic perspective – an example of which is the compilation volume *Ordgeografi och språkhistoria* (1936), with contributions from seven Uppsala-based researchers – was introduced seriously into Sweden in the 1930s. Lindqvist, then head of the newly-established Dialect Archive in Lund, initiated a large dialect geography work which appeared in 1947 entitled *Sydväst-Sverige i språkgeografisk belysning. 1. Text. 2. Kartor*. The second section contains 125 maps, primarily of word distribution, but also of various phenomena relating to phonology, morphology and word formation. With the help of these maps, Lindqvist was able to distinguish a southwest Swedish core language area, bordered by a diagonal line stretching approximately from east Blekinge to northern Dalsland. Lindqvist also made an important contribution to research into language history and etymology with his illustrative studies of the phonological, morphological and semantic changes frequently undergone by words on the fringe of their area of distribution. Articles especially worth mentioning in this context include *Urspårade ord i dialektgeografisk belysning* (1934) and *Ordgränser och ordförändringar* (1938).

Examples given above of the work of Frits Läffler (1881) and Adolf Noreen (1886) illustrate the advantage of using the evidence of later Scandinavian dialects when dealing with phonological problems in olden times. A few further examples may be mentioned.

A study based primarily on principles of dialect geography and of great importance to Swedish and Scandinavian language history is the dissertation of Natan Lindqvist's disciple Lennart Moberg (b. 1914), *Om de nordiska nasalassimilationerna mp > pp, nt > tt, nk > kk med särskild hänsyn till svenskan* (1944). The material comprises words and place-names containing the relevant consonant groups. Moberg, who was Professor of Scandinavian languages, particularly place-name studies, at Uppsala University from 1960–61 and Professor of Scandinavian languages there from 1961–81, investigates the “syllabic” theory and concludes that in areas where Swedish is spoken it is often safer to reckon instead with assimilation in unstressed position.

Also from 1944 is John Svensson's doctoral thesis *Diftongering med palatalt förslag i de nordiska språken*, submitted at Lund Univer-

sity. This thesis is also largely dependent on material from contemporary Scandinavian dialects, and principles of dialect geography are often applied. Contrary to the accepted teaching that the breaking diphthongs arose through epenthesis, Svensson maintains that the terminal vowels were irrelevant to breaking, which instead arose through the spontaneous diphthongisation of *ě* via development of a *j* in front of the vowel (*ie*).

Ture Johannisson (1903–90), Professor of Scandinavian languages in Gothenburg from 1945–70, was awarded his doctorate in 1939 for his thesis *Verbal och postverbal partikelkomposition i de germanska språken*, a subject which primarily belongs to word formation (see sect. 4). Johannisson made a contribution to research into Scandinavian syntax in his work *Hava och vara som tempusbildande hjälpverb i de nordiska språken* (1945), which investigates the appearance and significance of the compound past tense, primarily in Old West Nordic and Swedish but to some degree also in Danish and Norwegian. Johannisson shows that Old Swedish and older Modern Swedish clearly deviate from Old West Nordic in that the Swedish *vara* construction, unlike those in Old West Nordic, had perfect or pluperfect significance.

Karl Gustav Ljunggren (1906–67), Professor of Swedish at Lund University from 1952 until his death, contributed to several branches of Scandinavian philology, including research into syntax. His 1932 dissertation, entitled *Studier över förhållandet mellan verbalpartikel och verb i fornsvenskan*, also includes the Viking Age runic inscriptions in the Old Swedish material. The thesis is mainly an examination of indigenous separable verbal particles of the type (modern Swedish) *bortföra, ingå, avtaga, tillkomma* alongside *föra bort, gå in* etc. *Studier över verbalsammansättningar i 1500-talets svenska* (1937) is a continuation of his doctoral thesis. A third great work by Ljunggren is *Adjektivering av substantiv i svenskan. Undersökningar i svensk ordbildnings- och betydelselära* (1939), in which the author investigates under what conditions the transition from noun to adjective takes place and the frequency of such transitions in modern Swedish. The results are then to a rather great extent applied to older material.

A contribution to the understanding of adjectival syntax is made in the doctoral thesis of Carl-Eric Thors (1920–86, Professor of Swedish at Helsinki University from 1963–84), *Substantivering av adjektiv i forn-*

svenskan (1949). Thors discusses the appearance of the adjective used as a noun in Old Swedish, delimits different types of such adjectives and discusses whether and where these might be attributable to foreign influence.

Contributions to research in Swedish syntax during the time period discussed here are rather rare, particularly in comparison with those dedicated to phonology. A number of works have already been mentioned. In the following some further examples will be presented, in chronological order.

Two dissertations have investigated the passive in Swedish: Paul Öhlin's *Studier över de passiva konstruktionerna i fornsvenskan* (1918) and Gösta Holm's *Om s-passivum i svenskan* (1951). Öhlin finds it probable that a passive form with *s* resulted from an indigenous development but that to encompass more than only a few verbs it must have had outside support, in this case from Latin. Holm's aim was to establish the degree to which the Swedish *s*-passive is indigenous and how far it is dependent on a Latin prototype. Holm (b. 1916), Professor of Scandinavian languages at Lund University from 1961–81, concludes that the *s*-passive is completely indigenous in origin. He shows certain types of *s*-passive to be dialectally genuine, a finding contradicted by earlier research. Others belong exclusively or predominantly to the written language and these are partly attributable to Latin models. The dissertation is ground-breaking, not least because for the first time it investigates a certain syntactic problem over the entire Swedish dialect area.

Old Swedish word order was the subject of two doctoral theses: Alf Wenning's *Studier över ordföljden i fornsvenskan* (1930) which charts the position of verbal adjuncts in the sentence in older and younger Old Swedish, and Carl Larsson's *Ordföljdsstudier över det finita verbet i de nordiska fornspråken 1* (1931) which, despite its title, largely examines conditions in Old Swedish.

In his doctoral thesis *Konjunktiven i fornsvenskan* (1933), Gösta Mattsson investigates the degree to which the subjunctive is indigenous and how far – and in which genres – it is dependent on foreign influence. Anders Sundqvist's comprehensive doctoral thesis, *Studier i svensk moduslära* (1955), provides the first overview of the extent to which the subjunctive has been maintained and developed in the Swedish dialects.

Märtha Ahlberg's doctoral thesis, *Presensparticipet i fornsvenskan. En syntaktisk studie*

(1942), is an investigation of the use and function of the present participle during a time of radical changes in Swedish, many of these directly or indirectly dependent on increasing contact with other languages, primarily Latin and Low German. Ahlberg also discusses the form of Latin participle constructions when they are converted to Swedish.

Gustaf Lindblad, Professor of Scandinavian languages at Stockholm University from 1956–72, was awarded his doctorate in Lund in 1943 for his thesis *Relativ satsföregning i de nordiska fornspråken*. The thesis may be characterised as a general outline of the main trends in Old Scandinavian syntax, and it is the first which is based on all representative material: as well as runic inscriptions, it includes approximately 150 of the oldest Scandinavian, primarily Old Swedish, texts.

The perspective in Lage Hulthén's doctoral thesis, *Studier i jämförande nunordisk syntax* (1944), is almost exclusively synchronic; only rarely does the author find it necessary to apply a diachronic perspective. In his role of programmatic synchronicist, the author devotes much attention to matters of terminology.

There is at most only sparse information about syntactic conditions in the many dialect theses. One work which deals exclusively with dialectal syntax is Gudrun Lundström's dissertation, *Studier i nyländsk syntax*, completed at what was then Stockholm University College in 1939. The dissertation sets out to investigate in principle all the syntactic areas independently. Comparative material is taken from Old Swedish and current standard Swedish in Sweden and Finland. Comparisons with other dialects are not undertaken.

3. Word formation

The list of researchers who investigated word formation in Swedish during the relevant period should begin with Fredrik Tamm (cf. sect. 2 and see also sect. 5). Tamm studied older word formation in a work which is regarded as a classic, *Om fornnordiska feminina, afledna på ti och på iþa* (1877). He paid great attention to word elements borrowed from foreign languages, especially German. Pertinent writings include *Tränne tyska ändelser i svenskan* (1878) and *Om tyska ändelser i svenskan* (1880).

Elof Hellquist, Professor of Scandinavian languages in Lund from 1914–29, was awarded his doctorate in 1890 for his dissertation *Bidrag till läran om den nordiska nominalbild-*

ningen. Another work of his from the 1890s is *Om nordiska verb på suffixalt -k, -l, -r, -s och -t samt af dem bildade nomina* (1898). The first edition (1922) of his *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (sect. 5) began with a section on Swedish word formation, with the suffixes listed alphabetically.

A classic work in Swedish word formation is Emil Olson's (see sect. 2) *De appellativa substantivens bildning i fornsvenskan* (1916). It continues to be an indispensable tool for researchers studying historical word formation and/or etymological problems. Walter Åkerlund's doctoral thesis, *Studier över adjektiv- och adverb bildningen medelst suffixen -liker och -lika i fornsvenskan* (1929), examines the suffix which in the younger periods of all Germanic languages has become one of the most productive elements in word formation, despite being only to a limited extent the subject of detailed study.

Ture Johannisson's doctoral thesis (mentioned in sect. 2), *Verbal och postverbal partikelkomposition i de germanska språken* (1939), investigates how the intensifying adjective particles Sw. *ut-*, *av-*, *ur-*, *för-* and their correspondences in other Germanic languages as well as the West Germanic "nimis-particle" *G zu*, *E too* achieved their importance. Johannisson succeeds in showing that the intensifying particles were originally attached to verbs. Their function and importance later increased so that they also could be used in adjectives and noun compounds. The particle composition had thus entered its postverbal stage. In verb compounds the particles were unstressed and were often lost, while in noun compounds they carried the stress and were therefore preserved.

Elias Wessén's *Svensk språkhistoria 2. Ordbildningslära* (1st ed. 1943, 5th ed. 1965; cf. sect. 2), which provides a broad but comprehensive overview of word formation in Swedish, was intended for researchers as well as for teaching at an academic level. A detailed investigation of a derivational adjective ending comprises Sven Benson's (b. 1919, Professor of Scandinavian languages at Gothenburg University from 1974–83) doctoral thesis, *Studier över adjektivsuffixet -ot i svenskan* (1951). In his discussion, the author often considers the suffixes competing with *-ot*, i. e. *-ug* and *-ig*, and the account has thus partly become a contribution to their history in Swedish. Åke Åkermalm's doctoral thesis, *Fornnordiska verb med substantivisk förled. Ett bidrag till nordisk ordbildningslära*, submitted at

what was then Stockholm University College in 1955, illustrates a feature of Scandinavian word formation where thorough investigation had previously been lacking. The thesis deals with words of the type OSw. *bonhōra*, *knæfalla*, *trolova*.

There are few works in the rich Swedish dialect literature which systematically investigate problems of word formation. An early example of such a work is Johan Götling's *Studier i västsvensk ordbildning* (1918), which examines the productive derivational suffixes and their functions in nouns in the language of Götene in the province of Västergötland. Inchoative verbs ending in *-na* and verbs formed with *k-*, *l-*, *r-*, *s-* and *t-* suffixes in the Finland-Swedish language of Närpes were studied by Eskil Hummelstedt in his doctoral thesis from 1939.

4. Loanwords

It is a well-known fact that Swedish, like the other Nordic languages, took a significant percent of its vocabulary from other languages. The study of loanwords has therefore occupied a central place in Swedish and Nordic language history. There still remains much to be done in this field, however. A thorough outline of Swedish loanwords from different parts of the world is to be found in Elof Hellquist's *Det svenska ordförrådets ålder och ursprung 2* (1930).

There is great variety in the age of loanwords in Swedish. The oldest, from the time preceding Old Swedish, originally derive from Latin (e. g. *kärva*, *köpa* and *vin*), and Celtic (e. g. *järn* and *rik*). Most of the medieval borrowings belong to the field of Christian terminology, many of them originally from Latin and Greek, e. g. *altare*, *biskop*, *kloster* and *kyrka*. This type of loanword has been treated in detail by Carl-Eric Thors (see sect. 2) in his work *Den kristna terminologin i fornsvenskan* (1957). A particularly profound influence was exerted by Middle Low German on Swedish during the Old Swedish period, mainly via the Hanseatic League. Although research into this influence has not been insignificant, several problems relating to the encounter between Low German and Swedish in medieval Sweden remain to be solved. For literature until around 1950, see Wessén (1970, with further references). During the 16th century, with the Reformation and Luther's translation of the Bible, a wave of loanwords from High Ger-

man arrived, which culminated during the 30 Years War (1618–48).

The late 17th century and 18th century loanwords came mainly from French, but during the 18th century English influence became more pronounced. Borrowings from French and English also dominate during the 19th century, primarily the English ones. During the 20th century, English influence continued at an increasing speed and introduced many words into the Swedish vocabulary. For an overview of loanwords from the 16th century onwards the reader is referred to the book by Lars-Erik Edlund/Birgitta Hene, *Lånord i svenskan. Om språkförändringar i tid och rum* (1996). French loanwords in Swedish during different periods have been systematically catalogued by Alfred Nordfelt in various articles appearing from 1901 to 1943, all of them under the title *Om franska lånord i svenskan*. Examples of French linguistic borrowings in Swedish dialects are given by Ingemar Ingers in his article *Franska lånord i folkmålen* (1958). Investigations of English loanwords in Swedish date largely from the latter part of the 20th century. A work from the beginning of the century may, however, be mentioned: Nils Bergsten's article *Om engelska lånord i svenskan* from 1915.

5. Dictionaries

Several dictionaries, many of them not yet completed, were compiled for historical linguistics during the period relevant to this article. Worth mentioning for the study of Old Swedish texts are C.J. Schlyter's *Ordbok till Samlingen af Sweriges Gamla Lagar* (1877), an exemplary dictionary of international repute, and K.F. Söderwall's *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket 1–2* (1884–1918; *Supplement* 1925–73). For Swedish from 1526 on, the dictionary of the Swedish Academy (*SAOB*), which began appearing in 1893 and has reached as far as the end of the letter S, is an indispensable tool. In principle a work of the same type as *SAOB*, but far less comprehensive and lacking authentic specimens of language, is A. F. Dalin's *Ordbok öfver svenska språket 1–2* (1850–55). Another very useful work is F.A. Dahlgren's *Glossarium öfver föräldrade eller ovanliga ord och talesätt i svenska språket från 1500-talets andra årtionde* (1914–16).

As far as dialect vocabulary is concerned, there is only one work which refers to the entire Swedish language area, J.E. Rietz' *Svenskt*

dialekt-lexicon. Ordbok öfver svenska allmogespråket 1–2 (1862–67). A successor to Rietz' dictionary, *Ordbok över Sveriges dialekter*, is under preparation in Uppsala, however; three fascicles have thus far been published (1991, 1994 and 2000). Three volumes of *Ordbok över Finlands svenska folkmål* have been published in Helsinki since 1976. As far as regional dialect dictionaries are concerned, however, the supply is admittedly good. An example of such a dictionary, published during the period in question, is *Gotländsk ordbok på grundval av C. och P.A. Säves samlingar* (1918–45).

During the years 1890–1905, eight parts (A–Karsk) of Fredrik Tamm's *Etymologisk svensk ordbok* appeared. It was a great loss for contemporary Swedish language research that this excellent work, which had no predecessor other than Johan Ihre's famous and for its time surprisingly modern *Glossarium Suio-gothicum* (1769), was not completed due to Tamm's death in 1905. On the other hand, Elof Hellquist's *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1st ed. 1922; 3rd ed. 1948) did reach completion and remains a work which bears comparison, even internationally. It is, not least, important for the wealth of cultural-historical information it provides and for its frequent explanations of set expressions and phrases. It could be maintained that Hellquist (see sect. 3) made his greatest contribution to Swedish language history with this dictionary.

6. Literature (a selection)

Ahlberg, Märta (1942), *Presensparticipet i fornsvenskan. En syntaktisk studie*. Stockholm.

Åkerlund, Walter (1929), *Studier över adjektiv- och adverb bildningen medelst suffixen -liker och -lika i fornsvenskan*. Lund.

Åkermalm, Åke (1955), *Formnordiska verb med substantivisk förled. Ett bidrag till nordisk ordbildningslära*. Stockholm.

Benson, Sven (1951), *Studier över adjektivsuffixet -ot i svenskan*. Lund.

Bergsten, Nils (1915), *Om engelska lånord i svenskan*. In: *SS* 15, 53–87.

Dahlgren, Fredrik August (1914–16): *Glossarium öfver föräldrade eller ovanliga ord och talesätt i svenska språket från 1500-talets andra årtionde*. Lund.

Dalin, Anders Fredrik (1850–55), *Ordbok över svenska språket 1–2*. Stockholm.

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- Götlind, Johan (1918–21), *Studier i västsvensk ordbildning*. SvLm. B 11. Stockholm.
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- Hellquist, Elof (1922), *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (3rd ed. 1948). Lund.
- Hellquist, Elof (1930), *Det svenska ordförrådets ålder och ursprung. En översikt 2*. Lund.
- Hesselman, Bengt (1901), Skiss öfver nysvensk kvantitetsutveckling. In: *SS* 1, 10–25.
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10. Research in Norwegian language history 1850–1950. An overview

1. The dream of a Golden Age
2. Explaining Modern Norwegian
3. Innovations in the dialects
4. Methods
5. Society and language
6. Literature (a selection)

Norwegian linguistics has to a large extent been characterized by a historical approach. Many scholars have contributed by presenting results and ideas in a great many smaller but important publications, but extensive surveys are few.

The great interest in language history derives from the political struggle for independence and the general cultural conflicts of the country.

“This discipline, like all research, conveys a conviction of being connected with the life we experience today and with the future we create.” (Magnus Olsen, a speech 1908)

1. The dream of a Golden Age

1.1. P.A. Munch and a national reconstruction

The foundation of historical linguistics in Norway was laid by Peter Andreas Munch (1810–1863). The political programme he was committed to, National Romanticism, was the framework for his early scholarly work. Munch’s main goal was to demonstrate the national characteristics of Norwegian language, culture and history, and thereby legitimate the Norwegian claim for independence. His main field was the history of the Middle Ages. Whereas his older history colleague, R. Keyser, was interested in the Old Norse (Old West Nordic, OWN) language as an instrument for historical research, knowledge of the language was part of a cultural and political program for Munch.

The aim of Norwegian history and linguistics at that time was to link “our Norway and Norway of the past” as “two halves of a ring”. The Union period after 1319 had been a national disaster and was perceived as “the false soldered joint” which should be removed. The written language had disintegrated during the late Middle Ages, and Munch was convinced that it should be restored.

Studies of OWN were to prove that the rich medieval literature was Old Norwegian and not Old Common Nordic. For Munch it was

essential to prove that the Old Nordic language was divided into two branches: East Nordic and West Nordic. The West Nordic branch he called Old Norwegian or Old Norse (“norrønt”), and he emphasized the importance of respecting each nation’s right to its historic relics. The national demarcation in language and literature was obviously important, especially in relation to Denmark, and the Golden Age demonstrated that Norwegians had been superior to Danes and Swedes in producing medieval literature.

In 1845 OWN became an optional subject for the final university examination in Arts. In order to meet the demands of this new curriculum, Munch started giving lectures on Norwegian language history, and thus this subject was taught for the first time at the university. The lectures were based on his thesis about the form of the oldest Common Nordic language (1846). The following year attention was focussed on Old Norse as he and C.R. Unger published *Det oldnorske Sprogs eller Norronasprogets Grammatik* and *Oldnorsk Læsebog med tilhørende Glossarium*. These two books were standard textbooks for the next generation. The grammar, of which Munch was the main author, to a great extent followed the ideas and arrangement of Grimm’s *Deutsche Grammatik*, and thus Grimm’s linguistic insights were applied to OWN.

Munch accepted the Icelandic way of spelling OWN, and he considered it to be an adequate expression of what was typical Old Norwegian, or “the OWN language spirit”. Variation in the orthography was regarded as accidental. He assumed that OWN was pronounced more or less like modern Norwegian, because the language was one and the same in the past and in the present. According to the ideology of National Romanticism, languages had a static and national nature. This view is also reflected in the so-called “restoring orthography” which he developed for some mythical texts that he published and which M. B. Landstad used when writing down ballads. Munch considered the data Ivar Aasen (1813–96) collected from Norwegian dialects to be proof of “the almost unchanged existence of our old language”. For some time he argued that Unger and Aasen should edit a common dictionary of OWN and modern Norwegian dialects.

However, several other university men started their OWN studies in the middle of this century. During the period 1886–96, Johan Fritzner (1812–93) published his big *Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog*. Marius Nygaard (1838–1912) completed his OWN Syntax in 1906, and thereby finished a pioneering work that demonstrated a very systematic approach and used extensive excerpts from OWN texts. From the publication of Munch's 1847 grammar up to World War I, i.e. in about two generations, Norwegian linguistics had managed to obtain new and thorough insights into OWN.

1.2. Unity or dialects?

During the last half of the 18th century scholars had become aware that there were orthographic differences between Icelandic and Norwegian medieval manuscripts; a bit later it became known that there were variations even in the Norwegian ones. By about 1850 Munch was more willing to accept that there was some dialectal variation in OWN; this was a logical consequence of the unity he assumed between OWN and Modern Norwegian. He supposed that, for instance, OWN *ll* was pronounced *dl*, *dd* and *ll* in the same dialect areas that have these pronunciations today (e.g. *adle*, *adde*, *alle* < OWN *allir*); however, everybody “knew very well” that it should be written *ll*!

However, the idea of unity was predominant. Ivar Aasen tried to look for OWN dialect variation, but concluded (1885/1953) that “dialect forms have neither been many nor of any significance”. Moreover, the opinion that Modern Icelandic was almost identical to OWN was strong. Rasmus Rask had, however, pointed out in 1818 that Icelandic *u*, *y*, *ý*, *au* and *ey* were not “genuine”, as they had been changed from OWN. Aasen stressed in 1854 that *ö* in (the Icelandic spelling of) OWN should be pronounced approximately as *o*, and not as *ø* like in Modern Icelandic. This refers to the sound that is transcribed *ø* in modern OWN standard orthography (i.e. the *u*-umlaut of *a*), which has merged with *ø* to become *ö* in Icelandic (cf. OWN *børn* > Mod. Icel. *börn*).

Contemporary dialects were widely looked upon in the 19th century as a national treasure – and not as a language misfortune. As the interest in dialects increased, scholars became more occupied with looking for dialectal influence on the OWN spelling variants – which,

moreover, could be a means of deciding the provenance of the manuscripts. For instance, in 1878 Johan Storm (1836–1920) brought to light the fact that there was vowel weakening (*a* > *e*) in eastern dialects in the 13th and 14th centuries in unstressed positions (*senda* > *sendæ*). Aasen proved in 1885 that this vowel weakening followed OWN long syllables.

It was above all Marius Hægstad (1850–1927) who established the fact that Old Norwegian was represented by several dialects. In 1899 his monograph *Gamalt trøndermaal* appeared, and in the following years he described all West Norwegian dialects (including Faroese and Icelandic) in his series of books: *Vestnorske maalføre fyre 1350* (1907–1942). This monumental work of more than 1000 pages was based on thorough and extensive studies of medieval charters. It transformed our knowledge of the OWN language.

Hægstad's method was to try and trace modern dialect features in the OWN texts in order to attest geographic differences in the old language. As early as in his first publication (1899), he criticized Adolf Noreen for having distinguished between Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic. Hægstad found this distinction inadequate since Old Norwegian was not itself a homogeneous language. He demonstrated that the Trøndelag dialect had *æ* for *a* with *i*-umlaut (e.g. *hæfir* = standard OWN *hefir* ‘has’), which represents a more archaic language stage than existed in either Icelandic or other Norwegian dialects. He proved that the Trøndelag dialect had the privative prefix *ó-*, not *ú-*, and still kept the *a*-suffix in about 1270, whereas East Norwegian at that time had weakened this vowel to *-e*. Hægstad pointed out, too, that the late *u*-umlaut (i.e. where the *u* triggering umlaut is non-syncoated) did not exist in Trøndelag and the inner areas of eastern Norway during the 13th century. All in all – in his opinion – this tells us that there must have been dialect differences in Norwegian long before the oldest written sources came into being.

Hægstad described thoroughly in *Vestnorske maalføre fyre 1350* a pattern of vowel harmony which existed in OWN, with the exception of south-west Norwegian (including Faroese and Icelandic). In the southwest dialects the vowel suffixes were either *e-o* or *i-u*, whereas OWN elsewhere varied between *i* and *e* and between *u* and *o* depending on the preceding root vowel.

This theory of vowel harmony has created great scholarly interest. Both A. B. Larsen and

D.A. Seip had doubts concerning his conclusions on southwest dialects; however, Hægstad's assertion remained dominant. Magnus Rindal (1984) maintained that Hægstad's argument was circular since he classified his texts as southwestern using linguistic criteria. Egil Pettersen (1989) proved that vowel harmony did dominate in OWN letters from the inner dialects of southwestern Norway by studying all charters containing the svarabhakti vowel *u* or *o*, as these charters can only be from this area. Hægstad classified them as being from the northwest – even though they were issued in Voss and in Hardanger. It has also been proved that even in letters from Stavanger, i. e. outer dialects from southwest Norway, there was vowel harmony. The present view is that there seems to have been no dialectal difference in this respect in classical OWN.

The principles for vowel harmony seem to be complicated: Middle-high root vowels trigger *e* and *o*, high vowels trigger *i* and *u*. The theoretical problems are, however, caused by the low vowels, as *æ* triggers *i* and *o/u*, whereas *a* and *q* trigger *e* and *u*. Jan Ragnar Hagland (1978) has presented the most precise description so far in an analysis of documents from Trøndelag before 1350 where he found that connecting harmony to vowel weakening and describing the vowel variation in unstressed positions using four different phonological rules is most adequate. He, too, demonstrated that vowel weakening prevails in the final years of that period.

Vowel harmony disappeared from Norwegian before the end of the Middle Ages. Hægstad (1908), however, demonstrated that the principle of harmony continued to exist in the modern dialect of Stod in Trøndelag, and he considered the suffixes in some modern East Norwegian dialects (e. g. *biti* – *vik* – *hos* 'bitten-week-trousers') as vestiges of vowel harmony.

1.3. A written standard?

For a long time historians often idealized the OWN language situation by projecting modern conceptions of standardized national languages on to medieval times. The historian Ernst Sars (1835–1917) assumed that the aristocracy spoke a standard language and that the written language was a homogeneous standard; he believed both these factors restrained language changes. Seip (1934/1938) maintained that there was a standard for read-

ing according to which, for instance, consonants that had disappeared in spoken language should be pronounced.

The dialectologist Hægstad concluded that a national written standard developed during the period 1200–1350, during which the Royal Chancellery moved from Nidaros to Bergen. Thus the standard became a compromise between the dialect of Trøndelag and the dialect of western Norway. This claim was presented in 1902 in his thesis *Maalet i dei gamle norske kongebrev*. Hægstad's opinion totally prevailed up to 1986, when Jan Ragnar Hagland in his thesis rejected this view of a common national standard.

1.4. Language shift

After Munch's time there was an increasing interest in studying the period following the High Middle Ages, i. e. the period of union with Denmark. In the latter half of the 19th century it became more essential to look for continuous development than to restore the unity of the past and the present (cf. the contemporary philosophical ideas on evolution).

Many scholars have been preoccupied with what caused the Norwegian written language to become obsolete by the end of the Middle Ages. Aasen's opinion (1885) was that the Danish public servants in Norway were responsible, and that the Norwegian leaders wanted "to be in favour with the rulers and to demonstrate a certain superiority towards common people". Seip (1931) maintained that the Norwegian literary language did not have the strength to survive under this foreign pressure because the Norwegian scribes' centres were too dispersed. In his extensive language history (1951), Indrebø stressed the effect of the Black Death and the fact that foreigners married into the Norwegian nobility. In a way, he moralized about this issue and accused the medieval Council of the Realm of not having cared about the national language.

It has been argued that the language itself was disposed to this disintegration because people in the late Middle Ages felt it to be archaic. Indrebø refuted this by referring to Norwegian charters from about 1500 in which tendencies of language "modernization" can be witnessed, i. e. the fact that scribes used new forms from the spoken language.

There has been no fundamental discussion about how many of these problems concerning the disintegration of the written language

are anachronistic – whether, for instance, language users in medieval times and in the 16th century had a different conception of the notion of “language” under which the “Norwegian language” was not a relevant category (Sandøy 2000).

The language situation in the 16th century has been studied in depth. Indrebø, for instance, examined how long Norwegian names were kept on land registers (1927) and concluded that they dominated up to approximately 1530. He also documented (1951) the fact that Norwegian was used in charters issued by peasants until 1584, and this tradition remained for the longest time in inner Østfold, Telemark and Vest-Agder.

Trygve Knudsen (1962) demonstrated that Norwegian civil servants in the 16th century translated OWN legal texts into Danish mixed with features from Norwegian in order to make the texts comprehensible. In the latter half of the 16th century, the Humanists translated the kings’ sagas into Danish with the same purpose in mind.

1.5. The languages of the western islands

There have been tendencies to include the old languages of the colonized western islands under Old Norwegian. The dream of Norway as a great power in the past may have stimulated research interest in these languages. Hægstad included Faroese and Icelandic in his work on Old West Norwegian dialects, and he published *Hildinakvadet* from Shetland and an analysis of the linguistic features of the OWN dialect *Norn*.

Moreover, the interest in these emigrant languages may be founded on the ambition of throwing light on the Norwegian language situation; these island languages might have retained archaic features from OWN since emigration took place during the 9th and the 10th centuries, a period for which we have almost no written sources. Methodologically, using these sources is a very complex task, as the new language communities were made up of people with different dialects, which could certainly have resulted in a kind of language mixture with levelling tendencies. Phonologically this is illustrated by the fact that Norwegian had several archaic features which Icelandic had lost, cf. section 1.2. on *e* and *ę*.

A puzzle that has preoccupied some scholars is the fact that many innovations are alike or very similar in two or more of the West Nordic languages, e.g. diphthongization

(*bát* > *baot*), lowering of vowels (*vit* > [vɪt]), segmentation (*fjall* > *fjadl*) and differentiation (*karl* > *kadl*). Some scholars have doubted that the intercommunication between the countries could have been sufficiently intense to cause linguistic features to spread from one language to another. Therefore, e.g. Indrebø (1951, 267) claimed that similar changes may arise because the phonological starting point was the same for all these languages. Haugen (1970, 54) argued the same point more precisely by saying that there were “predispositions towards the innovations in the form of an allophonic split in Old Norse”. This has been supported by other researchers committed to the structuralist approach to language change. This discussion (cf. art. 209) has focussed on a challenging question in the context of a more theoretical discussion on possible internal and external factors in language change.

2. Explaining Modern Norwegian

After 1905 there was no further need for using historical and cultural uniqueness as arguments for political independence. After Norway’s independence the cultural conflict was to a greater extent a question about what was “genuine Norwegian”. The linguistic aspect of this conflict became apparent in the struggle between the language varieties Bokmål and Nynorsk. For the purpose of this struggle it was relevant to prove which forms existed in OWN, and as a result quite a few theses on language history in the 20th century have tried to legitimate modern language elements as coming from OWN.

2.1. The OWN heritage

Linguistic features from Southeast Norway, which often correspond with the Danish ones, were especially in need of legitimization. A central concern of Didrik Arup Seip (1884–1963) in his most important work, *Norsk språkhistorie til omkring 1370* (1931), was to demonstrate that such dialect features had their origin in the OWN period – and that they were not a result of Danish influence during the Union period. This concerns, e.g., the changes *kn* > *gn* (*reikna* > *reignæ*) and *tn* > *nn* (*vatt* > *vann*) along the coast of the Oslo fjord. He also found evidence dating from the time before 1300 for monophthongization and for the present form of irregular verbs without *i*-umlaut (*komr* for *kømr/kemr*). As Hægstad’s work on OWN did not include eastern Nor-

way, Seip's language history of 1931 completed the description of OWN dialects.

Among Seip's most controversial assertions was his 1947 claim that the *else*-suffix was mainly of Norwegian origin because many words could be traced to corresponding OWN words with the suffix *-sl*, and these words might have undergone metathesis. He supported this with instances from as far back as the 12th century.

A part of the process of national restoration was to give place-names a Norwegian form. This task led to both conflicts and research concerning which forms were correct from a historical viewpoint. This applies, e.g., to the name of the country, *Noreg* or *Norge*, a topic on which Seip published a thesis in 1923 in order to support the claim that *Norge* was a form developed in Norwegian, i.e. as a contracted form in the dative (and the genitive) of *Noregi(s)*. Indrebø (1925) tried to reveal weaknesses in Seip's linguistic arguments, and he stressed the probability of Danish influence. Naadland (1954) supported the same view by a thorough study of medieval charters.

The strongest opponent of Seip was Gustav Indrebø (1889–1942), who presumably was motivated to publish a Norwegian language history in order to counterbalance Seip's works. A short version was published as early as 1926, but his great *Norsk Målsoga* was published after his death in 1951. Indrebø characterized Norwegian language history as being "strongest at both ends", i.e. in the study of OWN and of Modern Norwegian. He himself improved this situation by presenting studies from the intervening periods. In his language history he provided data from the Middle Norwegian stage, and in articles published in 1954 and 1956 he described the situation in the dialects in the early 16th century (at the time of the Norwegian Reformation). It is generally accepted that the language at that time had reached the New Norwegian stage; however, Indrebø demonstrated that there still are many widespread archaic features in the dialects, in both morphological and lexical forms. He found that several dialect areas were different from today's, e.g. the areas with the infinitive in *-a*, and with *eg* and *me* as personal pronouns (1. pers. sg. and pl.). Unfortunately, his analysis is characterized by mechanical listing, a rather uncritical use of sources and a lack of perspective on language as a system, which may have resulted in an exaggeration of what had been living forms in the speech of that time.

2.2. Early linguistic changes

Nordic linguists joined the circle of neogrammarians at an early date. The Norwegian scholars Sophus Bugge (1833–1907), Alf Torp (1853–1916) and Hjalmar Falk (1859–1928) involved themselves in these new ideas. The latter two studied in Leipzig for a while, the neogrammarian "headquarters". Even before the Neogrammarians themselves, Bugge started using their approach when he published a thesis on consonant changes in Norwegian in 1852.

From the 1860s Bugge was mainly involved in runic studies; he reinterpreted several inscriptions and improved linguistic insights into Ancient Nordic. Munch considered the runic language to be Gothic with a centre in southern Scandinavia. His opinion was in full accordance with the prevailing view that the North Germanic tribes had migrated into Norway from the north. This view was not refuted until 1867 when Bugge and the Danish runologist Ludvig Wimmer proved that the runic language was an earlier stage of OWN.

In 1891 Bugge started publishing *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer*, which made runic data easily available for researchers. Magnus Olsen (1878–1963) was a leading runologist, and he demonstrated in his studies of the Eggja-stone in Sogn that the period of syncope must have ended at about 700. This insight has made several historians of the language, e.g. Indrebø (1951), move the OWN period back one century.

Onomastics has often represented a challenge to historical linguistics. Oluf Rygh (1833–99) started publishing *Norske Gaardnavne* in 1897 and established through this an academic discipline which has supplied the national revision of place-names with essential knowledge. Rygh also elaborated a chronological typology of such names. After Rygh's death Bugge, among others, helped complete *Norske Gaardnavne*.

The Middle Norwegian period is essential for understanding the linguistic innovations leading from classical OWN to the modern dialects. The publication of *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (1847–), a collection of medieval charters and letters, has provided favourable conditions for the study of written sources from this period. Per Nyquist Grøtvedt, as one of many, has recorded a large number of varying written forms and discussed how they may reflect dialect innovations in Southeast Norway in the period 1350–1450 (1969–74). He

concluded, for instance, that in the 15th century assimilations (*rl, rn, rs > ll, nm, ss*) were rather consistently used in the charters, and that vowel harmony disappeared in this area. Vowel lowering appears in this area after 1420: *fyrst, fylgja, þriðja, mik > først, følgia, trædia, mek*.

2.3. Influence from abroad

Gradually research interests have been extended to external conditions of language change. Seip, among others, published two special studies on loanwords, and he included this topic in his 1931 language history, where he demonstrated the influence from Middle Low German on Norwegian in the High and Late Middle Ages. He concluded that words are often borrowed directly into Norwegian and not via Danish.

In their dialect monograph Larsen/Stoltz (1912) discussed the heavy influence from English and especially Low German on the Bergen dialect, and they include a long list of loanwords which are the result of language contact. Of special interest is the impact of the Hanseatic merchants in Bergen on both grammar and vocabulary. As for the vocabulary, there is a pattern that words accepted in Bergen spread into the western and northern dialects. The same pattern of diffusion is observed for a syntactic structure, i.e. the genitive expressed by the pronoun *sin*.

Characteristic phonological and morphological features of the Bergen dialect are discussed both in Larsen/Stoltz (1912) and Sørli (1969), who preferred to interpret them as the result either of influence from other Norwegian dialects or of internal changes. As far as these grammatical features are concerned, there has been little interest in discussing the effect of a language melting pot.

2.4. Written language

An important change in perspective was introduced by Torp/Falk in *Dansk-norskens lydhistorie med særligt hensyn paa orddannelse og bøining* (1898) and Falk/Torp, *Dansk-norskens syntax i historisk fremstilling* (1900) in which they focussed on the language of the Union period. The latter work in particular has been frequently referred to in historical linguistics. The beginning point for the discussion is OWN, and the book goes on to document the historical lines of Danish literary language used by Norwegians.

Ragnvald Iversen (1882–1960) studied the Danish used by Norwegians after the Reformation and concluded that the Norwegians during this period did not follow the norms for the written language in Denmark. The Norwegians stuck to the Danish models from the Pre-Reformation period, and dialectal elements appeared more often in their texts than in the texts written by Danes (Iversen 1921–23).

3. Innovations in the dialects

Dialects have played an important cultural role in political life in Norway, and this has stimulated the production of extensive research on dialects. A bibliography of dialectology (Nes 1986) comprising approximately 3000 printed publications displays a solid geographic correspondence between the number of dialect descriptions and the support of Nynorsk. The great interest in dialects seems likewise to have been an incentive for trying to understand the innovations leading to dialectal characteristics. In the dialect studies there are, therefore, many attempts at historical reconstruction. Phonology has been the area for the most intensive scrutiny in historical linguistics. There are fewer studies of morphology, and syntactic changes have received the least attention.

A central topic in historical phonology has been the changes in the vowel system. In 1843 C.R. Unger revealed the quantity system of OWN, which consisted of 8 short and 8 long monophthongs. In most dialects today the quantity distinctions have changed into quality distinction. Aasen, in his earliest publications of *Landsmål*, used a spelling system with accents that enabled him to differentiate between vowels that reflected quantity distinctions in OWN (cf. *vik – vīk*). In this respect he had the advantage of speaking a dialect that retained 15 of the 16 old vowel distinctions – the maximum set of distinctions in Modern Norwegian as *o* and *o* merged in all dialects during the Middle Ages. In other dialects the vowel system has undergone more radical changes because of mergers.

In both Swedish and Norwegian a shift in vowel quality has taken place; it is most characteristic for *ó* and *ú*, which have been displaced one step upwards in *o > [u]* and one step to the front in *ú > [y]*. Amund B. Larsen (1885) was the first to propose an explanation for this change; he described the innovation

as a push-chain movement that began with *ú* changing into a rounded back vowel, which is near *ó* in quality and thus exerted pressure on *ó*, causing language users to raise the latter vowel in order to ensure an articulatory distance. This movement triggered a further change where *ú* was fronted, and Larsen assumed that this movement had exerted pressure on *y* so that it was delabialized to *i* in some dialects (Larsen 1885). Larsen's method of reasoning was structural – before structuralism had been introduced as a linguistic theory – as it implied that phonemes constitute a system of distinctive members.

This theory has been the prevailing one in Norwegian language history, though it has some weaknesses: As the rounding of *ú* led to its merger with *ó*, there was no new phoneme to create a stronger push than before. Moreover, it is dubious that *y* > *i* should be involved in this chain of changes as it represents a derounding and does not relate to place of articulation. The alternative theory is that the innovations form a drag-chain movement, as Arne Torp (1977, 25) proposed, where fronting of *ú* was the first change, and this created space for the raising of *ó* and *á*.

The neogrammarian tradition was strong in Norway, and most scholars in historical linguistics have worked within this framework. The dialectologist Olai Skulerud (1881–1963) in his early publications was a loyal neogrammarian who tested “sound laws” systematically against dialectal evidence. In 1934, for example, he published a study on diphthongization in the Sunnmøre dialect in which he investigated regular vowel changes caused or modified by the surrounding consonants. On the other hand, he did not discuss whether the structure of the vowel system had any impact, a factor which at that time had become known in general linguistics.

One of the few syntactic features that scholars have taken an interest in is the double definite, a feature which arose in Central Scandinavian after the Ancient Nordic period. Einar Lundeby (1965) studied this, and he concluded that the construction appeared as early as about 1200, and before 1400 the usage in speech must have been like that of modern Norwegian dialects, i. e. that the definite form of the noun is obligatory after the definite article (*den mannen*). Lundeby interpreted the innovation as both a syntactic and stylistic change, where “stylistic” refers to a popular tendency of enhancing the demonstrative content.

This feature does not characterize the written language of Norwegian authors in the Danish period. Especially in the last decades before 1814, Norwegian authors had a good command of the Danish standard norm. However, the author Henrik Wergeland started using the double definite, and so did the collector and publisher of folk-tales, P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, in the 1840s in order to mark an informal style. Lundeby demonstrated how this usage has increased in Bokmål. In Nynorsk it has become almost “mechanical”, as in the dialects.

4. Methods

Structuralism was accepted late into Norwegian linguistics, though some rudiments of this method of reasoning appear early on (cf. sect. 3.). Hallfrid Christiansen (1886–1964) used the structuralist approach in her *Norske dialekter* (1946–48), e. g. in her theory that palatalization and segmentation of alveolars (*kalla* > [kaʎe], *kadla*) are a result of the great quantity shift, in which old long and short consonants were kept apart by this change and thus made the quantity feature redundant.

The most consistent analysis using a structuralist approach is Trygve Skomedal's work on the Setesdal dialect (1972); he argued for a relative chronology of 5 stages for the changes in the vowel system from classical OWN to the modern dialect. Several consonant changes can be related to this scheme by structural logic, and as they are easier to give an absolute dating from the evidence of the old charters, the whole chronology of phonological changes can be tested.

Hagland (1978), cf. above, provides one of several examples of the framework of Generative Phonology being used in Norwegian historical linguistics. Recently, there has been an increasing interest in studying historical changes within the perspective of modern syntactic theory. Jan Terje Faarlund (1990) discussed the theoretical aspects of some changes by comparing classical OWN and Modern Norwegian, primarily the case system, passive voice and impersonal sentences. He underlined the fact that “modern Norwegian is configurational”, which for the case system means that “there is always total correspondence between structural position and morphological case: nominative for the subject and accusative in all other positions, regardless of semantic role”. As with other modern historical studies, this is a comparison of two language

stages with an interval of seven centuries. There is no attempt to trace and analyse data from the periods in between, whereas, for instance, Falk/Torp (1900) provided an ample database but displayed only modest ambition with regard to a theoretical approach.

Lexical studies have not played the same central role in Norwegian historical linguistics as in the neighbouring countries. The German research programme *Wörter und Sachen* was well-known, but it has resulted in few publications. The most extensive lexical study taking a historical approach has been carried out by the Swiss scholar Oskar Bandle (cf. art. 14).

5. Society and language

Sociolinguistics in Norway, as elsewhere, has primarily been a synchronic discipline. However, several studies on language change have used a diachronic approach in their discussion of how society influences language change. There has been major interest in the linguistic consequences of industrialization and urbanization. Steinholt (1964 and 1972) has carried out two studies using this approach, and his work is unique in having investigated the same area using the same method after an interval of about 30 years.

Historical sociolinguistics has a special problem in obtaining relevant evidence. However, many historical interpretations have applied a sociolinguistic perspective, as in the case of the shift in written language, cf. sect. 1.4., and not least in A. B. Larsen's accounts of urban dialects; i.e. the dialects of Oslo (Larsen 1907), Bergen (Larsen/Stoltz 1912) and Stavanger (Berntsen/Larsen 1925). Here the discussion of both social stratification and "neighbour opposition" has been of great importance.

The language struggle in Norway has been a subject of many theses, and monographs have presented analyses of political strategy, organizations and ideology. No less than five extensive biographies have been published on Ivar Aasen, three of them appearing in 1996, a century after his death. The most thorough documentation is in Kjell Venås' biography (1996), whereas Stephen Walton's (1996) is, with respect to genre, more creative in stressing more that a description is an interpretation. Walton emphasizes a social and psychological understanding of Aasen as a person who grew up in the local tradition of the Enlightenment and Rationalism and became de-

pendent on the cultural elite promoting National Romanticism.

As in other European countries, the study of nationalism has been central during the last two decades, and the ideological establishment of a cultural and political entity during the 19th century has been a central concern.

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Helge Sandøy, Bergen (Norway)

11. Research in Icelandic language history 1850–1950. An overview

1. Introduction
2. The 19th century: phonology and grammar
3. The 19th century: lexicon
4. The 20th century: phonology and grammar
5. The 20th century: lexicon
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The study of Icelandic language history is more international in character than that of the other Nordic languages. Many scholars in many countries have been conducting research on Old Icelandic and its historical development for a long time, and the language has often been included in studies where the primary focus was on other Nordic languages (especially Old Swedish) and even other Germanic languages. This survey must therefore be very selective – see Jónsson (1918); Haugen/Markey (1972); Pétursson (1978); Hovdhaugen et al. (2000) and other works listed in the bibliography for further reading. Titles are often abbreviated in the text to save space. No general updated bibliography exists of Old Icelandic or Icelandic language history (cf. Ottosson 1996, 117f.), the most comprehensive one being Haugen (1974). With regard to fields of study which had to be neglected here, the following may be noted. For an overview of research on the standardisation of Icelandic, see Ottósson (1990). For umlaut and breaking, see Benediktsson (1982) and Schulte (1998), and for place-names, see Sigmundsson (1968). It must not be forgotten that a wealth of information on the language of individual manuscripts, especially on phonology, can be found in the introduction to basic text editions. Furthermore, stylistic studies, also those by literary scholars like P. Hallberg, have yielded many results of interest to linguistics proper.

2. The 19th century: phonology and grammar

Most of the research in Icelandic language history until the 1870s is now superseded and is mostly of interest to linguistic historiography. The following half-century or so, on the other hand, produced very much of lasting value, and most of the standard handbooks for present-day scholars stem from that period.

Rasmus Rask's *Vejledning til det islandske eller gamle nordiske Sprog* (1811) was the first grammatical description of Icelandic based entirely on the structure of the language, and not on the pattern of Latin grammar. Especially important was Rask's restructuring, compared to older descriptions, of the presentation of the verbal system, where he drew a basic distinction between verbs with ablaut and verbs without it. Rask believed that the modern language was in all essential respects identical to Old Norse, including the pronunciation. This view was especially detrimental in the case of the vowels, where Rask did not recognize the basic quantity distinction, and even saw *y* as a mere "etymological symbol". In a revised Swedish translation of the grammar from 1818, *Anvisning till Isländskan eller Nordiska Fornspråket*, Rask added a section on the old pronunciation, where he took account of Modern Faroese and continental pronunciation. In this revision, he assigns OIcel. *y* (long and short, likewise *ey*) a separate sound value, posits a sound value closer to Norwegian for *au* and more or less Latin pronunciation of *u*. He further posits a separate sound value for long *ø* (which later merged with long *æ* in Icelandic). Rask incorporated the new insights into his specifically Old Icelandic grammar *Kortfattet Vejledning til det oldnordiske eller gamle islandske Sprog* (1832), which won wide currency. The Icelandic scholar Konráð Gíslason in Copenhagen undertook the task of separating the old language from the modern one further in his 1846 study of Old Icelandic phonetics, *Um frumparta íslenzkrar tungu í fornöld*. This work was based on the scrutiny of a number of old manuscripts, and set new standards for precision. The extensive lists of spelling variants for individual sounds and other primary source material still have their value. The phonetic interpretation of the examples was rather weak, however, and Gíslason was no less reluctant than Rask to assume deviations from the modern pronunciation. Furthermore, although he was the first to recognise *u*-umlaut of *á*, he stubbornly maintained that the product was *ó* and not *ø*. The next important grammar of Old Norse was that of P. A. Munch/C. R. Unger, *Det oldnorske Sprogs Grammatik* (1847) (with a revised Swedish version by Munch in 1849, cf. art. 10). This grammar was based on independent study of the manu-

scripts, as well as comparative linguistic research, and in many respects followed Grimm more closely than Rask. With regard to pronunciation, however, Munch/Unger tended to follow Rask's later views, only vacillating for more vowels between the Modern Icelandic and Norwegian sound value.

Against this Scandinavian tradition in matters of pronunciation stood J. Grimm, who in the 2nd edition of his *Deutsche Grammatik* 1 (1822) had basically claimed that the only difference between unaccented (short) and accented (long) vowels was quantity itself, although he modified this view somewhat in the treatment of individual vowels. The decisive support for Grimm's basic view came from K. Lyngby in an article in *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik* (1861). Here, he gave a systematic and thorough evaluation of many different sources of evidence, including the *First Grammatical Treatise* (edited by Rask in 1818!) as well as the modern pronunciation of Norwegian and Faroese, even of Swedish and Danish, and the orthography of the manuscripts. His results have only required relatively minor modifications to date. In addition to the quantity distinction, Lyngby showed conclusively the distinction – not noticed by earlier scholars – between the two kinds of *ö*, namely *ø* as *i*-umlaut of *o*, and *q* as *u*-umlaut of *a*. The next important grammar after Munch/Unger was L. Wimmer's *Fornnordisk formlära* (1874), representing a thorough revision and expansion of his textbook *Oldnordisk formlære* (1870). Here, Wimmer incorporates Lyngby's results, although retaining the spelling *ö* for *q*. Nonetheless, he continued to give Modern Icelandic pronunciation pride of place in his widely used textbook through numerous editions. The rather brief phonological part of Wimmer's 1874 work was soon superseded by the first edition of Adolf Noreen's *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik* (1884, with three new and revised editions until 1923). Noreen's main goal was to give the phonology a detailed treatment meeting the demands of contemporary linguistics. He thus incorporated the results of recent comparative studies, studies on umlaut and breaking, special studies of Old Norse phonology and remarks on the orthography of individual manuscripts, all with precise references, which were very sparse in Wimmer's book. Furthermore, he used an orthography consistently normalised in accordance with the most recent results, with *q* instead of *ö*. However, he may be criticised for a tendency to take all spelling

variants at face value. Also in this period, K. Gíslason utilized his intimate knowledge of poetry, scaldic poems as well as rimur, in a number of phonological studies. The Danish scholar J. Hoffory treated some important aspects of the phonetics of Old Icelandic consonants, especially in his *Oldnordiske Consonantstudier* (1883). A. Kock took Old Icelandic into consideration in his investigation of accent, umlaut and breaking in Old Swedish, and also published smaller contributions to Old Icelandic phonology in the last decades of the 19th c.

Turning now to inflectional morphology, K. Gíslason had started a detailed treatment in his *Oldnordisk formlære* (1858), but he only completed half of the strong noun inflection. Here, he does not distinguish *i*-stems or root stems as a separate class. Then K. Lyngby, in an article in *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik* (1865), drew conclusions which for the most part have remained unchallenged until today. His work was based on a thorough evaluation of evidence from manuscripts and comparison with Gothic and other old Indo-European languages. Here, he introduced stems as a classificatory principle, following Schleicher's *Compendium* (1861). Interestingly, K. Gíslason protested against certain points in Lyngby's reconstructive classification because he didn't see them reflected synchronically in Old Icelandic. The most detailed inflectional morphology of Old Icelandic is still Wimmer's above-mentioned *Fornnordisk formlära* (1874). The study is based on independent work with the primary sources, but unfortunately lacks all references to them. Wimmer's treatment formed the basis of the morphological part of Noreen's *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik* (1884), which introduced the now customary numbering of the strong verb classes. Noreen's morphology was greatly expanded in subsequent editions as additional research accumulated. In this period, the Icelander Jón Porkelsson was the most prolific in this area. He published extensively on Icelandic language history, both Old Icelandic and later developments, especially morphology. His works are characterised by painstaking documentation rather than grand theories. In addition to a monograph on the svarabhakti vowel (1863), his monographs treat various aspects of the verbal inflection, the subjunctive (1877), strong verbs (1888–94) and the preterite-presents (1895).

Rask's treatment of syntax in his above-mentioned grammars was restricted to notes

on some prominent features, and the grammars of Munch/Unger also contained little on syntax. J. Grimm took Old Norse, especially the Eddic poems, into consideration to a certain degree in his *Deutsche Grammatik* 4 (1837). The first works on Old Icelandic syntax specifically appeared around 1850, i. a. an article by F. Dietrich in *ZfdA* (1851) on the exceptionally extensive use of the dative in Old Norse. In 1849, G. Lund published the monograph *Om det oldnordiske Sprogs Overensstemmelse med det græske og latinske i Ordføjnningen*, where he treated case, mood and the use of infinitive. Lund used the same model, based on Madvig's works on the classical languages, in the first comprehensive Old Norse syntax, *Oldnordisk Ordføjningslære* (1862). His examples, with exact reference to sources, are still useful. Much the same can be said of T. Wisén's monograph on the syntax of the Eddic poems, *Om ordføjnningen i den ældre Eddan* (1865). The scholar who was to maintain absolute pre-eminence in the field for decades, the Norwegian M. Nygaard, published a comprehensive treatise on the same subject in *Eddasprogets syntax* (1865–67) and later followed it up with a number of specialised articles: on the verb *munu* (1878), the present participle (1879), the subjunctive (1883–1886), omission of the subject (1894), the particle *er* (1896), the position of the verb (1900), and on the syntax of the learned style (1896). Nygaard's works are generally characterized by painstaking documentation and a clear and carefully thought-out presentation of the results. He does not try to offer many explanations, however, nor does he make comparisons with other Old Germanic languages. German scholars showed increased interest in Old Icelandic syntax in the last decades of the century, and there was some work done in Iceland and even the United States.

3. The 19th century: lexicon

The first comprehensive dictionary of Icelandic, mostly the modern language, was Björn Halldórsson's *Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danicum*, edited by Rask in 1814. The first dictionary of the old language specifically was Sveinbjörn Egilsson's *Lexicon poëticum* (1854–60), which revolutionized the study of old poetry, especially the scaldic poems. The first dictionaries of Old Icelandic to include prose were those of E. Jonsson, *Oldnordisk Ordbog* (1863), and the first edition of J. Fritzner's *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog* (1862–67).

In 1874, there appeared an *Icelandic-English dictionary* under the names of R. Cleasby and Gudbrand Vigfusson. The real authors, however, were Konráð Gíslason, who completed a draft manuscript, and Vigfusson, who revised and expanded it. Although "Cleasby/Vigfusson" is still valuable for its definitions and morphological information, this dictionary was superseded by the greatly expanded second edition of Johan Fritzner's dictionary (1886–96) as the standard work of reference even today. Fritzner's work made obsolete much of J. Þorkelsson's *Supplement til islandske ordbøger* 1–2 (1876, 1879–85), whereas the 3rd part (1890–97) remains valuable for its precise documentation of 19th and late 18th c. vocabulary. Þorkelsson's 4th *Supplement* (1899) concentrated on morphology. In 1891, an invaluable concordance appeared, L. Larsson's *Ordförrådet i de älsta isländska handskrifterna*, covering ten of the oldest Icelandic manuscripts, including the *Stockholm Book of Homilies*.

Rask had included a relatively full treatment of word formation in his Icelandic grammar, in accordance with his high estimation of the inherent ability of that language to create new words. The basis for further work in that field, though, was for the most part laid by Grimm in *Deutsche Grammatik* 2–3 (1826–31), where he discussed Old Norse derivation as well as compounding. The Neogrammarian upsurge led to increased interest in word formation (as part of etymology) in the last several decades of the century. Comparativists wrote various studies of the Germanic languages where they gave full consideration to Old Norse, e. g. F. Kluge in his *Nominale Stammbildungslehre* (1886) (3rd edition 1926). In Scandinavia, a number of special investigations of the Nordic languages appeared. For instance, E. Hellquist wrote comprehensive articles on the formation of nouns and verbs with a suffixal *k*, *l*, *r*, *s*, and *t* in *ANF* (1891 and 1898), and H. Falk wrote on agentive nouns in *PBB* (1889).

4. The 20th century: phonology and grammar

Research in Icelandic language history increases so much in volume after 1900 that the present discussion must be even more selective than before; cf. Ottósson (1996) for recent work. Icelandic scholars are especially prominent in this field of study after 1960, while

research in Denmark is mostly concentrated in the first half of the century. Swedish contributions are especially important in syntax. Scholars from the German-speaking area were prominent throughout the period, but especially before the war.

The first professor of the Icelandic language at the University of Iceland (founded in 1911) was Alexander Jóhannesson. All his work was marked by his comparative neogrammarian training and limited interest in language development after the Old Icelandic period. Jóhannesson's grammar of Old Icelandic, *Íslensk tunga í fornöld* (1924) was not very carefully written and not always up-to-date, but it was based on considerable research using primary sources. The last edition of Noreen's aforementioned *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik* (1923) remains the standard handbook for phonology and inflection. The work is invaluable because it utilizes and refers to practically all previous research. The clergyman J. L. L. Jóhannsson wrote a historical phonology, *Nokkrar sögulegar athuganir* (1924), covering the period ca. 1300–1600. Although his main source of data, *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, is not entirely reliable, and his explanations are sometimes quirky, his work contains original insights. Another valuable work is Hægstad's *Vestnorske maalføre fyre 1350 II. 2, 3* (1942), being a phonology of Icelandic until 1350.

Finnur Jónsson in Copenhagen continued the tradition from K. Gíslason with emphasis on the language of scaldic poems and *rímur*. He wrote a monograph on the language of the scaldic poems until 1300, *Det norsk-islandske Skjaldesprog* (1901), and treated the earliest poetry in *Norsk-islandske kultur- og sprogforhold i 9. og 10. årh.* (1921). Also in Copenhagen, B. K. Þórólfsson wrote the standard overview of Icelandic historical morphology, *Um íslenskar orðmyndir* (1925), and made valuable contributions to historical phonology (on *é* and *y*, and the quantity shift, both in 1929). J. Helgason in Copenhagen also contributed to Icelandic language history, especially in his description (*Málið á Nýja testamenti Odds Gottskálkssonar* 1929) of the language of Oddur Gottskálksson's New Testament translation of 1540 and his 1948 description of the language of an 18th-century translation of Holberg's *Niels Klim*. The most valuable work, however, was the massive description by the Swiss scholar Oskar Bandle of the language of the oldest Icelandic Bible of 1584, in *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblíá* (1956). In

commenting the forms of this Bible translation, Bandle summarizes all previous research on the historical background of the forms. The Swedes also made some contributions, e. g. H. Celander in *Om övergången av $\delta > d$* (1906) (e. g. *talði > taldi*), and G. Leijström in *ANF* (1934) on the unrounding of *ø* (e. g. *gøra > gera*).

The study of historical phonology was revolutionized by the work of Hreinn Benediktsson, professor of Icelandic in Reykjavík 1958–1998. He combined sophisticated structuralist theory with painstaking work with the primary sources, where his first-hand experience of editing and paleography is evident. He has mostly concentrated on the history of the Icelandic vowel system, including *u*-umlaut, unstressed vowels and vowels in positions neutralized for quantity; see his selected papers in *Linguistic studies – historical and comparative* (forthc.). K. Árnason studied the Icelandic quantity shift in *Quantity in historical phonology* (1980). Two lexicographers at the Modern Icelandic dictionary project in Reykjavík also made significant contributions, Á. B. Magnússon i. a. in his paper on *rd, gd, fd* for *rð, gð, fð* in *ÍT* (1959), where he traces this modern dialect feature back to 14th-century Western Iceland, and J. Benediktsson in his 1960 *ÍT* paper on two types of *ld* in Icelandic. In the Soviet Union, a number of linguists in Leningrad and elsewhere have contributed to Icelandic historical phonology and other aspects, from the mid-20th century onward. This work is most often characterized by original interpretations rather than presentation of new primary data. The most important contributions by M. I. Steblin-Kamenskij were collected in a revised form in *Očerki po diaxroničeskoj fonologii skandinavskix jazыkov* (1966) – see also his paper on the Scandinavian consonant shift in *ANF* (1974). Recently, K. Küspert, in *Vokalsysteme im Westnordischen* (1986), published a careful study of vowel systems in Icelandic, Faroese and West Norwegian dialects. K. G. Chapman had earlier, in *Icelandic-Norwegian linguistic relationships* (1962), studied Icelandic sound changes with parallels in dialects in Western Norway but not elsewhere in that country. For phonological and morphological Norwegianisms in medieval Icelandic manuscripts, Stefán Karlsson's article in *MM* (1978) is the basic text.

There was rather little work done on historical morphology most of the 20th century. Two standard works in the area, Þórólfsson's 1925 monograph and Bandle's stout volume

of 1956, were mentioned above. The study of inflectional morphology was greatly revitalised from around 1970. In Iceland, H. Benediktsson wrote a number of papers, including one on the masculine *ija*-stems (1969), and later very detailed ones on individual words, thus following up his earlier work on the pronoun *nokkur* (1962). H. Guðmundsson wrote the dissertation *The pronominal dual* (1972), and J. H. Jónsson the monograph *Das Partizip Perfekt der schwachen ja-Verben* (1979). Apart from that, most of the work in this field was done outside Iceland. J. Orešnik in Ljubljana wrote mostly on verb forms, but also on morphophonemics. His most important papers are collected in *Studies in the phonology and morphology of Modern Icelandic* (1985). K. G. Ottosson's 1992 Lund dissertation, *The Icelandic Middle Voice*, seeks to explain the morphological and phonological development of this category on the basis of extensive data from primary sources. German scholars have also published in the field, using Natural Morphology and related approaches. Thus, Birkmann included Icelandic in his Freiburg dissertation on preterite-presents in the Germanic languages, *Präteritopräsentia* (1987).

Interest in the historical syntax of Icelandic increased greatly from the early 20th century onward, but there was almost no work in that field in Iceland until after 1980. The increased interest in the early century was probably stimulated by the appearance of good handbooks on Old Icelandic syntax as well as increased interest in syntax internationally from the turn of the century. M. Nygaard summed up and extended his earlier research in *Norron syntax* (1906), which is still the basic handbook, comprehensive and with precise references for the numerous examples. H. Falk/A. Torp's *Dansk-norskens syntax* (1900) is useful because of its systematic comparison with other Old Germanic languages. A. Heusler's *Altisländisches Elementarbuch* (1913) (with subsequent expanded editions until 1931) also contains original observations. B. Delbrück, the founder of comparative Indo-European syntax in the last decades of the 19th c., gave Old Icelandic syntax considerable attention in a Germanic context during the first decades of the new century. One may mention especially the monographs *Synkretismus* (1907), *Zu den negativen Sätzen* (1910), *Germanische Konjunktionssätze* (1919), and not least *Der altisländische Artikel* (1916). The master of "explanatory syntax", W. Havers, also in-

cluded Old Icelandic in his *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der indogermanischen Sprachen* (1911). Considerable work was also done by some other German scholars, including O. Behaghel and G. Neckel, in the first decades of the century. The Norwegian V. Skard built on Havers' results in *Dativstudien* (1951) on the sympathetic dative and the comparative dative. The syntax of the composite verb forms received much attention from Swedish scholars. In *Studier över uppkomsten av supinum i de germanska språken* (1943), S. Ekbo studied constructions with *hafa* plus past participle, either uninflected (called supine) or agreeing with the object: *hefi mann felldan*. His results are supplemented by M. Barnes in *ANF* (1969). T. Johannisson wrote a comparative Nordic study, *Hava och vara som tempusbildande hjälperb* (1945). G. Holm included Icelandic in his *Syntaxgeografiska studier* (1958), where he mapped the Nordic distribution and development of ingressive *fara at* and *taka at*. Subordination has been much studied. Relative clauses were popular in the first half of the century, as seen i. a. in G. Lindblad's *Relativ satsfogning* (1943). B. Bjerre, in *Nordiska konjunktionsbildningar med temporal innebörd 1* (1935), traces the development of temporal subjunctions in Old Icelandic. Word order also received considerable attention from a fair number of scholars in this period. Since 1980 there has been considerable research in historical generative syntax, with a centre in Iceland, starting with H. Á. Sigurðsson, later E. Rögnvaldsson and others. Such studies have also been pursued i. a. in Norway, especially by J. T. Faarlund and K. E. Kristoffersen. Topics have included word order, not least so-called stylistic fronting, narrative inversion, and word order within the VP, further so-called oblique subjects and null arguments. In contrast to earlier scholars, the Icelandic syntacticians have taken care to include the development within Icelandic after the Old Norse period.

For the language history in that later period, Bandle's *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblía* (1956) does good service with respect to the morphological and phonological development until the late 16th c., and Þórólfsson's *Um íslenskar orðmyndir* (1925) includes a very sketchy survey of morphology after 1600. No surveys exist on the development of word formation or syntax after the Old Icelandic period. For these fields, as well as phonology (and to a large extent morphology), all we have for the period after 1600 is a limited number of studies following the development of

specific phenomena from Old to Modern Icelandic. Given the primary sources, the centre of studies in the neglected field of language history after 1600 can hardly be anywhere but in Iceland.

5. The 20th century: lexicon

Finnur Jónsson published a completely revised edition of Egilsson's *Lexicon poëticum* in 1916, as well as *Ordbog til ... rímur* (1926–28), both works based on his own text editions. A supplementary volume to Fritzner's dictionary, by F. Hødnebo, appeared in 1972. W. Heizmann's *Wörterbuch der Pflanzennamen im Altwestnordischen* (1993) should also be mentioned. An important early concordance was H. Gering's *Vollständiges wörterbuch zu den liedern der Edda* (1903). Of recent concordances, H. Beck's *Wortschatz der altisländischen Grágás* (codex regius) (1993) may be mentioned, as well as A. v. A.-De Leeuw van Weenen's 1987 concordance of the entire *Möðruvallabók*, the largest collection of Icelandic sagas. Work on a dictionary of Old Norse prose (Icelandic until 1540, Norwegian until 1370) was started by the Arnamagnæan Commission in Copenhagen in 1939, and the first regular dictionary volume appeared in 1995. A historical lexicographic project from 1540 (when the first book in Icelandic was printed) to the present was started at the University of Iceland in 1948. The project is now in the editing stage, but no part of it has been published as yet. Many small contributions to the history and etymology of individual words, in Old Icelandic as well as the later language, have appeared, most of them by lexicographers at both of these projects. An extensive Icelandic etymological dictionary was compiled by A. Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1956), arranged by roots on the model of Walde/Pokorny's Indo-European dictionary. More useful are J. de Vries' *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1956, 2nd ed. 1962), which contains argumentations for choice of etymologies and references to earlier literature, and Ásgeir B. Magnússon's *Íslensk orðsifjabók* (1989), which includes many words not attested in the old language.

With regard to loanwords in Icelandic, F. Fischer's *Die Lehnwörter des Altwestnordischen* (1909) is a pioneer work for the classical language, but very many of its results were made obsolete by research in the following decades. For the Reformation era, C. Wester-

gård-Nielsen's thorough investigation in *Låneordene i det 16. århundredes trykte islandske litteratur* (1946) is the basic text. In Germany, E. Walter, in *Lexikalisches Lehngut im Altwestnordischen* (1976) studied loanwords and other types of linguistic loans in depth in the semantic field of ethics, followed up by other studies in the field by him and his pupils. O. Bandle's (1967) *Studien zur westnordischen Sprachgeographie*, being a comparison of terminology for domestic animals in Icelandic, Norwegian and Faroese, throws new light upon the language mixture which occurred in the wake of the colonisation of Iceland by settlers from different parts of Norway. In Iceland, Halldór Halldórsson, professor at the university in Reykjavík until 1981, has been most productive in the field of lexicology. His areas of specialisation included idioms and loanwords, but also historical derivational morphology. Among his major works, one may mention *Örlög orðanna* (1958), and *Íslenzkt orðtakasafn* (1968–69). Going on to word formation now, A. Torp in his *Gamalnorsk ordavleiding* (1909) (re-published in 1974) summed up in a concentrated form the results of the intensive research in derivational morphology over the preceding decades, with remarkably complete lists of words. His work remains the standard reference for derivational morphology. A. Jóhannesson's *Die Suffixe im Isländischen* (1927) is an extensive list of Old Icelandic and more recent words, arranged according to the Modern Icelandic suffixes. Jóhannesson's *Die Komposita im Isländischen* (1929) concentrates on Old Icelandic and is most useful for its lists. In Sweden, research in comparative Nordic word formation continued. One may mention especially T. Johannisson's (1939) monograph on intensifying adjectival particles in the Germanic languages, *Verbal och postverbal partikelkomposition*, and also Å. Åkermalm's *Fornnordiska verb med substantivisk förled* (1955). In Norway, K. Venås, in his thorough monograph *Adjektivsuffixet germansk -ga- i norrønt* (1971), investigated the rise of the variant *-ug-* of this suffix to predominance in Old Norse. In Germany, Old Icelandic was included in works on comparative Germanic word formation, e.g. in W. Wissmann's *Nomina postverbalia in den altgermanischen Sprachen* (1932) (with additions in 1938 and 1975). Most of the existing work in derivational morphology actually has a comparative Germanic or Indo-European point of view rather than a synchronic Old Icelandic one.

A good illustration of the international character of Old Icelandic studies is seen in the investigation of the particle *of/um* (assumed to be the reflex of an unstressed prefix). Both I. Dal in Norway (*Ursprung und Verwendung der altnordischen "Expletivpartikel" of, um*), and H. Kuhn in Germany (*Das Füllwort of-um im Altwestnordischen*) published monographs dealing with the particle in 1929. Their investigations were criticised from a theoretical point of view by H. Christiansen in *NTS* (1960). P. Foote, in *Studia Islandica* 14 from 1955, investigated the later development of the variants of this particle in Old Icelandic.

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12. Research in Faroese language history 1850–1950. An overview

1. Introduction. Historical and socio-cultural background
2. From Old Norse (ON) to modern Faroese
3. Principal sources of the history of the Faroese language
4. Recent contributions to Faroese language history
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction. Historical and socio-cultural background

The origin of the Faroese language is to be found in the Nordic dialects of the Norwegian settlers who colonized the Faroe Isles, previously uninhabited, during the Viking Age, probably at the beginning of the 9th century. The Nordic culture of the Viking Age is generally considered to have been fairly uniform, and the linguistic differences relatively small. As time passed on, the language of the Nordic island realms split into different dialects, which later on developed into Icelandic, Faroese and Norn (in Shetland and the Orkneys). From about 900 A. D. a thing was held in Tórshavn, forming a kind of parliament for the Faroe Isles which at that time was a free state, founded on Norwegian legal tradition. In 1035 the Faroes lost their independence and became a tributary country under the Norwegian crown. As a result of the Nordic union at the end of the 14th century, the Faroes were incorporated in the great Dano-Norwegian kingdom, but this brought about no immediate change in the status of the islands. Norwegian law was still in force, with the addition of certain amendments, e.g. the famous *Seyðabrævið* 'The Sheep-letter'. As the capital of the Dano-Norwegian kingdom was Copenhagen, the language of administration became Danish both in Norway and in the Faroes. With the Reformation Danish was introduced as the language of the church, and from then on Danish was the only language used in writing in the Faroes. Faroese existed only as spoken dialects. In this period the basis of bilingualism was laid. A consequence of Danish being the language of the church, of the administration and of books was that Faroese vocabulary did not develop in the domains that lay outside the old agrarian society. All new ideas from the outer world were conveyed through Danish, and as time passed on, Danish influence grew so strong that it became a

threat to the Faroese language. Thus the Faroese folklore recorder Jens Christian Svabo (1746–1824) was so pessimistic about the future of his mother tongue that he doubted it would survive (Svabo 1970, XI). However, the Faroese language did survive, without a written norm, for nearly 400 years under Danish administration. The strongest support for Faroese was provided by its unique treasure house of oral tradition, above all the long mediæval *kvæði*. The development of Faroese during the last two centuries is all the more remarkable, since Danish influence was in fact intensified during the 19th century, due to increasing bureaucracy and the introduction of compulsory children's schools in the 1840s, where the language of instruction should be Danish. In order to challenge Danish as the only written language, V. U. Hammershaimb constructed a Faroese orthography in 1846, principally based on etymology, thus disguising significant sound changes. Thanks to its supralocal nature, Hammershaimb's orthography turned out to be a success, and to this day only minor revisions have been made. Besides editing some examples of Faroese folklore in his new orthography (1846), Hammershaimb also published a collection of Faroese ballads (1849–1851) and a normative Faroese grammar, including information on pronunciation and dialectal variation (1854), thus initiating the learned study of the Faroese language.

2. From Old Norse (ON) to modern Faroese

A comparison of ON with modern Faroese reveals a number of linguistic changes. The question of when and how these changes have come about has been the subject of a number of studies. Before giving an account of research done in this field, a short survey of the major linguistic changes will be given.

2.1. Vocabulary

Genuine Faroese vocabulary is firmly rooted in ON. A number of Celtic loanwords seem to be rather old. As a consequence of the status of Danish in the Faroes, and widespread – in recent times total – bilingualism, modern Faroese, especially the spoken language, abounds in Danicisms.

2.2. Syntax

Some syntactical innovations seem to be due to Danish influence, e.g. the placing of the negative adverb before rather than after the verb in dependent clauses. Spontaneous innovations are, inter alia, the partial loss of the genitive and constructions such as *Eina ferð hevði hann roynt at tikið*. ‘Once he had tried to take’, i.e. the use of the supine (*tikið*) as a second infinitive.

2.3. Morphology

Although most of the rich morphological system of ON is preserved, some simplifications have taken place, e.g. the generalization in the plural verb inflection of the 3rd person form, and the generalization of final *-r* in the nom. and acc.pl. of nouns. Together with lexical loans, a stock of affixes have been adopted, e.g. *be-*, *for-*; *-ari*, *-ilsi/-ulsi* from Danish *be-*, *for-*; *-eri*, *-else*. Ex.: *betala* ‘pay’, *forferdiligur* ‘terrible’, *bakari* ‘baker’s shop’, *bangilsi* ‘fears’.

2.4. Phonology

The most conspicuous changes have taken place in the phonological system. The difference in pronunciation between ON and Icelandic on the one hand and Faroese on the other is much greater than may be concluded from the written language, since there is a wide gap between the pronunciation and the etymologizing spelling of Faroese. Here only some of the most striking sound changes will be presented.

2.4.1. Vowels

Through the quantity shift in the Middle Ages, all stressed syllables have become long. In ON overlong syllables the vowel was shortened; in short syllables the vowel was lengthened. A consequence of these changes of quantity is that both long and short ON vowels have long as well as short equivalents in Faroese. A characteristic feature of the Faroese vowel system is the large number of diphthongs, as the original ON diphthongs are preserved as such and all ON long vowels have been diphthongized. The long vowels may be divided into four groups:

- (1) monophthongs: [i:], [e:], [o:], [ø:], [u:], corresponding to ON *i* (and *y*), *e*, *o*, *ø* (plus *q* and *æ*), *u*; and to *i* (and *y*), *e*, *o*, *ø*, *u* in written Faroese.

- (2) diphthongs with palatal termination: [ɛɪ], [aɪ], [øɪ], [ωɪ], corresponding to ON *au*, *ei*, *ey*, *i* (and *y*); and to *ey*, *ei*, *oy*, *i* (and *y*) in written Faroese.
- (3) diphthongs with velar termination: [əu], [əʉ], corresponding to *ó*, *ú* in ON and in written Faroese.
- (4) diphthongs with “open” termination: [ɛa], [ɔa], corresponding to ON *a* (plus *é* and *æ*), *á*; and to *a* (and *æ*), *á* in written Faroese.

When short, more vowels have merged. Thus only three diphthongs appear as short variants: *ei*, *oy* and *i* (and *y*); *ey* has coalesced with *e* [ɛ]; *á* with *o* [ɔ]; *ó* with *ø* [œ]. ON *y* and *y* have coalesced with *i* and *i* respectively both as long and as short variants. In certain consonantal environments some vowels are pronounced otherwise than stated above. In derivational and inflectional (unstressed) morphemes, only the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* occur, with principally the same distribution as in ON. The svarabhakti vowel is written *u*. In the spoken language, however, the distribution of the suffix vowels *i* and *u* diverges in many ways from the written norm.

2.4.2. Consonants

The most obvious changes in the constant system are as follows.

- (a) Palatalization. The ON stops *g* and *k* have been palatalized into the affricates [dʒ] and [tʃ] before the front vowels *e*, *i* (and *y*) *ey* (ON *au*), e.g. *gera* [dʒ-] ‘do’, *kelda* [tʃ-] ‘spring’; also *sk* [ʃ]: *skinn* [ʃ-] ‘skin’.
- (b) The ON dental fricatives *ð* and *þ* have disappeared in pronunciation, although *ð* is inserted etymologically in written Faroese. ON *þ* has as rule become a stop, *t*.
- (c) Glide insertion between vowels, and Verschärfung. The loss of postvocalic *ð* – as well as of *g* – led to the development of a number of word forms with hiatus, which later on was filled by the insertion of glides. A few examples may demonstrate the complexity of this feature of Faroese phonology: *sigur* [‘si:jør] ‘victory’, *hogur* [‘hø:vør] ‘tall, high’, *veður* [‘ve:vør]. Verschärfung is realized as [dʒ] after *i* (and *y*) and *oy*, and as [gv] after *ó* and *ú* in hiatus and in word-final position, e.g. *oyggj* [ødʒ:] ‘island’ (ON *ey*), *siggja* ‘to see’ (< **sēa* > *sīa*; ON *sjá*), *rógva* [‘regva] ‘to row’ (ON *róa*), *búgva* [‘bigva] ‘to live, stay’ (ON *búa*).

- (d) Merger of *kj-* and *hj-* into [tʃ]: *hjól* ‘wheel’, *kjallari* ‘cellar’; of *hv-* with *kv-*: *hvalur* [kv-] ‘whale’; of the clusters *sj*, *stj*, *skj* into [ʃ].
- (e) Segmentalization of *ll* to *dl*, and – after long vowels and diphthongs – of *nn* to *dn*; also *rn* has become *dn* (in the same morpheme after stressed vowel).
- (f) The loss of *h* before *r*, *l* and *n*: *nevi* ‘fist’ (ON *hnefi*), *reinur* ‘clean’ (ON *hreinn*), *leypa* ‘(to) run’ (ON *hlaupa*).

3. Principal sources of the history of the Faroese language

3.1. Mediaeval sources

The few manuscripts that may cast light on early Faroese are written in Old Norwegian. The only mediaeval document of Faroese provenience of some extent is a transcript of six letters concerning the legacy of one Guðrún Sigurðardóttir at Húsavík, AM fasc. 100 nr. 1a. The transcript, dated 1407, was published by Jakob Jakobsen in *Diplomatarium Færoense* (1907). – Two ON statute books exist, containing the so called *Seyðabrævið*, Duke Hákon Magnússon’s *réttarbót* for the Faroes. Both codices were conveyed from Bergen to Sweden during the Danish period. One is Isl. perg. 33 4to (“Sth 33”) in the Royal Library in Stockholm (now deposited in Tórshavn), with the original document, issued in Oslo in 1298. The other codex is Medeltidshandskrift nr. 1 in the University Library in Lund (“Lund 15”). *Seyðabrævið* is of special interest, as it is most probably founded on local Faroese traditions. Copies of this decree are also found in post-Reformation manuscripts, the most important one being AM 316 fol. *Seyðabrævið* has been edited several times, most recently by U. Zachariassen and J. H. W. Poulsen, Tórshavn (1971), where facsimiles and letter-true editions of all known manuscripts of the decree are printed. The principal contents of Sth 33 are the Norwegian Law. The codex was in the Faroes in the Middle Ages, probably in the care of the “løgmaður” (‘law-man’, i.e. the leader of the law-thing). While the codex was in Tórshavn, many short memoranda and decrees were written down in the margins and on blank pages. These texts were published by Jón Helgason (1951).

3.2. The Danish period

Danish texts that may give information on the Faroese language during the post-Reforma-

tion period are those containing place-names and records of official proceedings. Registers of landed property are kept from 1584, and later on account books and records of the proceedings of the law-thing are available.

3.3. The ballad collections

The oldest extensive texts in the Faroese language are found in Svabo’s collection of ballads from the 1770s and 1780s, edited by Chr. Matras (1939). Other ballad collections are inter alia *Sandoyarbók*, edited by R. Long (1968), and *J. H. Schrøter’s optegnelser af Sjørðar kvæði*, edited by Chr. Matras (1951–1953). The first book to be printed with Faroese texts of some extent was H. Chr. Lyngbye, *Færoiske Qvæder om Sigurd Fofnersbane og hans Æt* (1822). Later on Hammershaimb and others wrote down a great number of Faroese ballads, and in 1872–1876 Svend Grundtvig and Jørgen Bloch compiled and produced a huge collection of all *kvæði* known up to then: *Føroya Kvæði. Corpus Carminum Færoensium*, comprising more than 7000 handwritten pages.

3.4. After Hammershaimb

After Hammershaimb had constructed an orthography intended for the use of Faroese as a national language, an increasing number of printed texts have become available for the study of Faroese.

4. Recent contributions to Faroese language history

A pioneer in the investigation of Faroese was the Faroese philologist Jakob Jakobsen (1864–1918). In the introduction to his edition of Faroese folk tales (1901) he also comments on the language, inter alia drawing attention to a number of Danish loanwords, many of them no longer in use, thus contributing to the study of change in vocabulary. Words of Celtic origin in Faroese provided the subject of a newspaper article in 1902. In *Diplomatarium Færoense* Jakobsen investigated the language of diplomas. Although written in Old Norwegian, several peculiarities in word forms and spelling break the traditional orthographic pattern and are supposed to reflect the pronunciation of Faroese scribes. Forms that Jakobsen claims are specific for Faroese are inter alia pret.part. *skilgitin* (ON *skilgetin*) ‘of

legitimate birth', *fingid* (ON *fengit*) 'obtained', *deydh* (ON *daudh*) 'dead', *toa* (ON *tvá*) 'two', *þrier* (ON *þrír*) 'three'. Jakobsen suggests that the forms *toa* and *þrier* reflect a bisyllabic pronunciation, which later on developed into the forms *tógva* (in the ballad language) and *tríggir*. In *Seyðabrævið* Jakobsen has found a number of Faroese traces in the vocabulary. He also discusses Faroese word forms in Lund 15 and AM 316. – Marius Hægstad has given an overall description of Faroese in his history of the ON dialects, *Vestnorske maalføre fyre 1350* (1917). Hægstad emphasizes the close affinity of Faroese with the dialects of south-western Norway, both in vocabulary and phonological development, e. g. the sound changes *m, rn > dn* and *ll > dl*, and the use of *u* as the velar suffix vowel. He also discusses the *u*-umlaut, and proposes that the large number of unmodified forms in Faroese are due to Danish influence. Thus he believes that *u*-umlaut once existed in Faroese also in trisyllabic verb forms such as *kallaðu* (ON *kolluðu*). – Jón Helgason has investigated (1924) a copy of a few stanzas from a ballad collection, which was sent to Copenhagen in 1639, but which later was lost. Helgason has shown that the spelling, although irregular, reveals some sound changes, well-known in modern Faroese, such as the merger of *a* and *æ*, and the pronunciation of *ei* as /ai/. He also presumes that post-vocalic *ð* in a form like *eyð* (ON *auð*) was still preserved at the beginning of the 17th century. Helgason has also analyzed the notes and shorter decrees in the margins and on the blank pages of *Sth 33* (1951). Most of these texts have been dated to ca. 1400. Attention is drawn to several specific spellings and forms, e. g. *æk hafi* 'I have', the oldest known example of this 1.pers.sg. verb inflection (ON *ek hef*, Far. *eg havi*). – The manuscript *Lund 15* has been investigated by Mikjel Sørlië (1936; 1965), who has come to the conclusion that the codex was probably written in Bergen ca. 1310 by a Faroese scribe, thus explaining the considerable number of nontraditional forms which anticipate later developments in Faroese. Sørlië even tries to determine the scribe's dialect background. In the introduction of R. Long's edition of *Sandoyarbók* (1968) Sørlië has analyzed the language of the ballads in this collection. Comparing the sound system of these with today's Faroese, he gives a survey of Faroese sound history. – Christian Matras (1900–1988) was the leading Faroese philologist for half a century. In his dissertation (1932) valuable information is

given about the stock of words used in naming rivers, sounds, mountains, villages etc., i. e. the vocabulary that was part of the living language at the time of settlement. In 1939 Matras published a lettertrue edition of Svabo's collection of ballads. The introduction comprises an investigation of Svabo's spelling, which may be characterized as phonetic-phonemic. Svabo's spelling system gives a clear view of the pronunciation (in his Western Faroese dialect) and morphology around 1800. In the introduction in his edition of Schrøter's record of *Sjúrðar-kvæði* (1951–1953) Matras gives a complete account of every word every time it appears, thus presenting an exhaustive description of Schrøter's language. Dialectal features are discussed. In *Fróðskaparrit* (1952–), the annual of the Faroese Academy, Matras has published numerous articles covering a broad range of issues in Faroese philology. Thus, in a 1952 study, he has convincingly demonstrated that Verschärfung was first developed in hiatus, and later on in wordfinal position. Matras' work within the field of Faroese philology also comprises a number of overview articles, e. g. *Færosk sprog* (1960), where he gives a condensed survey of the earlier history of the Faroese language. – The official documents from the period 1584–1750 were scrupulously examined by Hamre (1944). His principal aim was to investigate the spelling of the place-names and other Faroese words, as a rule Danicized, in Danish texts in order to reconstruct the pronunciation of the time. In a summarizing chapter Hamre enumerates the sound changes that he considers must have taken place before or during the period in question. Hamre has also investigated the *u*-umlaut in Faroese (1961) and has come to the conclusion that unmodified forms existed along with umlauted forms before the end of the 16th century, probably already in the Middle Ages. He assumes that the large number of unmodified forms in the period after the Reformation are reflexes of a certain Danish-influenced style of spoken Faroese among officials. – The problem of the irregular occurrence of *u*-umlaut is discussed thoroughly by Widmark (1959). She rejects Hægstad's and Hamre's supposition that unmodified forms to a certain extent are due to Danish influence. She argues that those words, especially where umlaut is missing in unstressed syllables (e. g. *kallaðu*, *bannan*), should be looked upon as the result of the close relation between the Faroes and the Norwegian main-

land in the Middle Ages, rather than spontaneous innovations. – A detailed report of the history of written Faroese, from the very beginning and through the different stages of its development, is given by Djupedal (1964). – Chapman (1962) has made an attempt to explain parallel linguistic changes in a large West-Scandinavian area, including Iceland, the Faroes and Western Norway, changes that have taken place a long time after the emigration to the Atlantic islands. He holds the view that “all linguistic change is a borrowing process” (Chapman 1962, 148), and strongly rejects the theory of “drift”, i. e. an inherent tendency leading to the same linguistic changes in areas without social contact. – Essential contributions to the study of Faroese, especially in the domains of phonology and syntax of modern Faroese, were made by Otmar Werner. In *Orbis* (1964, 1965) he has delivered an exhaustive report of investigations within all fields of Faroese studies. An overview of similar content is given in a condensed form in *Die Erforschung des Inselnordischen* (1968). – Björn Hagström has read the Husavik letters from the manuscript (1964) and found some forms deviating from the printed version of *Diplomatarium Færoense*, thus reducing the number of instances without *u*-umlaut in the document. Hagström’s dissertation (1967) is a detailed study of the dialect geography of the suffix vowels in order to determine the extent to which /i/ and /u/ have merged. In an article 1977 Hagström has demonstrated how the spelling and inflection of Danish loanwords during the period 1890–1970 gradually changed to conform with Faroese pronunciation and morphologic structure. He has shown that there is no influence from Danish on Faroese on the phonetic level, in spite of total bilingualism. – Oskar Bandle has studied the terminology used in connection with domestic animals in the West-Nordic dialects (1967). His material comprises ca. 450 Norwegian, ca. 210 Icelandic, and ca. 135 Faroese words. The investigation shows the close affinity of Faroese to the dialects of Southwestern Norway, thus supporting Hægstad’s results of 1917. Bandle also touches on similarities in the phonetic development. Also in his work 1973 on the dialect geography of the Nordic countries, Bandle emphasizes the close relation between Faroese and the dialects of Western Norway, giving examples from the lexicon as well as from phonology. Bandle has also examined the *u*-umlaut, summarizing the result of discussions through the years (Bandle

1967, 29ff.). The irregular distribution of umlauted and unmodified forms is explained partly as a result of analogical levelling within the paradigms, partly due to influences from Norwegian and Danish. – In a recent publication (1992) Jørgen Rischel gives a survey of the major phonological changes that have set Faroese apart from ON. Having the results of earlier studies at his disposal and a first-hand knowledge of Faroese, he has succeeded in giving a full account of the relative chronology of the most spectacular changes of the phonological system of Faroese. The systematic character of the changes is emphasized. Although explicitly abstaining from a discussion of the absolute chronology of sound changes, he states that “the great changes happened from 800 to 1600” (Rischel 1992, 116).

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III. Perspectives in research history II: The contribution of Nordic research to historical linguistics (until 1950)

13. Nordic contributions to historical linguistics before 1800

1. The general scenario
2. Traditional linguistic thinking
3. Linguistic change and genetic relatedness
4. Descriptive or applied work providing evidence for language dynamics
5. Exemplars of descriptive work on past stages of Nordic languages
6. Concluding remarks
7. Literature (a selection)

1. The general scenario

Historical linguistics as a serious scholarly enterprise is (by the year 2000) only two hundred years old. There was no real research paradigm in this field until comparative linguistics abruptly came into existence around the turn of the 19th century and soon developed in the direction of historical linguistics. Before that time, historical and etymological language study was a speculative occupation in which seemingly everybody could engage. Much better work was carried out in fields which one might today call Applied Linguistics. Thus the Reformation motivated an upsurge of interest in the sound structure of language because of the need for metrical schemes to be used in new hymns in the mother tongue.

The most important undertaking was the endeavour, in the era of Humanism and the Reformation, to establish consistent orthographies, e.g. for Bible editions. Sweden got its first complete Bible in the national language in 1526/41, Denmark in 1550 (the New Testament two decades earlier), Iceland in 1584. These orthographical attempts were often anchored in tradition so as to give the orthography a more conservative and less dialect-specific appearance. This converged with an increasing interest in national history and thus in the understanding of early texts (manuscripts and inscriptions on monuments) in the mother tongue.

The establishment in each of these three areas of an orthographical norm meant that

speakers of a wide array of dialects acquired a language loyalty toward a common written language. This created a polarization between three main languages: Swedish, Danish and Icelandic (disregarding Gutnish, Faroese and Shetland and Orkney Norn), although Norwegian was also referred to as a language of its own, without clear recognition of its complex status (this complex issue cannot be discussed in detail here, cf. Hovdhangen 1982). The achievements of the 16th century thus laid the groundwork for later nationalistic controversies over the Nordic linguistic scenario.

2. Traditional linguistic thinking

The linguistic thinking up to the late 18th century can be envisaged as including three perspectives on vernaculars which are relevant to historical-comparative language study.

2.1. Vernaculars as imperfect reflections of logic

The medieval and humanist approach to language study was based on the classic contention that there is such a thing as an ideal language which is in accordance with the logical structure of the world. As a consequence, the actual languages as we know them are more or less perfect reflections of this proper, logical language. As to the “vulgar” European languages in particular, these were viewed as the result of corruption which had been going on since antiquity, and thus Greek and Latin were more relevant to a logic-based approach to language. Among the representatives of the leading linguistic theory of medieval Europe, Modistic Grammar, there were in 13th-century Paris four scholars with the epithet de Dacia, viz. Bo (Boethius), Johannes, Martin and Simon. In the following centuries, however, Nordic linguistics shows a conspicuous lack of inspiration from these Danes. In any

case, their theoretical work is of little relevance to diachronic studies.

2.2. Vernaculars as continuations of the language of Eden

As for the historical perspective, linguistics took its point of departure from the biblical heritage with its two linguistic milestones: (1) Adam and Eve used words to name things, i.e. there was an original language spoken in Paradise; (2) after a period of monolingualism, the human tongue split into several mutually unintelligible languages as a result of building the Tower of Babel. These dogmas set the agenda and got in the way of potentially more interesting research. For a long time it was taken for granted that Hebrew was the original language; this was assumed by many writers, as pointed out repeatedly by Hovdhaugen et al. (2000), for example the Dane Peder J. Wandal, who published a comparative word list of Danish and Hebrew (1651). Hovdhaugen et al. (2000, 38) mention another more prominent (and indeed more interesting) representative of this view in Finland: Åbo University professor Simon Paulinus (1652–1691), who in a very extensive Hebrew grammar (1692) attempted to align Hebrew with Latin grammar.

It became increasingly desirable to bolster the status of one's own country. One way was to make claims about the great age of the national language by tracing it back to Hebrew or explicitly to the language of Adam. The latter claim could be supported by the assumption that Noah's son Japheth had escaped the confusion of Babel so that his descendants had simply inherited the original language.

The Dane Peder Pedersen Syv (1631–1702) wrote a monograph on the Danish language with the somewhat surprising title *Nogle Betenkninger om det Cimbriske Sprog* (1663). By "Cimbrisk" he meant most of what is now called Germanic, explicitly including Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and German. In the first chapters there are some partly adequate etymological comparisons reaching as far as Persian, but at the same time he employs surprisingly naïve argumentation in favour of the historical primacy of Cimbric. Syv claims that in its oldest form, Cimbric has more in common with Hebrew than with Greek or Latin and thus antedates the latter two languages, although it became more different from Hebrew after the arrival of Odin, which caused it to be mixed up with the language of

the Ases. The linguistic loyalty in this line of reasoning seems to be toward Nordic in general, but the reference data are all from Danish. The most prominent Nordic representative of historical-linguistic patriotism is the Swede Olaus Rudbeck (1630–1702), whose large-scale work *Atland eller Manheim* (1679–1702) identified Sweden as the cradle of civilization (i.e. Atlantis), where the language of Adam was spoken. Rudbeck's work was strongly ridiculed by the Danish professor Ludvig Holberg, and the article *Étymologie* in Diderot's *Encyclopedia* half a century after the appearance of Rudbeck's work explicitly took issue with his linking of etymology with mythical history.

2.3. Etymology as explanatory semantics

The third component, the etymological study of words, is more difficult to come to grips with. Through an analysis of the etymological practice inherited from antiquity, one may tentatively construe the following operational definition: "etymology" (true meaning) traces the origin of a word through a comparative analysis of the meanings of words whose spellings are suggestive of some logical relatedness. Again, one may point to the medieval Danish modists' studies of meaning, but their emphasis was on universal properties of language, not on language history.

3. Linguistic change and genetic relatedness

Linguistic change was for a long time not a salient notion except in the sense of corruption of language, and comparative studies were distorted by religious fundamentalism and naïve beliefs in migration myths. In medieval Europe there was one outstanding exception, Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), who unfortunately did not come to play any lasting role. Five hundred years before Rasmus Rask's work, Dante's book about Italian vernaculars (1303–04) demonstrates a basic understanding of the relationships among genetically related languages or dialects, and more interestingly, a clear notion of linguistic change. Starting out as a scholastically trained scholar, Dante thereby laid the foundation for a comparative-diachronic linguistic paradigm, but this was forgotten in the following centuries.

Scholars of the 17th century, also in Scandinavia, were, however, interested in the diver-

sification of human language, the origin of language and the occurrence of language death. There was also a sporadic interest in dialect differences and even in the relationship of dialects to a standard language; Hovdhaugen et al. (2000) point out that in the 1620s Jørgen Thomassøn, serving as a vicar in Norway, worked out a comparative study of sound correspondences between various Norwegian dialects in relationship to Danish, though his seminal work was published only in the 20th c. (by Hannaas 1911).

The Swede Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672) has a respectable position in the history of comparative linguistics, although he was involved with the speculative search for the primordial language. In his preface *De linguarum origine* to a 1671 edition of the *Codex Argenteus* of Wulfila's Gothic Bible translation, Stiernhielm outlines a basically good genetic division of languages of Europe and the near Orient into families with reference to the generally assumed linguistic split between Noah's sons Sem, Cham and Japheth. He also gives many etymological comparisons between related languages. Hovdhaugen et al. (2000, 115) credit him for having provided "one of the first, primitive tabular representations of the relationship between the Germanic languages"; I read Stiernhielm's diagram and accompanying text instead as defining the emergence of a standard language from multiple origins, in this case New German seen as a conflation of three German dialects (he similarly, but of course with less justification, claims that Latin is a conflation, a coalescence of "Hetrusca, Osca & Sabina"). For the history of genetic-linguistic pedigrees, it is more relevant that Stiernhielm posits seven Romance languages (including Rumanian: "Walachia") as stemming from one and the same language: Latin. As for the search for the language spoken by Adam, a caveat was voiced by Stiernhielm's compatriot *Samuel Columbus* (1642–1679); in his *Swensk Ordskötsel* (which was influenced by Peder Syv), Columbus observed that although European languages seem to come from one common source, one cannot select *the* original language among these; it would be possible to take any of them and derive the others from it. But in fact, his argument goes further, languages such as Swedish and German are sister languages whose parents died long ago.

One of the first Nordic scholars working on metrics after the Renaissance, Hans Mikkel-sen Ravn (1610–1663), was an early Danish

proponent of a well-known view on language change: the mother tongue (Danish in his case) has undergone a decline over time, being corrupted by foreign influences. A later compatriot, Ole or Oluf Borch (Olaus Borrichius 1626–90), in his *Dissertatio de causis diversitatis linguarum* (1675), focussed on the reasons why languages have become so different after they split up due to the confusion at Babel. Not all the contributing factors he suggests are very convincing, but his mentioning of carelessness as a factor in linguistic change anticipates later insights. We find a more static conception of language relatedness half a century later in the manuscript of an anonymous Dane (1727). He assumed that the languages of the world are different because God arranged them differently out of the sounds of the original language; thus no known language is the common ancestor. This did not prevent the anonymous author from setting up interesting criteria for dealing with degrees of language relatedness.

A crucial criterion in the comparative and historical study of languages is the systematic comparison of "look-alikes" from different languages or from different epochs of the history of a language. It took a long time, however, to understand the necessity of making this criterion operational on a rigid methodological basis, as there was no explicit theory to associate it with. As long as the learned world was seriously concerned only with the codified orthographical norms of the languages of antiquity plus (eventually) a few contemporary languages, there was no inherent reason why scholars would assume that languages generally tend to change in smaller or greater steps over time, or that such changes tend to be very systematic rather than erratic. As for the traditional notion of etymology, it involved no stringent requirements on graphic/phonetic similarities in order for such similarities to count when words were claimed to be etymologically related.

Although the 18th century is known in linguistics as the period of transition toward the historical-comparative paradigm of the 19th century, there was no real methodological progress from the etymological attempts of 17th century Scandinavia all the way up to Rask's epoch-making comparative work. Already the 17th century, however, shows interesting premonitions of comparative linguistics. One virtually unknown precursor is the above-mentioned Jørgen Thomassøn (1625), another the Swede Ericus Schroderus (Eric

Schröder), whose small *Lexicon Latino-Scondicum* of 1637 (two years before his early death) has a comparative-linguistic introduction. Because of the relevance of such seminal work for an appraisal of the linguistic revolution in the early 19th century, Schroderus' (and his compatriot Ihre's) work will be characterized here in some detail:

Schroderus is very explicit about regular correspondences between closely related languages and successfully compares "Gothic" = Swedish with (High) German, deriving the latter from the former. If we look at labial consonants, for example, he posits German *p* for Swedish *b*, citing examples such as *Basun/posaune*, *Embete/ampt*, *Beck/pech*, and German *b* for *f* (which here stands for [v]) as well as for *g*, e.g. *Elff/elb*, *Graff/grab* and *Färgha/farb*, *Korgh/korb*, respectively. His comparisons of dental stops/affricates most clearly illustrate what is now known as the High German or Second Consonant Mutation. Schroderus knew that German mostly ("sæpissime") has *t* for *d*: *Dufwa/taube*, *Dygd/tugend*, *Dagh/tag*, etc., and that German has a variety of correspondences to *t*. We here enter the realm of conditioned change, since he observes that the German reflexes are dependent on initial versus medial/final position:

"Gothicum T ab initio vocis fermè mutatur in Z" (his examples include *Twijfwel/zweiffel*, *Twång/zwang*, *Tegel/ziegel*, *Twå/zwey*, *Tahm/zahm*, *Tijdh/zeit*) but "in media voce, vel in calce fermè transit in D" (e.g. *Pant/pffand*) "vel in Geminum S" (e.g. *Lott/loß*, *Slott/Schloß*, *Faat/faß*).

The idea of consonant mutations was salient, e.g. in Eric Pontoppidan's Danish grammar on which he worked only a few years after Schroderus (it appeared in 1663). He states, for example, that *c* "mutatur" into *h* in words such as *Cornu – Horn*, *Calamus, culmus – halm*, *Cutis – huid*, *cannabis – hamp*, *collum – hals*, *caput – hove*t, and he is aware of the systematic relationship between German *b* and Danish *v*, the former mutating into the latter: *haben*, *loben*, *leben*, *geben*... – *haver*, *lover*, *lever*, *giver*... Interestingly, Pontoppidan is explicit about the role of articulatory phonetics in mutations: homorganic elements can easily mutate into each other.

After the just-mentioned scholars there was a theoretical stand-still of more than a century. In the middle of the 18th century the influential Swedish scholar Johan Ihre (1707–1780) appeared on the stage. His booklet with the ambitious title *De origine linguarum* from

1759 seems strangely traditional in its etymological approach, even compared to 17th century work. There is more of a follow-up on Schroderus in Ihre's *Glossarium Suiogothicum* which appeared a decade later. It is an impressive Swedish dictionary with Latin translations and explanations and with Danish, Icelandic or more remote etymological parallels. In his introduction he has eight pages of letter correspondences exemplified by lists of lexical cognates taken from languages as far removed from Swedish as Celtic and Iranian. Not surprisingly, Ihre posits several wrong etymologies; at other times his intuition about cognates is correct, though he oversimplifies the relationship, as when he posits "T pro L" in *Tunga – Lingua*. Many etymologies are perfectly good and straightforward, however. Some of Ihre's letter correspondences between Swedish and Latin can be combined so as to give seminal evidence of the Germanic consonant mutations, e.g. "T pro D" (*Tand – Dentes*, *Tio – Decem*, etc.), "H pro K" (*Hafer – Caper*, *Horn – Cornu*, *Hud – Cutis*, etc.), "G pro H" (*Gäst – Hostis*, *Gård – Hortus*, [i] *Gär – Heri*), but Ihre does not make any such connections. Ihre also observes the Indo-European *s mobile* ("S præfigitur") but gives a random mixture of more or less spurious examples.

Considering Ihre's relative success in etymologizing, it is noteworthy that it is hard to see much theoretical and methodological progress from Schroderus' 17th-century work. Ihre's etymologies often suffer from the traditional flaw of concentrating on some detail of resemblance and ignoring accompanying dissimilarities, as when he posits "K pro D", exemplified by *Leka – Ludere*. It should be noted that his comparisons are strictly graphical and thus not supported by any phonetic systematization or by any phonetic plausibility measure. This is in a way strange since the relevance of phonetics for etymology was understood much earlier (cf. Pontoppidan 1663) and was emphasized in the article *Étymologie* in Diderot's Encyclopedia, some years before Ihre. Moreover, Ihre's observations look rather random, without special focus on the most regular and most well-corroborated correspondences (on this point, too, his work lacks the scientific rigor required for etymological work by the French Encyclopedia). Through the quantity of his useful work and his level of learning, however, Ihre stood out internationally as an etymologist. Although Rask took his work with much reserve, Ihre's

achievements were in fact of direct importance for early 19th century scholarship, including Rask himself.

The 18th century is characterized by a growing interest in dialects and in their assumed great age. A prominent example mentioned by Hovdhaugen et al. (2000) is Marcus Schnabel's *Prove paa hvorvidt det gamle Norske Sprog endnu er til udi det Hardangerske Bonde-Maal*. It is a comparative inquiry into the greater or lesser preservation of "the Old Norwegian language" in "the peasant idiom of Hardanger", published in 1784 by the Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters (Ihre's dialect dictionary will be mentioned in a different context in sect. 5). On the whole, however, precious little progress had been made in the understanding of how the Nordic languages and their dialects were mutually related, and how they were related to the language attested in early manuscripts or runic inscriptions.

4. Descriptive or applied work providing evidence for language dynamics

It seems appropriate to introduce this section with a few words on the older data used in historical research. Needless to state, all linguistic records from the past form raw data for language history. Although this volume of material is enormous, especially for recent centuries, there is both a strong bias with respect to topics covered in the early literature and sheer arbitrariness in the selection of material which has been handed down to posterity. Much of the most valuable medieval material was irretrievably lost due to wars and fires and also, unfortunately, by recycling. We do not know, for example, whether there formerly existed a much greater number of manuscripts containing treatises on descriptive or historical linguistic matters; if so, they could have been lost both by misfortune and because such matters were thought obsolete by later generations.

There is remarkably little evidence of reflections on Nordic languages in the Middle Ages, with some prominent Icelandic exceptions: an anonymous Icelandic treatise on phonology and orthography and Snorri Sturluson's 13th century handbook of Scaldic Metre (*Skáldskaparmál*). The latter gives a wealth of information on the traditional metric patterns and

poetic usage and hence indirectly on the general sound pattern of the language, with the particular qualification that metric tradition often reflects conservative and perhaps even obsolete pronunciation. Thus we get a certain diachronic time depth by studying Snorri's information plus those specimens of surviving scaldic verse from the preceding three centuries which can be dated with some certainty. Snorri's work is essentially of a didactic nature.

The so-called *First Grammatical Treatise* from the late 12th century is important in that it applies the minimal pair test (the commutation test) to the phonology of a Nordic language, some 800 years before the test was introduced by structuralism. For example, words with final long and short consonants are contrasted in sound and meaning in order to show that consonant length is distinctive. This is in itself a milestone in the history of linguistics, although the idea was based on well-established classical and medieval ideas; for Nordic language history it is particularly important because it gives us the most direct and reliable record, for any Nordic language, of a sound pattern of the past.

There is also a *Second Grammatical Treatise* from medieval Iceland, which deals with the combinatorics of the letters in the established orthography and which is perhaps more independent in its approach than the first. Finally, we may mention a *Third Grammatical Treatise* written by Snorri Sturluson's nephew, Ólafr Þórðarson; that work is interesting in that it also takes runic writing into account. As in the case of the Danish modists, however, this strange concentration of interesting linguistic scholarship had no obvious impact on the later development of linguistics in Scandinavia.

The incentive behind the *First Grammatical Treatise* was the need for improvements in orthographical practice; as a spin-off, the treatise supplies Nordic philologists with such wonderful information as the existence of a contrast between plain and nasalized vowels, a contrast which might be predicted for an early state of Nordic on comparative evidence but which was not borne out in Old Icelandic orthography (early East Nordic runic inscriptions provide evidence of the retention of this contrast at least for the vowel /a/ in the early Viking Age). The relatively great regularity in spelling in runic inscriptions and early medieval manuscripts, compared to late medieval and Renaissance texts, suggests that there may

indeed have been a series of early orthographical normalizations, though we have no records of these.

The most intriguing event in early Nordic writing is the fairly rapid transition from a longer runic alphabet (“futhark”) with 24 characters to a shorter one with 16 characters shortly after the sound pattern of Proto-Nordic (urnordisk) had undergone radical changes, including the addition of umlaut vowels. It is understandable why there was a need for a radical reform at that time. In spite of its larger number of characters, the old futhark was quite inadequate vis-à-vis the new sound pattern. What is intriguing is that those in charge chose an orthography which is in one sense more “primitive” since it under-specifies but in another sense is highly sophisticated: whenever a runic character covers two or more phonemes, these are morphophonemically rather than just phonetically related. The only comparable event in the history of a Nordic orthography was the orthographical turmoil in late medieval Danish and the subsequent attempt to re-establish a more regular spelling system in the 16th century. Again, the major underlying problem was a set of sound changes which seriously upset the sound-letter correspondences so that Danish orthography was in flux in the 15th and early 16th centuries. Throughout the era of the Reformation there was a conspicuous lack of spelling regularity. Writing habits were highly individual, often also characterized by imperfect command of Danish and/or by personal mannerisms. The enormous influence of Low German, later also of High German, contributed to this instability.

The task of establishing an acceptable form of written Danish was assigned to one learned scholar of the Humanist tradition. The immediate objective was to rectify the very unsatisfactory first Danish edition of the New Testament which had appeared in 1524, a translation marred by all kinds of Germanisms, a clumsy orthography and other shortcomings. The scholar Christiern Pedersen managed to produce a much better translation already by 1529. The titles of the 1524 and 1529 editions themselves give a startling (albeit rather exaggerated) impression of the nature of the changes: in 1524 it is *Thet noye Testamenth*, in 1529 *Det ny Testamente*. In the 1529 edition and subsequent editions of various works in Danish (the entire Bible in 1550), Pedersen laid the foundation for Modern Danish orthography. In the context of this article the relevant

question is: what kinds of linguistic deliberations did he use in his orthographical reform? Since there was no well-defined and widely used standard spoken Danish, one way to arrive at an acceptable common denominator was to look at an earlier state of the language as it was reflected in the law texts and other medieval texts with which Pedersen was thoroughly familiar. In medieval times Danish underwent both a weakening of postvocalic stop consonants and (particularly in East Denmark) a weakening or loss of voiced fricatives; as a result there are enormous discrepancies in the orthography during this period. Pedersen’s solution of the orthographical problem was characterized i.a. by innovative use of older scribal conventions. In several instances etymologically false spellings were introduced, and because of the relative stability of Danish orthography since the Reformation, one still encounters spellings such as *sælge* ‘to sell’ in modern Danish as against (-lj-) in Proto-Nordic. Spurious consonants such as fricative -g- in *sælge* even made it into the educated pronunciation of Standard Danish.

When we enter the 17th century, we see in Sweden an upsurge of scholarly activity, represented by Johannes Bureus (1568–1652) and his pupil Georg Stiernhielm (cf. 3.), with the aim of elevating the mother tongue to a higher status as a written language. Ihre, in *De Mutata Lingva Sveca* from 1742, deals with innovations in Swedish; i.a. he points out how the Swedish Bible editions from 1526 and 1541 differed dramatically in spelling and linguistic usage. The orthographical representation of Swedish, a controversial issue, was treated in detail in works from the late 17th century (including Samuel Columbus’ above-mentioned *En Swensk Ordeskötsel*) and afterwards.

In Denmark, there were several attempts of this kind in the 17th and 18th centuries, in the beginning particularly with reference to orthography. Dictionaries of Danish usage appeared throughout the 17th century. Of particular value as a source of information is the anonymous work from 1727 mentioned in section 3, which makes much of distinguishing a contemporary Danish norm from dialectal or obsolete or otherwise irrelevant material. These scholarly activities often influenced the course of development of the mother tongue, and from that perspective they are relevant to historical linguistics.

5. Exemplars of descriptive work on past stages of Nordic languages

This section is meant to underline and emphasize by way of selected illustrations that the data for modern diachronic studies of Nordic languages are not confined to raw texts (be they runic monuments, coins, manuscripts or printed books) but also include outstanding descriptive work from the past which in some cases is of extremely high reliability and applicability. Since the bulk of diachronic work of the 19th and 20th centuries is on sound change, the focus here is on phonetics/phonology.

The so-called *First Grammatical Treatise*, which was referred to in sect. 4, belongs in the category of particularly significant descriptive sources by virtue of its outstanding and reliable analysis of the sound patterns of 12th-century Icelandic. There is no comparable source of knowledge about other Nordic languages from medieval times.

In the era of Humanism, phonetics entered the Nordic scene with the Danish scholar Jacob Madsen (1538–1586) with the surname Aarhus (i.e. his home town in Jutland), who cites a number of Danish words in quasi-phonetic notation in his linguistic dissertation *De Literis Libri Duo*, which appeared in the year of his death. We can see that although Madsen does not distinguish between letter and sound in his terminology, he manages to give genuine spoken word-forms since the spellings reflect his North Jutlandish background, with dialectal features such as diphthongizations as against the monophthongal spellings of Christiern Pedersen's standard Danish orthography.

From the 17th century onwards we have several works on metrics and on grammar, particularly in Denmark. If used with caution, these provide important information, e.g. on rhythm. One name occupies a much higher rank than those of all others: Jens Pedersen Høysgaard. Høysgaard (1698–1773) had a humble position at the University of Copenhagen but provided outstanding and highly original descriptions of Danish grammar and prosody, i.a. his *Accentuered og Raisonnered Grammatica* (1747), which includes systematic indications of word prosody and thus is an invaluable source for diachronic studies of Danish stress and *stød*. Høysgaard was also an outstanding syntactician whose insights were far ahead of his time.

Toward the end of the period treated here, Johan Ihre's *Swenskt Dialect Lexicon* (1766) stands out as a primary source of 18th century

Swedish and as a seminal work in dialectology. Being overtly inspired by the existence of an array of works on dialects or regional languages in other European countries, it contains a wealth of non-standard words and expressions with indications of their dialect provenance. Unlike much of Ihre's other work, it is strictly descriptive, not historically oriented.

The Faroese scholar Jens Christian Svabo (1746–1824) carried out trailblazing work on Faroese language and culture, although he never finished his university studies. His most important linguistic achievement is *Dictionarium Færoense* from the late 18th century (published only in 1966 by Christian Matras). Svabo considered Faroese to be moribund, and sharing the practical orientation of his time, he saw a better future for the islanders if they switched to Danish. His own task was to take down whatever was left of the language so as to preserve it as an antiquarian object for posterity. Before Svabo, almost the only mention of the language situation in the Faroe Islands is by Lucas Debes (1623–75), who in his *Færoæ et Færoa reserata, Færoernis Beskrivelse* (1673, re-edited by J. Rischel 1964) makes the significant but somewhat enigmatic statement that "Their language is Norwegian, although nowadays mostly Danish; they have, however, still preserved several old Norwegian words [...]". Svabo considered designing a Faroese orthography based on a comparison with Old Norse. Instead, however, he made the happy decision to use a quasi-phonemic notation. Partly because of this, his extensive documentation of 18th century Faroese provides a solid foundation for diachronic studies, and it has been instrumental in calling later scholars' attention to Faroese as a separate Nordic language.

6. Concluding remarks

The general impression of linguistic endeavours up till the 18th century, both in Scandinavia and elsewhere in Europe, is that there was not much progress in the field of historical linguistics. This is in contrast to both theoretical and descriptive linguistics. Language philosophy reached an impressive level in ancient Greece, and the work of the scholastic "modists" around the 13th century brought interesting new facets to this field. Descriptive grammar flourished in ancient Rome and merged with language philosophy in the analytical approach of the Port Royal grammarians in 17th century France. Scandinavia con-

tributed little to the progress of linguistics over this long period, apart from the Danish provenance of some of the most outstanding modists in Paris. The following several centuries saw only a couple of Nordic linguists of recognized international standing: one is Jacob Madsen Aarhus, another Johan Ihre. There are others, including the medieval author of the *First Grammatical Treatise* and Høysgaard in the 18th century, who were in fact eminent scholars, but being outside the European mainstream (for one thing because they wrote in their mother tongue), they had no chance of influencing international developments.

7. Literature (a selection)

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14. Contributions to Nordic language history by non-Nordic linguists (until ca. 1980)

1. Introduction
2. Contributions
3. Conclusion
4. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

- 1.1. The terms “language history” and “historical grammar”

Oskar Bandle (1984 a, 71) defines *historical grammar* as

a presentation of the pure linguistic data (in some cases including an internal linguistic interpretation and with a traditional split into historical phonology, historical morphology, etc., without taking as a primary issue the totality of the course of evolution), while *language history* on the contrary concentrates on giving the outlines of evolution: perhaps not comprising all details, but seeking the totality behind the evolution in the separate linguistic categories and trying to combine it with non-linguistic factors of primarily sociocultural character.

This article presents general contributions to Nordic language history comprising two or more languages, omitting contributions to the individual languages or periods, e.g. Krause (1971), Antonsen (1975) (both Proto-Nordic grammars), or special fields, e.g. Sturtevant (1930, phonology), Penzl (1952; 1984, phonology), Liberman (1982, phonology), Boor (1922, syntax), Lehmann (1976, syntax), Fischer (1909, lexicon), von See (1964, lexicon). The controversial issue regarding the earliest split (and grouping) of the Germanic languages is omitted (see articles 64–65).

1.2. General

The contributions to be treated are one article by Hans Kuhn, and books by Kenneth G. Chapman, Oskar Bandle and Einar Haugen. The purpose and contents of these contributions are discussed, as well as their importance according to (chiefly) reviews by Nordic linguists. M.I. Steblin-Kamenskij's *History of the Scandinavian Languages* (1953) will not be treated here, being a historical grammar rather than a language history.

2. Contributions

2.1. “The linguistic geographers”

2.1.1. Introduction

Common to the authors is their dealing with West Nordic relations, i.e. the relationship between Icelandic and Norwegian. Kuhn, Chapman and Bandle (1967) cover only these languages, while Bandle's later contribution (1973) also surveys Danish and Swedish.

2.1.2. Hans Kuhn (1955)

Kuhn's contribution was inspired by reviews of his works by F. Maurer, E. Schwarz and D. A. Seip (1951; cf. Kuhn 1952). In 1955 he published an article, “On the grouping of the Germanic languages”. Of primary interest here is Kuhn's “outstanding example”, “Oceanic Nordic”, i.e. a dialect group (“Mundartgruppe”) which presumably evolved during the Middle Ages through the intercommunication of the West Norwegian language (dialects) with those of the various western settlements (1955, 17). Norwegian and Icelandic linguists have not considered the linguistic evolution of (South)West Norwegian and the language of the western settlements from Kuhn's perspective. They (Hægstad, Indrebø, Seip, Ulvestad, Skomedal, Torp, Finnbogason, Benediktsson) have assumed linguistic “predisposition” (or “drift”) to be the fundamental cause. (Kolsrud, however, states that extensive communication between Iceland, the Faroe Islands and Norway, mainly in late Old Norwegian and Middle Norwegian times, is of linguistic importance [1950, 298]; cf. Bandle [1967, 507, note 9]).

Kuhn says that he knows about 50 innovations which are younger than the western colonies, adding that only a few innovations are found everywhere in the area. In western Norway (presumably the source area of the new developments) many innovations receded and some are now extinct, and others were pushed back from the coast (e.g. to Setesdalen!). Of the 50 innovations, Kuhn mentions 31. At first he attaches importance to three developments in the Nordic countries which demonstrate the untenability of a common predisposition as a basis of “Oceanic Nordic”: (1) *hl-, hn-, hr- >*

l-, n-, r- (not in Icelandic), (2) monophthongization of PGmc *ai, au*, and (3) lengthening of short vowels in stressed open syllables. Then Kuhn proceeds mentioning 12 (chiefly) West Nordic features, ending by enumerating 16 special developments in “Oceanic Nordic”, all of them previously known phonological traits, discussed by Hægstad (1915; 1916; 1917; 1942); cf. Benediktsson (1961–62; 1962).

Kuhn lists many innovations to endorse his hypothesis. But the material is somewhat uncritically collected: It is somewhat banal to include features like *rs > ss, -eng- > -eing-, gn- > n-, and hj- > [j]*. Most of the common traits of “Oceanic Nordic” are certainly or probably independent developments which occurred at different times; cf. *p, t, k > b, d, g; á > au, æ > a; ll, rl > dl* and *nn, rn > dn* seem to have developed earlier in Icelandic than in Norwegian (cf. Benediktsson 1963, 160).

Innovations may have arisen through contact across the ocean but objections may be raised. Why is the *morphology* of Modern Icelandic nearly unchanged compared to Old West Nordic? How can we explain developments like Icel. *a > [ai]* and the Far. “sharpening” (*flýja > flýggja*)? Why are traces of the old Trøndelag dialects absent in Icelandic? Finally, to make Kuhn’s hypothesis suitable, one has to collect words for comparison from different Norwegian dialects. Many innovations can be explained structurally and Hreinn Benediktsson has done most of this work (cf. also Benediktsson 1963, 161). Good structural explanations are given by Sommerfelt (1952, *ll > dl*); Skomedal (1970, diphthongization; *p, t, k > b, d, g*) and Haugen (1970, 133, delabialization). Skautrup (1958, 57) and Ulvestad (1964, 604) stick to the traditional opinion of a preconditioned articulatory basis. I conclude this review of Kuhn’s contribution with the following quote: “Presumably both communication and originally common articulatory predisposition have led to the discussed innovations, at least in the first half of the millennium. Later on, however, the changes concerning the (evolving) separate languages are mainly due to internal, independent factors” (Nes 1973, 185).

No other Nordic reviews of Kuhn’s hypotheses are known to me.

2.1.3. Kenneth G. Chapman (1962)

Kenneth G. Chapman’s dissertation, *Icelandic-Norwegian linguistic relationships* (1962, 199 pp. including 37 maps), has a preface

dated March–August 1956 (!). In the Introduction “sound change” is discussed in general, and the author formulates a “socio-psychological hypothesis of sound change”:

1. the nature of allophonic change is dependent upon phonological and psychological factors.
2. the spreading of allophonic change and the transformation of it into phonemic change through the processes of borrowing and analogical development are dependent upon sociological factors (1962, 22).

Cf.: “The possibility of independent parallel development cannot be excluded, but should be regarded as less likely and used only as a last resort in explaining such similarities” (Chapman 1962, 24). The citations show the work to be not “a study of Icelandic-Norwegian linguistic relationships per se, [...], but rather a study of the mechanism of linguistic change” (Hamre 1967, 667). Then follow expositions of the Icelandic-West Norwegian linguistic and historical background, ending with these words: “Referring especially to commercial contacts, it is of special importance that in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries Bergen was the most important point of contact” (41). (This assertion, however, is inconsistent with the view of the historians, viz. the pre-eminence of Nidaros (Trondheim) as trade centre in the 12th, 13th and early 14th centuries [cf. Ulvestad 1964, 602]). Chapter 2 is devoted to “Dialects and dialect boundaries in Norway”, ch. 3 gives an “Outline of historical changes in Icelandic”, while ch. 4, “Geographical distribution of the WN-Icelandic common features” is much longer, being divided into “Consonantal developments” and “Vowel developments”. Chapman mentions 17 developments, 16 of which are also discussed by Kuhn (whose 1955 article is referred to nowhere by Chapman).

In the fifth chapter, “Historical interpretation”, regarding “Dissimilation phenomena” (85–103), the author encounters severe problems concerning the connection between the various developments in Norwegian and Icelandic. He offers the rather dubious explanation that “it is quite reasonable that through trade connections with Bergen they [i.e. the Icelanders] came in contact with inhabitants of the closely surrounding area, and of central WN in general, from whom they could have borrowed these linguistic features” (102–03). Some of the dissimilations also seem to be ear-

lier in Icelandic than in Norwegian (see 2.1.2.). The sixth chapter, “The language in the other Norwegian colonies”, is a very short presentation, while ch. 7, “Vocalic structure” describes the vowel systems of Norwegian in general, Icelandic, inner West Norwegian, Faroese, and the Setesdal and Sunnmøre dialects of Norwegian. Chapter 8, “Conclusions”, terminates in this way: “In short, we can say that the Icelandic-WN linguistic situation in no way contradicts the socio-psychological hypothesis of linguistic change and in many ways supports it” (148).

The following Nordic linguists have expressed their (published) opinions of Chapman’s thesis. Sven Benson (1963) reports Chapman’s investigation and his conclusions, only pointing out that Chapman has been unable to utilize the newest explorations bearing on Icelandic and West Norwegian dialect relations. Hreinn Benediktsson (1963) subjects Chapman’s views and arguments to a scrupulous and sober examination, concluding that “Icel. and Norw. language history imply a parallel, independent linguistic development of the phonological system to be more common than [Chapman] will admit according to his fundamental theory”. (Benediktsson has published many articles in which he cultivates structural explanations of historical linguistic issues.) Bjarne Ulvestad (1964) submits Chapman’s book to critical scrutiny, dismissing Chapman’s opinion and chief tenets as follows:

the old hypothesis, the one building on latent tendencies in closely related, originally identical languages, is for the time being the best one available. This of course does not mean that borrowing has not taken place, but a validation of the borrowing hypothesis in the generalized form suggested by Chapman will have to be far more stringent [...] (604).

Haakon Hamre (1967, 668) stresses that a major difficulty is Chapman’s “failure to establish convincing historical evidence of contact between Icelanders and Norwegians sufficiently close to warrant the assumption of linguistic influence”. Hamre points out misinterpretations, especially in the treatment of phonological phenomena in the crucial dialect of Nordhordland. The reviewer

cannot agree that a sociopsychological linguistic theory should necessarily (1) exclude the possibility of independent linguistic de-

velopment occasioned by a major structural change such as the “quantity change”, and (2) reject some parallel developments resulting from such independent local development in two or more dialects, that is, in Icelandic and Southwest Norwegian (671).

However, despite “certain shortcomings, Chapman’s book must be recognized as a very valuable contribution to the study of Icelandic-Norwegian relationship” (ibid.). Ingeborg Hoff in her survey of Norwegian dialectology (1968, 457) mentions Chapman’s book, stating it to contain many faults and misinterpretations. “But his conclusion, however, that the mediaeval relations between Bergen (with western Norway) and Iceland have to be the cause of the [linguistic] similarities, seems to be well-founded”. Helge Sandøy (1994) referring to Chapman, Benediktsson (1963), and Ulvestad, “will not deny structural conditions” for the changes in Icelandic, pointing out, however, that before 1200 Norwegian-Icelandic commerce seems to have been run mainly by big farmers outside Bergen (e.g. Sogn). “The outer and inner causes [of the changes] have to, and can, supply each other, because many questions still remain if we try to rely on external explanations” (Sandøy 1994, 50). Arne Torp in his language history (1998, 50–52) discusses the phonological systems of Norwegian, Faroese, and Icelandic. Commenting on the partly parallel phonological developments, he considers “language contact” (referring to Chapman) to be less probable than linguistic “predisposition”.

2.1.4. Oskar Bandle

2.1.4.1. Oskar Bandle (1967)

Oskar Bandle’s *Habilitationsschrift, Studien zur westnordischen Sprachgeographie. Haustierterminologie im Norwegischen, Isländischen und Färöischen*, A. Textband and B. Kartenband (1967, 575 pp. + 76 maps), is a most impressive achievement. The primary goal is not the investigation of the terminology of domestic animals, but “to contribute to the solution of classificatory problems” (Bandle 1967 A, 5). The main part of the book (32–445) is devoted to the thorough study of ca. 430 Norwegian, 210 Icelandic, and 135 Faroese words, distributed over 85 different semantic categories. It is very interesting per se, but the main point in our connection is Bandle’s summation as to the classification of West Nordic (446 ff.).

The title of this part – amounting to 90 pp. – is “Summary”. “The grouping of the Norwegian [dialects]” (452–504) is discussed especially in relation to word geography. He finds that in Norway, more than elsewhere, one has to reckon with communication in a most general way to be the triggering factor regarding the development of dialect areas. Of special interest are the Icelandic and Faroese relations with the Norwegian dialects (505 ff.). Bandle surveys earlier research, i. a. the contributions by Hægstad, Kuhn (“sketchy”), and Chapman (“in no way exhaustive”). Then follows Bandle’s contribution based upon his *Haustierterminologie* (510 ff.), entailing the question of Icelandic and Faroese being mixed languages (“Mischsprachen”). He states the fundamental facts to be: “Relations between Iceland and all parts of Norway regarding the vocabulary, absolute predominance of the Icelandic – West Norwegian communities as to the phonology” (527). It is “most likely that many common phonetic developments belonging to the postcolonial period were also transferred from Norway to the Atlantic islands, although in many cases they may have been supported and advanced through a common articulatory and accentual initial position” (530).

Four (printed) assessments of Bandle’s huge work by Nordic linguists are known to me. Sven Benson (1968) calls attention to Bandle’s primary goal (to contribute to the solution of linguistic geography problems). The classifications by Bandle agree in many points with earlier classifications, but he has “laid a more stable foundation for the appraisal of the West Nordic linguistic geography, and in many ways improved the understanding” (269). The map volume (B) is according to Benson (a linguistic geographer himself), “in every way a work of extremely high quality. It combines scholarly accuracy with pedagogical clarity and gives an aesthetically very pleasing impression” (269). Ingeborg Hoff (1968) comments very briefly on Bandle’s work, hoping that “this solid and comprehensive study will stimulate others to start on further contributions of linguistic geography” (458). However, a linguistic classification (grouping) ought to be based upon “formal linguistic criteria, i. e. phonological and morphological criteria” (ibid.). Jóhan Hendrik Poulsen (1969) gives a comprehensive introduction to Bandle (1967), mentioning i. a. that “[o]riginally Bandle had planned to treat phonology and morphology as well as vocabulary, but soon abandoned

this plan when it turned out to be insuperable” (124). Poulsen states that “Bandle inclines to the opinion shared by Kuhn, Chapman, and others that throughout the Middle Ages Norway exerted linguistic influence on the colonized islands of the North Atlantic” (126). The reviewer accepts Bandle’s opinion that “Icelandic has from the start been a hybrid and corresponds to the testimony of the historical sources regarding the origin of the Icelandic colonists, something that is not reflected by Icelandic phonology and morphology, which seem closely to agree with west Norwegian dialects” (ibid.). Sveinn Bergsveinsson states (1969) that Bandle’s book “is an important contribution to the word geography in Norway, the Faroe Islands, and Iceland, as well in a synchronic as in a diachronic perspective” (227). “On the basis of his studies of the terminology of the domestic animals it must be regarded as sure that Icelandic, although a Nordic language, in a sense, nevertheless, is a mixed language” (ibid.). The reviewer does not share Bandle’s negative attitude towards “predisposition” (227). Lennart Elmevik’s review (1974), starts out deploring the lack of attention paid to Bandle’s work in Nordic scientific literature. The reviewer describes Bandle’s project, commending the maps and scrutinizing a number of Bandle’s words. Elmevik believes Bandle’s hypothesis (“relations between Iceland and all parts of Norway in regard to vocabulary”) to be correct in principle, and it is to be hoped that future investigations of the same kind will corroborate it.

2.1.4.2. Oskar Bandle (1973)

The purpose of *Die Gliederung des Nordgermanischen* (1973, 117 pp. + 23 maps) is “to examine the often neglected problem of the grouping of the North Germanic (Nordic) speech area from the widest point of view and by means of the methods of recent linguistic geography as unprejudiced as possible, thus leading to a more precise and valid solution in opposition to the descriptions so far, being mostly unsatisfactory” (11). In the introduction the author lists isoglosses shared by Nordic, East Germanic, West Germanic, North Sea Germanic and Upper German, and mentions some developments peculiar to Nordic, ending with a discussion of previous classifications of Nordic dialects, based on diachronic and synchronic criteria. Then follow four chapters concerning: (1) “Western innovations”, (2) “Eastern innovations”, (3)

“Southern innovations”, and (4) “Northern innovations” (24–95). The different phenomena are mostly well-known; those regarding lexicon are often supplied by Bandle (1967). Chapter 5, “The marginal dialects”, deals with the West Nordic Icelandic and Faroese “daughter languages”, which “at least to the end of the Middle Ages generally developed in the same direction as in the mother country” (100), the dialects in Finland and Estonia, and lastly the Gutnish of Gotland, which is “demonstrably not so isolated as frequently claimed” (109). In the concluding chapter 6, “Results”, Bandle asserts a tripartite division of North Germanic: (1) West Nordic, (2) South Nordic, and (3) North Nordic. The last one is subdivided into “North Nordic in a narrower sense”, “East Swedish”, and “Götisch”, covering the western part of central Sweden.

Three reviews by Nordic linguists are known to me: Sven Benson (1974) considers Bandle’s book to be “an extraordinarily valuable work” based on an extensive scientific literature within language history and dialectology. Its novelty is Bandle’s overall view as regards the Nordic language areas. The borders between Bandle’s three large speech areas are very fluid, and the maps depict a great simplification of the reality. Lennart Elmevik (1975) describes Bandle’s book, commends his vast knowledge of relevant literature, concluding that Bandle’s work is a “welcome contribution to the literature within this field”. In Elmevik’s opinion Bandle has presented a weighty contribution to the discussion of the (sub)division of the Nordic speech area. The Norwegian Germanist Laurits Saltveit (1978) states that the book is not a language history, but a grouping of the so-called North Germanic languages based on linguistic geography. The emphasis is on phonology; linguistic geography as well as geographical difference as to the morphology and syntax are covered in less depth. The reviewer advances some critical comments, concluding that Bandle “beyond doubt” has succeeded in his tripartite division of the Nordic speech area.

2.2. “The sociolinguist”

2.2.1. Introduction

The heading alludes to a passage in the preface of Einar Haugen’s *The Scandinavian languages*, stating it to be “a sociolinguistic

sketch of the historical development of the Nordic languages” (1976, 18). Haugen’s project began in the early 1960s. In the preface he acknowledges “the special contributions of a number of persons who have either read preliminary versions of the book or offered valuable suggestions while it was in gestation” (18), the number of “distinguished names” amounting to 70! As “by-products of the same project” (18) are mentioned the valuable research report by Haugen and Markey (1972) and the bibliography by Haugen (1974). Einar Haugen also took the opportunity to introduce his project in Haugen (1970), thus raising great expectations among the Nordists. Haugen’s later contribution, *Scandinavian language structures. A comparative historical survey* (1982) will not be dealt with here, while undoubtedly belonging more to historical grammar than to language history in the common sense. A rather negative appraisal was expressed by Damsgaard Olsen (1983).

2.2.2. Einar Haugen (1976)

The Scandinavian languages: An introduction to their history (1976), with a preface dated May 1972, is an important work, being

not a comparative grammar in the strict sense of that word; it is a sociolinguistic sketch of the historical development of the Nordic languages [...]. The linguistics of the book is fundamentally that of traditional school grammar [...]. The book is thus neither a study of *langue* by itself nor *parole* by itself, but of *langage*, the indivisible tissue of human communication (18).

The book is divided into “Section A. *Introduction: The Scandinavian languages today*”, covering chapters 1–7, and “Section B. *The growth of Scandinavian: A historical survey*”, with chapters 8–12. Only the titles of the chapters are mentioned here, indicating the contents of the book. Chapter 1 is named “Location and identity”, ch. 2 deals with “The literary languages”, ch. 3 goes on with “The cultivation of language”, followed by ch. 4, “The spoken languages”, and 5, “Resource languages”. Chapter 6, “Linguistic forms: A contrastive sketch”, “will provide a quick survey of the chief linguistic traits that unite and separate the modern Sc[andinavian] languages” (72). Section A ends with a tabularly formed ch. 7, “The historical background”.

These chapters, concerning the present situation, are aimed at “the intelligent general reader”. Section B follows, for graduate students, covering five chapters, namely ch. 8, “The prehistoric era (up to A. D. 550): Proto-Scandinavian”, ch. 9, “Ancient Scandinavia (550–1050): Common Scandinavian”, ch. 10, “The Middle Ages (1050–1350): Old Scandinavian”, ch. 11, “From Medieval to Modern (1350–1550): Middle Scandinavian”, and chapter, 12, “Modern Times (1550 on): Modern Scandinavian”.

Contrary to the previously mentioned works, Haugen’s book attracted the attention of many Nordists:

Reading Bengt Pamp’s judgement (1977) was a hard blow to Haugen. Pamp points out mistakes

partly depending upon careless formulations or omitted reservations, partly caused by pure ignorance or lack of precision, which a reader having poor knowledge of Nordic languages and Nordic language history may encounter already by a cursory reading of [Haugen’s] description of the Scandinavian languages and their history (252).

Pedagogically the book is fine (*ibid.*).

It is uttermost deplorable that [Haugen] did not submit his finished work to the scrutiny of ‘leading experts’ [...]. The mistakes could then have been corrected and the grandiose efforts by the author [...] would not [...] have failed to achieve their purpose (252).

Pamp’s scathing critique caused Haugen to reply in “Remarks to a review” (1978), “for the first time in my life” (225). He explains some of the flaws, stating that he had to omit “over a hundred pages of more detailed rules” (226). Haugen agrees on oversights to be avoided, thanking Pamp for his advice.

Lennart Elmevik (1977) describes Haugen’s book, doubting that it is suitable for “the beginning student and the intelligent general reader” (Haugen 17). He goes on to discuss Haugen’s scanty treatment of umlaut and breaking, his doubtful classification of Old Nordic weak verbs into three conjugations, mistakes concerning the grouping of Nordic dialects (72), Proto-Nordic forms of Old Nordic words (*ibid.*), and the information about Nordic place-names (73). The dialect maps in the book are not impeccable. The conclusion is that Elmevik

has by no means only negative criticism for Professor Haugen’s work. [...] The reviewer emphasizes that the book – though it may be less well-suited to the categories of readers for whom it was primarily intended – is indeed of great value (75).

Stig Örjan Ohlsson (1978) discusses the utility of Haugen’s book concerning the intended readership, and proceeds to study the maps, which he states refer to “the last decades of the 19th century” (148). He goes on to discuss Haugen’s (misleading) description of language change. Ohlsson is critical at Haugen, pointing out problems concerning the Proto-Nordic period and later eras, which “rather give evidence of political and linguistic opposition and struggle than of longlasting peace and harmony” (152). The reviewer concludes, having criticized the treatment of Swedish conjugations, that Haugen in certain aspects is “too loyal” to the “present state of science” (155).

Kjell Venås (1979) comments on and criticizes many details, but also more far-reaching aspects, e.g. from a Nynorsk point of view. For him the greatest weakness is Haugen’s “not distinguishing sharply enough between speech and writing, between genuine dialect and artificially fixed or chosen norms” (107). Examples demonstrating faults, contradictions and unfortunate expressions are given, and he continues to discuss technical aspects, e.g. the use/non-use of phonetic transcription, and, lastly, states that Haugen’s meticulousness is “unsatisfactory” (111 f.). However, the book “is an impressive work in its conception and scope [...]. The presentation is carried through by an overall view and an authoritative stand of the author making the book to be something else, and more, than a compilatory work” (112).

Jón Gunnarsson (1979) in his review goes systematically through the book. Especially chapter 6 is criticized for being difficult to read and containing “very many mistakes and all kinds of inaccuracies” (224). In table 9 (Haugen 1976, 74–75), “all is mixed up [...]. It is in need of much correction” (*ibid.*). At the end the reviewer asks the question whether the 60 pp. of photographs and texts in the book could have been reduced, and instead be treated in a more organized form concerning various points of linguistic development than has actually been done (234). Gunnarsson contends that much remains until Haugen is in accordance with himself as regards the

phonetic symbols; reconstructed forms are not kept apart from documented forms, except occasionally; and the methodology of the author is very mixed some places (*ibid.*). Finally comes a long list of mistakes and debatable points.

Guðrún Kvaran (1979) is impressed by Haugen's work, only remarking that it contains too little about Germanic and criticizing his treatment of the *i*-umlaut as being out of date.

2.2.3. Einar Haugen (1984)

The Scandinavian languages did not have a revised English edition. In 1984, however, a translation into German by Magnús Pétursson was published, based upon Haugen's revision of his 1976 book, resulting in a complete revision of the notorious chapter 6 and correction of "obvious mistakes" (19), besides updating (till 1980) of the bibliography. This edition, by far superior to the previous English edition, has not attracted the appropriate attention of the linguistic community and is subsequently unfortunately missing from the majority of the Scandinavian libraries. The sole Nordic linguist to appreciate the German edition was Venås (1986), stating that ch. 6 has been totally rewritten and, by random sampling, that Haugen has corrected obvious mistakes pointed out by his reviewers or found by himself. "Haugen deserves praise for showing once more his diligent and meticulous performance in the art of linguistics" (96).

3. Conclusion

The organization of this article is unusual. However, to discover how the above-mentioned works were received by Nordic scholars is futile when searching in book-length Nordic language histories. The last noteworthy Swedish language history is Bergman (1968, reprinted four times by 1993). In Denmark the short Danish language history by Karker (1996, aimed at the general reader) mentions Haugen (1976; 1984) in the bibliography, while the sole Norwegian book in this field to be noted, Torp (1998, a university textbook), draws attention only to Chapman (1962). Therefore I have found it worthwhile rendering the reviews and views given by competent scholars. It must be added that Bandle has had the opportunity to present his views (1984b; 1997).

The five (or six) works discussed here are quite disparate. Actually, only Haugen (1976; 1984) has produced a comprehensive language history (although limiting the subject to be the question of the classification of the Nordic languages). Kuhn and Chapman are chiefly concerned with phonological matters and Bandle derives his argumentation chiefly from his investigations of word distribution.

The last two decades, not discussed here, have been a period of revival as regards studies of Nordic and Middle Low German relationships. Many valuable – especially German – contributions have appeared since Edith Marold heralded a new approach (1980), based upon sociolinguistic views. Theories of language contact – or rather dialect contact – are of fundamental importance in this case. Many Nordic scholars are taking part in this research.

4. Literature (a selection)

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15. The contribution of the Nordic countries to historical-comparative linguistics: Rasmus Rask and his followers

1. Rasmus Rask
2. Diachrony in Denmark: Rask, Petersen and Bredsdorff
3. Swedish and Norwegian scholars up to ca. 1870
4. The seminal period: an overview
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1. Rasmus Rask

The first half of the 19th century represents the real dawn of Nordic philology and historical linguistics in the Nordic countries. This breakthrough is associated with a small cluster of Danish intellectuals, first and foremost Rasmus Rask (1787–1832).

Rask was born in the late 18th century, and he was in strange ways a child of that rationalist century as well as the next, romantic one. During the 170 years since Rask's death, a variety of biographers and linguists have approached his strange personality from different perspectives. No coherent nor completely true picture emerges from this accumulation of biographical literature, however.

As we see both from Rask's letters and from his later publications, Rask was by inclination a language taxonomist whose research paradigm might be compared to that of contemporary botany and zoology. Rask departed from the concept of General Grammar as a

logically founded universal but believed in the inherent organization of language structure in terms of certain basic features. His approach to a language was a complex venture which can be factored out into two (interrelated) goals: (1) to present its grammar and phonology in *the* proper way, and (2) to place the language in its proper relationship to other languages. In this pursuit he virtually established some of our present-day fields of systematic and comparative linguistic study. The scientific approach to Old Norse was initiated by Rask, and so was the scientific study of Sami (Lapp) grammar, and more generally of Fenno-Ugric languages. At the same time, Rask played an important role by foregrounding the study of contemporary languages in their spoken form. As a corollary of this, he engaged himself in the reform of Danish spelling.

The topic of Rask's famous prize essay of 1818: *Undersøgelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse* (actually written 1811–14) was in a quite traditional vein, the prescribed task being to identify the origin of a specific language (in this case Old Norse) by comparing it with other languages (be they extinct but documented or possibly still extant ones). Traditionally, this concept of origin had nothing to do with reconstruction but implied that one might point to a known language as being the source of other known languages, although that assumption

had not always proven very productive in the preceding centuries. As we see e. g. from a letter of Rask's of March 1812 (Hjelmslev 1941, I, 117) Rask was by that time convinced that most of the structure of Icelandic could be traced back to Greek. In retrospect, the expectation might perhaps be that Rask would point to Sanskrit as being closest to the source language. Sanskrit, however, was rather outside his scope when he wrote the essay, whereas Franz Bopp's work *Über das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache* from the same decade (1816) took Sanskrit as the very point of departure in his study of diachronic grammar.

Rask's focus on languages geographically closer than Sanskrit limited the relevance of his work for the later reconstruction of Proto-IE, but the defined task of the prize essay compelled him to make more careful comparisons between European languages than he might perhaps have done in the presence of Sanskrit, with respect to both grammar and lexical cognates. While doing this he repeatedly pointed to regular correspondences between the elements of one language and those of another as evidence of relatedness, the most illustrious example being the substitutions within the stop consonant system which set Germanic off from all other IE languages; this pattern of correspondences was later presented more systematically by Jacob Grimm and is therefore generally referred to as "Grimm's Law". In later linguistic jargons, such correspondences as these consonant mutations are generally called "sound shifts", though the elements involved in first-order genetic comparison are typically not sounds (and not even phonemes) but the alphabetic symbols of extinct written languages whose phonetic values are in principle hypothetical and can often be inferred only by comparative and internal reconstruction. Rask aptly called such correspondences "letter transitions" (*Bogstavovergange*).

In his introduction to the prize essay, Rask made some famous statements about the methodology to be used and the traps to be avoided when determining family relatedness between languages. His thoughts are for the most part of lasting validity, though not all were as trailblazing as has sometimes been assumed. As pointed out by Paul Diderichsen (1959), Rask formed his basic ideas about systematic and comparative linguistics and about etymological research from the teaching and writings of his outstanding mentors in grammar school. The extensive article on etymology in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (more than

twenty pages of theoretical argumentation), which Rask himself refers to, was also most significant as a forerunner with respect to methodology and certain basic assumptions. It appeared anonymously in the 1756 volume of the *Encyclopédie*, but it was later acknowledged that its author was the economist Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1721–81).

Turgot views an etymology as a hypothesis whose probability increases with the number of correspondences, and he views a complex linguistic change as a chain of changes, each of which must meet a criterion of plausibility. Turgot also emphasizes that a linguist doing etymological research must have a profound knowledge of the language under study and thus be able to retrieve the root of each word by peeling off "the terminations and inflections which disguise it". It is characteristic of all these warnings that they were widely violated in contemporary etymological research, and Turgot's impressive article shows how theory had advanced far ahead of practice half a century before Rask. 19th-century comparative linguistics was not created in a theoretical vacuum.

By comparison, what is most remarkable in the introductory chapter of Rask's essay is (1) his emphasis on language contact as a factor in linguistic change and thus also as a source of confusion in genetic comparison, and (2) his emphasis on grammar as being particularly important for comparative linguistic study. It is a key point in his argumentation that lexically based etymology is tricky since words, especially those reflecting culture-bound phenomena, are so easily borrowed. When comparing words across languages, one must rely on core vocabulary: "the most essential, most concrete, most indispensable and first words: the foundation of language."

In his prize essay, Rask was requested to deal with language genealogy, and this fell in well with his life-long interest in language classification in a more general sense. In a letter from St. Petersburg of January 1819 (Hjelmslev 1941, I, 382–86) Rask presents a new elaborate classificatory system of pedigree type which is much superior to earlier language taxonomies. In his system the languages of the world fall into eight different "races" (this is to be understood as a strictly linguistic term comparable to phylum or macro-phylum, although Rask's classification is in part typologically based). One of these, Sarmatic, is defined by having (with some exceptions) three genders and declension with paired "subjective"

and “objective” endings; from a modern perspective Sarmatic comprises the then known languages of the IE language family (though it includes also Dravidian). In Rask’s taxonomy of 1819 each language race is subdivided into classes, stems, branches, languages and dialects (“Sprogarter”). Sarmatic is first subdivided into eight classes; one of these follows the scholarly tradition by associating Latin with Greek, but by and large, his classification is in agreement with later views. There is one (unnamed) class which comprises the Germanic languages; in Rask’s system and terminology it has three stems: Gothic, Germanic, and Scandinavian.

Rask was a century ahead of his time with his research program, which involved the production of concise descriptive grammars of a great number of different languages. This was the logical consequence of his conviction that systematic description of each language in strict accordance with a common set of analytical principles is a prerequisite to adequate cross-language comparison. At the same time, his belief in structural features of grammar and phonology as evidence of relatedness makes his approach somewhat obsolete from the perspective of later *genetic* comparisons, since it has become gradually acknowledged that languages may be typologically similar, even on very basic points, for reasons other than genetic affiliation. Rask’s weighting of criteria even made it possible for structural dissimilarity to override lexical evidence of relatedness; this happened in his essay when he considered Celtic languages to be too grammatically aberrant and thus had to discard the obvious lexical cognates as loanwords. Interestingly, Rask soon changed his mind with respect to the affiliation of Celtic (Celtic belongs to Sarmatic according to the letter referred to above).

We see from Rask’s manuscripts that over the years he made numerous notes about lexical or other affinities between languages, particularly languages of the Near Orient and of South Asia. One of his most interesting observations was about affinities between Greenlandic Eskimo and Aleut. These languages are indeed related and, in spite of the vast geographical distance, even fairly closely related. Because of dramatic sound changes particularly in Aleut, however, it is a priori difficult to spot cognate words, and the genetic relationship was not definitively proven until the second half of the 20th century. This is a beautiful example of how Rask’s intuition and his

comparative approach, with its emphasis on grammar, could lead to the right initial assumption. Rask’s knowledge of languages was legendary, but his singular ability to spot genetic relatedness was an even more important asset.

Since Rask’s early comparative work involved strongly inflectional old IE languages as well as less inflectional young offsprings, one may wonder why he put so much emphasis on abstract features of grammatical systems. From the classic genetic-comparative perspective, it is not the grammars as such but paired etymological correspondences between affixes that provide a strong grammatical criterion of relatedness between languages. But this was not so obvious in Rask’s framework.

Rask did, however, carry out substantial work on etymology, not only within the lexicon but also most significantly in the realm of grammar. In a manuscript from the 1820s, for example, there are comparative notes about IE inflections. He contributed to the etymological study of grammar much earlier, however. Even before the publication of his prize essay, Rask had developed an etymological grammar for Danish as derived (according to his conception) from Icelandic, in which he meticulously worked out and explained the transformations from one grammatical stage to the other. This outstanding piece of work, *Den danske Grammatiks Endelser og Former af det islandske Sprog forklarede*, was published only in 1820 (cf. *Udvalgte Afhandlinger* II, 1932), and thus Rask was overtaken as the top scholar in the field of etymological grammar by Franz Bopp and Jacob Grimm. As for word etymology, Rask left various, in part extensive, notes for an etymological dictionary behind, although the majority of his unpublished manuscripts are more descriptive, with their focus on vocabularies and grammars of a wide variety of languages.

2. Diachrony in Denmark: Rask, Petersen and Bredsdorff

Rask did not seem to view linguistic change as a continuous, gradual (diachronic) process but rather as a kind of restructuring. In his view the languages of antiquity, including Old Norse, eventually produced offspring, such as Danish, through a process of temporary turbulence (he used the word *gæring* ‘fermentation’) which led to the emergence of a new

stage of language (in his wording: *afklaring* ‘clarification’, continuing the beer-brewing metaphor). A model for this theory was the development of Danish under heavy influence from Low German.

The prevailing assumption has been that Jacob Grimm (*Deutsche Grammatik*, 1819, 1822–37) must be credited with introducing the historical dimension in the study of languages. But in fact, the historical study of Nordic languages came to thrive in the milieu around Rask even in his own lifetime. The presence of a scholar of Rask’s stature was instrumental in arousing this interest in Scandinavia, and if the development of Nordic comparative and historical linguistics is seen in conjunction with Continental scholarship, it should be realized that Rask’s own work significantly influenced German scholars including Jacob Grimm, who was perfectly able to read Danish.

The belief in Icelandic as the language from which the other Nordic languages should be derived, set the agenda for comparative and historical studies. Icelandic was remarkable both because of its archaic appearance and because of the near-identity between Old and Modern Icelandic grammar. It was natural to assume a similar closeness between Old and Modern Icelandic in terms of phonetics, so that Rask could describe Old Icelandic pronunciation by taking the modern pronunciation, which he mastered himself, as his point of departure. We can see, however, that he was ready to take issue with this fondly held view of Icelandic as being unified across time if hard evidence forced him to do so. This internal conflict is less obvious in his early work, more so in a late version of his Old Norse grammar (*Kortfattet Vejledning til det oldnordiske eller gamle islandske Sprog*, 1832). In the introductory section “Udtalen” Rask quite explicitly uses comparative Nordic evidence plus the metrical convention of half-rhyme to posit rounded front vowels in Old Norse. The closely related Faroese language is crucial in this argumentation: it shows that Icelandic *æ* is the reflex of two different old vowels: an unrounded and a rounded one, although these are often mixed up even in old manuscripts. Similarly, Faroese shows that *ey* and *ei* were pronounced differently in the old language. It is interesting that in spite of the prestige of Icelandic, Rask no longer gives its modern pronunciation any absolute historical priority over the pronunciation of Faroese or of Continental Nordic (“Fastlandssprogene”).

Some diachronic issues, which we now consider crucial in Nordic language history, were not on Rask’s agenda in his reconstruction of the old pronunciation, exactly because it projects features of the modern Nordic languages back in time. It is conspicuous that he describes the pronunciation of vowels without making any assumptions about a quantity shift separating ON from modern Nordic. Vowels such as *o* and *ó*, or *u* and *ú*, were qualitatively different, according to Rask, and an ON vowel was rather long (“temmelig lang”) before single consonants (as in *vil*) but short before double consonants and clusters (as in *vilja*, *vildi*). This contention is the more interesting because Rask had a profound knowledge of Old Norse metrics with its crucial distinction between long and short syllables.

In other cases, where the difference between an earlier stage and a later stage is beyond dispute, Rask’s excellence in comparative-diachronic studies is apparent. In a Nordic context it deserves mention in particular that he was far ahead of Jacob Grimm in his understanding of the role of post-tonic vowels in umlaut, namely that it is the vowel of the ending that conditions the vowel quality of the stem, contrary to progressive vowel harmony (cf. a letter of 22 September 1812 to the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Hjelmslev 1941, I, 144), though Grimm was later credited with the correct understanding of the nature of umlaut. Still, the mechanisms and causes of linguistic change are not particularly salient in Rask’s work. When he was still fairly young, however, this issue was addressed by his friend Jakob Hornemann Bredsdorff (1790–1841). In the history of linguistics, Bredsdorff deserves an honourable position for his seminal paper *Om Aarsagerne til Sprogenes Forandringer*, 1821 [On the reasons for changes in languages], which takes up issues that were otherwise seriously addressed only a century later. By way of introduction he sides with Rask in considering influence between languages as a factor in linguistic change, but his interesting contribution is a taxonomy of internal causes of linguistic change. He elaborated on a variety of such causes and made suggestions which are in line with much later thinking in this field. In spite of its advanced ideas, Bredsdorff’s work did not exert any direct influence on the development of historical linguistics; it was published most unassumingly (in Danish) and was neglected in his own rather brief lifetime. Bredsdorff

dorff also made a breakthrough in the study of Runic Nordic: he made a distinction between older and later runes and provided the first essentially correct reading of the early inscription on the Gallehus horn. That accomplishment can be seen as the first landmark in a long struggle to determine the chronological depth of Nordic.

An even closer friend of Rask's, Niels Matthias Petersen (1791–1862), whom he had known since his school years, was to lay the foundation for the historical study of Danish. Taking direct inspiration from Rask, he wrote a prize-winning history of the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish languages (1829) and was awarded a chair in Nordic languages at the University of Copenhagen in 1845. He reached a wide audience by translating the sagas, and he wrote the first scientific literary history within Nordic philology. Petersen was a very clear-minded and broadly oriented philologist. In his essay-like lectures on Nordic languages, he outlines a research program by posing a series of rhetorical but still challenging questions about the historical relationship between spoken and written language: Where is the root of the vernacular? Where is the root of the written language? Do these two have a common source language from which they have not deviated? Can they be traced back to a language of antiquity? Petersen goes on to refer to evidence for the overall history of Danish: place-names, old texts, fossilized forms in the extant language, the phonetics of vernaculars. His coupling of this approach to language history with literary studies almost defines the field of Nordic philology. Although Petersen clearly distinguished between Old Norse = Old Icelandic/Norwegian and Old Danish, he agreed with Rask in taking the former as a key to insights into the past history of all the Nordic languages. It also became the primary subject of research for Petersen's successor, Konráð Gíslason (1808–91), who was the first to seriously study linguistic variation in the Old Norse data.

The remainder of this article will follow the growth of Nordic philology in the Nordic countries, as inspired by Rask and Petersen. (In many instances the fairly concise biographical and bibliographical information in the remaining sections draws heavily on *The history of linguistics in the Nordic countries* by Even Hovdhaugen, Fred Carlsson, Carol Henriksen and Bengt Sigurd (2000).)

3. Swedish and Norwegian scholars up to ca. 1870

In the decades after 1800, Sweden – which had had a scholar of Johan Ihre's standing – lagged strangely behind Denmark in historical-comparative research on Nordic languages, although one may mention Petersen's favourite pupil Carl Fredrik Säve (1812–1876), whose main expertise was Swedish dialectology. There were no university chairs for Nordic studies in Sweden until Säve received a professorship in Uppsala in 1859. There was more activity in Norway, although the contribution to comparative and historical linguistics in the first half of the century was modest there. The best and most influential work was by the historian Peter Andreas Munch (1810–1863).

The strangest character in Norwegian linguistics around the middle of the 19th century was indisputably Ivar Aasen (1813–1896), who lived on scholarships during his active life. He was self-taught as a language researcher, but learning from Rask's achievements he rose to a high level of excellence. Aasen was, like Henrik Wergeland and other culturally prominent Norwegians of the early 19th century, deeply concerned about the fate of the Norwegian language (the continuation of Old Norse) which had succumbed to Danish as a written norm. His great discovery was that the language was still very much alive in rural dialects of Norway, and he made it his special field to investigate these dialects with the ultimate goal of creating a written norm based on them (a parallel program was carried out for Faroese almost at the same time by V.U. Hammershaimb). As is well known, he established his Nynorsk or Landsmaal chiefly on the basis of West Norwegian dialects, which seemed both least influenced by Danish and genetically closest to Old Norse. Aasen's name is, therefore, generally associated with his endeavours in language policy. In Nordic linguistics, however, his Norwegian dialect grammar (1848) and dictionary (1850; 1873) still stand as very important reference works, both as primary sources for the recent history of written Norwegian and as sources of information on spoken West Norwegian, although one must consult later reference works in order to get a more detailed picture of Norwegian dialect geography.

The most neglected Nordic language, Faroese, enters the scene occasionally in this same period. In the 1840s a vicar, V.U. Hammershaimb (1819–1909), who had native

command of the language, published text specimens and a tentative grammar in a strongly etymologizing orthography which he himself had created with many a sidelong glance at Icelandic orthography.

4. The seminal period: an overview

What makes the first half of the 19th century such a great period is that so much started exactly then. This is true from both a scholarly and an institutional perspective. The scientific approach to genetic and historical linguistics came into existence during this period, and there were also developments in the philological approach to text editing and criticism. The study of Nordic languages became institutionalized during that same period, along with the decline of the earlier dominance of classical studies. Nordic philology, as it was up through the Second World War, was largely the creation of the early 19th century.

Rask and two of his Danish friends are, if viewed jointly, representative of this seminal period. Across the field, Rask himself stands out because of his genius, intuition and vast knowledge; in spite of his personal difficulties, he was a source of inspiration for others. Hornemann Bredsdorff was, however, at least as original a thinker. N. M. Petersen's work was more in the vein of German linguistics (Grimm) and from that perspective more mainstream. Petersen, however, may be called the first exemplar of a now vanishing species: the traditional Nordic philologist with a broad knowledge of languages, literature and culture and a conspicuous predilection for early historical periods.

5. Scholars of the late 19th and early 20th centuries

For this period, only a small selection of scholars will be mentioned, the main purpose being to show the multifariousness of comparative-historical work on Nordic languages in the Nordic philological milieu after the middle of the 19th century, i. e. the time when the classic comparative and diachronic method was developed fully. This section is meant to provide a reference background for art. 16 on the Neogrammarians, which is less oriented to individual scholars. For the same reason the survey is strictly chronological within each of the Scandinavian countries, and it is biased in favour of the period up to ca. 1920. Philologists

and dialectologists are, on the whole, only included if they have played a key role in diachronic language study.

5.1. Danish and Faroese scholars

Many of the most influential language comparativists were associated with the University of Copenhagen; for this reason, Nordic philology had an early boost in Denmark.

Kristen Jensen Lyngby (1829–1871) was a university teacher from 1862. Only two years before his death he was appointed to a professorship which comprised comparative linguistics and Nordic philology. Lyngby, who is known to posterity because of his great contributions to Danish dialectology, was influential as teacher of the generation of comparativists and language historians who made Danish linguistics famous.

Ludvig F. A. Wimmer (1839–1920), who became Professor after Konráð Gíslason in 1886, was an all-round language historian but soon chose to concentrate on runology. In this field he became the authority (beside Bugge, see 5.2.) both by his ground-breaking study of the history of runic writing (Wimmer 1887) and as author of the then standard work on Danish runic inscriptions (1893–1908).

Vilhelm Thomsen (1842–1927) was Professor of Comparative Linguistics from 1887. In the present context it must be mentioned in particular that he exerted a profound influence on Nordic linguistics by presenting the evidence for early Germanic loanwords in Fenno-Ugric (Thomsen 1869).

Otto Jespersen (1860–1943), Professor of English Language and Literature from 1893 to 1925, was the most versatile Danish (and Scandinavian) linguist of all times. Within Nordic Philology he was influential as a leading authority on phonetic transcription.

Marius Kristensen (1869–1941) wrote a dissertation on loanwords in early Danish and became very influential in Nordic studies but never took up a university career. Being a dialectologist as well as a Neogrammarian philologist, he advocated an explanatory coupling of historical linguistics with dialectology (Kristensen 1933).

Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen (1881–1977) was Professor of Nordic Languages from 1926. He had a wide range of scholarly interests, from dialects and Old Danish to literature. In the context of comparative and historical language study, his most important and lasting contribution is his diachronic manual

of medieval Danish with the slightly misleading title *Gammeldansk Grammatik i sproghistorisk Fremstilling* (1928 ff.). The first two (and most important) volumes are on sound history and are very much in Axel Kock's spirit. The masses of detail compressed into these volumes make them heavier reading than Kock's *Svensk Ljudhistoria*, however.

Through her sociologically based historical work, Lis Jacobsen (1882–1961) stands out from the mainstream of Copenhagen professors to whom she was often in opposition. She was an outstanding runologist (Lis Jacobsen/Erik Moltke 1941–42) and was editor of *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*.

Peter Skautrup (1896–1982) does not really belong to the period but is mentioned because of his monumental manual *Det danske Sprogs Historie* (1944–68). Skautrup became Professor of Nordic Languages in 1934 at the newly established university in Århus. In his language history he chose a modern approach to diachronic linguistics in which language-external (socio-cultural) factors loom large, along with alleged internal forces.

The Faroese scholar Jakob Jakobsen (1864–1918), whose research was funded through scholarships, carried out authoritative work on Faroese, but above all he performed a monumental service to Nordic studies by documenting the then remaining relics of the West Nordic dialects on the Shetland and Orkney Islands. His Shetland Norn dictionary (1908–1921) was posthumously re-edited in English (Jakobsen 1928–32).

5.2. Norwegian scholars

In Norway the scholars of the early period were mostly associated with the university in Christiania (= Oslo). Those concerned with Nordic studies tended to be ideologically anchored either in an Aasen camp (Landsmaal > Nynorsk) which tended to favour West Norwegian as genuine Norwegian, or in a Dano-Norwegian camp (Riksmål > Bokmål).

Sophus Bugge (1833–1907) was Professor of Comparative Philology and of Old Norse from 1866. Within comparative and historical linguistics his lasting contribution is to have established that the language of the oldest runic inscriptions in Scandinavia is early Proto-Nordic ("urnordisk" rather than Gothic). Bugge also brought forward the understanding of the elder runes and thus of the early inscriptions. He was co-editor of the standard

edition of Norwegian runic inscriptions (with Magnus Olsen 1891 ff.).

Kristofer Marius Hægstad (1850–1927) was Professor of Norwegian Landsmaal and its dialects from 1899. Hægstad was a whole-hearted proponent of Landsmaal. As a consequence of his position, he undertook substantial research on medieval West Nordic as the ancestor of present-day Landsmål/Nynorsk. His manual (Hægstad 1906–1942), which makes meticulous use of old diplomas and similar sources, is a valuable counterpart to Kock's and Brøndum-Nielsen's East Nordic manuals, though it is not easy to use in contemporary research.

Hjalmar Falk (1859–1928) became Professor of Germanic Philology in 1897. He was a prominent proponent of the Riksmål variant of Norwegian and a language historian in the Neogrammarian vein. From 1898 to 1906, Falk and the Indo-Europeanist Alf Torp (1853–1916) created a set of reference works treating phonological, grammatical and lexical aspects of the history of Dano-Norwegian (1898; 1900; 1903–6).

Didrik Arup Seip (1884–1963) was Professor of Riksmål, later Scandinavian Languages, from 1916. Seip strongly and constantly advocated the view that Bokmål is as genuine Norwegian as Nynorsk. His main scholarly contribution was the textbook *Norsk språkhistorie til omkring 1370* (1931).

Carl Marstrand (1887–1965), a highly competent IE comparativist, was first a professor in Dublin, but a few years later (1913) he received a chair in Celtic languages in Oslo. In the context of Nordic philology, Marstrand is known particularly as a runologist with independent views, but he was most influential through his comparative Celtic studies which inspired eminent followers in Oslo such as Alf Sommerfelt and Carl Hj. Borgstrøm.

5.3. Swedish scholars

In Sweden the professorships of Nordic languages or of the Swedish language were created rather late but became prestigious. Membership of the Swedish Academy crowned the university career of several of these scholars (e.g. Noreen 1919, Kock 1924, Hesselman 1935, Wessén 1947).

Axel Kock (1851–1935) was Professor of Nordic Languages first in Göteborg, later in Lund. He was an extremely active and influential Nordic philologist, whose research focussed mostly on early Nordic, especially

Swedish, sound history (1878–1885; 1906–1929). Kock did not accept the neogrammarian doctrine fully, as seen from his essay *Om språkets förändring* (1896). In the conceptual universe of Nordic philology, Kock's fame and continuing influence is first and foremost due to his bold theory about Nordic umlaut.

Adolf Noreen (1854–1925) was Professor of Nordic Languages in Uppsala from 1887. He was very influential both as a scholar and as a teacher and became a leading figure in Swedish linguistics. Noreen worked on Nordic on a broad scale (also including reference to early Germanic: *Abriss* 1894) though with special emphasis on Swedish and its dialects. His main achievement is the monumental *Vårt språk* (1903–1924), in which he demonstrates a systematic-descriptive approach to the presentation of an enormous amount of information. Like the Latinist Madvig in Denmark somewhat earlier, Noreen anticipated the strong emphasis on synchronic language study of the structuralist era (and thus perhaps to some extent obviated the desire for a structuralist revolution in Sweden?). In the context of this article it must be mentioned in particular that the third and fourth volumes of *Vårt språk* deal with Swedish historical phonology.

Elof Hellquist (1864–1933), Professor of Nordic Languages in Lund from 1914, must be mentioned as the author of a widely used reference work on Nordic word etymology (Hellquist 1922). Much thanks to Hellquist, the etymologies of most Swedish words (and in fact Nordic words in general) were solved by the middle of the 20th century.

Otto von Friesen (1870–1942) was Professor of Swedish language in Uppsala from 1906. As a researcher on the early history of the Nordic languages, he was above all a recognized expert on Runic, but he also published a major monograph on Nordic language history (1901–06).

Bengt Hesselman (1875–1952), Professor of Nordic Languages first in Göteborg and later in Uppsala, carried out substantial work on the development of Swedish as a written language. Towards the end of the period under consideration here, i. e. in the last years of his life, he made a monumental though unfinished contribution to the history of Nordic vocalism in two monographs of 1945 and 1948–52.

Elias Wessén (1889–1981) was Professor of Nordic Languages at the University of Stockholm from 1928. Unlike most other Nordic philologists who were preoccupied with sound history, he emphasized the historical study of

syntax, though without introducing much theoretical innovation in this field (1941–56). His textbooks were much used.

5.4. Finnish scholars

In linguistic research in Finland since the middle of the 19th century, the main emphasis has been on the Finnish language and on Fenno-Ugric. One of the prominent scholars, Emil Nestor Setälä (1864–1935), deserves mention also in the context of this article: he adhered firmly to the neogrammarian doctrine and was responsible for it becoming particularly dominant in Finland as compared to all the other Scandinavian countries.

As for Nordic philology in Finland, Hugo Pipping (1864–1944), Professor of Nordic Philology from 1907 and editor of *SNF*, was a well-versed experimental phonetician who applied his phonetic expertise to historical phonology. He worked on Old Swedish and published i. a. on the Gotland language/dialect but is perhaps most well-known for his textbook *Inledning till studiet av de nordiska språkens ljudlära* (1922).

Torsten Evert Karsten (1870–1942), Professor of Scandinavian Languages from 1911, took up Vilhelm Thomsen's project of identifying and dating Germanic loanwords in Finnish, though he disagreed with Thomsen and others about the age of the loans.

Rolf Pipping (1889–1963) stands out particularly for his monumental editorial and analytical work on the Swedish *Erikskrönikan* (cf. Pipping 1926).

5.5. Icelandic scholars

In Iceland, the University of Reykjavík was established only in 1911, and its founder Alexander Jóhannesson (1888–1965), Professor of Icelandic, was for many years the all-dominant figure. He was an etymologist (Jóhannesson 1956) and also wrote on word formation in Old Icelandic but became a controversial figure with his stubbornly held views about a “gestural origin of language”.

6. Concluding remarks

Looking back at linguistic activities up through the first half of the 20th century, we can observe that the choice of topics within comparative linguistics was often dependent on the emergence of individual scholars each

developing a unique type of competence. Research on Nordic language history was, on the contrary, to a large extent a joint venture across Scandinavia, although there were differences of emphasis depending on national obligations and local ideologies.

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16. The contribution of Scandinavian neogrammarians

1. Introduction
2. The neogrammarian concept
3. Nordic linguistic topics in the neogrammarian period
4. Text studies relevant to historical linguistics
5. The neogrammarian legacy
6. Can the neogrammarian achievements experience a renaissance?
7. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The time period which is the subject matter of this article marks the real breakthrough of Nordic historical linguistics. It differs profoundly from the entire body of scholarship up to the middle of the 19th century, which is rarely consulted today except as material for the history of ideas. The period under consideration provided our basic knowledge about Nordic language history, and at the same time it formed our present-day conception of the discipline known as Nordic philology. For both reasons, the legacy of this unique period in the history of linguistics is of key importance.

Nordic philologists in the last decades of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century had as a major task the interpretation of old Nordic texts. This involved a scrutiny of the textual evidence, its provenance and dating. It was above all the Old Norse texts that commanded a wide interest. By the mid-19th century the phonological structure of Old Norse (i.e. mainly Old Icelandic) was understood to the extent that texts could be edited very successfully in normalized orthography, and occupation with the lan-

guage itself was becoming a didactic rather than an analytical issue. The philological focus thus was on the literary, historical and cultural aspects of the old texts, more specifically on the texts which were of most interest from these perspectives.

The East Nordic texts, in comparison, were randomly preserved, and they were on the whole rather less exciting from a literary point of view. Furthermore, there was no easy way to establish a clearly defined language norm (in terms of phonology and orthography) for either Old Swedish or Old Danish. Old West Nordic, in the form of normalized Old Icelandic, thus furnished the most convenient reference for East Nordic studies as well. The East Nordic texts (and not least their chronological documentation of place-names) did, however, present more interesting linguistic challenges than the Icelandic ones, since they gave intriguing evidence of the dramatic changes which these languages had undergone in the Middle Ages. This diachronic scenario thus constituted an interesting field of study in itself, in addition to its relevance for the philological work on texts. As a particular challenge one must mention the runic inscriptions from the Viking Age, which – if interpreted properly – yielded an important East Nordic contribution to the study of Old Nordic.

Another frame of reference was furnished by the wide range of extant Nordic dialects, which commanded interest in their own right because of the assumption that the rural dialects were more genuine offsprings of early medieval Nordic than the standard languages. The dialects acquired additional philological

interest because it was assumed (as a corollary of their assumed great age) that they could be consulted when discussing the provenance of medieval manuscripts (cf. below). Eventually, in the era of structuralism, Danish dialectologists revolted against the traditional neogrammarian approaches, promoting autonomous descriptive linguistics to such an extent that the useful historical-comparative connection was severed in the resulting dialect monographs from around the middle of the 20th century.

In spite of its heterogeneity, Nordic philology maintained a fairly unitary character up into the early 20th century, with scholars typically having a very broad expertise in the field. Eventually, however, the field split up because of the way East Nordic philologists were trained, giving way to several disparate and almost complementary subjects of study such as: (1) (practical command of) Old Icelandic; (2) Early Danish or Swedish language history on a text-philological and runological basis; (3) literary study of texts from more recent centuries; (4) conservative rural dialects viewed as offsprings of the proto-language; (5) the phonetics and grammar of the modern standard language. Scholars became increasingly specialised in their interests, and students were introduced to the field in all its enigmatic heterogeneity, with little or no explication of the reasons behind the chronological split between the philological and literary disciplines, or of the lack of interesting interaction between the study of the modern standard language on the one hand and dialectology and text philology on the other.

The key discipline in this multifariousness was language history. The general approach to be used when documenting (or perhaps more precisely construing) the history of a language, had been handed down from the preceding generation of philologists, but its methodology developed enormously, i. a. due to the so-called neogrammarian doctrine. Thus it is not far-fetched to refer to this whole period as the neogrammarian period, although this refers to just one aspect of the whole approach.

The scholarly profile of earlier Nordic language historians was characteristically different from that of modern comparativists and language historians, who are typically general linguists by education. The neogrammarian had to be a competent text philologist and a dialectologist as well, and there was often a corresponding lack of emphasis on general

language theory. Throughout the neogrammarian period, diachronic studies were undertaken in close conjunction with meticulous text philology because they rested heavily on the phonetic interpretation of old written texts, so that the correct reading and adequate linguistic understanding of these texts was a prerequisite to serious historical phonology. Contemporary linguistic data, in contrast, were often oral and derived from equally meticulous dialectological field work.

2. The neogrammarian concept

After this sweeping overview of the major topics of interest in the period under consideration we may now take a closer look at the theoretical basis from which its scholars operated.

The neogrammarian period followed the initial establishment of the historical-comparative paradigm by Franz Bopp, Rasmus Rask, Jacob Grimm and their immediate followers. It was introduced by the German so-called *junggrammarians* who worked within comparative Indo-European studies after the middle of the 19th century. This orientation in linguistic research started with the German August Schleicher (1821–1868), who set the agenda by stressing that language is an object of nature which can be approached scientifically (in the sense of the natural sciences) and that sound changes can be described as laws. The focus on detail rather than on whole systems in much of the subsequent diachronic work goes back to Schleicher. In Denmark the influential mentor K.J. Lyngby, and hence Lyngby's many outstanding pupils (see art. 15), were directly influenced by Schleicher. One aspect of Schleicher's view of language stirred up controversy, viz. the idea that language (pre)history comprises first an era of development and then a subsequent era of decay. Otto Jespersen was throughout his career a proponent of the diametrically opposite view.

The scholars who formed the neogrammarian group belonged to the following generation. The pioneers were four Indo-Europeanists: August Leskien (1840–1916), Berthold Delbrück (1842–1922), Hermann Osthoff (1847–1909) and above all Karl Brugmann (1849–1919). Among the contemporary adherents to these ideas were some of the most eminent Germanists of the time, such as Hermann Paul (1846–1921) and Eduard Sievers (1850–1932). Paul became particularly influential in shaping the doctrine as it was applied also in Nordic philology. He took issue with

the romantic and vague notion of “Volksgeist” as a factor underlying the development of a language and conceived of sound change as an innovative, idiolectal event conditioned by physiological factors. Because of the emphasis on idiolects, it was considered fruitful to focus on oral dialects rather than national languages.

Thanks to their sometimes rather aggressive advertising of their ideas, this approach soon became so dominant that it makes sense to speak of “Neogrammarians” or “Post-Neogrammarians” in a wider sense, referring to a research tradition rather than the specific scholarly community from which it sprang. It is interesting to note that in terms of the number of faculty members worldwide, comparative philology of this school remained the most widely represented paradigm in linguistics for almost a century, its dominance tapering off only very gradually at a time when structuralism had also been in vogue for decades.

There is one idea which more than anything else characterizes the neogrammarian approach, namely the assumption that sound laws are without exceptions, or paraphrased in more modern jargon, that any sound change can be stated as a rule which applies automatically across all word-forms which meet the structural description of the rule. This claim, which is ascribed to Leskien, gave an enormous boost to comparative studies. On the one hand, the neogrammarian demand for scrutiny and explicitness contributed much to the quality which characterizes the best work within this field of study. On the other hand, the apparent (though in fact spurious) affinity of the concept of “sound law” to the concept of laws within natural sciences made the field exciting (just like transformational grammar a century later had a strong initial appeal), and the flirtation of late 19th century linguistics with instrumental phonetics worked in the same direction.

It is thought-provoking that Otto Jespersen, an international authority on phonetic theory, took issue with the one-sidedly physiological orientation of neogrammarian explanations of sound change. Jespersen stressed the social aspect of language, and he adduced functional explanations of diachronic events, as when he explained why some Old English endings were lost, others not, as a function of their different status in the declensional systems. Another related type of explanation adduced by Jespersen was psychological, as when he explained stress on the root syllable in Germanic as being

due to the psychological salience of this syllable (“the most significant element receives the strongest phonetic expression”; Jespersen 1938, 25). Unfortunately, Jespersen took an extremist position with his functional view of language development as a steady, incremental gain in “efficiency”, and it was the neogrammarian position that became entirely dominant for several decades.

The phonetic orientation of Nordic studies in the neogrammarian era is such a conspicuous characteristic that it deserves more comment. There are a few instrumental studies from the late 19th and early 20th centuries of phenomena in Nordic languages and dialects, including work by Hugo Pipping and by Karl Verner on accentual phenomena, in particular the Danish *stod*. There was a much stronger impact of the bias toward natural sciences, however, in the archiving of sound. The invention of the phonograph made it possible to record voices for posterity in what was then ideally to be a perfect replica (anybody studying these old phonograph records must realize that they were far off this mark, although restoration by modern computer methods may enhance the usefulness of the very oldest records).

Most importantly, however, the whole concept of phonetic representation was influenced by the natural-scientific orientation. If the vocal manifestation of language was to be approached and described in the framework of the natural sciences, the use of a graphic representation of sound should of course come as close as possible to the standards of scientific observation. This did not invite any approach to speech sounds in the framework of language as a social norm (an aspect later stressed by Saussure); instead, speech sounds were identified as (physiological and) acoustic phenomena which one might ideally represent with scientific accuracy, given adequate auditory training and an adequate notational system. The way was open for phonetic transcription to develop into such an allegedly scientific notation. The Swedish *Landsmålsalfabet* designed by J. A. Lundell (1879) comes close to this idea of a scientific notation system with its ability to indicate fine shades of sound.

To return to sound change viewed as a natural phenomenon, it could not be denied that sound laws do have exceptions in some cases. What is required within the neogrammarian format of analysis is that such exceptions can be given explicit explanations, e.g. in terms of additional sound laws or in terms of well-

motivated morpholexical analogy. Random exceptions without any language-internal cause have no place in the model; sporadic and apparently unmotivated exceptions in the vocabulary of a language may not be real exceptions but reflexes of external contact phenomena (borrowing, dialect mixture) and thus irrelevant to the issue.

Within IE there was a glaring and fatal stumbling-block, namely a seemingly arbitrary class of word-forms which in Proto-Germanic behaved irregularly in relation to Grimm's Law by having unexpected voicing of medial obstruents (e.g. voicing of the medial dental fricative in *father* but not in that of *brother*). It was, therefore, a triumph for the neogrammarian doctrine when the Danish Slavic philologist Karl Verner discovered an additional and perfectly regular sound law (Verner's Law) which accounts beautifully for this phenomenon. Verner found it to be conditioned by the position of the Indo-European accent in the word-forms in question. He called the regularity he had discovered "an exception from the first sound-shift" (Verner 1876); there is a subtle irony in the impact of this work on the theory of sound change, since it was hailed as the main proof that sound change is exceptionless.

3. Nordic linguistic topics in the neogrammarian period

In Nordic studies, the neogrammarian approach became immensely influential, and the bulk of knowledge about the history of the Nordic languages has been accumulated in a neogrammarian format. Much of this is available to us in the form of monographs or papers on specific topics within the history of the Nordic languages. The neogrammarian view of linguistic change was introduced e.g. in standard handbooks by Adolf Noreen and Axel Kock in Sweden and by Alf Torp and Hjalmar Falk in Norway around the turn of the 20th century. Whereas the work of the latter two was by and large superseded by later work, Noreen's and Kock's wealth of important handbooks must still be consulted by scholars doing serious work on Nordic diachrony. Danish philologists eventually got their inspiration from Kock and Noreen (Brøndum-Nielsen looked upon himself as a pupil of Kock's), and thus the culmination of Nordic studies in Denmark within the neogrammarian framework happened later than

in Sweden. The authoritative handbooks on the history of the Danish language appeared only toward the middle of the 20th century.

Altogether, the majority of reference works of this sort are of Swedish origin; within Nordic philology the neogrammarian tradition was especially fertile in Sweden in the first decades of the 20th century. It is no coincidence that Noreen wrote the section *Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen* in Hermann Paul's *Grundriss* (3rd ed., 1913). Altogether, the volume of literature within this field in the period under consideration is so abundant that it is impossible to go into any specifics here. Only a few important works can be singled out for mention below. Much of the innovative research of the period, however, appeared as papers in the broadly Nordic-oriented journal *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* and from 1926 in the more Danish-oriented journal *Acta philologica Scandinavica*. The latter, which eventually ceased to appear, used to provide extensive bibliographical information.

Today it is not an altogether easy task to search for exhaustive bibliographical information if the topic is strictly linguistic. Especially if one is looking for discussions of a fairly specific problem, relevant information may be hidden in digressions and footnotes in philological papers whose titles specify the texts they are concerned with rather than the derived linguistic problems and their possible solution. It is much easier to spot such work if it is presented in major text editions or in historical grammars and language history volumes or at least referred to in such manuals. Searching in that way yields a selection which is adequate in one important sense: it tells the modern linguist which of the many papers on diachronic issues became truly influential in the mainstream development of Nordic historical linguistics.

3.1. Nordic sound history

By far the most important, lasting contributions of the neogrammarian era are within diachronic phonology and etymology. For considerations of space, only a few topics can be mentioned below, and these for the most part will be selected from the gamut of issues in Nordic sound history. It is not incidental that the name Axel Kock is dominant in the sections below; Kock is the most interesting and the most influential figure within this approach in Scandinavia.

3.1.1. Historical prosody

This topic remains a major challenge because of the very different prosodic histories of the various Nordic languages, with Norwegian and Swedish (and some southern Danish dialects) being for the most part tonal, with central and northern Danish having the distinctive *stod*-accent, and with the remaining languages and dialects having neither tone nor *stod* but only stress and quantity (length), the two prosodic categories which are shared by all Nordic languages. A large amount of work was carried out in the neogrammarian period, particularly by Kock, who was inspired by Verner's discovery (1876) of the influence of Indo-European accentuation on segmental sound change. Kock wrote about comparative Nordic accentology with special reference to Swedish (cf. art. 15) and also (in two important papers in *ANF* 5, 1885 and 7, 1888) specifically about Old Danish accentology viewed in connection with developments such as vowel apocope. The diachronic reconstructions and descriptive statements by Kock and Noreen remain relevant, and basic issues that were addressed in the neogrammarian period are still major challenges in Nordic historical linguistics: What was the accentual pattern of the Nordic proto-language? In what sense did the tones and the *stod* have a common origin?

3.1.2. Vowel developments

A major topic, which is in part related to accentology, is the history of Nordic vocalism. It was a main objective of the Nordic neogrammarians to find out what the Proto-Nordic vowel system was like, and how it evolved up to late medieval times in the various Nordic languages. The predilection for vowel studies in diachronic Nordic philology is apparent if we consider that Kock from the start had planned his *Svensk Ljudhistoria* as comprising five volumes, which actually appeared over twenty-four years and which the reader might expect to cover all aspects of Swedish historical phonology, whereas in fact the emphasis throughout most of the thousands of pages is on vowels. Among these, more than seven hundred pages are devoted to the developments of more or less unstressed vowels. This emphasis on vocalism was repeated forty years later in the monographs of Bengt Hesselman.

One major challenge for the neogrammarians was to explain the rather dramatic series of changes in the systems of stressed and unstressed vowels which mark the transition

from Proto-Nordic ("urnordisk") to Common Nordic in its varieties (Old Norse, Old Danish, Old Swedish), in particular the reductions by which short unstressed vowels were lost and long unstressed vowels were shortened. The theoretical framework for approaching the latter issue was provided first and foremost by Eduard Sievers' work on Germanic. Nordic contributions to this topic within the neogrammarian period are legion. There has been quite some dispute, e.g. about the relative chronology of the reduction and/or loss of unstressed vowels of different qualities (*i* and *u* versus *a*) in Common Nordic as well as in specific dialect areas, but on the whole a widely accepted scenario has emerged as the result of the neogrammarian enterprise.

Umlaut and breaking comprised perhaps the most disputed topic throughout the neogrammarian era in Scandinavia. The classic analysis had been developed by Kock and presented in *ANF* 4 (1884, 141 ff.), above all in the large monograph *Umlaut und Brechung* 1911–16 (and in the 3rd volume of *Svensk Ljudhistoria*). *Umlaut und Brechung* presents early Swedish evidence consistent with its subtitle ... *im Altschwedischen*, but the argumentation involves both an extensive treatment of Early Runic (urnordisk) and frequent reference to Old Icelandic. For more than a century Kock's ground-breaking umlaut theory has remained the standard theory in spite of its controversial assumptions.

Rask had already seen that umlaut is the reflex of influence from a following unstressed vowel on the preceding stressed vowel, and this is still accepted, although one might argue for or against somewhat different understandings of the nature of this process (did vowels influence each other directly, by distant assimilation, or did the articulatory influence operate through the intervening consonant(s)?). The real crux, however, was that not all words with a potential for umlaut underwent this process: old bisyllabic words with a short stressed syllable which became monosyllabic by syncope of the unstressed vowel formed a more or less regular class of exceptions. In order to account for this, Kock was forced to see umlaut of stressed vowels + syncope of unstressed vowels (especially umlaut due to a following *i*) as a complex phenomenon which unfolded as a strangely discontinuous sequence of events. The basic assumption was that syncope occurred first after a long syllable (for which there is some, though not abundant, textual evidence); later it occurred after a short

syllable without leaving any trace in the form of umlaut in words of this type (exceptions: words which do exhibit umlaut must then be accounted for by assuming special developments in palatal environments or through analogy); finally, umlaut was invoked once more (in certain word types) by the quality of the final vowel, but this time without the unstressed vowel undergoing syncope.

Kock's scenario was ingeniously conceived, and although its claim about umlaut as chronologically discontinuous has been vigorously attacked, it did not seem possible to posit a more elegant solution which accounted for the data satisfactorily within a neogrammarian format. The great theoretical weakness, of course, is that umlaut appears as two events separated not only in time but also in the very nature of the sound change since the first instance of umlaut is coupled to syncope, whereas the second is dependent on the absence of syncope.

Part of the problem is that it is open to debate whether umlaut happened as a corollary of syncope (a kind of qualitative compensation) or whether stressed vowels had non-distinctive umlaut variants long before the time of syncope so that umlaut was a matter of "phonologization" of existing phonetic differences. This is an area in which the advent of structuralism could contribute to a clearer formulation and discussion of the issues. Still, it remains enigmatic what exactly happened; it seems likely that a more sophisticated theory of sound change (which takes both sociolinguistic and cognitive factors into account) is a necessary prerequisite to a better understanding of the phenomenon of Nordic umlaut. In recent research it has also been emphasized that Nordic umlaut should be seen in a wider Germanic perspective. As it is, Kock's theory remains an inescapable point of departure.

As for breaking, this was supposed to start as a kind of distant assimilation by which an unstressed vowel was copied in the form of a diphthongal offglide from the preceding, stressed vowel, which subsequently changed into a sequence of glide plus vowel (**e* > **ea* > **ja* before final **a*, etc.). Again, this was an ingenious explanation, but later research found it hard to account for the variation over forms, e. g. the Danish occurrence of *ja* rather than *ja* in words with **e* (a much debated example being the word "six").

The real challenge came only very late, with Svensson (1944). In this work, Svensson exhi-

bited an independence of mind which was somewhat unusual in the Kock-dominated universe; he saw breaking as the product of two quite separate processes: a spontaneous diphthongization of the stressed vowel into glide plus vowel and a subsequent modification of its second component by umlaut. Bengt Hesselman then published another book whose title points to the key importance of this issue in Nordic historical linguistics: *Omljud och brytning i de nordiska språken* (1945). Hesselman tried to save breaking as a unitary process, a kind of umlaut, but had rather controversial ideas about the phonetic nature of umlaut and of syncope. For Hesselman this issue had an even wider scope because he also maintained a connection between umlaut (and breaking) and the so-called "tilljämning" (adjustment), a specific kind of vowel harmony occurring in some central Scandinavian dialects. The whole issue was so prominent that a whole day was devoted to "the new umlaut and breaking theories" at the meeting of Nordists in Copenhagen in 1946.

3.1.3. Quantity shift

A further major topic was the change of the quantity system in stressed syllables in medieval Nordic, by which the old distinction between long and short vowels was partly substituted by qualitative vowel distinctions, and new long:short distinctions eventually emerged as well. The interesting thing about this whole development is that it took place in more or less similar ways across the Nordic languages, and that it conflated three different syllable types into one type, i. e. long syllables, in most of the Nordic languages and dialects. Unless one resorts to the vague notion of "drift", quantity shift would seem to reflect medieval language contact. Intriguingly, however, only certain aspects of quantity shift are shared by the various Nordic dialects. Quantity change was an interesting challenge for the neogrammarian approach, which was primarily geared to working within the *Stammbaum* concept of language development. The basic understanding of phenomena such as syllable balance ("jamvekt") in Norwegian dialects was codified in the classic neogrammarian handbooks. Because of ambiguity in the spelling conventions of medieval and later Danish, however, it was never really settled how to envisage the scenario underlying the occurrence of short stressed syllables in mo-

der Danish, unlike the other Nordic languages. This remains a major challenge, and it is particularly interesting because of the interconnection between *stod* and syllable quantity, which is another feature of diachronic typology which sets Danish off from the other Nordic languages. The leading handbook by Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen (1928–73) has conspicuously little to offer on this point.

3.1.4. Consonant developments

Within the history of Nordic consonantism there is less of a common ground, since many of the major developments are limited to specific geographical areas within Scandinavia plus the North Atlantic. Many of these developments have to do with assimilations and other simplifications of consonant clusters. Some of these developments are in fact more or less common to all Nordic languages. By way of illustration we may take the early developments of the *r*-sounds by which (1) the Proto-Nordic palatal *r* (<R>) coalesced with dental *r*, and (2) this *r* assimilated to a preceding dental consonant (this may be depicted in the following hypothetical steps: *stainaR > *stainR > *stainn 'stone', nom. sg.). From a contemporary linguistic perspective it is interesting that all of Nordic shared these developments, which took place in the Viking Age; this attests to the high degree of linguistic unity within the whole Nordic area at that time. In the neogrammarian era, however, the study of the mother tongue *per se* became a professional pursuit in Scandinavia. As a consequence, the tendency was to look at each language or dialect separately, as an autonomous branch of Common Nordic, and to do so in a rather atomistic way. From the early 20th century there was the possibility of choosing a complementary approach and looking at such phenomena from a dialect geography perspective. Dialect geography was atomistic in its own way, which made it less inviting to attempt to unite the sound law oriented historical approach with dialect geography.

By and large, much less was written by the neogrammarians about the developments of consonants in Nordic languages than about accents and vowels. An exception is a salient topic in Danish language history: *klusilsvækkelsen*, the weakening of postvocalic stops to fricatives in medieval times; this Danish-specific phenomenon looms large both in the work of Brøndum-Nielsen and of Skaut-

rup. Otherwise, much of the work on Nordic consonantism involved necessary groundbreaking and documentation without either posing or answering challenging questions of a more principled or far-reaching nature. Many of the findings stand essentially unchallenged, not necessarily because the problems were solved satisfactorily but sometimes because no better solutions have yet been found, partly due to lack of decisive textual evidence. Thus the classic handbooks retain their value, with rather less tendency to (theoretical) obsolescence when it comes to consonant developments than in the case of diachronic vowel studies.

3.1.5. Concluding remarks on sound change studies

A characteristic of Nordic diachronic work in the neogrammarian period is the emphasis on the early history of the languages, i.e. from early Runic up through the 16th century. Kock's preamble to his *Svensk Ljudhistoria* is characteristic:

[...] The main emphasis is on medieval language but New Swedish is also dealt with; details from the phonetics of the modern language are, however, only touched upon when they are particularly illuminating for the historical presentation. (my translation).

3.2. The development of standard languages

One of the major challenges in the study of Nordic language histories is the emergence of standard national languages in Sweden and Denmark. These came into existence fairly early, which is remarkable on the background of the wide spectra of dialects and regional scribal practices in both countries, and the imminent danger of Low German taking over as the standard written language in late medieval times. One of the pioneers in the study of the development of written/standard language was Lis Jacobsen (1910; 1915). A central topic is the standardization which occurred in Denmark and Sweden in the 16th century out of the chaotic orthography of the earliest printed texts, where there was an added complication because printers did not necessarily follow the spellings of the authors.

Since early texts were typically viewed from a dialectological perspective, early neogrammarian studies of the development of the

standard languages are surprisingly scarce outside the context of the Norwegian language controversy.

On the whole, the neogrammarians tended to focus on linguistic details from one particular perspective at a time and thus did not really cope with the complex language situation in the (formerly widely bilingual) Nordic countries. Although they were aware of the relevance of such dichotomies as formal vs. colloquial language use, written vs. spoken language/s, regional vs. common norms, mother tongue vs. Low German, the interplay between these was rather too complex to be addressed adequately within the approach. In addition, it must be conceded that there are serious lacunae in our knowledge about language use in medieval times which make the study of this particular topic less inviting than the coupling of dialectology and philology which was in vogue in the neogrammarian period. Later handbooks have included this topic in overall treatments of language history, of course, a good and late example being Peter Skautrup (1944ff.).

3.3. Historical morphology and syntax

The neogrammarian period did not foster many original contributions about historical morphology in the Nordic languages. Although declensional systems and their histories were accounted for carefully in the handbooks, the emphasis especially in the early work was on the way sound changes affected the forms in question. Word formation was studied, e.g. by the Swede Fredrik Tamm (1847–1905); it may suffice here to mention his work on derivational phenomena in adjectives (1899). Historical syntax came to loom larger, with valuable contributions especially by Swedish and Norwegian scholars, e.g. Noreen (1903ff.), Falk/Torp (1900), which still inspire scholars.

4. Text studies relevant to historical linguistics

It is indisputable that the considerable accumulated knowledge of older stages of the Nordic languages, although now often taken for granted, grew out of the philological concern with old texts during the neogrammarian period. This was a give-and-take process. Although the study of texts from an earlier

period ideally required perfect command of the old language, the struggle with each particular text contributed to the accumulation of knowledge about the language in which the text was transmitted.

4.1. Old texts and modern dialects

A particular issue in the neogrammarian era was the mutually beneficial relationship between the study of early texts and the study of modern dialects. Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen was one of those who most extensively and daringly used modern dialects and contemporary dialect boundaries as evidence in assessing the geographical provenance of old manuscripts, even in the case of texts dating from the 13th–15th centuries, such as copies of the old provincial laws. He did this seemingly very successfully, and undoubtedly many of his conclusions stand, but claiming that spelling idiosyncracies in old manuscripts reflect features of regional speech which can be identified in modern dialects of the same regions is obviously a somewhat risky venture. His impressive handbook *Gammeldansk Grammatik* must be appraised in this light.

There are a variety of reasons for having reservations about Brøndum-Nielsen's dialect-based provenance studies, some will be mentioned here. Firstly, it is known today that dialect boundaries cannot have been so constant over many centuries as the provenance test seems to presuppose. Secondly, as Brøndum-Nielsen knew perfectly well and pointed out himself, the scribes might have moved around e.g. from one monastery to another, so the method could at best identify the dialectal background of the scribe rather than the geographical location of the place where the manuscript was written. Thirdly, there is reason to believe that orthographical norms developed in early medieval times without necessarily reflecting geographically bound spoken norms; spellings in a given manuscript might thus represent a conglomerate of some orthographical usage plus features of the scribe's own dialect plus possibly features of the local dialect where the manuscript was copied. And finally, one may call the very age of the dialect splits into question. Strictly speaking, we do not know for sure how old the dialect differences in Denmark are. The orthographical usage in runic inscriptions is not very informative on this point; even medieval inscriptions are conspicuous in not showing much in the way of dialect differences (ex-

cept in cases where a non-native person, e. g. a Norwegian, is supposed to have been at work). If the assumption of a great age for Danish dialect boundaries is based on old spellings, there is clearly a circularity in the whole approach.

4.2. Editions of early literature

One of the spectacular achievements of the neogrammarian era within the realm of Nordic language history is the great number of editions of older texts. This whole venture of making early Nordic texts available in reliable editions began in the decades preceding the neogrammarian breakthrough and is not in itself directly related to the neogrammarian approach as such. It grew out of the romantic interest in the past (cf. art. 15 on Rasmus Rask and his followers), and it developed into a refined scholarly pursuit due to three convergent trends: (1) the development of paleography, (2) the unification of historical linguistics, literary studies and elements of general history into what came to be understood by the term Nordic philology, and finally (3) the introduction of the text-critical method (cf. below).

The golden age of philological text editing was largely contemporary with the neogrammarian age, and the resulting volumes are not just philologically responsible renderings of texts. Quite frequently, these editions contain rich orthographical and cultural-historical commentaries, sometimes even a lexicon providing quick access to the spellings and meanings of lexical items which occur in the edited texts. In the best instances, these are of lasting relevance to the general study of language history, quite apart from their importance for the understanding of the specific texts in question.

In the neogrammarian period the text-critical method created a dilemma for conscientious philological editing of early texts. One approach to text editing was to establish the allegedly best readings throughout the text by making textual conjectures based on careful comparison of the extant sources as well as the editor's own hypothesis about the original composition and well-formedness of the text (be it originally an oral or a literary product). This approach, in itself legitimate, runs a risk if applied to texts which used to be transmitted orally, thus leaving little chance of arriving at an "Urtext". The other approach, which became dominant in Nordic philology, was to choose one of the extant manuscripts and to

edit that manuscript with or without text-critical conjectures. This often forced a decision as to what was the "best" manuscript (the ideal solution was, of course, to faithfully edit all manuscript versions of the text). In the case of texts from mainland Scandinavia and Denmark, manuscript editions were typically "diplomatariske", i. e. typographically faithful letter-per-letter copies, with full preservation of spelling idiosyncracies. The ultimate step was a facsimile edition made on a photographic basis, an approach which is equally applicable to manuscripts and to rare old printed texts. In the case of inscriptions, illustrations based on drawings were eventually superseded by photographs, with cardboard imprints as a useful supplement. Unfortunately, editors did not always refrain from making corrections to an otherwise faithfully reproduced text; occasionally, this has happened even to a text reproduced in facsimile (a notorious example is P.G. Thorsen's otherwise praiseworthy and beautiful lithographic edition of the runic manuscript of the Scanian provincial law: Thorsen 1877).

A standardized, so-called normalized orthography was often used in the edition of texts if two conditions were (supposed to be) fulfilled: (1) the sound pattern of the language period in question could be established with confidence on orthographical and comparative evidence, (2) some of the "good" texts exhibited a fairly stable norm. This is true of Old Icelandic in particular, and thus a mass of the classic text editions of that literature occurred in normalized form. Such a normalized orthography is convenient for historians and others who are interested in the contents rather than the exact linguistic rendering of the texts. It may be convenient also for the language historian working on the lexicon or syntax and using automated search procedures but generally speaking, normalization seriously detracts from the applicability of the editions in the study of language history unless one can have recourse to the raw text as well. Occasionally, the normalization of an ambiguous or seemingly erroneous form may rest on a dubious reading of the text meaning; normalization then makes it less likely that other researchers will look at the data with fresh eyes, especially if the editor was a scholar of high prestige and self-confidence such as Finnur Jónsson. The best use of normalization in the neogrammarian period was as an interpretive notation occurring alongside the transliterated original text; this is what we mostly

find in the editions of runic inscriptions by Wimmer and others.

Ballads occupy a special position because they were generally believed to stem from medieval times although the text evidence was of a later date. Svend Grundtvig (1824–1883), Professor of Nordic Philology from 1869 and well versed in the study of folklore, became a pioneer in the scientific editing of ballads. In *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, Grundtvig reprinted the various 16th and 17th century texts with their idiosyncracies alongside more recent text material rather than fusing all versions into one text restitution. This seemingly low level of scientific ambition was not altogether well received, though it is a commonplace today. In the last decade of his life, when Grundtvig worked with his brother-in-law Jørgen Bloch in order to compile a collection of Faroese ballads, *Føroya Kvæði = Corpus Carminum Færoensium*, he stuck to the multiple presentation of variant texts but normalized them all. Irrespective of the idiosyncratic and dialect-specific spellings of the various manuscripts of Faroese provenance, the texts were converted into Hammershaimb's strongly etymologizing orthography. This heavy-handed normalization is controversial in retrospect, although it has served to make the rich oral tradition of Faroese poetry more accessible to folklorists and philologists.

Over time, editions of early texts were increasingly orthographically faithful rather than normative and conjectural, with or without a text-critical apparatus; some were facsimile editions. An early example of the classic type of text edition is Axel Kock and Carl af Petersens' edition of medieval East Nordic proverbs (1889–94) with commentaries by Kock; a much later example is the facsimile edition (1915) of Herman Weigere's Danish version of Reinke de Vos, *En Ræffue Bog*, with a subsequent volume of commentaries by Niels Møller and an extensive vocabulary by no less a figure than Kristian Sandfeld. A particularly important landmark is Rolf Pipping's text-editorial work on *Erikskrönikan* (see mention in art. 15, 5.4).

As for Old Norse, there was a strong tendency to stick to orthographical normalization and to improve the text readings in accordance with the urtext assumption. Verse was often adjusted to fit Eduard Sievers' metrical theories. A late example of this trend is Finnur Jónsson's text-critical edition of the Elder Edda, *De gamle Eddadigte*. Interestingly, Finnur Jónsson edited Snorre's Edda at the

same time in a quite different format. His *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* includes an extensive treatment of textual variation over the extant manuscripts but renders the text itself on the basis of one manuscript (Codex Regius) whose spelling is preserved, in explicit contradistinction to previous normalizing editions. It was a matter of debate how such texts should be presented in order to meet scientific standards, though the approach obviously depended on the purpose of the edition and the nature of the text.

For most linguistic uses it is essential to have access to faithful, non-conjectural and non-normalizing text editions, ideally facsimile editions with transliterations. This is true particularly if the issue deals with historical (diachronic) phonology, where normalization leads to pernicious circularity. Many of the old texts have been made available several times in editions which each claim to correct earlier mistakes, but scholars working on challenging textual data have felt a continual need to turn to the sources themselves (at least in facsimile) rather than relying entirely on the judgments underlying any particular edition. The possibility of arriving at new and hopefully more correct readings and interpretations is never exhausted.

The conclusion to be drawn from an overview of classic text editions is that the accumulated mass of editions does not obviate the need for direct access to source material in crucial instances. Still, for purposes of syntactic or lexical study, for example, even normalized editions may provide useful input. To promote historical language study in Scandinavia, it is desirable for large numbers of text editions to be made available in machine-readable form, and this applies also to publications from the classic neogrammarian era, many of which still stand out as high-quality achievements.

5. The neogrammarian legacy

As stated in the introduction, the bulk of accepted knowledge about Nordic language history has been accumulated in a neogrammarian framework. It is not possible to give a concise appraisal of the extent to which the achievements of the neogrammarians are still relevant today. Basically, they *are* relevant, although many claims and assumptions of the 19th century have of course been abandoned or at least superseded by more recent work. One cannot seriously discuss such issues as

umlaut and syncope or Nordic accentology without referring back to work done in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by more or less devout adherents to this doctrine.

5.1. The merits and drawbacks of neogrammarian work

The best work of the neogrammarian period does not become obsolete with respect to the information that is positively stated there. It may have essential shortcomings, however, because of the rigidity of the whole framework, its strong limitations of scope and its narrow range of explanatory approaches. As an approach to linguistic analysis, the neogrammarian type of Nordic philology tended to form a rather self-contained universe. In this sense it was a school in a much more absolute sense than structuralism, for example. The neogrammarian universe defined not only the range of interesting issues but also the conceptual framework within which these issues were to be addressed, as well as the relevant tools and prerequisites. The best scholars were highly successful in building large edifices representing the complex and inter-locking steps in major diachronic events such as the umlaut period(s). Thus it would be unfair to the entire enterprise to write its approach off as being just atomistic, although some of the work (such as Brøndum-Nielsen's *Gammeldansk Grammatik*) is indeed difficult to use because of its focus on detail at the expense of overall clarity.

Unfortunately, its methodology tended to become fossilized. In later years the neogrammarian framework seems to have a conspicuous lack of sophistication in the discussion of phonetic and grammatical issues; it is as if general linguistics and phonetics had not advanced much since the 1890s. The whole doctrine gave this school of scholarship an inner strength, but the argumentation in the monumental works of the period is often vulnerable to criticism for exactly that reason. This reticence toward the neogrammarian period would certainly be unfair if applied to Noreen, whose manual *Vårt språk* (1903–24) is not only a treasure chamber of solid information but is also arranged in a manner which makes it much less prone to obsolescence.

The real strength of the competent neogrammarian philologists was their impressive command of the textual evidence for earlier language stages, and their incredible diligence in working through masses of data in search

of relevant evidence. Without the aid of the processing tools available today, they excerpted and arranged pieces of information down to the smallest detail of scribal variation. Needless to say, their picture of the relevant data can and must be revised and supplemented; for one thing, new runic evidence in terms of early as well as late inscriptions has turned up in considerable quantity since the Second World War and has also widened our understanding of the range of genres for which runes were used in medieval time. The perspective is widening all the time, and in several respects. Still, the hard, ground-breaking work carried out by these earlier generations of philologists largely stands as far as factual evidence is concerned, whereas the theoretical and methodological framework acquired an increasingly traditional flavour when the approach was continued well into the 20th century.

It is now possible to address issues which were less in vogue or in some instances not even clearly defined in the neogrammarian era, in particular in the realm of diachronic syntax and semantics. And most interestingly, it is possible to change the perspective e.g. on sound change and to look at such phenomena from the perspective of variational linguistics, language acquisition theory, sociolinguistics, or natural phonology, just to mention a few *not* mutually exclusive formats of analysis. It is easy enough to point to problem areas in language history which invite a new approach (although statements to this effect are often just programmatic).

The development of theoretical and descriptive linguistics has not just meant an advantage over the neogrammarians; there is now less excuse for outdated and inadequate scholarship than ever. New insights and techniques do not automatically ensure progress in the historical study of languages; what was needed all along in the decades following the decline of the neogrammarian campaign was serious work by scholars who were at the same time (1) well versed in contemporary theoretical and empirical approaches, (2) interested in historical issues *per se*, (3) competent in the old and more recent languages and dialects of the field, and (4) thoroughly familiar with the neogrammarian legacy, including the philological tradition and the associated broad scholarly knowledge of adjacent fields.

There are not very many scholars who combine these qualities. One might point to the late Paul Diderichsen as an outstanding representative of this type of scholar, although he

did not manage to publish much in the field of language diachrony, being more occupied with synchronic studies.

5.2. Did modern approaches render the neogrammarian approach outdated?

Diderichsen and other pioneers of early structuralism in Scandinavia felt, and did not hesitate to claim, that language history had long held a too dominant position and that the continued emphasis on language history did not give a sufficient return in the form of interesting new insights, so much more since this occurred at the expense of synchronic studies of (modern or ancient) languages and at the expense of the application of ideas and techniques within contemporary linguistic theory. Copenhagen at the middle of the 20th century became a center of such tension because of the early propagation of structuralism there, first in the form of structural phonology (inspired by the Prague school) and later in the form of glossematics. This structuralist orientation had an enormous impact on Danish dialectology but also caused a conflict within Nordic historical linguistics in general. Diderichsen's most important move was his paper about goals and means in Nordic philology with which he addressed the meeting of Nordic philologists in Copenhagen in 1946.

Seen in retrospect, the polarity between the neogrammarian and the structuralist position is somewhat exaggerated. The latter grew out of the former, and the various versions of structuralism (and later offsprings such as Noam Chomsky's transformational grammar) owe much to the rigid scientific requirements introduced into language study by the neogrammarians. The problem with Nordic historical and diachronic language studies under late neogrammarianism had to do with attitude as well as education: its most stubborn adherents failed to see the fruitfulness of integrating new viewpoints, and toward the end of the period the increasing specialization had the unfortunate effect that philologists increasingly lacked the comparative and general linguistic background which had characterized earlier generations.

How, then, can the classic reference works be exploited fruitfully today, some seventy years after the neogrammarian approach was first challenged by phonologists? Although much of the information contained in the volumes from the neogrammarian period is impressively reliable, it is necessary to express a

caveat: the adequacy of information stemming from an earlier era of scientific research, and more specifically its applicability in a new context, must be appraised in relation to the general approach or research paradigm within which the information was generated. It should never be forgotten that every study of linguistic phenomena has been made from a certain perspective, and that this delimited the choice of criteria and the kinds of information which it was considered essential to take into consideration. Having such an inevitable bias, the data and findings available in traditional handbooks, however detailed and overwhelmingly abundant they are, may be insufficient and even misleading if taken out of context and restated in a new theoretical framework, or if used uncritically by scholars who address diachronic issues from a quite different perspective without providing their own substantive input. This problem should not be projected as a fault of the neogrammarian work; if anything it is a fault of the modern scholar who exploits traditional results without taking their point of departure seriously.

The neogrammarian approach to spoken language may with considerable justification be called phonetic rather than phonological. That might be construed to mean that the data presented in the reference works represent at least an objective phonetic reality. In most cases, however, the approach was impressionistic (and in fact semi-phonemic) rather than physical or physiological. When it comes to past stages of languages, the concept of "sound" was of course much further removed from "reality". Our shared catalogue of attested sound changes, as handed down to us by the neogrammarians, makes no sense without well-founded hypotheses about the phonetics of past stages of the languages involved. These reference points, however, are constructs based on comparative and orthographical evidence (and on more or less well-founded typological expectations), and one should be constantly aware of the inherent danger of circularity in diachronic studies involving phonetic reconstruction. Altogether, it must be emphasized that diachronic phonetics is just as dependent as phonemics on the existence of a theoretical framework.

There was no real theory of accent and stress in the neogrammarian scheme (nor is there a fully satisfactory theory today, for that matter). Thus it must be taken with many spoonfuls of salt if scholars of that period operated with subtle degrees of stress in their

data. It is completely naïve for a student today to take this kind of information at face value and to construe formal explanations for it. One must use historical explanations with even more caution if they refer to vaguely defined though intuitively plausible categories, such as Kock's (and his follower Brøndum-Nielsen's) term "relatively unstressed" used in the explanation for why certain words preserve unbroken *e* (e.g. *medan/medens*) or why certain other words exhibit non-trivial reductions, e.g. vowel loss.

To sum up, it is important not to overlook the fact that the neogrammarians were firmly rooted in the classic framework of phonetic description which was developed in the last decades of the 19th century. Having a frame of reference, with its strong points and its shortcomings, gives an inevitable bias, no matter which approach one follows, though the impact of such a bias on linguistic observation is seldom fully appreciated. What is important here is that the conceptual and descriptive filter through which the neogrammarians perceived linguistic reality was considerably different from the one which is part and parcel of the approach of the well-trained modern linguist. This is true also of the last generation of neogrammarians who undertook much of their work after the rapid development of modern phonetics and phonology which started some fifty years ago. Some of these scholars seemed positively disinterested in integrating post-classic phonetic-phonological insights into their approach, probably because they felt that it was redundant or even distracting to do so. From their perspective, the classic frame of reference, i.e. the phonetic knowledge of the early 20th century, plus their often outstanding intuition seemed to work perfectly well.

The advent of structuralism, which was introduced into Nordic language research in Denmark and (sporadically) in Norway in the late 1930s, made it mandatory to view sound changes in terms of their consequences for the whole system. Diachronic handbooks in the neogrammarian framework, even late ones such as Brøndum-Nielsen's *Gammeldansk Grammatik*, came to look atomistic, disorganized, sometimes even inadequate from the structuralist point of view, since phenomena which belong together from a system-oriented perspective were treated separately there, the authors being more concerned about evidence for each sound change *per se*. From the structuralist perspective it was more interesting to

look for properties of the data which would contribute to generalized statements about changes within the system as such. Quite often the patient and benevolent structuralist could indeed trace the various reorganizations of the sound pattern over time by working through traditional handbooks, but the path might be felt to be thorny, leading through masses of awkward detail.

It is difficult to assess the lasting contribution of structuralism to diachronic theory. Dynamic concepts dealing with contrastiveness (mergers, splits, rephonologization) were developed or at least formalized within structuralism, and in this vein there was an upsurge in language-internal explanations for linguistic change with reference to system-related notions such as optimization and "functional load" (as an explanatory device, the latter notion did not really live up to the expectations, however). More specifically, and more interestingly, some structuralists developed the idea that languages tend to reshape or even repair themselves if inner imbalances or "tensions" arise in the system. Eventually, the system-change paradox was resolved by linking structural change to creative language acquisition by children. In the transformational era it became fashionable (for a while) to discard the notion of analogy in favour of the notions of rule addition and restructuring. All of this was a radical departure from neogrammarian thinking. It is remarkable that we are now at some points back where linguistics was before the Second World War. The belief in structural machinery has waned in favour of notions more akin to the neogrammarian concept of analogy. On the other hand, the view of sound change as something happening within an autonomous phonetic stratum is now open to challenge.

In language study, the most tangible feature of structuralism is its descriptive practice. The introduction of the notion of the phoneme came to stand for genuine progress in synchronic work, in particular in the documentation of oral dialects by linguists who were not themselves speakers of the dialects in question. This would seem to make descriptive statements more applicable to diachronic study if such study was undertaken. Since competent and unbiased linguists have always had an intuitive notion of structure, however, even traditional analyses tended to be quasi-phonemic, provided that the field worker had a native or near-native practical command of the dialect.

The most important and novel change within historical linguistics around the mid-20th century was a shift or rather division of emphasis. The neogrammarian period left us with an emphasis on sound history (diachronic phonology) which was in part methodologically motivated and in part motivated by a philological interest in aligning early written records with alleged sound changes so as to establish an absolute chronology for both. This exaggerated emphasis on sound was gradually weakened in favour of interest in diachronic grammar as well, and particularly in favour of more interest in recent historical periods.

First and foremost, however, the whole area of explanation in linguistic studies has recently been revitalized by the development of more precise notions about the internal and external forces which exert their influence on language, and by the development of more sophisticated notions of “pattern” and “variation”. It is now being recognized in synchronic linguistic analysis and gradually even in diachronic analysis that phonologies do not operate on just one level but involve degrees of distinctness and often also a range of speaking styles. In addition, there may be an interplay between local norms and prestige norms. The existence of a fairly stable orthography for a past stage of a language always makes the phonology of the period in question look deceptively orderly, however. Moreover, the very codification of languages in writing, a codification which tends to be very conservative, may influence speakers’ phonetic prejudices in highly literate societies and may obviate any desire to bring the orthography up to date in relation to phonology. It is a further complication that some languages or dialects have large and influential groups of speakers who are functionally bilingual.

If a chronology of sound changes is inferred from written records of the language in question, all of the factors just mentioned deserve to be taken into account. It is thus a complex issue whether and how we can determine what was *the* sound pattern at a certain point in time, the pattern which eventually underwent change. Strictly speaking, the very idea that a sound pattern undergoes change should be interpreted in terms of its speakers’ usage: it is the complex of linguistic habits of the society that changes, not the sounds, although a change of phonological habits often appears as a visible phenomenon in written specimens of the language.

Although it has long since been well-known that medieval society was linguistically complex (with bilingualism in towns, for example), the neogrammarian approach to sound change seems to have tended to underplay the above-mentioned aspects. Though many neogrammarians were outstanding and broad-minded philologists, some with expert knowledge about the culture and structure of earlier societies, there was something sacrosanct about the concept of sound change itself. Sound change was approached programmatically as something which had a natural phonetic explanation, which had happened spontaneously, and which was carried through quite consistently (in a well-defined phonetic environment), its course being betrayed in writing. Complicating factors such as those mentioned above were to a greater or lesser extent taken into consideration, but typically only when the simplistic notion of sound change did not suffice to clear matters up.

Incidentally, this perspective was narrowed further in structuralism with its emphasis on the principles of “autonomy” (with respect to description or explanation) and “invariance” (with respect to the system itself). This brought with it a certain tendency to downgrade the importance of phonetic phenomena which had no immediate role in the phoneme system as conceived by the structuralist, though in fact phonetic detail of an allegedly non-distinctive kind may be crucial for the reconstruction of past sound patterns and for the tracing of diachronic events.

In recent decades there has been a very conspicuous decline in the formerly broad interest in language history, partly for ideological reasons, partly because of a widespread feeling that there are not many more exciting discoveries to be made in the field of the history of Nordic languages, for example. The neogrammarians, in spite of their now widely criticized doctrine, performed the groundbreaking work, and it is not nearly as stimulating to make formal restatements and revisions of their work as to make the discoveries and acquire the basic insights in the first place.

As a result, we are faced with a situation where there has not been an effective handing over from the neogrammarians in terms of continued focus on language history. This has had the inevitable consequence that the textbooks of the lengthy neogrammarian period continue to stand as the standard reference works for those wishing to acquire information about details in Nordic language history;

we are constantly consulting works the latest of which stem from the mid-20th century, and some are half a century older. Reference works of more recent date are not only more scarce; in their handling of diachronic information they must sometimes be deemed more controversial than traditional handbooks if their main *raison d'être* was to make a theoretical point by taking issue with the allegedly outdated approach of traditional scholarship while exploiting their data uncritically.

6. Can the neogrammarian achievements experience a renaissance?

The real revitalization of the legacy of the neogrammarian historical approach is coming from post-structuralist and even post-TG trends in theoretical linguistics. The so-called “natural”, “functional” and “cognitive” approaches have added new dimensions to concepts such as “structure” or “system”, and have in part done so also from a diachronic perspective. Most important, however, is sociolinguistics, with its emphasis on external factors influencing linguistic usage and with its variational aspect, both of which are crucial to an understanding of the mechanisms of linguistic change. Again, the insights are not altogether new. The neogrammarian period relied on both norm-oriented diachrony and variation-oriented dialect geography, but strangely enough these were never quite felicitously integrated in spite of the dual interests of some philologists.

At the dawn of the 21st century, the neogrammarian reference works remain the backbone of historical linguistics, and certainly so with respect to the Nordic languages. The philological work on primary data and many of the generalizations about data remain valuable achievements, even if the presentations may be theoretically outdated. Paradoxically, theoretical innovations after the middle of the 20th century have not so far led to any advance in our concrete knowledge about language history which is comparable to the achievements of classic Nordic philology.

Still, by integrating more recent insights when approaching the mass of solid work left to us by the neogrammarians, we are better equipped to gain new insights by addressing general questions of paramount importance in diachronic studies, such as: What internal and external factors cause changes in languages?

How and under what conditions do such factors operate? Thus we are now finally in a better position to take up the challenge left by work such as Jacob Hornemann Bredsdorff's pamphlet from 1821 about the causes of sound change. For a healthy future for Nordic historical linguistics, a synthesis of this kind is a major prerequisite.

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17. The Scandinavian contribution to structuralism (until 1950)

1. Structuralism
2. Precursors in Scandinavia
3. Structural linguistics in Denmark
4. Structural linguistics in Norway
5. Structural linguistics in Sweden and Finland
6. Glossematics in the world
7. Structuralism in Scandinavia after 1950
8. Literature (a selection)

1. Structuralism

Structuralism is the comprehensive term for some important movements in the humanities and the social sciences during the 20th century. Their common feature involves viewing the objects under study – languages, texts, works of art or other cultural phenomena – as structures constituted by interacting elements. The word *system* has often been used

as an alternative to structure. Structuralism in the humanities is akin to ideas from the same period in other sciences, such as Gestalt theory in psychology and holism in philosophy and biology.

Two pioneers of a structuralist approach in linguistics were Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (1845–1929), a Polish linguist who worked for a long time in Russia, and the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913). They took their original inspiration for their structuralist views from historical linguistics. The insight that language change was regular had led them to the conclusion that a language represented a closed system for those who spoke a language at a particular time. Saussure's thoughts on language as structure were first expressed in his university lectures. They gained widespread influence posthumously when they were published in *Cours de linguistique*

générale (1916). Saussure's and Baudouin de Courtenay's ideas were taken up constructively by a group of Russian and Czech linguists who were active in Prague in the 1920s and 1930s, among them Nikolay S. Trubetskoj (1890–1938) and Roman Jakobson (1896–1982). The works of Saussure and Jakobson were to exert a seminal influence in other fields, especially in the social sciences and literary criticism. The structural movement in American linguistics had very little impact in Scandinavia before 1950.

2. Precursors in Scandinavia

Structuralism in linguistics was foreshadowed in the works of some Scandinavians in the decades around the year 1900. The most important among them were Adolf Noreen (1854–1925), who was Professor of Scandinavian Languages in Uppsala from 1887 to 1919, and Otto Jespersen (1860–1943), Professor of English in Copenhagen from 1893 to 1925. Their writings included many of the features that later were to play a prominent role in structural linguistics. Their choice of the contemporary spoken language as an object of study led them to take a synchronic perspective on language. They were eager to abandon the concepts and terms of traditional grammar for those based on their own view on language, which was supposedly more coherent and scientific.

Noreen's monumental but uncompleted description of contemporary Swedish, *Vårt språk*, published in 1903–24, is notable for its reclassification using newly invented terminology. The most original part of this work is dedicated to the study of meaning. An example of a semantic category that was established by Noreen is *status*, the semantic relationship between two words or phrases in a text. This is an extension of the traditional category of case. Noreen anticipated to some extent modern case grammar (Linell 1978; Brodda 1999). The American linguist Sydney M. Lamb mentions Noreen as a pioneer in the stratificational view of language (Lamb 1966, 2). Nevertheless, Noreen's influence outside Sweden has been limited; the long time span involved in the publication of *Vårt språk* and the delay of translating it into a major European language contributed to this.

The concept of structure is also present in Jespersen's work. He was also a forerunner in his use of abbreviated formulae in grammatical writing as well, notably in *Analytical syn-*

tax (1925). The rise of structural linguistics in Denmark, however, was accompanied by a disagreement between Jespersen and Hjelmslev, the foremost representative of the new directions in linguistics.

Another linguist who inspired future structuralists in his Danish homeland was the grammarian Hylling Georg Wiwel (1851–1910). Wiwel criticised the teaching of grammar in Danish schools. He turned against the Latin grammar tradition as well as the un-called-for application of logical or historical considerations. In *Synspunkter for dansk sproglære*, published in 1901, Wiwel provided a positivistic description of Danish in which words were categorized according to properties that were found in the language itself, rather than “metaphysical” concepts. Later linguists have testified to the importance of Wiwel's grammatical work (Hjelmslev 1928, fn. 6 and 12; Diderichsen 1965, 143–151).

3. Structural linguistics in Denmark

3.1. Louis Hjelmslev

3.1.1. Prolegomena to a theory of language

Louis Hjelmslev (1899–1965) undisputedly took the central and dominant place in structural linguistics in Scandinavia in the first half of the 20th century. An overview of his theory in its most elaborated form, however, is best given with reference to his principal work, *Omkring sprogteoriens grundlæggelse* (1943), although many of Hjelmslev's ideas had been expounded and used in his earlier works (e. g. 1928; 1935–37). The book gradually won international attention, and an English translation appeared in 1953 under the title *Prolegomena to a theory of language* (see Rasmussen 1992, 34–42; 49–57). Hjelmslev's theory of language has been called *glossematics*, and he and his followers in Denmark are often referred to as the Copenhagen School.

Hjelmslev was inspired by Saussure and the Prague School. Hjelmslev draws fully from Saussure's definition of the linguistic sign and his emphasis on structural relations as the main object of the description of a language. Contemporary philosophers, notably Rudolf Carnap and Bertrand Russell, also influenced Hjelmslev (Hjelmslev 1948). He departs from what he (in an idiosyncratic use of the term) calls the *empirical principle*. This states that linguistic description shall be free of contradiction, exhaustive and as simple as possible.

Hjelmslev rejects “conventional linguistics” which often studies “the *disiecta membra* of language” ... “the physical and physiological, psychological and logical, sociological and historical precipitations of language, not language itself” (1943, 7). “The aim of linguistic theory is to provide a procedural method by means of which a given text can be comprehended through a self-consistent and exhaustive description” (1943, 16). A key word is *immanence*, Hjelmslev’s term for the understanding of language as a “self-subsistent, specific structure”. Immanence is the opposite of transcendence in the original meaning of that word, “going outside the object”. Hjelmslev rejects the inductive procedure in linguistics, which leads to fluctuating, language-specific definitions of grammatical concepts. Instead, the linguist should start with the text and proceed from there by dividing it repeatedly into classes and segments. Hjelmslev names this procedure *deduction* and characterizes it as “analytic and specifying”, in contrast to *induction*, the “synthetic and generalising” procedure which has been used hitherto in linguistics (1943, 12f.).

Hjelmslev provides a set of concepts and terms as tools for language description. Ana-

lysis proceeds by distinguishing a variety of dependences, i.e. possible relations between linguistic units. There are also different terms for such relationships when they are part of a process (text), i.e. viewed syntagmatically, and when they are part of the grammar, i.e. viewed paradigmatically. (Table 17.1 gives an overview of the relational terms together with some of the small number of concrete examples Hjelmslev provides).

Hjelmslev distinguishes two *planes* (levels) in the language, those of content and expression. Both planes have *form* (relational structure) and *substance* (which refers to the physical reality, e.g. sounds and linguistically relevant meanings). Hjelmslev later elaborated on the concepts of content and expression, each of them having form and substance, as part of a stratificational system in the glossematic theory (Hjelmslev 1954). The word *stratum* replaced *plane* or *level*, used in earlier writings. Content substance, content form, expression substance and expression form constitute four strata in this version. The attribute *plerematic* refers to aspects of content, and *cenematic* to those of expression. The substance of the expression stratum can be described in phonetic

Tab. 17.1: Glossematic terms for relations (references to Hjelmslev 1943)

	Mutual relation	One-sided relation	No relation
General terms	Interdependence	Determination	Constellation
Syntagmatic relations (within a process [text])	Solidarity	Selection	Combination
Examples	between expression and content, the sign function (45); between [t] and [a] in the syllable [ta] (74); between case and number in suffixes, as in Latin <i>-ibus</i> (40)	between Latin <i>sine</i> and the ablative (24)	between Latin <i>ab</i> and the ablative, “which have possible but not necessary coexistence” (24)
Paradigmatic relations (within a system)	Complementarity	Specification	Autonomy
Examples	between vowel and consonant (24); between substantive and adjective (24)		

(articulatory and acoustic) terms, while that of substance of the content is manifested by the reality to which the linguistic units refer. The distinction between a content and an expression stratum provides the basis for establishing the invariant elements within a category. Hjelmslev's analytical instrument is the *commutation test*, an exchange experiment through which one can determine the invariants, the relevant elements in the structure of a language (1943, 67). Commutation resembles the observation of phonological oppositions and the search for minimal pairs in other areas of structural linguistics.

The concept of neutralisation in linguistics is introduced in the glossematic theory under the term *syncretism* (1943, 78f.). Hjelmslev also introduces the procedure of *catalysis*, which in some cases is a prerequisite for the analysis, for instance the restitution of interrupted or incomplete constructions, such as abbreviated expressions like *How nice!*, *Because!* etc. (1943, 83f.).

Once his immanent linguistic theory has been established, there is room for other aspects of language in it. Like Saussure, Hjelmslev ends up with an all-embracing view on the study of language, expressed in elevated words: "A temporary restriction of the field of vision was the price that had to be paid to elicit from language itself its secret" (1943, 112). And his book ends with the proclamation of the goal of linguistic theory: "*humanitas et universitas*".

3.1.2. The category of case

Omkring sprogteoriens grundlæggelse was the peak of his long process of creating a linguistic theory. Hjelmslev's requirement of "an immanent understanding of language as a self-subsistent, specific structure" is foreshadowed in one of his examination papers as early as around 1920. He expressed an opinion on historical linguistics that shocked his teachers: "We can totally leave out the idea about prehistoric language periods. It is not correct to define language parentage as common origin. 'Language parentage' is nothing more than systematic coincidence" (Gregersen 1991, 173). His *Principes de grammaire générale*, which was intended to be his doctoral dissertation, was published only in an abridged version (1928). Instead, he was awarded his doctorate for his study of the Baltic languages, *Études baltiques* (1932).

In *La catégorie des cas* (1935–37), Hjelmslev treated problems in general linguistics with reference to a specific grammatical category. The first part consists of a critical survey of earlier attempts to deal with the category of case. According to the localist theory, case expresses something subjective: a spatial concept. The speaker applies it also to various other objective phenomena: time, logical causality or syntagmatic rection (government) (p. 37). Each case has a basic meaning. The contrasting antilocalist theory is based, according to Hjelmslev, on the misconception that the localist theory is exclusively spatial. Hjelmslev defines the category of case as an expression of a relationship between two objects, taken in an abstract sense (p. 96). The relations between cases can be expressed in a mathematical or logical way (p. 98). The system, however, is not a logico-mathematical system with oppositions between positive and negative; there is never an opposition between *A* and *non-A*. Instead, the oppositions are between *A* on the one hand and *A + non-A* on the other. With a reference to the French philosopher Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Hjelmslev declares this to be a reminiscence of prelogical thinking (p. 102).

Hjelmslev deals with the principles that bring about change in case systems. He is convinced that such systems change not only due to external causes. The conserving tendency in language prevents the system after a change from regaining its optimum size (p. 109f.).

A case is seen as intensive when there is a tendency to concentrate the meaning, while extensive cases exhibit a tendency to spread their meaning over the entire semantic domain (p. 112f.).

Hjelmslev chooses this as the basis for his treatment of the structure of the case system. The terms "intensive" and "extensive" correspond here to the concepts better known as "marked" and "unmarked".

We find in *La catégorie des cas* many of the ingredients that are used in glossematics: levels (strata), mathematical tools such as graphs and letter symbols, and repeated statements that a proposed theory is provisional. There are also restrictions in the scope of the grammar. Hjelmslev declares that "the great danger for grammar is the need to explain everything. Grammar has the well-defined task of explaining that which is essential when seen from the point of view of the system" (p. 89). This attitude allows the linguist to dispatch irregularities to stylistics.

Finally, Hjelmslev tests his case theory on a small number of languages, most of them spoken in Caucasia.

3.1.3. The Danish expression system

The presentation of the expression system of Modern Danish by Hjelmslev in a lecture in 1948 is of special interest because it is among the few works where he himself demonstrates the glossematic method applied to a concrete, familiar matter (Hjelmslev 1951). This had been preceded by several versions made in collaboration with H. J. Uldall and reported on at conferences. Hjelmslev's analysis centred on "latent" consonants and the *stød*. He distinguishes two denotative modulations (non-falling and falling) and two accents (heavy and weak stress). It is, however, possible to eliminate accents altogether in the analysis by marking part of the vocabulary (loanwords) as "cenematically distinctive". Units corresponding to phonemes are distributed over four categories according to their relation to the 'selection' function. Vowels are selected units, and consonants are selecting units, but some units are both selected and selecting, e. g. [Φ], [ɦ] in interjections. The inventory of consonants is reduced to /b, d, f, g, h, l, m, n, r, s/. (Hjelmslev, however, does not use slashes to indicate phonemic units). Consonants such as [p], [t], and [k] are interpreted as /hb/, /hd/ and /hg/. [ʃ] is represented as /si/, and [ŋ] as /ng/. The inventory of vowels contains /a, ε, e, α, o, ø, y, i/. The vowel [œ] is derived from /ø/ in various ways, e. g. *dør* [dœr] 'door' from /døør/ in contrast to *dør* [dœr] 'dies', which is interpreted as /dø.ɛr/. *Høne* [hœ:ne] 'hen' is derived from /'høn ◦ ε/, while *kønne* 'beautiful' is derived from /'ghøn ◦ dε/. (◦ indicates a syllabic boundary. The syllable and its structure are relevant elements in the analysis). Long vowels are interpreted as "identity diphthongs" ([a:] as /aa/ etc.). The category of neither selected nor selecting units contains only one member, /u/, which is manifested as [v] or [u], depending on the environment. Inventory reduction is often reached by ingenious reinterpretations. The *stød* is a signal of certain types of syllabic structure. It can also be seen as a signal of "cenematic compounds", i. e. words like *arbejde* ['aɁbaiʔðə] 'work'. Some problematic cases, such as *aftale* 'to agree upon' (verb, with *stød*), and *aftale* 'contract' (noun, without *stød*) can be explained by reference to plerematic ("heteroplane")

rules, i. e. to semantic categories (Hjelmslev 1951, 21).

3.2. Other Danish structural linguists

3.2.1. Viggo Brøndal

One of the most active members of the Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen was Viggo Brøndal (1887–1942). He was a professor at the University of Copenhagen from 1928. Besides studies in Romance languages, his own field, he published a number of original works in general linguistics, e. g. *Ordklasserne* (1928), *Præpositionernes teori* (1940), and *Essais de linguistique générale* (1943). Brøndal's brand of structuralism was not in line with that of others at the time. For instance, he defines word classes through a system of logical relations rather than criteria based on their function. Fischer-Jørgensen, summarising Brøndal's theory of grammar, characterizes his theoretical system as being "so original that it can hardly be taken over by others". However, through his ideas and his personality, Brøndal exerted a great influence on other Danish linguists, not least on Hjelmslev and Diderichsen.

3.2.2. Paul Diderichsen

Another Danish linguist active in the Linguistic Circle in Copenhagen was Paul Diderichsen (1905–64). His influence has been more long-lasting than that of Brøndal. He was an editor of the *Ordbog over det danske sprog* (the comprehensive Danish dictionary) before he became Professor of Danish in Copenhagen in 1949. Hjelmslev and Brøndal provided Diderichsen inspiration, but his ideas took shape independently, at first within his initial field of study, Danish medieval texts (Diderichsen 1938). He initiated several studies of graphemic systems by Danish scholars. Structural thinking is also found in Diderichsen's dissertation (1941), a syntactic analysis of a law text from the Middle Ages (Table 17.2). His main achievement, however, concerns contemporary language. He created a general model for syntactic analysis (often referred to as Diderichsen's sentence scheme), which he used in a comprehensive grammar of Danish, *Elementær dansk Grammatik* (1946). The model emanates from the observation that in most Danish sentences there are three positions ("fields") in which the components of

Tab. 17.2: Diderichsen's sentence scheme

Fundamental field	Nexus field			Content field		
S A	v	s	a	V	S	A
Saa So	har has	han he	vist probably	glemt forgotten	galocherne the galoshes	her here
Galocherne The galoshes	har has	Onkel Peter Uncle Peter	vist probably	glemt forgotten	–	forleden recently

V, v = verb (al); S, s = substantial (nominal); A, a = adverbial. The order of the fields is in subordinate clauses s a v.

a sentence can be inserted according to their function. A field can also stay vacant. One of the fields contains the finite verb. Diderichsen names it “the nexus field” (using Jespersen’s term, where *nexus* means the interdependence between the subject and the finite verb). Next comes “the content field”, dominated by the infinite verb form. It contains, as a rule, the semantically most important part of the sentence. The first position, “the fundamental field”, can be filled with a number of different words or phrases. This makes Diderichsen’s model a useful instrument for analysis of the Scandinavian languages where, beside the subject, any focussed component, e.g. the object or an adverbial, can be placed optionally in the initial position in a sentence (see Table 17.2). The model has served widely as a theoretical foundation for grammars and textbooks, as well as for some large research projects in Scandinavia (Næs 1965; Loman/Jørgensen 1971; Teleman 1972).

3.2.3. Eli Fischer-Jørgensen

Eli Fischer-Jørgensen (born in 1911), Professor of Phonetics at the University of Copenhagen in 1966–81, became a member of the Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen in 1933. As a phonetician, she has carried out important experimental studies, especially on the *stød* and vowel length in Danish. As a phonologist, she has investigated the interplay between expression and content in European and American schools of structural linguistics

(1949; 1956; 1975; see also her contribution to Siertsema 1955). Fischer-Jørgensen has acted as an independent critic and interpreter of glossematic theory. She gave a first report on glossematics in a survey of Danish linguistic activity between 1940 and 1945, published in *Lingua* in 1949. Later, she published critical summaries of the ideas of the great theoreticians in Danish linguistics, often together with biographical notes (1965a; 1965b). Roman Jakobson describes her role in the following words: “Her thorough examination laid bare the cardinal contradictions and fluctuations in the gradual elaboration of this theory, or rather theories” (*Form and Substance* 1971, 9).

3.2.4. Hans Jørgen Uldall

Hans Jørgen Uldall (1907–57) became Hjelmslev’s principal collaborator. His life was filled with variation. He studied English and phonetics in Copenhagen and London. After a stay in South Africa and studies at Columbia University in New York, Uldall undertook a thorough study of an American Indian language in 1931–32. Returning to Denmark in 1933, he started his collaboration with Hjelmslev. Eli Fischer-Jørgensen has described their work as “something unique in the history of linguistics. They worked together so intimately and harmoniously that afterwards neither of them could tell who had contributed what”. Their hope for the prompt publication of the results of their work was foiled by the outbreak of the war. Uldall, who

was active in the British Council, spent the years 1939–45 in Greece, Egypt and the Near East. Hjelmslev, in the meantime, had published his *Omkring sprogteoriens grundlæggelse* (in 1943). Hjelmslev and Uldall continued their collaboration after the war with the aim of publishing a definitive work on their theory of language. Uldall's part of the work appeared in *Outline of Glossematics I*, published in the year of his death, 1957. Uldall sets forth in this work an algebra based on functions, i.e. dependences in the analysis between objects, called functives. Functives in a given function establish a functional field (Uldall 1957, 36 ff.). This is illustrated with examples from semantics, e.g. *boy* is analysed as *young, male, human* (p. 46), or from phonology, as the relations of the English syllables *see, saw, we* (p. 40). The set of functions and other concepts (represented in formulaic form) are built up gradually. Uldall's text continues with tables of considerable size listing the possible results of calculations. The linguistic examples are, as a whole, very simple and presented with a caveat: "It must be clear, once for all, that the authors refuse to be held responsible for the ultimate validity of their examples" (p. 39, fn. 1).

Hjelmslev's share of *Outline of Glossematics* was never completed.

3.2.5. The influence of glossematics in Denmark (works until 1950)

The activities at the Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen and, in particular, Hjelmslev's work influenced Danish and some other Scandinavian linguists to attempt a glossematic approach to various problems. General problems were taken up by Jens Holt, who published a work on semantics (Holt 1946), and by Nils Ege on the nature of the linguistic sign (*Recherches structurales* 1949, 11–29). Anders Bjerrum's *Fjoldemålets Lydsystem* (1944) was the first of a sequence of descriptive works on Danish dialects in glossematic terms, most of which were published in the 1950s (see the overview by Poul Andersen 1965, 90 ff.). There are also some historical studies. Ella Jensen analysed the language of a medieval law text in Danish (*Recherches structurales* 1949, 244–255). Marie Bjerrum presented a glossematic analysis of the rich system of vowels and diphthongs in Faroese (*Recherches structurales* 1949, 235–243). It is interesting to find in this paper an early example of analysis in acoustic

terms of phonological distinctive features, based on the frequency of the first and second vowel formants. This is given in graph form with a notational system using upper- and lower-case Greek letters, similar to that introduced by Hjelmslev (1935–37) in his study of the category of case.

4. Structural linguistics in Norway

The position of structural linguistics in Norway in the first half of the 20th century differed very much from that in Denmark. There were no dominant theoreticians. Instead, some Norwegian linguists with varying specialties applied ideas from European and American schools of structuralism, mainly to the Norwegian language.

An early introducer of new trends in linguistics was Alf Sommerfelt (1892–1965). His chief interest was originally the Celtic languages, which he studied in Paris, where he first became acquainted with structuralism. After his return to Norway he became occupied with university teaching and lexicographical tasks. He dedicated some years in the 1930s to the study of languages spoken in the Caucasus and Australia. Sommerfelt stayed in England during the Second World War, working with the Norwegian exile government. His main contribution to linguistics lies within the field of sociological linguistics.

Carl Hjalmar Borgstrøm (1909–86), Professor of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics in Oslo, published an early survey of the phonology of Norwegian (including the prosodic structure) in the Prague School tradition in 1938. He proposed a polyphonemic interpretation of diphthongs and retroflex consonants, represented in writing as *rt, rd* etc.

Hans Vogt (1903–86) studied in Oslo and Paris, specialising in Armenian. He then conducted field studies of other languages in the Caucasus, such as Georgian. He also spent the year 1937–38 in the United States and carried out linguistic fieldwork among American Indians. Vogt became Professor of Romance languages in Oslo in 1946. He had become acquainted early on with contemporary structural trends, including glossematics. He investigated a corpus consisting of ca. 5000 Norwegian monosyllabic words listed in large dictionaries (Vogt 1942), finding interdependence between the initial and final clusters, and between vowels and following consonants. Vogt discussed the constraints that exclude

the majority of possible non-realized monosyllables, whose number is about ten times higher than those which exist. He took up the problem of the interpretation of the retroflex consonants that had been brought to the fore by Borgström in his 1938 paper. Vogt (1939) pleaded for their inclusion in the inventory as separate consonant phonemes, i. e. /t/, /d/ etc., not as realisations of clusters.

Hallfrid Christiansen (1886–1964) provided an important instance of the application of structural thinking in Norway before 1950. Einar Haugen characterized her 1932 description of the dialect of Gimsøy in northern Norway, as “often entirely eclectic in methodology”, but a “pioneering” work with an “epoch-making” explanation of the apocope found there (Haugen/Markey 1972, 86).

5. Structural linguistics in Sweden and Finland

The scientific study of languages in Sweden and Finland faithfully followed the historical lines founded in the neogrammarian tradition. Most scholars worked in such areas as place-name studies, dialectology and philology. An exception was Bertil Malmberg (1913–94), Professor of Phonetics and, later, of General Linguistics at the University of Lund. Malmberg (1939) presented the phonological ideas of the Prague School early on to a Swedish audience. He continued, through his huge output of handbooks, surveys of research in phonetics and general linguistics and reviews, to act as the indefatigable introducer of new trends in Europe and America. However, he was never an active structuralist in his own research, although the influence from Continental ideas can be felt in many of his works (e. g. 1944). He was also a co-editor of *Studia Linguistica*, where articles with a structural approach were published, for instance one on the Saussurean sign by Pierre Naert (1947), a Frenchman working in Sweden and Finland.

Roman Jakobson stayed in Scandinavia during the first years of the Second World War. One of his seminal works, *Kindersprache, Aphasie und allgemeine Lautgesetze*, was published originally at the University of Uppsala in 1942. John (János) Lotz (1913–73) worked at the University of Stockholm in 1937–45, where he published some structural studies together with Jakobson. He also wrote sketches of a structural grammar of Swedish (Lotz 1942).

Structuralism did not have a great impact on linguistics in Finland. A few scholars, however, were aware of the new movements; Erkki Itkonen, Valentin Kiparsky and Paavo Siro deserve special mention.

6. Glossematics in the world

Glossematics was the most consistent and far-reaching development of Saussure’s thoughts, and Hjelmslev’s theories have had a lasting influence in some sectors. Algiras J. Greimas founded a school of semiotics in France that has integrated many of Hjelmslev’s ideas. The American Sydney M. Lamb also characterizes his own theory of stratificational grammar as being “no more than the result of adding a few extensions and refinements to a synthesis of Hjelmslev’s glossematics (1943) and one of the standard versions of American structural linguistics” (Lamb 1966, 2).

7. Structuralism in Scandinavia after 1950

Glossematics had a firm footing in Denmark in the decades after 1950. It especially influenced Danish dialectology in the following years, noticeable e. g. in the studies of the Samsø dialect by Poul Andersen and Inger Ejskjær (1985–87) and of the Rønne dialect by Børge Andersen (1959); see also the overview given by Poul Andersen (1965). A unique Swedish example of a dialect study in a glossematic framework is Ulrik Eriksson’s monograph (1971–1973).

The influence of American structuralism is noticeable in Sweden but only after 1950. Much of the work in this line was reported on in the yearly conferences on the description of Swedish (*Svenskans beskrivning*; see Loman 1985). Beginning in the late sixties, the structural paradigm in linguistic theory was replaced with that of transformational generative grammar.

8. Literature (a selection)

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IV. Perspectives in research history III: Theoretical and methodological perspectives in current historical linguistic description (after 1950)

18. Nordic language history and structural linguistics

1. Delimitation
2. The structuralist ambition
3. Manuscript orthography
4. Morphological systems and morphological change
5. Syntax
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Delimitation

In the Nordic countries, structuralism was influential and developed in original ways, especially in Denmark.

The focus is here on the influence of structuralism on studies of the older stages of Scandinavian, especially in the way it influenced the approaches to ODan. and ODan. manuscripts in the works of Paul Diderichsen and Anders Bjerrum, both members of the Copenhagen Linguistic Circle.

2. The structuralist ambition

Structuralist views clashed with philological tradition and the neogrammarian approach of Brøndum-Nielsen at Det nordiske Filologmøde [Nordic philologists' meeting] in Copenhagen in 1946. In his contribution (1947, repr. 1966), Diderichsen castigated traditionalists for not orienting themselves towards the demands of the modern world. On Diderichsen's agenda was the need for explicit synchronic descriptions as a precondition for genetic linguistics to turn into a methodically satisfactory explanatory discipline and provide a rational theory of language change. Single synchronic descriptions were steps towards a line of such structural, synchronic descriptions, all pointing towards a general typology, a truly empirical "grammaire générale" that would bridge the gap between synchrony and genetic linguistics.

Diderichsen's programme was received with mixed feelings. The debate was summarized and continued in the overviews by Bjerrum (1965) and Nielsen (1965). However, actual empirical research reflects less of the controversy that one might have expected.

Hjelmslev's view of language change and his call for a typological reorientation of genetic linguistics was obviously behind Diderichsen's statement. Hjelmslev's spirit was also behind Aage Hansen's no less programmatic final flourish (1956). According to his view, reanalysis begins at the level of content; only later do we find changes in expression as a reaction to rebalance the system.

3. Manuscript orthography

Diderichsen's studies of ODan. orthography (1931–37) were his first contribution to the overall plan:

Die Grundlage einer adän. Sprachgeschichte muss von einer Reihe von Einzelbeschreibungen möglichst verschiedener Handschriften gebildet werden; in jedem einzelnen Fall müssen auf Grund einer mit Umsicht interpretierten einfachen Statistik die orthographische Norm des Schreibers und die innerhalb derselben gestatteten Variationen festgestellt werden, wonach die normfremden Elemente teils als der Vorlage entstammende Archaismen, teils als „phonetische“ Zeugen der Umgangssprache des Schreibers [...] zu bestimmen sind. (1938, 162)

Diderichsen's strategy was to separate orthographically regulated variation from unsystematic variation. Only in the latter case are conclusions about dialect influence warranted (be it from the scribe's own language or from the copied manuscript). ODan. orthography is more systematic than assumed by philologists. It does not betray the dialect background of the scribes in a straightforward way.

Diderichsen acknowledged the need for relating the orthographic system to hypotheses about the sound system. He differed in this respect from Anders Bjerrum who, in his grammar of the *Scanian Law* (1954), made it a matter of principle to describe only the graphematic system of the manuscript B 74.

Anders Bjerrum's approach is exemplified in his analysis of the relationship between the graphemes <e>, <æ> and <ǣ>. The graphs <æ> and <ǣ> (æ caudata "tailed æ") are variants of the grapheme <æ>. The vowel <e> can be used for <æ> (it is said to deputize, Dan. *vikariere*), as in *melt* 'said' for the normal *mælt*, but never vice versa. This partial overlap is systematic: *sæ* is the dat. sg. of the reflexive pronoun, *se* 'to see', an infinitive. We never find **sæ* 'to see'.

That the latter position was controversial is hardly surprising, see the fine overviews by Karl Martin Nielsen (1965) and Bjerrum himself (1965). In her structural description of the vowel system of the Flensburg Bye-Law (1949), Ella Jensen explicitly reconstructed the sound system.

An obvious counter-strategy from the sound-historian's perspective is to find examples where simpler or more adequate rules can be formulated on the basis of sound hypotheses inaccessible via the graphematic system. Bjerrum seems to be consistent given his premises, yet Nielsen (1965, 45) wanted information on the length of <e> deputizing for <æ>, since from the view of the sound historian, this would be expected to be long. Furthermore, Nielsen has a point with regard to the analysis of Scanian rules for vowel harmony, which are better understood against the background of assumed vowel lengthening.

In some respects, we find convergence of these views. Findings that manuscripts may reflect steady orthographical norms, even when they show local dialect influence, are not unobtainable via dialect geography methods and genetic descriptions. Thus, in an investigation of three Jutlandic oraries (1956), Nielsen stated that these texts represent a homogeneous orthographic system, generalizing some typically Northern Jutlandic features, while in other respects conforming to Zealand orthography.

The inspiration to view manuscript orthographies as consistent systems and not as individual dialect reservoirs or symptoms of sound change may well be ascribed to the systematic perspectives of the structuralists. But in their conclusions, Diderichsen's and Niel-

sen's orthographical works are not in obvious conflict.

It follows from the structuralist position (Diderichsen 1938, 162) that one will tend to see archaisms and innovations in deviant forms, rather than influence from other dialects. Bjerrum underscored that language systems, spoken or written, may well allow the coexistence of older and younger competing forms. One such example is the pres.sg. *star/stær* 'stands' in manuscripts of the *Zealand Laws*. The latter form (the metaphonic variant) is the archaic one, preserved in some modern Jutlandic dialects. This is not an instance of the scribe Johannes Jutæ's dialect background showing through, Jutlandic or not. Quite to the contrary, the scribe consistently followed the linguistic and orthographic norm prevalent in Zealandic around 1300; see Bjerrum's article *Johannes Jutæ og Valdemars Jordebog* (1960). This basic view was also applied in practice by his student Gerd Wellejus: *Jysk, sjællandsk eller skånsk?* (1972).

Bjerrum's central claim remains sound – that languages undergoing rapid change are nevertheless describable as synchronic systems. His practice has led to a renewed understanding of the dangers behind hasty mappings of modern isoglosses (dialect boundaries) onto the language of medieval manuscripts.

4. Morphological systems and morphological change

In this area, Hjelmlev's influence on the analysis of morphological systems is pervasive. A basic concept is participation, made operative especially in Bjerrum's grammatical descriptions. Hjelmlev himself defined participative relations in the following way:

Le système n'est pas construit comme un système logico-mathématique d'oppositions entre termes positifs et négatifs. Le système linguistique est libre par rapport au système logique qui lui correspond. Il peut être orienté différemment sur l'axe du système logique, et les oppositions qu'il contracte sont soumises à la loi de participation: il n'y a pas d'opposition entre A et non-A, il n'y a que des oppositions entre A d'un côté et A + non-A à l'autre [...] (Hjelmlev 1935, 102).

Hjelmlev spoke of the semantic construction principles underlying morphological systems. Somewhat simplified, linguistic oppositions (A vs. B) consist of an intensive element that must contain meaning element A, as opposed to an extensive element articulating the same

semantic dimension. The extensive element will normally, but not necessarily, manifest the meaning element B. In Hjelmslev's works on morphology, participation is used for the content relations structuring the system in question.

4.1. Anders Bjerrum's descriptions

Hjelmslev's morphological principles were applied by Bjerrum in his morphological descriptions of the Scanic Law, the Zealandic Laws and the Jutlandic Law. One illustration is from *Verbal number in the Jutlandic Law* (1949, repr. 1973). Where verbal number is concerned, Bjerrum's structuralist point is to establish that the linguistic situation in the Middle Ages was not one of confusions, but fully normal from a linguistic point of view. The singular and the plural were used according to systematic principles. The singular of the verb is found in contexts where the subject is a semantic or morphological plural, as in:

<i>hoor born</i>		<i>takær</i>
child-PL	from adultery	take-SG
<i>æftær</i>	<i>fathær</i>	<i>ækki</i>
after	father	nothing (1949, 163)
<i>sym</i>	<i>limæ</i>	<i>lvtæ</i>
(as far) as	branch-PL	extend-PL
<i>oc</i>	<i>rotær</i>	<i>rinnær</i>
and	root-PL	run-SG (1949, 163)

Bjerrum concluded that a semantically singular subject denoting "unity" will never combine with a plural form in the verb, since this form denotes "plurality". All other combinations are found. Again, this situation is not one of confusion of forms, but a strictly rule-governed one. The singular deputises for the plural, but not vice versa. Bjerrum presented the following methodological considerations in his grammar of the *Scanian Law* (summarized from Bjerrum 1973). In the paradigm for *thiufuær* 'thief', the historical nominative in *-ær* is found three times, the normal subject being in the form *thiuf*, the historical accusative. Bjerrum insisted on a participative relationship, referring to Hjelmslev's principle of simplicity (1943, 18):

In a synchronic description it seems to me to be most correct to postulate the simplest possible correspondence between [...] significans and significatum. That is why I assert that we have the unit of content nominative when, and only when, the ending is *-(æ)r*, and that we have accusative when, and only when, the ending is zero. Sen-

tences of the type *æn þo ær han ok þiuf* 'but he is a thief all the same', must in accordance with this theory be explained as being due to the fact that the unit of content accusative can deputize [...] for the unit of content nominative (but not vice versa). (1973, 164–65)

(This is explicitly claimed to be parallel to the analysis of the relationship between the graphemes <e>, <æ> and <ǣ>, see 3.)

Participation must not be confused with inflectional mergers. A nominative/accusative merger is common throughout the noun system of the *Scanian Law*. Since few strong nouns preserve instances of the original nominative, nom./acc. sg. and nom./acc. pl. mergers such as *dag* (nom./acc. sg.) and *daga* (nom./acc. pl.) are common.

Participation in Bjerrum's sense does not fully coincide with Hjelmslev's usage. Hjelmslev's concept is firmly at the level of content – the relationship between modern French positives (as *bon*, *mauvais*) and comparative-superlatives (*le meilleur*, *pire*) (1972, ms. 1934) is a participative one, since the positive is compatible with the comparative-superlative.

However, in Bjerrum's grammars (1966; 1967) participation is normally employed in the sense of distributional overlap. No content analysis is offered of e. g. case. Thus, we learn nothing about the semantic difference between the earlier stable relationship (*thiufuær* as opposed to *thiuf*) and that found in the *Scanian Law* between the nominative and the accusative. In spite of this possibly unorthodox application of Hjelmslev's concept, it is fair to claim that Bjerrum's perspective and interest was to interpret Hjelmslev with respect to the debates about Scand. philology, and that Bjerrum's contributions derive their lasting value from the insight that language systems may very well tolerate the coexistence of older and newer forms, even as integrated members of paradigms. Bjerrum's grammars are certainly not without semantic insights either. He points out the semantic difference between the paradigms for mood and tense in the *Scanian Law* and the *Zealand Laws*, respectively. Scanian maintains a two-dimensional paradigm (*fara* 'to go'):

	ind.	subj.
pres.	<i>far</i>	<i>fare, fari</i>
pret.	<i>for</i>	<i>fore</i>

Of particular importance are the "hypothetic possibility" readings of the subjunctive, both present and preterite. In the Zealand laws, however, the present subjunctive is an opta-

tive/hortative, with no instances of the hypothetical reading. Hypothetical and counterfactual readings are only found with the preterite subjunctive. Thus, the two-dimensional paradigm has disintegrated, since it has lost its content organization. Bjerrum has no explicit diachronic perspective, but what we see here is a very early stage of the process resulting in the Mod.Dan. reorganization of tense and mood into one semantic domain.

4.2. Aage Hansen

Aage Hansen's article on the development of the Dan. case system *Kasusudviklingen i dansk* (1956) was directly influenced by Hjelmslev. Hansen insisted that paradigms should be analysed at the content level. Where case is concerned, he points to the heterogeneous character of the genitive, setting up two paradigms.

Paradigm 1. (1st rank cases)

nom.	<i>thiufær</i>
acc.	<i>thiuf</i>
dat.	<i>thiuf(u)i</i>
gen.	<i>thiufs</i>

Paradigm 2. (1st rank cases vs. 2nd rank case)

non-gen.	<i>(thiufuær thiuf thiuf(u)i thiufs)</i>
gen.	<i>thiufs</i>

The traditional genitive is both a first rank sentence member, governed by a specific verb class, and an indicator of second rank status, as in the modern language. Paradigm 2, the one that survives to the present day in the form of zero vs. *-s*, does not really deserve the label "case", Hansen said. The fate of the case system with nouns, then, is to be completely abolished in the modern language, giving way to the modern systems, namely paradigm 2 plus a specific number system. We see in this the application of content analysis of paradigms as a tool to identify the character of morphological systems at different stages of development, cf. Bjerrum's analysis of mood. However, splitting up the case paradigm for Scanian ODan. the way Hansen suggests is hardly in keeping with Hjelmslevian principles, since the two functions of the genitive are firmly merged in a syncretism that cannot be dissolved. Nowhere in the case system are these two functions reflected by contrasts at the level of expression.

In modern terms (Timberlake 1977; Harris/Campbell 1995), Hansen has identified a basis

for later reanalysis, namely a structural ambiguity in the case paradigm. This version of the analysis is in fact sufficient for his (correct) identification of the modern situation.

Hansen's general claim is that content changes are primary (see 1.), but actual content analysis seems to be lacking in his texts. Instead, traditional labels such as "subject" vs. "non-subject" slip in.

Thus, it would seem that when it comes to practice, the Hjelmslevian influence in Hansen's article boils down to the latter's insisting that paradigms must be identified also for content. His claim that content restructuring is the decisive triggering factor of morphological change does not materialise in his analysis, nor do we find any counterpart to Hjelmslev's attempts to identify systems prone to change by distinguishing between stable and unstable ones.

4.3. Conclusion

Where empirical morphological analysis and description is concerned, it would seem fair to conclude that in spite of the rhetoric of the period, the efforts during the 1950s and the 1960s to utilise in practice the potential claimed for the structuralist paradigm led to fewer successes than expected, especially because of the problems inherent in content analysis.

4.4. Later developments

The somewhat resigned conclusion above does not imply that the European structuralist position should necessarily be viewed as inherently unfruitful. In an irony of fate, a partial proof to the contrary has been given by the Norwegian Helge Dyvik (1980) in one of the most extensive critical examinations of the insufficiency of traditional syntactic categories formulated on the basis of a Scand. language. Dyvik applies principles of classical structuralism to settle the question whether ONorw. had a passive category. The principle of maximal polysemy – boiling in fact down to the same as the commutation test as formulated by Hjelmslev (1943, 66–68) – is according to Dyvik the only possible way to put claims about language-specific structure on an empirical footing. Only such content distinctions are relevant that find distinctions also at the level of expression.

The candidates for the status of "passive" in ONorw./OIce. are the so-called mediopassives and the periphrastic construction tradi-

tionally named “passive”. The mediopassive, ending in *-mk/-sk* (later in *-st*) derives from enclitic reflexive pronouns still morphologically recognisable in OIcel. It had four semantic subcategories:

- (a) reflexives: *geymask* ‘to guard oneself’
- (b) reciprocal forms: *berjask* ‘to fight one another’
- (c) intransitives: *andask* ‘to die’
- (d) passives: *búask* ‘to be equipped’

Applying the principle of maximal polysemy leads to the conclusion that these four semantic subtypes are all variants of the mediopassive (“middle”) form. None of them is a structural passive. Thus, “middle” is one category with four contextually determined senses.

Similarly, the periphrastic “passive” may not be a structurally independent construction but rather a variant of the predicative (or complement) construction, formed by the verbs *verða* ‘to become, turn’ and *vera* ‘to be’, observing concord along the same lines as other predicatives. Whatever the details of the debate, Dyvik’s line of reasoning illustrates well the potential inherent in the structuralist paradigm.

Working within the paradigm of the Copenhagen functional school, Lars Heltoft (1996) advocates the necessity of content analysis of paradigms, applying concepts of reanalysis and generalisation to a content-based view of paradigm structure. Reanalysis applies at the level of content (not some abstract deep structure). There are striking differences of content between Sw. and Dan. passives. In Sw., the *s*-passive can function as a simple declarative:

beloppet togs ut i går
[the amount was take-past.pass.
out yesterday]

Dan. *s*-passives would be modal in this context, and Dan. demands the periphrastic passive here:

beløbet blev hævet i går
[the amount was taken out yesterday]

This, according to Heltoft, is the result of a content reanalysis of the passive system to serve also as a mood system (see Heltoft/Falster Jakobsen (1996) for details). Heltoft gives concepts such as reanalysis and generalization a Hjelmslevian tenor by insisting that reanalysis must pertain to content and that content must be understood as language-specific structure – in the sense of Hjelmslev’s content form (1943).

5. Syntax

In the discipline of Scand. syntax, the outstanding figure of the period was Paul Diderichsen (1905–1964). What is relevant here is the importance of his work for language history.

Diderichsen’s occupation with syntax dates back to the 1930s. His famous positional model, the sentence frame, was presented in a lecture in the mid ‘30s (1966, NyS 16–17 (1986)). His major syntactic contribution to the description of an OScand. language is, however, his 1941 treatise *Sætningsbygningen i Skaanske Lov* ‘The Syntax of the Scanian Law’.

5.1. The sentence frame

Diderichsen’s sentence frame rests on the assumption that word order (in word order languages) must be described at a distinct level, the topical level (Dan. *topisk*, G *topisch* ‘positional’). The intermarriage of constituency and linear ordering as found in American linguistics – a firm part of Chomsky’s frameworks – is not an integrated part of Diderichsen’s thinking. On the contrary, by distinguishing between the logical and the topical articulation of a clause (1941; 1943), Diderichsen makes distributional analysis a tool of topology. Substitutional tests led to topological classes, not to syntactic classes. These, on the other hand, are defined by the combinatorial slots for verbs. It is irrelevant at this level whether we take complex (multi-place) verb constructions or simple one-place verbs as a starting point. The result will all the same be a sort of valence description or valence theory, to use modern terms. By contrast, constituents derive part of their value from their position. For instance, fronted objects derive part of their function from their position in the initial position (the fundamental field). Topology is the positional component of a grammar. In topological descriptions, we must take as our starting point comparisons of maximally long clauses. According to this principle of maximal positionality, full clauses form the background against which to describe short sentences. These have empty positions that indicate the virtual topology of the sentence (see fig. 18.1). Thus, the relationship between combinatorial syntax and topology is made a matter of empirical investigation. Fields and positions are not in themselves constituents but topological concepts, discernible from the syntactic constituents that they host. For in-

Heute Der Vater	hat erzählt	der Vater jedoch nicht 0 0 nicht	den Kindern Geschichten erzählt den Kindern Geschichten 0
I dag Faderen	har fortæller	faderen alligevel ikke 0 0 ikke	fortalt børnene historier 0 børnene historier
så	havde	jeg skam ikke	givet Peter nøglen tilbage
så	gav	jeg skam ikke	0 Peter nøglen tilbage
så	gav	jeg 0 0	0 Peter nøglen tilbage
Jeg	gav	0 0 0	0 Peter nøglen tilbage
Jeg	gav	0 0 0	0 Peter nøglen 0

Fig. 18.1: After Diderichsen 1966, 55 (1943); 1946, 151

stance, the so-called *fundamentfelt* ‘fundamental field’ is open to sentence members of almost any type, but it is not in itself a syntactic constituent. One further instance is the position of *hv-* ‘wh-’ constituents in dependent interrogative clauses. Whatever their syntactic category – adverbial or nominal, subjects or objects, – they will always turn up in the position of subordinators, like the subordinator *om* ‘if’. *Hv*-elements contain a semantic conjunction element, and this – not their syntactic category – is the decisive factor.

For discussions and applications of this framework, including critical ones, see Diderichsen (1964); Hansen (1970); Teleman (1970); NyS 16–17 (1986); Platzack (1985; 1986); Faarlund (1990).

5.2. Diderichsen’s doctoral dissertation: *Sætningsbygningen i Skaanske Lov*

In this work, the topology for the language of Old Scanian is described in comparison with Mod.Dan. topology. The sentence frame for Mod.Dan. functions as the basic frame of reference, and against this background the Scanian situation is characterized.

Diderichsen did not explicitly design a layout for a sentence frame for the Old Scanian Law, but it is easily reconstructable from the analysis. It consists of an initial position, a position for the finite verb, a subject position and the content field. The content field differs greatly from the modern situation since sentence members may both precede and follow the non-finite verb. Following Behaghel, Diderichsen claimed that the order of the content field constituents mirrors semantic or syntactic affinity. Verbal particles or nouns that would in the modern language form synthetic units with the verb are closest to the non-finite verb; objects are next, and adverbial phrases

form the outer constituent (Diderichsen 1941, 43–45). Since these constituents may either precede or follow the verb, we have the formulas:

$$\begin{array}{c} V \text{ Part } O \text{ A} \\ A \text{ O Part } V \end{array}$$

(V = non-finite verb; O = object; A = adverbial phrase; Part = particle).

These formulas show the alternation between VO and OV order, or more generally, between VX and XV order. The subject position constitutes a separate problem, and Diderichsen would have to say that in Old Scanian, this position is not obligatorily filled, since at this stage, the subject may very well be preceded by content field constituents – particles, objects, and adverbials – it may even occur in the content field. Thus, his formula is the following:

$$F \text{ V (S) | A O Part V Part O A V} \dots$$

In the content field, there is a strong tendency for the constituents to follow either VX or XV order. Including the position for negation and back-grounded constituents, esp. weak pronouns, we have:

$$F \text{ V (S) L NEG | A O Part V Part O A}$$

(F = fundamental field; S = subject; L = weak pronoun). The rules are illustrated through the following examples:

Uil han æi at þem lahstæfnu dahi
[will he not at that meeting day]
sit stiborþ up taka (1941, 50)
his drawdoor up take

Æn wil hun ofthleka swa sælia bort.
[But will she often so sell away,
tha ma hun oc mykin scatha gora.
then may she also great harm do]
(ch. 152, ex. by author)

F	V	(S)	NEG	A		O	Part	V	Part		
	Uil	han	æi	at þem lahtæfnu dahi		sit stiborþ	up	taka			
Kuna	ma	–	æy	mæth logum mer				sælia			
	wil	hun		ofthleka swa				sælia	bort		
tha	ma	hun		oc		mykin scatha		gøra			
	Scal	man				iarn		bæra.			
F		V	(S)	NEG	A	O	Part	V	Part	O	A
thingmæn		mugu	–	æy	–	–	–	døma	af	thiufuj	øra
tha		scal		han				thwa		hand	sina

Fig. 18.2: Sentence frame for Old Scanian

thingmæn mugu æy doma
[thingmen may not sentence off
af thiufuj øra.
from a thief an ear]
(ch. 153, ex. by author)

Scal man iarn bæra. tha scal han
[must a man carry iron, then must he
thwa hand sina.
wash his hand] (ch. 154)

For the frame, see fig. 18.2.

It may not be clear in which sense the procedures behind such frames are structuralist ones. Diderichsen, however, is explicit about his predecessors. From John Ries (1927) he inherited the view that the basic unit is the sentence (G *Satz*, Dan. *sætning*), the organizing principle that structures the sentence members into a larger whole. In Aage Hansen (1933) he found the idea of the binary articulation of the sentences as a message, hence the concept of the fundamental field (the field for the topic), and more generally, from Viggo Brøndal (1932) the basic principle that combinatorial syntax and topology are discernible levels of analysis (see Diderichsen 1941, 2 for these acknowledgements).

Hjelmslev's influence is not manifest in this work, except for the fact that Diderichsen did not consider word order phenomena to be part of the language system – on the contrary, for him they are conventional language use phenomena (in Hjelmslev: *usus*, not *norm*). Referring to Mod.Dan., he refrains from calling verb first sentences *modus conditionalis* or *interrogativus*, verb-second sentences are not *modus affirmativus* etc. Neither did he consider word order systems to be case systems.

Word order patterns derive their signification value from convention, from genres and styles; the content value of genuine morphemes is, so to speak, an innate character of the system.

As a consequence of this view, he renounced the use of commutation tests in determining the content of word order differences. Thus, he does not pursue parallels that would seem obvious from the viewpoint of the present day. Other contemporary trends both in tradition and in structuralist modes (Meillet 1921 [1912]), would have permitted Diderichsen to emphasise instead the parallels between case and subject-object rules, and between mood and verb first/second.

Be this direct influence or not, surely his choice was in accordance with Hjelmslev's views. For an exposition of Diderichsen's later orientation towards Hjelmslev's position, see Gregersen (1990).

5.3. The sentence frame as a sign systematic model

The sentence frame was for a long time – and possibly still is – *the* descriptive model for the modern Mainl.Scand. languages, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish. One could claim that in some respects the frame is still unsurpassed, namely in explicitly relating positions and fields to content functions. The basic idea behind the initial position is not its function as a free landing place for almost any syntactic constituent, but its double coding as the position that determines sentential mood and the position for topics. Similarly, the actualisation field (“nexus field”) contains the constituents (finite verb, subject and sentence adverbials) that turn the sentence into something that can be predicated with a claim of validity. The content field is the field for descriptive sentence members, the referential and predicative elements of the predication. The sentence frame may thus be summarized as follows, relating positions to field, and these again to content functions:

Mood Topic	Predicational anchoring	Descriptive content
Initial field	Actualization field	Content field
F	v s a	V S A

(F = fundamental field, v = finite verb position, s = subject position, a = positions for sentence adverbials, incl. negation; V = non-finite verb position, S = positions for objects, A = positions for all other types of adverbials, e.g. of manner, time and place).

The fields and positions of the sentence frame reflect content distinctions, and the model is obviously a structuralist invention in this sense: it is a sign model. For an excellent modern interpretation where these codings are analysed for Norwegian, along with a discussion of the typological potential of the model, see Askedal (1986). Thus, Diderichsen's model is not structuralist in the sense of a glossematically inspired model. On the contrary, it reveals influence from Brøndal and Behaghel in its emphasis on cognitively and communicatively functional principles.

These explanatory principles are still on the agenda in functionally oriented paradigms, namely *fasthedsprincippet* 'the principle of firmness', exemplified above as the principle regulating positions for particles, objects and adverbial phrases, and *vægtprincippet* 'the weight principle', the 'Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder' (not exemplified, but see Diderichsen 1941, 36; 1946, 193).

5.4. Followers

Little was published in Denmark to follow up on Diderichsen's groundbreaking work, and in spite of the confrontations in the late forties, the impression remains that where language history is concerned, even Diderichsen's structuralism did little but scratch the surface. Valuable and necessary philological work in textual editing and textual history still dominates the picture. As a synchronic model of Dan. and, slightly adapted, also of Norw. and Sw., the model has been widely discussed and revised.

Anders Bjerrum was not a syntactician, and his Hjelmlevian orientation means that in his grammars (1954; 1967), he restricted himself to meanings of morphemes and dependency relations contracted by these categories. Allan Karker, who has never claimed to be a structuralist, has nevertheless been influenced by Diderichsen's and Bjerrum's terminology

("infinitival nexus", "vikariering", see e.g. Karker 1991). In a similar way, the Swede Nils Jörgensen (1987) uses parts of Diderichsen's framework for statistical studies, but his widespread use of concepts from other paradigms as well means that we do not characterise his work as structuralist.

Outside Denmark, Faarlund (1990) refers to Diderichsen's model when formulating the rules for the positions of prepositions and nonfinite verbs – although this is embedded in Faarlund's task of working out a wider frame for historical syntax.

In an excellent discussion of the character and spread of the rules for weak pronouns in Dan. dialects, the Dan. dialectologist Karen Margrethe Pedersen (1993) adds the observation that there is really no position for weak pronouns in Old Scanian, since full, but back-grounded noun phrases may go there as well:

at han giorthē bondanum æy
[that he did the owner-dat. not
mera schatha j thy af hoggi
more harm in this cut]
(*Scanian Law* B74, ch. 122)

her point being that *bondanum* precedes negation. Disregarding the rules for particle position, now a specification of the second predicate position, we have:

F V (S) X Y NEG | A O V O A

(The notation XY means that these positions are open to all NPs and adverbials. We would probably expect AO order, but examples are scarce for Scanian).

Following Pedersen and Faarlund, Heltoft (1995) has made explicit a version of a sentence frame for the language of the Old *Scanian Law*, with a view to formulating a set of hypotheses about later reanalysis and generalization in the history of Dan. syntax. The methodology and framework is explicitly Diderichsen's, embedded in a larger framework influenced by the Danish Functional Grammar group (Engberg-Pedersen et al. 1996; Harder 1996; Heltoft 1996).

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19. Nordic language history and generative transformational grammar

1. Introduction
2. Theoretical background
3. Early generative approaches to Nordic language history
4. Contributions to the study of Nordic syntax history
5. Language change
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

This article surveys the contributions to Nordic language history by scholars working within the generative paradigm, concentrating on approaches to the history of syntax, including syntactically relevant morphology, since it is within this realm that the generative framework has led to original and fruitful results. The focus will be restricted to studies inspired by the Principles and Parameters theory of Chomsky (1981), and its modern version, the Minimalist program (Chomsky 1995).

2. Theoretical background

It is an underlying assumption of the Principles and Parameters approach that there is a component of the human mind/brain dedicated to language which is uniform to all human beings. Under the influence of the environment, the mind undergoes changes during the first 30–40 months of life, resulting in an attained state called the “internal language (I-language)” of a natural human language. I-language is considered a way of computing the connection between form and meaning. This connection is dependent on principles common to all human languages. Structural variation between languages is seen as depending on certain principles with multiple values, called parameters. For instance, it is a principle that the verb takes its object as comple-

ment (structural sister), but the relative order of the verb and its complement (VO: *verb-object* or OV: *object-verb*) is decided by a parameter.

There is a growing insight today that the concept “parameter” is pre-theoretical and is to be replaced by language-specific lexical properties in interaction with universal principles. The division of labor between universal principles and language-specific properties is similar to that in the natural sciences, where an interplay between general laws and local properties is used to account for observed events. Consider e.g. the parabolic trajectory of an object which is the result of two general laws (gravitation and the principle of inertia) in combination with situation-specific factors like mass, force and angle to the horizon. Even though the notion parameter may be outdated, I use the term here, since many studies of the history of Scandinavian syntax make use of this concept.

From an I-language perspective, grammars are never transmitted between generations; they are always created anew by the child from innate mental resources and the language surrounding the child (“Primary Linguistic Data”, PLD). Since PLD is both limited and heterogeneous, the attained internal language is inevitably underdetermined by the input data.

The learner’s normal task is to set parameters using whatever PLD is available. In a series of works, Lightfoot (1979; 1991; 1999) has considered this process, trying to come to grips with how principles on language acquisition restrict the ways in which children create an I-language. A change with respect to the I-language of the older generation has occurred when the child incorporates an I-language that at some point differs from the I-language of the older generation. In such a situation the I-languages of parent and child can be describ-

ed in the same way as two contemporaneous languages are described; hence the perspective is synchronic and comparative. Thus, in principle, arguments for a particular principle or parameter may be drawn both from a comparison between different historical stages of a language and from a comparison of different dialects or languages, the only difference being that the database is limited to surviving written records in the former case.

3. Early generative approaches to Nordic language history

As mentioned in the introduction, this article excludes contributions to Nordic language history by generative phonologists and morphophonologists; interested readers are referred to Ottósson's (1996) review (with references), and to the dissertations by Ralph (1975), Ottósson (1992) and Riad (1992). Also ignored are contributions to Nordic syntax history by scholars working outside the Chomskian mainstream of the generative paradigm (see Platzack 1998, ch. 1), which means e.g. that important works like Faarlund (1990) and Kristoffersen (1997) will not be presented.

4. Contributions to the study of Nordic syntax history

4.1. Oblique subjects

The first attempt to apply ideas from the Principles and Parameters framework to a problem in the history of Scandinavian syntax was Jan Terje Faarlund's article *Subject and nominative in Old Norse* (Faarlund 1980). In this article Faarlund sets the scene for a discussion that still prevails: did Old Norse (or Old Nordic) have oblique subjects or not, i.e. are the properties we associate with the concept of "subject" necessarily linked to a nominative NP? Within the generative tradition, Andrews (1976), Thráinsson (1979), Sigurðsson (1989) and several others have convincingly shown that Mod.Icel. has a wide variety of verbs and other predicates that take oblique arguments which, intuitively, correspond to subjects, and that they pass most subject tests. The only test they do not pass, besides not being nominative, is that they do not agree with the finite verb. Consider the examples in (1), where the oblique argument, like a nominative subject, inverts with the finite verb (1 a), and binds the reflexive (1 b):

- (1) (a) *Hafði mér því leiðst Haraldur.*
[had me.dat. thus bored Harold.
nom.]
(b) *Honum leiðist konan sín*
[him.dat. bores wife his.refl.acc.]

As Faarlund concludes, the ON situation is very much the same as in Mod.Icel.: it "may be fruitful to use the term 'subject' for a NP that has a particular grammatical relationship to the verb and the rest of the sentence, and that has a certain role in the information structure of the sentence. This grammatical category can then be expressed by different surface cases".

In later work, Faarlund (1987; 1990; 1999) argues explicitly that there are no oblique subjects in ON. The same conclusion is reached by Kristoffersen (1991; 1994; 1997) and Mørck (1992). On the other hand, Rögnvaldsson (1991; 1996b) argues in favor of the existence of oblique subjects in ON, and so do Barðdal (1997) and Haugan (1998 a). The debate has unearthed many interesting facts about the properties of oblique and nominative arguments in ON, but it illustrates at the same time one of the problems with historical syntax: since the description must be based on a finite amount of data, ultimately determined by the texts which happen to have survived, it is often hard or even impossible to find evidence for a particular position that all scholars accept as conclusive. This is amply illustrated in Falk (1995; 1997) with regard to OSw., who states that it is not possible to claim without reasonable doubt that oblique subjects existed.

The debate regarding the existence of oblique subjects in OScand. cannot be said to be representative of historical syntax performed within the Principles and Parameters framework: in fact, few specific assumptions of this framework are put to use in the debate. What is needed is a theory where the concept of 'subject' is not necessarily connected with nominative case, and such a division can be established in all approaches where case is not used in the definition of the subject. Indirectly, though, the connection to the Principles and Parameters framework is evident, since the possibility of having oblique subjects has been shown to be related to other differences between the modern Mainl.Scand. languages on one hand, and Mod.Icel. and Old Nordic on the other hand; see e.g. Platzack/Holmberg (1989) and Holmberg/Platzack (1990; 1995), where the relevant parametric difference is said to be the existence of overt subject-verb

agreement. I will return to a review of the syntactic effects of this type of agreement in section 4.3. below.

4.2. OV and VO

4.2.1. Swedish

An early generative contribution to the history of Nordic syntax within the Principles and Parameters framework is Platzack (1983), entitled *Three syntactic changes in the grammar of written Swedish around 1700*. In this paper, Platzack attempts to show that the simultaneity of three changes in written Sw. around 1700 is not a coincidence but can be given a grammar-internal explanation. The changes studied include the emergence of the option to delete auxiliary *ha* 'have' in subordinate clauses (see (2) below), the loss of the possibility of having final finite verb in subordinate clauses (3), and the loss of the possibility of having the non-finite main verb after its complements (4):

- (2) *hwilka the hade uppskurit med Kniffwar, och sedan inslagit och lätit ingrodt sådan Färga* (Kiöping)
[which they had cut up with knives, and then rubbed in and let grow in such color]
- (3) *huad han der hafuer* (Stiernhielm)
[what he there has]
- (4) *Wi hade wekon förr en Stor-Bönedag haft* (Swedberg)
[we had the week before a Great Prayer-day had]

As Platzack demonstrates, the properties illustrated in (3) and (4) are both instances of one and the same parameter: the order of verb and complement. A person learning to write Sw. during the second half of the 17th century had to assume that this parameter is unset: written Sw. had both VO and OV at this time, whereas spoken Sw. only had VO. A person learning to write half a century later needed to assume VO for both written and spoken Sw. The possibility of deleting finite *ha* 'have' in subordinate clauses, a construction presumably borrowed from German during the second half of the 17th century, and maybe, as Platzack (1989a) suggests, supported by the emergence of a specific "supine" form of the past participle used only after auxiliary *ha*, might explain the rapid disappearance of OV from written Sw. during the first half of the 18th century. When *ha*-dropping became an option, sequences like (5) were syntactically ambiguous, since we cannot know if the auxiliary

is deleted from a position in front of the supine (VO) or after the supine (OV):

- (5) *att vi sjungit*
[that we sung.sup.]

A much more thorough and detailed study of the change from OV to VO in Sw. is found in Delsing (1999). This paper is based on an analysis of 16 texts from the period 1280–1600, containing roughly 780,000 words. The investigation clearly shows that the texts from the 13th century represent an I-language where OV was the only option; all cases of VO can be understood as extrapositions of the object and related constructions. Around 1300, there was a change in the underlying I-language such that noun phrases functioning as subject and object had to be accompanied by articles, overtly or covertly. This change had the effect that the underlying I-language for a period accepted both VO and OV word orders. Comparing the contexts where VO is preferred with those where OV is preferred, Delsing (1999) discerns two licensing principles for direct objects in OSw.:

- (6) Internal licensing: visible article, giving VO
- (7) External licensing: invisible article, forces raising of the object, giving OV.

The effect of these principles can be seen in the texts from 1300 and later: D(eterminer) P(hrase) objects, i. e. objects with a visible article, including proper names, are found after the verb, whereas objects without a visible article, including pronouns, are moved to a position in front of the verb. As Delsing mentions, the seemingly arbitrary variation with respect to OV/VO is only apparent: the position of the object is determined by the licensing principles. Delsing's study is a good example of the generative approach to the history of syntax, where theoretical insights are combined with rigorous empirical studies to reveal underlying principles that are important for understanding a situation where syntax apparently varies considerably.

4.2.2. Icelandic

Word order variation in the order of verb and object is found not only in OSw., but also in the other Nordic languages. OIcel. has been accounted for in three important works, Sigurðsson (1988), Rögnvaldsson (1996a), and Hróarsdóttir (1998); the authors agree with respect to the empirical characterization

of the situation, but not with respect to the theoretical interpretation.

Sigurðsson (1988) clearly shows that Old Icelandic had both VO and OV orders. Theoretically, Old Icelandic may have been a VO language, an OV language, or a language with a mixed base order. Sigurðsson's conclusion is that Old Icelandic represents a stage just after the change from OV to VO, probably under pressure from other parts of sentence structure that are head-initial.

When Rögvaldsson (1996a) reopened the discussion of OV/VO in Old Icelandic, his conclusion differed from Sigurðsson's: according to Rögvaldsson the most natural way of accounting for the variation is to assume that the VP in Old Icelandic was unspecified with respect to VO/OV. Rögvaldsson's approach is very close to the one found in Delsing (1999), noticing e. g. that pronominal objects tend to precede the verb and DP objects follow the verb, but he does not attempt to relate the different positions of pronouns and DPs to principles like (6) and (7). Rögvaldsson does not take a stand with respect to the status of the VP as head-initial (VO) or head-final (OV), and like Delsing for Old Swedish after 1300, he assumes a grammar without a fixed base order.

The third study in this group, Hróarsdóttir (1998), broadens the empirical base considerably by including other types of verb complements besides objects; theoretically, it is an interesting attempt to test the antisymmetrical hypothesis of Kayne (1994), according to which VO is the universal base order.

The loss of OV in Icelandic is the subject of a paper by Hróarsdóttir (1996); the main results are that in the course of approximately 60 years around the year 1800, the frequency of OV order dropped rapidly.

4.3. Subject-verb agreement

A typical contribution to historical syntax from the Principles and Parameters point of view is the series of investigations concerning the decline of subject-verb agreement in Mainland Scandinavian, i. e. Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, and the effects of this loss on syntactic phenomena. The basis for these investigations is a hypothesis originally due to Kratzer (1984) and developed by Kosmeijer (1987, 99ff.), namely that the different positions of the finite verb in embedded clauses in modern Icelandic and modern Mainland Scandinavian, illustrated in (8) and (9), are an effect of the presence of subject-verb agreement in Icelandic, and its absence in Mainland Scandinavian.

- (8) (a) *að hann las aldrei bókina*
[that he read-3sg.never book-the]
(b) *að þeir lásu aldrei bókina*
[that they read-3pl.never book-the]
(9) *att han/de aldrig läste boken*
[that he/they never read book-the]

Many scholars have developed and refined the hypothesis that there is a relationship between subject-verb agreement and verb-raising to a position in front of sentence adverbials, most recently Rohrbacher (1999) and Vikner (1997–98). Of interest is also the possibility that many other syntactic differences between Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian can be derived from morphological differences, like the ones presented in (10), based on Holmberg/Platzack (1990, 95). See also Vikner (1995):

- (10) (a) null expletives
(b) oblique subjects
(c) verb-raising in embedded clauses
(d) stylistic fronting ("kil")
(e) absence of pseudo-passives

That the cluster of properties in (10) was lost in Swedish more or less at the same time as subject-verb agreement disappeared is shown in Platzack (1985) in excerpts from 33 Swedish writers from 1550 to 1770, mainly taken from diary texts and informal letters. In a subsequent paper (Platzack 1988, of which Platzack 1989b is a Swedish version), it is demonstrated that Swedish lost verb-raising in embedded clauses (see (8) and (9) above) at this time as well.

The most detailed study so far of the Mainland Scandinavian syntactic changes that resulted from the loss of subject-verb agreement during the 16th and 17th centuries is found in Falk (1993a, b). Falk carefully investigates the different constructions, confirming beyond doubt the correctness of the preliminary results reached in Platzack's earlier studies. In addition, Falk shows how the loss of inflection is reflected in a gradual increase in the insertion of a non-referential expletive subject *det* 'it, there' in various constructions, and she also uncovers strategies used to compensate for the loss of agreement. Falk (1993a) also includes a discussion of the synchronic and diachronic approaches to language history, and various ways to explain a particular language change; cf. also Faarlund (1995) and Falk (1999).

4.4. The loss of case-marking in Mainland Scandinavian

Whereas the loss of subject-verb agreement has had radical consequences for Mainland

Scand. syntax, and the development of the determiner system of the noun seems to have consequences for the OV/VO variation mentioned in 4.3., the consequences of the loss of morphological case during the Middle Ages appear to be less dramatic. For Sw., the case system was first weakened in the period 1250–1350, as demonstrated in Delsing (1991); one important result was that the genitive was lost after verbs, adjectives and prepositions, but was retained in possessives. This genitive was, however, no longer a lexical genitive but a structural one. According to Delsing, this assumption enables us to explain both the emergence of the obligatory placement of the possessive genitive in front of the head noun (*konungens hus* ‘king (det.gen.) house’ < *hus konungsens* ‘house king (gen.det.gen.)’ as well as the loss of all internal genitive markers (*konungsens* ‘king (gen.det.gen.)’ > *konungens* ‘king (det.gen.)’) and the emergence of group genitives during the 15th century (*ens gammals mansz hæstr* ‘a(gen.) old(gen.) man(gen.) horse’ > *en gammal mans häst* ‘an old man(gen.) horse’).

When most of the case system broke down during the 15th century, one consequence was an increase in the availability of preposition stranding. Observing this change, Delsing (1995) suggests that preposition stranding is not compatible with morphological case, showing in detail that this holds true mainly for DPs in OSw., which begin to strand prepositions in the first half of the 15th century. Since DPs may strand prepositions in modern Icel., which has retained morphological case, Delsing’s hypothesis may seem hard to maintain, unless there is something special with the modern Icel. case system. Delsing provides cross-linguistic empirical support for the hypothesis that preposition stranding usually is unavailable in languages with morphological case.

Another consequence of the loss of morphological case is the loss of certain construction possibilities with psychological verbs, described from a generative perspective in Falk (1995; 1997), and in earlier frameworks by Lindqvist (1912) and Sundman (1985). It is evident from Falk’s description, however, that lexical case was not lost in Sw. with morphological case: on the contrary, verbs with lexically case-marked arguments and verbs that rely on structural case-marking of their arguments show a different historical development long after morphological case was lost. In Falk’s conception, lexical case is an idiosyn-

cratic specification of the verb, and its loss can thus be accounted for as individual changes for particular verbs.

4.5. Miscellaneous studies

In this subsection I briefly mention a number of studies of the history of Nordic syntax carried out within the Principles and Parameters framework, without going into details. In older variants of the Nordic languages, as well as in some modern dialects, it is possible to leave out an object when this is mentioned in the context. This is briefly discussed in Áfarli/Creider (1987), and given a more detailed treatment in Þóra Björk Hjartardóttir (1987) and Halldór Sigurðsson (1993).

Another set of facts that has been discussed in a generative framework is the passive in ON, see e.g. Haugan (1998a) and references cited there; partly, this discussion is related to the discussion of oblique subjects, see 4.1. Also worth mentioning is Eythórsson’s (1995) study of verb movement in both the syntax of runic inscriptions and in ON, and Haugan’s (1998b) account of right dislocated subjects in ON. The noun phrase in ON is described in Sund (1998). There are still large fields within Nordic historic syntax that have not been investigated with generative methods.

5. Language change

Generative grammar is an effective tool for comparing different I-languages, contemporaneous or not. It is also a powerful tool for accounting for grammar-internal consequences of various external changes, as has been shown earlier in this article. On the other hand, it cannot predict when a child, exposed to a particular set of primary linguistic data (PLD), will select a parameter value that differs from the value of the I-language of his/her parents, and it does not explain the spread of a new parameter value through a linguistic community. There are several reasons for this. First of all, generative theory is not a learning theory, thus it is not designed to account for the effects of exposure to a particular set of PLD. Secondly, it is not obvious that such a theory is available, since the number of theoretically possible sets of PLD, given a particular I-language, is almost infinite. To account for such a situation, we need models such as those in chaos theory, as suggested by Lundin (1999); generative grammar is certainly not a theory of this type.

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20. Nordic language history and language typology

1. Introduction
2. The development of synthetic into analytic structures
3. Analyticity in an areal context
4. Concluding remarks
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The aim of the present article is to describe the relationship between Nordic historical linguistics and language typology, except for word order and certain universals, which will

be discussed in more detail in a later article (205). While this other contribution deals with concrete developments in language history, here the emphasis is on certain basic theoretical points of view and in particular on relevant aspects of the research history pertaining to the typological study of Nord. languages.

This general approach is fraught with a number of problems, partly of a theoretical, partly of a practical nature. First, from a theoretical point of view, the reason for excluding

word order from a general typological overview is not self-evident. This implies concentrating on morphology, possibly including word formation, but excluding ordering phenomena which, in a universal perspective, to a certain extent stand in a complementary relationship to morphological means of expression. (Cf. the classical assumptions concerning case marking being replaced by fixed element order due to phonologically conditioned erosion of morphology.) Given a componential or modular conception of grammar, it might in principle seem natural to include studies that deal with intercomponential connections, which are no less interesting than intracomponential relations, in particular when it comes to formulating implicational rules and universals. One prominent example is Greenberg's (1966, 96) Universal 41: "If in a language the verb follows both the nominal subject and nominal object as the dominant order, the language almost always has a case system". In principle, general statements of this kind can be seen as the point of departure for a "holistic" quest for interrelations between syntactic, morphological and even phonological patterning phenomena. (Cf. Skalička 1979; Roelcke 1997, ch. 3; Plank 1998.)

In addition, different kinds of ordering phenomena have different systemic affiliations. The distribution of subjects, objects and adverbials is clearly a matter of clause-level syntax, while element order within composite nouns is clearly not. However, word order within NPs at least displays affiliations with clause-level linearization (Hawkins 1983) and is of interest in connection with the question of "consistent", i.e. uniformly right- or left-branching, vs. "inconsistent", i.e. mixed right- and left-branching, linearization of constituents across different syntagmatic constellations of elements (cf. the "Principle of cross-category harmony" in Hawkins 1983, 142–145, and the critical appraisal of such proposals in Oesterreicher 1989).

Second, there is the practical problem of what kind of work should be presented as relevant research on Nord. language history and language typology. In general, modern mainstream typologists show no great interest in the Nord. languages, and they are on the whole more concerned with synchronic than with diachronic description. Perhaps more significantly, scholars specializing in the history of the Nord. languages have not, with a few notable exceptions, dealt with typological per-

spectives in a very explicit fashion. However, it has to be admitted that before the upsurge in typological studies in the 1960s, the field of typological theory in fact did not have much more than the traditional synthetic/analytic distinction and similar morphology-related concepts to rely on.

Against this general background it seems natural, in the present contribution, to lay the main emphasis on the traditional synthetic/analytic distinction and related phenomena (section 2.) which is a kind of common, although most often implicit, background to part of the work that has been carried out. Syntheticity is commonly defined as categorical marking by inflectional means, analyticity as marking by means of auxiliary words with ordering restrictions as an ancillary resource (cf. Hulthén 1948, 212; Abraham 1988, 38, 787f., 865f.). In this context, the large-scale morphological restructuring that has occurred in Mainl.Scand. since the Middle Ages calls for some comment, as the common assumption of MLG influence would seem to amount to a hypothesis of transference of incipient constructional analyticity from one language system to another (section 3.). Finally, a concluding remark is in order concerning certain syntactic phenomena with which the syntheticity/analyticity distinction may be interconnected (section 4.).

In general, it is difficult to do full justice to the wish for a comprehensive state of the art report on Nord. diachronic typology for the simple reason that there are few explicitly typological works to refer to. On the other hand, the Nord. languages have been the object of intensive linguistic study for more than a century. The available body of research offers a great deal of material that is relevant in the context of typological studies despite the lack of an explicit typological orientation. In the conclusion, I shall try to indicate a few further perspectives for typological research.

2. The development of synthetic into analytic structures

2.1. Preliminaries

The original diachronic content of the analytic/synthetic distinction as presented by August Wilhelm von Schlegel is highly relevant to a characterization of the general direction of the typological development of the Nord.

languages. According to Schlegel, three basic (synchronic) types of morphological structure have to be assumed, i.e. “languages without a grammatical structure [isolating languages without manifest morphological marking], [agglutinative] languages using affixed, and languages having [fusional] inflection” (Schlegel 1818/²1971, 14; my translation with additions in square brackets). The inflectional type appears in two subtypes – synthetic and analytic – between which a historical relationship obtains (cf. Askedal 1998, 241 f.). In a synchronic sense, analytic languages are specifically described as languages making use of articles with nouns, personal pronouns with (“in front of”) verbs, auxiliaries for purposes of conjugation, and prepositions to compensate for the lack of morphological case marking, while still retaining a certain amount of inflection. Synthetic languages make do without these various periphrastic means of expression. Whereas “the origins of synthetic languages are lost in the mist of time” (Schlegel 1818; ²1971, 16; my translation), analytic languages are generally assumed to derive from the “decomposition” of synthetic languages. (See also art. 205).

In general terms, ON was a highly synthetic, inflecting language with regard to verb conjugation and noun, pronoun and adjective de-

clension, having the full set of Gmc tenses and moods (indicative, imperative, subjunctive with different forms for the present and past tense) and the common Ancient Gmc four-case system (nominative, accusative, dative, genitive). But ON also displayed characteristics which are typical of analyticity according to Schlegel’s list of criteria referred to above. The Mod.Nord. languages show interesting and typical differences with regard to the criteria for analyticity originally proposed by Schlegel (1818).

2.2. Auxiliaries and periphrastic constructions

Despite its rich finite verb morphology, ON did not lack auxiliaries. *Hafa* ‘have’ and *vera* ‘be’ were well established as perfect auxiliaries (Nygaard 1905, 184–191); *vera* ‘be’ and – less common in classical prose – *verða* ‘become’ were used as passive auxiliaries (Nygaard 1905, 174 f.). *Hafa* can occur with a participle which agrees for person, number and case, but in classical OIcel. prose sources it is more commonly found with a non-agreeing neuter participle (i.e. supine) form, testifying to its grammaticalization as an auxiliary verb. *Vera* and *verða*, on the other hand, only take a participle which agrees (Nygaard 1905, 190, 248):

- (1) *hefir þú Hlorriða hamar um*
 have you Thor’s hammer (masc.sg.acc.) (particle)
folginn?
 hidden (participle, masc.sg.acc.)
 ‘Have you hidden Thor’s hammer?’
- (2) *vér hófum fengit*
 we have received (participle, neut.sg.nom./acc. = supine)
mikinn skaða á mönnum várum
 great damage (masc.sg.acc.) to our men
 ‘Our men have been severely harmed.’
- (3) *er nú liðin*
 is now passed (participle, fem.sg.nom.)
sú stund ...
 this time (fem.sg.nom.)
 ‘The time has now passed ...’
- (4) *er þessi hringr keyptr eða*
 is this ring bought (participle, masc.sg.nom.) or
gefinn?
 given (participle, masc.sg.nom.)
 ‘Has this ring been bought by you or given to you?’

Munu ‘may’ with the infinitive appears to be so common as a designator of future events as to merit categorization as a tense auxiliary (Nygaard 1905, 191f.):

- (5) *bræðr munu berjask*
‘Brothers shall fight each other.’

In the modern languages, participles which agree have been retained with ‘be’ and ‘become’ in a Northern belt comprising Icel., Far., Norw. Nyno. and – in passive constructions only – Sw. Elsewhere the non-agreeing supine construction has been generalized. (See art. 205 for further details.)

2.3. Articles

ON has a postposed definite article which is not, however, often found in the older Eddaic poems. It is commonly used in later classical prose, but less than in Mod.Nord. There is also a preposed article requiring, basically as in Mod.Nord., a following adjective, but no grammaticalized indefinite article. (Cf. Nygaard 1905, 26–50.) Among the modern languages, only Mod.Icel. still lacks the indefinite article. In Mod.Ins.Scand. and Mod.Sw., the preposed adjective article is used in a somewhat more restricted way than in Mod.Norw. and Mod.Dan. (cf. Kress 1982, 170f., 174; Hulthén 1948, 45–66). This general state of affairs points to the following acquisition and grammaticalization hierarchy:

- (6) a. suffixal postposed definite article >
b. lexematic preposed definite adjective article >
c. lexematic preposed indefinite article

2.4. Subject pronouns and expletives

AN appears to have been more similar to modern “pro-drop” languages like Spanish or Italian with regard to subject pronouns with (Schlegel: “in front of”) verbs. First, omissibility of 3rd person subject pronouns is not restricted to cases of conjunction reduction but is found more generally as null anaphora (Nygaard 1905, 10–14; Faarlund 1990, 118–122):

- (7) *Ekki sá skipit fyrir lafinu.*
‘He couldn’t see the ship for the leaves.’
(8) *Óðinn vissi um alt jarðfé, hvar folgit vas.*
‘Odin knew where all the treasures hidden in the earth were.’

The omission of subjects appears not to have been radically different from omission of ob-

jects, and the omission of subjects with the imperative does not appear to have been radically different from omission in other syntactic environments (cf. Faarlund 1990, 118; 120). In this regard, all the modern languages including Mod.Icel. have undergone a major change to basic non-omissibility with conjunction reduction as a special environment licensing subject omission.

Second, there is the question of expletives, of which the following three main lexical and distributional types may be assumed for Gmc (cf. also Faarlund 1990, 63–73): (i) lexically conditioned semantically empty subjects with specific lexemes (e.g. Norw. *Det regner* ‘It’s raining.’); (ii) structurally conditioned semantically empty clause-initial elements (e.g. Mod.G *Es waren viele Leute anwesend.* ‘There were many people present.’); (iii) cataphoric pronominals correlated with a postposed sentential complement (subject or object) (e.g. Norw. *Han fant det hyggelig at alle var der.* ‘He found it nice that everyone was there’).

Types (i) and (ii) are apparently not present in ON, but Type (iii) exists with neut.sg. *þat* in initial position (Faarlund 1990, 72). In Mod.Icel. (and Far.), Types (i) and (ii) occur with clause-initial (but not clause-internal) neut.sg. *það*, and Type (iii) may even occur as stressed clause-internal *það* (Rögnvaldsson 1995, 6–8). In Mod.Mainl.Scand., there is a lexical difference between Norw. and Sw. on the one hand, which have one uniform expletive *det* in all three original types, and Dan., on the other hand, which has *det* in the modern Types (i) and (iii) and *der* in the Type (ii). There has thus been a general syntactic shift towards an obligatory expletive subject in all three original types. An obligatory expletive subject is required with all lexical impersonals in the original Type (i), and this requirement is extended to the two other types too. In Mod.Scand., Type (ii) comprises locative-existential clauses (9) and impersonal passives with (10) or without (11) a retained (indefinite) object. The development towards a generally obligatory expletive is most complete in Mod.Norw. In particular, Sw. allows to a certain extent for optionality of the expletive in Types (ii) and (iii) (cf. Falk 1993, 269–274):

- (9a) *Etter ham skulle det komme andre generasjoner.* (Norw.)
(9b) *Efter honom skulle Ø komma andra generationer.* (Sw.)
‘After him new generations were to come.’

- (10a) *I Latvia var det blitt opprettet et formelt "selvstyre" under ledelse av latviske kolaboratorer.* (Norw.)
- (10b) *I Lettland hade Ø upprättats ett formellt "självstyre" under ledning av lettiska samarbetsmän.* (Sw.)
 'In Latvia a formally independent government had been established under the leadership of Latvian collaborators.'
- (11a) *I flere vitneutsagn klages det over den store tilstrømmingen av veggelus.* (Norw.)
- (11b) *I flera vittnesmål klagas Ø över den rikliga tillgången på vägglöss.* (Sw.)
 'In several testimonies complaints were made about the number of bedbugs.'

The Sw. sentences in (9)–(11) may be considered relics of the original Type (ii) before syntactic reinterpretation as an impersonal construction with an expletive subject took place.

2.5. Prepositions and PPs

Prepositions have since the inception of morphological typology been considered a key indicator of change from syntheticity to analyticity. Traditionally, the emphasis has been particularly on the increase of PPs at the cost of (earlier case-marked) NPs.

A case in point is ON genitive or dative objects in various valency patterns. With a number of verbs, the genitive or dative object is in principle still optionally possible in Mod.Icel., but more often a PP is used instead (Kress 1982, 211f.; 225). A PP is the only alternative in the corresponding cases in Mod.Mainl. Scand. where the morphological distinctions between formerly case-marked objects are lost. Compare for instance the genitive objects in (12a–c) and the instrumental dative in (12d):

- (12a) Mod.Icel.Gen./PP vs. Mod.Mainl. Scand. (Norw.) PP: *leita einhvers/leita eftir* vs. *lete etter* 'look for'.
- (12b) Mod.Icel. Acc. + Gen./Acc. + PP vs. Mod.Mainl.Scand. (Norw.) DO + PP: *spyrja einhvern einhvers/... um eitthvað* vs. *spørre noen om noe* 'ask somebody about something'.
- (12c) Mod.Icel. Acc. + Gen./Gen. + PP (with linear shifting of the thematic roles) vs. Mod.Mainl.Scand. (Norw.) DO + PP: *beiða einhvern einhvers/beiðast einhvers af einhverjum* vs. *be noen om nol* 'ask someone for something'.

- (12d) Mod.Icel. (instrumental) Dat./PP vs. Mod.Scand. (Norw.) PP: *þekja hús (með) halmi* 'thatch' vs. ... *med halm.*

The dative in (12d) is a special case on account of its putative adjunct status.

Diachronically, the Mod.Icel. alternations and corresponding Mod.Mainl.Scand. replacements in (12) should be seen in the context of a more general system of oblique case/PP alternations in ON which comprised a fairly large number of verbs (Nygaard 1905, 101–154).

On the other hand, replacement of a case-marked IO by an inverted PP with three-place verbs (so-called "dative shift") – e.g. Mod. Norw. *gi noen noe/gi noe til noen* 'give someone something/give something to someone' – is rare in Mod.Icel. although widespread and productive in Mod.Mainl.Scand. (Holmberg/Platzack 1995, 188; 204f.). Thus, in the Indirect Object – Direct Object argument domain Icel. shows less of a transition from syntheticity to analyticity than with the lexically assigned cases in (12). The transition to analyticity is here more general in Mainl.Scand. than in Icel. (On the role of PPs as genitive replacements see 2.6.)

2.6. The genitive and genitive replacements

The ON genitive had the following broad range of uses (Nygaard 1905, 128–154): (i) Adnominal subordination (*þræll konungs* 'the king's slave'); (ii) verb-governed genitive object (cf. section 2.5.); (iii) object complement with certain adjectives (*Ólafur var þess ekki fljótr* 'Olaf was not fast at this'); (iv) predicative (*var sú litillar ættar* 'she was of modest descent'); (v) adverbial adjunct (*gærdags* 'yesterday'); (vi) object of a preposition (*til eyjarinnar* 'to the island').

In Mod.Icel., the ON genitive is in principle intact in all its traditional uses. In the other languages, the genitive has undergone a radical process of functional and morphological unification: (i) Its sole productive function is to mark subordination within NPs. Its use as the object of a preposition is only found vestigially in set phrases like Norw. *til sengs* 'to/in bed'. (ii) The modern genitive is uniformly realized as an *s*-suffix. (iii) It has been integrated into the prenominal determiner position (cf. Braunmüller 1982, 169–190). (iv) The domain of possible heads has been extended from nouns to complex NPs (*dronningen av Danmarks slott* 'the Queen of Denmark's

castles'). The genitive has thus changed from a fusional morpheme with a number of allomorphic realizations into an agglutinative suffix with one dominant syntactic function. Its modern manifestation represents a type of inflection that provides for more constructional transparency and is thus closer to analyticity.

In the modern languages, genitive forms of the personal pronoun are retained as paradigmatic equivalents of inflecting possessive adjectives (e.g. Norw. *hans bil/hus* 'his car/house' vs. *min bil/mitt hus* 'my car/house'). In Far., non-pronominal genitives are more or less absent from the spoken language but they are used occasionally in the written language as a stylistic relic (possibly under Dan. influence; cf. Hamre 1961). The situation is similar in Norw. Nyno. On the whole, the genitive has a stronger position in Dan., Sw. and Norw. Riksmål but in all these languages, the new agglutinative genitive has a number of functional competitors of a more straightforward analytic nature (cf. Norde 1997, ch. 3), in particular in the spoken colloquial varieties.

The non-pronominal genitive is often replaced by a postnominal attributive PP. It should be noted that no single preposition has been grammaticalized as an analytic genitive replacement (comparable to E *of*, Fr. *de*). A number of different prepositions are used. Compare e.g. Norw.:

- (13) *inngangen til huset* (cp. the genitive:
husets inngang)
entrance-the to house-the
'the entrance of the house'
- (14) *taket på huset* (cp. the genitive:
husets tak)
roof-the on house-the
'the roof of the house'

Since the late Middle Ages the genitive periphrasis in (15) which derives from a reanalyzed MLG possessive dative has been adopted by various West Dan. and West and North Norw. dialects and written Nyno.:

- (15) *mannen sin bil*
man-the his car
'the man's car'

The construction in (15) is currently gaining ground in spoken standard Norw. (cf. Torp 1973). In addition, certain Norw. dialects have the possessive construction in (16):

- (16) *bilen hans Ola*
car-the his Ola

Both constructions are clearly analytic in the sense that the possessor and the possessive relation are given separate lexical expression. The two constructions are similar in placing the relation-indicating pronoun or pronominal possessive adjective adjacent to the head noun, but they are mirror images of each other with regard to linearization:

- (17) [[possessor lexeme_x relational possessive adjective_y] [lexical head_z]]
[[lexical head_z] [relational pronoun_y possessor lexeme_x]]

Like the *s*-genitive, the complex possessive attribute in (15) is integrated in the pronominal determiner position of the NP and it is in principle not subject to lexical restrictions. The right-branching distribution of the complex possessive phrase in (16) is akin to that of postnominal possessive adjectives (cf. *bilen min* 'my car'), but it is lexically restricted to proper nouns (**bilen hans mannen*). Both constructions testify to the general drift toward constructional analyticity.

2.7. Varieties of analyticity

The general structural drift toward analyticity has affected the modern Nord. languages to a different extent. Intuitively, they constitute a syntheticity/analyticity hierarchy where Icel. is more synthetic than Far. and Far. is more synthetic than Mod.Mainl.Scand. (cf. Berkov 1989, 3; but see also Kubrjakova 1970 for a different view concerning Sw.). Within Mod.Mainl.Scand. certain analyticity differences exist concerning the use of auxiliary words of various kinds. Sw. stands apart in requiring auxiliary words to a lesser extent than Norw. and Dan. (Askedal 1997; Götzsche 1995). This divergence is due to a variety of convergent diachronic developments in Sw.

The absence of the preposed definite article in front of certain adjectives in Sw. reflects ON and OSw. usage (cf. 2.3. and Wessén 1965, 43–45; Lundeby 1994, 209f.):

- (18) *Ø lettiska ambassaden* (Sw.)
den latviske ambassade (Norw.)
'the Latvian embassy'

As noted in 2.4., expletives are more generally required in Norw. and Dan. than in Sw. The latter language vestigially reflects an older system still present in Mod.Icel. (cf. also Falk/Torp 1900, 6–11).

With regard to prepositions (cf. 2.5.), Sw. does without the infinitive marker, historically derived from a preposition, with a considerable number of infinitive-governing verbs whose Mod.Norw. and Dan. lexical equivalents require the use of the marker. Compare for instance:

- (19) *De hade slutat Ø diskutera marschen.*
De hadde sluttet å diskutere marsjen.
 'They had stopped discussing the march.'

Since OSw. times, there has been a general increase in the use of the *att*-infinitive (Wessén 1965, 149), but in Mod.Sw., omission is often the preferred option when the infinitive particle is optional (Hulthén 1944, 248).

Similarly, Sw. often does without an additional linking preposition in front of a governed infinitive (with the infinitive marker *att*) in cases where a linking preposition is required in Norw. and Dan.:

- (20) *Jag tvekar inte Ø att använda ordet.*
Jeg noler ikke med å anvende ordet.
 'I don't hesitate to use the word.'
- (21) *Hon var rädd Ø att möta honom.*
Hun var redd for å møte ham.
 'She was afraid of meeting him.'
- (22) *Han hade ingen befogenhet Ø att säga detta.*
Han hadde ingen myndighet til å si dette.
 'He had no authority to say this.'

The absence of a linking preposition in front of infinitival clauses in Sw. represents the older state of affairs (cf. Falk/Torp 1900, 204).

With regard to formal subjects, the proposed definite article, the infinitive particle and linking prepositions, Mod.Norw. and Mod.Dan. have innovated somewhat more consistently than Mod.Sw. The absence of auxiliary words in the examples adduced so far is due to morphosyntactic conservatism in Sw., but certain Sw. innovations contribute to the same overall effect.

Concerning auxiliaries, the suffixal *s*-passive developed as an alternative to the auxiliary passive from AN onwards. It has reached its maximal extension in Sw., whereas the other languages show morphological restrictions (cp. art. 205 for details). A corresponding difference is found when the Sw. synthetic *s*-suffix is used as a marker of reflexive or reciprocal reference:

- (23) *De politiska förutsättningarna hade inte ändrats.*
De politiske forutsetningene hadde ikke forandret seg.

'The political conditions had not changed.'

Since the 18th century, Sw. has allowed optional deletion of the perfect auxiliary 'have' in subordinate clauses (Platzack 1983):

- (24) *Jag tackar alla dem som Ø hjälpt mig i mitt arbete.*
Jeg takker alle dem som har hjulpet meg i mitt arbeide.
 'I thank all those who have assisted me in my work.'

Sw. also has a raising construction in a number of cases where Mod.Norw. and Mod.Dan. have a finite clause:

- (25) *De förklarade sig vara störda av musiken.*
De erklærte at de ble forstyrret av musiken.
 'They declared that they were disturbed by the music.'

Raising constructions became increasingly frequent in late Medieval Sw. (Wessén 1965, 340, 345). Norw. and Dan. did not follow suit.

The Sw. convergence phenomena noted here span the whole recorded history of the language. In these respects, Norw. and Dan. have developed in a systematically different fashion. The outcome is an interesting subtypological split in connection with the same general drift towards analyticity in the Mainl.Scand. area.

2.8. General perspectives

In connection with conjugation and declension, four general options may be assumed concerning the development from synthetic to analyticity: (i) a language may retain synthetic conjugation and declension (cf. putative Proto-Baltic and Mod.Lith.); (ii) it may retain rich synthetic conjugation but develop (more) analytic declension (cf. Lat. and Mod. Spanish; among Slavic languages OChSl. on the one hand and Bulg. and Macedonian on the other; cf. Berkov 1989, 5f.); (iii) logically possible, but empirically rare is the opposite development with retention of synthetic declension but formal reduction to (more) analytic conjugation (Berkov 1989, 5f.); and (iv) a language may develop (more) analytic conjugation and declension (cf. OE and Mod.E). Option (ii) (and (iii), to the extent that it can be documented) is of special methodological importance as it provides evidence of the non-interdependence of typological developments

within the two main word classes verb and noun.

Three of the four types are represented in Mod.Scand. Mod.Icel., being the morphological continuation of ON, represents option (i) above, but with the addition after the ON era of a number of periphrastic aspectual constructions. Cases in point are the following (Kress 1982, 154–162):

- (26) *Ég er að spyrja.*
'I'm asking.'
(27) *Ég er búinn að gleyma.*
'I have (already) forgot.'
(28) *Ég fer að hlæja*
'I am about to laugh.'
(29) *Hann er sofandi/vakandi.*
'He is asleep/awake.'

Mod.Icel. in fact represents a more general trend among modern inflecting IE languages to enrich a synthetic verb system by adding analytic constructions whose individual components (like Icel. finite verbs) are still often highly inflecting (compare Lith. and ModG).

Far. represents a change in the direction of option (iii). Mod.Far. has retained large parts of the Gmc and ON case system but has lost the subjunctive (with the marginal exception of the so-called present subjunctive as a formal relic; Barnes/Weyhe 1995, 205). Far. has also neutralized more person and number oppositions with finite verbs than Mod.Icel. (Cf. art. 205 for details.)

Option (iv) is represented by Mod.Mainl.Scand. Case has been lost with the exception of the subject/oblique distinction found in a limited number of personal pronouns. The formerly highly synthetic verb morphology has been reduced to a binary tense opposition between present and preterite without person and number oppositions in the modern languages (cf. art. 205). The Mod.Mainl.Scand. languages have also developed a broad variety of periphrastic verb constructions which add to their general analytic character (cf. e.g. Faarlund et al. 1997, 515–537, 591–627, 647–660 on Norw.).

3. Analyticity in an areal context

It is often assumed that the diachronic development from syntheticity to analyticity in Mainl.Scand. was supported or even caused by external influence from in particular MLG (cf. e.g. Haugen 1976, 253, 285). Considering the typological characteristics of ON, OLG

and MLG, the assumption of a MLG connection is debatable.

First, Ringgaard (1986) asserts that the beginnings of the neutralization of case oppositions in Dan. may be traced as far back as the 12th century. Second, Mainl.Scand. and MLG were both case marking languages with the four traditional Gmc cases (cf. Björnheden 1997). Third, and perhaps most importantly, neutralization of case oppositions would seem typologically more natural in Mainl.Scand. than in LG in view of the regularities expressed in Greenberg's Universal 41 (cf. sect. 1). In Nord., the shift from what appears to have been a mixed XV/VX situation in AN to uniform VX in ON was more or less complete by the time of the appearance of the first written sources (cf. Braunmüller 1982, ch. 3), whereas LG has to this day retained a basic XV structure despite the neutralization of case oppositions since MLG times (cf. Lindow et al. 1998, 144; 296f., and the contributions on Mod.LG dialects in Russ 1990):

	case marking	verb position
(I) O/MLG:	N, A, D, G	XV
(II) ON (and Mod.Icel./Far.)	N, A, D, (G)	VX
(III) Mod.LG:	N, Obl (pron)	XV
(IV) Mod.Mainl.Scand.:	N, Obl (pron)	VX

Thus, the LG development has been the rather unexpected one from system (I) to system (III) in (27), whereas Mainl.Scand. has undergone the development from system (II) to (IV) that one would rather expect within a Greenbergian framework.

If there was a MLG impact on Mainl.Scand. analyticity drift and case loss in the Middle Ages, it cannot have been direct or formative; it must rather have been indirect and supportive. One possible hypothesis is that Scandinavians engaging in semicom-munication (cf. Braunmüller 1996) with LG speakers allowed their command of their own case system to be weakened, another that they may even have been actively imitating the morphological simplification errors made by Low Germans trying to speak Scandinavian.

4. Concluding remarks

From a purely morphological point of view, the former morphological unity of AN and ON has given way to a split among the Mod.Scand. languages between a still highly synthetic insular branch consisting of Mod.Icel. and Far. on the one hand and

Mod.Mainl.Scand. on the other (with Far. leaning toward Mainl.Scand.). This picture is, however, somewhat one-sided. When syntactic phenomena are also taken into account, an underlying unity appears to the extent that all the languages display the basic configurational features commonly found with VX ("SVO") languages. In particular, the oblique subjects of Mod.Icel. and Far. provide interesting evidence that syntactic restructuring may precede a change of morphological type rather than be caused by it. (Cf. art. 205 for a more detailed discussion of the systematic connections between the syntactic and morphological phenomena in question.)

Some of the available research indicates perspectives and possibilities for further typological study. For instance, Braunmüller's (1999) synchronic descriptions of the phoneme inventories of the modern Nord. languages and Garlén's (1984, 182–221) synchronic survey of the phoneme systems of 30 different languages in connection with his description of the Mod.Sw. phoneme system would appear to invite further typological and diachronic comparison in the field of phonology. The special Peninsular Scand. tone opposition has already been the object of intensive study (cf. e.g. Liberman 1982), but recent work indicates the possibility and relevance of further typological perspectives (Hognestad 1997).

Concerning morphology, the Nord. languages seem to offer opportunities for more detailed and diversified study of morphological restructuring processes than is commonly provided by the traditionally rather superficial application of the synthetic/analytic distinction (cf. 2.1.). For instance, there is a difference between Mod.Norw. *sanger* – *sang-ene* '(the) songs' vs. Sw. *sånger* – *sång-er-na* insofar as the plural morpheme and the definiteness morpheme are merged in Mod.Norw. but constitute an agglutinative chain in Mod.Sw. On the other hand, the genitive morpheme *-s* is agglutinating in all of Mainl.Scand., cf. Norw. *sang-ene-s* and Sw. *sång-er-na-s* 'of the songs'. The history and extent of the transition from highly fusional ON to simplified fusion in Mod.Norw. and more transparent agglutination in Mod.Sw. awaits closer scrutiny from a typological point of view, particularly with regard to the systematically less well understood MSw., MDan. and MNorw. periods.

In a broader perspective, Braunmüller's (1995) contention that small speech communities are more apt to tolerate morphological

opaqueness provides an interesting socio-ecological background for the typological study of morphological variation among dialects in the Nord. area as a result of morpho-phonological change.

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21. Nordic language history and research on word order

1. The status of word order studies
2. Word order studies of Ancient Nordic
3. Word order studies of Old Nordic runic inscriptions
4. The word order of Old Nordic
5. Foreign impact on word order
6. Literature (a selection)

1. The status of word order studies

One of the main points of interest of modern linguistics is syntax and word order, although introductory ON coursebooks only mirror this to a certain degree: Wessén (1961) and Iversen (1973) limit themselves to a couple of syntactical phenomena, while Heusler (1962), Hanssen/Mundal/Skadberg (1975) and Haugen (1995) aim at a better balance between morphology and syntax, word order included. In works on Nordic language history, the situation is the same; if mentioned, word order plays only a minor part. Seip (1955) scarcely refers to syntactic phenomena at all, Skautrup (1944–68) devotes a few pages to the matter of syntax and word order, while Wessén (1965) dedicates a whole volume to historical syntax. Nygaard (1905) is still the most comprehensive work on ON syntax.

Being well aware that the last fifty years have witnessed many new approaches to general linguistics, syntax and word order, I shall confine myself here to present research on surface constituent order, verb position in sentences and clauses as well as phrase structure. Word order beyond basic word order typology in a certain language may be governed by syntactic functions, semantic roles, pragmatic functions, prosody, or, eventually, a combination of these factors (Wessén 1965, 205). To some extent all these factors, alone or combined, will be commented upon as relevant to different aspects of Nordic word order studies treated here.

2. Word order studies of AN

The majority of the nearly 200 known inscriptions in the older runic alphabet, the older futhark, dated from about 150 to 750 A.D., are found in Scandinavia and are usually considered to be written in the AN language. In spite of their wide geographical spread, these inscriptions are linguistically quite consistent. Scholars do not fully agree upon whether the

inscriptions originally represented a spoken or a written language, nor whether the language in question was homogeneous or had dialectal variation. See Grønvik (1981, 36ff.) for further references.

One central problem concerning the runic inscriptions of this period as well as of the younger one is that they are relatively short, syntactically quite stereotypic and seldom extend beyond the bounds of a sentence, only rarely containing a subordinate clause. There are therefore very limited possibilities for studying sentences and constituent order in context, a fact that severely restricts our means of deciding the degrees of markedness for e.g. metrical, stylistic or pragmatic purposes.

2.1. Main clauses

Krause (1971, 133f.) devotes only two pages to word order in his detailed presentation of a total of 127 AN inscriptions, focusing on finite verb position, V1, V2, V3 (and V4). He gives no statistics but states that V2 occurs frequently. According to Ureland (1978, 120), there are 35 inscriptions in Krause's material which can be considered relevant for word order studies. All three verb positions are to be found in the main clause; V1 is attested in 8 cases, (22.9%), V2 in 15 cases, (42.8%), whereas the 12 V3 cases cover the remaining 34.3%. Antonsen (1975, 24ff.) deals with nearly the same corpus as Krause but divides it into dialect groups, listing in all 121 inscriptions. Antonsen clearly advocates the SOV pattern as the unmarked one for the inscriptions representing NwGmc in the material (100–550 A.D.): “Syntactically, NWGmc seems to have diverged only slightly from PG, with S + V + O beginning to incur upon the dominant S + O + V order ...” (p. 26). Among the 93 examples of NWGmc, the position of the verb versus other constituents may be determined in 34 sentences, according to Antonsen. He categorizes 22 sentences as verb final, 3 as verb first and 8 as having a medial verb. Antonsen's verb-final group may be strongly misleading, because several of the listed examples evidently do not contain any other constituents than S + V at all. These inscriptions should of course not be taken as evidence for verb finalness in support of an SOV hypothesis because there is no relevant object present.

In addition to the 34 NWGmc inscriptions, Antonsen accounts for 12 of the somewhat younger NGmc examples of main clauses, of which 10 have the finite verb in medial position. Based on these examples, Antonsen claims that a dramatic syntactic change has taken place in NGmc (including EN); the unmarked word order has become S + V + O, clearly implying that frequency of occurrence corresponds to unmarkedness.

Faarlund (1990a, 51) states: "In Nordic, the complete change from OV to VO can be followed closely in the extant material." He regards the variation as a result of "focusing", and not of the commonly accepted "afterthought", which in his view normally results in a right-dislocated construction: "The focus of the sentence is that part of the sentence which carries new information, or which is least predictable from the context" (1990a, 55).

Faarlund (1990b) challenges the orthodox question of free or fixed word order for AN, to which he gives quite an untraditional answer: The constituent order is free concerning morphological case and semantic role, but fixed from a more functional point of view. Studying the relative order of the nominal constituents (NPs) in each inscription, he concludes that a "reference-and-empathy" hierarchy seems to govern the internal relative order of such constituents. Anaphoric reference is on the top of this hierarchy, followed by "nominal elements of higher empathy deictic reference", "low empathy deictic reference" and finally all other elements.

Since there is about the same percentage of verb-second structures as verb-final ones in the AN runic main clauses as a whole, misinterpretations and miscalculations taken into consideration, the question of which word order should be considered unmarked or neutral cannot be answered categorically on the basis of constituent order alone. If markedness correlates strictly with frequency, there might be equally good reasons to prefer V2 as the unmarked word order rather than V3 or verb-final. Braunmüller (1982, 139) tends to characterize AN as already being an SVO language, while Braunmüller (1994, 29ff.) characterizes the older stages of the Gmc family as typologically ambivalent, maybe even typologically undetermined. Ureland (1989, 253) states: "There is no question about the double SVO and SOV character of the Proto-Scandinavian runic material."

Antonsen's suggestions of dialectal variance seem to be founded on too little evidence

to be conclusive, and his suggestions of topicalization (Antonsen 1975, 24), although interesting, are very difficult to verify due to the nature of the runic material. For further critics, see Braunmüller (1982, 142ff.). Likewise Faarlund's theory of pragmatic hierarchies (1990b), or of focusing as the reason for the shift from OV to VO (1990a, 55) may not be totally convincing. But incontestably, Faarlund's approach represents a challenge to more traditionally and less pragmatically oriented syntactic approaches.

2.2. Subordinate clauses

Only a couple of subordinate clauses are attested in the AN runic material: two fairly synonymous relative clauses, both exhibiting (S)OV word order and having a pronominal object preceding the finite verb form are cited by Antonsen (1975, 25) and mentioned by Faarlund (1987, 53).

2.3. Phrase structure

Krause (1971) does not comment at all upon the order of the elements of phrases. With some exceptions, the evidence from NWGmc, according to Antonsen (1975, 24f.) points at an SOV language, but in the somewhat younger inscriptions from NGmc, a breakdown in the old ordering seems to take place. But as Braunmüller (1994, 29ff.) indicates, the typological evidence from AN noun phrase structures as a whole is in fact quite ambivalent and confusing, some constructions pointing in the direction of SVO as being the unmarked or basic constituent order, others more in the direction of SOV. He further emphasizes the fact that the shortness of an element may be crucial for its placement, thus stressing prosodic factors as part of the explanation for a certain order, as well as typological and grammatical ones (Braunmüller 1994, 31). Antonsen's claim (1975, 24) "that animate heads require a following genitive, inanimate ones a preceding genitive", cannot be confirmed. Braunmüller further points out, in adherence to Faarlund (1990a, 94f.), how the apparent ambiguity of word order in phrases may be explained as a result of the PGmc noun phrase being "non-configurational", that is: "... adjectives (A') and prepositional phrases (P'') are not members of the syntactic categories DET(erminer) or Spec(ifier), but form two constituents of their own. They may thus oc-

copy different syntactic as well as topological positions within an N''-constituent'' (Braunmüller 1994, 36f.).

3. Word order studies of ON runic inscriptions

There are more than 3500 runic inscriptions from the Viking period (800–1100). Perridon (1996, 248) stresses that there should be “no good reason for supposing that the syntax of the inscriptions was radically different from that of everyday speech in that time”. In addition there are about 2500 inscriptions from the Middle Ages, the older part of these still representing the ON language.

3.1. Main clauses

There has been no comprehensive work done on word order in sentences and clauses in the younger runic material since Larsson (1931), who confirms the V2 order of the main clause. Larsson documents no convincing examples of verb-final structures in the 2000 mostly Sw. inscriptions he investigates. There is no reason to believe that the evidence from Denmark and Norway should deviate to a great extent from the Sw. material, although more extensive research needs to be done before final conclusions can be drawn. Thus, based on the findings in Larsson (1931), in the absence of more recent empirical research, Runic Nord. as a totality is clearly a V2 language. The very few deviances (Larsson 1931, 32ff.) may be due to metrical or magical formulations, to mistakes, misinterpretations, or possibly to foreign influence (see sect. 5).

3.2. Subordinate clauses

There are relatively few subordinate clauses in the actual material, most of them relative clauses. Temporal and comparative clauses are also attested in a few cases, according to Larsson (1931, 39f.).

V2 is incontestably the dominant verb position in the subordinate as well as in the main clause. Ureland (1978, 120) mentions four exceptions from V2 or V1 structures, cf. Larsson (1931, 40). A striking trait, though, found mostly in relative clauses, is that a constituent traditionally regarded as belonging to the verb phrase and normally occurring after the finite verb may occupy the position just after the relative particle in front of the finite verb. This

word order, which notably normally conserves the V2 structure of the clause but yields an OV order, is called “stylistic fronting” or “stylistic inversion” by some scholars; by others it is looked upon as a straightforward case of topicalization, although occurring in a dependent clause. Some examples violate the V2 constraint. See sect. 4.2. and 5.

3.3. Phrase structure

3.3.1. Noun phrases

Noun phrases in the OSw. runic material from the Viking Age have been closely examined by Perridon (1996), in ODan. by Nielsen (1943) and Marez (1981). Braunmüller (1994) also draws on evidence from this period. No word order study as such has been done recently on the Norw. runic material exclusively, but Nielsen (1943) comments upon some examples. Different kinds of modifiers in the modern sense – adjectives, numerals, genitives, demonstratives etc. – may occur on both sides of the nominal head and even be dislocated from the head, as was also the case during the preceding period. Perridon’s thorough analysis concentrates on the quantitative aspects of the placement of these modifiers. Based mainly on frequency of occurrence, he draws rather careful conclusions about the reasons for the variation found. Without taking any typological aspects into consideration, he claims that the order of the adjective versus the nominal head indicates a free word order. Thus, Perridon asserts (1996, 250) that the Sw. material does not confirm the hypothesis advocated by Marez (1981, 398), following Nielsen (1943, 216f.) and other earlier scholars, who hold that the position of the adjective may have had different semantic values depending on whether it was pre- or postposed in Runic Dan. That is, the adjective is supposed to be “characterizing” when preposed and “qualifying” when postposed. “Characterizing” in this sense implies a close relation between the nominal head and the modifier, the modifier plus head thus being a predecessor of a nominal compound of the modern Nord. type. Perridon concludes that word order in the nominal phrase varies, and that there might be some slight geographical differences between Runic Sw. on the one hand and Runic Dan. on the other, for several of the noun phrase types in question. He concludes as follows: “The noun phrase in Viking Age Scandinavian differs considerably from

the one found in modern Swedish and Danish” (1996, 259). Nielsen (1943) and Marez (1981) both tend to give somewhat more complex explanations for the variation found in word order – the pre- and postpositions, the dislocation of elements – than does Perridon (1996). In addition, Braunmüller (1994, 39 ff.) suggests that the relative length of the elements of the NP, stress and referentiality are factors not to be totally overlooked. Marez (1981, 408 ff.) draws attention explicitly to the dislocation of modifiers and to the position of appositions, an intriguing phenomenon well worth further study.

3.3.2. Verb phrases

Faarlund (1990b, 169) emphasizes that there is no basis either in the AN runic material or in later stages of the language for saying that the VP constituent consists of the main verb and its closest object. Ureland (1978, 121), taking a more typological perspective, indicates that the enclitic verb forms (e.g. the mediopassives) represent a syntactic innovation which can only occur in a language which typologically is VO, with the object normally occurring after the finite verb form, and thus advocates SVO as the unmarked pattern for ON, an opinion also held by Larsson (1931, 35). However, Kossuth (1978, 43) as well as Lehmann (1978, 111) explicitly draw the opposite conclusion. They believe these word formations are remnants of an older SOV pattern, and probably consider the *-sk* ending to be a proper suffix – suffixation and not affixation being the normal process in an SOV language – a view perhaps due to a somewhat rigid but traditional interpretation of Greenberg’s Universal 27.

4. The word order of ON

There is no reason to believe that constituent order or verb position varied radically within the ON realm, as there are no fundamental differences attested concerning the main patterns of word order in East and West ON and no crucial differences between the Mainl. Scand. languages of today. This fact does not exclude minor word order divergences, a preponderance of particular stylistic devices or means of expression due to genre and the nature of texts, their orality versus literacy, or varying degrees of foreign impact (see 5.).

4.1. Main clauses

Old and Mod. Nord. are both primarily V2: only one constituent may occupy the position in front of the finite verb form in the main clause, that is, the “front field” in the so-called “field analysis”, a highly influential topological model developed by Diderichsen (1941, 1946) for Old and Mod. Dan.

A striking phenomenon in ON texts, though, is that the matrix relatively often is V1. Prompted by a fatal but authoritative quotation from Heusler’s §508 (1962, 173) which states that the V1 order is so frequent, “daß man darin die aisl. Normalstellung sehen konnte”, scholars have been led to believe that the V1 order is a candidate for the unmarked or neutral pattern of word order in ON. Whereas this pattern is restricted to questions in Mod. Scand., it uncontestedly had a far more general use in ON, being a device for context marking in the matrix, yielding main clauses with no topicalized element in front of the finite verb, an “empty front field” in Diderichsen’s terminology. This use of V1 order is traditionally called “narrative inversion” and has been studied in the Icel. family sagas in particular; cf. Rieger (1968); Kossuth (1978, 38 ff.) and Platzack (1985) for further references. Christoffersen (1993, 53 ff.) shows that this word order is quite common in the matrix in the WN legal language as well and should be considered a general context marker. The label “discourse cohesion” applied by Sigurðsson (1990, 45) therefore seems a more appropriate term than does the relatively well-established “narrative inversion”. As there are differences in frequency of the V1 order within the saga genre itself, as attested by Hallberg (1965), there might also be geographical differences between EN and WN. Platzack (1985, 135) shows that SV word order after *ok* is extremely rare in the sagas he has examined, as does Christoffersen (1993, 102) for ONorw. legal language. Sigurðsson attests a somewhat higher number of SV orders after the coordinator for OIcel. (1990, 51), while Wessén (1965, 208) rather surprisingly, but probably inaccurately, claims that the normal word order is SV after *ok* in OIcel. as well as in OSw. Here we agree with Platzack (1985, 142) who states that “[...] the frequent use of declarative VS-sentences in Old Icelandic Sagas has nothing to do with a typological difference between Old Icelandic and other Germanic languages [...]”. Faarlund (1985, 376) stands alone in claiming that V1 in the main clause is a mere case of topical-

ization: “Since any category can be topicalized, the finite verb can also be topicalized in its own right [...]”.

An ON main clause may commence with the subject, the finite verb or a topicalized element, exemplifying the word order patterns SVX, VSX or TVX (cf. Christoffersen 1980), and an initial element may be dislocated, as in the Mod. Scand. languages (cf. Christoffersen 1993, 261 ff.). The position of nominal constituents, subjects included, is somewhat freer than in Mod.Scand. A non-thematic subject may even occupy the last position in the sentence (cf. Faarlund 1985, 374f.). Such deviations from the far more frequent patterns where the subject either is in first or third position may be due to the nature of the ON subject as such, see Mørck (1994), or to thematic as well as rhythmical reasons. Still, as in Mod.Nord., topicalization of the subject is less marked and less context-sensitive than topicalization of any other nominal constituent. Christoffersen (1993, 338ff.), based on empirical studies, tends to explain internal word order variation in a discourse-functional perspective and postulates four possible positions for NPs in the matrix, with the second position just after the finite verb, being the theme-position *per se*. Lehmann (1978, 111) categorically states: “The Old Icelandic, Old Norwegian, Old Danish and Old Swedish texts which have come down to us are without question VO in structure.” This claim may be too strong if V also represents the nonfinite verb form, because recent empirical studies, e.g. Christoffersen (1993, 332ff.); Rögnvaldsson (1996, 82f.); Hróarsdóttir (1999, 278ff.), clearly show that other constituents quite frequently occupy the position between the verb forms in ON, yielding surface OV structures. Faarlund (1990a, 100ff.), on the other hand, maintains that “The position of the nonfinite verb is typically first in the final part of the sentence”, admitting, however, that this principle may be overridden by discourse-functional or stylistic principles.

To conclude, the ON main clause is clearly V2, but there is incontestably a “synchronic variation in phrase structure”, cf. Rögnvaldsson (1996, 76), which, within different linguistic paradigms, will call for diverging explanations of the OV-VO variation. See sect. 5.

4.2. Subordinate clauses

In ON, word order in main and subordinate clauses is identical when it comes to the po-

sition of the finite verb, while Mod.Scand. has developed a distinct subordinate surface order in which the sentence adverbial precedes the finite verb form, a V3 order (see sect. 5). V2 is clearly the dominant verb position in the ON subordinate clause (notably when the subordinator is not regarded as a proper constituent). Quite often, though, constituents other than the subject precede the finite verb form. This happens in particular when the clause for some reason lacks a grammatical subject, although this fronting by no means is restricted to such sentences. Some scholars look upon this phenomenon as a straightforward case of topicalization, a trait shared by the ON subordinate and matrix clauses (Rögnvaldsson/Thráinsson 1990, 24). The fronting of constituents other than the subject in the subordinate clause has been called “stylistic inversion” or “stylistic fronting”, terms attributed to Maling (1980).

It can also happen, particularly in OSw., more seldom in ODan., and very rarely in ONorw., that a subordinate clause exhibits a proper SOV order which cannot be explained as a case of “stylistic inversion”. See Ureland (1989, 258ff.) and sect. 5.

4.3. Phrase structure

There have been no comprehensive empirical studies carried out on nominal phrase structure, verb phrase structure or prepositional phrase structure in ON except for the studies of the runic material presented under sect. 2.3. and 3.3. Faarlund (1990a, 17, 94ff.) as a whole mainly draws on evidence from Nygaard (1905) and the Icel. family sagas.

The order of elements in noun phrases seems to vary, cf. Braunmüller (1994); Kossuth (1978, 48f). Nominal modifiers may occupy the position in front of or after the head, or be discontinuous, cf. Lødrup (1983).

Faarlund (1990a, 86ff.) holds that there is no verb phrase in ON. His main argument for this is that when topicalized, the nonfinite verb form never triggers topicalization of nominal modifiers, as in Mod.Scand., and that there is no VP pronominalization. Other scholars advocate the existence of a VP with varying internal word order (Rögnvaldsson 1996, 69ff.), due to pragmatic and prosodic factors and to individual variation.

Faarlund (1990a, 97f.) also argues that the status of the prepositional phrase (PP) differs from that of Mod.Scand. Although he asserts that it is “normal for prepositions to precede

their objects”, he emphasizes that there are numerous exceptions to this rule. Faarlund’s examples of discontinuous PPs in ON may be relevant for the discussion of configurationality, but the number of discontinuous phrases compared to the normal ones, is probably relatively small, and his theory needs to be proved by further empirical studies.

4.4. Topic prominency

Li/Thompson (1976) made a distinction between so-called “subject-predicate languages” and “topic prominent languages”. “Subject-predicate languages” manifest the normal sentence structure and concord between the nominal subject and the finite verb form, while the sentence pattern in a “topic prominent language” usually has a left-dislocated nominal phrase with a more or less loose connection to the rest of the sentence without apparently violating the acceptable sentence structure. It has been argued that ON seems to be more “topic prominent” than the modern stages of the Nord. languages, because such constructions are found in ON. See Christoffersen (1981); Dyvik (1980, 74f.).

4.5. Conclusion

The attested surface constituent order vacillates between (S)V(O) and (S)OV in the AN runic material but is most often SVO with a very few deviances in ON runic main clauses. Subordinate order is barely attested in AN, yielding some evidence of so-called “stylistic inversion” for Runic Nord., examples which notably must not be taken as evidence for verb-final structures because V2 normally is well preserved in these sentences. Phrase structure is highly variable in the runic material as a whole and does not attest a fixed order of elements, maybe signalling “nonconfigurationality”, to apply Faarlund’s term, or typological undeterminedness (Braunmüller 1994, 29ff.).

The ON main clause is V2 and has V1 as a marked alternative order, and all constituents may precede the finite verb form, as topicalized elements. Subordinate clauses are V2, but exceptions are found, especially in EN. The verb phrase as well as the nominal phrase demonstrates variable word orders.

5. Foreign impact on word order

It is still a matter of discussion whether syntactic borrowing or major syntactic change through linguistic contact is possible at all. A

frequently emphasized requirement for borrowing is the “structural compatibility” requirement (Harris/Campbell 1995, 120ff.), implying that genetic closeness and typological similarity are prerequisites for such borrowing. In the model of Thomason/Kaufman (1988, 50/74ff.) substantial lexical and morphemic impact clearly precede major syntactic change. Cf. also Zeevaert (2000). Harris/Campbell (1995, 149), however, conclude as follows: “[...] as far as the strictly linguistic possibilities go, any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language”.

Looking at the Nord. languages, lexical as well as morphological influence from Lat. and from different stages of G is quite easy to demonstrate, while syntactic borrowing and even minor influence on word order may be very difficult to attest. Although the general lexical impact especially from MLG must have been massive, such influence probably represents only the first stages of language change induced by foreign contact (Zeevaert 2000, 175ff.). Thus, impact from Lat., MLG and later Early HG, which incontestably was substantial on the lexical and morphological domains in the Nord. languages, does not necessarily imply major syntactic change.

The Nord. languages at different stages, as well as the most influential foreign ones – Lat., MLG and Early HG – all manifest a great deal of internal word order variation. When word order varies in the influenced as well as in the influencing language, it is plausible that foreign impact may lead to an increase in the occurrence of marginal patterns in the affected language, with rare constructions finding their direct correspondences in a more frequent pattern in the other language: “[...] im verstärkten Gebrauch von bereits vorhandenen syntaktischen Strukturen [...]” (Zeevaert 2000). This is facilitated when the languages were used by bi- or multilingual members of the society. In most typological and generative studies, the primary cause of word order change is seen as being language internal, and similarities between languages tend to be explained as “parallel inner developments”, or as a change in parameters. Ureland (1989, 249ff.) criticizes this one-dimensional “biological-genealogical view” and argues for a model in which language contact and bilingualism are also taken into consideration. Cf. Braunmüller (1995, 31; 1998, 328ff.).

Actual candidates for an explanation based on foreign syntactic impact on the Nord. lan-

guages are the variation and deviance in word order presented in sect. 2.–4.

5.1. Main clauses

The incontestable variation between SVO and SOV order in AN main clauses as demonstrated in sect. 2.1. should probably first and foremost be attributed to internal developments: Larsson (1931, 37) tends to regard the older runic inscriptions with SOV order as proper remnants of the older stage. For this period, statements about foreign impact must remain mere conjectures.

ON runic inscriptions represent, with very few exceptions, a V2 language; see 3.1. and 3.2. Larsson (1931, 26f.) suggests that the deviant SOV order in main clauses in the younger runic inscriptions may be due either to Lat. influence or to mistakes, pointing to corresponding Latin prototypes. Ureland (1989, 256) stresses, following Larsson (1931, 27), that these examples are usually calqued on the Lat. SOV prototype *X me fecit*. They are found on baptismal fonts or on rune stones close to churches, while the majority of the inscriptions representing the vernacular are clearly SVO. Except for the very few examples of SOV order in main clauses, which might be due to imitations of a frequent Lat. pattern, there is no evidence of direct Lat. influence upon word order in ON main clauses. But, incontestably, during this period Lat. impact should not be underestimated, although it must primarily have taken place in written sources and have been limited to certain genres.

5.2. Subordinate clauses

By the end of the classical ON period in the middle of the 14th century, the Hanseatic League had achieved a dominant position. The lexical impact from the Hansa was great, but probably somewhat varying in intensity in the different regions of Mainland Scandinavia. It is plausible that MLG influence may contribute to explaining the variations in word order in ON subordinate clauses treated under sect. 4.2. When e. g. the direct object precedes the finite verb in subordinate clauses, this phenomenon may be given at least three different explanations: it may (1) be taken as evidence of remnants of PGmc (S)OV order, (2) be interpreted as “stylistic inversion”, or (3) be regarded as an innovation, caused by language internal or external factors, e. g., foreign in-

fluence, cf. Nyström (1985, 145). The first explanation should probably be rejected, cf. Kossuth (1978, 42), and Ureland (1978, 121f.), while (2) and (3) together may have contributed to an increase in the old but probably obsolete OV pattern found particularly in different stages of Sw., cf. Ureland (1989, 258). The native “stylistic inversion”, which might have merely been a case of topicalization although occurring in subordinate clauses, apparently sometimes violating the V2 order (see sect. 3.2. and 4.2.), was open to foreign influence from different stages of G, which besides having other syntactic patterns, incontestably exhibits OV order to a far greater degree than the ON languages. In addition to clear cases of “stylistic inversion”, however, other violations of the V2 order are also found in ON, first and foremost in Sw. law texts, particularly in The Law of Uppland and in the Law of Södermanland. Ureland (1978, 121f.) discusses the findings of Larsson (1931, 152ff.) who documents verb-third and verb-final structures in these law texts to a far greater degree than in the laws from the western part of Sweden, probably due to the fact that the western texts were less influenced by MLG, having been written in a region where the cultural, political and economical influence from the Hanseatic League was of minor importance.

Thus, verb-third and verb-final structures in subordinate clauses, which increased in number in particular in Sw. after 1400, thereafter to decline, may be regarded as innovations based on native albeit not very frequent constructions (“stylistic inversion”), a tendency which was strengthened by foreign influence from MLG, a language which had the OV clause pattern among others (Braunmüller 1998, 321ff.). This happened although the Nord. languages already as a whole were mainly V2 in the subordinate clause and clearly V2 in the main clause. Ureland (1989, 258) supposes that the impact from MLG first and foremost affected written language, whereas spoken language must have exhibited an SVO pattern.

Mod.Mainl.Scand. has developed a V3 order in the subordinate clause, in which the sentence adverbial normally precedes the finite verb form. The origin of this development is highly disputable; see Barnes (1987); Pettersson (1988); Platzack (1988) and Christoffersen (2000). The new word order starts to show up in OSw. after 1300, cf. Nyström (1985, 192), and in ONorw. probably somewhat later, cf.

Christoffersen (1997, 46). According to Platzack (1988, 243), the new word order was not finally established until about 1700. Platzack conceives the new order as being the result of a shift in parameters, taking place in Mainl.Scand. involving several syntactic features.

It is possible that foreign impact may have contributed to establishing this new word order, although this view is rejected by Barnes (1987, 19f.), who claims the “narrative inversion” to be the actual candidate. Zeevaert (2000, 192f.) summarizes the competing patterns for the subordinate clause in Sw.: “Normal” word order (that is, the new word order) in the subordinate clause competes with a word order that is similar to the word order of the main clause (the subordinate order for ON); it further competes with a word order that corresponds to the G word for finite verb forms (in absolute or relative final position); and, finally, it competes with the pattern of the G main clause with its “sentence bracing construction”. He stresses that the word order of the subordinate clause must have been far more influenced by Luthers’s Early HG language than by MHG, which in the middle of the 16th century was in decline. The new word order in the subordinate clause is rarely attested in written sources before 1500. Influence from Early HG may have strengthened a syntactic pattern that already existed, finally leading to the fixed formal difference now obligatory in the word order of the main and subordinate clause in Mainl.Scand. written languages.

Not only word order, but also ways of expression may be attributed to foreign influence. Christianity and the Lat. alphabet is usually supposed to have reached the WN region from the British Isles, while the somewhat later influence on EN was of a more Continental nature. This may have led to linguistic differences, to stylistic variance and the dominance of certain patterns or syntactic constructions. Subordination in ON in general may be expressed by means of an initial subordinator or through word order, the latter restricted to conditional clauses, as in Mod. Nord.: *Kommer du, går jeg!* The origin of this clause type without a subordinator is highly disputable, the candidates being a matrix with “discourse cohesion” (see sect. 4.1.), an interrogative-type matrix or a particular kind of subordination marking. This clause type is often explicitly labelled “interrogative-type conditional clause”. It dominates the Sw. legal

texts, and to some extent Dan. texts to a far higher degree than the WN legal texts, although it does exist as clause type in WN as well (Ståhle 1958, 77ff.; Naumann 1979, 8ff.). The normal conditional clause marker in WN is the subordinator *ef*. The frequently occurring subordinator-initiated conditional clause in WN as opposed to the interrogative-type conditional clause in EN may possibly be due to influence from the British Isles. Ståhle (1958, 162ff.) holds that the Sw. legal texts, with their majority of interrogative-type conditional clauses, although younger than the WN ones, mirror the oral stage, while the WN type is of a foreign and more recent nature, reflecting the conditional clause pattern dominant in British sources.

5.3. Cursus

Berg (1999), in an empirical study, summarizes previous research and discusses whether Lat. *cursus*, which is a rule-governed sentence-final rhythmical pattern, may have had any impact on ON prose, a view first advocated by Benediktsson (1965; 1974). Berg comes to the conclusion that *cursus* incontestably must have played a role as an influential rhythmical pattern in certain paragraphs of the ON texts (translations) that she has investigated, but these texts are not totally dominated by *cursus*. It remains to be demonstrated whether this rhythmical pattern may have contributed to the deviant word orders commented upon in sect. 5.2. and 5.3.

5.4. Conclusion

There is no reason to believe that foreign influence led to major word order change in Mainl.Scand., in spite of massive influence, especially from MLG, over several centuries. Probably already existing deviating word orders were strengthened in active use, especially in writing, and first and foremost during the process of translation, where the translators were confronted with influential languages demonstrating a great deal of syntactic variance at different stages. Simultaneously, bi- and multilingualism, which may have been more widely spread than is normally acknowledged, may have nourished, confirmed and revitalized word order variations and made them acceptable.

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22. Nordic language history and research on universals and theories of linguistic change

1. Universals and principles
2. Theories of change
3. Historical implications of synchronic universals
4. Dynamization of synchronic universals
5. Diachronic universals and principles
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Universals and principles

Research into language universals has been conducted in two different research paradigms, which I will call typological and generative, respectively. The goal of the typological approaches is to find cross-linguistic generalizations – universals – and then derive these from more general principles. In general, the same type of explanations are offered as in different functional approaches to grammar, such as discourse-pragmatic factors, production, processing, cognition, etc. See the different contributions in Hawkins (1988a; including his introductory paper). For the generative approaches, on the other hand, what primarily needs to be explained instead is how children can acquire a grammar so rapidly, with so meager evidence and without access to what is ungrammatical. The answer to this problem is that part of the linguistic competence is innate. Therefore, the goal for generative research is to construct a theory of an innate universal grammar (UG) with properties specified enough to account for this acquisition problem, but also flexible enough to account for language variation.

The typological universals pertain to languages. In Greenberg's (1963/66) seminal investigation on word order, 30 languages are included. Most of the universals in his paper take three different forms: unrestricted, implicational, or equivalent. Unrestricted universals hold for all languages. Implicational universals have the form $P \supset Q$, such that if a language has property P, it also has property Q, but not vice versa. An implicational universal thus captures a cross-linguistic pattern where three out of four logically possible combinations of two properties are attested. Equivalent universals are statements of uniquely co-occurrent properties of languages, such that property P is always found together with property Q, and vice versa. Some of Greenberg's universals are absolute, i. e. without any known

counter-examples. Others are statistical, i. e. with a few attested exceptions. Some scholars have seen the difference between unattested and extremely rare as less important: since the empirical, inductive method used by typologists can never logically prove a universal to be absolute, possible and impossible language types are in reality probable and improbable language types. Others want to uphold the distinction. Hawkins has advocated this latter view in a number of papers, summarized and extended in his 1983 book. In order to make implicational universals absolute, he has made them more complex, taking the general form $P \supset (Q \supset R)$, which reads "if a language has property P, then if it also has property Q, it has property R." Statistical patterns should instead be stated as distributional universals, to account for the relative frequency of different language types.

In the generative approaches, universals instead pertain to grammars. Chomsky (1965) distinguished between substantive universals, i. e. statements about the substance of rules, for instance the universality or universal availability of features, categories, etc., and formal universals, i. e. statements about the form and interaction of rules. Later, when the essentially rule-based Standard Theory (1965) was replaced by a Principles-and-Parameters model of grammar (Chomsky 1981), the noun "universal" was no longer used.

In this article, I will use the term "universals" in the typological sense, i. e. for generalizations about languages. Generalizations about grammars, whether we take these to be properties of an innate universal grammar or tendencies motivated by different sorts of functional demands on grammar, will be called "principles". On different ways to systematize different types of statements about universality, see e. g. Coseriu (1974), Seiler (1976) and Braunmüller (1982, 20–27). On the differences between the generative and typological approaches to universals, see further Hawkins (1988b) and Hoekstra/Kooij (1988).

2. Theories of change

The typological paradigm and the generative paradigm have both been applied to historical linguistics, and different theories of linguistic

change have been formulated. The general principles that have been proposed to account for universals which have been found also restrict possible language change: synchrony restricts diachrony, and no change can occur that would lead to an impossible language type. In the typological approaches, this impoverished theory of language change has been enriched in several ways (cf. Greenberg 1978). The principles behind synchronic universals have been given a more dynamic interpretation: they serve not only as synchronically working principles but also as motivations for language change. The principles (in interaction) evaluate states as preferred and dispreferred, where a language in a dispreferred state is more likely to change. This may also account for the relative distribution of language types: preferred language types are common language types. In other words, diachrony explains synchronic patterns. Still however, the principles are essentially synchronic in nature in that they describe states, not changes. An even more powerful theory of change tries to identify diachronic universals and principles. The perhaps most active area today as regards diachronic principles is research in grammaticalization, and a number of universally valid characterizations of this process have been suggested. For instance, Bybee/Perkins/Pagliuca (1994, 9–22) set up eight hypotheses about grammaticalization, including both more generally accepted generalizations and more controversial ones.

In the generative approaches, a restricted theory of grammar sets the limits on possible change; synchrony restricts diachrony rather than the other way round. In early generative work on historical linguistics, this is combined with attempts to formulate a restricted theory of change. The differences between adjacent grammars are characterized as rule addition, rule loss, rule reordering, etc. (King 1969). This forms a set of possible changes that constitutes a theory of change, in that it constrains how adjacent grammars can differ. In his important and influential work on diachronic syntax, Lightfoot (1979, 141–147) questions this type of theory of change. Given that each generation builds up their grammars afresh, without access to the grammars of the older generation, there is no direct link between adjacent grammars, and hence, no constraints between them can be formulated. The link relevant for diachrony is instead the link between the grammar that the child is about to construct and the language around him or her.

Within the typological approaches, the Scandinavian languages have only to a limited degree contributed to the formulations of specific universals or more general theories on change. The Scandinavian languages (or one of them) have sometimes been included in larger language samples; Norwegian was, e.g., part of the original 30-language sample in Greenberg (1963/66), and Danish is one of the languages in the language sample in Bybee/Perkins/Pagliuca (1994). Sometimes, the Scandinavian languages have been taken as counterexamples of proposed universals. In some cases, more specific theories of change have implications for how to analyse or interpret the history of the Scandinavian languages. In this article, I will present some different theories of change that have been proposed on the basis of typological universals and connect them with the history of the Scandinavian languages. Within the generative approaches, there has been considerably more research on the history of Scandinavian languages (cf. art. 19).

3. Historical implications of synchronic universals

Synchronic universals have historical implications. Since they establish possible and impossible languages or language types, they also establish possible and impossible language changes. An implicational universal $P \supset Q$ establishes three possible combinations and one that is impossible. An impossible or at least extremely rare change would be a change leading to the excluded combination.

Series of synchronic implications, forming hierarchies, have historical implications about the relative order of change. Consider e.g. the Preposition Noun Modifier Hierarchy proposed by Hawkins (1983, 75): $\text{Prep} \supset (\text{NDem} \vee \text{NNum} \supset \text{NAdj}) \& (\text{NAdj} \supset \text{NGen}) \& (\text{NGen} \supset \text{NRel})$. This hierarchy reads: “If a language has prepositions and either *NDem* or *NNum*, then adjectives follow the noun; if adjectives follow the noun, then genitives follow the noun; if genitive follows the noun, then relatives follow the noun.” The implication states a hierarchy of postnominal modifiers in prepositional languages: if only one modifier is postnominal, it is always the relative. If two modifiers are postnominal, it will be the relative and the genitive, etc. The modern Scandinavian languages adhere to this hierarchy: the Mainland Scandinavian lan-

guages represent the type with only one postnominal modifier, relatives, and Icelandic represents the type with two postnominal modifiers, relatives and genitives. The Mainland Scandinavian languages formerly had freer NP word order. The hierarchy now predicts the order with which the position of the different modifiers would be fixed, namely from the top and downwards. According to Hawkins this is also what we see in the development of the Germanic languages. He has followed the development of the West and East Germanic branches and concludes that the NP word order shows the predicted patterns of change.

To the best of my knowledge, the development of the North Germanic branch has not been investigated in this light. A brief look at the development of Swedish gives the following picture (data from Wessén 1965, 103ff.): In Swedish runic inscriptions, numerals and demonstratives can precede or follow the noun; adjectives can precede or follow the noun, but postnominal position seems to be more common; stressed genitives normally follow the noun; the few attested examples of relatives are postnominal. If we take relative frequency into consideration (as does Hawkins), we can interpret these data as follows: numerals and demonstratives are halfway through their switch to prenominal position; adjectives have begun to change their position, whereas genitives still show the old pattern. Interpreted like this, the data show the predicted pattern. In medieval laws, numerals and demonstratives normally precede the noun; prenominal adjectives are more common than postnominal ones; genitives precede or follow the noun. Again, this is the expected picture. In other Old Swedish texts, prenominal modifiers are the rule, except for relatives. Modern Icelandic, on the other hand, represents an older stage where the genitive has not become prenominal.

There is, however, one complication to this scenario, namely the genitive. Hawkins takes Late Common Germanic to be a language with prepositions and postnominal modifiers, but the runic inscriptions from 200–600 A. D., representing the earliest records of Germanic, show a mixture of NGen and GenN orders. According to Hawkins, none of these orders was basic; according to other scholars, the basic word order was actually GenN (see Braunmüller 1982, 172–175, and the references cited there). In any case, the position of the genitive in early Germanic constitutes

potential counterevidence to Hawkins' hierarchy.

4. Dynamization of synchronic universals

According to a more elaborated theory of language change, general principles that are formulated to account for language universals put a diachronic pressure on language: language changes to conform to (interacting) synchronic principles.

4.1. Harmony and drift

Greenberg (1963/66) introduced two general concepts to characterize the patterns he discovered and formalized in his universals, dominance and harmony. Dominance will be discussed in section 4.2.; here I present harmony, the concept that first caught the attention of researchers of diachrony.

Harmony captures co-occurring word order combinations. Harmonic word orders are those co-occurring in an equivalent universal. Harmony can also be read off from an implicational formula: given the implication $OV \supset \text{postpositions}$ (= prepositions $\supset VO$), the two harmonic word orders are OV & postpositions , and VO & prepositions . Greenberg distinguished two major harmonic word order patterns: prepositions & $NGen$ & VS & VO & $NAdj$, and postpositions & $GenN$ & SV & OV & $AdjN$. Harmony is, according to Greenberg, "very obviously connected with the psychological concept of generalization" (Greenberg 1963/66, 76). The patterns have been extended to also include the ordering of auxiliary/modal – main verb; noun head – all kinds of nominal modifiers; adjective – adverbial; and adjective – standard marker (all examples given here with the head-first alternative).

The idea that languages more or less inevitably move in a certain direction is old. Sapir (1921, ch. 7) coined the term "drift", which became something of a key-word in much historical work during the 1970s (cf. Kossuth 1978 on Old Icelandic). Drift has been motivated differently by different scholars. Of interest in this context are the attempts to interpret drift as movement towards maximal harmony or typological consistency. This research program is often associated with the works of Lehmann and Vennemann. A principle ("the principle of modifier placement", Lehmann (1973, 48); "the principle of natural

serialization”, Vennemann (1974, 347)) states that all modifiers in a language will appear on the same side of the head. The determining word order is the order of V and O, i.e. languages will serialize other instances of head-modifier in harmony with VO/OV. According to Vennemann, OV is in turn dependent on case morphology; in a verb-last system, the function of the nominals must be disambiguated by case. Languages that do not adhere to the principle of natural serialization, so-called “inconsistent languages”, are in a transitory state, striving towards consistency. According to Vennemann, the word order changes that have taken place in the Romance and Germanic languages with common Proto-Indo-European origin with (consistent) OV pattern are examples of a drift towards a consistent VO pattern, triggered by loss of a “reliable” and “uniform” case system (Vennemann 1974, 356f.; the case system of e.g. Modern German is not uniform and reliable enough). A language changing from SOV to SVO passes through a verb-second stage (TVX in Vennemann’s terminology, where T stands for “topic”), with the finite verb in second position in main clauses. TVX languages show a mixture of developing head-modifier structures and remaining modifier-head structures. Modern German is in this transitory stage, whereas English and French have become more pure SVO languages.

Vennemann does not discuss the development of the Scandinavian languages in his paper. Like Modern German, they are verb-second languages, and some attested changes in their development can be interpreted in terms of “drift towards consistency”. First, all Scandinavian languages have lost the so-called “sentence brace construction”. In a sentence brace construction, adverbials and objects are found between the finite and the infinite verb in main clauses, i.e. all constituents in the main clause, except for the finite verb, are arranged with modifiers preceding heads. The loss of sentence brace constructions (by many scholars interpreted as loss of OV) can be seen as a change towards more consistent VO patterning; cf. Vennemann 1974, 362–365. Second, in the Mainland Scandinavian languages, suffixes have gradually declined and been replaced by different kinds of periphrastic constructions, like prepositions, auxiliaries and modals; this development is typical in TVX languages, according to Vennemann (1974, 365). Third, the loss of impersonal verbs (e.g. OSw. *Mik angrar* ‘Me regrets’ > Mod.Sw. *Jag*

ångrar ‘I regret’) and the rise of passivized indirect objects can be interpreted as a growing tendency to interpret the first constituent generally as the subject, i.e. as a step from TVX to SVO (cf. Vennemann 1974, 350 on English). On the other hand, other changes go against the prediction. Most notably, the word order within the NP has developed in the opposite direction, from predominant postnominal modifiers in accordance with the VO pattern to predominant prenominal modifiers, i.e. an OV pattern (Hawkins 1983, 237; cf. section 3.). The development of the genitive is further discussed in Braunmüller (1982, 171 ff.). He represents the view that GenN word order in Old Nordic is to be interpreted as remnants of a more consistent head-final pattern, and that NGen word order is an innovation, caused by typological pressure. This shift is fulfilled in Icelandic (probably already in Old Icelandic), whereas it was restrained in the Old Mainland Scandinavian languages. A “counterdrift” (“Gegen-drift”) reactivated GenN order. Braunmüller seeks the causes for this counterdrift in prosodic patterns and the declining case morphology. Thus, according to Braunmüller, the development of the genitive in Scandinavian shows that morphology and syntax do not interact in the way proposed by Vennemann.

4.2. Other characterizations of preferred and unpreferred states

Consistency – or maximal harmony – identifies two “ideal typologies” or preferred states. However, an implicational universal identifies three possible states. The third possibility, the combination – P & Q in the implication $P \supset Q$, has been much more difficult to characterize and explain. Greenberg labelled the properties – P and Q ‘dominant properties’. Dominance says nothing about co-occurrences of word orders, as opposed to harmony. Instead, the dominant word order is the word order that can co-occur with any other word order combinations; it is the generally available disharmonic order, so to speak. On the basis of his universals, Greenberg identifies the following word orders as dominant: VO, prepositions, SV and NAdj. To account for dominance in terms of some deeper principle is more difficult; Greenberg gives the tentative suggestion that this might follow from a general tendency for comment to follow topic (1963/66, 79).

Whichever way dominance is motivated synchronically, the same principle(s) can be

given a diachronic impact, and word order changes that are not explicable in terms of harmony can be motivated by the principle(s) behind dominance. If we take DemN and NumN to be dominant word orders (cf. Croft 1990, 56), the changes within the NP in Scandinavian will appear less exceptional: the increasing occurrence of demonstratives and numerals in prenominal position is a move away from harmony but toward a dominant pattern. With an established prenominal position of demonstratives and numerals, the switch from NAdj to AdjN will then be motivated by (NP-internal) harmony, disregarding dominance.

Croft (1990) uses harmony and dominance to characterize stable versus unstable language types. First, he suggests that harmony puts a stronger diachronic pressure on language than does dominance. This hypothesis is based on the observation that for individual implications, harmonic patterns are generally more common across languages than the third possibility of dominant patterns. This, he states, suggests that harmonic patterns are more stable than dominant ones. Second, most of Greenberg's universals are statistical, i.e. we do find single counterexamples. Croft (1990, 209) suggests that counterexamples to synchronic universals also should be given a diachronic interpretation: they represent highly unstable states, i.e. languages in this state are likely to leave it. These statements of probability can of course not be contradicted by evidence from individual languages, but still we may note that the combination GenN & prepositions, excluded by Greenberg's statistical Universal 2, has not been unstable in the history of Mainland Scandinavian.

Another way to characterize preferred and dispreferred language types is found in Hawkins (1983). Three principles (Cross-Category Harmony, Heaviness Serialization and Subjects Front) and the interaction between them define degrees of preference. Cross-Category Harmony replaces Vennemann's Natural Serialization. Instead of identifying an ideal situation where all modifiers either precede or follow their heads, Cross-Category Harmony states that a balance is the preferred state, where equally many modifiers of V (now including subject and adverbials) and N precede and follow their heads. For example, for SVO languages, where the verb takes one modifier (the subject) to the left, other modifiers to the right, Cross-Category Harmony predicts that also the NP should show mixed order, with

some modifiers to the left, some to the right. In strict SOV languages, i.e. with all verbal modifiers preceding the verb, prenominal modifiers and postpositions are preferred, whereas in non-strict SOV languages, where certain modifiers can follow the verb, mixed order in the NP is preferred. Cross-Category Harmony has diachronical implications: there is less probability that a language that adheres to Cross-Category Harmony (and the other interacting principles that identify a preferred language state) will change than a language in a less preferred state (Hawkins 1983, 253). As an example of a language group with cross-categorical disharmonic word order patterns, Hawkins mentions the Germanic languages. According to Hawkins, Old Nordic shows great disharmony, with noun-initial NPs, verb-final clauses and prepositions. (This characterization of Old Nordic is not uncontroversial; cf. the overview in Braunmüller 1982, 113–144). Hawkins follows the evolution of Gothic and the West Germanic branches and concludes that there have been several short-lived stages, all characterized by strong disharmony in the history of these languages. Compare this with the Celtic languages, with maximal cross-category harmony (verb-initial, nominal-initial and prepositions) and few attested word order changes. What Hawkins' calculations of Cross-Category Harmony can tell us about the development in the Northern Germanic branches remains to be investigated.

5. Diachronic universals and principles

The goal of much recent research in grammaticalization is to explain synchronic universals and cross-linguistic patterns in terms of universal properties of diachronic processes. See e.g. Bybee's contribution in Hawkins (1988a). The harmony pattern stated in Greenberg's Universal 2 (NGen & prepositions, GenN & postpositions) has for instance been explained in terms of grammaticalization: when relational nouns with genitive modifiers are reanalysed as adpositions, head noun + genitive will give rise to prepositions, genitive + head noun to postpositions. Grammaticalization is of course found in the history of the Scandinavian languages as well, but this is not the place to relate different individual developments. Of more interest in this connection is whether facts from Scandinavian have

contributed to a more general theory of grammaticalization. Many cases of grammaticalization show predicted properties, such as phonological loss, semantic bleaching and syntactic decategorization. However, Scandinavian has also provided some counterexamples to hypotheses suggested by researchers on grammaticalization. The hypothesis that grammaticalization processes are unidirectional is contradicted by the development of genitival *-s* in Mainland Scandinavian (Norde 1997). The normal direction is that a clitic is re-analysed as an inflectional suffix. Genitival *-s* shows the opposite direction in Swedish and Danish, from an inflectional suffix to a clitic attached to the whole NP. Its clitic-like nature is seen most clearly in group genitives like Mod.Sw. [*mannen på gatan*]-*s* *åsikter* or [*Pelle och Göran*]-*s* *blommor*. The hypothesis that grammaticalization follows universal paths of development can also be questioned in analyses of individual changes. Christensen (1997) shows that the development of the Swedish future auxiliary *kommer att* has never had any meaning volition, a meaning that is an obligatory stage in a universal path of development of future auxiliaries according to Bybee/Perkins/Pagliuca (1994). In a pilot investigation of the development of four nouns to secondary adpositions in Old Swedish, Norde (1999) shows that each case has its own peculiar history and can not be captured by the grammaticalization clines suggested in the literature. The view that synchronic patterns are formed throughout by diachronic processes is also challenged here: prepositions developed from relational nouns, even though Swedish had GenN word order at that time. Future research on grammaticalization in Scandinavian will no doubt provide more contributions to the ongoing debate on diachrony versus synchrony.

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23. Nordic language history and sociolinguistics

1. The scope of sociolinguistics
2. Macrosociolinguistics and language history
3. Interactional patterns and cultural change
4. The variationist paradigm and language history
5. Is a historical sociolinguistics possible?
6. Literature (a selection)

1. The scope of sociolinguistics

The field of research we now subsume under the designation of sociolinguistics or the sociology of language was from the beginning in the late 1950s and early '60s not a well-integrated discipline, either theoretically or methodologically. The founding fathers – most of them were in fact men – were not only linguists but anthropologists, social psychologists, sociologists, educationalists and social scientists, and they brought to the new field of inquiry different strands of thought and dissimilar scientific traditions and theoretical backgrounds. But irrespective of what level of description and analysis of the relation between language and society the investigations concerned – macrolevel language policy, language planning and multilingualism, mesolevel sociodialectology and language attitude studies, or microlevel interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis – the common denominator was their synchronic orientation and their preoccupation with present-day problems and contemporary linguistic material. The main interest was focused on the status of different languages and varieties in the society in question, on social aspects of linguistic behaviour and external societal forces influencing linguistic behaviour (and language structure), and on interactional patterns and communicative regularities in conversations. The investigations were overwhelmingly empirical, and the degree of descriptive exactitude and explanatory precision aimed at necessitated large and well-controlled corpora.

But it was not long until the inherent dynamics of language variation and language contact drew the attention of sociolinguists to the diachronic dimension of contemporary linguistic variation. Actually, Labov's first work bears the title *The social motivation of a sound change* (1963). The technical and economic possibility of including informants of several age groups, socio-economic classes and both sexes in a representative sample of

the speech community in question opened up the study of ongoing linguistic change, at least indirectly by dint of the theoretical concept of "apparent time"; that is, consecutive age groups are made to represent real chronological time. To do so is not unproblematic, and sociolinguists have increasingly gone over to testing other methods to get at the patterns of contemporary language variation and change. In the case of sociodialectology, this entails longitudinal studies where the sociolinguistic patterns of speech behaviour at two or more points in time are compared. This type of investigation can still be called synchronic even though the time span between the earliest and the latest sample is 30–40 years. From this interest in analysing ongoing processes of change, it was a short step to testing the applicability of sociolinguistic theories and methods on historic linguistic material. The hope was to be able to get more to grips with the causes of linguistic changes and the mechanisms behind them than had been possible in traditional studies of language history.

Whether we consider sociolinguistics as basically one field united by the endeavour to make clear the relationship between language and society as, for example, Romaine (1994, viii f.) maintains, or we think of it as two or more disciplines depending, among other things, on whether the main focus is on language use and linguistic structure or on society and linguistic motives for social strife as Fasold (1984, ix f.; 1990, vii) does, we are inevitably led into a discussion on the scope of sociolinguistics and encounter questions like: What is the real nature of the relationship between language and society; can language be used in contexts or for purposes that are not social in any sense; is sociolinguistics something other than linguistics? And, taking another perspective: How should the boundaries between sociolinguistics and, for example, political and cultural history, ethnography, social psychology, and education be drawn, and how much from these disciplines must or can we include and pay attention to in an investigation and still call it sociolinguistic? What kind of data do we need to elucidate the particularly social aspects of language structure and language use, and – concerning the social impact on linguistic structure – from which structural level should we preferably choose the variables? I am inclined to take a

rather broad view of sociolinguistics and include studies of any aspect of the interrelationship of language and society, provided that their initial assumption is that language and speech have social as well as communicative and cognitive functions, that the patterns of linguistic variation tell us something about social structure and individual social motives, and that the impact of society and language is mutual. This last condition implies that, by linguistic means, you can create or change the social context for individual speech events and state your (conception of your) social role in the situation at hand or, on another societal level, through language policy decisions, shape (parts of) the social structure of society. Conversely, language users are bound by linguistic group norms, social expectations and societal regulations.

For the sake of simplicity, I will organize my subsequent survey of sociolinguistic approaches to Nordic language history under three headings: macrosociolinguistics and language history, interactional patterns and cultural change, and the variationist paradigm and language history. Finally, I will summarize the prerequisites and possibilities of a historical sociolinguistics. Most of my examples will be taken from Swedish, but Danish and Norwegian will also be considered. Only exceptionally will I include studies on 20th c. language development. Onomastic studies will not be considered.

2. Macrosociolinguistics and language history

To apply sociolinguistic views and methods of description to historical language stages has been least problematic as concerns research on the sociolinguistic macrolevel. This includes studies of language planning, language maintenance and shift, language contact, and societal aspects of bilingualism; in short, studies that have to do with the relationships of one (often a national) language in its entirety to other languages and how its status is dependent on societal development and expansion. To a large extent this is a question of policy decisions and concrete measures concerning language choice and language use. Political and cultural ambitions as well as demographic and infrastructure changes have a decisive impact here. Factors like these may be traced and analysed by exploiting historical sources in the same way as students of political

and social history, sociologists and political scientists do. Written documents like decrees, enactments, protocols, minutes and records of diverse types as well as memoranda, diaries and letters are excerpted and assessed for this purpose.

A good example of historical research on extraneous, conscious manipulation of the code is the study by L. Svensson (1981). He documents the conscious efforts to clearly mark the Swedishness (and simultaneously the non-Danishness) of the official texts issued by the Royal Chancellery (and other text genres from 1612 onwards). His investigation shows the definitive substitution of *-a* for *-e* in certain suffixal morphological categories, e. g. the infinitive, the preterite of weak verbs of the 1st conjugation, and the present participle. This seems to be a good example of codification of an *Ausbau* language. Active Swedification policies were to be pursued during later periods as well. The most radical action against Danish influence in the 17th c. was taken in the three former Danish provinces of Scania, Halland and Blekinge following their conquest in 1658. The process in Scania is described by Ohlsson (1978–79); here the author uses a morpheme-based model to analyse the gradual language change seen in Scania court records from the last decades of the 17th c. This Swedification was realized through the so-called uniformity programme comprising public and legal administration, church ceremonies and the language of sermons and enforced with from time to time varying zeal. The strictly quantitative, sociolinguistically inspired method that is used is particularly suitable for an analysis of mixed languages (or varieties) provided that every morph can be categorized as belonging to either one or the other, both or neither of the varieties.

Other examples of conscious Swedish language policy – and this time the actions were not defensive as was the case earlier against Danish influence, but rather offensive with the aim of gaining Swedish supremacy over the Sami (from the 17th c. onwards) and the Tornedal Finns (from the middle of the 19th c.) – are described by a number of authors from the 1960s onwards. Among these may be mentioned Hansegård (1968; 1990), Wande (1989), and most recently Wingstedt (1998). The most rigorous pressure for Swedification in these northern areas was exerted in the last quarter of the 19th and the first third of the 20th c. In one respect Wingstedt's dissertation is an illustrative example of one of the dilemmas of

historical sociolinguistics. Her aim is to explore “aspects of language ideology and minority language policies in Sweden, both from a historical and contemporary perspective, [especially] the nature and functioning of *language ideologies*” (1998, 2). Language (and other) ideologies can be captured in principally two ways. One is to point to the actual measures and decisions taken by the government, other political bodies or pressure groups, the professed motives for the action taken and the political and other public debate on the issue. This will render the official picture, the opinions of the political and cultural elite. The other way is to map out the notions and opinions of a representative sample of the population in question by interviews or written questionnaires, or by other direct methods. If this is done well and the researcher is not too positivistically naive, this course of action will give a more detailed and multifaceted picture of the prevailing – and supposedly socially variable – attitudes and beliefs regarding the problem investigated. Thus, such a survey will also provide a basis for an assessment of the legitimacy of the political actions taken. But the method is only applicable to the contemporary state of affairs, and for historical eras one has to rely on traditional forms of content analysis of extant primary and secondary sources. Wingstedt uses both methods, the attitude test, of course, only for eliciting present-day opinions.

Another issue on the sociolinguistic macro-level is the acquisition and loss of domains of a language. As concerns Swedish, this has attracted the attention of several scholars. Apart from the transition of the church language from Latin to the vernacular in the 16th c., particular interest has been focused on the rise (and 20th c. fall) of Swedish as a medium for scientific discourse. The first academic lectures known to be held in Swedish were those given by Petrus Lagerlöf in Uppsala in 1691 on the cultivation of the Swedish language, now edited, published and commented on by Ronge/Tjäder/Widmark (1999; see also Widmark 1997). Although these lectures seem to have aroused considerable attention at the time, they were not printed, except for two dissertations written in Latin on the same subject. Admittedly, lecturing in Swedish was a bold venture at the time, but the text itself is full of Swedish-Latin code-switches, and there are other signs of uncertainty and hesitation regarding the handling of the new situation. A firmer basis for Swedish as a scientific lan-

guage was laid in the 1730s–40s, among other things by the decision of the Swedish Academy of Sciences to publish their transactions in Swedish. The development of terminology and textual and stylistic patterns in specific scientific text genres in economics, technology and medicine from the 18th c. (and later) has been analysed from a social constructivist standpoint in a number of articles by Gunnarsson (e.g. 1988; 1997 a, b). Scientific prose is a good example of the widening of functions in a specific language and a nice illustration of how a desirable quality, in this case “scientificness”, is linguistically constituted. It also evinces the role the development of a professional language plays for the socialization and self-identification of its users as members of the in-group. The status of Latin and Swedish respectively in 18th c. Sweden has been studied by Lindberg (1984).

Interest in the processes by which Swedish emerged as a fully-fledged national language available for use in all domains has been quite noticeable during the last two or three decades. The study of the standardization and functional extension of Swedish as a written national language serving public purposes has been most energetically pursued at the Scandinavian Department in the research programme entitled *Nysvensk språkhistoria i samhällsbelysning* [History of modern Swedish in a societal light]. These studies have been conducted within the framework of a theory most clearly developed by Teleman (1985), according to which the linguistic code is seen as part of history and the historically and socially created situations for language use condition communication, which in turn influences (perceptions of) the norm and the ensuing speech situations. The stabilization and functional extension of standard Swedish during the 17th, 18th and 19th c. are seen as a result of historical phenomena such as the system of public proclamations and the struggle for the economic, political and military integration of the nation, and also of ideological and material factors. Teleman discerns three forces active in the propagation of change: (1) functionality, (2) power and prestige, and (3) a tendency towards innovations versus preservative social control. His discussion of these forces is entirely sociolinguistic and moves over all three sociolinguistic levels, even if the written language with its typical genres is put first. Works within this programme include the articles in the anthology *Det offentliga språkbuket och dess villkor i Sverige under 1700-*

talet [The ecology of public language in 18th c. Sweden], the monographs by Santesson (1986, on an influential book printer who contributed to orthographical and morphological standardization in the middle of the 18th c.), J. Svensson (1988, on the interplay of macro-societal factors and the development of the media and public communication from the 16th c. onwards), and Pettersson (1992, on linguistic changes in Swedish legal texts since 1734, which are explained by judicial requirements and citizens' demands).

The spread of literacy and active use of the standard language in writing by more and more members of society during the 19th c. was largely a result of societal and ideological factors like those just mentioned. This growing importance of both production and consumption of written language among all social groups has attracted the interest of many researchers, as witnessed by the three conference volumes on the development of the written languages in the Nordic countries during the 19th c. (*De nordiske skriftspråkernes udvikling på 1800-tallet* 1–3, 1984–86) and the research programme *Svensk sakprosa* (1996–), which is investigating Swedish non-literary prose from 1750 onwards. The former deals with a large array of topics such as the reading and writing ability of the population, the formal and stylistic development of written texts, the prevalence and nature of both professional and private written genres, and more theoretical questions regarding the ideological background of language prescription and standardization. The ideologies treated are national romanticism and nationalism, Darwinistic evolutionism, rationalism and socio-political egalitarianism. These volumes deal with the situation in all Nordic countries. Even if many of the individual studies in the latter project are more text-analytic (investigating lexical and syntactic traits) than sociolinguistic, the major theoretical question addressed is the interplay and reciprocal relationship between discourse and society, especially the role of descriptive, narrative, expository, argumentative and instructive texts for societal and educational aims. Here the project exhibits a link with critical discourse analysis. Additional theoretical and empirical background to these investigations is provided by the language change model of Teleman and the studies by Josephson and others of the acquisition of a public language by the Labour movement in the late 19th and early 20th c. (Josephson et al. 1996). Quite naturally, these studies of codi-

fication, cultivation and extension of the standard language have combined linguistic methods with historical and sociocultural approaches. A project very similar to the Swedish non-literary prose project is the Norwegian *Norsk sakprosa* which is concerned with the role of the same genre in Norwegian public life for the period 1814–1990.

By far the dominant element in Swedish as well as Danish and Norwegian language planning up until the 20th c. has been work on the form and structure of the mother tongue, i.e. what Haugen (1987, 627, 630f.) has termed “codification”. Before the foundation of the Swedish Academy in 1786, such efforts were mainly the concern of individual grammarians and lexicographers. Most of these works had an overt normative ambition which can be seen e.g. in commentaries on critical editions or in treatments of the history of Swedish linguistics and language cultivation. Such works are, for example, those by Columbus (1963), Danielson (1976), Teleman (1984), Wollin (1984), Thelander (1985), Widmark (1997) and Ronge/Tjäder/Widmark (1999). The most heated discussions up until Leopold's dissertation on Swedish spelling (1801) seem to have been those on orthography (and morphology), e.g. the well-known struggle between Urban Hiärne and Jesper Swedberg in the first decades of the 18th c. (cf. art. 155).

One aim of present-day language planning and cultivation studies is to uncover the effect of linguistic prescription, the attitudes towards and the observance of the norms, what Haugen (1987, 627, 631f.) calls “implementation” or acceptance of norms. What impact on public (and private) writing did the views and recommendations of learned scholars have? This is not easy to discern. On the one hand, the production of written texts was small and in theory easy to control by the central powers through different forms of censorship (during the period 1686–1766 through the office of *ensor librorum*). But the language cultivators were few and unauthorised, and in many cases their works existed only as manuscripts and were known to a limited group of interested scholars. Danielson (1976, 55ff.) has ascertained that the now often cited treatise by Columbus, *En Svensk Ordeskötsel* [Tending Swedish words] (1679), was known only to a few of his contemporary and younger colleagues. On the other hand, Santesson (1986) has shown how, without much theoretical ballast, the influential printer Salvius

during the 1750s–60s decisively steered usage towards a standardized orthography and morphology. And Thelander (1985, vii) mentions that when Sven Hof's *Swänska språkets rätta skriftsätt* [The correct writing of the Swedish language] appeared in 1753, there were subscriptions for more than 280 copies – no mean number. Also Loman (1986, 3f.) points out in his penetrating account of the language cultivation activity of the Swedish Academy from its foundation in 1786 to the end of the 19th c. that the influence of this activity on general usage remains uninvestigated. The difficulties associated with getting a reasonably acceptable picture of the effect of language cultivation measures have not been overcome until our own time. In the account of the development of the Scandinavian written languages during the 19th c., the problem of dissemination of norms and the channels for this has been given a good deal of attention. In Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the most important channels were textbooks and school teaching (school attendance had become compulsory in all three countries), manuals, articles and other printed contributions to the public debate, and centrally issued proclamations, decrees and circulars. The clearest effect of these efforts was on orthography, and the debate and reforms accomplished after the important Scandinavian meeting on orthography in Stockholm in July 1869 have been well documented, e.g. by Ståhle (1970), Spang-Hanssen (1970), and Hellevik (1970).

What has been said above covers in very broad outline research on the growth of a written standard. The evolution of spoken standards in the Nordic countries is a much more complicated matter, both regarding the definition and the degree of homogeneity of the code as well as its origins and development over the centuries. The sources of today's Danish, Norwegian and Swedish spoken standards seem to be, in varying proportions over time and countries, recited written language, the spoken variety of the capital, and educated everyday speech (Widmark 1992; 1995a; 2000). The social and situational differentiation and stratification that this has given rise to will be treated in sect. 4.

To modern language planning researchers, Norway stands out as a paradise, and the development of the national language situation since 1814 with the two competing standards *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk* has been the dominant object of research in historical sociolinguistics. The standard work on the Norwegian lan-

guage conflict is that by Haugen (1966), but there is a huge bulk of literature on this subject. The special language situation in Norway during the 19th and 20th c. is a factor that makes itself felt in almost all writings on Norwegian sociolinguistic matters (cf. arts. 164; 182). A recent account of the national language question in Norway from the Viking Age until today is given by Sandøy (1999).

3. Interactional patterns and cultural change

For interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis, it is essential to base the analyses on recordings of authentic talk which is part of the regular activities of the speakers. Authenticity is also of primary importance to the ethnography of speaking, whose practitioners try to guarantee this by the data-collecting method of participant observation. These methodological requirements pose problems, of course, for the historic study of conversational patterns and their possible changes over time. We definitely have to content ourselves with those secondary written sources which exist. These include court records, minutes of discussions in a union or association which claim to be at least partly verbatim, personal letters, plays and literary prose dialogue and, finally, etiquette manuals and advice books. There are, however, theoretical problems inherent in all these types of sources.

Advice books often present rules of decorum and good manners in a general and ageless way. Such manuals were published in 17th, 18th and 19th c. Europe (Burke 1993, 96, 99f.) in great numbers. Among them are also a few manuals translated from German into Danish and Swedish that go into more detail about conversation. Hunold's *Compliment-Bok* (Swedish translation 1741) has been discussed by Lilius, who tries to apply Grice's conversational maxims to Hunold's rules of courtesy and to draw parallels to conversation analytic findings on compliment exchanges (1998, 122ff.). The impression this manual gives – which will, I presume, be corroborated by other similar publications – is that the conversations were very strictly structured and that different kinds of conversations were typically associated with particular social settings. Here, as in other cases, it is dangerous to draw any conclusions about the relationship between the prescriptions in the manuals and ac-

tual practice, but according to Burke (1993, 123f.) there is evidence that in Italy, France and England, the models in the manuals influenced conversational practice during the early modern period. During this period – in Scandinavia, however, mainly during the 18th and 19th c. – new forms of social intercourse, conversation and discussion emerged with the coffee houses, salons, clubs and academies. Burke (1993, 119) characterizes meetings in these settings as semiformal and half public. It is obvious that this type of sociability was reserved for the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie.

Quite different settings for conversation in a broad sense are those found within the Folk High School (particularly in Denmark and Sweden) and the Labour movement during the second half of the 19th c. In these frameworks, systematic training of debating and arguing skills took place in the form of discussion exercises on given topics (Josephson 1991; 1996; Josephson et al. 1996). Not only the content of the contributions but also their approximate form can be studied in extant minutes. Josephson characterizes the conversational style of these meetings as “considerate” in Tannen’s terminology (1991, 30).

Another type of source are the descriptions in travel books and diaries by travellers concerning conversational habits and style in foreign countries. Despite often stereotypical pictures rendering so-called national characters in a routine way, the contrastive approach may uncover interesting dissimilarities between the conversational culture of the foreign country and that of the visitor’s home country. The information these manuals and travellers’ accounts offer belong rather to the ethnography of speaking than to conversation analysis, i. e. they tell us who speaks (or may speak) to whom when, where, how, and about what. In a comparative sociohistorical perspective this may be of greater interest – and is more easily attested – than, for example, repair strategies or preference organization. Research into this kind of historical source is, however, scarce.

The most obvious and probably most reliable source for studies of concrete conversational sequences and interactional regularities in the past is contemporary realistic drama and dialogue in fictional prose. This means that nothing older than the 18th c. and no verse drama is of interest. During recent decades there has been a growing interest internationally in studying drama dialogue with sociolinguistic, particularly conversation analytic, methods (e. g. Burton 1980; Herman

1995), mostly 20th c. drama but also plays from earlier periods. In Scandinavia, articles by Rommetveit (1991) and Svennevig (1991) are examples of this trend; each of them has studied a play by Ibsen. An ongoing project in Uppsala, *Svensk dramadiolog under tre sekler* [Drama dialogue in Sweden through three centuries], has as one of its objects to map out the conversational patterns and changes in plays over time (Melander Marttala/Östman 2000, 3f.; 8). One of the few earlier studies that has paid attention to dialogue as interaction is Widmark’s (1970) investigation of Gyllenborg’s comedy *Swenska sprätthöken* from 1737. Her main concern is the stylistic differentiation, but she also deals with turn-taking. Questions, imperatives, exclamations and turns initiated through terms of address, response tokens, interjections and the like are much more frequent than declaratives (1970, 8ff.). Still, to a modern reader, the majority of the turns are strikingly long and do not give the impression of a vivid and brisk conversation.

Although drama (and prose) dialogue are the best sources now available for the historical study of interactional patterns, these texts cannot be regarded as entirely true reproductions of genuine conversation of their time. Obviously, they are not authentic talk but, at best, the playwright’s perception of realistic utterances. There is also the dramaturgic, aesthetic aspect. Drama dialogue tends to be more condensed, more tense than everyday casual talk and allows little scope for phatic communion. The author is under an obligation to include in the utterances considerable background information for the audience which in comparable authentic situations remains unmentioned because it is common knowledge to the participants. As a consequence, the structuring of information is more stringent in plays than in real talk (cf. Svennevig 1991, 45f.). Thus written – and performed – drama texts can be characterized as both more elaborated and less verbose than everyday conversation. Eriksson (1998) compares the course of dialogue in two sequences containing the same adjacency pair, proposal – rejection, in an authentic conversation and in a contemporary play. He demonstrates through solid conversation analysis how in this case – which can probably be generalized – the real speakers try to avoid conflict whereas, in a drama, conflict is what is sought.

A sociolinguistic problem well suited to historical investigation is forms of address. The

subject matter is in itself sociolinguistic and cannot be dealt with non-sociolinguistically. It has indeed been studied before the mid-20th c. but new theoretical fuel was added by Brown/Gilman (1960). Presumably, address forms and comments on them in historical sources, realistic dramas and fictional prose, letters, reports and other written genres are quite authentic and mirror social stratification and relations of the period. As is well known, Swedish is in this respect more complicated than Danish and Norwegian, since it does not conform to the general European T/V system. During the 19th and 20th c. the Swedish address forms were a perpetual object of (at times) heated debate. A survey of relevant literature is given by Ahlgren (1978), which deals with the semantics and use of *ni* in a historical perspective. Widmark (1995b) widens the scope both historically to times before *ni* appeared and to the use of common nouns as address forms. A historic study of Danish forms of address has been presented by Nielsen (1948).

4. The variationist paradigm and language history

No change in the structure of a language comes about without a prior stage of variation and, vice versa, the diachronic aspect is present in practically all studies of contemporary variation. Studies on language variation and change in present-day speech communities have developed a large set of efficient methods to uncover regularities or tendencies in the patterns of ongoing change. A hallmark of these methods is that they are empirical and quantitative; they preferably use as data recorded speech (structured interviews as well as authentic informal conversations) but also elicited perceptions, opinions and attitudes about others' and informants' own language use. The prototypical linguistic investigation in this tradition builds on a large corpus designed in advance, well suited to statistical analyses and thus well controlled by the researcher. The theoretical conclusions are, among other things, that variation is part of linguistic structure and that speakers orientate themselves to a variational norm. Furthermore, not only does speakers' linguistic competence include the ability to vary their speech, but they can also interpret the social significance of the linguistic form of a message and act according to prevailing sociolinguistic norms and their

own social aims. The view of leading sociolinguists is that sociolinguistics must be incorporated in linguistic theory and consequently in any theory of language change.

To apply sociolinguistic concepts and methods to historical data is problematic, though. Research in the dominant Labovian paradigm is typically focused on speech and regards this as primary in relation to written language. Data older than ca. 1890 are all written. Furthermore, the most successful research into linguistic variation has concerned phonological variables, that is, variation in form that does not affect cognitive meaning nor, in most cases, the spelling, and detailed phonological analyses like those carried out in variationist studies are almost impossible to do on the basis of written historical texts. We have to stick to morphological, lexical and syntactic variation which, as far as the lexicon and syntax goes, involves variation in meaning in most cases. Another question is how reliably the historical texts that make up the data reflect actual social stratification and situational norms. In realistic contemporaneous drama, stylistic differentiation is often found to the effect that persons belonging to different social strata or appearing in varying social contexts express themselves differently (see e.g. Widmark 1970). How authentic is this variation? Are the presented social dialects – if the term is at all appropriate – reasonably true representations of linguistic variation in real life, or is their function just to indicate that here is a social difference between two personae which may be signalled linguistically without naturalistically rendered details? A comparison with the popular burlesque comedies of later eras and the stereotyped dialect we meet there should make us cautious when we interpret stylistic variation in older plays, even though we cannot deny that the best playwrights of earlier epochs had a keen sense of stylistic nuances. A further problem is how a stylistic continuum relates to a social one. Most present-day studies of spoken language that comprise both social and stylistic variation have demonstrated a parallelism between the two so that a variety (or rather a set of variants) used in formal situations by a lower-class person is equivalent to the variants that middle-class speakers use in informal contexts. Both groups of speakers display similar stylistic variation but at different levels (cf., for example, most variables in Labov 1966). So, if you have a corpus of texts from a particular period in history representing

different genres or text types, e.g. legal and official language, literary prose, epistolary prose, courtly or serious verse, religious moralizing verse and comic verse – which are the text types Romaine has chosen for her seminal 1982 book – is it possible to conclude that the observable stylistic variation corresponds to a sociolectal continuum in the period which the texts date from? That would mean that the linguistic form of official prose comes close to the speech of the higher social groups and that the style of comic verse narratives has many traits in common with a decidedly popular low style. It is true that the majority of sociolinguistic variables investigated from the latter half of the 20th c. display this parallelism between stylistic and social variation, but variables in the process of change – as, for example, postvocalic *r* in Labov's New York study (1966) – often deviate with a cross-over pattern; and there are other counterexamples too. No doubt, this problematizes the interpretation of recorded variation in terms of diachronic processes in the past, and we must rely on what external evidence that there is for our reconstruction of past linguistic processes in their social contexts.

When trying to reconstruct sociolinguistic stratification and processes of change, sociolinguists have generally acted on the “uniformitarian principle”, which means that we assume that “the linguistic forces which operate today and are observable around us are not unlike those which have operated in the past” (Romaine 1982, 122). This would imply, among other things, that the prevalence and character of well-attested present-day processes and forces like change from above and change from below, the attitudinal factors of overt and covert prestige, the gender- and class-related patterns of change, and the principle of chain-shifting which predicts that “tense [vowel] nuclei rise along a peripheral track” (Labov 1994, 176) can be inferred for historical changes; thus we can use “the present to explain the past” (ibid., 24). Where intralinguistic forces are concerned, there do not seem to be any valid objections to the uniformitarian principle; to our knowledge, human physiology and mental capacities have not undergone any changes that could have an effect on linguistic ability. But in the case of external social and cultural factors, we must use the principle with great caution. We know that social organization in Western and most other societies has changed radically over time, both the kind and degree of social integration and

compartmentalization, and we suspect that there have been equally important changes in mentality influencing concepts of self and societal roles as well as the linking of linguistic form and social significance. Increased length of life probably means that people nowadays are in contact with speakers representing a wider age-range than in the past. This would possibly have the effect of slowing down change, as would the exposure to public media and other channels of communication. To get a better understanding of this type of problem, sociolinguists must to a greater extent work together with students of social history and mentality. Until this has been attained, the uniformitarian principle is a good working assumption, as long as we are wary of its pitfalls.

Romaine (1982) discusses in great detail the epistemological and methodological status of sociohistorical linguistics, taking as her starting-point the claims for a sociolinguistic theory put forth by, among others, Labov, Bailey and Bickerton. She argues that a theory of sociolinguistics in the Labovian sense must include the diachronic aspect and must not exclude the written language; written sources are as valid as casual speech. The domain of the sociolinguistic variable should be extended beyond phonology so as to comprise syntactic traits as well, e.g. relative markers in Middle Scots, which is the object of Romaine's empirical investigation. Not only can we use the present to explain the past but also vice versa, use the past to explain the present by applying sociolinguistic methods and analyses. Although she is critical of some of the epistemological claims that have been made concerning the explanatory and predictive power of sociolinguistic analytic methods like cross-product analysis, implicational scaling and variable rule analysis, she practises these herself and shows that they give valuable insights into the structure of relativization in Middle Scots and its stylistic, and by implication social, variation. However, Romaine issues a warning against the power of these analytic tools. “Both implicational scaling and the [variable rule] program run the risk of exaggerating or imputing dynamic qualities to situations which may well have exhibited stable variability over centuries” (1982, 200). This inherent shortcoming can be counteracted, though, by taking into account extralinguistic – stylistic and social – factors which are “observed to condition the rate of application of linguistic rules” (ibid.). Romaine's own empirical investigation demonstrates that stylis-

tically stratified variability can exist over a long period of time without giving rise to change but while gradually assuming socially diagnostic qualities.

In Scandinavia, there are no sociolinguistic historical studies like Romaine's with such theoretical depth, size of empirical data and consistency in use of sociodialectological methods. Research on sociolinguistic variation in the second half of the 20th c. usually includes a diachronic aspect and makes reference to earlier studies building on material (partly) dating back to the 19th c. Such works are, for example, those by Ingers (1970), Nordberg (1972; 1975), Kristensen (1977), Thelander (1979), Ståhle (1981), Kotsinas (1989), Sandøy (1995), Ivars (1996). (See also arts. 35; 167; 192–194). Loman (1991) has given an exhaustive exposition and assessment of urban language studies in Norway and Sweden during the period 1850–1950. Although these studies were written before the variationist conceptual apparatus was available, most of them are in no way sociolinguistically naive, e.g. those by Amund B. Larsen or Olof Gjerdman. These types of studies will not be given further mention here.

There are not an abundance of studies of earlier language stages and long-term changes that make use of sociolinguistically inspired quantitative methods. Nordberg (1980) applies a modified variable rule analysis to account for the historical development of the variation *ha* ~ *hadde* in the temporal-modal system of (spoken) Swedish from three different periods: the 1650s (Agneta Horn's oft-cited autobiography), the latter half of the 19th c. (Gustaf Ericsson's autobiography, written in Södermanlandian dialect) and the 1960s (casual urban speech in Eskilstuna). Five grammatical factor groups are distinguished, and it is shown that the strongest impact on the choice of variant has shifted from the verb's functioning as main or auxiliary in the older corpora to that of expressing modality in the Eskilstuna corpus. It is in expressing unreality – and particularly so in the lower social groups – that the *ha*-variant is significantly strong. Thelander (1991) demonstrates the applicability of quantitative analytic methods to uncover qualitative entities as social and stylistic varieties. He uses two data sets – one the present-day dialect of Burträsk, the other Agneta Horn's autobiography from 1657 – which both exhibit internal variation. By analyzing the co-occurrence of variants from two different systems in sequences of

varying length, Thelander attempts to establish, on language-internal grounds rather than contextual, two co-existing systems. According to Thelander, the possibility that linguistic variation should be conceived of in these terms rather than as inherent variation in one system always ought to be tested first. In the Burträsk case this analysis works well – three distinct varieties can be deduced – but in the case of Agneta Horn, data indicate a “gradual style slide” (1991, 89) rather than two consistent stylistic varieties. A third study in this vein is by Larsson (1988) on the indicative inflection in the plural persons of verbs in 15th – early 19th c. Swedish. His sources are dramas, documents, letters and memoranda. He views variation using a socio-psycholinguistic model of linguistic competence which stresses situational and interactional factors in a way reminiscent of social constructivism and conversation analysis. The analysis is based on statistical calculations of the relative influence of language-internal factors like subject type, word order, distance between subject and verb, phonological context and verb class. Although Larsson does not make use of variable rules or implicational scales technically speaking, he does analyse the mutual and combined effects of linguistic variables in a variable-rule-like way and orders verb groups in implicational hierarchies. But he also includes situational and socio-economic factors and shows that, as today, the social differences that can be established are quantitative and that no single social group can be made “responsible” for the breaking up of subject–verb concord. It is worth noticing that these three studies, as well as that by Romaine, trace their origins from research aimed at the linguistic analysis of social variation and apply methods worked out within that paradigm. However, when these methods are used for analysis of historical data, they tend to tell us more about other types of variation, e.g. stylistic and, first and foremost, structurally conditioned variation. This may be seen not only as a consequence of the insufficient social data from earlier epochs but also as a testimony to the viability of these methods for purely linguistic analysis.

Sociolinguistic studies on earlier epochs are scarce also in Norway and Denmark. However, Dalen's study (1991) on the 17th c. urban dialect of Trondheim may be mentioned here. He argues that this dialect is basically the same as the present variety, that there are signs of social variation within the dialect in the 17th c. and that the similarity with the dialects of

the non-adjacent coastal area is due to social and economic parallels. Brink/Lund's (1975) large-scale study of the phonetic development of spoken Danish must be mentioned, although its main focus is on the 20th c. The investigation was designed before the authors knew about Labov's New York study, but the approach is typically sociolinguistic. Brink/Lund trace the (rather late) emergence of and subsequent changes in the two Copenhagen sociolects, the high and the low variety, and their diffusion over other regions in Denmark. The time depth is impressive: the authors have made use of recordings of speakers born in the period 1816–1956. Their results rest on the assumption that no important phonological changes in the individual, at least not systematic ones, take place after the age of fifteen. That this is the case is not conclusively shown in the literature on variation and change.

Considerably more research has been done on stylistic, situational and social variation in the past that is sociolinguistically informed and uses sociolinguistic arguments without necessarily applying the specific analytic tools of the discipline. Most often these studies are preoccupied with varietal stratification during the past five centuries, especially the existence and status of a (spoken) standard (under diverse designations) and its relation to other varieties or with the stylistic variation in a certain text and its social significance at the time. In Sweden, Widmark in particular has contributed to this field with a number of papers. Widmark (1970) shows that colloquial forms in print are used by Gyllenborg and other playwrights for style-differentiating purposes during the Age of Liberty "Frihetstiden". Such forms signal both situational (for the upper classes) and social variation, and this is effected by a difference in number, not in kind. The informal, yet polished, variety used by people of the better classes in their private social lives lies between the public formal speech and the vernacular of uneducated people. The differentiation affects vocabulary, word forms, forms of address and syntax. This stylistic (and social) tripartition is well attested by, among others, the 18th c. grammarian Sven Hof and was still in operation around 1900 according to Noreen and Lyttkens/Wulff. Both these latter authorities, however, further subdivide the stylistic spectrum of spoken Swedish into six categories, still excluding rural dialects (Widmark 1991, 230; 1992, 158 ff.). The basic situational differentiation which apparently has prevailed for cen-

turies is the one between public and private speech, a distinction valid for the upper classes in particular. There also seem to have been e.g. regional variations or nuances in private speech. Socially conditioned variation in private speech is attested by Lagerlöf at the end of the 17th c. (Widmark 1991, 231), and it is probable that it dates back at least another c. (Widmark 1992, 166). Holm (1984) assumes that some sort of common, nationally applicable variety must have existed as early as the late Middle Ages for purely communicative, practical reasons.

A major issue in the debate on stylistic and social variation in spoken Modern Swedish is the relation between the three main varieties, their reciprocal influences over time, and in particular the origin of educated colloquial speech. These three varieties are in Hof's terminology "public speech", "the speech of social intercourse" and "the speech of ordinary people", and in Noreen's "higher", "middle" and "lower style". Two possible sources of the colloquial speech of the upper classes which exerted their influence during different periods are mentioned: *hovspråket* 'the court language' during the 17th and 18th c. and *boksvenska* 'bookish Swedish' during the 19th c. The court language may have had its roots in recited written official documents and ceremonial speech and may have spread to wider upper-class strata via conversational use in court circles (Widmark 2000, 24 f.). Bookish Swedish is a term coined by Dahlstedt (1978, 50 ff., 57 f.) and refers to the high variety of the peasantry which built on the language of sermons and of books and texts read aloud in schools. During the whole modern period there seems to have been a diglossic situation: for ordinary people the two varieties concerned were dialect and bookish Swedish; for higher-class people, educated colloquial speech and public speech. This rather strict system was in the process of dissolution around 1900, making room for the 20th c. system with a national spoken standard, regional standards and local dialects, mostly with smooth, continuous transitions between the lects.

Rather similar situations seem to have prevailed in Denmark and Norway with the same kind of varietal division. For Denmark, the stylistic and social tripartition is attested by Skautrup (1953, 224 ff.) and Pedersen (1997, 239 f.). According to Seip (1959, 41, 47, 67) the situation in Norway during the 18th and 19th c. was similar, with three relatively dis-

tinct varieties. In both countries the division between speech in public and private domains was maintained. As for the age of a *höyere talemål* 'H-variety', Seip (1954, 215ff.) draws the same conclusion for Norway as Holm does for Sweden: some sort of a common high variety must have existed as early as the Middle Ages. In Denmark it is also possible to divine a higher variety used on certain ceremonial occasions (Skautrup 1944, 278ff.; cf. art. 167).

The argumentation in this research, Widmark's and others', is based on, besides the actual extant texts, observations by contemporary grammarians, lexicographers, literary men, travellers and on linguistic comments by letter-writing laymen. The assessment of the quality of such evidence, of course, hinges on the aim and leanings of the written sources and on knowledge of the cultural milieu in which the document was written, i.e. on customary historical and philological criticism of the sources. But the interpretation must also be informed by sociolinguistic considerations, and so far these have to be built on what we know about present-day forces which influence variation and change. Thus Widmark, in her investigation of the origin and evolving social distribution of apicoalveolar [ʃ] in Swedish, makes use of well-attested present-day variation according to gender and social class and according to the social value of the variant and attitudes towards it that can be inferred from earlier statements and testimonies (1983, 92, 96f.). And she gives the same explanation for the substitution of *dom* for *di* in subject position by Swedish immigrants to Stockholm in the 19th c. (1991, 232f.) as she has used for the change in quantity of [u:] to [u] before *rt* in present-day central Swedish (1973, 21f.).

Up until the 1970s, sociolinguistic issues had difficulty in being included in textbooks on language history. The shining exception is Skautrup's *Det danske sprogs historie* (1944–68). Skautrup consistently views language in relation to its changing ecological – i.e. cultural, social, political, material and other – conditions and pays much attention to domains and varieties. That language is something that exists within societies and is the object of attitudes and planning is clearly brought out by Haugen (1976). The latest Swedish language history textbook, by Pettersson (1996), allots considerable space to sociolinguistic, sociohistorical and language contact explanations of language change. It

is unlikely that future descriptions of Nordic language history will not embody sociolinguistic issues.

5. Is a historical sociolinguistics possible?

Besides giving a survey of the sociolinguistic research on Nordic language history, I have discussed in the previous sections theoretical and methodological problems connected with the different sociolinguistic approaches to the study of language history. The account in this section can thus be brief.

The fewest problems are associated with macrolevel studies of language planning, societal bilingualism and the overarching ecological conditions for developing different functions of language at various times. Apart from the often unpredictable supply of and access to relevant historical sources, the main difficulty seems to be in getting a satisfactory picture of the implementation of language norms and the attitudes towards enacted language policies. The connection between informants' professed attitudes and their actual performance is also indirect concerning present-day issues. Reports on (other people's) attitudes in bygone days, also by contemporaneous observers, are a further step more indirect and less representative than those we can capture today. All the same, we can get very detailed and tangible information on language standardization and the implementation of norms in historic times from investigations such as the one by Santesson (1986). Language ideologies and views on the relationship between nation and language in the past are accessible only insofar as they have been taken down by members of a political and intellectual elite. During the 19th c., and especially its latter half, participation in the public debate on linguistic norms widened, mainly as a result of the initiation of compulsory schooling and new popular movements, and the documentation of linguistic endeavours and attitudes increased accordingly.

The answers we can hope to find concerning conversational patterns in earlier periods are those pertaining to the ethnography of speaking rather than to conversation analysis. This is due to the nature of the data handed down to us. These can, at their best, give us some impression of interactional norms concerning

verbosity and silence, social constraints and mandates on conversation in terms of participants, setting, time, subject, code etc., and forms of address and expressions of courtesy and abuse. Testimonies about these kinds of issues can be found in writings by members of the cultural-linguistic community in question as well as by outsiders, i.e. they are products of either participant or external observation. Data of the latter kind, in particular, are often written from a contrastive cultural perspective and can in any case be subjected to contrastive analysis. Plays as evidence of interactional norms and processes should be treated with caution, as a couple of articles show (see 3.). It is futile to think that we can obtain ethnomethodologically valid data, i.e. from authentic, not preorganized conversation, on fine nuances of social interaction like turn-taking strategies, accountings and preference organization from periods prior to the 20th c. It may be the case, though, that these microsocioal mechanisms are so sluggish that what we discover about present-day patterns in a specific culture are valid for the past too. But we will never know for certain.

As for the study of language variation and change, we may decide that, in order to do fruitful research on historical material, we have to abandon the doctrine of the primacy of the spoken language and also include written language in the sphere of sociolinguistic interest. The best picture of linguistic variation at a specific time is, as a matter of course, given by investigations of sources from different genres or individual texts with inherent variation. However, applying conclusions drawn from the stylistic variation that will often be found in these types of studies to social variation of the same order must be done with precaution. Even though there usually is a parallel between stylistic and social variation, it is not a one-to-one relationship. Despite many common overall patterns, present-day social variation and change has proven to be so integrated with cultural and attitudinal factors, often of a local and/or transitory character, that it cannot be correctly explained without supplementary ethnographic and social-psychological information. The social value of a linguistic feature may change within a rather short timespan – or vary simultaneously between communities – as for example the open /*ö*/ and /*ä*/ variants in contemporary Swedish. Reliable and sufficient data of this kind concerning olden times are difficult to ascertain. On the whole, a crucial factor dis-

tinguishing between sociolinguistic investigations of present-day and historic language variation is the researcher's control of the linguistic material to be analysed. Contemporary studies can be designed so as to elucidate in a structured and consistent way the problems that they are supposed to solve (and in some cases an experimental set-up is the most suitable). This is very seldom possible with historic data that have to be analysed idiographically. The dissimilar empirical bases of studies of present-day and historical variation and change aggravate direct comparisons as these would be made, strictly speaking, between incommensurable entities.

Another uncertain factor when we use the present to explain the past are the differences in mentality and conceptions of social stratification that may obtain. Co-operation with social historians and researchers within the history of human mentality would probably eliminate some of the insecurities incident to the existing sociohistorical research. One risk that such co-operation could not remove concerns the degree of correctness and comprehensiveness of contemporaneous statements by linguists and others on the usage of the period in question. Although such statements are often referred to in the argumentation in historical sociolinguistic research – and it would be wrong to disregard them – they must not be taken at face value. It is not a sign of disrespect for these linguists to point out that they cannot possibly have surveyed more than a limited portion of the usage and attitudes of their contemporaries. Present-day professional observers may also go wide of the mark. For instance, the prevailing opinion of Swedish linguists and language cultivators is that the morphology of spoken language, particularly some nominal and verbal suffixes in the dominant Central Swedish variety, are changing rapidly towards the forms of the written standard. As shown by Nordberg/Sundgren (1999) in a comprehensive study of Eskilstuna speech, this is not correct. Only one out of seven variables displayed an overall substantial change over a 30-year period; all the others showed no or very little chronological change. The results are probably valid for the whole Central Swedish area with the possible exception of Stockholm. The point is that the conditions for observing and surveying contemporaneous usage have never been so favourable as in the latter half of the 20th c. Even so, existing statements are far from exhaustive or even correct. So, conclusions con-

cerning the accuracy of assessments of usage during earlier periods are obvious.

Is a historical sociolinguistics possible then? Despite all the difficulties, shortcomings and objections mentioned above, I am inclined to answer in the affirmative. But it will be a somewhat different sociolinguistics, less empirical in the sense that it must necessarily rely less on hard statistical data and be less prone to formulating rules and laws than has been the case in some sociolinguistic quarters. Some subfields will have to be given up altogether; it is not possible to conduct conversation analysis according to the rules on historical material. A historical sociolinguistics has to accept indirect, second-hand data. Findings concerning present-day sociolinguistic conditions cannot be applied to historical material straight off. This does not mean that they should be neglected. On the contrary, it would be impossible to engage in historical sociolinguistics without the theoretical and empirical basis of modern sociolinguistics, but, above all, the description and explanation of sociolinguistic states and processes in the past must be solidly grounded in the historical, social, ethnographic and mentalistic circumstances of the age in question. In most cases the best way to avoid anachronistic interpretations by uncritical use of the present is, of course, cross-disciplinary co-operation. Even if the available linguistic data and extralinguistic facts do not allow sociolinguistic methods to be applied strictly and systematically, it is evident that sociolinguistic thinking and sociolinguistic approaches may enrich diachronic studies and give us a more detailed and realistic conception of language history and the interplay between language and society during earlier epochs.

6. Literature (a selection)

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24. Nordic language history and research on languages in contact and on multilingualism

1. Introduction: Research on languages in contact and multilingualism
2. The range of contact phenomena
3. An outline of research on Nordic contact
4. Conclusion
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction: Research on languages in contact and multilingualism

Research on Nordic language contact and multilingualism is an expanding field based on a 100-year-old tradition. Both diachronically and synchronically, a variety of contact phenomena, situations and results are involved. Nevertheless, the basic research tools have not been developed beyond the primary stages. The main reason is that contact research until World War II was intimately bound up with loanword studies in a neogrammarian vein. Although the fruits of this research on lexical loans were enormous, they necessarily remained one-dimensional, leaving aside various kinds of structural interference due to language contact as well as sociolinguistic effects of bilingualism (e.g. code-switching, code-mixing, and interlanguages of different kinds and degrees). Data that were hard to cope with in a neogrammarian framework had simply been ignored. Furthermore, precise standard terminology, which is a basic requirement, had not yet been developed (on this prerequisite, see 2.).

Modern contact research progressed after World War II with considerable speed. Two pioneering works that functioned as signposts for future research appeared in the same year: Haugen's *The Norwegian language in America* (1953), and Weinreich's *Languages in contact* (1953). Further impetus was given by Le Page (1959), who initiated the study of pidgin and creole languages. Le Page's background was one of a traditional philologist, but he turned to the pidgin languages of the West Indies which hitherto had been totally ignored by linguists. It had been noted early on that pidgin languages are structurally equal. Therefore, in the years 1965–1980, researchers on creole languages advanced the "monogenetic" (or "relexification") theory claiming a genetic relationship and a common origin for all pidgin languages (cf. Bechert 1991, 130ff.). This

model parallels the traditional IE family tree where a common proto-language is invoked. But genetic linguistics was unable to account for any linguistic transfer other than direct loan of elements (lexical transfer), since it had to exclude most kinds of structural interference and sociolinguistic data. A basic alternative of the "monogenetic" approach was the so-called "polygenetic" model. A touchstone of both models was Russenorsk in Northern Norway, which probably developed in the 18th c. and served as a basis of communication for about 150 years in the seasonal trade between Russians and Norwegians (cf. Broch/Jahr 1984; Jahr 1997). Russenorsk had been known amongst creole language researchers for a long time, and it provides a good example of a pidgin language which was difficult to explain in terms of the monogenetic theory. Russenorsk has been interpreted as a Scandinavian counterpart to other pidgin languages in the world (especially in the Atlantic and Pacific region).

Significant progress in contact research was made by Trudgill, whose work *Dialects in contact* (1986) is directly parallel to Weinreich's *Languages in contact* (1953). Trudgill differentiated between dialect contact and language contact as follows: "Dialect contact I define as involving mutually intelligible varieties, while language contact is concerned with non-mutually intelligible variation" (1994, 13). Dialect contact may lead to a new interdialect variety (with interdialect forms), whereas language contact leads to the development of an interlanguage. Typical characteristics of interlanguages are simplification and overgeneralization. This is the scenario where a *koiné* comes into being: "The dialect-contact counterpart to a language-contact pidgin is thus a *koiné*. A *koiné* is a new mixed dialect, just as a pidgin is a new mixed language" (Trudgill 1994, 19). In modern research, this essential distinction receives much attention (cf. Kotsinas/Helgander 1994).

An important contact phenomenon is the reduction of variants. There is a general tendency for the most simple and unmarked variant to survive, while all other variants are removed. In Trudgill's terminology, this process is called *levelling* (Trudgill 1994, 20). A condition *sine qua non* for dialect levelling is mutual understanding, or (at least partial)

bilingualism. As pointed out by Thomason/Kaufman (1988), the nature of contact-induced change is in part determined by the nature of bilingualism (i. e. its duration, type and degree). An example of dialect levelling is provided by contact between Low German and Nordic in the Hanseatic period (see 3.2.).

2. The range of contact phenomena

One linguistic subsystem which is extremely susceptible to contact-induced change is the lexicon; hence the prominent focus on lexical loans in traditional research (cf. art. 88). Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953) endeavoured to develop a systematic set of terms for this (the bracketed numbers tentatively indicate terminological correspondences):

<i>Haugen</i> (1950)	<i>Weinreich</i> (1953)
Linguistic Innovations	Lexical Interference
Borrowed	Simple Words
Loanshift	Transfer (5) (6)
Creation	New Function
Exact (1)	Homonymy (3)
Approximative (2)	Polysemy (4)
Extension	New Expression
Homonymous (3)	Compound Words
Synonymous (4)	and Phrases
Loanwords	Transfer (7)
Assimilated (5)	New Function
Unassimilated (6)	Loan Translation (1)
Native	Loan Rendition (2)
Induced (7)	Loan Creation (7)
Spontaneous	Hybrid Compounds

A terminological consensus concerning lexical transfer is far from established, and a systematic grid of different kinds of lexical interference is a *desideratum* to be worked on (cf. Oksaar 1984, 849f.). The situation is even more complex when contact phenomena beyond the lexical domain are included. It is generally acknowledged that transfer and interference pertain to all levels and subsystems of the languages in contact, namely vocabulary (lexical loans), phonology, morphology and syntax (structural loans). Note that the research on syntactic transfer (particularly a change in word order) faced particular problems since direct influence from one language on another is difficult to prove (cf. art. 21). The notion of structural influence had already been put forward by Hermann Paul (1909). He maintained that there are two basic influences exerted by a foreign idiom (Paul 1909, 339). First, foreign elements can be absorbed.

Second, native elements can be rearranged and structured to conform with a foreign pattern. This kind of impact is said to alter the *inner form* of the language.

A basic hierarchy of different contact phenomena is presented by Thomason/Kaufman (1988, 74ff.); their borrowing scale includes five different stages from casual contact (exclusively lexical loans) to heavy structural loans (under very strong cultural pressure). These structural borrowings culminate in an altered morpho-phonology, involving also typological changes, for example the neutralization of phonemic contrasts, variation in word structure rules, and the transition from a synthetic to an analytic language type. It is stated that grammatical domains differ in terms of sensitivity or degree of interference. Van Coetsem (1988, 28), for instance, maintains that different subdomains are not equally stable. In his view, the concept of stability correlates with the relative degree of structuredness of a domain or subdomain: the more structured, the more stable (cf. also Thomason/Kaufman 1988, 72–74). On the phonological level, a salient contact phenomenon is the reinforcement of sound changes through intimate contact (Schulte 2001 a).

Accent, pitch and tonemes are highly susceptible to language interference. Salmons (1992) carried out a systematic study on *Accentual change and language contact* in northern Europe, where he mainly dealt with the pre-literary period. Another important factor is the “typological distance” between contacting languages or dialects (cf. Thomason/Kaufman 1988, 73). It seems that a close typological fit between the subsystems of the source and target language would favour interference, although not automatically lead to it. In Trudgill’s model, this would be a clear case of dialect contact (see 1.). Examples of this are provided by Old Nordic-Old English contact in the Danelaw and by Low German-Scandinavian contact through the Hanseatic league (see 3.1. f.).

3. An outline of research on Nordic contact

Three periods can roughly be distinguished for Nordic language contact: (1) an early one (including the older runic period and the early High Middle Ages); (2) the (later) Middle Ages; (3) modern times.

3.1. Early contact

North Germanic contact with surrounding idioms started very early (cf. art. 88). Outside Indo-European, the earliest clear contact must have been with the Finno-Ugrians. On linguistic grounds, Finnish-Germanic as well as Sami-Germanic contact can be traced back to Proto-Germanic times (cf. Koivulehto 1999, 359–372). A dominant aspect of early Nordic and Pre-Nordic (Gmc) contact with surrounding languages is heavy borrowing of lexical items. Therefore, the investigation of early Nordic and Germanic (i.e. AN and PGmc) contact primarily rested on lexical loans. A sketch of loanword research to date on the pre-Hanseatic period is provided by Hofstra (1995). The author gives an overview over different strata of assumed Germanic loanwords in Baltic Finnish (cf. also arts. 67 and 88). Pioneering work in this field was done by Koivulehto, whose studies are now collected in a *Festschrift* (Koivulehto 1999). Koivulehto's main achievement was to establish a relative chronology of loanword strata on linguistic grounds. Apart from borrowings that can be traced back to Proto-Germanic, there are loans which belong to a specific stratum of Ancient Nordic, e.g. Finn. *katso*- 'guard' (← AN **gāt(i)ja*- < PGmc **gēt(i)ja*- > ON *gáta*), which belongs to the so-called *ts*-layer of early Proto-Finnish (see Koivulehto 1999, 258ff.). Research on early Nordic-Finnish contact was also carried out by Elert (1993; 1998) out of a Swedish perspective. In later periods, lexical borrowing continued, but with alterations due to North Germanic sound changes and dialect diversification. Note that research methods have been refined and the focus has significantly changed (cf. Koivulehto 1994). Modern research on Finnish-Germanic contact has turned away from lexical loan studies, and within Finno-Ugric research, a new school has emerged (cf. Wiik 1997b; Künnap 1998). Wiik (1997a), for instance, demonstrates why research into loanwords is insufficient. In diametrical opposition to traditional research, Wiik (1997b) focuses on phonetic interference between Proto-Germanic and Finno-Ugric, arguing in favour of an Uralic/Finno-Ugric substratum. However, Wiik's theories are much disputed.

North Germanic-Sami contacts have also been traced back to early times (see esp. Koivulehto 1999, 359–372). But the basic problems involved in this field of research have only been partially solved. First, the Sami lan-

guage is less conservative than Finnish, and hence there are more uncertainties in interpretation than for Finnish (cf. Koivulehto 1992). Second, Sami loanwords from North Germanic were in part borrowed via Finnish, and the Finnish structures are similar to those of Sami. Sköld (1961, 61), who is aware of this problem, maintains that the loanwords which reached Sami through Finnish make up a substantial source of errors in research on Nordic-Sami interrelations. Wickman (1982, 281) argued that both Nordic and Finnish exerted an influence on the Sami language and reinforced each other's impact on it. Summing up, there are three lines of transmission (cf. Jahr 1997, 945):

- (a) Nordic → Sami
- (b) Nordic → Finnish → Sami
- (c) Nordic → Sami ← Finnish

Apart from these linguistic problems, another difficulty consists in pinpointing the historical and geographic setting for this Sami-Nordic contact. It is said that "the forebears of the Lapps and the Scandinavians met in Northern Norway about the time of the birth of Christ" (Sköld 1979, 111). Undoubtedly, the domain of the Sami population has diminished since Ancient Nordic times (see e.g. Larsson 1992; Ureland 1995). There are typological parallels between Nordic and Sami, but it is uncertain to which extent they are contact-induced. Kylstra (1972; 1983) assumed that certain developments in Nordic and Sami were due to mutual influence. He observed that West Nordic preaspiration and assimilation of nasal clusters (-*NC*- > -*CC*-) also occur in Sami and Finnish (cf. e.g. Finn. *tuttu* 'known' < **tunttu*). Kylstra (1983, 173ff.) admits, however, that it is extremely difficult to reach decisive conclusions as to the origin of these typological parallels. On the whole, Sami-Nordic interference is a field of intense research, although evaluating the data is particularly problematic.

The earliest contact between Celts and Scandinavians is traceable to around 600 A.D. In Scandinavian language history, this is the end of the Ancient Nordic period which is mirrored in the older runic inscriptions (ca. 150–600 A.D.). The investigation of Celtic-Nordic contact is overwhelmingly lexically based. Basic research was carried out by Marstrander (1915). Geipel (1971) investigated *The Scandinavian influence on the English and Gaelic languages*. Historical and linguistic evidence for the Nordic connection to Ire-

land, especially to Dublin, during the years 795–850, was presented by Mac Mathúna (1997). More detailed phonological investigations of Old Nordic loanwords in Irish were presented by Schulze-Thulin (1996), and Nordic traces in Western Scotland were traced by Jennings (1996), while Fellows-Jensen (1996) studied Icelandic-Irish contact in Iceland on the basis of personal names and place-names. Another focus in Nordic-Celtic relations includes language death. An example is provided by Norn, a Nordic idiom formerly spoken on the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, the Orkneys and Shetland, where it was ousted by Gaelic (see Barnes 1998; cf. arts. 100 and 223). Modern research on language contact and on bilingualism investigates the causal factors leading to language death (cf. 3.3.).

Another prominent sphere of contact is between Scandinavians and Slavs. Nordic-Slavic contact is traceable from the 8th c. onward, but the main sources of evidence are Skaldic verses and runic inscriptions from the 10th and 11th c. Runic evidence has been evaluated by Melnikova (1998). For an in-depth discussion of contact between Vikings and Slavs, see arts. 67 and 116. As for East-West contact, Low German-Slavic interactions due to trade connections especially in the Hanseatic period are of major concern, too (see Andersen 2000).

A special point of interest is early Nordic-West Germanic contact in the wake of the Viking raids from the 9th to the 11th c. The Scandinavian settlement in England, the so-called *Danelaw*, set up long-term contact between Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons. Both Danes and Norwegians were involved in this, but it is a difficult task to distinguish the Danish and Norwegian elements (cf. Fellows-Jensen 1988). Apart from personal names, placenames play a prominent role in this research (cf. e.g. Fellows-Jensen 1985). Different historical layers of place-names have been uncovered, including Scandinavian and Celtic ones. The course of English language history seems to have been determined by long-term contact with the Northmen. Nielsen (1998, 165f.) discusses the various linguistic effects off the Scandinavian settlement in Britain. Hines (1990, 31) sees the standardization of English as a normative process involving a dialectal continuum between the static pole of Nordic on the one hand and the innovative pole of West Germanic on the other. It is disputed whether the decline of the Old English case system and the shift from a synthetic to an analytic language type can be accounted

for in terms of language contact and bilingualism (cf. art. 115). There can be little doubt that language contact favoured morpho-phonological reduction of the inflectional system (cf. Norde 1997; Jahr 2001; Schulte 2001a). As Mühlhäusler (1986, 38) points out, “inflectional and derivational morphology... are the first victims of language contact”. There is a clear parallel with the swift typological shift of the continental Scandinavian languages in the 14th and 15th c. (cf. 3.2.).

Before turning to the Middle Ages, there is one further possible aspect of Nordic-West Germanic contact that stands in need of comment: the extensive borrowing of WGmc names into Nordic (cf. art. 88). Although the lengthy debate on this issue might not be over, modern researchers take a markedly critical stance on this. As the languages involved in this debate are genetically closely interrelated, there is the danger of circular arguments. Peterson (1994, 159) concludes that “the chosen subject of study is not a very suitable one for establishing the true nature of the relationship between Scandinavia and the Continent during the Migrations”.

3.2. Contact in the Middle Ages

It was pointed out in 3.1. that many early Nordic contacts continued throughout the Middle Ages. As for long-term Finnish-Nordic contact, there are lexical loan-studies attesting old Swedish-Finnish trading contacts (see Koivulehto 1996). Sami-Nordic contact also continued through the Middle Ages and into the present (see 3.3.).

The close interrelations within ON languages and dialects also form a major field of research (cf. art. 100). Chapman (1962) provides a classical study of ONorw.-OIcel. interrelations. Note that linguistic argumentation on this issue encounters the danger of circularity, since correspondences between ONorw., OIcel. and OFar. can be based both on parallel developments and long-term contact (cf. Werner 1994, 123). As far as continental Scandinavian is concerned, contact between ONorw. and OSw. in the 14th c. gave rise to a mixed Swedish-Norwegian variety, the so-called “Birgittine-Norwegian” (cf. Sandvei 1938).

A central and still expanding field of investigation is Low German-Scandinavian contact. On the whole, the German impact on the Scandinavian languages in connection with the Hanseatic League has been enormous (for

a historical outline of German-Scandinavian contact between 800 and 1600, see Engelbrecht 1993). As might be expected, the former focus of research rested on loanword studies; hence the abundance of works in this field (see e. g. Rosenthal 1987, with references). Various aspects of the Low German impact on Scandinavian have been dealt with in symposium papers and series, e. g. Hyldgaard-Jensen/Winge/Christensen (1989), Elmevik/Schöndorf (1992), Braunmüller/Diercks (1993), and Braunmüller (1995). Investigations include all kinds of Low German influence, for instance in terminology and the lexicon, translation practice, morphological and syntactical transfer. Morphological transfer involves questions of word formation such as the borrowing of German verb prefixes into Nordic (cf. Corfitzen 1989). It has been noted by Johannisson (1968, 619) that many Low German loanwords are high frequency words. An overview over Middle Low German influence on Swedish in a historical setting is provided, e. g., by Rosenthal (1987). As pointed out by Moberg (1989), the creative role of bilinguals in extending the lexicon by fusing elements of both languages must not be underestimated. It is often stated that interrelations between Low German and the Scandinavian languages especially in the 14th and 15th c. led to rapid inflectional (morpho-phonological) reduction. This change resulted in a typological shift to an analytic language from a synthetic one (cf. Jahr 2001). In this period, Low German and the Scandinavian languages must have been mutually intelligible, comparable to the situation among Danes, Swedes and Norwegians today (Haugen 1966; Braunmüller 1989). Thus, there was no need for an interlanguage (or a pidgin) between the Hanseatic traders and the Scandinavians (cf. Braunmüller 1997). Neither is the situation indicative of far-reaching bilingualism. Apart from the fact that Scandinavians themselves were used to semi-communication, the basic requirement for mutual understanding was fulfilled: a high degree of similarity, or close typological fit, in the phonological, morphological and also lexical subsystems (cf. 2.; see also Norde 1997, 395f.).

It has long been noted that the typological shift to an analytic language type occurred almost simultaneously in Danish, Swedish and Norwegian. All these languages were in long-term contact with Low German. Haugen (1976, 313) explicitly stated: "There can be little doubt that contact with other languages,

especially Middle Low German, but also Latin, was a triggering factor. The farther a region was from the traffic with the Hansa, the less deeply the old structure was affected". Ringgaard (1986) criticized this view; he regarded the loss of inflection as a purely internal matter, maintaining that reduction of the inflectional system in Danish had already started before there was on-going contact with Low German. However, modern research appeals to the factor of reinforcement through language contact to account for the swiftness of sound changes (cf. 2.). Norde (1997) and Jahr (2001) refer to the morphological and morphosyntactic effects of these interferences, whereas Schulte (2001 a) stresses the structure-based phonological interface. But modern researchers are aware of the fact that phonology and morphology are intertwined in various ways. Contact-based interference in morpho-phonological processes deserves further investigation.

3.3. Contact in modern times

Northern Scandinavia, especially Northern Norway, has been a melting pot as far as language contact is concerned (cf. Ureland 1987). The northernmost minorities in Scandinavia, the Sami and the Finns, are of special interest when investigating multilingual interactions between minority languages and larger languages (cf. Jahr 1997). The earliest Scandinavian contacts with these groups in modern times were documented in the 18th c. (see Jahr 1982, 308 ff.). Russenorsk, Europe's best documented pidgin language, was the result of language contact between Norwegians, Russians, Sami, Finns and Swedes (cf. 2.).

In the very north, the Sami shifted over to Norwegian in some cases and developed a Norwegian variety with significant grammatical simplification. For example, due to the lack of grammatical gender in Sami, the three-gender system of Norwegian was greatly reduced in "Sami Norwegian", in some areas to a unified one-gender system (cf. Jahr 1997, 944). As for structural influences, Wickman (1982, 282 ff.) discusses the possibility of syntactic loans from Nordic into Sami. Points under discussion are the introduction of the copula 'be' instead of original nominal sentences; SVO instead of SOV word order; the compound tenses perfect and pluperfect in addition to the old simple tenses of present and imperfect. As mentioned in 2., contact-induced change has affected the phonological

factor of stress. It has been observed that stress in Southern Sami differs from Northern Sami. Bergsland (1992) does not exclude Nordic influence as an explanatory factor. In his view, the Southern Sami innovation is due to an intensified stress on the initial syllable, which also conditioned the reduction of short, unaccented vowels: "The increased stress, actually stronger than in Northern Sami, could quite possibly be due to Scandinavian influence, but this is, of course, impossible to prove or disprove" (Bergsland 1992, 8).

There is interest today in the position of the Nordic minority languages and in the phenomenon of language death. The main present-day languages of Scandinavia that function as minority languages are Sami, Finnish and Swedish (in certain areas of Scandinavia). Hyltenstam/Stroud (1991) focus on the fate of Sami and other minority languages in a broader sociocultural perspective. By consensus, the minority position of a language is indicated by low historical prestige, a restricted domain of functions, and low social status. Recent contact-based developments have been studied in their sociocultural and historical setting. Thus, Tandefelt (1988) deals with the ongoing language shift from Swedish to Finnish among the Finland Swedish minority of Finland, and Martinussen (1996) discusses the dialect situation in Finnmark from a historical perspective starting with the German evacuation in 1944. In his report on the complex language situation in Northern Norway, Jahr (1982, 310ff.) mentions the special situation of Finnish as a victim of language death. Lainio (1995; 1997) discusses Swedish-Finnish interrelations and the sociofunctional position of Finnish in parts of Sweden, and Hyltenstam (1996) focuses on Swedish as a minority language in the European context. As for the region of Sønderjylland/Nordschleswig, various aspects of German-Danish language contact and bilingualism have been investigated (cf. e.g. Søndergaard 1981; Nissen/Pedersen 1988).

Another central topic of modern contact research concerns the Scandinavian transatlantic emigration to North America (on the historical background, cf. e.g. Blanck 1996). The important Scandinavian minority languages in America are Norwegian and Swedish. Since Haugen (1953) wrote *The Norwegian language in America*, much research has been devoted to Norwegian-English and Swedish-English bilingualism. Note that Haselmo (1974) in his treatise on American

Swedish dealt with code-switching, although he did not at that time make use of this technical term. Interlanguage studies pay much attention to Norwegian-American English and Swedish-American English interference, such as partial code-switching and phonological change (cf. Klintborg 1996; Hjelde 1996). For a comprehensive overview of various aspects of language contact in Northern Europe, see the handbook on *Contact linguistics* (Goebel et al. 1997).

4. Conclusion

The topic of Nordic language contact is extremely complex and multi-faceted. In addition, contact linguistics is a cross-disciplinary field focusing on the process of communication across all kinds of barriers – geographic, social and cultural (cf. Trudgill 1985). Over the course of Nordic history, many ethnic groups and speech communities were involved in contact. Many of these started in pre-literate societies and predate the beginnings of Nordic as a linguistic subgrouping of the Germanic languages. While research on older phases of contact is traditionally bound up mostly with lexical loans, the research on contact in literary times is broader based, allowing for all kinds of methodological approaches and foci, especially sociolinguistic ones (e.g. bi- and multilingualism, code-switching, code-mixing, interlanguages). This is particularly obvious with regard to the research on Low German-Scandinavian contact, where studies based on written sources have widened our perspectives. Bi- and multilingualism plays a central role in linguistic change. As has been argued by Moberg (1989), bilinguals partially fuse the subsystems of their languages (e.g. the lexicon of Low German and Swedish). On the whole, research on modern contact has a markedly sociolinguistic focus. Of particular interest are not only the Nordic minority languages *inside* Scandinavia (Sami, Finnish, Swedish, German, Romani and Russenorsk), but also *outside* Scandinavia (e.g. Swedish and Norwegian in America). In this context, language death is explained as the result of minority languages gradually losing their functional domain. Note that different aspects of Nordic language contact and bilingualism are also dealt with in other articles in this handbook (see esp. arts. 63–70; 88; 115–117; 135; 153; 174; 220–229).

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25. Nordic language history and research on styles and registers

1. Introduction
2. Early and late Medieval Times
3. The beginning of the Modern Age
4. The Modern Age
5. Concluding words
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The historical development of the Nordic languages is reflected in texts written for various purposes: religious, legal, esthetic etc. Structurally and linguistically different genres have been created and have changed over the course of time. The number of genres was very limited in the early Middle Ages. Research concerned with older texts has focused on philological aspects interspersed with stylistic analyses. Formerly, the concept of *style* mainly referred

to the linguistic variation that distinguishes genres and texts. In modern research, the field has been widened to include structure and narrative technique, rhythm and metrics, the structure of dialogue, elements related to the subject matter etc. Data processing has made it possible to examine and compare very large masses of text, which was not previously feasible.

The past fifty years of Nordic research on special genre and text features has therefore become very multifarious as regards both texts, aims and methods. This cannot be illustrated in any detail here. The present survey is based on a selection reflecting the choice of textual domains and trends in approaches especially in more recent times. The chronological division is roughly: (1) Early and late Medieval Times (approximately from the be-

ginning of the thirteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century), (2) the beginning of the Modern Age (from about the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century), and (3) the Modern Age (the nineteenth and twentieth centuries).

2. Early and late medieval times

2.1. Old Nordic literature

What chiefly characterizes the oldest period is that the texts are anonymous and superindividually tied to genre. Except for Icelandic (Old Norse) literature, a great number of the texts consist of translations, above all from Latin. Research on medieval texts has focused on Old Norse literature and is often concerned with text editing, textual comments and philological analysis. The literature on Old Norse texts is almost boundless, and new contributions are constantly being added. The survey below is an attempt to single out research that can be said to have a *stylistic bent*. Inquiries into genres, stylistic categories and style markers can be considered to form a basis for such a study, but no hard-and-fast delimitation can be made. The question of the oral background of the sagas is not merely philological but also contains a stylistic aspect. A symposium was organised on this theme (*Oral tradition*, 1977; cf. Pálsson 1999). Another symposium resulted in a report on *Structure and meaning in Old Norse literature*, 1986, which presents textual analysis of different genres, such as lyric poetry, family sagas and legends of saints. The analysis focuses on new methods of textual analysis, based on methods borrowed from related scientific fields. Structural analysis has revealed a consistent planning in saga texts which can be connected with persuasive linguistic features, for instance repetitions (Heller 1960). Structural and narrative technique can also be said to include dialogue structure, studied in sagas by Snorri Sturluson (Lie 1937). With consummate skill, Snorri included important information in the dialogue (Hallberg 1978). By studying the frequency of certain style markers, Hallberg had earlier been able to make a contribution to text attribution by showing that some anonymous saga texts had been written by Snorri Sturluson (Hallberg 1968). Similar studies have subsequently been carried out by other researchers. It is also of interest to note that modern speech act theory based on J. L. Austin has been used in studying episodes in sagas (Benson 1988).

Other investigations concerned with oral style markers focus on tense, kennings and formulas.

2.2. Other medieval texts

Here we leave Old Norse literature and pass on to other Nordic medieval texts. These can be roughly divided into (1) secular and (2) religious genres, either in prose or in verse form. Genres and texts which are not translations have been of special interest.

2.2.1. Legal texts

A genre in originally written language is thirteenth-century legal texts, which have been studied from both a traditional and a modern perspective. Good surveys of Danish legal texts have been presented by P. Skautrup (1944) and P. Diderichsen (1968) and of Swedish legal texts by E. Wessén (1965). The Swedish survey was preceded by research focused on stylistic features, for instance ellipsis, metonymy and proverbs (Stähle 1958; B. Pettersson 1959). In Old Norse legal texts, alliteration has been the subject of examination.

Contrary to the traditional view, according to which alliteration is a remnant of an older stage of language, it has been maintained that it is an innovation and a consciously employed stylistic device. This view is based on a statistical comparison between older and newer as well as between West and East Nordic legal sources (Ehrhardt 1977). Text structure and cohesion are new topics in research on legal texts (Naumann 1979). N. Jørgensen (1987) has studied syntactic structure based on the so-called macrosyntagm model (cf. sect. 4.3.). He has also studied the textual structure of ten Nordic medieval laws. The result shows such great similarities with other Germanic laws as far as structure and style are concerned that a tradition having Indo-European roots can be assumed.

2.2.2. Other secular prose genres

Other secular prose genres which have interested researchers concerned with the Middle Ages are tales of chivalry and historical texts, diplomas, judgment books and proverbs. In the same way as genres differ, so do trends in research. The analysis of textual structure in Swedish historiography in combination with grammatical analysis has shown what textual function grammatical units can have (Jørgensen 1990). Another approach is concerned

with the relationship between written and oral texts as studied through medieval Norwegian diplomas and late medieval Norwegian letters. In the latter, great differences have been observed between the educated Danish-speaking inhabitants and Norwegian of the people, while at the same time features of the development of the spoken language can be discerned (Grøtvedt 1970). Other researchers have taken an interest in individual differences between scribes who created texts of the same kind but used varying forms of language. Considering that a great many medieval texts reflect an anonymous, impersonal use of language, this approach is worth paying attention to (Utterström 1968). In addition, in the judgment books, i. e. reports of proceedings in medieval Stockholm, the interplay between Low German and Swedish in the language of two scribes who have been compared can also be studied. The outcome points to the significant role played by bilinguals in the development of the language, which throws new light on the influence of German (Moberg 1989). A different form of language contact is represented by the numerous translations from Latin into the Nordic languages. Some researchers have studied the translation techniques involved in such texts. For instance, the disseminated *Vitae patrum* in an Old Norse translation has been dealt with in a dissertation, which emphasises vocabulary and stylistic devices (Tveitane 1968). Another researcher has produced a theoretically profound and richly exemplified work concerned with translation from Latin into Swedish (Wollin 1981).

2.2.3. Secular verse genres

The secular verse genres of rhymed chronicles and ballads have also attracted attention, especially the latter. Basic general descriptions had been produced earlier (Wessén 1928; Skautrup 1947), and a survey of research right up to the middle of the twentieth century has been published (Dal 1956). Here we can also mention a charting of the origins of the oldest Swedish lyric poetry, which go back to Latin verse and to German *Minnesang* (Hildeman 1958). More recent research has been partly focused on formulaic ballad language, which on the basis of modern linguistic theory has been characterized as a style genre of its own (Holzapfel 1980). Also as regards the ballad, interest has focused on the role of the oral tradition (Piø 1985).

2.2.4. Religious genres

The religious genres include Scripture texts, legends of saints, prayer books and sermons. As Scripture texts have played an important part in the development of these languages, it is not surprising that they have inspired investigation. Old Norse Bible translations have been studied, mainly with the focus on the structure of the texts. The findings indicate planning, coherence and consistency between different units that have been linked to each other (Astås 1987). A neglected field of research has been the legends of saints. This gap has now been filled by a dissertation in which Old Swedish legends of saints from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, translated from Latin into Swedish, have been examined. In the investigation, translation theory, structural analysis, text linguistics and a socially oriented analysis of style are integrated (Carlquist 1996).

3. The beginning of the Modern Age

3.1. The Bible translations

The Modern Age in the Nordic countries can be said to have started in the first half of the sixteenth century when the first complete translations of the Bible into Swedish and Danish were printed. In connection with the new translation of the Bible into Swedish, a great amount of literature concerned with translation problems has been published representing different approaches: those of textual criticism, theology, linguistics etc. In addition, the first Swedish translation of the New Testament (1526) has been studied in relation to earlier translation models, which had previously been assumed to be Latin and German. The investigation affirms that for instance the Danish translation of 1524 also served as a model (Evers 1984).

3.2. The division into style periods

In the seventeenth century, the Baroque style was predominant, in Sweden represented chiefly by the poet Georg Stiernhielm and in Denmark by the hymn writer Thomas Kingo. Thus a more individual style emerged, which was important for language development. Important genres were also occasional poems, i. e. complimentary poems for weddings and funerals, and prose genres like official documents, letters, diaries and memoirs as well as the so-called biblical and school dramas. A

basic introduction to the genres and the linguistic usage of the period is found in P. Skautrup. The division into style periods for this era has, however, been called in question by the Swedish researcher B. Olsson (1980). On the basis of his large data base from the period 1600 to 1760, he has made a frequency count of nominal and verbal characteristics as well as semantic factors and characterizes the period stretching from 1640 to 1670 as Renaissance style and that from 1670 to 1740 as Baroque style, while he regards Classicism as beginning in 1740.

3.3. Studies in syntax and metrics

P. Diderichsen (1968, ch. 1) has, like G. Holm for Sweden (1967), strongly emphasized the influence of Latin on the Nordic languages and their genres. The influence of Latin on Swedish sentence structure was dealt with still earlier by Heuman (1960), who thus provided a theoretical basis for the analysis of sentence structure. A project at the University of Helsinki has studied earlier Swedish syntax in five text categories between 1520 and 1750, and these texts have been compared with fifteenth-century texts. The investigation focused on different aspects of sentence structure and is based on the macrosyntagm model (cf. 4.3.).

3.4. Versification and colloquial prose

A monumental work dealing with the development of seventeenth-century Swedish versification has been written by C. I. Ståhle (1975) and is mainly concerned with the metrical structure of various types of verse. He gives a prominent role to Georg Stiernhielm, whose great hexametrical epic *Hercules* has led him to be regarded as “the father of Swedish poetry”. Instead of the syllable count of Latin verse, he introduced the alternation between stressed and unstressed syllables in Swedish. The first Swedish poetics, written by Andreas Arvidi, is also dealt with by Ståhle, as is the early Swedish drama: the biblical drama and the school drama. More commonplace genres like letters and diaries have been studied from the period 1600 to 1700 and have provided information about how certain adverbs developed pragmatic and metatextual meanings (Lehti-Eklund 1990). It would be desirable for a similar investigation to be made concerning prepositions. In general, it can be said that there are great gaps in seventeenth-century research, for instance as regards drama and occasional poems.

3.5. The classicist literature

The Nordic countries in the eighteenth century were for a long time strongly influenced by French classicism, which had considerable consequences for genres and language. Literature achieved a central position through prominent writers who at the same time played an important role in the cultural life of their countries and through establishing standards of language usage. Poetry was enriched by new genres, for instance the idyll, satire, didactic verse and the epigram. Drama also reached a high-water mark, with tragedy being the most prestigious genre although comedies were in the majority, especially translations from French. In Denmark Ludvig Holberg's comedies became the first national dramas. But prose was also represented in travel accounts, diaries, memoirs and letters, in journals and scientific texts now written in the national languages. In addition, rhetoric in Sweden became a genre in its own right through the rhetorical commemorative speeches addressed to the Swedish Academy as competition entries.

The increased number of genres and texts in the eighteenth century was not, however, paralleled by a corresponding growth in research. The Swedish poet who has been most intensively studied is Carl Michael Bellman. His poetry has been analysed above all from the viewpoint of its vocabulary which, together with manuscript studies, has also provided material for, among other things, a glossary of *Fredmans epistlar* (Larsson/Hellqvist 1967). As the language of this epoch was strongly influenced by French, syntactic interference has been studied in Gustavian writers (Stenfors 1994). A great number of constructions influenced by French have been discovered, for instance in the use of prepositions, but they have only in a few cases taken a permanent foothold in the Swedish language. Swedish eighteenth-century comedies have been given some attention in research and have greatly contributed to our knowledge of educated spoken language during this period. The comedies also throw some light on the stylistic differences in the spoken language (Widmark 1970). The great number of translated comedies preserved in the theatre archives constitute, however, an ample source of unused research material. Research on the scientific Swedish language of the eighteenth century can be said to have started through a collection of studies about the writings of Carl von

Linné (Fries 1971), but joint Nordic research on the process of replacing Latin with the national languages would be desirable. Another promising field of research is represented by rhetoric, which played an important part in Sweden in the eighteenth and far into the nineteenth century. The scientific basis was laid by R. Hillman (1962) with a dissertation on the memorial addresses given during the Swedish Academy competition.

Danish eighteenth century writing was dominated by Ludvig Holberg, who, in addition to a great number of other texts, wrote the first comedies in Danish. Holberg research is represented by P. Skautrup's helpful survey and by a number of shorter studies as well as by the Holberg dictionary which was published 1981–88.

4. The Modern Age

4.1. Nineteenth century texts

4.1.1. Introduction

During the modern period, the number of genres and text types has constantly grown. Nordic literature passed through several golden ages with distinguished writers. But factual prose genres also arose concurrently with social development, which assigned an ever greater role to the mass media. Research concerned with the nineteenth century deals almost exclusively with literary texts.

4.1.2. Swedish texts

A comprehensive Swedish dissertation taking numerous angles of approach has been devoted to the typically romantic lyric poet Erik Johan Stagnelius. The study contains descriptions of different lyric genres, rhetorical means of expression and text structure as well as meter and rhythm, all viewed from a diachronic perspective (Malmström 1961). Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, who represents both romanticism and realism, has been the subject of two theses mainly concerned with questions of style, but most aspects of Almqvist as a master of language and a creator of new genres still remain to be explored. A versatile and fundamental contribution to the study of August Strindberg's language has been provided in a thesis on his innovative imagery and its function in his narrative technique (Kärnell 1962). The young Strindberg as a dramatist, compared with contemporary dramatists, is the sub-

ject of another large investigation, partly based on the macrosyntagm model (Liljestrand 1976; 1980; cf. 4.3.). Other aspects of Strindberg's language have also been studied in a number of briefer articles. However, a great deal of research still remains to be done on Strindberg's vast body of work, for instance on his wide vocabulary, which is to be recorded in a special dictionary.

4.1.3. Danish and Norwegian texts

Basic surveys of the language of Danish nineteenth-century authors can be found in P. Skautrup. One of these authors, Hans Christian Andersen, has been the subject of a study in which narrative technique occupies a central position, but in which stylistic periods and structural matters have been dealt with as well (Kofoed 1967). An important period in Danish prose literature is impressionism, the main representative of which is Herman Bang. The language of the impressionist authors has been described by S. Møller Kristensen (1955), and this study can be regarded as a sequel to P. Rubow's *Saga og Pastiche*, which was published as early as 1923. The representatives of Norwegian nineteenth-century literature who have attracted most attention are Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Henrik Ibsen. For instance, Ibsen's versification technique and vocabulary have been dealt with and an Ibsen concordance has been printed (1955). A thesis on Arne Garborg's language and style has been published by J.A. Dale (1950), but a great proportion of Norwegian nineteenth-century literature has remained uninvestigated, not least the differences between standard literary Norwegian, *Riksmål*, and the so-called New Norwegian language, *Landsmål*.

4.2. 20th century texts

The emphasis on literary texts continued during the twentieth century as well. A number of theses have been devoted to Swedish writers and deal either with their entire bodies of work or with individual works. Among Norwegian twentieth-century authors, Olav Duun, Knut Hamsun, Sigurd Hoel and Tarjei Vesaas have been studied (Sæteren 1953, Øyslebø 1964 and 1958, Mæhle 1964). The concept of *style* has got an ever wider meaning as far as content and method are concerned. The narrow linguistic approach has been extended to include, for instance, structure and textual coherence,

narrative and dialogue technique, elements of content and verse structure. Basic theoretical surveys have been written by P. Cassirer (1970) and N. E. Enkvist (1973). O. Øyslebø (1976) and B. Fossetøl (1983), the latter focusing on cohesion, have presented theories illustrated through samples of stylistic analysis. As regards methods in modern stylistic research, dominant features are the pursuit of precision in the definition of terms and concern with frequency, features connected with the development of data processing techniques. For comprehensive text corpora, an author's entire body of work and individual texts, words and other style markers are quantified and the results are printed, for instance in the form of word indices and concordances. In this way statistical comparisons can be made that were not previously feasible.

4.3. The macrosyntagm model

An important and fundamental method of linguistic text analysis has been developed by Swedish researchers. The macrosyntagm model for syntactic analysis was constructed in connection with research on authentic spoken Swedish. It has been described in two manuals: one focused on sentence structure (Loman/Jørgensen 1971), the other for the analysis of smaller syntactic units (Teleman 1974). A "macrosyntagm" can be defined as an independent syntactic unit, for instance a main clause, possibly with one or more subordinate clauses, or as independent sentence fragments and interjectional elements. When analysing sentence structure in a written text, no attention is paid to punctuation but only to syntactic independence. The two manuals referred to form the basis of over 60 analyses of various kinds of text, for example medieval Swedish texts, mass media language, colloquial prose, textbooks and advertising language. The literary language of novels, dramas and children's books has also been analysed using this model. In addition, Danish, Norwegian and Faroese texts have been analysed.

4.4. Literary texts; surveys and special studies

Some surveys of the development of style have been published. P. Diderichsen's *Dansk prosahistorie* (1968) is linked up with P. Skautrup's description in *Det danske sprogs historie I-IV* (1944-68). The development of the style of Norwegian prose has been presented by W.

Dahl (1969), while G. Holm has surveyed the development of Swedish syntax from medieval to modern times, focusing on the sentence structure of literary texts (Holm 1967). A comprehensive account of poetic imagery with a theoretical introduction and a wealth of examples is provided by P. Hallberg (1982). The material comprises chiefly Swedish metaphorical language from various periods. Versification technique is another area which has been studied. A Nordic conference on metrics resulted in a collection of articles on verse, meter and rhythm, from the meter of the oldest Edda poems to free verse (*Från fornyrdøislag till fri vers*, 1989, a later report from 1997). Other domains which indicate the breadth of stylistic research are represented in a thesis on symbols and recurrent themes in a novel by Eyvind Johnson (Söderberg 1980).

Basic works on dialogue technique in prose have been published by B. Liljestrand (1983) and A.-M. Londen (1989). Finally, mention should be made of contrastive stylistics or the study of style in translations, a form of research that has been gaining ground and which has produced larger and smaller works containing both theory and text analyses (Ingo 1990; Engvall/Geijerstam 1983).

4.5. Non-literary texts

More research has, however, been devoted to non-literary texts. The production and development of new genres have given rise to many new branches of research in connection with such texts. One pioneer in research on factual prose was S. Engdahl, who made a quantitative investigation into the sentence structure and the choice of words and forms in factual texts (1962). An important impetus has been provided by the concern for how texts influence and are understood by the reader, thus bringing the social function of the text into focus. An early field of research was public/official texts, for instance legal texts (Wellander 1974; Pettersson 1992). Methodological contributions were made in the 1970s, when reading comprehension was a topical branch of research. These approaches were, however, found to be methodologically unsatisfactory and have been supplemented by reader tests (Gunnarsson 1982). The language of the media has also attracted researchers: broadcasting media and newspapers (Svensson 1981; Nordentoft 1972; Chrystal 1988); advertising (Pettersson 1974; Hansen 1965), everyday prose (Westman 1974), and others. Language

for special purposes has also been given its own place (Nordman 1992). The language of recent translations of the Bible has been dealt with in Sweden for example by Ståhle (1970) and in two collections of articles (*Nyöversättning av Nya testamentet*, 1968, and *Språket i bibeln – bibeln i språket*, 1991). In Norway a translation of the Bible into the New Norwegian language has been studied by J. Bondevik (1992). Finally, mention should be made of a theoretically and empirically important work on text attribution by T. Johannisson (1973) which is based on a study of anonymous letters.

5. Concluding words

This presentation of the last 50 years of research on stylistics is by no means exhaustive. It nevertheless indicates the breadth of work with regard to different periods and genres. Traditional stylistics laid the main stress on a purely linguistic analysis of literary texts, frequently subjected to esthetical evaluation. Modern stylistics has a broader repertoire as regards approach, selection of texts and choice of research method. This is due to an increased awareness of the fact that texts do not merely consist of words but have many other dimensions: structural, text linguistic, narrative etc. In the study of factual prose texts, the aspect of purpose plays an important part whenever the intention is to discover the reader's comprehension of the text. The texts can also be oral, as case when broadcast texts are studied.

Future researchers will find several important fields to explore. Some ideas for such research have been briefly hinted at above in connection with older language periods. One such field is the development of public/official language. Another is the development of modern press texts, which comprise several genres. Such investigations could be carried out as joint Nordic projects. In the field of literature, important authors and groups of authors could be studied, also from a joint Nordic perspective. Dialogue in drama and fiction should be studied through methods used in analysing conversation. A particularly urgent task would seem to be the study of dialect in literary texts, a branch of research that has so far had a very modest start. And finally, it should be established whether new genres with their own language patterns and with elements from English are emerging, for instance in the world of Information Technology. In the light

of this, the stylistics of translations becomes more and more important. A branch so far almost completely neglected is the language and the narrative technique represented by literature for children and young people, which in Scandinavia has reached a high international standard, with Astrid Lindgren as a top figure.

Generally it would be desirable for research not only to concern itself with isolated objects but to present wider perspectives by crossing the boundaries between the fields of linguistics and literature, between and within genres, between different periods and between the Nordic languages.

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Translated by Rolf Lindholm

26. Nordic language history and pragmatics

1. The concept of pragmatics in language history
2. History of pragmatic theory
3. Problems of sources and documentation
4. Oral vs. written texts
5. Written texts
6. Final remarks
7. Literature (a selection)

1. The concept of pragmatics in language history

The subject matter of pragmatics, i.e. the study of language use in social contexts, is difficult to define. When one transcends language, there seem to be no clear borders. (See references in Wille 1970; Jucker 1995; Haberland 1996; Meyer et al. 1994; Verschueren 1999, 254ff. For texts and pragmatic universals, see e.g. Togeby 1993).

1.1. Historical pragmatics is a matter of reconstruction because the methodological models and tools of pragmatic analysis are made and advanced to fit contemporary language use. For the language historian the subject matter, historical language use, has a different mode of existence in that, with the oral performance lost, the written form is embedded

in a secondary pragmatic situation, often even as text in a new text with its own sender and receiver (Haastrup 1988; 1994; 1995; 1997a). Analysis of text production and transmission for each single text is the first step of a pragmatic historical analysis. This is akin to textual criticism (cf. art. 56).

2. History of pragmatic theory

Scholarly work on older texts is normally not referred to as a branch of pragmatics, by either authors or readers (cf. e.g. Larsen 1965; Holmberg 1989), and pragmatic theory is considered quite new by many “pragmaticians”.

2.1. The emergence of pragmatics is a classic example (Gregersen 1991, 250f.) of the re-invention of old knowledge, in this case useful tools for text-processing in specific situations, e.g. not only reading and writing but also rewriting (*immutatio* and *paraphrasis*, see Lausberg 1998, §§ 541–98, §§ 893–910 and §§ 1099–1103) into different types of texts, as taught until a few centuries ago as part of Western secondary education. Pragmatics is thus a broader concept than that of neophilology (studies of modern as opposed to clas-

sical languages), and more like “nyfilologi” (Wollin 1997) using pragmatic perspectives.

2.2. There have turned out to be problems in positioning the interdisciplinary pragmatic approach in Faculties of Arts and within the history of the humanities. Nerlich et al. (1996) began their early history of pragmatics in Europe and America with the question “Is there a history of pragmatics?” and subsequently wrote a book on the period 1780–1930. Within this time-frame they found forerunners in the general, philosophical treatises by prominent thinkers, such as Kant’s discussion of positions taken by Locke and Hobbes. They obviously did not expect to find relevant and detailed expertise in pragmatics, in the fields of rhetoric, jurisprudence, moral theology, natural law, language pedagogy, courtesy and etiquette, dramaturgy etc., where most of the observations of pragmatics were made and published many centuries ago, but – admittedly – not always by members of academies (Toulmin et al. 1988). At the Danish equestrian academy in Sorø (17th–18th c.), proficiency in modern languages and courtesy was not taught by professors but by masters, on a par with other useful social and practical skills such as dancing, fencing and riding.

2.3. A few supplementary remarks: “Language use is action”, a rhetorical truth from antiquity (e.g. Lausberg 1998, §§ 257–279), was advanced at an opportune moment in academic philosophy by Austin as an important point (*speech act theory*, cf. Editorial by Andersen 1997). The concept of “situation” (the right moment: *kairós*, from rhetoric), was also a cardinal point in widespread casuistic works on proper behaviour in complex situations, called “occasions” (cf. Toulmin et al. 1988 for a catalogue of casuists in jurisprudence and moral theology). Textbooks in language pedagogy and etiquette offered models – arranged in the same way as search operators – for general arguments of rhetoric (i.e. *tópoi*, Lausberg 1998, § 160), for appropriate verbal behaviour, e.g. acts of conversation (i.e. “Umgang mit Menschen”, Knigge) in well-known situations, as well as general wisdom of everyday life (i.e. *phrónēsis* in Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics, Haastrup 1994). Pre-supposition, introduced into pragmatics by Strawson, was known through scholastic proofs of the existence of God (e.g. by Duns Scotus) and is recorded in English from the 16th c. (cf. OED 1989, XII, 429f.), later in

calque-translations in German and Danish. Further examples (particles) and reflections can be found in Pinborg (1980).

2.4. These remarks are meant as a plea for including and using these old ideas about text-processing which were current when the old texts were produced and read. These perspectives will put into focus reactions from contemporaries to texts, the interplay between partners in dialogues on the stage, in the classroom and in everyday life settings, as recorded in proceedings of law courts and as displayed in contemporary old textbooks (cf. 4.).

3. Problems of sources and documentation

Compared to the study of contemporary sources, a large amount of information is not accessible but has to be reconstructed – if possible.

Normative texts, e.g. models and instructions for the curricula of the grammar schools, provide knowledge of past training of authors and scribes (cf. the revival of rhetorical training today, Meyer et al. 1994). In the West, the supranational Latin grammar schools and monasteries taught the trivium – grammar, rhetoric and dialectic – by means of Latin for use in Latin, but as a by-product also in the mother tongue, which only later became a subject of learned study. Training in text processing also comprised interpretation procedures, e.g. translation, which was considered a kind of paraphrase. Translation was sometimes combined with change of text type – by expansion, reduction or alteration of artistic and figurative style, e.g. from dialogue or verses (epic or lyric) to prose, or vice versa (cf. Jacobsen 1958, and art. 56).

3.1. The curricula of the Latin schools play an important part in Diderichsen’s history of Danish language education (1968a) and of Danish prose (1968b), which stress the European perspective, e.g. that many Danes published in foreign languages (cf. Jensen 1995). Telling the story of pragmatics in Denmark, Haberland (1996, 36–40) mentions Diderichsen’s initiatives as important. Diderichsen’s perspective (1966, 118–29) was more syntactic, rhetorical and international than Skautrup’s monumental *Det danske sprogs historie* 1–5 (1944–70). Skautrup took into account many historical features of pragmatic interest, as opposed to Brøndum-Nielsen’s *Gammel-*

dansk Grammatik (1928–73), cf. Rischel (1996, 5f.). Skautrup's ideas of what oral language was like seem first of all based on the speakers' selection of words, which he considered "homespun frieze", i.e. rustic or even obscene at the moment used. His approach was linked to the societal circumstances of language use but was not "pragmatic" if this is understood as an analysis of dialogic texts – fictitious or not – in principle produced through the collaboration of partners, using deixis, anaphors, presuppositions etc., whether the partners were peasants or townsmen, nobles or learned people.

3.2. Texts reflecting conversation in former times are found in standard works (without philological ambitions) on everyday life from the Renaissance to modern times; cp. Troels-Lund (1879–1901) and Steensberg (1963–71) and the bibliography in Horstbøll (1999). For the Middle Ages, see a number of articles and references in *KLNM*. Scandinavian parallels to Skautrup's opus magnum have not yet been written, but parallels to Diderichsen's work on the history of prose were issued in Sweden by Ståhle (1958) and Holm (1970), and in Norway by Berulfsen (1948); for the areas where Old Norse was used, see Sørensen (1993) and bibliographies by Bekker-Nielsen et al. Diderichsen's plans, however, were more ambitious from a linguistic point of view (cf. his seminal book (1941) on the syntax of the *Skånske Lov*). His work was to be broader and meant to cover the period at least up to the 19th c. Unfortunately he died while writing it.

3.3. Which kinds of pragmatic questions, then, can the old texts possibly answer? Texts can be divided and subdivided in different ways, with criteria often overlapping each other (Togeby 1993, § 88): (a) 1st-order (primary) as opposed to 2nd-order (secondary i.e. "reported") texts, (b) oral as opposed to written texts, (c) normative texts (here: instructions to someone on what to say or how to behave, cf. sect. 4) as opposed to "non-normative" (e.g. demonstrative) texts. All 1st-order texts are, like other historical sources, written but sometimes reflect the author's own oral usage (e.g. as part of a regular correspondence); they are originals, even if utterly ordinary and trivial. 2nd-order texts, i.e. "reported" texts, recorded, edited, taken down in the proceedings of a court or from a performance on stage etc., reflect in principle – as regards language use – the reporter, although the substance of the information and parts of the

wording come from a 1st-order text, e.g. endorsed (sealed) by the primary author. In the 2nd-order "told" text, the reporter/editor/narrator's own 1st-person utterances are of course a 1st-order witness of his language use. If we could compare what was said – by e.g. witnesses in a court – with what the scribe recorded, the 2nd-order texts from courts would be our best evidence for how utterances used in former days were understood and received among contemporaries.

4. Oral versus written texts

For oral texts, those immediately experienced by the ears, we have examples only from the 19th c., i.e. sound-recorded texts (Brink/Lund 1975). Phonetic transcriptions occur earlier, but detailed and accurate ones are not much older than the mechanical ones. The reconstruction of the phonetic domain was crucial for the construction of the great theories of language genealogy and language change. Such reconstruction might be improved through studying recorded evidence of misunderstandings (e.g. in law courts) relating to categories such as focus, topic and irony. But misunderstandings of these kinds are seldom reported, because they often do not belong to the substance of a case.

4.1. Pastiche presents a special problem (the opposite of the imitation of Latin in the school tradition, cf. art. 56). Folk ballads and folk tales seem to reflect poetic language from old times, but we do not know whether they are much older than the century in which they were taken down. More interesting are the Old Norse sagas, which have come down as written texts. They resemble oral narratives, of course stylised when taken down. But do they represent an oral Icelandic tradition, and if so, what was it like? What do we have for comparison other than modern standards? Discussions of these questions are reviewed in a recent dissertation by Sørensen (1993), with many references to old and new proposals, some related to pragmatics, not least the points from anthropology made by Kirsten Hastrup.

4.2. The two kinds of normative texts of interest here are dramatic texts to be performed either in the classroom or on the theatre stage. Both can be connected to the real world (as "Theatrum Mundi", introduced into pragmatics by Goffman, cf. Gracian's *Oraculo Manual* from 1647). Drama texts are written texts,

but the ones we have do not appear to be records of oral performances but rather are models and instructions for them. Dramatic texts are fictional; this is a great asset, because the author can plan the collaboration between the players/characters, which will (re)produce a common text, modern or pastiche, illustrating and imitating human conversation. The real intentions of the players were sometimes told in monologues to the audience, but in real life they were normally put into words under the seal of confession. On the stage, conversational obligations (including politeness) are complied with, or not – as in real life, questions about obscure moves and replies are asked, speech acts have consequences, just as other actions do, until the final curtain falls.

The difference is, of course, that the performance is evaluated by an arbiter of taste – today, e.g., in a newspaper – and not in a court (cf. sect. 5, and the debate on the status of speech acts in fiction by Skalin 1991 and Andersen 1997). Stage directions to the players – or similar descriptions in narratives – about choreography, gestures, pauses, intonation etc. often give valuable information, e.g. in mystery plays and school performances from the Middle Ages to modern times.

4.3. Ready-made dialogues (in Danish, *parlorer*) combining the mother tongue with one or more target languages in phrase books and grammars were constructed as exercises, but also for subsequent use in real-life settings, often abroad. To function they have to be realistic, providing up-to-date, relevant and acceptable language use in typical encounters and situations involving typical themes. They are, of course, stylised, as linguistic shortcomings will not be prescribed for imitation. These Nordic parallel texts have so far not been used in a systematic way as sources for old everyday dialogues; cf. preliminary studies and discussion of source value in Haastrup (1988; 1994; 1995 and 1997). The ready-made dialogues are often found in textbooks, presenting the whole repertoire of standard grammars (Stengel 1889/1976), including wordlists arranged by subject in parallel to the dialogues, phrases expressing the same intention in different ways, e.g. speech acts (like commands) arranged according to politeness levels, and often means (e.g. particles and interjections) of expressing intensity: flattering your lord or his wife, scolding your servants or provoking a duel through insult. Although the textbooks explicitly inform their contem-

porary reader of instances of equivalence between two languages, they indirectly also may inform us of problems of equivalence within each of the two languages when the examples match in a way which makes it possible to use Hjelmslev's "principle of commutation".

Drama texts add stage directions. In a similar way, the ready-made dialogues can be supported by means of books on etiquette, courtesy and housekeeping. Even medieval Scandinavia had such books, the most famous being *Konungs Skuggsjá*, from the (13th c.) Norwegian court in Bergen. The author promises to offer advice for all kinds of people, but the manuscripts include only instructions for merchants and courtiers and the king himself. Later on, manner books for all classes were written. "Economies" (i.e. household books, with instructions for the paterfamilias, his wife, children and servants) are found in great numbers from the 16th c. onward, often as an elaboration on the part of Luther's catechism called *Oeconomia* (Dan. *hustavle*, cf. on casuistry 2.3.).

5. Written texts

Three instances of written texts have a special affinity to oral texts: private letters, memoirs/autobiographies and records of proceedings of the courts of law.

5.1. Letters of correspondence (Dan. *brevveksling*) are – as tradition tells us – a kind of 1st person dialogue, i.e. a collaboration on text production between communicators with a mutual frame of reference and detailed knowledge of each other, settings etc. A letter in the chain functions as a longer move in a dialogue, presenting features of face-to-face dialogue, such as deixis, of course with some complications in the use of "now" and "here" (cf. Haastrup 1997b). Letters are often impromptu, as dialogue often is, but the writing process could give room for reflection, and the more artificial letters of the past, made for publication, presuppose drafts and stylisation, like speeches produced according to the instructions in rhetorical textbooks; cf. the many manuals with instructions for writing letters (Haastrup 1997b), and, most important, the models (Haastrup 1997a, b) giving help to untrained authors with writer's block.

5.2. Recorded speech in legal sentences and records and registries of proceedings in the law courts (district courts: *herredsting*, provincial courts: *landsting* and supreme court: *kongens*

rettering) provide us with the negative counterpart to those in the etiquette books. Edited texts are often provided with a detailed index (over 700 categories, legal and non-legal) giving access to everyday life in rural villages in the 17th c. The nobility is dealt with in the supreme court. Historians of cultural sociology (often non-philologists) have conducted studies of these texts (Moberg 1992; Scocozza 1997; Jacobsen 1995). The texts reflect the oral evidence and testimonies given in court and sentences of the judge, recorded by the clerk using the wording (1st-person) or rendering the meaning (3rd-person) often as a summary – which the official regulations allowed if the texts seemed too long-winded or disorganised. Under the absolute monarchy (i. e. after *Danske Lov* 1683) the records are less interesting, because the procedures in court often were taken over by academic professionals (Appel 1998), who just asked the litigants to answer “yes” or “no”. Summaries by a higher court of the proceedings recorded at the lower courts use a more legal discourse and sometimes give a further identification of moves in terms of speech acts by the insertion of performatives. That is, there is often a legal categorisation of the moves, e. g. a quest for satisfaction for defamation, non-fulfilment of promises such as declarations made as part of amicable settlements testified by witnesses (source categories nr. 73, 121–122).

5.3. Autobiographies come in many varieties and are akin to novels written in the 1st-person. They are often half-fictional for purposes of self-justification. Among numerous examples is *Jammers Minde* by Leonora Christina (1621–98), daughter of King Christian IV, who was imprisoned for high treason. A new edition by Hjorth et al. (1998) includes a survey of the tradition and records the author’s own corrections – often of word order – and a very diligent description of the manuscript. Commentaries (in preparation) will cover aspects such as oral language use, often by lower-class people, and switching between levels of style and languages, mostly Danish and German. Markers of intensity, cursing etc. are found, and not least, politeness, because this proud princess carefully observed the respect paid by her interlocutors, as she always presented herself to the reader as innocent. As mentioned above, many memoirs were written and issued in Scandinavian languages. The style and language of *Jammers Minde* bear the stamp of extraordinary mental

energy. The dialogues – whether in direct or indirect speech (*oratio obliqua*, Brøndum-Nielsen 1953) – often seem to have been taken down immediately, but should of course be read with open eyes for the bias of this very intelligent female writer.

6. Final remarks

As a whole, memoirs, fictitious or not, may in some way be characterised and used as indirect commentaries on the way language is used, stories are told and facts explained. Direct commentaries on texts are also useful, e. g. explicit separate commentaries on Old Nordic texts as well as translations of classical foreign texts made by learned people for guidance over the centuries and millennia (Martens 1993), in contrast to the unarmed readers of old texts who do not realise that frameworks of human action and communication change over time as languages and readers do.

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27. Nordic language history and research on types of texts

1. Introduction
2. Text
3. History of text types
4. Theory of text types
5. Classification of texts
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The concept of *type of text*, *text type* or *genre* is not a scholarly term with a fixed and broadly accepted definition; the English terminology in particular is somewhat inadequate compared to the German *Textsorte*, *Texttyp*, *Textform* and *Gattung*. But most people would agree that a list of text types would contain items like the following: anecdotes, comedies, descriptions (scientific or technical), editorials, essays, instructions, jokes, leading articles, legends, laws, minutes, narratives, new stories, novels, reviews, sagas, short stories, tales, and tragedies. In a general text theory, it is possible to define text type as a shared generic type which constitutes and determines common interpretations of a particular text.

2. Text

In traditional grammars and language history, neither text nor text type are defined concepts because they involve both a theory of speech acts and of textual connection, coherence and cohesion between sentences, which are normally not part of grammar.

In modern international and Scandinavian text linguistic research and writing pedagogy many attempts have been made to define the concept of a text (Beaugrande/Dressler 1981; Berge 1988; Brandt/Koch/Rosengren 1981; Enkvist 1974; Fossetøl 1980; 1983; Gradenwitz 1983; Gülich/Raible 1972; Hirsch 1967; Jacobsen 1960; Källgren 1979; Larsson 1979; Lundqvist 1980; 1983; Togeby 1993; Werlich 1976).

The most comprehensive definition of a text is Beaugrande and Dressler's, according to which a text is defined as a communicative occurrence which meets seven standards of textuality: (1) cohesion, the way in which words are mutually connected within a sequence; (2) coherence, the ways in which the components of the textual world (concepts and relations) are mutually accessible and relevant; (3) intentionality, the text producer's attitude that the

set of occurrences should constitute a cohesive and coherent text instrumental in fulfilling the producer's intentions; (4) acceptability, the receiver's attitude that the set of occurrences should constitute a cohesive and coherent text of some use or relevance to the receiver; (5) informativity, the extent to which the occurrences of the presented text are expected vs. unexpected or known vs. unknown/certain; (6) situationality, the factors which make a text relevant to a situation of occurrence; (7) intertextuality, the factors which make the utilization of one text dependent upon knowledge of one or more previously encountered texts. All other attempts to define text types contain some of these seven standards.

3. History of text types

The issue of text types is not dealt with in a theoretical way in the standard works on Nordic historical linguistics (Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–1973; Haugen 1976; Karker 1990; 1993; Skard 1967–1979; Wessén 1941–1956).

3.1. Skautrup

In Skautrup's culturally based history of language (1944–68), the textual sources from the eldest periods (200–1750) are divided into text types such as: runic inscriptions, law texts and legal documents, professional literature (medical texts), religious texts (legends, translations of the Bible), historical texts (chronicles, sagas), and poetical works (ballads). For later periods other text types are added to the list: the press, many types of professional literature, and many types of poetical works.

Obviously the criterion for the subdivision of texts is primarily situationality and intertextuality; text types are defined as texts that fit into the situation in which they are used. The criteria for the typology, however, are not made explicit, and the function of the text types and their stylistic features are not discussed. Nevertheless, many stylistic features are mentioned in the description of the texts: syntactic patterns, vocabulary, frequency of morphological forms, types of coherence (e. g. casuistic law texts).

3.2. Diderichsen

The most genuine treatment of text typology in Nordic language history is Diderichsen's

so-called *History of Danish prose* (1968). This work is a proper history of prose style, the first five chapters of which were published posthumously, and the rest, chapters VI–XV, are only known as mimeographs.

3.2.1. Classical rhetoric

In the first chapter Diderichsen sets up the system of text types developed in antiquity, taking the Aristotelian distinction between poetry (poesis) and speech (logos) as basic. Speech (including historiography and political speeches) is the art of persuasion (peitho) and deals with what really happened or what we intend to do, while poetry is the art of imitation (mimesis) and deals with what could happen possibly, probably and necessarily.

Speech is in classical rhetoric divided into three *genera*: the forensic speech of the courtroom, (forum), the deliberative speech in the senate, and the epideictic speech used at celebrations and festive occasions.

The distinction between speech and poetry is similar to the modern distinction between imaginative literature (fiction, drama and poetry, literary texts, poetic texts) and non-fiction (the English terminology is troublesome because *fiction* is not the opposite of *non-fiction*, but only one kind of non-fiction). Utterances in imaginative literature are not meant to be sincere or true, while in non-fiction any utterance should follow the Gricean maxim: “be sincere!”, which means that a statement and its presuppositions have to be true, and a promise must be kept etc. (Grice 1975).

3.2.2. History of prose

Chapters II–XV of Diderichsen’s *History of Danish prose* describe how several types of written texts have developed and crystallized as fixed forms of prose texts or prose genres in Denmark. From this point of view, text types are historically specific habits and conventions for textual structuring. Through the Middle Ages, many text types originated and developed in the institutions of the state, the church and chivalry.

One chapter is devoted to each text type or historical style: (II) Language of the law and style of the chancellery (departmental style), (III) Translations of the Bible (legends), (IV) Sermons, (V) Proverbs, (VI) Profane prose tales (chronicles, translations of European romances and novellas, translations of sagas,

(VII) Epistles (letters, diplomas and missives), (VIII) Autobiographical reminiscences, (IX) French court style and English domestic prose (verse drama, epistle, essay, philosophical tale), (X) Holberg’s prose, (XI) Sentimental prose, (XII) Danish prose of the fine arts, (XIII a) Ewald’s prose, (XIII b) Jens Baggesen, (XIV) National and popular styles.

Diderichsen’s description of the text types is primarily stylistic, i.e. deals with all seven standards of textuality, with the emphasis on cohesion and coherence. Each text type is characterized by the most significant stylistic traits, such as:

text composition (e.g. epistles are composed of a salutatio ‘greeting’, exordium ‘introduction’, captatio benevolentiae ‘good will’, narratio ‘the story’, petitio ‘appeal’, conclusio ‘conclusion’;

syntactic patterns (hypotaxis, parataxis, polysyndesis, asyndesis, Latin syntactic constructions);

word order (inversion, German word order with final finite verb, law of growing elements);

vocabulary (native words and loanwords and borrowing from Latin, German, French, English);

narrator type (omniscient narrator, free indirect discourse, vision avec, vision par derriere);

figures of speech (gradation, apostrophe, alliteration and metaphor, allegory, metonymy, synecdoche, litotes, sarcasm, satire).

3.3. History of types of imaginative literature

3.3.1. Imaginative literature defined

An explanatory definition of fictional text is given in modern text linguistics: a text in which the situation discussed stands in a principle alternative relationship to the accepted version of the real world (Beaugrande/Dressler 1981, 185). The fictional text world is a metaphor for the real world of the interpreters, while in non-fiction the text world stands in a metonymic relation to the real world, i.e. the text world is part of the real world (Kock 1979).

3.3.2. Types of imaginative literature

Imaginative literary texts are traditionally divided into three kinds or genres (German:

Gattung): poetry (poems, song lyrics), drama (whether in prose or verse), and fiction (novels, short stories, epics). The criterion for this division from Aristotle and Plato up to Goethe and modern times has been the manner of representation (or imitation): in poetry it is a first-person monologue by the poet's persona; in drama it is the third-person characters who speak with each other; and in fiction (novels, short stories, epics) there is a mixture of narration by the first-person narrator to the second-person addressee and dialogue between third-person characters. To these three kinds one can add very short imaginative text forms that are primarily oral and do not fall into any of the other categories: anecdotes, jokes, riddles, nursery rhymes.

IMA- GINA- TIVE LITE- RA- TURE	POETRY	first-person monologue	odes, elegies, songs, hymns, folk ballads
	DRAMA	third-person dialogue	tragedies, comedies, satires, musicals, farces
	FICTION	mix of message from narrator to the addressee and dialogue of third-persons	novels, short stories, myths, sagas, folk tales, legends
	SHORT FORMS	primarily oral and very short	nursery rhymes, jokes, witticisms, riddles, proverbs, anecdotes

Histories of literature and rhetoric (Albeck/Jansen 1964; Dahlerup 1998; Fafner 1982; Friis 1945; Jansen 1944–1958) take the genres of imaginative literature for granted. They all describe the texts in chronological order grouped together under headlines such as: law texts, chronicles, ballads, love songs, proverbs, and in most histories of literature subtle subdivisions are made for each genre, primarily on historical grounds, e.g., ballads are subdivided into ballads of chivalry, historical ballads, ballads about magic, ballads about giants, and younger ballads.

4. Theory of text types

4.1. Text types as generic types

In traditional grammars, literary history and language history *text type* is not defined but taken for granted. The definition of text type

is discussed in works on the theory of literature, and in works on text linguistics and pragmatics.

In general, two texts belong to the same type or category if they both have the traits that define the type. Text types are acquired types, that is, they are type ideas which derive from previous experience. All types are vague because they subsume a large number of particular instances. Type is a concept of the same degree of abstraction as the Kantian modes of perception: time, space, and causality (Hirsch 1967).

But texts are not classified in the same way that physical entities are. Texts do not exist through time the way stones, carnivores, or colours do. Texts are events in time, like a play, or an episode, interpreted in common ways by many people perceiving them and participating in them, and cannot be described or defined by necessary and sufficient conditions (Clark 1996). The concept of text type is in fact the bridge between the particularity of the utterance act and the sociality of interpretation during the process of reading and listening. Text types are tools for the interpreters and the communicator used in the process of communication, and thus part of the system of rules and conventions which make communication possible (Johansen 1970).

4.2. Text types and the hermeneutic circle

Text types play a crucial role in the interpretation of a particular text. Often, which type the actual text is meant to be an instantiation of is indicated in the beginning of a text by labels such as *Instructions* or *Novel*. The interpreters' notion of the type of meaning they confront will influence their understanding of details and the interpreters' preliminary generic conception of the text is constitutive of everything that they subsequently understand in the text. This is what is called the hermeneutic circle of interdependence of parts and whole: the whole can be understood only through its parts, but the parts can be understood only through the whole (Hirsch 1967).

This generic conception is apparently not stable but varies during the process of interpretation. At first there is a vague and preliminary awareness of the text type, and the interpreters have a feeling that the text will satisfy (meet) their inclinations; with further reading, as understanding proceeds, the text type becomes more explicit, the range of expectations to the text becomes narrower, and

the text functions as an interpretation of the interpreter's own bent (Wentzel 1981).

The only way we can understand the functional relationship of an early part of a text to the whole, before we have completed it, is by means of a generic conception that is broad enough to be perceived at the beginning of the interpretation and narrow enough to determine the meaning of all the parts. Text type is that sense of the whole by means of which an interpreter can correctly understand any part of it. Interpreters reason that if the meaning of the whole is of a certain type, then a particular detail carries a certain implication. The text type is always construed, i.e. guessed, and is in many cases not given (Hirsch 1967).

Text type is the bridge between the particular utterance act and the interpreters' common understanding, and the communicator knows that the type of meaning must be grounded in a type of usage, since it is only from traits of usage: headlines, types of reference, vocabulary range, relevance structuring, syntactical patterns, formulaic expressions, and so on, that the interpreter can work out the speakers' type of meaning. Text type is a structural necessity for communication.

4.3. Criteria for classification

A text type is thus defined as a shared generic type which constitutes and determines common interpretations of a particular text. As shared generic types, they constitute broad heuristic type concepts (text groups) when first approaching a text. These groups, law, teaching, negotiation and discussion are defined by the type of social relation between the communicator and the interpreter: symmetrical or asymmetrical power or knowledge (Wentzel 1981).

	power	knowledge
asymmetrical	law	teaching
symmetrical	negotiation	discussion

After a text has been read, it functions as a new texture of connections between traits of usage and types of purpose and intention. In the end, any text has a unique meaning, which is understood only because the interpreters recognize analogies to other texts and subsume the new text under previously known types in a process of the same kind as interpretation of metaphors. The preliminary text type group is based on loose family resem-

blance. The members are grouped together as a convenient prototype of conceptualization, but there is no single specific traits common to them all. There are also no clear and firm boundaries between the larger text type classifications.

A text type can be defined as a shared system of conventions. Text type conventions are properties rather than rules. All the elements of a text type point to the same controlling idea of the communicator's intention or purpose. To be consistent, all traits have to point to the same broad text type, to be congruent and to belong to the same style; otherwise the text is experienced as odd and incoherent (Werlich 1975; 1976).

4.4. Text types and speech acts

The term *text* is ambiguous in relation to the term *speech act*; in some cases one speech act constitutes a whole text that is composed of many sentences; e.g. the novel *War and Peace* can be said to be one single speech act or utterance act. In other cases we may say that a text is composed by many speech acts; a business letter may comprise several different illocutionary types: a date, a greeting, statements of fact, possibly an agreement, a greeting and a signature. This is an area which requires further study (Brandt/Koch/Rosengren 1981; Koch/Rosengren/Schonebohm 1978).

Since text types are the generic types of the speaker's purpose, it is natural to take the function of a text as the most important criterion for text classification. Attempts have been made to classify texts as speech acts. Speech acts have been classified by J. R. Searle (1976) as representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations; by J. Habermas (1976) as communicatives, constatives, representatives, regulatives and institutional speech acts; and R. Jakobson (1960) differentiates between the emotive, referential, poetic, phatic, metalinguistic and conative functions of the speech act or text.

None of these classifications, however, are well suited to characterizing texts, because speech acts normally are one-sentence texts, whereas text types are defined as determining common interpretations of subsequent sentences in a long text if, because of the textual traits at the beginning, the text is construed as belonging to a particular type. Texts do not contain many sentences belonging to the same speech act type, such as commissives or institutional speech acts. But in a long text, one

sentence may be the core sentence which all the other sentences support. In a business letter, the agreement about some trade transactions may be the core function of the text, and all the other sentences have a supporting function in relation to this purpose or goal (Koch/Rosengren/Schonebohm 1978; 1979; 1980).

5. Classification of texts

5.1. Classification of non-fictional texts

Text could be classified according to the illocutionary force of their core sentences as informative text types (with constatives dominating), regulative text types (with directives, commissives or regulatives dominating) and declarative text types (with declarations, communicatives and institutional speech acts dominating).

If the semantic centre, the conceptual relations between propositions, the global pattern of organization of the text, and stylistic traits are taken as criteria for the classification of texts, we have three general text groups: descriptive, narrative and argumentative (Beaugrande/Dressler 1981):

TEXT GROUP	DESCRIPTIVE	NARRATIVE	ARGUMENTATIVE
SEMANTIC CENTRES	objects, situations	actions, events	beliefs, ideas
CONCEPTUAL RELATIONS	attributes, states, instances, specifications	cause, reason, purpose, enablement, time proximity	reason, significance, volition, value, opposition
STYLISTIC TRAITS	modifiers	subordinations	emphasis, insistence, reoccurrence, parallelism, paraphrase
GLOBAL PATTERN	frame	schema	plan

This taxonomy is unsatisfactory because text types such as law, instruction, and advertisement do not seem to be subsumed under any of the text groups.

If type of cognitive process and type of core sentence are taken as criteria, we have a more satisfactory division into five text groups: de-

scription, narration, exposition, argumentation and instruction (Werlich 1975; 1976):

TEXT GROUP	COGNITIVE PROCESS	CORE SENTENCE TYPES	TEXT TYPES
DESCRIPTION	perception of phenomena in space	phenomenon-registering sentences	expressionistic and technical description
NARRATION	perception of phenomena in time	action-reCORDING sentences	story, narrative, news story, report, chronicle, annals
EXPOSITION	comprehension	phenomenon-identifying sentences; phenomenon-linking sentences	essay, explication, textbook, definition, minutes, text interpretation
ARGUMENTATION	judging	quality-attributing sentences	comment, scientific paper
INSTRUCTION	planning	action-demanding sentences	law, rule, agreement, directive

The most obvious disadvantage with this taxonomy is that widespread text types such as advertisements (commercials) are not represented in the system. The reason for this is that commercials do not have a standard set of sincerity expectations and purpose-signaling traits: they look like descriptions, but are instructions or argumentation.

When text types are seen in a procedural perspective, the mutual expectations and background knowledge of the interlocutors are important criteria for classification of texts. These expectations are very accurately dealt with in the framework of Harder and Kock's theory of presupposition failure (1976).

Deception is, according to this theory, defined by a situation where the presupposition of the utterance does not belong to the background knowledge of the speaker, while the interpreters assume that it does, and the speaker knows that they do; the presupposition does belong to background assumptions of the interpreters, the speakers know that, and that is what the interpreters believe.

Bullying is the name of a sincere speech act in which the speaker is showing non-solidarity, but does not care either whether he is caught in doing it; and he means no fun. An

example is the well-known question: *When did you stop beating your wife?*

It is a consequence of the theory of presupposition failure that advertisements and commercials are treated as a kind of deception or bullying (Togebly 1993, 687ff.).

5.2. Classification of all texts

An outline of a taxonomy of text types for all texts collected from all the quoted literature could be the following:

	MODE OF SINCERITY EXPECTATIONS	MODE OF REPRESENTATION	TEXT TYPES
TEXT	PRESUPPOSITION FAILURE	BULLYING	commercials
		IRONY	making fun, politeness
		DECEPTION	advertisement, commercial
	IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE	DRAMA	tragedy, comedy, parody, travesty, play, cabaret
		POETRY	poem, song, lyrics, hymn
		FICTION	novel, short story, story, myth, legend, folk tale
		SHORT FORMS	nursery rhyme, joke, witticism, riddle, proverb
	NON-FICTION	DESCRIPTIVE	word picture, expressionistic description, technical description
		NARRATIVE	narrative, report: news story, reportage, minutes, chronicle, annals, history book
		EXPOSITIVE	essay, definition (encyclopedia), explication (textbook), summary, text interpretation
ARGUMENTATIVE		political speech, manifesto, comment, leading article, review, scientific paper	
INSTRUCTIVE		instruction: recipe, direction, rule, regulation law	

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28. Nordic language history and phraseology/idiomatics

1. Introduction
2. Definitions
3. Historical phraseology
4. Synchronic phraseology
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

Following a steady growth of scholarly interest over the past twenty years, phraseology has now become a major field of theoretical and applied research for Western linguists as it has been, since the 1940s, for scholars in the former Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe. Research on phraseology of the modern Scandinavian languages, however, is

still at its beginning. Traces of a developing interest in phraseology are best visible in the appearance of several phraseology-related dictionaries since the mid-1960s (for Swedish: Bendz (1965), Johannisson/Ljunggren (1966), Allén (1975), Holm (1975), Schottmann/Petersson (1989); for Icelandic: Halldórsson (1991); for Danish: Bruun (1978), Røder (1998); Toftgaard Andersen (1998); for Norwegian: Møter Erichsen (1996)). Studies investigating modern phraseology are still few, and studies that investigate historical phraseology are even fewer. Moreover, in many phraseology studies a synchronic viewpoint is combined with an interest in historical aspects. In order to point out what is missing in research

on Scandinavian phraseology, we shall therefore present both historical and synchronic studies.

2. Definitions

Belonging to a relatively recent field of linguistics, the terminology of phraseology is still subject to discussion. The term *phraseology* itself has come to denote both the object of study (the sum of all phraseological units of a certain language) and the discipline of linguistics that investigates this area. From a psycholinguistic perspective, phraseology is concerned with those groups of words that are likely to be stored as lexical unities in the mental lexicon. In phraseology studies, those groups are often ranged along a continuum from purely accidental collocations of words towards idiomatic collocations and proverbs. Such a continuum is presented by Allén (1975), who uses a statistical and then structural-semantic approach to define phraseological units. In his introduction, he subdivides the recurrent word combinations he found in newspaper language into three hierarchical groups:

- (1) *Combinations* are groups of at least two words (collocations) which appear at least twice in his material (e.g. *det är*).
- (2) *Constructions* are those combinations which have certain external features of structure and are therefore phraseologically relevant (e.g. noun phrases like *den stora frågan*, verb phrases like *kommer att fortsätta*, connectives like *därför att* and clauses like *som människa, jo då, det är svårt att veta hur*). This large group is often subdivided. The term *phraseological unit* (G *Phraseologismus*) can be restricted to a (relatively) fixed lexical group of words that is often subject to transformational restrictions and which contains at least one autosemantic (Schottmann 1998, 263).
- (3) *Idioms* are those constructions that in addition to the above features of structure are subject to semantic or lexical irregularities. Their meaning is not predictable on the basis of the meanings of their constituents (e.g. *vara på tapeten* in the sense 'be on the carpet', *dra örnen åt sig* in the sense 'become wary'). A special case of lexical irregularity is found in the so-called "cranberry" collocations, which contain a lexical item not found

outside the combination in question (G *unikale Komponenter*, e.g. *såta* in *såta vänner* 'close friends'). Moreover, the group of idioms can again be seen as a continuum. Anward/Linell (1976) see a scale from pure idioms (whose meaning has no relation to the literal meaning of their constituents, e.g. *ta ner skylten* 'to die') towards expressions whose meaning is almost one hundred per cent predictable from their constituents (*att bada naken* 'to bathe naked'). Clausén (1993) moreover points to the fact that the borderline between comparisons, idioms and sayings is often fuzzy (cf. *skåda/döma hunden efter håren* 'to judge sth./sb. by appearance' as an abbreviation of an original *man ska inte döma/skåda hunden efter håren* 'you must not ...').

Svensk konstruktionsordbok (cf. Clausén 1991b; Clausén 1992; Lyly 1993; Clausén/Lyly 1995) uses a hierarchical system similar to Allén (1975), listing under one headword first productive syntactical constructions, then phrases which have a certain lexical fixity but which are semantically transparent ("halvfasta fraser", cf. Lyly 1993) and finally fixed phrases (comparisons, clichés, pragmatic phrases, proverbs and idioms). Of course, combinations in Allén's sense are usually not regarded as a proper subject for phraseological research. Most research on the phraseology of the Scandinavian languages has been done on idioms and less on constructions, while historical linguistics so far seems to have focussed on proverbs. For both idioms and constructions in Allén's sense, we shall use the term *phraseological units* here.

3. Historical phraseology

3.1. Criteria for finding phraseological units

A problem for research into historical phraseology of the Scandinavian languages is that there is no corpus of phraseological units apart from collections of proverbs. All other phraseological units therefore first have to be extracted from texts or Old Nordic dictionaries. The amount of Old Nordic text production, however, is enormous (cf. art. 109). Moreover, the distinction between use-restricted phraseological units on the one hand and accidental collocations on the other can only be made by the competent native speaker who, of course, is not available for historical language stages. There are, however, theoretic-

cal foundations for the spotting of phraseological units (cf. Burger 1982, 347–382). The following criteria are particularly suitable in the case of Old Nordic (cf. Landolt 2001):

- (1) phraseological units often verbalize everyday actions (e. g. *ganga alfreka* ‘to relieve oneself’);
- (2) greeting formulas are often phraseological (e. g. numerous expressions containing *heilir*, like *farið heilir* ‘goodbye, have a good trip’);
- (3) phraseological units often appear in certain lexical areas, e. g. body parts (*elli sígr í augu* ‘old age gives poor sight’), seafaring (*draga árar* ‘exert oneself in order to achieve sth.’), war (*leika tveim skjöldum* ‘to play a double game’);
- (4) formal-stylistic evidence, e. g. pair formulas and comparisons (cf. 3.3.);
- (5) phraseological units are often formed along certain structural patterns, e. g. constructions with function verbs like *gera*, *taka*, *vera* (*gera at ágatum* ‘praise’, ‘extol’, *taka í arf* ‘inherit’, *vera at bók-námi* ‘learn’);
- (6) metalinguistic evidence, e. g. ‘as they say’, ‘as it is told’.

3.2. Metaphorical use

Phraseological units are called idioms if they are metaphorized in part or as a whole. Expressions around headwords from particular lexical areas, e. g. the body parts, seem to encourage metaphorical (idiomatic) use (e. g. *vex í/yfir augu/augum* ‘(sth.) gives (sb.) misgivings’, literally ‘(sth.) grows into (sb.)’s eyes’. Euphemization is found e. g. in *ganga/hava alfreka* ‘to relieve oneself’, literally ‘to drive away the elves’, while saga-like understatement appears e. g. in *elda mǫnnum baðstofur* ‘burn at will’, literally ‘warm up the steam-bath’ (cf. ONP 1, s. v.).

3.3. Pair formulas and comparisons

Belonging to a prominent group of Old Nordic phraseological units, pair formulas are often stylized rhetorically by the use of alliteration, assonance or, occasionally, end rhyme: *lífs eða líðinn* ‘dead or alive’, (*með*) *heilu ok hǫldnu* ‘safe, lucky’, *segja kost ok lǫst á e-m* ‘to name sb’s merits and faults’. Comparisons also appear in Old Nordic: *rauðr sem blóð* ‘red as blood’, *hvítr sem drift* ‘white as (driven) snow’. While most of the Old Nordic phraseological units seem to be native, expressions

containing loanwords from Low German can be found in this category: *frygð ok æra* ‘joy and honour’ (< LG *vröchde, ere*), *prýðr ok prakt* ‘decoration and splendour’ (< LG *prakt*), *finn sem spegill* ‘bright as a mirror’ (< LG *vin, spegel*), *fagr sem rósa* ‘pretty as a rose’ (< LG *rose*).

3.4. Proverbs

In contrast to Scandinavian phraseology in general, the study of Old Nordic proverbs already has a longstanding tradition, as shown by the collections by Kock/af Petersens (1889–94), Jónsson (1914), Gering (1916) and Vrátny (1917). Most frequently, proverbs appear in Icelandic sagas, but they can also be found in other fictional prose, e. g. *Landnámabók*, *Sturlunga saga* or *Snorra Edda*. *Njáls saga* has been shown to be particularly rich in proverbs (cf. Dopheide 1973). Employed by the author as a rhetorical ornament and with the intention of commenting on the actions of the saga characters, they are still known and used by Icelanders today (e. g. *Eigi fellr tré við hit fyrsta hogg* ‘A tree doesn’t fall at the first blow’, *Skamma stund verðr hǫnd hoggvi fegin* ‘The hand’s joy in the blow is brief’, *Kǫld eru kvænna ráð* cf. Chaucer’s *Wommenes counseils been ful ofte colde*).

Legal proverbs are handed down to us mainly in the Old Swedish *landskapslagar*, but they even appear in Old Norse saga literature (e. g. *Njáls saga*: *Eigi skal einn eiðr alla verða* ‘One oath does not determine all oaths’, or *Grettis saga*: *At lögum skal land vart byggja en eigi at ólögum eyða* ‘Our land shall be cultivated lawfully and not lay waste in lawlessness’). Wellerisms are most common in northwest and northern Europe and they usually have a tripartite structure, naming a speaker in the middle sequence: *Ofnær nefi, kvað karl, var skotinn í auga* ‘Too close to the nose, said the boy, when he was shot in the eye’, *Snæliga snuggir, kváðu Finnar, áttu andra fala* ‘Snow is in the air, said the Lapps, when they had snow shoes for sale’.

3.5. Loans from Middle Low German

Since the 19th century, a classic domain of Scandinavian historical linguistics has been contrasting Low German with Swedish, Danish and Norwegian and investigating the influence of German on the Scandinavian languages. Research on the transfer of phraseological units, however, is a relatively new

discipline. During the longstanding process of Low German interference with the Scandinavian languages, phraseological units have continually been transferred into the Scandinavian lexicon. While the first traces of this process are visible in Old Nordic sources from the 13th century, transfer reaches its climax in the Late Middle Ages, and it even continues when Middle Low German ceases to be a writing and printing language standard. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Low German phraseological transfer declines in significance, but it can still be found in dialects and sociolects of Swedish, Danish and Norwegian. The transfer of phraseological units is more or less contingent on the amount of Low German transfer in general. However, the transferred material is stratified according to different cultural, social and psychological conditions. Influence of Low German is particularly obvious in “cranberry” collocations (e. g. *ligga i själåtåget* ‘to be at one’s last gasps’ from MLG *sêletogen* (cf. Naumann 1987; 1992). As transfer into Danish differs from transfer into Swedish to some extent, the formerly postulated role of Danish as a mediator is rather doubtful.

4. Synchronic phraseology

Research on phraseology often has a historical element, even when it is concerned with modern languages. Many synchronic studies occasionally look back to older stages of language for their definitions of phraseological units or in explaining the similarity of phraseological units in related languages. Moreover, the use of lexically outdated dictionaries which often preserve expressions taken over from older dictionaries adds a vaguely historical element even to synchronic studies on phraseology. Modern dictionary editors and linguists try to avoid this by explicitly using informants (Clausén 1991a; 1991b; Krohn 1994).

In synchronic research on phraseology, interest since the 1970s has shifted from the investigation of phraseological systems towards both text-linguistic and culture-related issues. Just as the general interest in phraseology seems to have originated in didactic concerns over problems in second language acquisition, contrastive studies play an important role even in research on Scandinavian phraseology. Swedish is the language that has attracted the bulk of phraseological research, and it is most often contrasted to German.

4.1. Phraseological systems

The overview on lexicalised phrases in Swedish by Anward/Linell (1976) still constitutes the theoretical basis for many recent articles. Lexicalised phrases in Swedish can be recognized because of their connective prosody (“idiomatiseringsaccent”, “sammanfattningsaccent”), because of certain grammatical structures and because they are restricted as to possible transformations. Expressions which are most idiomatic are also least liable to transformations (e. g. *att bada naken* ‘to bathe naked’ > *Det var naken som Ulla badade*, but *att lägga rabarber på ngt.*, in the sense of ‘to appropriate sth.’ > **Det var rabarber han la på morbror Rubens cykel*).

Moreover, the Swedish phraseological system has been compared to that of other languages. Schottmann (1998) shows that the Swedish and the German phraseological systems are closely related to each other. One reason for the relative closeness of phraseological units in all European languages is common cultural heritage, e. g. the Bible. Of all German phraseological units that are obviously deduced from the Bible, Schottmann (1998, 270) found that not one equivalent was missing in Swedish.

4.2. Phraseological constituents

The constituents of phraseological units have often been subject to investigations either because of certain semantic properties or because of morphological or semantic irregularities. Particularly somatisms (phraseological units containing a reference to a part of the body) and “cranberry” constructions have attracted the attention of linguists. The studies concerned with somatisms in Swedish are largely contrastive. While Krohn (1994) is mainly interested in establishing the degree of equivalence between particular somatisms in German and Swedish, Lundh (1992) presents a new theoretical model for the analysis of such equivalence types. The findings of Krohn (1994) again show that about two thirds of the somatisms found in German also appear in Swedish and correspond in both form and meaning.

In the study of cranberry collocations, both synchronic and historical linguistics are combined. Some constituents unique to cranberry collocations (*G unikale Komponenten*) were productive free morphemes in earlier states of the language, and some of them are still used

in this way in some dialects. In some areas, a “unique lexical item” might still be known as old-fashioned, while it is unknown in other parts of the country. However, the presence of a unique constituent is usually taken to indicate that the phraseological unit in question is an idiom. The irregularities that Anward/Linell (1976) found in some lexicalised phrases are often due to the fact that elements of an older stage of language have been preserved. Older morphology appears for example in *i blindo* ‘blindly’ or in a number of constructions with *till* + gen., e.g. *till salu* ‘for sale’ or *hålla till handa* ‘have in stock’. Investigating and classifying about 500 instances of Swedish cranberry collocations, Naumann (1987) has shown that unique elements are often frozen inflected forms (e.g. *i sinom tid* ‘in due time’), loanwords from foreign languages (from LG cf. 3.5., from Lat. *inte ett jota* ‘not a jot’, from Fr. *göra sorti* ‘make one’s exit’) or from technical language (sailor language, legal terminology). Unique constituents are often used as reinforcements, e.g. *isande kall* ‘biting cold’. However, as Swedish has a tendency to write words which formerly were separated as one unit, the two constituents of a phraseological unit often change into one single lexeme. This is particularly frequent in the common type of preposition and noun, e.g. *ikapp*, *varsebli* (Schottmann 1998).

4.3. Culture-specific properties

According to Schottmann (1998), characteristics of a certain language and culture appear, among phraseological units, most often in the use of proper names or in references to history, customs and living conditions. For Swedish, this is shown in *inför gud äro vi alla smålänningar* ‘in front of God we are all little/from Småland’, *ha herr Ågren på besök* ‘to have a hangover’ or *mat för Måns* ‘a heaven-sent opportunity’. Phraseological units that are derived from ancient legal terminology are still preserved in modern Swedish (*varg i veum* ‘an outlaw’, *sätta ngn. i högsäte*, ‘to deem somebody very important’; Schottmann 1998).

Claiming that phraseological units accumulate in a particular language in areas that are emotionally loaded, Stedje (1989) has tried to find culturally dependent differences in the Swedish and German phraseological systems. Without actually listing her material, she applies an “ethnolinguistic perspective” to phraseological units concerned with expressions meaning ‘(not) to interfere’ (G *sich (nicht) ein-*

mischen) and ‘to reprimand’ (G *zurechtweisen*), resulting in her claim that, in Swedish, there are fewer phraseological units or verbs meaning ‘to reprimand’ than in German. Schottmann (1998) however criticizes her assumption that phraseological units or even the lexicon of a language are representative of either Swedish or German mentality. He in turn claims that both languages have a number of phraseological units for ‘(not) to interfere’ and ‘to reprimand’. The question whether or how it is possible to discover differences in mentality by studying phraseological units has therefore not been settled yet.

4.4. Textlinguistic studies

Newspaper language is a favoured corpus for investigations of Scandinavian phraseology. Skog-Södersved (1992) has contrasted the frequency of phraseological units in German and (Finland-) Swedish newspaper leaders. Investigating the occurrence of morphosyntactic classes and of occasional modifications (new use of a phraseological unit which has not yet entered dictionaries), she observes that Swedish newspaper language uses only half as many phraseological units as German ones. Clausén (1996) has investigated the use of idioms in Swedish newspaper language during one week. She found that idioms with a non-metaphorical parallel phrase can be used with greater variation. Indeed, only 3 of the 23 idioms she found were used as specified in the dictionary. Variation can affect morphology (*strö salt i såret/såren*), syntax (*inte veta på vilket ben man ska stå/vilket ben man ska stå på*) or the lexicon (*springa som yra/skrämda höns*), and it can use both abbreviation (*det är ingen ko på isen (så länge rumpen är i land)*), *vara femte hjulet (under vagnen)* and addition. Generally, this study shows that it can be particularly fruitful to look at phraseological units as they are actually used rather than as they are preserved in a dictionary.

4.5. New phraseological units and the influence of English

Both synchronic and historical linguistics meet in research on neologisms in the 20th century. Inghult (1991) is interested in the principles of lexical innovations in German and Swedish after 1945. In dictionaries of neologisms, he found that only 3% of new formations are groups of words, but 97% are word formations, and that idiomatized phraseol-

ogical units are rare. He also observed that composition is often found in Swedish where German has a phraseological unit. e.g. *eine kupferne Kanne* 'a copper can' versus *en kop-parkanna*.

Moberg (1996) investigates the influence of English on Swedish phraseology and finds that loans in this category often also encourage the construction of parallel and then new idioms in Swedish. While culturally loaded idioms like *it's not my cup of tea* or *to cry wolf* have only weak chances of survival in another language, others are more successful. Both *att lägga ngt. i malpåse* and *att bli tagen med byxorna nere* were originally English (*to put sth. in mothballs, to be caught with one's trousers/pants down*). Listing examples of loaned phraseological units from the 1980s, Moberg (1996) finally examines how the transfer of *to get cold feet* into Swedish *få kalla fötter* has encouraged the emergence of a large amount of new idioms since the 1970s: *ha varmt |bra |mycket| ordentligt* etc. *på fötterna*.

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29. Nordic language history and historical contrastive linguistics

1. Historical contrastive linguistics
2. Phonology
3. Morphology
4. Syntax
5. Lexicon
6. Scandinavian and other languages
7. Desiderata for future research
8. Literature (a selection)

1. Historical contrastive linguistics

1.1. Historical contrastive linguistics comprises two major areas. *Historical contrastive grammar* compares the ways in which the structures of two or more languages or dialects develop over the course of time. The comparison may embrace related or not demonstrably related languages. Broadly understood, the term “grammar” includes the components of phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, the first three of which are currently of particular concern for cross-linguistic diachronic comparisons. Generally set apart from grammar proper, the lexicon is another significant aspect of cross-linguistic historical comparisons. This is the realm of *historical contrastive lexicology*. In addition, *text-linguistic*, *sociolinguistic*, and *pragmatic* investigations with a historical contrastive focus are to varying degrees possible or conceivable.

1.2. Historical contrastive linguistics in the sense just defined differs, if not always in kind, at least in degree from certain other research orientations. Traditional *historical comparative linguistics* compares demonstrably cognate languages in an attempt to reconstruct a common original grammar and lexicon, a proto-language, for these, and, if complete, delineates during the course of the reconstruction the chronological developments from the proto-language down to the individual daughter languages. Unlike traditional comparative grammar, historical contrastive linguistics is not limited to related languages and does not aim at establishing a proto-language. Secondly, historical contrastive linguistics differs from conventional *contrastive linguistics* or *contrastive analysis*, since the latter is synchronic and most commonly applied, with the ultimate goal of providing a basis for improved second language teaching, learning, and testing, translation practice, automatic translation, etc. Finally, historical contrastive linguistics differs from so-called *comparative grammar* within the framework of modern generative theory (the principles-and-parameters approach and minimalism) in that the latter compares languages, whether related or unrelated, ultimately in order to establish biologically endowed properties of human

language in general, the so-called Universal Grammar (UG). Historical contrastive linguistics for its part is not limited to a particular theoretical framework or to one particular theoretical goal. Ideally, it should provide a reasonably exhaustive comparison of all diverging, converging and parallel changes in the languages examined, whereas generative comparative grammar may restrict itself to the developments most obviously relevant to its universalist program.

Historical contrastive linguistics perhaps displays its greatest affinity with *historical language typology*, although, unlike the latter, it does not aim at hammering out general typological principles. Taking existing historical grammars as its point of departure, it rather seeks to determine structurally, lexically, and sociolinguistically significant parallels and differences in the developments of the particular languages selected (see further 7.1.). The contrasts thus established may be utilized for theoretical, typological, descriptive, applied, historical, or other purposes.

1.3. Historical contrastive linguistics as a separate, well defined, systematic field of study is still in its early infancy, if not, in part, at its gestation stage. This is true generally as well as with reference to the Nordic or Scandinavian languages. Comprehensive longitudinal step-by-step comparisons involving Scandinavian languages are rare. The work that comes closest to this goal is Einar Haugen's *Scandinavian language structures: A comparative historical survey* (1982), which might perhaps be taken to foreshadow the field of Scandinavian historical contrastive linguistics as a whole. In the words of its back cover, "[t]his is the first book in any language to provide a comparative survey of the historical development of all major linguistic structures in the Scandinavian languages". A historical contrastive approach is especially evident in its chapters on phonology and morphology. Phonological processes are described and morphological systems tabulated in such a way that it is clear which major phenomena are common to all the standard languages in Scandinavia, which ones are found in a subset of these languages, and which ones are restricted to individual languages. Aside from Haugen (1982), cross-language observations, albeit not as methodical, are part and parcel of many historical descriptions. Broad overviews of Nordic language history such as Haugen (1976) or Westén (1965) as well as the Nordic dialect history

by Bandle (1973) to a greater or lesser extent draw cross-linguistic parallels. Among later works, Barðdal et al. (1997), despite certain shortcomings, has the virtue of presenting the Scandinavian languages contrastively, and some of this extends into the diachronic domain. Similarly, Torp (1998) offers contrastive observations, some of them historical. Interesting diachronic-typological perspectives on Faroese are outlined in Rischel (1992). Where a historical contrastive perspective does surface in the literature, the primary focus is often on the Central or Mainland, as opposed to the Insular Scandinavian languages. Moreover, contrastive remarks on developments in the standard languages are overwhelmingly more frequent than those on dialectal changes.

In the survey that follows, only a small selection of the literature with a bearing on the field can be mentioned. Additional references are found in the publications cited. In line with the orientation of existing research as well as for reasons of space, we will concentrate on structural and lexical, rather than text-linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic, factors.

2. Phonology

In traditional accounts of the phonological history of individual Scandinavian languages, reference is often made to parallel or diverging developments in the sister languages. For the period under discussion here (i.e. from about 1950), the work by Hesselman (1948–53) achieves special importance, since it "aims at a comprehensive treatment of the more important questions about the changes in the spoken language in the Scandinavian linguistic area" (Hesselman 1948, V; my translation). Due to the author's death, however, this painstaking work could not be completed as planned, and the installments actually published are largely restricted to phonological weakening processes in post-stress positions (apocope, syncope, consonant reduction, etc.). Though not always dependable in its conclusions (cf. Ulvestad 1964), Chapman (1962) pursues interesting parallel changes in the West Scandinavian languages in the areas of vocalic and consonantal phonology. In an attempt to substantiate an alternative theory about the emergence of Scandinavian tonal phenomena (functionally, a stød-like phenomenon is taken to be original), Liberman (1982) pulls together a wealth of material from the literature, making frequent cross-linguistic and cross-dialectal comparisons, also of a dia-

chronic kind (cf. Ringgaard 1983, Eliasson 1986). Tracing the historical transformation of quantity in Icelandic, Árnason (1980) includes, in a special chapter, comparisons with the developments in the other Scandinavian languages. The historical interplay between quantity and quality in West Scandinavian vowel systems is the topic of Küspert (1988) (a similar goal is pursued by Widmark 1998 for Swedish). None of the works mentioned, or others like them, are as explicitly contrastive as the phonology chapters of Haugen (1982), but they offer numerous starting-points for further historical contrastive research. For orthography, likewise, there existed until recently no systematic historical contrastive study examining the detailed developments of the orthographies of most or all of the languages. Important aspects of such a comparison are now covered in the historically oriented sections in Lindqvist (2001), who studies the role of general orthographic principles in the formation and change of the Scandinavian orthographies (cf. also e.g. Werner 1994 and Nedreliid 2000).

3. Morphology

Change in Scandinavian inflectional morphology is governed by two fundamental, opposing, yet distributionally complementary, tendencies, both of which have been commented on extensively in the literature: the *build-up* of morphology in some domains, and the large-scale *erosion* of morphology in others. The build-up of new morphology (due to grammaticalization) is illustrated especially by the emergence of the suffixed definite article in $-(V)n(-)$ and the “mediopassive” in $-s(t)$, etc. These developments took place in all the standard Scandinavian languages, but with partly varying end results. In contrast, the extensive breakdown or simplification of other nominal and verbal morphology (of the categories case in nouns, number and person in verbs) is the paramount feature that sets the Central Scandinavian languages apart from the Insular ones. These simplifying developments result in the Central Scandinavian languages having fairly transparent morphology, illustrated e.g. by plainly agglutinative structures like Sw. *stol-ar-n-a-s* (chair-pl.def.pl.poss.) ‘of the chairs’. The generalization of the genitive ending $-s$ to new noun classes is accompanied by its use to mark syntactic group genitives, even including examples such as Sw. *på dom som beslutar bord, så att säga* [on the desk of (-s)

those (*dom*) who (*som*) decide (*beslutar*), so to speak] (the Swedish Child Ombudswoman, Radio Sweden, Program 1, March 25, 1993, 9.35 a.m.). Norde (1997) analyzes the Swedish case also in a Scandinavian and Germanic perspective (cf. Askedal 2000). The numerous major and minor morphological differences between the Scandinavian languages have naturally triggered many comments in the literature.

4. Syntax

Syntactically, the Scandinavian languages are highly similar, both in form and substance, but some interesting discrepancies do exist. As in phonology and morphology, studies on Scandinavian syntax from a combined historical contrastive perspective do not abound. Still, a few early works of a somewhat kindred nature may be mentioned. In two substantial synchronically contrastive volumes, which may well serve as a starting-point for diachronic investigations, Hulthén (1944–48) examines in detail similarities and differences between the syntax of written Standard Danish, Norwegian and Swedish. On a much narrower scale, Holm (1958) traces the history and areal distribution of the two Norse verbs *fara* and *taka/taga*, with the basic meanings ‘go, travel’ and ‘take, seize’, respectively, in ingressive, periphrastic, and related infinitive constructions (e.g. Mod.Icel. *fara að rigna* ‘begin to rain’). One outcome of his analysis, underpinned by philological and dialect-geographic evidence, is that *taka* is older than *fara* in ingressive constructions (for a critique of the work, see Ulvestad 1959). From a phonological and semantic as well as syntactic point of view, Markey (1969) traces the spectacular displacement of the native Scandinavian verb *varda* (etymologically = G *werden*) by the borrowed *bliva* (etym. = G *bleiben*) in large parts of Scandinavia, trying to establish the when, why and how of the change (on this class of verbs, note also Nübling 2000, 55–108). The expression of definiteness in Scandinavian noun phrases is the subject of Lundebý’s (1965) doctoral dissertation, which remains a valuable source of information. Not until the early 1980s, however, sparked by new developments in generative theory, did a Scandinavian generative comparative syntax emerge. Given the primary goals of generative comparative grammar and the availability of data, much of this work is synchronic in orientation, but sometimes diachronic considerations are

adduced in order to support the solutions proposed. A major, theoretically sophisticated contribution is that by Holmberg/Platzack (1995), who attempt to derive a large set of syntactic differences between especially Icelandic and the Mainland Scandinavian languages (cf. Holmberg/Platzack 1991, 95) from a fundamental difference in inflectional morphology between the two language groups. Whereas Icelandic has a well-developed system of subject-verb agreement and moderately rich case morphology, the Mainland Scandinavian languages have no subject-verb agreement and very little case-marking. Precise comparisons of the diverging diachronic developments are, of course, highly pertinent to this issue. (For an incisive, insightful review of Holmberg/Platzack 1995, see Thráinsson 1999.) Although the Scandinavian languages are syntactically strongly alike, striking differences appear in their noun phrases, which are the subject of Delsing's penetrating (1993) study. A readable survey of generative comparative research on Swedish and Scandinavian syntax up to the early 1990s is provided by Platzack (1994). Platzack distinguishes two main periods of Scandinavian generative comparative grammar. The first one, which extends from the beginning of the 1980s until the early '90s, focuses on comparisons of Icelandic, Old and Modern, with Central Scandinavian. The second period, beginning in the early 1990s, zeroes in on finer differences between the Central Scandinavian languages themselves. Platzack (1995) succinctly portrays some syntactic features of the highly archaic dialect of Älvdalen (Dalarna), drawing comparisons with other Scandinavian, Germanic and non-Germanic languages. Specifically, he explores the possibility of subject omission in the first and second person plural in the Älvdalen dialect as well as the absence of the standard Swedish rule placing the negation before the finite verb in dependent clauses. As before, he attempts to account for the differences by recourse to varying settings of parameters. In addition to providing a lucid introduction to generative comparative syntax, Delsing (2000) delineates the main steps in the collapse of the Swedish case system with a particular focus on the genitive. The description could be extended to the other Scandinavian languages (cf. also section 3 and Norde 1997). From a totally different, typological and semiotic, angle, Askedal (1997) submits that, of the two Peninsular Scandinavian languages, Norwegian tends to prefer a more

transparent coding of grammatical and lexical relations, whereas Swedish leans more towards compactness of expression. Again, this study is predominantly synchronic, but suggestive diachronic observations are included (ibid. 204–206, 207).

5. Lexicon

A wealth of research on the historical lexicology of individual Scandinavian languages, with frequent consideration of the sister languages, has been documented in many book-length studies as well as etymological dictionaries. Haugen (1982, ch. 7) offers a brief historically oriented survey of Scandinavian vocabulary. Barðdal et al. (1997, ch. 3) is more systematically contrastive. The dictionary by Lindgren et al. (1994), covering the Central Scandinavian languages Danish, Norwegian and Swedish and containing about 10,000 entries likely to cause misunderstandings in inter-Scandinavian communication, is strictly synchronic but might provide one of the starting-points for systematic historical contrastive lexicological research.

6. Scandinavian and other languages

Occasional as well as more systematic comparisons of features in the history of Scandinavian and non-Scandinavian languages are scattered over the literature. In phonology, Riad (1992) investigates syncope, vowel balance, and Swedish quantity shift, partly from a Germanic perspective. Salmons (1992) pursues North European stress and accent phenomena in pre-history. The wider areal-linguistic and synchronic typological context of the phonologies of the present-day Scandinavian languages is sketched in Eliasson (2000), though with no treatment of the diachronic dimension. Phonological as well as morphological comparisons between Late Old Swedish and Middle Low German are drawn in Moberg (1989). Braunmüller (1995) conveniently summarizes major morphological similarities and differences between Middle Low German and the Old Scandinavian languages. Nübling (2000) delineates the historical development of morphological irregularity in a set of high-frequency verbs such as *have*, *become*, *come*, *say*, *give*, *take* in ten Germanic languages, including Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Icelandic and Faroese. She demonstrates that high-frequency verbs, rather than

being kept in check by naturalness principles, tend to become irregular in such a way that individual verb forms become more distinct. This differentiation, in turn, allows for phonetic reduction without the danger of creating troublesome ambiguities between forms (for a summary see Nübling 1998). Also, comparisons of Scandinavian syntactic developments with those of other Germanic languages are quite natural, and a number of works draw parallels of this sort. In addition to Proto-Germanic basic word order, Braunnüller (1982) analyzes, from a typological point of view, noun phrases in present-day Germanic languages and their historical antecedents. Braunnüller (1998) picks up the topic of word order in Middle Low German, Old Swedish and Old Danish from the points of view of language-internal change and language contact. Though synchronic in outlook, Ureland's (1973) dissertation on verb complementation after Swedish, German and English *verba sentiendi* also carries certain implications for diachronic research. Comprehensive comparisons of Scandinavian and non-Germanic or even non-Indo-European historical syntax, though very much in line with the generative universalist program, are still scarce, however. An informative discussion of German-Swedish historical contrastive onomastics (surnames) is contained in Nübling (1997).

7. Desiderata for future research

7.1. Ideally, though not always realistically, a systematic historical contrastive description would include at least the following steps: (1) a contrastive characterization of the original states of the languages or dialects studied; (2) a comparison of the precise course of change in each language or dialect; (3) a contrastive specification of relevant sociolinguistic conditions; (4) an approximate dating of beginning, height, and cessation of the change in each language; and (5) a contrastive characterization of the respective end states.

7.2. Among the abundance of works that have been published on the history of Scandinavian languages, extremely few can be classified as historical contrastive in a strict sense. At present, therefore, a paradox emerges. With infrequent exceptions, if a study is contrastive, it is not historical, if historical, it is not contrastive. At the intersection of the two research perspectives, a vast research territory lies largely fallow. Virtually every reasonably

complex phenomenon that varies cross-linguistically or areally may with profit be investigated further from a combined historical contrastive point of view. Hence, any listing of possible topics for future research can only be suggestive and exemplary.

7.3. Long known as major stumbling-blocks of Scandinavian linguistics, Scandinavian tonal accents, *stød*, and quantity lend themselves par excellence to extensive historical contrastive investigations, taking into account the precise twists and turns of their putative development in individual dialects and languages. Likewise, much valuable research notwithstanding, the exact ways in which the Great Scandinavian Quantity Shift has interacted with qualitative vowel changes (the Peninsular Scandinavian Vowel Shift *a*: > *o*: > *u*: > *ɤ*:, High Short Vowel Lowering, etc.) as well as ample secondary diphthongizations in different localities remain largely uncharted. In the consonant systems, the emergence of typologically not particularly frequent cacuminals, postalveolars, and retroflex flap ("thick *l*") on the Scandinavian Peninsula still harbors many riddles (origin, cause, stages, spread, dating), some of which might be illuminated by historical contrastive considerations. A case of ongoing change, the expansion of uvular *r* in Norway, sometimes with startling intermediate stages, could be studied in comparison with similar, long completed, developments (*Götamälsskorning*) in Götaland dialects in Sweden.

7.4. In the wake of recent progress in generative comparative morphosyntax, it is desirable to pursue further the alluring, yet elusive interplay between the fixing of word order and the massive breakdown of Central Scandinavian inflection so as to narrow down remaining controversial issues (cf. e.g. Thráinsson 1999). Similarly, changes in noun and verb morphology still harbor unsolved problems of detail that might be illuminated contrastively. One intriguing example is the emergence of the third weak conjugation in Norwegian and Swedish in the late Middle Ages, as compared to developments in Danish. The pathways of gender restructuring in large parts of Central Scandinavia might be put into sharper relief by historical contrastive data. From a sociolinguistic perspective, it would be rewarding to contrast the development of terms of address in the different Scandinavian languages. In the realm of lexicology, a special contrastive

history of the lexicons of all the Scandinavian languages is missing. A large-scale challenge to Nordic historical contrastive linguistics is to systematically compare precise details of the changes in Old and Middle Scandinavian to those of Middle Low German in order to determine any deeper, typological or other, parallels in the developments of these languages.

7.5. The Scandinavian countries possess a long shared history, cultural conditions in the region are strikingly homogeneous, all Scandinavian languages except Faroese exhibit a fairly long documented tradition, and particularly the Central Scandinavian languages form a closely knit group. Hence, as underscored by Platzack (1994, 40), the Scandinavian languages offer an attractive testing ground for comparative work, allowing the researcher to keep different synchronic or diachronic variables under control. Truly systematic historical contrastive investigations of the closely related Scandinavian languages may well yield new substantial insights into the factors that determine the outcome of structural change.

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30. Nordic language history: Semiotics and the theory of naturalness

1. Charles S. Peirce: Icons, metaphors and symbols
2. Roman Jakobson: Motivated signs in natural language
3. Natural morphology: Natural grammatical change
4. Natural grammatical change in the Nordic languages
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Charles S. Peirce: Icons, metaphors and symbols

Semiotics is the general theory of signs. Interest in signs is not a modern phenomenon, but reaches back into Greek classical antiquity – one only needs to think of Plato's well-known

Cratylus dialogue. Since then, large numbers of philosophers, logicians and linguists have addressed semiotic questions (cf. Nöth 1990, 11 ff.). The work on semiotics by the American philosopher Peirce (1839–1914) was of particular importance for linguistics; he introduced the term *sem(e)iotic* for the theory of signs. Peirce was ignored by linguists for decades, while independently of his work a series of linguists, including Saussure, Bühler, Hjelmslev and Jakobson realised the great importance of semiotic connections for human language. In the 1950s and 1960s, Jakobson demonstrated the immediacy of Peirce's seminal ideas on the nature of signs for the study of linguistics.

Peirce's semiotics does not primarily concern language, but claims to be of universal

significance. The world for him is a world of signs. The sign is a triadic relationship, consisting of the actual physical sign itself (*representamen*) – the referent of the sign (*object*) – the meaning of the sign (*interpretant*). The core of his theory of signs is formed by the classification of signs, which is based on three trichotomies (!). The most important of these for him, and also for the linguistic questions being examined here, is the trichotomy resulting from the relationship between the sign and its referent. Peirce distinguishes three types of sign – the icon, the index and the symbol.

An icon is a sign characterized by a significant similarity between the sign and the referent; thus, for example, a photo is an iconic sign because it (as a picture) displays a similarity with the referent (that which is represented). Linguistic signs with iconic character are, for example, verbs such as German *piepen* and *brumm-en*, because they reproduce phonic characteristics of their referents, peeping and growling. Peirce further distinguishes between three sub-types of icon, namely image, diagram and metaphor. The image (icon in its narrow sense) is immediately perceptible, pictorially iconic, i.e. the sign directly demonstrates characteristics of the referent, as the above examples show. A diagram, on the other hand, is an “icon of relations”. Here, relations within the sign reflect relations in the referent, i.e. diagrams refer to the structural similarity of referent and sign. While images are open to direct interpretation, diagrams can only be interpreted against the background of certain conventions. An example would be the use of an illustration of the difference in unemployment figures between two years using two rectangles whose relative sizes reflect a quantitative difference. A linguistic example is provided by Jakobson’s observation that in many languages the positive, comparative and superlative of adjectives are symbolised by an increasing number of phonemes, as in English *high high-er high-est* and Latin *alt-us alt-ior alt-issimus*. Finally, in the metaphor, the resemblance is not between the referent and sign as wholes but between certain characteristics of both. Thus a memorial representing a human being in a certain pose can be a metaphor for war. The interpretation of metaphors, again, relies on conventions, which can be strongly culture-dependent. Natural languages are full of metaphorical signs, for example the names of tools or devices such as German *Fuchsschwanz* or *Katzenauge*.

In the case of the index, referent and sign are connected in a real rather than a representational manner. Smoke indicates fire, a pointing finger indicates a particular object. An index is basically a “sign of” something; it always requires an association to be made, which may be more or less obvious (e.g. the case of economic “indicators”). Linguistic indices are deictic elements such as the personal pronouns *I* and *you* and the pro-adverbs *here* and *there*.

The symbol is defined by Peirce as a purely conventional and thus arbitrary sign. There is no natural connection between the referent and the sign. Thus the convention for road traffic is that the colour red means “stop” or “danger” and green means “go”, whereas on the waterways the situation is reversed. One and the same animal is called *dog* in English, *Hund* in German, *canis* in Latin, *sobaka* in Russian, *kutya* in Hungarian etc. It is important to note, however, that “arbitrary” obviously does not mean that conventional signs can be freely exchanged for each other.

Peirce does not assume that the different types of sign ever actually occur in a “pure” form; a particular sign is characterised by its dominant characteristics. For him, ideal signs are ones in which iconic, indexical and symbolic features are more or less equally distributed. This view is in opposition to Saussure’s well-known position that the semiotic function is best performed by totally arbitrary linguistic signs.

2. Roman Jakobson: Motivated signs in natural language

R. Jakobson (1896–1982) was the first linguist to show the fundamental importance of Peirce’s classification of signs as icons, metaphors and symbols for the structure of natural languages. This classification provided Jakobson with a theoretical basis for working out the role of non-arbitrary signs in natural language and thus establishing their motivational potential. For Jakobson, linguistics should not ignore the motivations of linguistic signs and in particular view their diagrammaticity as being of marginal value, for this is in fact part of the essence of language: “... on a plain, lexical level the interplay of sound and meaning has a latent and virtual character, whereas in syntax and morphology (both inflection and derivation) the intrinsic, diagrammatic correspondence between the signans and signatum

is patent and obligatory” (Jakobson 1971a, 355). Jakobson clearly supports the position first taken up in Plato’s *Cratylus* dialogue by Socrates (which obviously also represents Plato’s own view) that motivated words have semiotic advantages over non-motivated words. Thus, Jakobson takes a stance clearly opposed to that of Saussure, who maintained that linguistic signs are essentially arbitrary (Saussure 1931, 79), a hypothesis accepted without questions by modern linguistics up to the 1960s and 70s. In his programmatic article “Quest for the essence of language” (1971a), Jakobson points out a range of different motivational phenomena from a variety of languages.

In the overall system of language, a relatively minor role is played by iconic formations (images). These include not only onomatopoeia (cf. again cases such as *piep-en* and *brumm-en*) but also “constellations of words having similar meanings tied to similar sounds” (354) such as the English “*ash*-verbs” *bash*, *mash*, *crash*, *dash* etc. To these can be added iconic-diagrammatic phenomena, such as those often found in the formation of diminutives with “diffuse” (high) sounds and augmentatives with “compact” (low) sounds. In such cases one can speak of sound-iconicity or sound-symbolism. Sound-symbolism can also distinguish different classes of morphemes: “... affixes, particularly inflectional suffixes, in languages where they exist, habitually differ from the other morphemes by a restricted and selected use of phonemes and their combinations”. In general, affixes are shorter than roots, and in Russian, for example, only four of the 24 obstruents occur in inflectional suffixes (352).

Far greater significance for language structure is held by diagrammatic motivational phenomena. The first of these is the uniformity and transparency of complex words. Uniformity here refers to the formal unity of roots in different words and word forms, and transparency means the formal and semantic analyzability (compositionality) of complex words. Jakobson emphasises that both phenomena can also occur partially and in varying degrees. Thus Saussure’s famous French example *berger* is not totally arbitrary, as the suffix *-er* also occurs in *vacher* etc.; the word is, therefore, partially transparent. Equally, linguistic signs can be partially uniform – for example, all Polish instrumental morphemes share the feature of nasality in their final segment, whether this be a consonant or vowel

(353). The second is that languages are constructed to a high degree according to a principle which, following the terminology of natural morphology, can be called constructional iconicity; this means that additional semantic content is matched by additional formal content. In addition to the example of the comparative already mentioned, Jakobson adduces the conjugation systems in French and Polish, where the plural form of each person is expressed with more phonemes than the singular; cf. *je finis – nous finissons*, *tu finis – vous finissez* etc. The third, which applies particularly to syntax, is the significant role played by serial iconicity: “The temporal order of speech events tend to mirror the order of narrated events in time or rank”: *Veni – vidi – vici* (352). Working from this, he shows that serial iconicity also determines the sequence of morphemes in a word. The substantive semantic contrast between root morphemes and affixes is reflected by their different positions within the word (352). Fourthly, and finally, he points to the existence of diagrammatic alternations in word stems: “There are ... specimens of analogical grammatical ‘diagrams’ with a manifestly iconic value in the alternants themselves” (355). Among the examples cited is that of reduplication as it occurs in plural, iterative and augmentative formations in African languages, for example.

Metaphors, Peirce’s third type of iconic signs, are also an essential part of natural languages. “*Star* means either a celestial body or a person, both of pre-eminent brightness. A hierarchy of two meanings – one primary, central, proper, context-free; and the other secondary, marginal, figurative, transferred, contextual – is a characteristic feature of such asymmetrical couples” (355).

In this article, Jakobson just mentions indexical signs. In natural languages they are typically represented (see above) by pronouns and pro-adverbs. However, using the case of the first person singular, Jakobson (1971b) characterizes their particular semiotic value using the designation “shifters”, which has now become generally accepted: “... the sign *I* cannot represent its object without ‘being in existential relation’ with this object: the word *I* designating the utterer is existentially related to his utterance, and hence functions as an index”. Since the same meaning is expressed in different languages by different forms, e.g. *I*, *ego*, *ich*, *ja*, the personal pronoun also takes on a symbolic character. Thus Jakobson speaks here of indexical symbols (132).

Jakobson not only showed the import of Peirce's semiotic theory for linguistics but also developed a number of novel ideas of his own. The most important of these is undoubtedly the notion of markedness, which he developed in collaboration with Trubetzkoy. The original notion was to express the non-equivalence of those members of a binary phonological opposition in which one member possesses a feature which the other phoneme does not, e.g. the feature of voice in the opposition /d/ vs. /t/ with /d/ being marked and /t/ unmarked (cf. Trubetzkoy 1931). Jakobson transferred the notion to morphological oppositions such as *G Eselin* vs. *Esel*, where *Eselin* not only possesses the semantic features of *Esel* but also has the feature "feminine", and is thus marked in contrast to *Esel*. This notion was later developed into a theory of markedness as a comprehensive theory of the systematic asymmetry of grammatical units in structure and change.

Jakobson did not systematically relate his insights into semiotics, motivation and markedness in natural language to the question of language change; with his findings, however, he paved the way for a theory of grammatical change.

3. Natural morphology: Natural grammatical change

Natural morphology (cf. esp. Dressler 1985a/b; 1999; Mayerthaler 1981; Wurzel 1984; 1994a/b) investigates the synchronic and diachronic morphological structure of languages from the particular viewpoint of markedness. Since morphology is always concerned with linguistic signs, morphological markedness has a semiotic base (as phonological markedness has a phonetic base). Thus natural morphology (along with other approaches which cannot be considered here) follows on directly from Jakobson in two ways.

Theories of grammar in their narrow sense tell us which structural characteristics natural languages must have and which ones they cannot have. Thus they are particularly concerned with the strict universal principles that make up Universal Grammar (UG). Theories of markedness, and thus natural morphology, on the other hand, tell us which structural properties languages (i.e. their speakers, of course) prefer over others (Vennemann 1988). These structural properties are typically widespread among the world's languages, acquired by speakers at a relatively early stage, less affect-

ed by pathological speech impediments, and crucially for this context – they are recurrent in language change. Grammatical phenomena displaying these structural characteristics are defined as unmarked/less marked. They are preferred because they impact the human linguistic capacity less than their more strongly marked counterparts. In natural morphology, the degree of markedness of grammatical phenomena is established by universal markedness principles (MPs: also known as principles of naturalness or preference). They take the following general form:

(1) A grammatical phenomenon G_j is less marked in regard to a markedness parameter M_i the stronger its degree of a property P_k .

Grammatical phenomena classified in morphology according to their markedness are word-forms, morphemes and non-morphemic signs (e.g. vowel alternations). MPs do not evaluate these generally, but always with respect to certain markedness parameters which in turn reflect significant structural aspects. Thus, markedness is always relative, never absolute (Vennemann 1988, 1). The properties on which markedness is based do not normally occur in binary form (P_k is present/absent) but rather in scalar degrees; thus, for example, a word-form can be more transparent or less transparent, cf. Fr. *berger*. As a result, markedness must also be defined in scalar terms; the simple distinction between "marked" and "unmarked" (as practised by Jakobson) does not suffice. Thus one finds statements of the type " G_1 is more/less marked in regard to a markedness parameter M_i than G_2 ".

Morphological markedness parameters are based to a large extent on the motivational phenomena observed by Jakobson in morphology. These include, for example, morpho-semantic transparency (including uniformity), constructional iconicity and serial iconicity. Motivatedness also provides the foundations for the parameters of system adequacy (morphological forms corresponding to the general structural traits of the system are preferred to those which do not) and motivated class membership (motivated class membership is preferable to arbitrary class membership). Parameters based not on motivation but on other semiotic conditions include those of uniform inflection (uniformly inflected words are preferred to those not uniformly inflected) and of morphological compactness (word forms consisting of a smaller number of morphemes are preferred to those consisting of a larger

number). MPs evaluate grammatical phenomena, but in themselves they say nothing about linguistic change. They are only relevant for language change when taken in conjunction with the principle of natural grammatical change, which states that:

(2) Natural grammatical change moves toward the replacement of grammatical phenomena more marked in regard to a markedness parameter M_i by grammatical phenomena less marked in regard to M_i .

Natural grammatical change, i.e. change which is initiated grammatically (“set by the system”, as opposed to socially motivated change) always leads to a reduction in markedness. In this sense it is directional. In processes of language change, speakers unconsciously behave economically and reduce the strains on their linguistic capacity. This principle does not, however, determine if and when a particular change will occur, as this depends on extra-grammatical social factors (which no grammatical theory is capable of defining). The rule is, therefore, that *if* internally motivated grammatical change occurs, *then* it always leads to markedness reduction.

It is important to note that as a result of their different parameters, MPs can lead the structure of natural languages in different directions, i.e. a decrease in markedness in regard to one parameter due to language change may well lead to an increase in markedness in regard to a different parameter. This becomes particularly clear when a morphological MP and a phonological MP are involved (as already noted – using different terminology – in Paul 1908, 196ff.). Thus a markedness reduction relative to a particular phonological parameter (the parameter of phonological substance of unstressed syllables; cf. Wurzel 1994a, 53f.) typically causes an increase in markedness in regard to morpho-semantic transparency, as demonstrated in German when verbforms such as (*wir*) *geb-en* [ge:bən] and (*wir*) *leg-en* [le:gən] are reduced to the monosyllables [ge:m] and [le:ŋ]. In these forms, the base morpheme as carrier of the lexical meaning is fused with the inflectional morpheme as the carrier of the grammatical categories, with the result that the forms are no longer (morphologically) analyzable. Contradictions of this kind also exist within morphology itself. For example, in certain complex words such as compound nouns, the MP of morphological compactness contradicts the MP of morpho-semantic transparency. If in

German compounds such as *Fern-melde-amt* and *Laub-holz-säge* are replaced by *Fern-amt* and *Laub-säge*, there is a reduction in markedness by the deletion of morphemes in the words. At the same time, however, this means that morpho-semantic transparency is also reduced, as the meaning can no longer be drawn from the meaning of the constituents. Thus a *Fernamt* is not a ‘distant office’, and a *Laubsäge* is not a ‘saw for cutting foliage’. The words have lost motivation. Cases of this kind occur frequently. The contradictions between MPs mean that natural grammatical changes do not lead to a continuous reduction of markedness in the system over the course of language history.

4. Natural grammatical change in the Nordic languages

It is well known that changes in the morphological structures of individual languages can take place at different rates within a given period of time. This can be seen, for example, when comparing Old Swedish and Modern Swedish on the one hand and Old Icelandic and Modern Icelandic on the other. Natural grammatical change occurs in practically all areas of language all the time, and for this reason it is, of course, impossible to give a comprehensive “natural historical morphology” of the Nordic languages here. We will therefore concentrate on giving the most illustrative examples of how individual markedness principles and the principle of natural grammatical change have given rise to morphological changes of theoretical and/or methodological interest in the history of the Nordic languages.

4.1. Morpho-semantic transparency and uniformity

The MP of morpho-semantic transparency, which also includes uniformity, can be stated as follows:

(3) A word-form is less marked in regard to morpho-semantic transparency the more it is structured in such a way that a combination of semantic units is symbolised by a simple concatenation of corresponding morphological units.

This MP contains two sub-parameters. Firstly, it favours forms in which there is a one-to-one correspondence between semantic units and morphemes (transparency in the more restricted sense), and secondly, it favours forms

in which the morphemes remain unmodified when they are linked (uniformity).

In the development of Mainland Scandinavian languages a well-known change can be observed which is atypical for Indo-European languages, namely the replacement of the old fusional gen.pl. forms of the type Sw. *hund-a* from the nom.sg. *hund* by agglutinating forms of the type *hund-ar-s*. This is a clear case of loss of markedness in morpho-semantic transparency: while in the older form *hund-a* the morpheme *a* simultaneously stands for the categories “plural” and “genitive”, the new form *hund-ar-s* displays a separate morpheme for each of the categories, i. e. the word is fully transparent. This example clearly shows the contradiction between morpho-semantic transparency and morphological word-length (shorter words are preferred): the change has led to the word lengthening by one morpheme, which in turn leads to an increase in markedness in regard to morphological word-length.

In the history of Icelandic, a morphological change took place exclusively in the paradigms of the two words *beykir* and *mækir*; cf.

(4)		Old Icelandic	
nom.sg.	<i>beyk-er</i>	nom.pl.	<i>beyk-ar</i>
gen.sg.	<i>beyk-es</i>	gen.pl.	<i>beyk-a</i>
dat.sg.	<i>beyk-e</i>	dat.pl.	<i>beyk-um</i>
acc.sg.	<i>beyk-e</i>	acc.pl.	<i>beyk-a</i>
		Modern Icelandic	
nom.sg.	<i>beyk-ir</i>	nom.pl.	<i>beyk-jar</i>
gen.sg.	<i>beyk-is</i>	gen.pl.	<i>beyk-ja</i>
dat.sg.	<i>beyk-i</i>	dat.pl.	<i>beyk-jum</i>
acc.sg.	<i>beyk-i</i>	acc.pl.	<i>beyk-ja</i>

At first sight it would appear that these words had followed the plural inflection of the type *niður*, which displays the same “endings”. This does not explain, however, why the change only affects two nouns of an inflectional class, moreover the only ones with a stem ending in *k*. A more adequate explanation is that we are dealing here with a reduction in markedness in regard to uniformity in the paradigm. As a result of the palatalisation of velars before front vowels, there are two alternating forms of the stem before the change, /beik^j/ in the singular and /beik/ in the plural. The change does not mean that the inflectional markers are replaced by others, but in the interest of uniformity the stem is unified following the model of the singular, i. e. after the change the nom.pl. form must be analysed as /beik^j + ar/, not as /beik + jar/ (compare to /nið + jar/).

4.2. Constructional iconicity

The MP of constructional iconicity can be stated as follows:

(5) A semantically more complex, derived word form is unmarked in regard to constructional iconicity if it is formally more complex than its semantically less complex base form; it is the more marked the more its symbolisation deviates from this structuring.

As is well known, Swedish shows a progressive loss between the 14th and 17th centuries of the formal distinctions between nom.sg. and acc.sg. (and also between nom.pl. and acc.pl.). The first stage of this development sees the strong masculine forms of the type OSw. nom.sg. *hund-er* – acc.sg. *hund* losing the nominative marker *-er*. This cannot be a phonological reduction, as the change affects neither stem-internal *-er*, as in OSw. *biter*, *viter* > Mod.Sw. *bitter*, *vitter*, nor the plural marker *-er* as in OSw. *bok* – nom.pl. *bök-er*, *natt* – nom.pl. *nät-er* > Mod.Sw. *bok* – *böck-er*, *natt* – *nätt-er*. Of further significance for the analysis is that the change starts well before the later general neutralization of the formal difference between nominative and accusative, while for example the differing forms of the weak nouns are retained until the 16th century; cf. nom.sg. *låg-e* – acc.sg. *låg-a* and nom.sg. *gat-a* – acc.sg. *gat-o* (Wessén 1969, 137 ff.; 185 ff.). We are dealing here with the very first morphological neutralization in the Swedish nominal paradigms. How, then, could the early appearance of this neutralization within an otherwise intact four-case system be explained? The accusative is semantically more complex than the nominative; according to the MP of constructional iconicity, it should be symbolized in more complex form than the nominative. This does not, however, square with the facts. In most of the noun declensions, OSw. acc.sg. and nom.sg. are formally equally complex; cf. alongside the weak nouns the strong feminines such as *graf* – *graf* and all neuters such as *skip* – *skip*. Thus we have a non-iconic symbolisation of the acc.sg. These acc.sg. forms are thus weakly marked. The acc.sg. forms of strong masculine nouns such as *hund*, on the other hand, are formally less complex than the nom.sg. forms such as *hund-er*. They display a counter-iconic symbolization and are thus strongly marked. Strongly marked phenomena are more likely to be changed than more weakly marked ones. Assuming that social conditions are favour-

able, one should expect a change from nom.sg. *hund-er* – acc.sg. *hund* to *hund – hund*, which in fact happened later. The change results in accusative forms which are only weakly marked, i.e. markedness in regard to constructional iconicity is reduced. It is worth noting that in Icelandic, which is more conservative, the same grammatical conditions did not give rise to an equivalent change; cf. Mod.Icel. nom.sg. *hund-ur* – acc.sg. *hund*.

In the development from Proto-Nordic to Old Icelandic, the opposite formal change took place, namely the introduction of an *-r* as an instance of constructional iconicity. In the case of the weak masculines such as *hag-e*, “sound laws” would have led one to expect the nom.pl. form **hag-a* (< Proto-Nordic **hag-an*), just as one would have expected to find the nom.pl. form **sqg-o* (< Proto-Nordic **sag-ōn*) in weak feminines of the type *sag-a*. The actual forms however, are *hag-ar* and *sqg-or*. *Hag-ar* could be explained as moving to the nom.pl. inflection of the strong *a*-masculines (cf. nom.sg. *arm-ur* – nom.pl. *arm-ar*). This explanation could not apply to *sqg-or*, though, as there was no nom.pl. marker *-or* in the system. What both cases have in common is that an inflectional marker consisting of only one segment (historically “worn out”) is replaced by a marker with two segments, and is thus formally strengthened. Instead of nom.sg. *hag-e* – nom.pl. *hag-a* and nom.sg. *sag-a* – nom.pl. *sqg-o*, we have *hag-e* – *hag-ar* and *sag-a* – *sqg-or*. A non-iconic and thus marked plural form is transformed into an iconic and thus unmarked plural form. Interestingly, in the case of *saga* a new marker is formed. It is not uninteresting that this new marker *-or* contains an *-r*, just like all other nom.pl. markers, i.e. *-ar*, *-er* and *-r*. All Old Icelandic nom.pl. markers then display a common phonological feature (cf. Jakobson’s example of the Polish instrumental inflections in 2), demonstrating a case of sound symbolism, with its attendant semiotic advantage.

4.3. Uniform word inflection

Let us turn next to the MP of uniform word inflection:

(6) A (morphological) word is unmarked in regard to word inflection if it has a uniform inflection; it is marked if it does not have a uniform inflection.

This means that a compound is marked for word inflection if its elements are individually

inflected, as in G (*der*) *Hoh-e = priester (des)* *Hoh-en = priester-s*.

Even in Old Norse, the formal combination of nouns and articles led in all Nordic languages to noun forms with a postposed article in which the noun and the article were declined separately, i.e. as two words; cf. the following definite forms in OSw.:

- (7) nom.sg. *hund-r* = *in[-n]*
 gen.sg. *hund-s* = *in-s*
 nom.pl. *hund-a(r)* = *n-i(r)*
 gen.pl. *hund-a* = *n-na*

(The second *-n* in the nom.sg. is not written, however it is articulated as a long [n:]; the two *rs* in the nom.pl. form are phonologically deleted at an early stage.) The definite word forms display inflection for number and case which corresponds to that of two independent words, and are thus marked in regard to word inflection. Over time, morphological change leads to uniformity in inflection, sometimes at different times, for the various inflectional forms, even if the definite marker continues to include different forms depending on number (and gender); cf. Mod. Sw.:

- (8) nom.sg. *hund-en* nom.pl. *hund-ar-na*
 gen.sg. *hund-en-s* gen.pl. *hund-ar-na-s*

In other words, markedness as regards uniform word inflection is reduced. As is well known, this reduction in markedness did not happen in Icelandic; cf. Mod.Icel. gen.pl. *hund-a = n-na* as in OSw.

4.4. System adequacy and motivated inflectional class membership

The MPs which evaluate morphological phenomena in regard to these two parameters together constitute system-dependent markedness. Like all MPs in natural morphology, they too are universal, but they affect different systems in different ways, depending on how these are structured (Wurzel 1984, 81 ff.). The MP of system adequacy can be formulated as follows:

(9) A morphological phenomenon is the less marked in regard to system adequacy the more it corresponds to the system-defining structural properties of the respective morphological system.

The system-defining structural properties are the superordinate structural traits which characterise an inflectional system. Putting it somewhat simply, those phenomena that

structurally “do not fit the system well” are marked. System adequacy has a number of sub-parameters. One of these relates to the sameness or difference of the inflectional forms in paradigms, i.e. the occurrence of syncretism. In Old Icelandic, most feminines of the *ō*- and the *i*-declension do not have a marker in the acc.sg. and dat.sg.; cf.

(10)		<i>ō</i> -declension	<i>i</i> -declension
	nom.sg.	<i>reim</i>	<i>qxl</i>
	gen.sg.	<i>reim-ar</i>	<i>axl-ar</i>
	dat./acc.sg.	<i>reim</i>	<i>qxl</i>

In both declensions, however, there is a subclass which forms the acc.sg. without a marker, but forms the dat.sg. with *o*; cf.

(11)		<i>ō</i> -declension	<i>i</i> -declension
	nom.sg.	<i>laug</i> <i>kerling</i>	<i>qld</i>
	gen.sg.	<i>laug-ar</i> <i>kerling-ar</i>	<i>ald-ar</i>
	dat.sg.	<i>laug-o</i> <i>kerling-o</i>	<i>qld-o</i>
	acc.sg.	<i>laug</i> <i>kerling</i>	<i>qld</i>

There appear to be two conflicting changes from Old to Modern Icelandic in this area. Firstly, the inflection of the dat.sg. is deleted, cf. dat.sg. *laug* and *öld*, and secondly the inflection is transferred from the dat.sg. to the acc.sg., cf. dat./acc.sg. *kerling-u*. However, both these changes have one feature in common, namely that in the paradigm the dat.sg. and acc.sg. are given the same form. In Old Icelandic the correspondence between dat.sg. and acc.sg. in feminine nouns predominates in the system to such an extent that speakers regarded it as normal; it applies to all words of this gender with the exception of the cases mentioned and the three kinship terms *móðer*, *dóttir* and *syster*. It is therefore a system-defining structural property of Old Icelandic that feminine nouns (normally) have the same form in the dat. and acc.sg. The paradigms to which this does not apply are correspondingly marked and tend to reduce the formal difference. But why do they do it in different ways? The decisive factor here is that for Old Icelandic feminine nouns, two types of distinction are in competition, each with approximately the same number of type occurrences, namely “nom. = dat. = acc.” (nominative, accusative and dative have the same form: the larger sub-classes of the *ō*- and *i*- decl., *wō*-, *jō*- and *īm*-decl.) and “nom. ≠ dat. = acc.” (dative and accusative are the same, but differ from the nominative: *ōn*-, *iō*- and *i*-decl.). Thus the change is not uniform in this sense, but there are two competing strategies, the type

laug/öld (nom. = dat. = acc.) and the type *kerling* (nom. ≠ dat. = acc.).

Let us turn now to the MP of motivated inflectional class membership:

(12) If in an inflectional system there is competition between two/several inflectional classes containing words with the same phonological, syntactic and/or semantic properties, a word is unmarked in regard to its class membership if it belongs to the class containing most of the words with the relevant properties; otherwise it is marked.

The inflectional class membership of words tends to rely on their independent properties, and in the majority of cases is predictable, i.e. does not need to be specially learnt. In such cases the inflectional class membership is unmarked. For example, it is well known that (in principle) all Swedish utrum nouns (syntactic property) ending in *-a* (phonological property) belong to the *or*-plural class: *gat-a* – pl. *gat-or*. When historically an utrum noun developed the ending *-a* (by intra-paradigmatic levelling), a class change occurred (with the exception of some words with ‘mixed’ paradigms like *timme-e/timme-a*, but plural only *timme-ar*, Wessén 1969, 191), cf. OSw. *logh-i* – nom.pl. *logh-a(r)* > Mod.Sw. *låg-a* – pl. *låg-or*.

It is important to note (following the formulation of the MP) that the same tendency also obtains when a word’s independent properties can qualify it for two or more inflectional classes, but one of the classes contains more words than the other(s), as in the case of Icelandic neuters ending in a consonant. In Old Icelandic the large *a*-declension (type *land*) was in opposition to the two much smaller classes of the *wa*-declension (type *hogg*) and the *ja*-declension (type *net*). Meanwhile, in modern spoken Icelandic, all the *wa*-nouns and a number of the *ja*-nouns have joined the *a*-declension.

Certain other transitions from one inflectional class to another in Nordic that seem to go the “wrong” way must also be considered here. In Proto-Germanic, feminines of the consonantal, the *i*- and the *ō*-declension were formally distinguished in their base form (the nom.sg.), cf.: **wik-z*, **leið-iz* und **man-ō*, whereas by Old Icelandic, phonological neutralization led to the disappearance of the formal differences between the three declensions. The words of all three classes all end in a consonant: *vik*, *leið* and *mōn*. Within these classes we can again observe various transitions. We

find, among others, words of the *i*-class such as *qnd* and *qlpt* and words of the *ō*-class such as *hind* moving into the consonantal declension; these changes have been carried through more or less consistently in Old Icelandic. This has happened even though the *i*- and the *ō*-class are each considerably larger than the consonantal class, and one would therefore expect that the change would go in the opposite direction. On closer inspection of the data, however, we notice that the class of consonantal feminines also contains a whole series of animal names such as *geit*, *gǫs*, *lús*, *mús* and *tík*, whereas the other classes only contain occasional animal names. The only possible interpretation of these facts is that speakers made the semantic property “animal” the criterion for inflection class assignment. Moving from the original random distribution of the words among the three classes, the consonantal class is interpreted as the preferential class for feminine animal names ending in a consonant, and words with the relevant properties are transferred into this class. Speakers determine inflectional class membership by a semantic property that was so far morphologically totally irrelevant, thus showing how strong the tendency towards motivation is in this field too.

Human language is – as Jakobson worked out based on Peirce – a semiotic system which is characterized in many areas by the non-arbitrary assignment of sign form and sign content. Natural morphology has demonstrated that grammatically initiated morphological change always leads to a reduction in arbitrariness. In this sense, such change is motivated and explicable.

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31. Nordic language history and (lexical) semantics

1. Introduction
2. Traditional and structural semantics
3. Theory of semantic or lexical fields
4. Semantics of functional words
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1. Introduction

In Nordic semantic research, a diachronic dimension in the true sense of the word was not introduced until the 1960s. Although for many years a specific group of Scandinavian linguists and philosophers were deeply involved in an ongoing discussion concerning semantics in the three Scandinavian languages, the perspective on semantics was strictly structural and synchronic and left no room for a diachronic or historical-genetic point of view (Diderichsen 1953, 249). The historical dimension of semantics was at that time still left to lexicographers and etymologists. It is also in the editorial circles of the large-scale, national historical dictionaries that the need for scientific tools and methods for lexical description of semantic development led to a general discussion of the issue.

Furthermore, the semantic theories of modern linguistics have mostly been explicitly designed for synchronic analysis and description. The introduction of modern theories into traditional semantics as well as the addition of a diachronic dimension to modern semantic theories are illustrated in this survey by focusing on some representative works published during the period in question. Etymological studies in general have been left out, including studies on the etymology of dialect words and names. The tendency towards a Swedish bias in the presentation is fairly well motivated by the number of diachronic studies dealing with the semantics of Swedish; the historical perspective on the semantics of the other Nordic languages does not seem to have attracted the same degree of interest among linguists.

2. Traditional and structural semantics

The first Scandinavian scholar to discuss the problems of semantic analysis in historical linguistics was Loman. In an outline of lexi-

cographic methods for semantic description, he relates the work done by etymologists to the systematic, lexicographic approach. While the etymologist basically studies the history of isolated words, he argues, the lexicographer treats the single word in relation to other words in the lexicon. The author points out that the theoretical development of semantics, including lexicography, has not kept pace with that of other branches of linguistics. He also laments the aim of lexicography, which consists of differentiating the various meanings of a word into categories in as clear-cut a way as possible, and illustrating the separate meanings by unambiguous, clear and simple examples. Semantically, it is the occurrence of a word in obscure, ambiguous and unclear cases that is the most interesting one, as such usage often indicates an ongoing change in the semantic properties of the word (Loman 1961, 362 f.). Thus the contribution of historical lexicography is in fact of limited value to the study of the semantic development of a word. Even if Loman primarily refers to the situation in Sweden, the state of the art at that time was very much the same throughout the field of Nordic linguistics.

In the guidelines for the use of *SAOB*, the shortcomings of the semantic analysis carried out by lexicographers and the lack of scientific methods in historical lexicography are emphasized again. The analysis cannot be anything but anachronistic, the authors maintain, since the lexicographer uses his own semantic competence to distinguish shades of meaning and senses of a word at earlier stages; stages which reflect the systems that agree poorly with the modern one (Ekbo/Loman 1965, 53). Careful, unbiased studies of the semantic system of early stages of a language make an important task for historical linguistics. The authors suggest that if the same structural methods used for semantic analysis in synchronic modern lexicography were applied to material from a specific historical period, the synchronic semantic system of that period could be established. Moreover, such studies could help elucidating the semantic structure in, say, a conceptual field, and the lexical and semantic changes in the corresponding word field could then be observed and described. Studies of this kind would also make a solid base for typological semantics, where semantic structures dominant at different stages in the his-

torical development of a language could be compared (Ekbo/Loman 1965, 85f.).

The first extensive survey of the mechanisms of semantic change dealing with a Nordic language was Wellander's study from 1968, where he outlines different kinds of semantic changes in Swedish. The primary aim of the study of meaning must be, he says, to pinpoint the usage of the single word or expression, from early on until today. Although based on semantic theories from the early 20th century, presented by A. Noreen and H. Paul, Wellander's contribution has been of great importance for understanding the mechanisms of semantic change. Like Loman, he criticizes the way in which the historical dictionaries present the result of their semantic analysis as it makes it difficult to identify real semantic changes and cases of semantic drift, where one meaning overlaps and eventually merges with another one. Wellander also emphasizes the distinction between different kinds of semantic relationships and processes. Semantic development proper can only be claimed to occur when one meaning of a word gradually changes and develops into another one as a result of the speakers' normal usage, and so such changes are different from the other kinds he distinguishes. These are creative changes due to metaphorical, euphemistic or other kinds of figurative usage, motivated by factors like stylistic ambitions or foreign influence. These changes are not semantic in nature, even if they result in new semantic properties of a word (Wellander 1968, 83f.).

This discussion was continued by Melin, who gives credit to studies like Wellander's mainly because of the great number of concrete cases and examples that are presented and discussed; but at the same time he criticizes this and similar studies for their eclectic, unsystematic framework (Melin 1997, 139). If the theories of the relationship between different meanings of a word were formalized, the traditional notions of semantic relationships like homography, homonymy, polysemy etc. could be better explained. He proposes a model of proximity between the original and new meaning, using a fourpoint scale inspired by the world of fashion: Small-Medium-Large-XL.

A contrastive investigation of the semantic systems of German, on the one hand, and Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Icelandic, on the other, has been carried out by Schlesier (1997). His investigation is partly based on the semantic description in historical dictionaries.

Schlesier studies some etymologically defined lexical fields in the Nordic languages and compares their semantic structures to the corresponding fields in German one by one. The differences between the field in question as manifested in German and the other respective languages are explained in terms of the realization of the semantic processes in each language. With respect to semantic structure, the fields studied show greater similarity between the Scandinavian languages and German than between Icelandic and German. This can naturally be explained by less cultural and linguistic German influence on Icelandic than on the other languages.

Traditional semantics, sometimes combined with componential analysis, has occupied a strong position in Nordic semantics. Such works may indeed add to the knowledge of word semantics at earlier stages, even if they do not contribute to improving the semantic analysis or the theories. The semantic dimension is often difficult to separate from various cultural, social and other factors, which are also considered in the studies.

One of the first scholars to add a diachronic dimension to componential analysis was Nilsson in his dissertation (1974) on the development of terminology of science and technology in the 17th and 18th centuries. Again, Swedish is the main issue, but also the situation in Danish is briefly discussed. Nilsson has later studied the terms connected with the "perception of matter" and the terms for "surface", where he also treats the development of this field in Danish and Icelandic (Nilsson 1992).

Religious terminology has been the subject of a number of studies, often from a basically theological or literary point of view. The most extensive linguistic study was carried out by Thors (1957), when he treated the Christian terminology in Old Swedish. In Danish, Kruse-Blinkenberg has studied the field "reconciliation" in the different Bible translations. Walter and Astås have both studied the religious terminology in Old Norse. Walter's more purely linguistic work deals with Latin loans, concentrating on the fields of "sin" and "mercy" and their integration in Old Norse. Astås's studies are of a similar kind; he has in particular investigated the development of religious terminology in Old Norse compilations of Bible texts.

3. Theory of semantic or lexical fields

The general criticism directed towards the theory of semantic or lexical fields emphasizes the difficulties of delimiting the field. This is of course highly relevant to historical studies of semantic fields as well. Another basic problem is to decide whether the field is semantically or lexically defined. In spite of these problems, there have been successful attempts to shed some light on the semantic development of Swedish by approaching earlier stages of Swedish using field theory. Josefson (1976) was first to perform a strictly linguistic investigation of a lexical field on Old Swedish. She bases the study of the expressions for "size" and "length" observed in Old Swedish on the structuralist theories of lexical fields as formulated by J. Trier and formalized and systematized by E. Coseriu. Josefson's work reveals the semantic structure of the lexical field and also the semantic changes that resulted in some words falling out of use while others were maintained. Later on, the semantic structure of the lexical field "science" was described by Kukkonen (1989). The field is represented by 15 abstract nouns, whose semantic development is followed for the period 1477–1976. The theoretical perspective is both diachronic and synchronic, in order to discover changes in the field as well as to reveal the mutual relationship between the nouns at some specific points in time. The theoretical framework is the traditional theory of semantic fields as formulated by J. Trier and W. Porzig, combined with the model for analysis of semantic components and predication presented by G. Leech. Cultural and historical factors are also concerned in discovering how the field reflects the concept of science as a cultural phenomenon.

4. Semantics of functional words

Wellander calls attention to the lack of interest in the semantics of word classes other than nouns, adjectives and verbs (Wellander 1968, 104f.). It is not until the late 1980s that the first studies dealing with the semantic development of functional words were presented. The semantics of such words is always tied up with their grammatical, particularly syntactic, functions. The integration of grammatical and syntactic theories with diachronic semantics has indeed turned out to be very fruitful to historical linguistics in general. An eternal problem that must always be kept in mind,

however, is the role of etymology. If the meaning, the form and the function of a word all change, to what extent can it still be regarded as the same word?

Haskå has carried out a minor study concerning the relationship between semantics, syntax and various grammatical factors in the standardization of causal connectives in Old Swedish, basing her study on the theories of E. Traugott. She distinguishes different kinds of processes which led up to standardization, viz. reduction and differentiation. She also shows how the processes of grammaticalization and lexicalization exert some influence on the semantic properties of the causal connectives (Haskå 1988, 86f.).

The semantic development of connective adverbs have been investigated by Lehti-Eklund (1990). In her dissertation she applies the theory of prototypes as presented by T. Givón and historical lexical semantics of the Lakoff and Brugman type, and she also introduces pragmatics into the historical semantics of Swedish by applying the theory of pragmatic inference (H. P. Grice, S. C. Levinson) to seven connective adverbs. Her material consists of private letters from the period 1600–1900. The adverbs are studied with respect to their semantic, functional and syntactic development, with emphasis on semantic and functional changes. Special attention is paid to the study of the causes and mechanisms of semantic change. Two characteristics are stressed. First, a semantic change is caused by features that are typical of human communication; second, naturalness is important in semantic change. Lehti-Eklund shows that the meaning of an adverb changes along an implicational scale, from propositional via textual to pragmatic or, in some cases, metatextual meaning. The study also reveals how a semantic change of this kind is mainly triggered by pragmatic inferences and that the semantic change of the adverbs is closely linked with a change of function and category. While changing their meaning, the adverbs develop into connectives and further into pragmatic or metatextual markers; they also become more grammaticalized during this process. Lehti-Eklund has argued in a later study that the adverbs generally seem to change their meaning first, and that subsequently this change leads to further structural changes (Lehti-Eklund 1991, 130f.). However, the process of both the syntactic and the semantic change is complicated, and the original meaning of the adverb is one factor that can influence both the semantic and the

syntactic development of the word, even long after it has faded away.

5. Semantics and lexicalization

A rather new subfield of historical semantics is the study of the semantic development of compounds. From consisting of two distinct parts, morphologically as well as semantically, such words develop into a lexical unit with a non-compositional meaning. This is a process of lexicalization. In the Nordic area there are two scholars in particular who have tackled the issue of lexicalization with empirical material, viz. Bakken and Rogström.

In her doctoral thesis, Bakken (1998) studies the lexicalization process of some Old Norwegian compounds. Bakken has two aims: to formulate a hypothesis about the process of lexicalization and to apply this hypothesis to Old Norwegian noun + noun compounds. Her latter aim is also twofold in itself: to test the lexicalization hypothesis empirically, and to investigate whether this theoretical approach can help to shed new light on the Old Norwegian material.

Bakken's theory of meaning is based on the semantic theory of cognitive grammar as presented by R. W. Langacker and J. Bybee. Her model of the lexicalization process is based on semantic criteria (following L. Bauer, L. Lipka and U. Grimm) and on morphological arguments (in the spirit of M. Aronoff and S. Anderson). Bakken constructs a lexicalization scale consisting of three chronological phases. In the first phase, the conventionalization phase, a connection between the content and the form of the compound is created. The second phase implies that the compositional meaning of the compound merges into an integrated, non-compositional meaning. In the third phase the meaning of the compound becomes equivalent to the meaning of a simplex word, and the morphological structure of the compound is not semantically relevant to the speaker any more. The scale of lexicalization can also be used as a descriptive device in synchronic analysis. Any compound can be defined, at any moment, with respect to its degree of lexicalization. Bakken presumes that orthographic, morphological and prosodic changes that some compounds undergo are secondary to the semantic change due to the lexicalization process. Her basic claim is that the degree of lexicalization co-varies with an orthographic criterion, viz. the occurrence or

non-occurrence of a space between the components of the compound.

The degree of lexicalization of some words in 18th century Swedish has been discussed by Rogström (1998). She has used the same orthographic criterion as Bakken and her findings agree well with Bakken's results.

The model developed by Bakken certainly has some advantages over other methods of investigating the semantic dimensions of the lexicalization process in so far as it is based on strictly linguistic criteria. The problem of anachronism in historical semantics, however, is quite obvious in this study: how can speakers of today know exactly what a particular word meant centuries ago? Bakken's work is of great methodological and theoretical value, although the full relevance of her theory of lexicalization and her lexicalization scale is still to be proved, as it has not yet been tested on modern material.

6. Semantics and formal features

The relationship between the semantic and formal features of a word is certainly an intricate one. The introduction of theories of functional grammar and pragmatics into diachronic semantics has indeed meant a revitalization of the discipline, as it is now possible to study the interplay of semantic and other factors involved in the change of meaning. The investigations discussed above have revealed how semantic development can cause changes in the syntactic or other formal features of a word (Lehti-Eklund, Bakken) or be caused by formal changes (Haskå).

One case that has been studied in detail by several authors is the modification of the oblique subject construction in the Scandinavian languages, which entails a change in the semantic roles attached to the Old Nordic verbs of experience. Due to a number of syntactic and morphological factors, the meaning of the verbs in question changes from 'cause a feeling' to 'experience a feeling'. Accordingly, the semantic role played by the subject has changed from patient to agent (Sundman 1985; Falk 1995, 2000).

7. Cognitive semantics

One of the latest theories, and perhaps the one most important for historical semantics, is cognitive semantic theory. In Scandinavia it has been used by Lehti-Eklund, as already mentioned in 4, and also by Ruus and Ekberg.

G. Lakoff's theories about the human body, its conditions and constitution as being the basis of all cognition and understanding were presented by Ruus in 1990. Later she applied these theories to Danish material from the 16th century. She also discusses the general problems of diachronic traditional and structural semantics in relation to cognitive semantics: "Med den kognitive semantik [...] har vi fået en teoridannelse, som gennemhuller den ofte gentagede påstand, at al betydning er vilkårlig" (Ruus 1995, 85). Analysis on anachronistic ground is no longer the problem it was before, the argument goes.

Cognitive theories have been applied in a more formal way to Old Swedish and Middle Swedish by Ekberg. She has demonstrated how the meaning of the preposition and adverb *innan*, which in Old Swedish and Middle Swedish carried spatial, temporal and other more abstract senses, developed into a merely temporal meaning, 'before'. The author argues that the 'before' sense emerged from the temporal 'within' sense, and the semantic change is taken to be in line with the asymmetry principle formulated by E. Traugott (Ekberg 1993, 56 ff.). The cognitive reason for the development of the 'before' sense is assumed to be a universal, mental tendency to interpret simultaneous events as asymmetric or linear in time.

8. Semantic integration of loanwords

The semantic integration of borrowings has attracted a great deal of interest, which can be seen in a number of articles on "new words" in the yearbook *Språk i Norden*. Two extensive studies on the subject can be mentioned, viz. Clausén's dissertation from 1978 on loans in Faeroese and Chrystal's dissertation from 1988. Even though Chrystal's thorough investigation of the mechanisms of semantic and stylistic integration of English loans into Swedish is based on modern material, it indirectly illustrates the historical process as well.

In a more historical perspective, the effects of intense contact between the Nordic languages and Low German in the Middle Ages has been the subject of several projects in the Nordic countries and Germany. Research on this subject has recently been reported in the first volume published by the Nordic council of ministers (Jahr ed. 1998). Low German loans in Danish dialects have been discussed by Arboe Andersen (1995), the Low German influence in Old Swedish material was the sub-

ject of a dissertation by Moberg (1989), and Brodin has studied Low German loans in Swedish dialects (1999).

The influence of different languages on Swedish vocabulary from the Middle Ages till today has been investigated by Edlund/Hene (1992). Reasons for borrowing are discussed, and special attention is paid to the introduction and diffusion of loanwords. Different lexical strategies are analyzed as well as the adaptation of the loanwords. The authors point out a number of different tasks for further research in the field.

Edlund has also studied the growing influence of French on the Swedish lexicon during the 17th and 18th centuries, when a number of French military terms and words connected with the bourgeois lifestyle were introduced into Swedish. During this period, French had a strong position at court and in bourgeois circles, where many people were bilingual in French and Swedish. Even if a great number of the loans were assimilated into Swedish, it is a matter of dispute how influential French was on everyday Swedish, including the dialects. Edlund points out that even if this field has attracted some attention, more research is still needed. His appeal has, to some degree, been answered by Hallén. She has studied the distribution of some French loans into Swedish dialects. An interesting result is that many of these words seem to have gained a negative meaning, and some of them have lost their originally positive sense. Also Ernby has illustrated what has happened to the meaning of three old Frankish loans once they were integrated in the Swedish lexicon (Ernby 1988). Her study is based on Stern's important but all too often rather neglected writings on semantic change (especially Stern 1931). Ernby concludes by raising a number of questions about which factors might affect the semantic integration of a loanword, such as word-class membership, formal restrictions, emotive elements, communicative factors like misunderstanding, as well as cultural and social conditions. The answers to most of these questions are still to be found.

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32. Nordic language history and computer-aided lexical research

1. General
2. The Swedish example
3. Other Nordic examples
4. Impact
5. Literature (a selection)

1. General

In my vision of an obliging world there is, for a language in focus, a linguistic database of great power. Consider a situation where you have an entity consisting of a lexical and a grammatical database, linked together and covering historical and contemporary, qualitative and quantitative, descriptive and normative aspects of the language concerned, both branches supported by a connected textual database containing well-designed corpora, important among other things to compensate for inevitable gaps in files of excerpts (Allén 1980). Such an entity would be not only a rich reference work but also, in its own right, a productive field of research into the language in question, not least for lexical investigations.

2. The Swedish example

On the basis of work in natural-language processing since the early sixties, I developed the vision just sketched during the seventies. In 1983, it was presented in a paper introducing a strategy for natural-language processing, where I called it the “Swedish linguistic database”. Focusing on this example provides a natural point of departure here.

The main components so far are the following. The historical lexical part is largely covered by the OSA / RSVP, the database version of *Svenska Akademiens ordbok* (SAOB). Drawing on experiments from 1980, this project started in 1982, before the launching of the New OED project. By scanning, the text of the 28 volumes published at that time was stored, tentatively checked, and structured according to various types of information. Today 32 volumes (A-S) have appeared. We now receive the text in electronic form from the publisher. The database is available on the Internet. It is widely used by the editorial group working on the next few volumes, as well as by professionals and interested people in many countries. Presently, it is accessed several thousand times every day.

Another database, originally called “Lexikalisk databas” (LDB) and now often GLDB, has a different set-up. It was created from scratch; it is not a printed dictionary gone electronic. Developed since 1976, the database is a description of the contemporary Sw. lexical system on the basis of the lemma-lexeme model (Allén 1981), defining the entries and characterizing them from several points of view: paradigmatic, syntagmatic, historical, etc. This is the database from which *Svensk ordbok* (SOB) was published in 1985 (third edition 1999), followed by the three volumes of *Nationalencyklopedins ordbok* (NEO) in 1995–1996.

The first fascicle of the SAOB was published in 1893, implying that there are significant gaps in its coverage of the 20th century; the section T-Ö has not yet appeared, and there are no instances older than 1521 quoted in the dictionary. The LDB, on the other hand, covers the contemporary vocabulary, the whole alphabet, and the year of the oldest known instance recorded in each case on Swedish soil (including runic inscriptions). The oldest occurrence, incidentally, is *ek* ‘I’ from about 200 A. D. Thus, the two databases mentioned are in a fruitful kind of complementary distribution. This, in turn, has been acknowledged by the Swedish Academy, which has decided to take the responsibility for the updating of the LDB.

Of course there are problems when a database grounded in the vocabulary system of today, captured by means of the lemma-lexeme model, is to be connected to one mainly based on an etymological type of entry. As an example, consider the words *fred* and *frid*. Since the 18th century, roughly speaking, they have been two distinct words in Sw., meaning ‘freedom from war’ and ‘tranquillity’, respectively. Etymologically, they are two forms of the same word and thus are kept together under the entry *fred* in the SAOB. The same thing applies to, e. g., *grädde* ‘cream’ and *grädda* ‘crème de la crème’, both accounted for under the single entry *grädde* in the SAOB.

Furthermore, in addition to entries based on unknown etymologies, there are cases where the etymological principle has been superseded altogether. For instance, today’s lemma *slag*, meaning ‘the act of beating’ and ‘sort’, has been split up into two entries in the

SAOB in spite of their etymological identity. Problems like these can be solved, but they require a fair amount of streamlining, facilitating access to the OSA from our present-day viewpoint. Other deviations from the etymological line are more easily handled. Among these we find *mossa* 'moss' and *mosse* 'bog', which are kept apart notwithstanding their original identity as inflectional forms of the same word, and the somewhat more sophisticated pair *skipa* 'to administer' and *ekiperä* 'to fit out', which are also kept apart.

The normative lexical aspect of contemporary Sw. is presented in *Svenska Akademiens ordlista* (SAOL). It informs users of the spelling, pronunciation, and inflexion of words. The entries also provide morpheme boundaries. Since the 10th, 11th, and 12th editions (1973, 1986, and 1998, respectively) are all available in electronic form, studies in the microhistory of the glossary can be undertaken by these means.

Quantitative information is obtainable from the four parts of the *Nusvensk frekvensordbok* (NFO) (1970–1980) with respect to graphic words, lemmas, collocations, and morphemes. The corpus is a collection of complete newspaper articles, established in 1965. Additional data are implicit in other corpora that have been made available.

The set of personal proper names constitutes a special group of words. They are frequent in running texts but are also found in the files of the national records. An investigation of the names of all Sw. citizens was carried out in the seventies, and the Christian names were published in *Förnamnsboken* (1979). It describes all such names as of January 1, 1973, and covers the development of naming customs since the late 19th century. A new investigation along the same lines, based on the situation on January 1, 1995, was published later that year.

In 1999, *Svenska Akademiens grammatik* (SAG) was published. This is a description in four volumes of contemporary Sw. grammar, focusing on words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. The text of the grammar, including its index of words, will be added to the database system in accordance with the project's programme. There are plans for a more sophisticated connection later on.

Språkbanken at Göteborg University, established in 1975 through a government decision, contains a number of corpora of various kinds. Among them are newspaper articles

(several corpora), collections of novels, editions of Strindberg, Almqvist, and Bellman, popular science, parliamentary debates, laws, old Sw. texts, etc. These corpora can be used in their own right or for the support they can lend to lexical or grammatical inquiries by providing further examples in relevant cases. To an increasing extent, they are being tagged with linguistic labels, which facilitates their use in many cases.

Reliable text editions make an indispensable tool in lexical and other investigations. In fact, language history is mainly based on written texts. Their quality can be greatly enhanced by computational methods. Word lists and concordances, e. g., are very helpful in editorial work. Furthermore, the publication of lexical results is certainly facilitated by computer programmes. There is also an important kind of reciprocity between dictionaries and text editions, since every instance in a text is a potential lexical specimen.

A linguistic database like the one envisioned here makes possible a variety of historical lexical investigations, short-term as well as long-term. Waiting in line are the chronological aspect of the vocabulary, the situation during specific periods, word-formation problems such as the set of suffixes designating people in various capacities, inflexional categories, semantic hierarchies, semantic change, genre characteristics, text attribution, etc. The emphasis of the investigations can be laid on analysis rather than the time-consuming compilation of material.

The results so far have been attained through co-operation between the Swedish Academy and the academic world, mainly Göteborg University, but also, as far as the grammar mentioned is concerned, the universities of Lund and Stockholm as well as the Swedish university of Turku. These joint efforts have been of great value.

Taking a wider view, and keeping the overall perspective in mind, we may note a number of groups currently involved in computer-aided projects in the domain under discussion, some of which will be touched upon here and in the next section. In Uppsala there is the register of runic words, keeping track of all instances of words (except proper names) from about 800 to about 1100. Other Uppsala projects and the Stockholm-Umeå Corpus are of special relevance to the language of today.

3. Other Nordic examples

The SWETWOL project in Helsinki is a relevant enterprise in the field of current language. The collections of words, stored mainly for normative reasons, at the language committees in all the Nordic countries should also be mentioned.

An important site is the lexical institute in Oslo (Norsk Leksikografisk Institutt), where the work on the *Norsk ordbok* is a momentous task, planned to comprise twelve volumes describing Norw. dialects and written Nynorsk. The basic material has been made available in electronic form and will, in due course, be connected to the dictionary. Among other things, mention should also be made of the register that aims at creating a complete record of Norw. words up to about 1550.

Danish contributions of great interest in this connection are *Gammeldansk Ordbog*, the supplement to the *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* (ODS), and *Den Danske Ordbog*. The nine volumes anticipated in the first case will cover the period from about 1100 to 1515. The ODS comprises words from about 1700 to about 1950. The third undertaking aims at a contemporary description and will present its result in six volumes. Another project is *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog* (ONP), dealing with Icel. texts from about 1150 to about 1540 and Norw. texts from about 1150 to about 1370. This is being carried out by the Arnamagnæan Commission in co-operation with the Norw. lexical institute and the corresponding institute in Reykjavik. In all, there will be twelve volumes.

Orðabók Háskólans in Reykjavik is another lively centre in the field. Its archives, containing excerpts from 1540 on, are being encoded, arranged, and made available on the Internet. In addition, Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson (1996) has reported on a project using a corpus of OIcel. texts for lexical and grammatical investigations. There is also an Icel. word bank, available on the Internet since 1997, under the auspices of the Íslensk málstöð.

A recent volume, *Føroysk orðabók*, is a generous account of recorded Far. words. This work, as well as all the other achievements referred to, has used computational methods of various kinds and many of them are available also on CD-ROM.

4. Impact

In fact, we have witnessed the emergence of a new linguistic paradigm of supreme significance to lexical enterprises: (computer) corpus linguistics. It is becoming increasingly clear that its results are having a considerable impact on views about language in general. On the basis of the collocational investigation underlying the third volume of the NFO (1975), I pointed this out in papers on phraseology in lexicology (Allén 1973, 1976), and also in the introduction to the volume mentioned (using the term *lexical blocks*). For a recent discussion see, e.g., Schönefeld (1999).

On the whole, empirically oriented work on language history cannot do without the aid of computers. Their data capacity, processing speed, and demand for explicitness provide reasons enough to utilize them.

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V. Perspectives in research history IV: The contribution of Nordic dialectology

33. General history of Nordic dialectology

Preliminary remark:

When professor Kristian Ringgaard died in April 1998, he left a manuscript for art. 33 which may be considered more or less complete as to the scope of the topics, but which the author probably would have elaborated more, if he had lived.

Unfortunately it was impossible to find a dialectologist who was willing to check and eventually revise Kristian Ringgaard's manuscript, so the editors decided to publish it as the author had left it, leaving it to the chief editor and the language editor to make minor corrections. To write a general history of Scandinavian dialectology was indeed a formidable task, so it is no wonder that Ringgaard's text is not in every respect wholly satisfactory. The chief points are the following:

dialect geography is mentioned, but is far from being treated in full (e.g. Brøndum-Nielsen's *Dialekter og Dialektforskning* as a pioneering work has not been given the treatment it would have deserved), Danish structuralist dialectology is treated insufficiently, and no mention is made of the fact that there are also individual structuralists working on Swedish dialectology (Åke Hansson); Swedish traditionalism is on the whole too severely criticized, the paragraph on syntax is too short, Insular Nordic and its dialects are not mentioned, historical dialectology is missing, although it plays a great role e.g. in Norway, some factual errors (e.g. on tonality in Finland Swedish) have been corrected here.

In spite of such deficiencies, Kristian Ringgaard's article contains much useful information and testifies to the late author's great competence as a dialectologist.

As Prof. Ringgaard didn't compile a bibliography, it was the chief editor's task to do that; all subsequent errors he alone is responsible for.

O. B.

1. Words and the history of Nordic dialectology
2. Sounds and systems
3. Syllabicity
4. Tonemicity
5. Morphology
6. Syntax
7. Maps
8. Conclusion
9. Literature (a selection)

1. Words and the history of Nordic dialectology

The Latin language lost its dominant position in Scandinavia through the Lutheran reformation at the beginning of the 16th c. At the same time the new printing press revealed how different the spelling was in different old manuscripts. The first priority of the grammarians was therefore to create and agree upon a uniform orthography and a uniform grammar. It was slow going. The discussions lasted more than two centuries. Nobody spoke of dialects because everybody spoke a dialect. A uniform received pronunciation did not exist as yet.

During the 18th c. the picture changed slightly. Learned people fresh from the universities and capitals discovered with amazement how boorish and incomprehensible the speech of the common peasant was. At the same time an awakening antiquarian interest made people look for "rare" words, that is, curious and old words, maybe even words from the oldest times. This antiquarian collecting of archaisms was greatly furthered by influential people like Archbishop Erik Benzelius in Sweden, who encouraged theological students, and Matthias Moth, member of the King's Council in Denmark, who ordered parsons in Norway and Denmark to write down and deliver word-lists to them. A few were printed at the time in a parson's topographical description of his parish, but the greater part have had to wait two centuries for publication. Yet, as early as 1766, Johan Ihre published

Swenskt dialect lexicon containing parts of Benzelius' collection, while Christian Molbech in Denmark, although he started his work in 1811, had to wait until 1841 to publish his *Dansk Dialect-Lexikon* containing 6,500 articles.

The Romantic movement at the beginning of the 19th c. brought a radical change. Language was now what constituted a nation, and language was an expression of the nation's spirit, the people's soul. The purest expression of the national soul was found in the peasants' unadulterated speech, uncontaminated by foreign influence and foreign culture. Nearest the golden times of old were the "oldest" dialects. In Scandinavia these were the dialects that resembled the language of the Icelandic sagas the most. And even if the collecting of rare words was still predominant, grammar and vocabulary also were of interest.

Norway had been united with Denmark for centuries and thus had the same written language as Denmark. The Napoleonic wars changed the political map of Europe, and Norway became united with Sweden instead. The Norwegians did not like this and wanted independence. An integral part of independence was a Norwegian literary language. That was what Ivar Aasen wanted to create. As the eastern dialects of Norway were too similar to Danish, he preferred the western, more old-fashioned ones. In 1864 he was able to publish his *Norsk Grammatik* (as a successor to *Det norske Folkesprogs Grammatik*, 1848), which was followed in 1873 by *Norsk Ordbog* (the successor to *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog*, 1850). As we all know, he succeeded inasmuch as Norway now has two official languages: Nynorsk and Bokmål; some people say there are really two and a half official languages, the third being Samnorsk.

Like Aasen, K.J. Lyngby walked through the country, interviewing farmers. His aim was not national in the same sense as Aasen's. He wanted to gather material for a modern dictionary giving pronunciation, declensions, conjugations etc. To that aim he construed a phonetic alphabet eminently suited for the dialects of Jutland. Nor was his historical interest identical with Aasen's. He belonged to the new school with its principle of sound laws without exceptions. He coined the expression, "If you place yourself in Old Danish, you stand as if in the hub of a wheel and are able to see all dialects as spokes radiating directly from the same point". His doctoral thesis (1863) is an expression of this view.

K.J. Lyngby died early, but his work was carried on by his good friend H.F. Feilberg who, after a busy life as a parson in different Jutlandic parishes, in his twenty years as a pensioner completed a dictionary of the dialects of Jutland (1–4, 1886–1914). It is a very comprehensive dictionary, giving pronunciation, declensions, conjugations, different meanings and even use in folklore of words from all over Jutland – an imposing achievement by a single man.

The 20th c. has seen an almost overwhelming number of such publications. Some of them are voluminous dictionaries, like Levander/Björklund (1970 ff.), *Ordbok över Sveriges dialekter* (1961 ff.), *Ordbok över Finlands svenska folkmål* (1982 ff.) and Ottsen (1961–69), while others are short word-lists. Some of them are old manuscripts found in archives, like Hagland (1980) or Søndergaard (1968), while others represent the happy culmination of a still living old man's life's work, like Espegaard (1972–74). – All these dictionaries and lists of words are of interest to the philologist, but their contents are traditional, containing nothing unexpected.

A new mode of description was devised by Peter Skautrup (1927–30), which attempted to give the whole vocabulary of a dialect not in alphabetical order, but arranged as to theme. An interesting special case is Anders and Marie Bjerrum (1974): the dialect of Fjold (German Viöl) is now completely extinct. It existed for a century as a language island surrounded by Low German in the region of South Schleswig. Anders Bjerrum (1944) set himself the task of evaluating phonemically the phonetic notations of several former investigators in view of their own linguistic background in Jutland, Funen and Copenhagen.

Cities often develop their own peculiar vocabulary, characteristic of that community. Descriptions can be found in publications like the language of Kalmar, of Härnösand, of Göteborg etc. A beautiful publication is Pettersen (1996) on the language of Bergen.

The richness of publications is to a great extent due to the establishing of official centres for the study of dialects at the universities in Scandinavia. The oldest is that of Uppsala, from 1914, called Landsmålsarkivet (shortened to ULMA, now a department of Språk- och Folkminnesinstitutet/SOFI), followed by Copenhagen, also Lund, Göteborg, Oslo, Umeå, Bergen, Trondheim and Århus. An institute for dialectal studies seems to be a must for a university nowadays, and vast know-

ledge and large amounts of material are stored there. But as yet the professed goal of these institutions has not been achieved: the publication of all-encompassing dictionaries of all Swedish dialects, all Norwegian dialects, all dialects of the Danish islands and a new still more voluminous one of Jutlandic dialects.

But of course all these slips of paper and questionnaires and records and tapes could not rest idle. Especially in Sweden we have seen a long series of monographs and doctoral theses of different kinds: Wörter und Sachen, sometimes only one word, semantic fields, word geography. Good examples of Wörter und Sachen are for instance Manne Eriksson (1943), Lars Forner (1945), Sigurd Fries (1957; 1964). A fine example of single words is Thomas L. Markey (1969). Vidar Reinhammar, *Pronomenstudier* (1975), is really misnamed, as it is only concerned with the dialectal pronoun *hä*. Eva Kärlander (1993) investigates the dialectal words for being more or less (un)healthy. A very interesting analysis of 1008 expressions, biblical, happy, neutral, vulgar for being pregnant is found in Gunilla Byrman (1989).

Sweden's vast area of arable farmland invites studies in dialect geography. A pioneer was D.O. Zetterholm (1937; 1940–53), and perhaps the best known work in this field is Natan Lindqvist (1947). Denmark is really too small for such diversity; nevertheless, Niels Åge Nielsen, a disciple of Zetterholm's, has published quite a few minor articles. Peter Skautrup (1949) has made an extremely thorough and interesting investigation of names of cow-sheds and when and why from as far back in time as it is possible to find documents. From Norway we get the finest and most thorough studies, moreover beautifully printed with clear maps. Oskar Bandle set himself the task of discovering where in Norway the emigrants who inhabited Iceland came from. To that end he studied the terminology of domestic animals and their breeding, in Iceland and in Norway at the time of the landnám. Unfortunately no clear answer could be found (Bandle 1967).

The modern computer has now entered the world of dialect geography, which can be seen in the title of Inger Larsson's *Tätmjölk, tätgräs, surmjölk och skyr. En datorstödd ordgeografisk studie* (1988, with 28 maps). Still more ambitious is Åke Hansson's *Nordnorrländsk dialektatlas* (1995). It contains 140 computer-generated maps of different dialectal phenomena. Moreover, it introduces into

Scandinavia the new discipline of dialectometry, which is a statistical method of showing from which part of a country the immigrants came, in this case to the former uninhabited Norrland area of Sweden. The *Jysk Ordbog* from Århus makes extensive use of computer-designed maps; see Sørensen (1997).

In his article (p. 49) Sørensen also mentions his intention to publish via Internet. It is no doubt necessary. The printing of a dictionary with phonetic alphabets etc. is extremely expensive. The new electronic media will surely be cheaper. On the other hand developments in the computer world are very rapid and few elderly philologists understand much of it. So what should be done and which medium should be chosen? But the decision will have to be taken. However, dictionaries will soon face a much more serious problem. Even on the Internet an article will have to be edited by a knowledgeable person who knows phonetic alphabets, grammar, dialect – and the everyday life of common people in the days of old. During the second half of the 20th c. the fishing boats have changed to sailing factories, the farms have become cattle industries, chicken industries, swine industries. It will soon be impossible to find an editor who knows the life of the farmer or the farmer's wife first hand. It is understandable that the chief editors constantly ask for more money in order to hurry to keep up before it is too late.

2. Sounds and systems

When Rask and Grimm discovered the Germanic sound shift, they called it “change of letters”. The (Scandinavian) dialectologists in the second half of the century knew, of course, that this involved sounds, not letters. But they never seem to have doubted the doctrine of sound laws and analogy. As far as I know, they never engaged in any discussions about this. They realized, however, that they needed a special alphabet for the many “new” sounds of the dialects. As mentioned before, Lyngby used an alphabet for the dialects of Jutland which was almost phonemic. Feilberg used the same alphabet with minor alterations in his dictionary, but phonemes had not yet been discovered. On the contrary, the cry was for much more precise details. So Lundell for Swedish, Storm for Norwegian and Jespersen for Danish created phonetic alphabets with more than a hundred letters plus several diacritic signs. Perhaps it was not a good idea

after all; Danish dialectologists have doubted both the faculty of the ear to hear all these and the faculty of former researchers to distinguish them.

Nevertheless those alphabets were used for several decades, and in Sweden they are still used in descriptions. The model was set by the venerable Swedish scholar Adolf Noreen (1877), and the alphabet was described by J. A. Lundell (1880). Several others followed. The best known among them are E. Wigforss (1913–1918); G. Kallstenius (1927), in Denmark: J. M. Jensen (1897–1903); Jens Lund (1932–1938). These descriptions are historical, naturally. The formula is “old short *a* before -ng becomes...”, “old short *a* before -lt becomes...”, then a list of words following the law and one or two exceptional words are mentioned.

A half-century passed before new theories and methods entered Scandinavia. You could say that the first introduction was A. Martinet’s description of Standard Danish (1937), but the Danish dialectologists took the phonology of the Prague school to their hearts. At first the descriptions were rather close to the phonetic reality, e. g. in Ella Jensen (1944; 1959). But gradually the influence of Hjelmslev asserted itself and they grew much more interpretative and at the same time much more bulky, containing interesting discussions of details; cf. e. g. Poul Andersen (1958); Inger Ejskjær (1970); Bent Jul Nielsen (1968). Norway can also boast of a fair number of phonemic studies, e. g. To mention some of them: E. Hovdhaugen (1967) and E. Papazian (1971). A more recent example is A. Dalen (1985); the author not only uses the Prague school’s method, but also Hjelmslev’s glossematics and Chomsky/Halle’s generative theories. Generative grammar is also found in a few Norwegian and Danish articles: Einar Haugen (1975) and K. Ringgaard (1974; 1975). The Swedes, however, have kept to their own tradition and shunned new-fangled ideas.

3. Syllabicity

It is believed that Old Scandinavian like Old Norse had three different syllable-lengths: short, long and over-long. This situation changed early in its history and changes continued, creating new borderlines between dialects. Overlength was shortened to length everywhere. In Sweden and Norway short syllables were lengthened. Monosyllabic

words lengthened the vowel in southern Sweden but the consonant in northern Sweden; cf. Sven Söderström (1972). Dissyllables at first had another development in northern Scandinavia. After a short stem syllable the vowel of the second syllable was strengthened and then influenced the vowel of the stem; in short: there was vowel balance, e. g. *vika* > *vöka*, *viku* > *vuku*. After a long stem syllable the ending was weakened, leading to so-called *e*-dialects. The ultimate result of the lenition was apocope, which seems to have taken place rather late in some Swedish and Norwegian dialects. More widespread is the Swedish apocope of the vowel in the first word of a compound, which is found north of the Swedish lakes and in Standard Swedish. In Denmark short syllables still exist everywhere in monosyllables, but very early on, dissyllables were lengthened and the ending weakened to schwa. In Jutland apocope began as early as the 13th c.

These phenomena are faithfully recorded in most monographs, but it is difficult to get a clear picture as the phonetic changes seem to have taken place long ago and interchanges between dialects never have been recorded. Early treatment of the problems is found in E. Jessen (1875); L. Levander (1920); H. Geijer (1921); E. W. Selmer (1930). K. Ringgaard (1963) argues that a long syllable is a prerequisite for lenition and apocope and that consequently the often-used term “compensatory lengthening” is a misnomer.

4. Tonemicity

The Scandinavian languages are blessed with a phenomenon that is unique in Europe. They have tonemes, two different ones that discriminate between words.

First a warning note on terminology which may be rather confusing. The two tonemes are termed *akut accent* and *grav accent* in Sweden, often shortened to *akut* and *grav*; the two sets of terms may be used interchangeably in the same article. Note that accent does not mean stress, but tone. In Norway the term *accent* may also be used, but the most common expressions are *tonelag 1* and *tonelag 2*. In Denmark the term is *tonal accent* or *musical accent*, which again most often means accent 2, as accent 1 seems to be of little interest. When dissyllabic words are apocopated, the tone is concentrated to one syllable. Such a pronunciation is in Sweden and Norway called *circumflex*. In Denmark a very large

part of the vocabulary consists of apocopated words. Nevertheless the term *circumflex* is not used, instead the term *accent* is kept. Some Danish dialectologists use the term *accent 2* for all reflexes of apocopated dissyllables when these words have not merged completely with monosyllables, thus adding to the confusion. In this article the terms for the whole of Scandinavia will be *tone 1* and *tone 2* or *toneme 1* and *toneme 2*, the intention being to use a uniform terminology, not to add further to the confusion.

Tonemes are used only in a small area of Denmark. The greater part of Denmark and Standard Danish use another distinction: *stød* vs. *non-stød*. As the distribution of the *stød* corresponds to the distribution of toneme 1, it is considered to be the same, although in another realization. The tonemes are heard in the greatest part of Scandinavia. Non-tonal languages and dialects are Icelandic, Faroese, northernmost Norwegian, Finland-Swedish, Danish (which as mentioned has the *stød*) and very curiously a circle round the city of Bergen. In non-tonal regions, tonemes are nevertheless found in some southern parishes of Finland (Western Nyland) and some discrete parts of Denmark (Rømø, Sundeved, Als, Ærø). Such a dialectal map might be interpreted as showing a spread from a central-Scandinavian region, but in that case it would be difficult to explain the tonal dialect in southern Jutland and southern Finland. Or it might be explained as a common feature, disappearing at the outskirts and only leaving some tonal islands.

Presumably on account of their uniqueness the *stød* and the tonemes have attracted a great deal of interest. Dialectologists, linguists, language historians and phoneticians have investigated, discussed, and disagreed about them for more than a century. Scandinavians and non-Scandinavians have taken part in the discussion. Some linguists are of the opinion that the Indo-European mother-language had tonemes. If so, the tonal contours must have changed considerably as a consequence of the Germanic shift of stress to the first syllable and the following syncope and apocope of vowels. It does seem probable, however, that Old Scandinavian was tonal in the sense that words of one syllable were pronounced with one tonal contour and words with more than one syllable with another tonal contour. These tones were not discriminating tonemes but so-called *begleit*-phenomena, which might explain why they

were not noted by the very sharpwitted grammarian who wrote the Old Icelandic *First Grammatical Treatise*. In the early Middle Ages different developments changed the picture. Insertion of schwa in clusters and enclitic article created dissyllables with tone 1. Vowel lenition added to the number of minimal pairs until the modern situation was established.

Unfortunately it has proved impossible to find early references to *stød* or accents. What some people have taken as a description of Danish *stød* are surely only disparaging remarks about the Danes' horrible pronunciation. First to mention the *stød* was Jens Høysgaard. He was born in or near Århus in Jutland and studied some time at the University of Copenhagen. He never passed his examinations, but was content to live a simple life as janitor at the university. He was well-read in the European linguistic literature of his time and was an intelligent and sharp observer of the spoken language. In two of his published books, *Anden Prøve af Dansk Orthographie* (1743), and *Accentuered og Raisonnered Grammatica* (1747), he describes the articulation of the *stød* in clear terms and gives it the name that it still bears. Moreover, he shows its distribution in the vocabulary through a series of accents – acute, grave, circumflex – just as today. He even mentions dialectal differences between the spoken language of Århus and Copenhagen. It was a long time before he had followers, but then this happened at the same time in all three Scandinavian countries. In 1874 Johan Storm delivered a lecture in Christiania: *Om Tonefaldet (Tonelaget) i de skandinaviske Sprog*; in 1876 Svend Grundtvig lectured on *Det danske sprogs tonelag*; in 1878 Axel Kock published *Språkhistoriska undersökningar om svensk accent*. The three of them were in perfect agreement. The distribution of tone 1 and tone 2 proved that tone 1 belonged in monosyllables and former monosyllables. Tone 1 in loanwords, especially in loanwords with Low German prefixes like *be-*, *er-*, *for-*, showed that tone 1 was more European than tone 2. The distribution of *stød/non-stød* showed a connection: the *stød* in Low German loanwords showed that Danish was spoken with tone 1 at the time of the great influx of Low German words. A welcome confirmation of this theory came in 1897 when Nikolaj Andersen's *Den musikalske accent i østslesvigsk* was published, which showed that dialects with tonemes still exist in Denmark and the distribution is as expected.

Since then our knowledge of the dialects has widened considerably. Nearly all monographs mention or demonstrate tonemes or *stød*. The dialectal differences as to distribution rules are greater than at first assumed, but by and large they are the same everywhere. A complication arose from the so-called West Jutlandic *stød*. In contradistinction to the common Danish *stød*, it is found in short vowels, not long ones, and, most peculiarly, in dissyllables and apocoped dissyllables, not in monosyllables. It existed in the dialects side by side with the common *stød*. Most Danish scholars were of the opinion that it was really the same as the common *stød*. Others equated it with the Icelandic pre-aspiration of stops, in spite of its being a closure, not an opening of the vocal chords. In Ringgaard (1960) it is argued that it has no connection with *stød* or tonemes whatsoever, but is a case of pre-glottalized stops in medial position.

Distribution of tonemes in the vocabulary is one thing; another is the manifestation of tonemes in speech. You do not have to have listened to many Scandinavians to realize how different the realizations can be. Now the phoneticians took over. Ernst A. Meyer, a German working in Sweden, was first. His only instruments were the laborious cymograph and a tone-measuring apparatus he constructed himself. In the course of his entire life's work he found the tone-curves for almost all Swedish dialects and a few from Norway and Denmark as well. The results are published in Meyer (1938; 1954). Since then, with better equipment, the work has been carried on by e.g. Knut Fintoft in Norway, Eva Gårding in Sweden and Eli Fischer-Jørgensen in Denmark. Everywhere the tone-curve of toneme 1 has only one peak. Toneme 2 normally has two tone peaks, but in some dialects we find only one peak. In these dialects the difference between the tonemes is that the peak of toneme 1 is at the beginning of the syllable, of toneme 2 towards the end. If the peak of toneme 1 and the highest peak of toneme 2 are found at the beginning, there is the auditory impression of a falling tone. Such is the case especially in West Norwegian. If on the other hand they are late, the impression is of a rising tone. That is the case in West Swedish and especially in East Norwegian. The difference is then considerable, so much so that toneme 2 of one dialect is just like toneme 1 of another. One can then speculate about whether the speakers are able to understand each other. But they are. Knut Fintoft let some

schoolchildren listen to isolated words from other dialects, and in most cases they identified the words correctly!

As mentioned before, the language historians of former generations did not doubt that the Danish *stød* had developed from tone 1. The question was how. Karl Verner was sure that the Danes had had rising intonation like the Norwegians from Oslo, that the tension had grown too much so that the vocal chords had snapped and closed. This is hard to believe when you listen to the Danes of today, nor have the eager Danish phoneticians found any vestiges of rising tones in connection with the *stød*. The historical problem was taken up again by Anatoly Liberman in his extremely erudite and impressive work *Germanic accentology 1: The Scandinavian languages* (1982). He overturns all former beliefs and thus invites discussion. Originally, he postulates, the Scandinavian languages were all mora-counting. The *stød* is a superb means of dividing a syllable into morae. Consequently all long voiced syllables were pronounced with *stød* irrespective of the number of syllables. Later on, morae lost their significance and syllables took over as a means of counting. Still later, free apocope caused doubt as to the number of syllables in a given word. To counteract this confusing situation tone 2 arose in dissyllables. In these words *stød* then became superfluous, which is why it disappeared. Now the opposition was a very curious and unstable one, namely *stød* \neq tone 2. As a logic consequence tone 1 was created and inserted in monosyllables except in Denmark. New eyes often see better than old ones. Liberman has read everything on Scandinavian dialectology, but nevertheless his theories seem inventions of the brain with no basis in reality. For one thing, apocope in Sweden and Norway came late, in the 18th c. or later, in remote regions far away from capitals or big towns, inhabited by late immigrants and Lappish-speaking nomads. It seems improbable that its influence should have spread so rapidly, at most in the course of a few centuries, to the whole of the Scandinavian peninsula. In Jutland apocope is very old, from the 13th c. Today only a small part of Jutland has tonemic language. The region has been much larger, but even so the *stød* has won the day and extended its territory. A confusing aspect of Liberman's work is that his use of the word *stød* shifts. At the beginning it means the Danish *stød*, a con-stricture of the vocal chords. At the end it means the one part of an opposition, irrespective of pronunciation.

5. Morphology

There do not seem to be any deep-rooted dialectal differences in morphology, and consequently few overall treatments exist. Most of the monographs, the “form- och ljudlära” of a dialect, have extensive chapters on morphology, but they are enumerations of words of this or that declension or conjugation. Old Nordic grammar has changed in basically the same way everywhere.

Although the standard languages have only two genders, most dialects have retained three, but they only show up in the use of pronouns of reference. Case has almost disappeared. The dative is used more or less frequently and mostly in petrified expressions; see Maj Reinhammar (1973). The genitive is supplanted by prepositions nearly everywhere. It is remarkable that the vocative is stated to have been retained in two geographically opposite and far-flung outposts, Övre Kalix in Sweden and Sundeved in Denmark, but very curiously in the form of tone 2 instead of tone 1 in Kalix and tone 1 instead of tone 2 in Sundeved. In a central area of the Scandinavian peninsula the plural *-r* of an old declension has been retained, while it has disappeared to the north and to the south. Adjectives are of little interest. In Jutland they have no gender. On the island of Bornholm and in most parts of Sweden the masculine nominative ending *-er* is used, in Sweden also indiscriminately with feminines. Most work has concentrated on verbs. Among the very first to work on them was the founder of dialectal research in Denmark, K.J. Lyngby, mentioned earlier. Kjell Venås has intensively dealt with both strong and weak verbs in Norwegian. It seems that in most dialects old conjugations still exist, whereas many verbs have moved from one conjugation to another. In many dialects all over Scandinavia the ending *-r* of the present tense has been assimilated to dentals. The subjunctive is confined to oaths and pious hopes and to fossilised phrases.

It is a moot question if “definite” involves morphology or syntax. It has attracted great interest that while half of the peninsula of Jutland uses enclitic articles like all other Scandinavian-speaking areas, the western and southern parts of Jutland use a free definite article like almost all other West European languages. German politicians therefore declared, during times of antagonism in the 19th century, that Jutlandic was a German dialect. One scholar, P. K. Thorsen (1912) tried

to prove that the borderline was extremely old, as place-names showed the existence of a vast and impenetrable forest. Place-name specialists have since shown this to be incorrect. Old manuscripts seem to prove that the Jutlandic use of the article is just as old as the use of definite nouns in Scandinavia which was a gradually growing phenomenon in the early Middle Ages. But on the other hand it has been alleged that these dialects at first used enclitic forms and later on the article. And indeed some peculiar expressions can be unearthed, like *bysens*, *by-s-ens*, and *dawsens*, *dag-s-ens*, very old genitives no longer existing in the standard language. As yet however, no convincing theory has explained this exceptional Scandinavian difference.

In this connection it is worth mentioning that in West Jutland there is no gender or case, just like in English, but the common belief that Yorkshire lads and Jutland fishermen share the same language, is not true. Another peculiarity of the dialect in West Jutland is that although there is no gender, the old pronouns *den* and *det* are used to refer to countables and uncountables respectively – quite a new distinction in Scandinavian. In recent times this use of the neutral and non-neutral pronoun seems to have penetrated into Copenhagen speech and Standard Danish.

6. Syntax

It is impossible to find anything on syntactic differences, as before the tape-recorder nobody wrote down whole sentences, which indeed are not much used in everyday speech. The standard languages show interesting differences though. – Norwegian dialects have retained an old word-order: noun – possessive pronoun.

7. Maps

Maps are a very useful means to visualize dialectal areas and borderlines, in spite of some discussion as to how they should look, and what they should show.

In Scandinavia, Denmark was lucky quite early to get a very comprehensive atlas: Valdemar Bennike/Marius Kristensen (1898–1912). The authors were both teachers at Danish folk high schools where sons and daughters of farmers listened, read and studied for some months. Interviews and questionnaires enabled them to publish about a hundred maps and write 200 large, extremely

well-informed pages of comments. Most of the maps are historical, showing the reflexes of Old Danish vowels and consonants. Some are morphological and a few show the pronunciation of single words. Much later a similar work was published in Sweden, Sven Benson's *Südschwedischer Sprachatlas* 1–4 (1965–70), only not covering all of Sweden as the title indicates. Otherwise we find illustrative maps scattered everywhere where we might expect to find them, in books on dialectology and language history like J. Brøndum-Nielsen (1927); E. Wessen (1935); Peter Skautrup (1944–70, vol. 4); Einar Haugen (1976) etc. – Word-geography of course needs maps. As mentioned above, Bandle's work on domestic animals is a very beautiful example of this. Mentioned above are also the phoneticians' maps of the pronunciation of tonemes. Many monographs contain maps. The scattering has been so great that Gertrud Pettersson and Christer Platzack felt compelled to publish an *Översikt över svenska dialektkartor* (1976).

The modern world has now entered the world of dialectologists. The computer has proved to be an excellent means of making dialectal maps – easy, fast, and clear. Åke Hansson was able in a short time to publish 140 maps in his *Nordnorrländsk dialektatlas* (1995) and *Jysk Ordbog* has also published examples.

8. Conclusion

You cannot accuse the Scandinavian dialectologists of laziness. For more than two centuries they have worked diligently. At first this involved a rather vague interest in “rare” words, provincialisms, archaisms, Old Norse. In Norway it became part of the fight for independence, because linguistic independence equalled national independence. Dialectology became part of the growing interest in the people's language as well as the people's folklore. In continuation it became part of historical linguistics, only in Scandinavia it never entered into the discussion of sound laws, with or without exceptions. More and more small dictionaries of parochial dialects appeared. Centers for the collection of dialectal material came into existence, at the universities of Uppsala, Copenhagen, Oslo, and then at almost every new-founded university. The professed intention was the compiling of an all-encompassing dictionary, all Swedish, all Danish, all Norwegian dialects in one work covering pronunciation, morphology, seman-

tics, perhaps even etymology. In the meantime, publication of still more dictionaries of smaller regions, and first and foremost studies, dissertations of various kinds, continued. The collections had an impetus of their own. You could not ignore them, they lured, they seduced the scholars into their world. As time passed, it became evident that the collected material must be supplemented and analysed by competent philologists before the standard languages, through education, papers, broadcasting and television had eradicated all peasant speech and brought all peasant skills and tools into oblivion. Especially in Sweden there has been a long tradition of studies of different kinds, single words or word-groups, flowers, trees, male and female animals, illnesses, pregnancy etc.

But the dialectologists can be blamed for their isolation. Perhaps least so in Denmark. During the thirties interests changed, and since 1944 there has been a fair stream of phonemic analyses of sound-systems. In the seventies there was a sprinkling of generative articles, and now a Labovian project investigating the influence of a larger town on the speech of young rural speakers in the surrounding region is energetically under way. Norwegian dialectologists also are familiar with phonemic analyses and generative transformations but there are only a few examples of these. But in Sweden one gets the impression that the dialectologists have never even heard the name of Saussure, much less of Trubetzkoy and Chomsky. Although this is understandable in view of their splendid archives, it is nevertheless deplorable.

Another form of isolation is that: the Scandinavian dialectologists stay within national borders. Non-Scandinavian-born Scandinavists like e.g. Oskar Bandle, Einar Haugen, Otmar Werner and Anatoly Liberman insist on regarding Scandinavia as a linguistic entity; not so the Scandinavians themselves. Haugen once said that the only reason that Scandinavia has more than one literary language is that the king in Stockholm and the king in Copenhagen never quite succeeded in strangling each other. That this might well be so is underlined by the fact that one of those who were active in forming the Danish written language, Poul Helgesen, was born in Halland in 1480, and the two who were most instrumental in creating Swedish Standard were Haquin Spegel born in Blekinge in 1645 and often teased for being born a Dane, and Olof von Dalin born in Halland in 1708. I doubt that the present-

day kings have any intention of strangling each other and the dialectologists certainly have not. They don't cross the national borders. The Danes say Scanian is an East Danish dialect, and then leave it to the Swedes. The Swedes say the inhabitants of Bornholm speak a South Swedish dialect, and then leave it to the Danes. In Jämtland, Härjedalen and maybe even in Dalsland and Bohuslän they may speak Norwegian dialects, but no dialectologist has crossed the border since J. Reitan in 1930.

Luckily this situation is changing. Nowadays Scandinavians regularly meet at conferences on linguistics, phonetics and dialectology and thus get the chance to know each other and inspire each other. There is better hope for the future.

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34. The contribution of Nordic dialectology to language history

1. Introduction
2. Dialect geography
3. Historical dialectology
4. Relations between dialectology and language history
5. Concluding reflections
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

Dialects as linguistic sources constitute independent entities, fully on a par with conventional written historical sources, and they can answer a number of questions which text studies cannot. Thus, dialect studies add further detail to, but also revise, the image of language

change conveyed by written sources. The importance of dialect material as a source of information was emphasised long ago by the Grimm brothers in their writings on language history (Sonderregger 1983, 1530), although the dialects were not subjected to any closer scrutiny in their studies.

Even though linguists have clearly been aware of the importance of dialects when describing language history, the evidence provided by dialects occupies a comparatively unobtrusive position in many language histories. The same may be said of many authoritative handbooks on Nordic language history, such as Seip (1955). Somewhat polemically, Haugen/Markey (1972, 79) characterise Seip's

history of the Norwegian language as “a fine example of the plenary paleographical interpretation of language history”, since Seip “was ever ready to propose that a scribal error, or a variant reading [...] reflected phonological and morphological change, and he used this approach to explain many innovations”.

By contrast, there are also good examples of the prominent part played by dialects in some important works on Nordic language history. Attempts in this direction can be found as early as in Rydqvist’s history of the Swedish language (Rydqvist 1850–1883; cf. Holm 2000a, 10f.). A work in which attention is paid to dialectal evidence in the description of language history is Skautrup’s *Det danske sprogs historie* (1–5; 1944–70). It was planned as a history of the spoken language, includes dialects and the standard language, and is a work in which the author has aimed to both describe and explain language changes. Furthermore, Skautrup’s language history “places language evolution squarely in the midst of history, geography, and social change” (Haugen/Markey 1972, 23).

Concerning the Norwegian language, Indrebø’s posthumously published work *Norsk målsoga* (1951) must be mentioned, since it deals with language history and dialectology material side by side, and stresses the continuity of Old Nordic in the dialects resulting in “Nynorsk”. The way in which Indrebø describes the language change that occurred during the Middle Norwegian period is interesting as it is primarily done through an analysis of the extensive diplomas (charters), most of which are dated and localised. He believes he can see an East Nordic language influence gradually spreading in Norwegian diplomas. Traces of Norwegian language usage can be observed, however, right up to the end of the 16th c., typically in the so-called *bondebrevene* (Indrebø 1951, 294; cf. Mæhlum 1991, 126ff.).

Kristensen’s book *Folkemål og sproghistorie* (1933) attempts to illuminate historical problems in the Nordic language history through a comparison with modern dialects, an intention which is not, however, fully realised, despite the programmatic title. The explanations in Kristensen’s monograph are, however, new and often convincing.

It is, however, primarily in Hesselman’s works, particularly his magnum opus *Huvudlinjer i nordisk språkhistoria* (1–3; 1948–1953), that the role of Nordic dialects in the description of language history is brought to the fore

in a more programmatic way. We are given a comprehensive account, backed up by an enormous amount of written and spoken language material, which includes both a penetrating analysis and a context-setting synthesis, although the focus lies on the sound system. The monograph shows, among other things, the effect of hiatus, metaphony, apocope, syncope etc. on the morphology. Hesselman has been influenced in his work by dialectologists and historical linguists such as Petrus Envall, Herman Geijer, O. F. Hultman, Marius Kristensen, Amund B. Larsen, Lars Levander, Jørgen Reitan, and P. K. Thorsen.

Of greatest theoretical interest are the methodical and theoretical stands taken by Hesselman. Among other things he maintains that the value of dialects as illustrators and sources of language history

lies in their abundance and in the great number of their variations; in the advantage of directly observing living vernacular; and in the possibility of controlling and supplementing the practically inexhaustible material. The series of dialects, ranging from the most archaic [...] to those which have undergone the greatest changes [...], correspond to and reflect [...] the changes in the texts in the same chronological order. There is a parallelism which safeguards the conclusions. The local variations – the dialect geography – convey an image in the spatial dimension of changes over time, an image which allows us to better see and understand what the changes really imply and why they occur, thanks to the rich detail and opportunities to study language change which they provide. (Hesselman 1948–53, 1; my translation.)

This applies primarily to language development in historical times, but the argument can also be applied to prehistoric development. “A theory that is able to connect [prehistoric development] to known neo-Nordic phenomena thus takes precedence over other possible hypotheses”, Hesselman stresses (1948–53, 2; my translation).

Hesselman also emphasizes the importance of place-names and their pronunciation as a source of language history:

The comparatively rich supply of older written forms of place-names can of course in many cases provide a basis for dating the changes which is not available to us elsewhere [...]. There are, however, two other circumstances that are theoretically of greater importance: (1) Because of the way in which they are used in spoken language, place-names are unusually well protected against outside influence [...]. The tradition of the spoken language in place-names is remarkably stable and

their local character is unmistakable. (2) Because of their construction, the majority of place-names, those that were originally compounds, offer a great variety of possible combinations of sounds as an arena for the phonetic laws. [...] Consequently, place-name studies are among the most important tools of historical phonetics, particularly with respect to (1) distinguishing the earlier and (relatively) indigenous, local characteristics from the more recent, (relatively) foreign, imported or influenced from outside, and (2) studying the effect of pronunciation habits in absolute and extreme cases. (Hesselman 1948–53, 3; my translation.)

Being strongly lexicalised compounds, place-names are subject to more radical phonetic changes than the appellative vocabulary in general, as in the examples *Miðhús* > *Mjos* and *Skeiðakr/Skiðakr* > *Skjåk*. Even in the appellative vocabulary, however, there are corresponding sound changes, as is indicated by such words as *fáhus* > *fjös* (with many variations of pronunciation in Swedish dialects such as *feos*, *fäks*, *fyks*, *fäjs*, *föjs*, *fjäs*, *fjus*, *fjäs*, *fös*, *fys* etc.; cf. Zetterholm 1940, 34–49, with map 1), *húsfrú* > *hustru*, and so on (cf. Bakken 1995, passim; 1997, 24).

An analysis of dialect forms sheds light on later language developments, but within Nordic language development there are also good examples of the analysis of dialect forms illustrating ancient language links as early as in Proto-Nordic times (see e.g. Holm 1977, 359ff.; L.-E. Edlund 1999, 191ff.). More speculative, however, are the attempts that have been made in Continental Germanic and earlier Nordic research to reconstruct tribal dialects and tribal areas taking a long temporal perspective (cf. Bandle 1997b, 38f.; Löffler 1974, 141–144). An example of the latter is Svend Aakjær's work from the interwar period on the Jutland area (cf. Gregersen 1993, 227ff.). Most of these reconstructions have later been rejected on very good grounds.

So far we have dealt with language history research which makes use of dialect evidence, but it is also relevant to consider dialect research that takes a historical approach. Many monographs on dialects, particularly older ones, use a historical perspective, so that we are able to follow the historically confirmed sound system – often the Old Icelandic forms – into modern dialects, or, conversely, we can trace the pronunciation of dialect back from the present day to their earlier forms. Such a historical perspective can already be found in some of the earliest works influenced by the

neogrammarians, such as Noreen's monographs on the Fårö dialect (1879) and the Dalby dialect (1879–1881). Another Swedish example is Lindgren's study (1890–1919) of the sound system of the Burträsk dialect. A Norwegian example in this area is Skulerud's studies (1922; 1938), in which the author presents the historical equivalents of contemporary speech sounds. There are also a number of minor works on Norwegian from the same school, cf. Haugen/Markey (1972, 84). More innovative is Christiansen's *Gimsøy-målet* (1933), in which the author carries out both a synchronic and a diachronic structural analysis of the dialect.

In some of these dialectological works the authors also try to date some of the sound shifts. This is primarily done relatively, by ranging them in chronological series, but attempts are sometimes also made to establish definitive dating. An independent successor in this tradition is Wigforss and his monumental work (1913–1918) on the dialects of southern Halland. In a summarising and problematising chapter entitled “Dialektgeografiska ock kronologiska frågor” [Questions on dialect geography and chronology] (594–692) the author develops his thoughts on the study of innovation in dialects, their age, extension and distribution channels. Central to his analysis are, among other things, the secondary diphthongisation of long /e/ (as in Swedish *sten*) and the lengthening of short root vowels. The purpose of this kind of study is, according to Wigforss (1913–18, 649ff.), to be able to draw a map at any point in time showing the spread of specific dialect characteristics. By so doing, we should also be able to observe the linguistic change of the dialects in relation to the political and cultural development of the area as a whole. Wigforss presents no less than an ambitious linguistic programme which, however, it has been difficult for later research to fully realise. Levander's *Dalmålet* (1925–28) is, however, a work that aspires in this direction. It presents the phonology and morphology of the Dalecarlian dialects and is also of considerable importance to studies of Nordic phonology.

2. Dialect geography

As pointed out by Hesselman (see 1.), the dialects convey an image in the spatial dimension of changes over time, an image which allows us to better understand the changes. Dialect geography focuses on the geographical dis-

tribution of different dialect forms. The approach and purpose of the studies can be many and varied: researchers can concentrate on individual word forms and apply an analytical approach to dialect geography or, by studying the geographical spread of dialect features, they can take a synthetic approach and seek to draw historical conclusions, thereby relating the geographical distribution patterns of language features to different historical and political data. Dialect geography of this latter type is more akin to cultural geography or cultural morphology (cf. Aubin/Frings/Müller 1926).

An early and important Nordic dialect geography survey is Bennike/Kristensen (1898–1912), which presents phonological, morphological, and lexical features and their distribution in Danish dialects. Lindqvist (1947) charts a number of dialect features (lexical, phonetic, morphological) in a part of south-western Sweden. Benson's work (1965–1970) resembles the German linguistic atlas: on the basis of extensive dialect records from southern Sweden he is able, for instance, to show how the variations in pronunciation over a large language area can be understood from a historical perspective, and how surveying can illuminate linguistic processes of change within a specific geographical region. In the Nordic countries, on the other hand, it is principally within the field of word geography that a large number of studies have been presented. One such work is Bandle's monograph on West Nordic terminology for domestic animals (1967a, 1967b) with its many detailed maps. Other examples are Modéer's study (1953) of Norwegian fishing terminology, Aune's work (1976) on Norwegian terms for sledge-type forestry vehicles, and Jenstad's studies (1995) of Norwegian folk music terms, violin terminology in particular. Among Swedish contributions we can note Zetterholm's studies (1937, 1940–53) of various terms for and ways of beckoning domestic animals in Scandinavian dialects, and Eriksson's work (1943) on dialect words for the top bunk in wall beds. Among Danish studies should be mentioned Jespersen (1931, 129 ff.); Widting (1931, 116 ff.); Skautrup (1949, 356 ff.); Andersen (1949, 309 ff.); and Nielsen (1956, 335 ff.), where specific semantic areas in different dialects are described.

The dialect geography survey of western Scandinavia carried out by Bandle provides important information on the Norwegian geographical background of Icelandic colonisers

(Bandle 1967a; 1973; 1994; 1996, 17 ff.; 1997b, 37; cf. Elmevik 1973, 108–115). In the same way, Jansson's (1942, 47 ff.) examination of linguistic features in the Finland-Swedish and Estonia-Swedish regions and their equivalents in Sweden provides important information on the history of settlement. Similar studies have been undertaken in northern Sweden by Holm in several works (e.g. 1997, 143 ff.) and by L.-E. Edlund in different works (e.g. 1999, 194–201), and, in northern Norway, by Christiansen (1967, 15–93).

The geographical analysis of dialect material often enables the linguists to solve different linguistic problems, since it opens the way to an analysis of major geographical regions (specifically, the Nordic region). However, researchers have not always chosen this pan-Nordic approach. In the Old Swedish text *Historia Trojana* he has studied, Fortelius (1966) has found a number of examples of *han* as an indefinite pronoun in the sense of 'one'. In order to explain this form in terms of dialect geography, Fortelius maps the *han* 'one' instances in modern dialects and in doing so he finds that this has primarily an eastern distribution in Nordic dialects (Fortelius 1966, 308 ff.). One Bohuslän example stands in complete isolation on Fortelius' map and is therefore considered doubtful. However, a Nordic mapping of the word would have shown that the form is also well represented in Norwegian dialects, thus indicating that the Bohuslän instance is not isolated and that the word *han* in the sense considered here can hardly be said to have a primarily eastern distribution (M. Reinhammar 1997, 58 f.).

A similar example can be found in Venås (1967, 19–20), where the Norwegian form *bi* (< *bliva*) is discussed without attention being paid to the similar Swedish dialect form. Had Venås looked more closely at the actual distribution of the form, the geographical circumstances would have become clearer, and this expanded material could have indicated that this sound change can be explained by the use of the word in weakly stressed positions (cf. Markey 1969, 166–167).

3. Historical dialectology

Within the research tradition known as historical dialectology, older texts are analysed from a spatial and temporal perspective. Since the middle of the 19th c., important contributions in this field have been given by German researchers. One of the Nordic pioneers was

the Norwegian scholar Marius Hægstad, whose life's work was *Vestnorske maalføre fyre 1350* (1906–1942, the latter parts published posthumously; see Rindal 1984, 167ff.). Hægstad works in a rather rigid neogrammarian tradition, and studies the testimony of the old written sources in relation to contemporary dialects, a method which is of course not without difficulties since it must be remembered that dialect boundaries have shifted since the Middle Ages. In addition, we cannot assume that the medieval documents directly reflect the spoken language. Nevertheless, Hægstad's work is of considerable importance to historical dialectology (cf. Venås 1992). The author has had many successors in Norway, including Seip's extensive linguistic works, and studies by Grøtvedt and Pettersen. Grøtvedt, for example, in a large number of studies has cast light on features of medieval documents from south-eastern Norway, thereby stressing the differences between spoken and written Norwegian of the time. Grøtvedt (1939; 1948; 1954) tests the theory that written and spoken Norwegian developed so far from each other that the written language fell into disuse, a theory which seems somewhat extreme. Grøtvedt's work on speech and writing in the diplomas (charters) from the Folden district from 1350–1450 (1–3; 1969–74) provides an important survey of language history. Pettersen (1975; 1991) deals with phonology, morphology and morpho-syntax in Western Norwegian from 1450–1550. Rindal (1981; 1989) and Hagland (1978) continue the work of charting the Old Norwegian dialects begun by Marius Hægstad. Hagland (1986) examines the scribal norms in 13th c. Norwegian, and the result is a considerable revision of earlier findings.

Historical linguists from Sweden have also made important contributions to this field. As early as in 1886, Kock sought to identify dialect features in early Old Swedish documents (Kock 1886, 489–533), and it was his results and other linguists' that were later summarised by Noreen in his historical grammar of Old Swedish (1904). Hultman (1904–1908) highlights important features of Old Swedish dialects in his linguistic study of a manuscript of the Hälsingland Law. Hultman suggests that there are different dialects in the manuscript (Cod. Ups. B 49) if the ending vowels *a*, *i* and *u* are considered. According to Hultman, this dialect mixture is chiefly attributable to the copyist: one dialect is his own, another is one he has deliberately tried to use. How-

ever, Hultman does not localise the dialects. Olson (1913, 60–64), on the other hand, suggests that different forms in a medieval manuscript can be explained in terms of more recent and earlier forms of the same dialect being used side by side.

A theoretically important contribution to this discussion is Beckman's work (1917). Beckman sees in the manuscripts the language spoken in the writer's home district, the language spoken where he works, the language of the original text, his teacher's writing habits and forms of writing in texts copied earlier. The shift over the centuries in the boundaries of different linguistic phenomena must also be taken into account. Despite the difficulties in the way of interpreting dialect features, Beckman presents specific locations for a number of Old Swedish manuscripts.

Jansson's study (1934) of *Fornsvenska legendariet* demonstrates how the language of a lost original can be reconstructed and then localised on the basis of preserved transcripts and the evidence of modern dialects. Later, Thorell in his studies of the Old Swedish paraphrase of the Pentateuch (1951, 214f.), Ronge in his Alexander studies (1957, 297; cf. Holm 1958, 212–226) and Moberg in his studies of *Konungastyrelsen* (1984) have tried to determine the provenance of different medieval manuscripts with the aid of modern dialectal evidence. In his monograph, Moberg demonstrates in particular the importance of word geography, for example when he uses the word *sodher* 'cattle', as a localisation criterion (Moberg 1984, 144–148). A recent contribution to the method of locating anonymous old texts is Holm (2000b).

Dialects have also proved important sources to Danish philologists, and considerable effort has been made to localise medieval texts on the basis of the language characteristics of modern Danish dialect, particularly in the sound system. One early example is Skautrup (1925) who describes the language in a manuscript of the Jutlandic Law (AM 286 fol.) in relation to modern Jutlandic. In this way he is able to show, for instance, that isoglosses have changed over time. Many works by Brøndum-Nielsen (e.g. 1955; 1951 passim) illustrate isogloss changes from the Middle Ages up to modern dialects. Brøndum-Nielsen's magnum opus, *Gammeldansk Grammatik*, is actually a survey of the Old Danish dialects as they occur in medieval documents.

The type of attribution that has been discussed here is complicated by a number of

factors, such as the need to take into account socially differentiated variations of spoken language alongside geographical variation in medieval Scandinavia; see for instance Brøndum-Nielsen (1928–1974, 1, 25), who discusses “Standssprog”; Seip (1934) and Loman (1993, 26f.). Seip is of the opinion that there must have been a reading pronunciation in the Middle Ages in which speakers tried to reproduce the conservative written norm. Seip’s ideas about “Et høiere talemål i mid-delalderen” [A higher form of spoken language during the Middle Ages] have since been rejected on valid grounds, since it is difficult to see that there were social, economic, or political preconditions for such consolidation and standardization of spoken language (cf. Mæhlum 1991, 127f.).

On the other hand, the writing tradition could conceal a large number of spoken language characteristics. Thus, for example, it is obvious that the verbal forms *gæra* and *gøra* have existed side by side in e.g. medieval Uppland, even though the Uppland Law manuscripts only present the form *giora* (Widmark 1996, 328f.). And, as Holm (1980, 101ff.) has shown, we also have to consider that the central Swedish dialects have preserved old diphthongs longer than the written sources would seem to indicate. These conclusions can be drawn, not least because of the fact that the colonisers of Svealand must have brought both the form *gæra* and old diphthongs with them when, as is commonly assumed, they arrived in the Swedish colonies in Finland in the Early Middle Ages.

4. Relations between dialectology and language history

4.1. Introduction

When illustrating the reciprocal relationship between dialects and language history, it can be advisable to distinguish the linguistic changes at a micro level from those at a macro level (cf. Bandle 1997b, 40). At the micro level, dialect evidence can serve as a foundation for illustrating changes at different linguistic levels, namely phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic levels, as well as lexical and word formation levels. An analysis of dialect material can also elucidate traditional philological problems. At the macro level, a number of issues related to sociolinguistics are raised, such as linguistic contacts, norm building, identification and prestige, the analysis of

linguistic strata, etc. At both micro and macro levels the analysis of dialect material contributes to the understanding of linguistic changes and their origin and distribution in the language community.

4.2. The micro level

4.2.1. Phonology

As stated in the introduction, one of Hesselman’s most important theoretical premises is that series of language changes can be illustrated on the basis of dialect material. Hesselman thus suggests (1902, 101–104), e.g., that the lengthening of syllables and changes in vowel quality can be studied in more detail with the help of dialect evidence. He illustrates, among other things, the development of the Finland-Swedish dialect quantitative and vowel quality changes, with the oldest features being preserved in the southern Finland-Swedish region and the most advanced changes being found in the Åland area. Hesselman also emphasises the relationship between the findings of dialectological studies and features recorded in the written language. In his early works on quantitative development in Swedish dialects, Hesselman observes that short /i, y, u, (o)/ in the Svea dialects are usually lengthened before /g, d, l, n, v, r/, while lengthening does not occur before /p, t, k, s/. It is interesting to note that the two groups of consonants are to be found in two natural phonological classes that are distinguished by the feature [\pm voice]. This description of change in terms of features means that the explanation can be related to more general phonological terms, since vowels tend to be of longer duration in a voiced than an unvoiced environment (Ralph 1983, 186).

The development of Old Nordic <þ> can also be profitably studied through dialects, in order to understand the process of this sound change. Old Nordic <þ> is preserved only in Icelandic; in all other Nordic dialects, Old Nordic <þ> has become /t/ or /d/ or, exceptionally, /h/. The pronunciation [ð] occurs as an allophone of initial /d/ in some Nordic dialects, e.g. in Älvdalen (Dalecarlia). In Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian, /d/ occurs in pronouns, some adverbs and conjunctions, while elsewhere it results in an initial /t/. Swedish dialects in Finland and Estonia have initial /t/ in pronouns as well. In Faroese the Old Nordic <þ> has in some cases resulted in /h/, namely in pronouns such as <hesin> ‘this’ from *þessi*,

and in some adverbs such as ⟨hagar⟩ ‘thither’, Old Nordic *þagat*. However, normally in Faroese, Old Nordic *þ* results in /t/, so that pronouns such as ⟨þú⟩ have yielded ⟨tú⟩, but in spoken Faroese there is also a [d]-pronunciation. Hægstad (1906–42; Section 2.2.2. Færøymaal, 84) has concentrated on this [d]-pronunciation and has described in detail its distribution in pronouns. A later study (Hagström 1970, 348 ff.) conveys an even more complex picture of the sound change than Hægstad’s. Hagström’s study shows how a phonetic change gradually rises to the phonemic level. The study “may shed light on past periods of the Nordic dialects, and help us to understand similar phonetic developments that must underlie such phonemic changes as are reflected in the written language” (Hagström 1970, 360). There is a corresponding variation between /t/ : /d/ both in contemporary Finland-Swedish and Estonia-Swedish dialects, and Middle Norwegian dialects (Indrebø 1951, 229).

Gunnar Nyström (2000, 25 ff.) has shown that the older dialects of western Älvdalen (Dalecarlia) make a clear distinction between a dental and an alveolar /n/: dental /-n/ occurs in all types of words in which it can be traced back to an Old Nordic /-nn/, and alveolar /-n/ occurs in the dialect when it originates in Old Nordic /-n/. The material on contemporary dialects gathered by Nyström illustrates language history processes from distant epochs. The sounds of the western Älvdalen dialects can also be placed in a larger, Nordic context, since it is clear that the /-nn/ in many Nordic dialects corresponds dialectally to a consonant of a different quality than the sound that can be traced back to short /-n/: in some dialects there is a distinction between, on the one hand, a palatalised /n/ and, on the other hand, an alveolar or dental /n/; in other dialects there is a distinction between /dn/ and an alveolar (and dental) /n/; and in yet other dialects, between a dental /n/ and a supradental or cacuminal /n/ (cf. Zetterholm 1939; Jansson 1944, 447 ff.; Sandøy 1993, 129 f.; 135 f.; Nyström 2000, 29 f.).

An examination of modern dialect can thus provide a relative chronology of linguistic phenomena, something already touched upon in the early dialect monographs of the neogrammarian-oriented school (cf. 1.). Thus, when Swenning (1909–10, 138–140) studies the diphthongisation of the older long /e/ in southern Swedish, he is able to show that the shortening of long /e/ before /m/ occurred be-

fore the change of long /e > æi/(/ben > bæin/), since *hem* – at least in some parts of the area – gave *hemm* and not **hæim*. However, the diphthongisation must have been completed before the lengthening of *wit* > *vet* (‘wit’) with a long /e/, otherwise the latter form would have been diphthongised to **væit* (cf. for this chronology also Wigforss 1913–18, 657–666).

Studies of monophthongisation tendencies in Nordic dialects can also throw light on historical processes. Moberg (1954, 87–129) provides the empirical background to these studies, as do Faarlund (1975, 160–189) and, in an analysis of later monophthongisation tendencies in Trøndelag, Dalen (1971, 39–51). It is interesting to note how Faarlund (1975, 174 ff.), on the basis of dialect evidence, seeks both to detail the changes in phonological terms and then to elucidate the historical processes.

Over the years, there have been several other diachronic studies, essentially based on dialect material. Moberg’s study (1944) of Nordic nasal assimilations and Widmark’s works on *u*-umlaut (particularly 1959) are sufficient examples of this. Later works can be exemplified by Riad’s study (1992) of, among other themes, vowel balance, vowel strengthening, and vowel levelling. Widmark’s study (1998) of quantitative and qualitative changes in the vowel system of Old Swedish, and Riad’s investigation (1998) of balance and harmony in Scandinavian dialects.

4.2.2. Morphology and syntax

Dialects also provide important linguistic evidence concerning morphological and syntactical development. Generally it can be asserted, for example, that a comparison between examples of the use of the dative in Old Swedish and in certain modern Swedish dialects shows that dative with verbs is more firmly established in the dialect than the Old Swedish sources generally show. The evidence provided by the Old Swedish sources has surely been influenced by foreign languages (to be specific, Danish and Middle Low German), while the spoken language has preserved more genuine patterns. Thus, when evaluating the dative forms in 16th-c. Swedish Bible translations, for instance, it is less likely that this occurrence is solely due to deliberate efforts to use archaic language (cf. Sjögren 1949, 113 ff.). Instead, the dative doubtless existed in central parts of Sweden during early modern Swedish times, which means that the case declension in older Swedish Bible translations is more

likely to have its roots in spoken language (M. Reinhammar 1973, 245–247).

On the basis of Old Swedish sources, Delsing (1991, 12ff.) has sought to show that the lexically governed genitive is replaced by the accusative with verbs and prepositions, that the genitive governed by adjectives displays a similar development, and, according to the texts he has studied, that this change took place approximately between 1250 and 1350. Delsing (1991, 12ff.), and before him Söderwall (1865) and Schwartz (1878) in their monographs, do not go into the possibility that the genitive could be succeeded by the dative. There are, however, as stressed by M. Reinhammar (1993), in Swedish and Norwegian dialects more than twenty verbs which originally governed the genitive with their object in the dative. In Old Swedish, evidence of the dative after the prepositions *till* ('to') and *mellan* ('between') is rare. In dialects which have case declension, however, *till* can be succeeded by the dative in expressions of time and when the governed word is a person. The preposition *mellan* more regularly governs the dative in the dialects. In view of this dialect evidence, there is no reason to doubt the Old Swedish evidence of the dative after what were originally genitive-governing words, and to consider them anomalies. Instead, they could reflect a living usage – a usage, what is more, that could have had an even greater geographical distribution in the Old Swedish period. Nevertheless, in standard writing, the objective accusative seems from an early date to have been more accepted than the dative. It is this norm which can be seen in Old Swedish but, as is evident, the picture can be considerably problematised, and thereby modified, with the aid of dialect evidence (M. Reinhammar 1993, 187ff.; cf. Widmark 2001, 41).

The origin of the Swedish pronoun *den här* 'this' has been discussed. One suggestion is that *den här* evolved from *thänne här* by syncope. But, on evidence of dialect geography, it must be assumed that *thänne* (*denne*) in the masc. and fem. sg. had a stem form in *-s(s)* with an ending *-n* in many Swedish dialects (Mod. Sw. dial.: *hisin*, *tässen*). The pronoun *den här* cannot be derived from this particular form. For that reason, V. Reinhammar has argued that *den här* contains Old Swedish *than* and is modelled on *den där* 'that'. The dialects in this case provide important evidence for solving this linguistic problem. See V. Reinhammar 1975, 57ff.; Hirvonen 1987, 409ff.; V. Reinhammar 1988, 72ff.

Also on the basis of dialect evidence, important observations can be made at the syntactic level. With his starting point in both Old Swedish texts and dialect evidence, Holm looks at Swedish *s*-passive (Holm 1952; cf. also Holm 1988, 31ff.). In dialect research prior to Holm, it was asserted – although alternative views were sometimes presented by individual researchers – that the *s*-passive had not to any great extent belonged to genuine spoken language, and that it developed essentially out of the reflexive form through the influence of Latin. Holm's findings make it seem likely, however, that some types of *s*-passive in Swedish dialects really are demotic and likely to be indigenous. Moreover, Holm shows that the use of the *s*-passive in Swedish dialects depends on various factors, such as the tense, the type of subject (personal, inanimate), etc. Interestingly, it can also be noted that there is considerable correspondence between the use of the *s*-passive in Old Swedish laws and its use in dialects, but it would be methodologically unsound to claim continuity over time on this basis only.

With genitive forms in dialects as a starting-point, we can examine how one grammatical feature can be replaced by another. For instance, Källskog (1992, 140ff.) notes how in the Swedish dialect of Överkalix the *s*-genitive can usually only be found in fixed expressions (*till skogs* 'to the woods') and in expressions denoting someone's farm, home, household servants, and so on. In the dialect, however, the possessive genitive and the partitive genitive are expressed through prepositional phrases, compounds, pleonastic pronouns together with proper names, etc. For similar tendencies found in the Finland-Swedish dialects of Österbotten, cf. Huldén (1997, 161–171).

4.2.3. Semantics

Dialects also shed light on the historical development of semantic relations. The fact that there is so much dialect material makes it possible to elucidate semantic conditions right down to the most detailed level and to register semantic changes with a high degree of accuracy. As will be seen (4.2.4. and 4.2.5.), studies of dialect vocabulary can thus illuminate different etymological and philological problems.

Semantic studies of dialects can be highly varied in their approach. In a monograph published in 1964, Fries describes the semantic development of one type of word formation,

namely that of an abstract verbal noun *stätt(a)* with the fundamental meaning 'the action of rising, the rising' originally a *-ti*-derivative of an ablaut grade of the verb *stiga* 'rise', that is, **stihti-*. Fries is able to show how this primary abstract noun developed different concrete meanings (e.g. 'stile'), and then demonstrates a well-differentiated semantic development in the Nordic dialects. Another example of similar semantic differentiation within a category of artefacts is Eriksson's (1943) study of dialect words for the top bunk in wall beds in Sweden and Scandinavia in general.

On the basis of words denoting terrain (hills/slopes and wetlands), Nyström (1988) and Wiklund (1992) have tried to produce a demotic categorisation by analysing material from geographically defined regions of Sweden. These studies use different methods for their semantic descriptions. Westum (1999) and A.-C. Edlund (2000) take a cognitive approach. The former monograph deals with Swedish (and other Scandinavian) dialect taxonomy of the children's illnesses known as *ris*, *skäver* and *skärva*. One of the aims of the investigation is to show how a folk conception of illness is reflected in word-formation strategies. The latter work, by A.-C. Edlund, analyses Swedish-speaking seal hunters' conceptual system for seals, a terminology that is both broad and varied. In the Swedish region studied, Botnia, there is variation in the structure of the conceptual system. In addition, there is variation between the different hunting seasons with respect to both vocabulary and structure. Popular figurative language – based on animal designations in metaphorical usage in Swedish dialects – is studied in Karlholm (2000). The animal designations studied are *björn* 'bear', *bock* 'buck', *get* 'goat', *katt* 'cat', *kråka* 'Crow', *märr* 'mare', *räv* 'fox', and *trana* 'crane'.

The role of emotive components in word formation is illustrated in several studies. Dahlstedt (1950) focuses on emotive word-formation strategies in the naming of wild berries in northern Swedish dialects. Kornhall (1968) and Ernby (1992) illustrate emotive features in word formation at a morphemic and submorphemic level in the naming of fish in southern and western Swedish dialects, while Svahn (1991) carries out a corresponding study on the words for grass and sedges in Swedish and Norwegian dialects. Jonsson's studies (1966) of the North Germanic words for 'body of water' demonstrates how linguis-

tic material in older written sources can be fruitfully analysed with the help of dialect material. Thanks to such material, the author is able to divide the words denoting 'body of water' into different semantic groups, which in turn supports the etymological discussion of the terms.

4.2.4. Etymology and word formation

The dialects often have preserved forms and/or meanings which guide the linguist in establishing the origin of a word. Dialect geography analysis (cf. 2.) is of vital importance to etymological work, especially when the researcher establishes the form that will be taken as the starting point of the derivation.

The Nordic words for 'key' (Mod. Sw. *nyckel*) are good examples of this. The word *lykil(l)*, *lyckel* and equivalents are found in Faroese and Icelandic, in the dialects of western and northern Norway, and in northern Jutland, but also in some places further east in the Nordic countries: in the Swedish dialects in Norrbotten, in Hälsingland, on Fårö, and in Estonia-Swedish dialects. Judging from medieval Swedish texts, the word *lykil(l)* also existed in the dialects of central Sweden. This dialect geography situation makes it reasonable to assume that *lykil(l)* – and not *nyckel* – is the original word and is, to all appearances, a formation from the verb *luka* 'close'. In the definite form of the word, *lyklen*, the initial consonant probably has changed through dissimilation (/l:l > n:l/), which resulted in the form *nyckel*; see Jirlow (1936, 74ff.), and cf. Brøndum-Nielsen (1931–32, 171–190).

Dialects can also cast etymological light on philological problems (cf. further examples in 4.2.5.). In Old Icelandic poetry, the noun *biqð* should be seen as a word in the neut. pl.; the common case of the word, not recorded in the text material, ought thus to have been *beð*. Owing to Snorri's use of the word as a so-called *iarðar heiti*, we can conclude that the meaning was probably 'ground, land'. Etymologists came to the conclusion early on that it was an Irish loanword in Old Icelandic, but a closer examination of the Nordic vocabulary indicates that there are equivalents to the word in Swedish Göta dialect, such as *bjäd* (neut.), *bjäde* (masc.), meaning 'embankment, bank'. Secondly, the dialect records (and some place-name forms) enable us to establish **beða-* as a Proto-Nordic word and, what is more, one

with equivalents in Baltic and Celtic languages (Moberg 1950, 38 ff.).

Similarly, Gustavson (1950, 170–174) is able to establish a link between Gotland dialects *ēs* ‘rein’ and Icelandic *æs* ‘the outer border, edge, esp. of a shoe or skin’, a word that can also be found in Faroese and Norwegian dialects. This word represents the regular development of an originally Indo-European word which remains in the Nordic languages only as a relic in the eastern and western fringe areas. This type of construction on the basis of dialect material can be made when material is available from different parts of the Nordic language area. The situation becomes more complicated when a word exists only in a small part of the Nordic language region. Bandle (1967a, 375f.) discusses an instance of a word for ‘ram’, *dorri* (masc.), which is found only in modern Icelandic. Today there are instances of the word only in western and south-western Iceland, but older written evidence indicates a somewhat larger distribution earlier in the Icelandic dialects. Etymologists have connected the appellative to the Indo-European root (**dher-*) **dhor-*, **dhṛ-* ‘cover’, to which, as far as can be established, no other Germanic words are linked, however. The limited distribution of the word *dorri* complicates the etymology, and, as Elmevik (1973, 107) has emphasised, one should perhaps try instead to connect it to more closely related Nordic dialect words.

Analysis of dialect material can reveal psycholinguistic conditions in the language which are otherwise difficult to trace in the historical language material. The power of the spoken word has meant that some dangerous things are not mentioned by their “real” names, but by noa terms, like *gullfot* (literally: ‘golden foot’) for ‘wolf’, or *tallbjörn* (literally: ‘pine bear’), *granoxe* (literally: ‘fir ox’), *trädräv* (literally: ‘tree fox’) and *granälg* (literally: ‘fir elk’) for ‘squirrel’. Words such as these are common amongst hunters and fishermen (Sahlgren 1918, 1–7; Solheim 1940, passim; Jakobsen 1957, 138–140; Hultkrantz 1992, 47–50; L.-E. Edlund 1980, 88–89; A.-C. Edlund 1992, 54 ff.). A corresponding usage can perhaps also be found with plants, such as the Faroese word *baraldur* for *eini/einir* ‘juniper’ (see Fries 1992, 93–94). Thanks to the copious examples dialect evidence makes available, the richly differentiated meanings it can demonstrate, and the possibilities of examining the contextual circumstances which it offers, such evidence can illustrate the course of language changes whose results we can see, but whose

underlying processes can otherwise be difficult to discover.

The extensive material that the dialects provide also affords the etymologist many excellent opportunities to analyse words formed according to “freer” word-formation patterns where it is not easy to establish more regular rules. The consideration of dialect material makes “unorthodox” etymologies possible for such authors as Torp in his Norwegian etymological dictionary (1919). Torp mentions “blendings”, e.g. *jopa* from *hopa* + *jaapa*; the use (often pejorative) of *j*-insertion, *bos* > *bjus*, *sabba* > *sjabba* etc.; and the presence of a “new” breaking and gradation phenomena, *pikk* > *pjakk* etc. (cf. Nes 1999, 47–48).

Later research has focused on these aspects of the word-formation system, and thus the dialect material has many times pointed the way. Nordic words that have been dealt with include those beginning with initial *j*-, e.g. *jolla*, *jolma*, *jolka*, *jollra*, *jalre*, *julre*, which are often unsupported by evidence from written texts but exhibit a large number of formations in dialects. These words are interesting not least from a semantic point of view, since they often denote sounds, but they often also contain the closely-related semantic component ‘chatter’, ‘slur one’s words’, and sometimes also semantic components denoting movement. The individual words exhibit a vowel and suffix variation which cannot always be linked to the corresponding differences in meaning. The words are often polysemic and are bearers of emotivity, and not infrequently undergo pejoration. The group is also interesting in that, through rhyme, variation and contamination, it touches other similar series of words, thereby forming entire clusters of pragmatically, semantically and formally similar words (L.-E. Edlund 1987, 136–139; Söderberg 1996, 371–372; cf. for further examples Brink 1990, 247–256). The dialect material provides extremely good access to these levels of word formation. In other words, dialect evidence makes important contributions to patterns of word formation beyond the framework of more regular word formation.

But, more generally, dialects also contribute important evidence to the illustration of patterns of word formation, their origin and development. An exposition of the dialectal material can often be important for the analysis. When Johannisson deals in his classic study (1939) with the important group in the Germanic languages of nouns and adjectives de-

rived from particle-prefixed verbs, he mainly uses diachronic evidence as his starting point. Among Johannisson's examples are derivations from a reconstructed verb **ab-etan*, which is reflected in the Old West Nordic *afát* (neut.) 'gluttony' and *afata* (fem.) 'bandit' (which also survives in some Norwegian dialects), and the Old Swedish *afata* (fem.) 'gluttony' (see Johannisson 1939, 53, 56, 258).

As Fridell (2000, 196 ff.) has shown, there is a good deal of additional illustrative material to be found in dialects, namely words such as *avåt*, *aväte* and *avät* (and other forms), which are used about blood-sucking insects and animals whose feeding damages crops, food, bait etc. (i.e. rats, larvae, wolves, seals etc.). The basic meaning seems to be 'animals that cause damage by eating'. Fridell goes one step further and also analyses the word *åt* (neut.), which is well represented in the dialects of northern Scandinavia with basically the same meaning as *avåt*. He thus appears to view the relationship between the words *åt* and *avåt* as follows: originally there was **etan* 'eat' with the derivative **ata*, and **ab-etan* 'damage by eating' with the derivative **ab-ata*. After Nordic syncope, however, this symmetry was broken and we got: *eta* 'eat' with the derivative *at*, and *eta* 'damage by eating' with the derivative *avat*. This asymmetry naturally prepares the way for the existing word *at* to receive a broader meaning through analogy and incorporate the meaning of *avåt*, which is thereby marginalised. The example illustrates how diachronic evidence and dialect evidence can successfully be analysed in relation to each other, when examining patterns of word formation.

Tamm (1878), and after him other linguists, have assumed that the derivative affix *-ande* which formed neut. abstract verbal nouns was modelled on Middle Low German patterns, namely the conjugated infinitive ending in *-ent* and *-end*, such as *etent* (neut.) 'eating'. This type of word formation has therefore been regarded as a written form. However, as Holm (1991) has shown in a monograph, it also exists in many Nordic dialects, and he outlines a possible internal background for the word formation, originating in indigenous abstract verbal nouns with the ending *-an*. Dialect material makes such a word-formation process plausible.

4.2.5. Philology and text interpretation

Analysis of dialect material can often elucidate passages in early texts which are otherwise

difficult to interpret (cf. 4.2.4.). Christiansen (1954, 425 ff.; 1958, 262 f.) has used northern Norwegian dialect material in her attempt to illuminate an obscure passage in *Grógaldr* 11. In this passage *Grógaldr* tells of a boy who seeks advice from his dead mother before going off on a dangerous journey. The mother sings nine *galdrar* 'charms' in order to transform the threats against her son into their opposite; in this way his enemies will become his friends. Thus, storms and severe mountain weather will not harm him, and when on a stormy sea he meets with a *lúðr*, the wind and sea shall die down and the son shall have a calm voyage. The word *lúðr* is obscure in this context, and philologists have had difficulties in interpreting it. Other passages in Old West Nordic literature have failed to shed any light on the problem. Instead, Christiansen refers for her interpretation to the dialects of fishermen in the north of Norway: a *lur* at sea is a wall of whirling snow or foaming water, a squall, swept along by the storm, and deadly dangerous to frail craft. In the same way Christiansen (1960, 383 ff.) interprets the kenning *eylúðr* in Snæbjörn's *Amlóðe*-poem, with the help of the usage of *lur* in northern Norwegian dialects, as 'island-cradle'. "The compound *eylúðr* is *kenning* for the husking sea, rocking the isles", Christiansen (1960, 392) concludes.

Another example of how dialect material – and place-names – from different parts of the Nordic region can shed light on obscure passages in early literature is Johannisson's ([1954] 1975) analysis of *Atlakviða*'s "i qndugi at senda". With the aid of the Östergötland farm name *Ánväga* and Swedish dialect *köra i amnväg* (< *köra i andvæg*) 'to drive the opposite way' (literally: 'to plough across (the former furrows)'), Johannisson claims that a basic meaning 'in the opposite direction, the other way' can be established for the word. In the *Atlakviða* passage, Gudrun has just told Atle that he has just eaten his sons' hearts, adding that he can now digest his food and let the residue after consumption pass out 'the opposite ('other') way'. This interpretation makes good sense and, as was stated earlier, is given plausibility by the dialectal evidence.

In Nordic skaldic poetry, a substitution technique is sometimes used, known as *oflióst* (see Meissner 1921, 83 f.; Fidjestøl 1974, 32–34). In a *lausavisa* by Egill Skallagrímsson, it says: "eigum ekkjur/allkaldar tvær/en þær konur/þurfa blossa". Here Egill is complaining about his cold feet (literally: heels). But, in re-

ality, he is not speaking about his heels, but about his widows (*ekkjur*). This is explained by the fact that Old Icelandic *háll* denotes not only 'heel' but also 'widow whose husband has been slain'. This substitution technique has sometimes been considered artificial, but evidence from the living vernacular demonstrates that corresponding formations also exist in modern dialects (see Abrahamson 1930, 133 ff.; 1963, 221 ff.; cf. Jakobsen 1957, 138–140). The same can be said generally about kennings; in dialects there are kenning-like word formations, such as Swedish dialect (Bohuslän) *busksmitare* (from Sw. *buske* + *smitare*, 'bush + shirker') for 'snake', and *hagbrytare* (from Sw. *hage* + *brytare*, 'enclosed pasture + breaker') for 'bull', etc. (Abrahamson 1930, 141).

4.3. The macro level

4.3.1. Linguistic contacts and loanwords

Language contacts can be studied and analysed with the aid of dialect evidence. In the Nordic countries this is true of the interesting linguistic encounters both in the contacts – historical and modern-day – between indigenous Finno-Ugric languages (Finnish and Sami dialects) and Nordic dialects, and in the contacts between Nordic and Irish languages in different parts of the western Scandinavian area. These problems are dealt with in other articles, e.g. 66 and 67.

Intense international work on language contact has furnished dialect research with a number of useful perspectives. In the Nordic area this has meant not least a vitalisation of research on Middle Low German influence on Nordic dialects, as evidenced by a number of studies in the series *Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien* (1 ff., 1987). Equally interesting are the studies concerning the role of Middle Low German in typological and lexical changes in the Nordic languages (see, for example, Braunnüller/Diercks (eds, 1993; 1995)).

Among other things it is pointed out (by, for example, Jahr 1994 and Braunnüller 1994) that since Middle Low German structurally exhibited considerable similarities to Nordic languages it was quite easily understood in the medieval Nordic language domain, and consequently, communication became a sort of "semi-communication" of the same kind as is practised today among Danes, Norwegians and Swedes. In this way, Middle Low German

loanwords could relatively easily be incorporated into Nordic dialects.

Only a few studies on Low German loanwords in standard Nordic languages and dialects will be mentioned here. A number of these studies focus chiefly on loanwords in the standard languages, such as Seip (1915; 1919) and Wessén (1967), but other studies also include an analysis of Low German loanwords in the dialects. Low German loans in Danish dialects, particularly the Jutland dialects, have recently been dealt with by, among others, Nyberg (1988; 1989, 193 ff.); Andersen (1995, 181 ff.), and in Swedish dialects by Elmevik (1987, 120 ff.; 1992, 122 ff.); Brodin (1987, 257 ff.; 1999).

Studies of Low German loanwords in the dialects disclose, for example, the routes the loans have taken and can provide clues to their socio-cultural dimension (cf., for example, Elmevik 1987, 122 ff.). An example of this is the detailed study of the borrowing of *hyska* 'loop', 'hook' in Swedish dialects (see Modéer 1939, 116 ff.; 181). In addition, the lending dialect can be more precisely revealed as, for example, in a study of the Swedish and Norwegian dialect word *fräga* 'to ask' (Elmevik 1992, 122 ff.).

The borrowing of the Low German verb *bliven* 'become' and its gradual assumption of the meanings of the indigenous verb *verða* provides an interesting insight into the concrete borrowing process of a central word in the language (see Markey 1969; cf. also 2.). Among questions that have arisen in connection with this particular loanword the reasons for the rapid spread of this meaning into the domain of *verða* should be mentioned. One internal explanation for the borrowing of *bliven* could be the homonymy that arose between *vera* and *verða* when *ð* was lost after *r* in the latter word.

4.3.2. Socio-dialectal studies – from the forerunners to modern sociolinguistics

The social dimension of language and linguistic change was noted early on by linguists, and it is therefore misleading to attribute it to modern-day sociolinguistic research. Even the early neogrammarians highlighted the social dimension behind linguistic change (cf. Koerner 1978, 89 ff.). Socio-dialectal approaches are also represented early on in Nordic linguistics.

A highly independent pioneering figure is the Norwegian scholar Amund B. Larsen (cf.

Dalen 1997, 12 ff.). As early as 1886, in a work on dialects, Larsen used the term *naboopposition* (from Norw. *nabo* 'neighbour') to denote the opposition between the dialects of neighbouring communities, and he gradually elaborated the meaning of the term (see Larsen 1886, 52; 1917, 34–46). Larsen notes among other things that when a sound change is established in a certain dialect, often a similar change is rejected in the neighbouring one. This is often due to a conscious effort to preserve and even strengthen the differences between dialects. In reality this may be done through the establishment of hyper-dialectal pronunciation forms (for examples, see Larsen 1917, 34–46). In modern sociolinguistic terms we could speak of “prestige” and “identification”. Prestige presumes that there is in the language community some kind of agreement on which forms of linguistic behaviour are superior to others and should therefore be aimed at by ambitious citizens. This identification has the effect of encouraging the language users to reject unfamiliar features (see Thelander 1979, 117 f.; Widmark 1994a, 140 f.; cf. Dahlstedt 1987, 46 ff.).

The Swedish dialectologist Lars Levander also observes dialects from a socio-dialectal perspective (see Levander 1909, 39 ff.; 1950, 307–312; cf. Helgander 1997, 145 ff.). It is interesting to note, for example, how Levander analyses the development of innovations in the Åsen dialect (Älvdalen). He argues that the men's coexistence all winter long in log cabins with woodsmen from different provinces – chiefly Värmländers – was an important incentive for linguistic change (Levander 1909, 42). Levander also illustrates how linguistic variation can be used as linguistic markers. Thus, the individual can use different linguistic features in order to present himself/herself as an inhabitant of Älvdalen, of Åsen, living on this or that farm, young or old, man or woman, etc. At the same time, there is also room for the individual to accentuate his/her individuality (Levander 1909, 58–59).

Reitan's study of the Røros dialect (1932), which mainly deals with the sound system in the mining community of Røros, uses approaches which we know from the socio-dialectology of today (cf. Dalen 1997, 15 ff.). The Røros dialect is of special interest since it is a relatively new one in an area whose external history we are familiar with. How linguistic change behaves where spoken languages from different areas meet is interestingly illustrated by Reitan.

In Denmark, Jensen (1898, 213 ff.) provides an early example of research which, like modern-day socio-dialectal work, focuses on demographic and social factors and on the role of prestige and identification in the development of spoken language in the parish of Åby. Skautrup (1921, 97 ff.) poses sociolinguistically related questions in his study of the language of Tvis in western Jutland, and Jeppesen (1938) describes the development of a southern Jutland dialect – that of Løgumkloster – over two generations.

However, even though there are a number of early forerunners of sociolinguistically oriented studies in Nordic language research, it is in recent decades that Nordic dialect research has received empirical, methodological, and theoretical input. These studies focus on the social and situational circumstances of linguistic change and cast further light on the changes in different language varieties in the language continuum that covers everything from genuine dialects, through regional varieties, to modern Nordic standard languages, including a number of varieties and idiolect categories in between. These detailed studies of spoken language undergoing change also shed light on the historical changes encountered in written sources. A selection of some relevant studies should be mentioned, such as Nordberg's Eskilstuna studies (e.g. 1972, 14 ff.; Nordberg/Sundgren 2000, 294 ff.), Thelander's Burträsk studies (1979), Ivars' studies of Finland-Swedish urban dialects (1996; 1997, 173 ff.), and her Närpes investigations (1988). Notice should also be taken of the different Danish *stationsby*-studies (Ejskjær 1964, 7 ff.; Kristensen 1977–1979, 29 ff.; cf. Jørgensen/Kristensen 1994) and of different studies on the regional language of Jutland. Mention should also be made of studies of linguistic conditions in different parts of Norway, e.g. Steinholt (1964; 1972); Fintoft/Mjaavatn (1980); Gjermundsen (1981); Evensen/Tveit (1990), to name only a few. A summarising empirical study based on Norwegian studies can be found in Sandøy (1993, ch. 4 and 5). For the sociolinguistics of urbanization in the Nordic countries, see Nordberg (ed., 1994).

Interesting concrete efforts have also been made to connect experience from the sociolinguistic field with historical linguistic material. Mæhlum (1991, 114 ff.) discusses two phases in Nordic language development from such a perspective: the syncope period (500–650/700 A.D.), and the Middle Norwegian period

(from approximately 1370 to the beginning of the 16th c.). A further attempt to observe Nordic language development from a sociolinguistic perspective is made by Widmark (1994a, 139 ff.), who also seeks to understand the so-called “Birka Swedish” using a similar perspective (Widmark 1994b, 173 ff.; see 4.3.3.).

4.3.3. Dialects and the history of the Nordic languages – some examples

The attempts at grouping dialects bring to the fore a number of theoretical issues such as the importance of distinguishing archaisms from innovations, cf. Skautrup ([1937] 1976, 48 ff.; [1952] 1976, 126 ff.). These issues are of general importance in dialectology. If it is difficult to make adequate and meaningful groupings for Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish dialects, – however the grouping is made, it remains after all only a construction – how much more difficult it is if the field is broadened to include the entire Nordic language area. In Hesselman’s synthesising studies (especially 1948–53; see 1.) on Nordic dialects and language history, he rather seems to have abandoned his attempts to use dialects to divide the Nordic language area into different dialect areas. This is because there seem to be both many contradictions and a large number of intersecting dialect boundaries. Nevertheless, Bandle (1973) has accepted the challenge to divide up the Nordic language area primarily on the basis of the innovations that arose in different periods and which have come to characterise the different areas. In his synthesising monograph – a good representative of the symbiosis of dialectology and language history – Bandle seeks to discover which innovations originated in various diffusion centres, how the diffusion can be assumed to have occurred, and which dialect areas have been established as a result. An example of a western innovation is the older *u*-umlaut (cf. Widmark 1959). An eastern innovation is the lowering of long *u* to long *o* in hiatus and word-finally (*būa* > *bō(a)* etc.). Among southern innovations could be mentioned the post-vocalic consonant lenition *p, t, k* > *b, d, g* and the vowel merger *-a -i -u* > *-æ* or *-e*. Bandle includes in the northern innovations initial palatalisations, the loss of *-n* in the definite fem. singular form and the loss of *-t* in unstressed final position, as well as vowel balance. Bandle summarises his results (1973, map 22) by establishing a western, a southern and a northern Scandinavian area. The picture

he presents of the northern area is particularly problematic. A number of language features separate the northern area from the south and west, such as quantity regulation resulting in only long syllables, the shifting of the long vowels *a, o, u* etc. It is also clear that there are smaller zones within the larger ones, such as a northern Scandinavian area in a more limited sense, a Finland-Swedish and Estonia-Swedish area including eastern central Sweden, a Gotland dialect area, and a Göta dialect area which has the characteristics of a transition zone.

Like every classification, Bandle’s has its weaker points, as admitted by the author himself. For example, it has been pointed out that he should have treated Icelandic and Faroese as independent units rather than including them in the West Nordic area (see Torp 1983, 45 ff.; cf. Bandle 1997b, 37 f.). Nevertheless, Bandle’s general outline seems to capture the different linguistic zones of the Nordic area admirably, and also corresponds well with other cultural scientific evidence, such as ethnological phenomena and place-name types (Bandle 1994, 165 ff.; 1997a, 39 ff.).

It should, however, also be possible to look at historical features from a sociolinguistic perspective, something that Widmark (1994a, 144 ff.) has attempted. In so doing, she seeks to define what the linguistic boundaries actually represent, and to establish identification areas from a diachronic perspective. Thus, she regards, for example, southern innovations such as *p, t, k* > *b, d, g*, *tn* > *nn*, etc. as features that have been used socially as identity markers and could secondarily have become prestige features (see Widmark 1994a, 147–148). The northern Scandinavian area, which comprises large parts of Sweden and Norway, contrasts with the southern Scandinavian area. The common features of the northern Scandinavian area were earlier found in a larger Nordic area, often as variants, but they have been preserved and often strengthened in the northern area. Therefore, to Widmark the northern area is an identification area that has maintained its identity by accentuating features lost in the rest of Scandinavia. Bandle (1973, 111) identifies this northern Scandinavian area as a background to Swedish, but Widmark asks if it is not equally reasonable to let the eastern Swedish dialects constitute this background (Widmark 1994a, 149). In support of this she mentions the so-called “Birka Swedish” as a dialect which is to some degree linguistically expansive. The fact that

the East Nordic area does not exhibit the same linguistically expansive vigour as the southern Scandinavian area is in all likelihood due to the fact that Denmark's period of greatness after unification around the year 1000 partially coincided with the weakening of the Swedish realm. In this way the character of the eastern identification area appears less defined and is consequently more difficult for historical linguists to pin-point.

We can stay with "Birka Swedish" a little longer in order to further illustrate how possible language connections and streams of influence at the Nordic level in the past can be reconstructed on the basis of dialect material and from a sociolinguistic macro-perspective. "Birka Swedish" was discussed for the first time by Hesselman (1936, 127 ff.). His analysis focuses on the diphthongisation of long *e* – the Germanic *e²* – into *ia/iä* in the word *här*. The distribution of this feature in contemporary dialects is not unbroken, but the use of early written sources enables Hesselman to maintain that the diphthongisation took place in the entire Baltic area – from the northern part of the Gulf of Botnia down to Blekinge, and in Svealand up to upper Dalecarlia. In Denmark the feature can be found in southern Schleswig, according to Hesselman. Moreover, Hesselman suggests that we have to connect this development with the corresponding sound change on the continent, with influencing languages such as Old Saxon, Old Frisian and, in particular, Old Franconian. Hedeby (Haithabu), with its central position as a trading centre where northerners from the Baltic and North Sea areas met and where they also met people from the continent, is the real hub and starting point of the discussion. Hesselman's exciting synthesis has, however, been criticised by, for example, Olrik Frederiksen (1974, 232 ff.; 1986, 75–94) on a number of grounds, including weaknesses in the actual empirical evidence on which it is based. For different aspects of this issue, cf. Stoklund (1994, 109 ff.), and for a discussion of the historical context, cf. Lund (1982, 114–125).

Nevertheless, the "Birka Swedish" theory has recently been raised again (e.g. Widmark 1994b, 173 ff.), although, as Widmark points out, a more appropriate term might be "Hedeby Nordic", since the language features in question seem to have their background in Hedeby. Further material that supports a "Hedeby-Nordic" thesis has also been produced, and the arguments have basically been modified. Concerning the sound change which

Hesselman primarily deals with (*e² > ia/iä*), it can be shown that this type of diphthongisation is not only found in dialects in eastern Sweden but also in western parts of Sweden and in Norway (see Lagman 1990, 62 f.; Peterson 1992, 95 f.; Widmark 1994b, 177). It can also be shown that it is in the earliest material that we find most of the diphthongizations. Thus it can be concluded that these diphthongized forms began to retreat early on.

However, there are also other language features in Nordic dialects which resemble *e² > ia/iä* in their distribution patterns (Widmark 1994b). These include the monophthongization *au > o* (see, for instance, Moberg 1954, 115 ff.; Strid 1989, 5 ff.; Widmark 1994b, 178 ff.; and Elmevik 1997, 93 ff.; 1998, 586–588), whose distribution centre lay in dialects in eastern Sweden – primarily Svealand – but which also existed in western Sweden and in Norway. A monophthongisation is also found in Old Norwegian, which resulted in the writing of *u*, *o* or *a* for the older *au*. There are indications that this sound feature should be seen as connected with a corresponding change in Old Saxon, although such a supposition must naturally be regarded with reservations. Other sound features that can be examined from a similar "Hedeby Nordic" perspective are the development **singwa > sjunga*; the metathesis of initial *wr > rw* (see Eklund 1991, 130 ff.; 148 f.; 154; 158 f.; 170 ff.; 180 ff.); the loss of initial *h*; the development of *bn > mn*; and the development of the inserted consonants *b*, *d*, *p*. Whether all these phenomena can really be seen from the same perspective and be placed in the same macro-context is, of course, open to discussion. Since the issue concerns innovations, it is theoretically possible that influences occurred in different directions. There is also the possibility that identical sound developments arose independently in different places.

Even with these reservations, interesting perspectives can open up, with their starting points in the language features mentioned above and their Nordic distribution. Hedeby was indeed most probably a central meeting place for northern traders from different places and must have provided good opportunities for real language mixing. The northerners took home with them the features they had acquired in this environment, and this language must certainly have had the qualities of a prestige language. But even if "Hedeby Nordic" began to be a prestige language, it cannot have survived as such – the distribution of

“Hedeby Nordic” language features in the Nordic dialects shows that, generally speaking, they have receded. These features are best preserved in the Gotland dialect – which indicates the adherence there to the local language – and in the Dalecarlian dialects, where the old Hedeby features have apparently served an identification function.

From a theoretical point of view, it is interesting that, with the aid of dialect evidence – as “Hedeby Nordic” (“Birka Swedish”) possibly shows – we can reveal ancient linguistic language connections and distribution patterns, and these patterns can be analysed from a principally sociolinguistic macro-perspective.

5. Concluding reflections

In the diachronic language research based on Nordic language material, dialects have often played a major role in illustrating the processes of language change. This has applied at different language levels: phonological, morphological and syntactic, as well as in connection with phenomena concerning word formation and semantics. Moreover, philological and etymological research have often been able to use dialect material as the starting point for their analyses, as has been illustrated in this article. Among historical linguists it has been customary, more or less implicitly, to consider dialects as a kind of language history source, while the opposite viewpoint has hardly been expressed at all. In Sonderegger’s overview “Leistung und Aufgabe der Dialektologie im Rahmen der Sprachgeschichtsschreibung des Deutschen” (1983), it is the importance of dialects to language history that is stressed, rather than vice versa.

At the centre of diachronic language research stand questions related to the continual process of language change. Sociolinguistic research, which has developed considerably in recent decades, has deepened the understanding and analysis of linguistic change, and its origins in both internal and external factors and has, in the process, drawn attention to language users’ choices within a repertoire of language variants. Sociolinguistic research has often highlighted recent language material, but historical conditions can also, of course, be illustrated from a sociolinguistic perspective, even though it is more difficult to illustrate patterns of change more remote in time. In order for it to be possible to discuss historical linguistic material in the light of contemporary linguistic material, there has to be

some kind of common ground between past and present (cf. Labov 1975, 825 ff.; 1994, 9–27). Since sociolinguistic research often uses spoken language as its starting point, the sociolinguistic perspective has produced a number of interesting socio-dialectological studies in the Nordic countries. Through studies such as these, the sociolinguistic perspective can also be linked to the analysis of language history material as shown, for example, in the studies on “Birka Swedish” (“Hedeby Nordic”) discussed in 4.3.3.

It is important in the future to establish a historically-related form of language research which deals with language history and dialects in a truly integrated way, and where diachronic and synchronic perspectives are combined so that diachronic developments are illustrated with the help of recent material, and vice versa. What is needed, therefore, is a unified approach to the treatment of linguistic and dialectological phenomena which includes the dimensions of both time and space (cf. Bandle 1997b, 42 f.; Pedersen 1995, 33 ff.). Attempts have been made at this kind of research, which, accordingly, integrates a diachronic and a dialectological analysis; see for instance, Williams (1996, 433–439); cf. Palm (1992); Peterson (1996, 239 ff.). Far more attention than earlier, however, must be paid to methodological and theoretical issues.

In this respect, a work such as Rohlfs’ *Historische Grammatik der italienischen Sprache und ihrer Mundarten* (1–3; 1949–54) can serve as a model for this kind of analysis, describing as it does the development of both written language and dialects from common starting points and with the support of a vast source material which, in this particular case, enables the creation of a comprehensive view of the history of the Italian language. Similar monographs on the Nordic languages do not yet exist – even though, for instance, Skautrup’s language history (see 1.) has high ambitions in this respect – but should be placed high on Nordic linguists’ agenda.

6. Literature (a selection)

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35. Nordic language history and current trends in dialectology

1. Introduction
2. Urban variation
3. National or regional convergence?
4. Power and status of a standard language
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

Modern dialectology is characterized by attempts to understand language change and variation through the perspective of sociology and social psychology, i.e. to understand how various types of communities represent different conditions for language change, and to understand what mechanisms in personal interactions are relevant. This social dialectology does not lie in contrast to traditional neogrammarian or structural dialectology; rather, it complements it by focusing on some extralinguistic factors. It is based on the idea that language is characterized by variation, whereas traditional dialectology focused on language as being constituted by a structure.

This social perspective is not brand new in Norwegian dialectology. One of the early scholars who often included social history in his work was Larsen (1849–1928), who as early as 1886 introduced the concept of *naboopposisjon* ('opposition towards neighbours'), which refers to a hyper-dialectal phenomenon. In an article published in 1917 he elaborated on this explanation for linguistic change, characterizing it as a psychological or mental force that makes people exaggerate particular features by analogy. This can even trigger a "sound law", he claimed.

Larsen established a new discipline with his studies of urban languages: in 1907 of the Oslo dialect, in 1912 of Bergen and in 1925 of Stavanger, the latter two with a local co-author. For each of the communities he presented a social history as a background for understanding the linguistic characteristics. The Swedish linguist Gjerdmann expanded the method for studying urban varieties by collecting data from different social groups for his project on the dialect of Södermanland (1918; 1927), thus according variation itself a more important role than in Larsen's studies.

In the next sections the intention is to discuss the development of sociolectal variation and the diffusion of a standard language – two historical subjects often discussed in sociolin-

guistics. The Nordic countries demonstrate interesting differences in this respect, which can be interpreted as results of different political conditions.

2. Urban variation

Some language historians have taken it for granted that people of the higher classes during the Middle Ages cultivated a distinctive higher-class variety, cf. art. 10. Nowadays, however, most scholars assume that there were no sociolectal differences until the 18th century (Brink/Lund 1974). There is no documentation of sociolects in the Nordic countries during the previous periods, and modern sociolinguistic insights into language as a cultural symbol make us understand that language has only a potentiality for being utilized as a symbol of social differences; there is no necessity for its being a symbol. An interesting perspective to language history can thus come from studying what conditions promote the symbolic status of language.

According to Brink/Lund, the Copenhagen dialect split into a higher-class and a lower-class variety during the latter half of the 18th century. Two interesting trends can be observed in this process: (a) The low variety sticks to the old dialect forms, whereas the high variety prefers forms that correspond to the written forms: e.g. *kygen* vs. *køgen* 'kitchen', *hanses* vs. *hans* 'his'. Thus, there is an obvious influence of the authorized standard. (b) In cases like *sla* vs. *slå* 'beat', there were alternatives in both the spoken and written language, and the disappearance of the former variant in both the written language and the Copenhagen upper-class variety must indicate some interrelations or, expressed alternatively, the development of written Danish was dependent on the prestigious dialect.

The above differences were all of limited scope; they represented single words. However, during the 18th century more general phonological distinctions arose, reflecting a social tension between the classes. Quite a few systematic vowel changes took place, and interestingly, most of them started in the low variety and spread to the high variety (e.g. vowel lowering before uvular *r*, and *t* > *ts*). Nevertheless, some changes followed the opposite route from the high to the low variety

(e.g. fronting of low back vowels). The changes were neutral to the spelling system, except for the *ð*, which tended to disappear for some time, but regained its position, perhaps under the influence of the written language. The new syntactic pattern of using accusative pronouns in stressed position (e.g. *hende* instead of *hun* in *Hende, der går der, er min søster* 'She, who is walking there, is my sister') appeared in the low variety first and is spreading today into the high variety, in spite of the written language.

During the 20th century, the development of the two dialect varieties has demonstrated considerable convergence, because of the acceptance of the new changes in both varieties and the exchange of phonological features. It is a characteristic of the amalgamation process that features from the low variety have been accepted in the high variety more often than the other way round. Brink/Lund foresee that the generations born a few decades after the new millennium will show no social differences in their language; only stylistic variation will be left.

Swedish language history demonstrates a parallel development. By the middle of the 19th century there were obvious social differences in Stockholm speech. Kotsinas (1989) reports that strongly aspirated intervocalic *t* (*gathan* < *gatan* 'the street') as well as "European" long *a* were already characteristic of the higher-class variety 150 years ago. The distinction between *di* ('they' nominative) and *dem* (accusative) existed at that time in this variety, but disappeared later. The recordings of the 19th century's low variety demonstrates today's characteristics of a less aspirated *t* and a back long *a*, and today's generally accepted pronoun *dom* in both cases.

About the turn of the 19th century, Stockholm had a vast increase in population because of immigration from the countryside. From 1865 till 1910 the population increased from 105,000 to 305,000. This immigration resulted in a new Stockholm dialect, "ekensnacket", caused by the melting-pot effect. This dialect was characterized by some reduction phenomena, e.g. the weakening or loss of *r* (*ord* > *od*). Since the 1960s, Stockholm has assimilated vast numbers of immigrants from abroad who have contributed to creating "rinkebysvenska", the Swedish of Rinkeby, a part of Stockholm where the majority of the 14,000 inhabitants are foreigners and where more than 30 different mother tongues are spoken. Youths of Swedish parentage pick up

this new dialect with reduced vowel distinctions, a more marked *r* and a "foreign" *sj*-sound etc.

The first half of the 20th century was characterized by social levelling and sociolinguistic convergence. Consequently, people born in the inter-war period show less social differentiation in their language than previous generations. The latter half of the century has introduced a new difference between the traditional Stockholm dialect and "rinkebysvenska", but Kotsinas (1989) predicts that these varieties are going to merge in the future with some lasting traces from "rinkebysvenska".

As for Norwegian towns, we find the same historical process. There is little knowledge about sociolinguistic differentiation in Oslo until the last decades of the 18th century. In a description from this period, there is a comment that quite a lot of civil servants and merchants "did little or nothing to correct their speech in accordance with the written language, instead they practised the vernacular" (Larsen 1907). However, at that time Christian Kølle, a teacher at Bærum near Oslo, gave instruction in proper Danish, according to his own description from 1792.

Larsen described a situation at the turn of the previous century where the middle classes had no characteristic dialect; on the other hand, the members of these classes used partly "the dialect of the street", partly "educated" speech ("den dannede dagligtale") or partly a mixture. The mixture was characterized by the following forms from the upper-class variety: lack of the old diphthongs (*sten* = *stein*), past forms with *-et* instead of *-a* (*kastet*), definite plural masc. *-ene* instead of *-a* (*hestene*); and from the lower-class variety: definite singular fem. *-a* and "thick l" (a retroflex flap). In upper-class speech, on the other hand, thick l appeared only irregularly; efforts were made to extinguish the other retroflex sounds as well, but in vain, according to Larsen, and in some families the uvular *r* was used.

There is little data on the history of sociolect differentiation of Swedish in Finland. Today the situation is "normal" (for Europe), with a pattern where educated people tend to use standard language more than non-educated people, and the elderly use it more than middle-aged and young people (cf. Ivars 1996). This standard, in contrast to Sweden-Swedish, has unaspirated plosives, an affricated pronunciation of the *k* in e.g. *köpa*, and no retroflex sounds.

Data from an extensive project on language variation in Reykjavík has not been analyzed with regard to social differences, but its report concludes that a rough survey of the data has not revealed any social differences (Þráinsson/Árnason 1984). A parallel social homogeneity is characteristic of the Tórshavn dialect in the Faroe Islands, as well.

3. National or regional convergence?

The development of an upper-class (high) variety reflects a historical situation where a social class takes advantage of the potential symbolic character of a national written standard. By associating its own spoken variety with the written expression of national superiority and power, the socially dominating class obtained a cultural and ideological symbol of its status.

A closely related question concerns the influence which the combination of a national standard and social prestige has today on the general language development of an ever more integrated community. A well-known and popular concept is that a national oral standard is going to supersede local dialects in a type of simple unidirectional development. This has been only partially attested. Modern research reveals that language development is influenced by more complicated social forces.

There are obvious differences between the Nordic countries; a national standard language has become predominant all over Sweden and Denmark, whereas people in the other countries stick to their local dialects to a greater extent. In Finland and Norway, bi-dialectalism has mostly been a characteristic of urban areas, i.e. many urban people switch between a low and a high variety. However, there too, the dialects are continuously changing. In the sections below, patterns of development will be illustrated.

3.1. Diffusion models

Wave theory, forged in order to describe the diffusion of isoglosses produced by sound laws, has been indirectly tested by Steinsholt, who in a longitudinal project examined how the urban language of Larvik (Vestfold in Norway) expanded into the neighbouring rural district of Hedrum (1964; 1972). Through social contact and urban dominance, features of the Larvik dialect were gradually included in the dialects of the young generations, and Steinsholt was able to state that over an interval of 30 years (1938–1968), the frontiers

of the expanding features had moved some 20 kilometres into the countryside.

One central term in Steinsholt's interpretation was 'language missionaries', which he used to describe the social function of young girls who returned home after living in town for some time and introduced urban features which were accepted by their local friends. Another important group of language missionaries was the male adults who had been employed on whaling ships. These missionaries were influential because they were regarded as insiders in their home community. In a geographical perspective, they were instrumental in expanding the territory of linguistic features.

New features often spread from one centre to another before they are accepted in the rural area between the centres. Such instances could best be described in an urban diffusion model, which normally implies a hierarchy in which features jump from more populous to less populous areas. A very typical instance of this type of spread is the expansion of uvular *r* in Scandinavia. It seems to have been accepted in Copenhagen about 1780 (Skautrup 1953) and by the end of the 19th century in the whole of Denmark. By the middle of the 19th century it had spread to the Norwegian towns of Kristiansand and Bergen. Data from about 1900 display that this new pronunciation had diffused to Stavanger, a few tourist centres and the wider rural areas around these centres by then. During the 20th century we have been able to follow its constant advance, which now has resulted in a continuous uvular *r* area along the southern and western coast of Norway (Foldvik 1977). By 1890 the uvular *r* had spread to Scania, and since the 1930s it has remained stationary there (Chambers/Trudgill 1980).

From the 16th century the Copenhagen dialect has had an ever-increasing influence on other dialects in Denmark. New forms have spread from the capital to other towns and later to the rural communities (Brink/Lund 1974). In this way the dialect of the capital has in the course of three centuries gained the status of a national standard. The initiators of this development have been educated people, whose language in about 1700 was described by the grammarian Jens Høysgaard as encompassing great differences. However, 150 years later the linguist Karl Verner considered the speech of the same group to be practically the same throughout the whole country. At that time the last systematic features of a standard were fixed: the Copenhagen pronun-

ciation of the diphthongs and the depalatalized pronunciation of /g, k/ preceding high front vowels (*kjære* > *kære*).

The dialectal development among other social classes has followed in the same direction. Brink/Lund consider local forms to be absent in the speech of people born after 1920 in Zealand. In other areas of Denmark as well, the number of traditional local dialect speakers has decreased. A study of some communities of Jutland indicate that 1/3 of the children in a village speak the local dialect and 4/5 in the rural countryside (Bengtson 1985). The concept of 'local dialect' is, of course, in principle problematic; the point is, however, that the new language variety of the communities no longer is a gradually developed local dialect, but rather the standard with regional characteristics. The development in Danish is best described as a shift from dialect to standard. Ejskjær (1964) introduced the concept of "regional standard", which has more similarities with the standard than the local dialect – and which is felt by the speakers to be the national standard.

Despite the homogeneity that is the consequence of the diffusion of a standard (*rigsmål*), some dialect borders "survive" and move geographically. Whereas the Little Belt previously was felt to be a main borderline since it splits Danish into Jutland dialects in the west and island dialects in the east, nowadays the Great Belt is felt to be the most important dialect boundary since the Copenhagen innovations diffuse faster in Zealand than in the rest of Denmark west of the Great Belt. Moreover, one diffusion from Jutland has spread eastwards to Funen, i.e. in the opposite direction of the prevailing trends: the past forms with the suffix *-et* instead of *-ede*: *kastede* > *kastet* 'threw' (Pedersen 1991).

During the 17th century there was some controversy over the question of which spoken variety represented the most proper Danish; however, the Zealand or Copenhagen upper-class variety was soon generally accepted as a model. Schoolteachers taught this speech model and propagated the attitude that local dialects were wrong. Today, the standard or regional standard is the only acceptable language variety in all public contexts (Pedersen 1991).

Interestingly, Brink/Lund emphasize that language changes cannot be caused by the written language, as most phonological changes are either neutral as regards the spelling (e.g. the phonetic quality of the phoneme

/a/), or deviate from it (e.g. when /g/ is replaced by [w, j]). In some instances the high variety has accepted forms resembling the spelling, e.g. the pronunciation *ǿ* of intervocalic *d*: *gaje* > *gaǿe* (= *gade*), but the general tendency is that the low variety of Copenhagen is the innovating dialect. Thus, new features of the low variety are conveyed by the high variety to the national standard, e.g. the "flat *a*" in *land* > *lænd* (close to each other, but still different) and *t* > *ts* in *tivoli*.

A more sophisticated social understanding of the historical process is presented by Pedersen (1991), who considers 18th century society to be socially rather mobile but geographically immobile because of the restrictions on villeinage. People lived in small villages with strong internal ties and weak external ones. These conditions of strong local identity favoured the cultivation and maintenance of local dialect differences. During the 19th century, the restrictions were abolished, and agriculture was reformed through the reorganization of land ownership with the consequence that many families moved out of the villages. Geographical mobility increased, and class differences sharpened. People's daily lives after that time were characterized by a more individual style than the previous collective one. Some farmers bought more land and climbed socially, for instance by adapting standard language, through which sociolectal differences arose in the countryside. Thus, modern society created new feelings of community that were socially rather than locally based.

Standard Swedish (*rikssvenska*) has its historical origin in the Stockholm (Mälaren) area; however, the standard and the Stockholm dialect are not identical, a major reason for which is the dialect's independent innovations. The Swedish standard has had an immense impact on the dialects of the rest of Sweden during recent generations. The superior status of the standard has been effectively propagated by the school system from the latter half on the 19th through the 20th century, and educated people have adapted their speech to the standard to a greater extent than other social groups. Therefore, urban communities with their concentrations of civil servants and academics have led the way in this linguistic development. In Lund the standard has changed its role during the 20th century from being an upper-class variety to being a common way of speaking Swedish – although there still are groups of less educated people who use the local dialect. The sur-

rounding rural districts have followed suit in this standardization process. With regard to the causes of this development, Ingers (1970) stresses the general social levelling of Swedish society, and that groups with social ambitions are susceptible to negative attitudes towards traditional dialects.

The Swedish standard has regional accents; i. e. the phonology is characterized by a strong substratum of the local dialect. The standard in Lund, for instance, is pronounced with a uvular *r*, with some of the Scanian vowel qualities, and with a frequent dropping of *d* (*bad*, *god* > *ba*, *go*). The standard in other parts of Sweden has corresponding peculiarities, and when describing the Swedish language community it is – as for Danish – relevant to use the term ‘regional standards’ towards which the local dialect differences have levelled. Since the Second World War there has been a tendency for language policies to favour the regional character of the standard language (Loman 1991).

The gradual change from local dialect to standard Swedish is well documented in Nordberg’s study of the urban dialect of Eskilstuna in central Sweden (1972). Nordberg is able to demonstrate using statistical data that innovations are spreading from Stockholm to other urban centres, that people of academic and upper social groups are the first ones to accept new features, that middle-aged people lead in the process and that women precede men. The fact that middle-aged people (30–45 years) are in the vanguard is interpreted by Nordberg as a consequence of their having reached a time of life in which their careers are important, and that they therefore are especially sensitive to social evaluation and norms. The statistical patterns show, for instance, that the dialectal form of past participles of the 2nd conjugation of weak verbs (e. g. *köpi* ‘purchased’) has disappeared from the speech of social group 1 (being replaced by the standard form *köpt*), and the dialectal plural suffix *-er* (in for instance *öger* > *ögon*) is only present among people older than 60 – and only in social groups 2 and 3. The younger informants and those in social group 1 used only the standard form *-on*. Thus, there is a gradual social transition to the standard language. As “vanguard” groups continuously accept and adopt new standard forms, they thereby retain the sociolinguistic distance from the other social groups of the urban community.

Widmark (1977) in a research project on the spoken language of Uppsala has found a very

similar pattern: higher social groups tend to use the standard more, younger people give up local regional features more, and people with more contact with Stockholm use fewer local variants than others. In spite of this general tendency, Widmark focuses on an alternative question: how can local features survive in an academic centre like Uppsala? She noticed that several local expressions have a high frequency in the Uppsala speech variety although they are unknown in Stockholm and in the Swedish standard. She interprets her results as a manifestation of opposition to the established standard, and concludes that forms with an extensive regional basis do survive. She emphasizes that the prestigious language of the mass media does not automatically displace local group norms.

The urban diffusion and hierarchy model does not apply to all modern changes. Features that may be considered as language-internal simplifications may arise and spread in centres without following the hierarchical pattern. This is demonstrated in, e. g., the morphological levelling of nouns in central and northern Norway, where the simplest suffix systems, which have arisen in the smaller towns, seem to be on the offensive, gradually gaining more acceptance in the dialects of the dominating cities (Sandøy 1998).

3.2. Melting pots

A great many new urban societies have been established during the last century, where the population has increased from almost nothing to several thousands in one or two decades. Most often these are industrial centres. The first immigrants speak different dialects and, therefore, the new societies represent interesting linguistic melting pots during the first period when new language users have no conservative pressure from one language model. These societies have to establish new language norms from chaos. When the society has stabilized, the spoken language seems to become homogeneous in the third generation (e. g. in Høyanger, cf. Omdal 1977).

Two interesting cases are the two industrial communities of Odda and Tyssedal in Hardanger in western Norway, established 7 km apart during the two first decades of the 20th century. The proportion of residents from different geographic areas in about 1920 were recorded and the most important figures for Odda are: original population 13.8 per cent, from western Norway 62.9 per cent, from cen-

tral eastern Norway: 6.0 per cent; and for Tysedal: original population 3.4 per cent, from western Norway 29.9 per cent, from central eastern Norway 33.8 per cent. The new dialect of Odda has a few levelling features in its phonology and morphology compared to the neighbouring rural district, but it is a typical west Norwegian dialect – a fact that is easily understood from the large group of west Norwegian immigrants. On the other hand, Tysedal had the highest proportion of immigrants from central eastern Norway, and this has made an obvious impact on, for instance, the morphological classes and suffixes. The personal pronoun ‘I’ has the east Norwegian form /jæi/ in Tyssedal, and the west Norwegian form /e:g/ in Odda. The eastern impact is perhaps greater than the statistical figures can explain, a result that may indicate that central eastern Norwegian is a more prestigious dialect in Norway.

Interestingly, over recent decades a new tendency has emerged: Tyssedal is feeling the influence of Odda’s central role, with the result that dialect features from Odda are picked up by the new Tyssedal speakers, e.g. the pronoun /e:g/. What we observe may be interpreted as meaning that regional levelling seems, after all, to be the strongest factor on the development (Sandøy 2000).

3.3. Regionalization

A general trend in Norwegian dialect development seems to be strong regional levelling. Outside eastern Norway there is a strong tendency for urban sociolects to merge as a compromise variety where the local low prestige dialect dominates. This has been thoroughly documented in Stavanger, Haugesund, Bergen and Ålesund. In Stavanger, the language community has been characterized by sharp sociolinguistic contrasts. Berntsen/Larsen (1925) noted that the difference between the local urban varieties in about 1900 was too great to allow a mixture; “a single occurrence of a vernacular form would be offensive and comical” (Berntsen/Larsen 1925, 6f). This was more typical for women than for men. At the time of publication, Berntsen/Larsen discerned that middle-class speech was approximating the low variety. In the 1960s, Omdal reported that the high variety was more common among women than men, with about half of the women using it. Some of them had always used it and did not master the local dialect. Boys, on the other hand, did not normally

use the high variety, except in special situations, because they felt they would be ridiculed (Omdal 1967). By about 1980 it was hard to find any youngsters who used the high variety (Gabrielsen 1984).

These new urban dialects seem to play an important part in regional levelling. Rural informants tend to accommodate their language to the dialect of the nearest city even when speaking to people from Oslo. The regional capital thus seems to be the prevailing language model more than the national capital.

The patterns of regionalization are still unclear; however, a general tendency is that widespread regional features oust local ones, and that these regional tendencies win out over forms from central eastern Norwegian. This applies to phonological and grammatical features more than to lexical ones, as new words seem to spread rapidly on a national basis. An example of regional levelling is apocope in the county of Nordland. Traditionally there were different patterns in the local dialects, from apocope in quite a lot of morphological categories to apocope in only one. The new emerging regional dialect is a compromise in that apocope is restricted to a few morphological categories; however, this is now implemented in dialects with previously almost no apocope (Sandøy 2000).

The east of Norway, on the other hand, seems to be under intense influence from the capital, Oslo, although it is possible to discern subregions with particular characteristics. A containing factor for this sphere of influence is perhaps a common regional intonation pattern that limits the area in which it is unproblematic for speakers to sound like genuine central eastern Norwegians.

The general impression of the Norwegian language situation is that pressure from the dominating centre of Oslo exerts less influence on the other dialects than the capitals of Sweden and Denmark do in their respective countries. Therefore, “regional dialect” is a more appropriate term than “regional standard” for the modern Norwegian varieties. This may be due to the cultural conflict which has been expressed in the struggle between Bokmål and Nynorsk, and which has had its social and economic basis in regional conflicts and several anti-authoritarian movements. This particular aspect of political and cultural history has forged strong regional identities. Officially, Norwegian teachers have to accept the pupils’ usage of the local dialect, in accordance with a law of 1878; the teachers have to

adapt their speech to the pupils'. Even though this has not been practised in all urban schools, there has been a considerable acceptance of dialects in Norwegian schools – in contrast to the situation in Denmark and Sweden.

Swedish, as well, demonstrates some similar regional traits. Thelander (1979), in an extensive thesis on the dialect of Burträsk in Norrland (northern Sweden), has elaborated on statistical methods and the use of implicational scales to study the cohesion of variants or different variables in the dialect. He concluded that there are three language norms, or spoken varieties, in Burträsk, which he calls a traditional local dialect, the Swedish standard and a regional standard. This last one is a mixture of the two others with quantitatively stable proportions of both. In some cases a special regional standard variant exists, e.g. *stor* ('big' pl.) vs. the dialect form *stôr* and the standard form *stora*. The local dialect dominates among elderly people, the standard and the regional standard among those under 40 years of age and with more than a minimal education. Sex and occupation seem to be of little importance.

Elert (1994) claims that local dialects are generally not used much in Sweden today; the regional standards dominate. Three varieties – as described by Thelander – are certainly found in areas where local dialects still persist and deviate a great deal from the standard. The regional standards are characterized solely by phonological and phonetic differences, and on the basis of such criteria Elert concludes that there are seven regional varieties, including Finland-Swedish.

The Finland-Swedish scholar Ivars (1996) regards Swedish in Finland as having a national oral standard, this variety being used by educated people. Otherwise, the situation in Finland is similar to Norway's, where most people use their local dialect. However, she remarks that there is possibly a tendency in Nyland to level out the local dialects into a regional dialect. Middle-aged and young educated people tend to use more regional forms, whereas elderly stick to the Finland-Swedish standard. This expansion of regional forms is interpreted by Ivars as being a linguistic consequence of social levelling after the Second World War – corresponding to Kotsinas' interpretation of the parallel development in Sweden-Swedish (Kotsinas 1988).

Denmark is certainly the Nordic nation with the most homogeneous standard speech. Ejkskjær (1964) has categorized five regional

variants of the Danish standard; however, the variation is relatively modest. Gregersen (1993) finds it difficult to single out segmental criteria for a definition of the Jutland regional variety. Only regional tendencies in intonation are left. Local dialects play a very marginal role in Denmark today.

3.4. Individual vs. collective solutions

All over Norway it is generally taken that the Oslo high variety is the most prestigious in Norway. This language variety has been characterized as a "neutral" and "supraregional standard" (Mæhlum 1990). Its alleged "neutrality" is, as with other language attitudes, a matter of ideology, which differs in accordance with one's sympathies and loyalties in cultural conflicts. There certainly are quite a few individuals who change their language in the direction of the Oslo high variety, especially those who move to Oslo or that region. This is evidence of the social prestige of this language variety in Norway. However, these are individual solutions to language conflict. The choices are often a consequence of individual preferences and loyalties and reflect a situation where people have cut their ties with their original community. In her Svalbard study, Mæhlum has found that the Oslo variety has played an important role as a language model for many young people on the island; however, this community is characterized by continuous instability in the population and by a weak local cultural identity.

The pattern of such individual choices should not be confused with the situation in a more or less tight dialect community. The selection of common norms for a community is a social process, not a simple total of individual preferences. Therefore, a community can produce what seems to be a contradiction: that regional norms are strengthened even though their users' attitude is that another language variety is more prestigious. The latest generation of sociolinguists, thus, more and more frequently have wondered: Why do low prestige languages persist?

4. Power and status of a standard language

The definition of a standard spoken language is problematic. It should have some connection to the written standard; however, this tends to be historical. This is the case with

Danish, which in its spoken form has been exposed to phonological changes that have to a great extent made it independent of spelling. For the other Nordic languages, there is a more transparent correspondence between spelling and pronunciation that makes the written standard a better guide and therefore certainly more influential.

Standardization as a process leading to a homogeneous language has certainly advanced the furthest in Denmark, with Sweden coming second. Nevertheless, none of the Nordic countries have a standard language that is totally independent of a regional substratum. Danish comes the nearest to this ideal, though regional varieties exist there, too.

As for the popular concept of what is “most standard”, it seems as if the upper-class variety of each capital has a superior status, except in Iceland and the Faroe Islands, where this is irrelevant. However, the extent to which this prestigious standard exerts an influence is a different question. The upper-class variety itself seems to be susceptible to influence from the low variety, and, therefore, change is not unidirectional. Moreover, the role of regional standards is as yet not obvious, i.e. whether they will play an independent role. In eastern Norway where the dialect of Oslo is influential, the regional standard (or dialect), which is characteristic of more and more centres, is fairly independent of the dominant variety of written Bokmål, as it is characterized by, e.g., diphthongs and the suffix *-a* in nouns and verbs (*rein*, *brøyt*, *kasta*, *boka*, *husa* = ‘clean, broke, threw, the book, the houses’). Nevertheless, this regional dialect can be regarded as a compromise between written Bokmål on the one hand – to which prestigious middle-class speech corresponds fairly well – and the many urban low-prestige varieties of the region on the other. In this respect the eastern Norwegian regional dialect shows similarities with the regional standards of Swedish and Danish.

Within the development of the Nordic languages, there seem to be different trends which may cast light on a complex of social forces and on the impact that different political and cultural traditions have on further development.

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Helge Sandøy, Bergen (Norway)

VI. Nordic language history as a part of social and cultural history

36. Nordic language history and studies in general history

1. Introduction
2. The role of language in general histories
3. The role of general history in language histories
4. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

About 1890, after the German engineers Gottlieb Daimler and Gerhard Benz had succeeded in building a road vehicle powered by an internal-combustion engine, the French, substantivizing an already existing adjective meaning 'self-moving', chose to call this new device *automobile*. The French designation, a hybrid based on Gr. *autos* 'self' and Lat. *mobilis* 'movable', was adopted in several languages, thus Scand. *automobil*. But in some Danish circles this foreign word was felt to be clumsy, and as the result of a public competition arranged by the Copenhagen newspaper *Politiken* in 1902, the abbreviated monosyllable *bil* soon came into general use, not only in Danish but in Norwegian and Swedish as well; cf. also the Icelandic adaptation *bill* used in everyday speech, though official language has the loan translation *bifreið* 'moving vehicle'.

Obviously, this course of events belongs to both general history and language history (cf. e.g. Carlsson/Rosén 1961–62, 2, 443; Skautrup 1944–70, 4, 294). The interrelation between the two points of view is, admittedly, easiest to recognize where new devices or institutions calling for appropriate designations are concerned. But the fact that language history implies research into and a detailed account of conditions, structure and use of one or several languages over time, often viewed as an important element in social and cultural development, makes it clear that language history should be considered part of general history (cf. Janson 1997). Consequently, any history of a nation should include its language

and any history of a language should refer to its social and cultural context. As to language history, the theoretical basis for this view has been expounded by Teleman (1993). Here, I shall only demonstrate the practical approach seen in a selection of works on Nordic general and language history. Because they do not take external history into account, I exclude historical grammars, not only Noreen's *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik* (1884, 4th ed. 1923), Brøndum-Nielsen's *Gammeldansk Grammatik i sproghistorisk Fremstilling* 1–8 (1928–73) and the like, but also Wessén's *Svensk språkhistoria* 1–3 (1941–56), which, in spite of its title, is in fact a mere historical grammar.

2. The role of language in general histories

Apart from the fact that a few Nordic national histories have next to nothing to say about language (e.g. Holmsen/Jensen 1961–62, 1, 396, touching on Danish in Norway; similarly, Thorsteinsson 1985, 199, on Danish in Iceland), it is noteworthy that, generally speaking, they focus on the status rather than on the structural development of a given language. One remarkable exception is the concise history of Swedish presented by Bengt Loman in Grenholm (1966–68, 1, 32–34; 2, 70–73; 3, 60–62; 6, 191–192; 10, 168–171), though it is not clearly connected to the general history of Sweden. Some details of medieval Norwegian are referred to in Mykland (1976–80, 4, 243–246), and Mørch (1982, 283f.) mentions the cultural gap in 19th c. usage and the later rapprochement between literary and spoken Danish along with political democratization, whereas the naked lists of new words in a popular journalistic "chronicle" of post-war Denmark (Hammerich 1976–80, 1, 569; 2, 13; 3, 13) are essentially ornamental.

Addressing a wide public in his history of the Nordic peoples, Sørensen (1987) repeatedly, though briefly, refers to the relationships between their languages: the position of Swedish in Finland and of Danish in Norway, as well as the conflict between Danish and German in Sønderjylland/Schleswig. The importance of language to national identity, which is, of course, an essential theme in Feldbæk (1991–92) and Lundgreen-Nielsen (1992), is emphasized in several Nordic national histories, though less in Sweden than in Norway and Denmark.

In histories of Sweden, the safe position of the national language is, more or less, taken for granted; e.g., referring to foreigners holding leading posts in 17th c. Sweden, Carlsson/Rosén (1961–62, 2, 15) state that in the palace of the nobility in Stockholm “a number of different languages were spoken”, the native idiom Swedish being only silently implied. Yet the Swedish aversion to the Danish language, resulting from its influence during the Kalmar Union, is currently mentioned (e.g. by Andersson 1969, 158; Linton 1994, 22; cf. also Sørensen 1987, 157); in his history of the territorial conflict over Scania 1658–1721, Åberg (1994) devotes chapter 28 to the expulsion of Danish from this former province of Denmark.

Prolonged struggle with a foreign language is, by contrast, a major issue in histories of Norway and Denmark. Usually, a history of Norway will give a detailed account of the late medieval decline of written Norwegian and the ensuing take-over by Danish; the long-term effects of legislation in Danish (*Norske Lov-Bog*, 1604, translated from Old Norwegian; *Norske Lov*, 1687, almost identical with *Danske Lov*, 1683) are emphasized by e.g. Mykland (1976–80) and Helle (1994–98); cf. Karker (1984; 1989). Ivar Aasen’s 19th c. construction of a modern Norwegian standard (*Landsmål/Nynorsk*), the gradual Norwegianization programme launched by Knud Knudsen (*Riksmål/Bokmål*), and the ongoing competition between the two national standards are necessary elements of Norwegian historiography. Because the conflict over the duchy of Slesvig/Schleswig, originally a fief of the Danish Crown but from 1460 linked to German Holstein, proved fatal in the 19th c., the struggle between Danish and German language as symbols of national identity has been an integral element of any history of Denmark since Allen (1840).

3. The role of general history in language histories

While linguists are agreed that the history of a language is inseparably linked with the history of the society in which it functions (cf. e.g. Torp/Vikør 1993, 15–17; Pedersen 1996, 205), the social context may be more or less explicit in language histories. Separate surveys of the general historical background occur in several works, starting with Petersen (1829–30) and continued in Indrebø (1951); Skard (1972–73); Haugen (1976); cf. Widmark (2001, 125–128). Apart from this, the role of general history ranges from almost total absence in Karlsson (1989) and sporadic references in Bergman (1968) to full integration in Skautrup (1944–70). Skautrup’s achievement has been praised by Telemann (1993, 151) and Bandle (1995, 11); Walter (1997, 148) stresses that a similar approach will be desirable in the comprehensive history of Icelandic which is still missing.

General history may be important to special studies as well. In addition to the well-known Low German influence on Nordic lexicon and word formation, recent research has made it seem probable that medieval language contact with the Hansa was akin to modern Scandinavian “semi-communication” (see e.g. Braunmüller/Diercks 1993–95). Change in the relative social status of two languages has been attributed to external historical events e.g. by Allen (1857–58, Danish/German) and Matras (1958, Faroese/Danish; cf. Grundtvig 1845); Ohlsson (1978, 44) claims that the transition from Danish to Swedish in Scania “is immediately connected with a military-political-economical one-off event, namely the armed conquest in 1658”.

It is a common view (cf. Indrebø 1951, 145; Seip 1955, 105f.; Helle 1994–98, 3, 174; but questioned by Hagland 1986) that relocation of the government from Nidaros to Bergen and then to Oslo in the 13th c. was crucial for the development of an Old Norwegian written standard; but whether the relocation actually caused the linguistic development (as Almenningen 1981, 32, seems to say) is debatable. The basic problem of explaining linguistic change by means of extralinguistic facts or events has been exemplified and discussed in detail by Mæhlum (1999). In the following I shall quote a few additional examples.

In his history of the Danish language, Petersen (1829–30, 1, 227) claimed that the increasing “mollification” of Danish in the

Middle Ages, viz. the characteristic change of post-vocalic unvoiced occlusives into voiced fricatives, was due to the oppression of the common people. But he was soon contradicted by Bredsdorff (1831/1933, 36) who, pointing to the fact that the oppression came later than the 12th c. when the sound shift started, ascribed the development to “en i den menneskelige Natur indplantet Afskye for Anstrængelse” [the disgust for exertion deeply rooted in human nature] (cf. Skautrup 1944–70, 1, 228). According to Pedersen (1996, 188f.), the curious fact that even today the small Danish island of Møn is divided into two dialect areas was originally caused by social separation: farmers in the west who became freeholders in 1769 had limited contact with the remaining copyholders in the east.

While it is indisputable that, eventually, the long rule of Danish inspired the creation of two competing Norwegian written standards, Jahr (1989, 11f.) has asked the hypothetical question: what if the union between Denmark and Norway had been dissolved in 1714 instead of 1814? His point is that without the forceful ideological influence of 19th c. national romanticism, Norwegian language history might have taken a totally different course. In his account of North Germanic innovations, Bandle (1973, 113ff.) tentatively related his linguistic results to general cultural features and political history. Pettersson (1992), investigating development after 1734, has shown that the increasing complexity of Swedish legal language up to the 1920s was dictated by the increasing demand from professionalized jurists that laws should be sufficiently distinct to function as steering instruments, in line with the demand from citizens for security and equality before the law.

In a modern context, Henriksen (1991, 105f.) considers that shortcomings of the Danish translations of European Community texts are partly due to the long distance between the translators and their native country, whereas Karker (1997, 88) refutes her allegation that the translators have more or less forgotten their mother tongue. Sveinsson (1991, 95f.) points to the importance of a social development no less relevant in Scandinavia than in Iceland: nowadays children, besides watching TV, are likely to communicate more with other children of the same age in various public institutions than with their parents and grandparents who used to guide their linguistic education.

Sometime after 1959, the owner of a restaurant in Keflavík, Iceland, gave it an English name: *Starlight*. But he did not get away with it; the professor of onomastics at the University of Iceland reported him to the police who, under a 1959 law (cf. Sveinsson 1991, 100) enjoined him to choose a genuine Icelandic name instead – which eventually became *Glaumberg* (Grünbaum 1996, 177f.). While that is undoubtedly an instance of language change with an extralinguistic cause, few cases as yet seem equally clear-cut. Obviously, much research in this field remains to be done.

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Allan Karker, Århus (Denmark)

37. Nordic language history and archaeology

1. The interface between language and archaeology in Scandinavian research
2. The origin and the archaeological dating of the runes
3. Archaeological evidence and the Viking and medieval runes
4. Semantics, origins and datings of place-names
5. Literature (a selection)

1. The interface between language and archaeology in Scandinavian research

For a culture with practically no written sources, as in early Scandinavia, interdisciplinary studies are vital for delving as deeply as possible into our few and scattered sources in order to extract the small amount of information they conceal. This was an obvious fact for scholars working prior to the last three or four decades at a time when philology had a much stronger position in language departments (some highlights: Olsen 1926; Holmbäck/Wessén 1933–46; Hesselman 1935; Kroman/Iuul 1945–48; Ståhle 1946; Lindén 1947–54; Modéer 1953; Bandle 1967; Hellberg 1967; Foote/Wilson 1970), and when the concept *Wörter und Sachen* was still on the research agenda (cf. Schmidt-Wiegand 1981; Diebold 1987; Jenstad 1990). It is not the case that this methodological framework has become fruitless or less rewarding over time; instead scholars of today have found other, more linguistically orientated approaches (cf. Öhman 1994), and there is a new generation of students and scholars, more specialised than before – to become a language scholar now you study linguistic subjects, not history, history of religion, ethnology or archaeology as auxiliary subjects as was often the case before. As a result, there are few connections between archaeology and language history to be found in recent research in Scandinavia.

Internationally we have seen the opposite trend, with a growing interest in combining archaeological and linguistic argumentation in an interdisciplinary analysis. Partly this is due to the fact that in e.g. the US and England many departments have a mixed focus, integrating linguistics/philology and history/cultural studies. In many parts of the world this kind of research has a strong position, led by distinguished scholars, such as Marja Gim-

butas, Edgar Polomé, Colin Renfrew, James P. Mallory, John Hines, Matthew Spriggs, Roger Green and Andrew Pawley. This trend is reflected in the recent publication of *Archaeology and Language* 1–3 (1997–99) and the series *Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology* (e.g. Ausenda ed. 1995; Hines ed. 1997; Heather ed. 1999).

Of course, we do not totally lack written sources, since we have the extremely important runic material and place-names. Furthermore, archaeology becomes vital especially when discussing the origin of runes and for dating specific rune stones and objects with runic inscriptions. Archaeology also ought to be as important for the dating and semantic interpretations of place-names, which has been obvious to toponymic scholars in Scandinavia up to now (cf. e.g. O. Rygh in NG passim; Steenstrup 1894; Sahlgren 1920; Olsen 1926; Ståhle 1946; Sandnes 1965; Hellberg 1967; Brink 1984). In runic studies there is still co-operation between archaeologists and philologists when presenting and discussing rune stones and inscriptions, an interdisciplinary approach which is absolutely necessary for accurate results (cf. e.g. Gustavson/Selinge 1988). The same ought to be the case for toponymic analysis.

Internationally there has been an ongoing trend to combine historical texts with archaeological evidence. This field of research, especially in the early days of the 20th c., has been misused, producing a kind of “Biblical archaeology”, but the combination is fruitful and has enriched the discussion (see e.g. *Beowulf* 1998; Herschend 1997; Norr 1998). Of course, there have also been problems in this co-operation between archaeology – more generally, the dating of styles – and runology, since it creates the problem of circular evidence. An example of this is the dating of the runic inscription on a stone at Skjeberg church in Norway (NIyR p. 10, No. 7). It is said that the church is built in a style and fashion that may be dated to ca. 1300, and that the runic inscription may be given the same dating. However, in a footnote we read that the dating of the church relies on the dating of the inscription (cf. A. Bæksted in *ANF* 57, 1944, 262).

The main questions which have been discussed with varying intensity during the last two centuries regarding the interface between

language and archaeology are the origin and spread of the Indo-Europeans (for recent opinions see e.g. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* (1973–); *Proto-Indo-European: The archaeology of a linguistic problem* (1987); *Perspectives on Indo-European language, culture and religion* (1991–92); *The Indo-Europeanization of Northern Europe* (1996); Renfrew 1987; Mallory 1989; 1997) and the origin of the Goths (for recent opinions see e.g. Hachmann 1970; Wolfram 1990; Heather 1996; *Reall.* 12, 402ff.). The latter issue in particular has a tangible significance for Scandinavia, since one of the hypotheses is that the Goths originated in Scandinavia (see Art. 78).

Today the question of ethnicity often is addressed. For earlier periods, especially pre-historic periods, this is an extremely problematic aspect. In archaeology, certain “cultures” may be defined within more or less homogeneous regions. Some claim that such cultures may be identified with ethnic groups, while others disagree. Scandinavia has recently seen a discussion of this kind regarding the first appearance and spread of the Sami (cf. Zachrisson et al. 1997). From a linguistic point of view, Scandinavia is – seen in a wider context – uniquely homogeneous with no substrata or superstrata in the language or in the place-name material. What we can see is one and the same Germanic language spoken over time (apart from the areas with Sami language and place-names). However, I am extremely cautious about discussing ethnicity from linguistic or archaeological evidence.

2. The origin and the archaeological dating of the runes

For a discussion on the origin of the runes, it is important to stress that runes are not an exclusively Scandinavian phenomenon but rather a Pan-Germanic writing system during the Roman period (Stoklund 1996, 112). On the periphery, which was not influenced so strongly by Roman culture, this writing system survived and was extensively used in the Viking Period, especially in *Svitjod*, i.e. the provinces around the Lake Mälaren in eastern Sweden. We know now, after extensive archaeological excavations especially in Norwegian urban areas (Bergen, Trondheim, Oslo, Tønsberg; plus Lödöse and Sigtuna in Sweden), that the runes were the everyday writing system for messages etc. throughout the Middle Ages (Liestøl 1964; Svärdström

1982; Knirk 1994; 1995). There is a concentration of the older inscriptions from the Roman Age in Denmark (incl. Scania and Schleswig), and the character of the inscriptions of the older futhark is such that one may question whether their purpose was ever connected to a literary culture. The older runic inscription with its epigraphical and secret character must be a reflection of the use of an innovation, the runic writing system, in an oral society. As D.H. Green (1994, 35) has put it, it looks as if “instead of transmitting a communication the runes appear to have been used to conceal it, to wrap it up in mystery and magic.” He draws attention to the fact that the word *rune* was connected with mystery and secrets; Go. *rūna* meant ‘the mystery of the kingdom of God’, and similar meanings are found in OE and OHG. Thus the origin of the runes becomes not a particular Scandinavian problem, but a Germanic one.

In my opinion, the most probable hypothesis regarding the origin follows closely H. Williams’ (1994; 1996; 1997) argumentation that the runic futhark is a Germanic adaptation of the Latin alphabet, most probably within the contact zone between Romans and Germanic people, thus north of Limes (cf. Willems 1989), in northwest Germany or south Denmark, probably around 200 A.D. or in the 2nd c. This is in line with E. Moltke’s idea (1985, 64) that the runic script was created in the Rhine area around the year 1. If the Danish area proves to be the place of innovation, there are two probable periods to focus on, involving a social and economic upheaval and close connections with the Roman world. The first is during the early phase of the Early Roman Iron Age (ca. 1–50 A.D.), while the second is during an early phase of the Late Roman Iron Age (ca. 150–250 A.D.). If the runes were created during the Early Roman Iron Age, a probable “area of invention” could be Jutland, Funen or Lolland (Hedeager/Kristiansen 1981, 117; Hedeager 1992, *passim*). While we do not have any runic objects securely dated to this period, another possibility is around 200 A.D., when we have an “explosion” of runic objects (Ilkjær/Lønstrup 1981, 60). The probable area then becomes southeast Zealand, which by then seems to have taken the political and economical initiative. From ca. 200 A.D. Stevns in southeastern Zealand had a very prominent position, and extraordinary finds give us evidence of trade with the Roman empire, especially from a site called Himlingøje (Lund

Hansen et al. 1995). Another candidate must be Gudme in Funen, which had a settlement already during pre-Roman times which evolved into a veritable centre during the Early Iron Age (Henriksen/Michaelsen eds. 1995).

It is notable that many objects with runic inscriptions occur in wealthy graves from around 200 A.D. If runes were known and used before this time, one would expect to find some prestigious objects with similar runic inscriptions in graves from the Early Roman Iron Age (especially 1–50 A.D.), such as the graves at Hoby and Juellinge in Lolland, Stangerup in Falster, Byrsted in Jutland and others, but there are none (cf. Lund Hansen 1988). This fact – although *e silentio* – could perhaps act as an argument for the runes to have been “invented” ca. 50–200 A.D.

Thus, a bridgehead for the Roman culture and a kind of “innovation centre” for Scandinavia most probably could be found in southern Denmark during the Early Roman Iron Age, especially ca. 150–250 A.D., but distinguishing itself already during the 1st c., with centres indicated by artefacts and monuments in such places as Hoby and Juellinge in Lolland, Dollerup in Jutland, Stevns with Himlingøje in Zealand, and Gudme in Funen. This area may stand up as one of the most serious candidates for the creation of the Germanic runes, if we may assume just one place of origin. It seems obvious that the older runes were a writing system very much linked to the uppermost strata in society, the aristocracy (Knirk 1994, 170). In this sense the development and usage of the Germanic runes may be seen as an indication of the strong links and contacts between the elite in Germanic societies.

Why the runes were “invented” is also a matter for discussion. E. Moltke takes a utilitarian position when stating that runes may have been created by some Germanic merchant for practical and communicative purposes, while A. Bæksted (1952, 134) takes a totally opposite stance in regarding the runes as having no practical function at all other than to be used as epigraphic, formulaic statements on weapons and objects. B. Odenstedt (1990, 171) finds Bæksted’s position convincing which also is in line with Green’s arguments. This ties in very much with the idea that the runes served a magical function.

In the discussion about the “origin” of runes, dating, of course, becomes vital. However, there are practically no possibilities for dating the inscriptions linguistically, only for

placing them in stages of the language: PGmc, PN, ON etc. Instead one has to rely on archaeological datings of the objects. In 1971 Jan Eriksson evaluated the archaeological datings of the earliest runic objects and found that they were very problematic. Of the 19 oldest runic objects known at that time only 4 had been excavated in an archaeologically competent manner, and so the dating of these objects may have been wrong. His conclusion was that the datings of the earliest runic inscriptions were not particularly accurate. Today we fortunately have a somewhat better situation, especially due to new finds and renewed examination of older excavations, at Himlingøje in Zealand, Thorsbjerg in Schleswig, Vimose in Funen and Illerup in Jutland (Ilkjær/Lønstrup 1981; cf. Moltke/Stoklund 1981; Stoklund 1987; 1995). After J. Ilkjær’s and J. Lønstrup’s (1981) re-examinations of the datings of the earliest runic objects, none were considered to be older than ca. 200 A.D.; thus the lance head from Øvre Stabu in Norway, which normally is dated to ca. 150 A.D., should be at least 50 years younger. Recently Ilkjær (1993, 297f.; cf. Stoklund 1995, 318) has tentatively dated a comb from Vimose to ca. 160 A.D. (B2/C1a). If we ignore the problematic Meldorf inscription, this should be the oldest datable runic inscription, at least in Scandinavia. In other words, we end up with the interesting situation that around 200 A.D. more than 20 runic inscriptions appear in Scandinavia (Thorsbjerg, Vimose, Illerup, Himlingøje in Denmark, Øvre Stabu in Norway, Gårdlösa in Scania and Mos in Gotland etc.). This sudden occurrence must reflect reasonably contemporary events. From the above it seems probable that the origins of the Germanic runes should be sought quite near to ca. 200 A.D., perhaps sometime during the 2nd c.

3. Archaeological evidence and the Viking and medieval runes

There is also an obvious link between archaeology and runology for the Viking Age inscriptions, both in the excavation phase and in the interpretative phase, especially when looking at the pictorial representations on the rune stones. Dating Viking Age rune stones from sound changes etc. has been a rather hazardous task, for the obvious reason that the Viking runic inscriptions were produced only within a very short time span, not within the range needed for detectable linguistic changes

to develop (cf. e. g. Williams 1991). In this light it is interesting that archaeologists think they are able to establish a rune chronology – both relative and absolute – for central Swedish rune stones from stylistic criteria based on the runic animals (Gräslund 1991; 1992; 1998a; 1998b). In other cases runologists and archaeologists have in co-operation managed to reconstruct Viking Age “bridges”, consisting of one or more rune stones and an earth, gravel or boulder bank over marshy land (Brink 2000).

An extraordinary opportunity for runologists was created with the excavation at Bryggen in Bergen, Norway. In 1955 the old jetty in Bergen at Bryggen caught fire and a 5000 m² area with wooden houses was destroyed. Afterwards an archaeological excavation was undertaken which ended 13 years later. Today we know of ca. 650 objects bearing runes from Bryggen, mostly small wooden sticks, plates etc. archaeologically dated from the 12th to the 15th c. (Liestøl 1964; 1968; Fjellhammer Seim 1994, 279). The runic inscriptions on these small wooden objects are of an everyday character: labels and tags with a name (**ioana Jóhann á** ‘Johan owns’, **rannra:karn:pætta** *Ragnarr á garn þetta* ‘Ragnar owns this yarn’), small messages (**gya:sæhir:atþu:kakhæim** *Gyða segir at þú gakk heim* ‘Gyða says that you should go home’, **þorkællmyntæresenter þerpipar** *Þorkell myntari sendir þer pipar* ‘Thorkel the minter sends you pepper’), notes and declarations of love (**ost:min:kis:mik** *óst min, kyss mik* ‘my dear, kiss me’, **unþu mæR ankþær gunnildr kys mik kanekþik** *Unn þú mér, ann ek þér Gunnhildr. Kyss mik kan ek þik* ‘Love me, I love you, Gunnhild. Kiss me, I know you well’), some of a very indelicate character (**felleg:er:fuþ:sin:bylli** *ferleg er fuþ, sin byrli*) (Liestøl 1964). Thanks to this excavation we have a new and deeper understanding of the functions of runes and the practical usage of runic writing, especially during the early Middle Ages. The obvious conclusion is that runic writing was in full use – and obviously was the normal form of everyday written communication – in the Middle Ages, up to the 15th c., and that carving runes on wood must have been the common way of writing everyday messages. In addition, these messages were written to be read, hence a common knowledge of runes must be assumed. Since some of the inscriptions reveal the existence of a pagan cult, e. g. a verse in *galdratalag* mentioning Thor and Odin (Knirk 1995):

**heil:seþu:ok:ihuhum:goþom/þor:þik:þig:gi:
open:þik:æihi**

Hei(l) sé þú
ok í hugum góðum.
Þórr þik þiggi.
Óðinn þik eigi,

and a wooden stick was found inscribed with some kind of curse (dated to 1335), and these bear a striking resemblance to Eddaic poetry and phrasing, the conclusion must be that there was not an abrupt end to pagan cultic activities or to the knowledge found in the ancient Eddaic and skaldic poetry when Scandinavia became Christian. The Bryggen runes thus may be used as evidence for the transition between the early pagan culture and religion in Scandinavia and the “Continental” Christian culture, although they of course do not prove the existence of pagan religion in the 14th c. An older “hyper-critical” stance has been to assume that there was a fairly abrupt break between the two. Instead one may assume that pagan Scandinavian traditions continued into the Middle Ages in different degrees (Meulengracht Sørensen 1991; Brink 1996, 49f.; Steinsland ms.). Also interesting in this respect are the objects with runes found in recent archaeological excavations in Trondheim (Hagland 1994), from where we now have more than 110 runic objects, and in Oslo (60) and Tønsberg (30) (Knirk 1994, 172).

4. Semantics, origins and datings of place-names

One vital aspect of toponymy is the dating of place-names. To make use of toponymic material other than for pure linguistic matters, you need to have the names dated or at least have some rudimentary understanding of their chronology. The toponymists working in the 19th c. focused much of their attention on this, and managed to come up with a relative chronology for the major place-name types (Steenstrup 1894). This relative chronology is important, but is a blunt instrument for the actual dating of names. Absolute dating is a much more problematic and difficult enterprise. Here especially co-operation with archaeology becomes vital. There are several methods for arriving at absolute dates, and the most used sources for this work are archaeological findings, ancient monuments and pollen analysis (Brink 1984). The crucial point

for hypotheses about absolute dating is the question of name continuity. Much work remains to be done in this field before we can obtain a more solid grasp on the actual datings of name types and individual names.

For a general discussion and for references on the dating of the main Scandinavian place-name elements, see Hald 1965; Christensen/Kousgård Sørensen 1972; Ståhl 1976; Dalberg/Kousgård Sørensen 1979; Jørgensen 1981–83; Pamp 1988; Strid 1993; Sandnes/Stemshaug 1997. A wide-ranging attempt to discuss the chronology and semantics of several elements in a settlement historical context can be found in Hellberg (1967), where, however, a great deal of stress is put on meadowland, which was on the agenda in landscape research in the 1950s. For a discussion of absolute chronology, see Brink (1983). For an attempt to go a step further with new methods for the absolute dating of place-names, see Brink (1984).

When analyzing the semantics of place-names, toponymists should follow the steps of archaeologists very closely. We have a situation today where proposed meanings of place-names and place-name elements not only in onomastic handbooks but also in modern dissertations and articles reiterate the semantic content espoused by scholars such as Oluf Rygh and Jöran Sahlgren, who worked in close contact with archaeologists around 1900 and came up with possible denotations for names and elements relying on the contextual evidence known at that time. Many place-name elements were given the denotation 'farm', and more "prestigious" elements, such as *-tuna*, *-vin* and *-hem* were glossed as 'large farm' or 'the farm par excellence', while Sahlgren was influenced by contemporary geographers and presented a denotation 'seter, shieling (Sw. *fäbodställe*)' for several elements such as *-sal*, *-stadhir*, *-säter* etc. Of course, these denotations were based on the theoretical framework and empirical knowledge of that time. The hamlets were thought to have their origin in a farm, often called an *urgård*, i.e. a primary, first farm, and in line with the evolutionary theoretical framework, a more developed entity must have its background in something primitive, and since the geographers and ethnologists of that time saw sedentary settlement, agrarian farms and hamlets, as having evolved from a primitive stage of periodic settlement, transhumance and seters, the latter of course were given as the original denotations for many place-

names. The odd thing is that some handbooks still give these meanings without comment.

We have found methods for detecting the land use of different sites, and thus we are able to connect the kind of cultivation or land use to some place-names. For the place-name *Hoset* in Trøndelag, Norway, a combination of archaeological, geographical and palaeoecological analyses have come up with the following land-use sequence for this site: during the Roman Iron Age, the land was used for grazing and haymaking; around 600 A.D. cultivation of cereals started, which continues into historical times (Salvesen et al. 1977, 131 ff.; Brink 1984, 48 f.). In a toponymical context, we may state that the name *Hoset* (a name in *-setr*) probably was given ca. 2000 years ago denoting a 'meadow or grazing land'. Around 600 A.D. a farm was established along with cultivated crops; thus we have a shift in denotation for *Hoset* from a field name to a settlement name. Another example is *Vattjom* (a name in *-hem*, *-heim*) in the province of Medelpad, Sweden. Archaeological and pollen evidence indicates that this farm was established ca. 200 A.D. on this site, probably in a kind of *landnám*, with continuous cultivation into historical times (Brink 1984, 45 ff.). Hence, one may assume that the *-hem* name, *Vattjom*, is to be dated to ca. 200 A.D., which must give us the most securely dated ancient place-name we have in Scandinavia. Finally, we have also come up with a new method for dating and figuring out the denotations for several names in *-boda* in the northeastern part of the province of Uppland. Thanks to radiocarbon datings and macro fossil analysis, we can see that these farms originally were used for haymaking, but in the 13th c. they were turned into farms with cultivated crops (Windelhed 1984; 1995; Brink ms. 2).

Today a totally new picture has emerged with regard to the settlement structure over time in Scandinavia. Many single farms during the Vendel (Merovingian) Period, the Viking Age or the Middle Ages may have hamlets or even large villages as predecessors in the Pre-Roman or Roman Iron Age. In southern Scandinavia we know today of hamlets dating from the Pre-Roman Iron Age, e.g. at *Grøntoft* and *Hodde* in Jutland before and around the year 1, and *Norre Snede* in Jutland during the first millennium A.D. In central Sweden there were farms and small hamlets in the Late Iron Age on infertile soil and hills, but a fairly puzzling pattern of long

houses and pit houses on the lower-lying clay during earlier periods; whether they were independent farms or hamlets is difficult to say. In Öland a picture emerges with single farms or hamlets connected by an intricate structure of stone walls. It is obvious that the older denotations for these found in current handbooks are wrong but what the updated denotations should be is not known and has not been discussed. (See Hvass 1988; Egeberg Hansen/Mikkelsen/Hvass 1991; Fallgren 1993; Kyhlberg ed. 1998; Kaldal Mikkelsen 1999; Riddersporre 1999; Rindel 1999).

The Scandinavian place-name landscape has up till now been looked upon as more or less homogeneous, with as high a degree of consistency between names and landscape in for example Denmark as in western Norway or in central Sweden. This is not so. As part of a still unpublished project, I studied ca. 10 small regions or settlement districts all over Scandinavia, analyzing and comparing three factors: the settlement names, the archaeological evidence and the palaeo-ecological evidence in the form of pollen samples (Brink ms. 1). All three source categories are totally independent of each other. One clear result is that Scandinavia is toponymically heterogeneous, with Denmark and Scania having few Iron Age place-names in a district's settlement-name corpus. The same seems to be the case for Gotland. The province of Västergötland has a very similar pattern to Gotland, with one very old name, normally that of the parish church village, but the rest consisting of fairly young names. In the Mälars region and also in Östergötland, we seem to have a settlement-name landscape which was shaped very much during the Late Iron Age (the Vendel and Viking periods), with some very old names. The highest continuity in the place-name structure is to be found in Vestlandet in Norway and in northern Bohuslän in Sweden. Here we seem to have a large bulk of settlement names originating from the middle of the first millennium or the Early Iron Age (the Roman and Migration periods), and in Vestlandet there are even some names that presumably can be expected to have been coined during the Bronze Age.

5. Literature (a selection)

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38. Nordic lexical items and the history of material culture

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1. Introduction

In this article the interplay between the Nordic lexicon and material culture is traced in the lexical sources through the centuries – from the oldest runic inscriptions of the Iron Age to the predominantly electronic communication of the 21st c. In the oldest periods Nordic culture was expansive, resulting in the export of Nordic lexical items to neighbouring languages, while in later periods the Nordic lexicon was heavily influenced by cultures to the south and to the west, importing whole terminologies tied to new cultural phenomena.

The available diachronic studies of the Nordic lexicon concentrate on the division between native words and loanwords and in this way give indirect evidence of cultural currents – the origins of the names of imported articles may e. g. reflect the routes of trade. But a thorough history of the relations between lexical

items and material culture should be derived from exhaustive studies of the development of the Nordic vocabulary in a series of subject fields. Some of the Latin-Danish or Latin-Swedish vocabularies from the Renaissance are arranged according to subject, e. g. *Variarum rerum vocabula cum Sueca interpretatione* [vocabulary of various things with Swedish explanation] (1538, Danish edition 1576), but the subject classification does not necessarily reflect the subject fields of the contemporary Nordic cultures, as the vocabularies were meant to serve as tools in the acquisition of Latin, and their classification was consequently geared to this aim. Much later, P. M. Rogge's *Thesaurus of English words and phrases* (1852) inspired lexicographers to compile dictionaries of concepts for many European languages. Among these are two 20th-century dictionaries, *Svenskt ordförråd ordnat i begreppsklasser* (1930) for Swedish by S. C. Bring, and *Dansk Begrebsordbog* (1945) for Danish by Harry Andersen. Systematic investigation of vocabularies for specific subject fields has flourished since the 1930s, and extensive work in the area of language for special purposes (LSP) has resulted in theories of terminology in the latter half of the 20th century. If such theories were applied in the historical study of the lexicon, a firmer basis for generalizations about the relations between lexical items and cultural history would emerge.

The most reliable material-lexical evidence comes from objects with their names inscribed

on them like PN *horn* written in runes on the Gallehus golden horn. In other cases the connection between the words and the cultural phenomena they refer to is less certain and depends on intimate knowledge of the language and culture of the different periods. We have chosen to illustrate the history of the Nordic lexicon in relation to material culture by concentrating on everyday phenomena like food, clothing, and shelter.

The oldest linguistic evidence of material culture is found in runic inscriptions and OWN poetry. The primary medieval sources, earlier in Norway and Iceland than in Sweden and Denmark, are – in order of appearance – wills, customs accounts, account books, court records and inventories of possessions. Wills bear witness to valued private possessions, customs accounts show movements of goods out of or into the Nordic countries, account books keep track of expenditures on goods bought locally and of victuals to be prepared or conserved, local court records give evidence of possessions in dispute. Many such texts have been edited by historians and furnished with indexes of topics, and they have formed the basis of e.g. presentations of the history of commerce, but few linguists have made use of these valuable lexical sources.

2. The Proto-Nordic period (ca. 400–ca. 800)

2.1. Loanwords in Finnish

Compared to our knowledge of the phonology, morphology and even syntax of PN, our knowledge of the vocabulary of the period is remarkably poor. The contemporary sources – runic inscriptions in the elder fuþark – are short and often stereotyped, and Scandinavian loanwords in Finnish (and Sami), although they bear witness to a material culture that must have been superior in some areas, such as sailing and ship-building, tell us little about daily life in the Iron Age. The great majority of PN loanwords in Finnish, the unsynopated forms of which betray their age, are nouns denoting concrete phenomena. The spheres to which they belong include: social organisation, e.g. Finn. *kuningas* ‘king’, PN **kuningaz*/**kuningaz*, OWN *konungr*; commerce, e.g. Finn. *raha* ‘means of payment, money’ < PN **skrahō* ‘skin, hide’, OWN *skrá* ‘skin, hide, scroll of parchment’; handicrafts, e.g. Finn. *napakaira* ‘auger’ < PN **nabagairaz*, OWN *nafarr* ‘drill, auger, gimlet’; ships

and seafaring, e.g. Finn. *airo* ‘oar’ < PN **airō*, OWN *ár* ‘oar’; dress, e.g. Finn. *vanttu* < PN **wantuz*, OWN *vōttr*.

2.2. The runic lexicon

For reconstruction of other parts of the lexicon, we must rely on comparison between Old Norse and other Germanic languages. The major part of the vocabulary of ON belongs to the common Germanic stock, and there is no reason to think that such words – e.g. domestic terms like *borð* ‘table’, *spinna* ‘spin’, *vefa* ‘weave’, *grýta* ‘pot’, *fat* ‘vessel, garment’ – were not current in PN, even though they are not actually found in runic inscriptions. It is striking that while most of the Scandinavian loanwords in Finnish have close parallels in the later language, a substantial part of the vocabulary found in runic inscriptions in the elder fuþark is either unknown from the later language or, if the word is known from later times, the meaning often seems to have been different. Examples are nouns like *alu*, *laukaz*, which apparently carry religious or magic connotations not present in their ON counterparts *ql* ‘ale’ and *laukr* ‘leek, onion’. The OWN form corresponding to the feminine noun *tal-* < *lg* > *ijō* on the Vimose plane (Funen) would be **telgja*, but in ON this noun is only found in the nickname *trételgja* ‘wood-carver’. Nouns that appear to denote social position, as *erilaz*, *witandahlaiba*, *gudija*, and adjectives and verbs of uncertain meaning like *ungandiz*, *aljamarkiz*, *taujan* and *wurkian*, either have no correspondences in ON, or if they do, as e.g. OWN *yrkja*, their semantic content appears to have changed. This might indicate that the runic language is a specialized dialect which did not contribute much to the later lexicon.

3. The Viking Age and Early Middle Ages (ca. 800 – ca. 1100)

3.1. The sources

While the only written sources for EN before 1100 are relatively short runic inscriptions of limited interest for the study of the vocabulary of material culture, WN Viking Age poetry, preserved in medieval manuscripts, has more to offer in this respect. In their written form, the two kinds of OWN alliterative poetry, Eddaic and scaldic, belong to the renaissance movements of the 13th c. and later, but most of this poetry must have been written down after a longer or shorter period of oral trans-

mission. Dating the individual poems or stanzas is, however, a problematic undertaking, especially in the case of the anonymous Eddaic poems, while the stricter metre of scaldic poetry and the fact that most of it is ascribed to named poets in the sources, give reason for greater optimism. In the kings' sagas and the grammatical treatises, prose works from the 12th and 13th centuries, a large number of stanzas are quoted as documentation for historical or stylistic facts, stanzas which may be regarded as basically genuine Viking artefacts, even though they may have changed somewhat in oral tradition. The stanzas in the sagas of Icelanders, on the other hand, ostensibly composed by the characters of the sagas in the 9th or 10th c., may in many cases be suspected of being of later origin and are best ignored as sources of Viking Age linguistic history.

3.2. Evidence of everyday life from *Rígsþula*

The Eddaic poems are mostly set among the gods and the heroes of the past, but some of them give interesting glimpses into the daily life of more ordinary human beings. This is true in particular of *Rígsþula*, a poem preserved in a later manuscript than most other Eddaic poems and in a defective state, but thought to have been composed before 1200, possibly with roots in the 10th c. The society depicted in *Rígsþula* may well be that of the 10th century; the poem distinguishes between three social classes – chieftains, yeomen and slaves (to which may be added royalty, which was treated in the now-lost conclusion of the poem). In *Rígsþula* we find lexical items pertaining to agriculture, cloth-making, (female) dress and meals. The vocabulary is WN without clear regional characteristics, but references to ploughs and carts seem to indicate a Scandinavian or British environment rather than the Atlantic islands.

Terms for buildings – in order of rising social standing – are *hús* (used in the sg. of the slaves' quarters), *hóll* and *salr*. The fields (*akrar*, sg. *akr*, 'cultivated field') are fertilized (*teðja*, derived from *tað* n. 'manure'), and two kinds of plough are used, the native *arðr* and the more sophisticated *plógr*.

Cloth-making and dress: (1) Words for textiles include *váð* 'woollen cloth', *ripti* 'linen cloth' (also of a married woman's head-dress), *dúkr* 'tablecloth' (also of a scarf (?) worn round a woman's neck), *silki* 'silk' (as material for a baby wrap and a shift). (2) Words for

tools used in cloth-making: *rokkr* 'distaff' and *rifr* 'warp-beam of an upright warp-weighted loom'. From other poetic sources we know that the word for the weights that kept the warp straight was *klé*, pl. *kljár*. These weights were often made from soap-stone, which derives its Norse name (not found in old sources) from this application: *kléberg* (cf. Mod.Icel. and Far. *kljásteinavefstaður* and *klíggjavevur*). (3) Words for garments: the only male garment mentioned is *skyrta* 'shirt', but there is a variety of terms for the head-dress of a married woman: *sveigr*, *faldr*, *lin* and *ripti*. Other articles of female dress mentioned in *Rígsþula* are the *serkr* 'shift' and the *smokkr*. The *serkr* is made of *lin* 'linen' or even *silki* 'silk' – the words *serkr* and *silki* both have their ultimate origin in the same Chinese word, meaning 'silk', but while *serkr* is borrowed from the West (OE), *silki* comes from the East (Slavic). The word *smokkr* occurs only here in ON, but it is found in other Germanic languages with the meanings 'woman's shirt' and 'petticoat', and it seems quite likely that it denotes the characteristic apron-like over-dress worn by Viking Age women. This dress was held up by shoulder straps, fastened with a pair of brooches, which may be what the poem refers to as *dvergar*, literally 'dwarfs'. The word *kyrtill* 'tunic', implicit in the epithet *geitakyrtla* 'wearing a tunic of goatskin', was later to become the common word for the medieval-type dress for both men and women in all the Nordic countries, and *smokkr* is perhaps an example of a word that has gone out of use with the garment it denoted. On the other hand, the lexical items are often more long-lived than fashions; thus EN *kjortel* (the counterpart of WN *kyrtill*) has survived in all the Modern Nordic languages in the form *kjol(e)* (Icel. *kjöll*, Far. *kjóli*), but the garments it refers to differ: the word means 'skirt' in Sw., but in the other Nordic languages (through influence from Dan.) 'woman's (child's, clergyman's) frock or gown' or, alternatively, 'man's dress coat, tailcoat'.

Meals: The meal is served on a *skutill* 'dish, tray'; for the slaves there is *soð* 'broth' in a *bolli* 'bowl', but for the chieftain *vín* 'wine' in a *kanna* 'jug', from which it is poured into a *kalkr* 'goblet'. *Rígsþula* speaks of *varðir kalkar*, probably 'metal-mounted goblets', but other poetic sources have *hrímkalkar*, literally 'frost-goblets', i. e. goblets made from (opaque) glass which gives the impression of frost.

The majority of the words in these three areas are native Nordic words, but there are

a number of early loanwords among them: *plógr*, *dúkr*, *kyrtill* are loans from West Germanic languages, some perhaps from Old Frisian, others from Old English; *lin*, *serkr* and *skutill* come from Latin through Old English; *silki* is ultimately from Chinese. Silk is not known in Scandinavia before the Viking Age, whereas the words *vin* and *kalkr* belong to the Pre-Viking Age stratum of loanwords in the Nordic languages and come from Latin, perhaps through Old Saxon. There is every reason to think that the loanwords in question were adopted along with the objects or material they denote.

3.3. Gaelic influence

A number of Gaelic loanwords in WN dialects must go back to the Viking Age and indicate that the Norse colonists in the British Isles learnt certain techniques of a mainly agricultural nature from their Gaelic-speaking neighbours and that they in some cases brought these back with them to their homelands. A number of these words are found in both mainland Norwegian and the Atlantic dialects: OWN **sorn* (*hús*) (Mod.Icel. *sofn* (*hús*), in analogy with *ofn* 'oven', Mod.Far. *sornur*) 'kiln for drying corn', *korki* 'cudbear, a lichen used for dying wool red', *tarfr* 'bull', *des* 'haystack', *kró* 'enclosure'. The inhabitants of both Iceland and the Faroe Islands seem to have learnt from Gaelic speakers how to supplement their diet with edible seaweed, as witnessed by the words *slafak* 'sea-lettuce', from OIr. *slabac*, and Icel. *myrikjarni* (*mari(n)-, marar-, muru-, mariu-*), Far. *mirkjalli* 'badderlock, *Alaria esculenta*' (< older **myrkjanni*), which clearly also derives from a Gaelic word (a variety of local forms exist, e.g. *mircean* in Scots Gaelic). The word *blak* (< older **blaðak*) 'buttermilk' (from Gaelic **blathac*, OIr. *blathac*) is found in Faroese only, as are a couple of words connected to seal-hunting: Far. *grúkur* 'seal's head' and *gassi* 'cudgel used for killing seals'. The word *ærgi*, from Gaelic *airge* 'shieling, summer pasture for cattle, herdsman's hut' forms part of Faroese place-names, but is found in neither Iceland nor Norway, where the words *setr* and *sel* were used with the same meaning.

3.4. Seafaring vocabulary

Ships and seafaring were of course a topic of central importance to Viking Age people, since their whole culture rested on the sail-

carrying, ocean-going Viking ships which had been developed out of the clinker-built rowing-boats used for coastal traffic in the previous period. These marvellous ships made possible the vast expansion of the Viking world in the 9th and 10th c. The area where WN was spoken expanded from Norway itself to include the British Isles and the Atlantic islands, the Faroes and Iceland, and from these settlements expeditions went farther afield, to the west coast of Greenland, the coast of Newfoundland and up the St. Lawrence river. The Viking ships also brought home from the south and the east the luxuries enjoyed by the chieftain class – wine, silk and jewellery, either bought or pillaged. Small wonder that a substantial part of scaldic poetry was dedicated to ships and sailing, and the scalds were obviously fascinated not only by the ships themselves, but also by maritime language, so that a rich and specialized nautical nomenclature has survived in skaldic stanzas. Here we find terms for different types of ships, as well as for nautical details. The main differentiation is clearly between war ships and merchant ships, but when individual type-names, for example *karfi*, *knqrr*, *snekkja*, *skeið*, are applied to archeological finds in modern times, it is without any real certainty that the appropriate term has been used. The chances are better of identifying terms for nautical details, words like *beitiáss* 'tacking-spar' (a spar used for keeping the sail close-hauled when tacking against the wind), *hunn* 'mast-top', *hofuðbenda* 'shroud', *stag* 'stay', *stýri* 'rudder', *segl* 'sail', *rá* 'yard'. Very few nautical terms in the Viking Age are of foreign origin, but a couple of central words must have been borrowed very early on, presumably before the Scandinavians established their maritime superiority, namely *bátr* 'boat' and *akkeri* 'anchor', both probably from Old Frisian. In the Viking Age many nautical terms were borrowed into other languages, notably Irish, Scottish Gaelic and French, where some of them have survived to the present day, for example Mod.Fr. *hauban* 'shroud' (< *hofuðbenda*), *étai* 'stay' (< *stag*), *hune* 'mast-top' (< *hunn*).

3.5. Nordic loanwords in English

In England (and Scotland), where there was a fair degree of mutual intelligibility between the native dialects and the speech of the Scandinavian settlers, more extensive borrowing took place and could go in either direction. The semantic spheres of the Nordic loanwords

in English include social organization: ModE *fellow* comes from ON *félagi* ‘partner, shareholder’; many place-names in England end in *-by* and *-thorpe*, both meaning ‘village’; clothing: *skirt* is a Scand. loanword, as betrayed by the initial *sk-*, and cognate with the native E *shirt* (both words are derivations of the adjective *short*); and foodstuffs: the Nordic *egg* ousted the native *ey*, although as late as 1490 Caxton, in a preface to a book printed by him, wavers between the plurals *egges* and *eyren*.

3.6. East Nordic

In Sweden and Denmark, vernacular sources are restricted to the numerous runic inscriptions. In these texts the dominant material culture is that of the runic monuments themselves. Many inscriptions include a reference to the monumental stone in the formula *NN risþi* or *sati stin þansi* [NN raised or put up this stone]. The seafaring culture of the vikings is occasionally referred to by the terms *skip* ‘ship’ and *skipari* ‘member of a crew’.

4. The High Middle Ages – Old Nordic from 1100 to 1300

4.1. The sources

In the WN area, the Latin alphabet was adapted for writing the vernacular ca. 1100, and following this, literary sources multiplied, especially in Iceland. For cultural history, however, the most relevant sources are law books and charters, while the narrative literature of the 13th c., from the romances translated from French at Hákon Hákonarson’s court (1217–1263) to the Icelandic sagas, bear a more distant relation to cultural realities. The Icelandic sagas, especially the sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendingasögur*) and the so-called “contemporary sagas”, do contain valuable information about daily life in Iceland, but in the case of the sagas of Icelanders, their action takes place in a period long before that in which they were written, and they cannot be expected to report cultural changes accurately. More reliable descriptions of e. g. housing and furniture are found in the contemporary sagas, which also give rare glimpses into the lives of farm-workers and other ordinary people attending to their everyday chores, like cooking or washing clothes in the hot springs of volcanic Iceland. The Icelandic word for such a natural washing basin is *hverr*, a word that originally meant ‘cauldron’ and was used

in this sense in Eddic poetry, but which the Icelandic colonists used referring to the geothermal pools in their new country. Over the course of time, the old meaning of the word *hverr* was forgotten, and the word ceased to be a metaphor.

In Sweden and Denmark, literacy in Latin dominated in this period, the notable exceptions being the provincial laws, a few municipal laws, translations of religious texts, and books on herbal medicine.

4.2. Housing terminology

In the Pre-Viking and the Viking Ages, Nordic farmers lived in buildings consisting of one long room with a single hearth where humans and animals lived together. In some cases the room was partitioned into living quarters for humans and stalls for animals. It would seem that one word for the longhouse was *eldhús* ‘fire-house’, and others may have been *salr* or *salhús*, *eldaskáli* (in Iceland) and *sethús*, literally ‘seat-house’ (still in use in the Faroe Islands about a single-family house).

In the early Middle Ages, living quarters were differentiated with separate rooms for the preparation of food, storing of provisions etc.; in areas where the local construction materials facilitated this solution, the rooms were located in larger buildings, while in other areas a farm consisted of several smaller buildings, each with its own function. This gave rise to varied housing terminology in the Nordic languages.

The great innovation of this period is the heated living room, *stofa* (Mod.Sw. *stuga* ‘small house’, Mod.Dan. *stue* ‘living room’), which was introduced in the Nordic countries in the 11th c. The main buildings of a medieval Norwegian or Icelandic farm according to the laws were the *stofa*, *eldhús* (used for sleeping, cooking and eating) and *búr* or *búð* (‘store house’). Other farm buildings could include *ffjós* ‘byre’ (< *fé-hús* ‘cattle-house’) and in coastal regions *hjalldr* ‘fish-drying shed’ and *naust* ‘boat-house’. In Norway the farm buildings are typically placed in the *tún* ‘plot of land’, a word also used for the whole complex of farm buildings. The original meaning of *tún* is ‘enclosure’; it is etymologically identical with Mod.G *Zaun* ‘fence’ and Mod.E *town*. In Iceland, on the other hand, where the buildings tend to be joined together for climatic reasons, the word *tún* is used in the sense ‘home-field’, the manured part of the farmland. Since the houses had no windows, the only daylight

coming through the *ljóri* 'louver', the lamp, *kola*, was an important piece of the household equipment which made it possible to work indoors (e.g. spin and weave). A *kola* was a small open vessel of soap-stone or iron, filled with oil (seal- or fish-oil), which derived its WN name, *lýsi*, from this function (a derivation of the noun *ljós* 'light'). Candles (*kerti*) made from imported wax (*vax*) were found only in churches and wealthy houses.

In Sweden, Denmark and eastern Norway *garth* (Mod.Sw. and Mod.Dan. *gård*, Norw. *gård/gard*), related to *gærde* 'fence', designated the collection of rooms or houses, *hus*, that constituted a farm. In Denmark the farms were mostly gathered in a village, *by*, while in the Western provinces of Sweden the farms were placed separately, each close to its fields. The Swedish regional laws have lists of houses belonging to a *garth*: *stuga*, *stekarehus* 'house for cooking', *visthus* 'storage for food', *kornherberge* 'storage for grain', *fæhus* 'cattle house'.

4.3. Norwegian town culture

WN vocabulary reflects the fact that society in Norway and Iceland developed differently in the Middle Ages. In Iceland there were no towns, and the farms (*bær*) were solitary, whereas Norway from the 11th c. onwards had several market towns (*bær*, *býr*, *kaupangr*), whose inhabitants made a living from commerce and trade. The crown and the church were important forces in the Norwegian towns, especially Niðaróss, Bergen and Oslo, which were all royal residences for prolonged periods. Niðaróss (the modern Trondheim) was after 1152 the archiepiscopal see ministering to the entire West Nordic area, while Bergen and Oslo were both cathedral towns. The market towns were the localities where contact with foreigners and foreign merchandise was most likely to take place.

The vocabulary connected with Norwegian towns in the early Middle Ages is well known from laws and documents, which i. a. contain detailed regulations concerning the streets (*stræti*), the houses (*garðr*) and the location of groups of specialized craftsmen who offered their services to the townspeople. These craftsmen include the comb-maker (*kambari*), the shoemaker (*sútari*), the tanner (*skinnari*), the saddler (*sqflari*) and the tailor (*sniddari*). These denominations are formed with the productive suffix *-ari* (< Lat. *-arius*), which could be suffixed to native words and loanwords

alike. The loanwords in this period are predominantly English, e.g. *stræti*, *sútari* (ultimately from Lat. *sutor*), but influence from MLG (*sniddari*) was also beginning.

The professional weaver (*vefari*) was among the craftsmen who plied their trade in the Norwegian towns, but the coarse, undyed *vaðmál* 'homespun' in which common people dressed was woven at the farms or imported from Iceland or Shetland. Fashionable townspeople had garments made from fine imported fabrics, often named after their place of origin, e.g. *enskt klæði* 'English cloth', *bryggist klæði* (from Bruges). The garments were still to a large extent similar to those worn in the Viking Age: *brækr* (pl. of *brók*) and *skyrta* 'man's shirt' or *serkr* 'woman's shift' under a *kyrtill*, and over that a *skikkja* 'cloak' or *móttull* 'mantle' (an old loanword, ultimately from Lat. *mantellum*). Fashionable clothes could have foreign names, e.g. *treyja* 'jacket', referred to as an article of luxury in the 13th c. (from LG *troye*, *troie* 'short coat or mail', probably borrowed from OFr.).

Food in the Norwegian rural areas and the Atlantic islands was probably much the same as it had been in the Viking Age, that is boiled meat, fresh or dried fish, milk products (*ostr* 'cheese', *skyr* 'curds', *brauð* '(barley) bread' and not least *grautr* 'porridge'), but in the higher circles in the towns, and especially at court, elements from contemporary European cuisine were adopted, and the dishes were seasoned with imported spices (*spiz*, *spizar(n)i*): *piparr* 'pepper', *gingibráð* 'ginger', *naglar* 'cloves', and *kanelabark* 'cinnamon'. The names of spices are predominantly English, as is the word for fine wheat flour (*flúr*) and the (wooden) plate on which the meal was served: *diskr*. Modern Icelandic and Faroese, as well as some Norwegian dialects, have retained this word (Far. as the compound *borðiskur*), while in most varieties of Modern Norwegian it has been replaced by *tallerk(en)*, which comes from LG.

5. The Late Middle Ages. From Old Nordic to Early Modern Nordic; from 1300 to 1550

5.1. The sources

In this period, all the Nordic languages except Faroese are well attested in several kinds of written sources, the most reliable for the study of material culture being wills, customs ac-

counts, account books, court records and inventories of possessions.

5.2. Middle Low German influence

The mid-13th c. saw the beginning of the single most decisive cultural influence on the Nordic lexicon that went on until the middle of the 16th c.: the great Middle Low German lexical influx that left its permanent stamp on all the Nordic languages. The rise and growth of Hanseatic commerce with settlements in all the major Nordic towns meant that there was German influence in most areas of Nordic culture. In Iceland, where there were no towns or even villages, this German influence was indirect, in the Middle Ages through Norwegian – spoken by visiting merchants, but also by high officials, especially several of the bishops – and later through Danish. The Hansa dominated foreign trade in Norway from ca. 1300. The main import article was bread grain from the Baltic and necessitated a new type of ship, the *kuggr* (< LG *kogge*), which carried 6–10 times the cargo of the slim and light Viking ships.

The most important Hanseatic place of contact over a period of four hundred years was the seasonal Scanian market at Skanør and Falsterbo. The basis for this market was the abundance of herring in the Sound; several hundred thousand barrels were filled with *sild* ‘herring’ each autumn, landed by over 30,000 seasonal fishermen coming from all over Denmark. The importance of commerce with the towns around the Sound is attested in sources from the biggest Hanseatic town Lübeck: in 1399 the value of Lübeck’s commerce on the Scanian market was more than 150,000 marks, whereas commerce with Stockholm and with Bergen each had the value of approximately 25,000 marks (Henning S. Eriksson, *Skånemarkedet*, 1980, 86). In the Scanian towns, agricultural products like butter, hides and skins, and meat were sold as well; in the charter for Malmø town from 1360, the king gives the townsmen a monopoly on commerce, as no foreigner is allowed to buy more of these goods than he needs to feed himself: “*engen gest [...] ma k pe hwder, skin, sm r elles fl sk meer  n [...] til sin eghen kost*” (DGK 4, 40). The mayor of Malmø and his council in the same document get the right to organize wine and beer trade, “*wiin elles tydest  ll*” and all cartage except the traffic in *fersk sild* ‘fresh herring’. Foreign merchants brought salt for the preservation of the herring and other in-

ternational goods like tools, spices and woven cloth. The terms of all the foreign goods and the names and terminology of many crafts like *drejer* ‘turner’, *rebslager* ‘ropemaker’, *remmesnider* ‘strap maker’, *skomager* ‘shoemaker’ and *snedker* ‘joiner’ were imported with the goods and skills; the LG word for goods *kram* is found in compound words like Dan. *isenkram* ‘hardware’, *urtekram* ‘groceries’ and in Dan. *kr mmer*, Sw. *kr mare* ‘shopkeeper’. Many cultural areas were affected: the verbs *spise* and *koge*, the terms for eating and boiling in Mod. Standard Dan. are telling examples; they were borrowed from LG in this period and gradually supplanted the Nordic verbs, older Dan. * t * and *siuth *. New kinds of tableware like Dan. *tallerken*, Sw. *tallrik* ‘plate’ and Dan. and OSw. *krus* ‘mug’ entered at the same time.

The Low German vocabulary adapted into Norwegian and Danish in the Hanseatic period was to a large extent the same, but the process of borrowing into Norwegian was direct and independent of Danish borrowings, as is borne out by a number of specific Norwegian borrowings, e. g. *hyssing* ‘twine, string’ (Dan. *sejlgarn*) and *spiker* ‘nail’ (Dan. *s m n.*). Both *hyssing* and *spiger* are found in Danish too, but with more specialized meanings (‘houseline’ and ‘large nail, spike’).

In Sweden the largest towns were dominated by the German merchants in the 14th and 15th c., and the vocabulary of commerce and crafts included hundreds of Low German terms. In Stockholm the products of the Swedish mining industry formed a considerable part of the Hanseatic trade. Iron, copper and silver was mined, transported mostly to Stockholm, weighed, and sold to the German merchants. Swedish iron dominated the North European market, the amount exported rising from an approximate minimum of 275 tons in 1369 to around 1100 tons per year in 1492 (*KLNM XI*, 568). The rise in production continued through the centuries; in 1983 Sweden produced 8.3 mill. tons of iron ore. In the 13th century the technique for iron extraction was improved, inspired by Germany – the term *hytta* ‘ironworks’ was taken over from German – as the introduction of water power meant higher temperatures and better products. Several kinds of iron were sold. The most widespread was called *osmund* all over Europe; the origin of the term is unknown.

Among the most important innovations in building conventions are glass windows and chimneys, which spread over the Nordic area

from the late Middle Ages onwards (glass windows in churches were of course known earlier). The word *skorste(i)n* 'chimney' was borrowed from LG into most Nordic dialects. A LG term for 'window' was borrowed into Sw.: *fönster* (ultimately from Lat. *fenestra*), while in Dan. and Norw. the old Nordic term *vindue*, lit. 'wind-eye', probably originally denoting an air hole, was transferred to openings primarily designed to admit light into a building (E *window* is a Nordic loan).

Commerce with the Hansa merchants also involved the export of agricultural and other products with native names like Dan. *smør* 'butter', Norw. *skreið* 'dried cod' which the Germans called *stokfisk*. Danish agricultural production gradually changed in the later Middle Ages, as more meat was produced and eaten. In Jutland and Funen, oxen were raised and exported to Germany. In the 15th century the oxen were exported in the autumn. The term for young oxen fed on grass in the pasture during the summer was *græsøxen*; by the end of the century between 12,000 and 15,000 *græsøxen* had been exported from Funen and Jutland. In the 16th century it became customary to feed the young oxen in the stable over the winter; with the change in the time of export to the spring came a change in the name of the product to *staldøxen*. This was a very profitable enterprise, and a decree from the king impresses on the noblemen that the number of *staldøxen* must be limited to the available amount of fodder, while another decree prohibits the export of *græsøxen* because they are needed for meat during the winter (*KLNM* XX, 674ff.). The oxen trade brought many people into contact with their German customers, their culture and language, and made possible the import of foreign goods and luxuries: *klenodier* 'treasures', *bradser* 'brooches', material like *fløyel* 'velvet', and *damask* 'damask'.

Men, women, and children all wore a *kjortel* 'kirtle' and *hue* 'cap'. Other garments mentioned in the 16th-c. lists of possessions are *kaabe* 'coat', *hoser* 'breeches', *trøje* 'jacket'. Many of the terms for garments found in the town culture of the first half of the 16th c., e.g. *hue*, *hoser* and *trøje*, were still used in the countryside in the 19th c. The old word for dress material, *klæði*, was used as the generic term for clothes in all the Nordic countries during the Middle Ages. This is still the case in the WN languages (in Icel. also *fatnaður*, *föt*) and in Mod.Sw. *kläder*; in Mod.Dan. the generic term for clothes is *toj* which was taken

over from LG *tūch*, initially with the sense 'dress material' still kept in Mod.Sw. *tyg*.

In Denmark the most common construction for both farm houses and town houses was half-timbering with one or more wings and with thatched roofs. The half-timbered construction was dominant in the towns throughout the Middle Ages, and prevailed in the countryside into the 19th c. Each house had several rooms, each with its own name. In probate deeds from the beginning of the 16th c. the possessions are listed according to their whereabouts in the house. In this way we get information about the layout of the houses and the names of the rooms. A Malmö town house in the first half of the 16th c. had a *keller* 'basement' used for storage, the ground floor had the following rooms: *forstue* 'corridor', *stue* 'living room', *stegers* 'kitchen', and *herberg* 'room without heating', while *loftet* 'the loft' was used as extra sleeping quarters (*Malmö Skifter, Bofortegnelser 1546–1559*, 1, 7f., ed. by Einar Bager).

6. Early Modern Nordic 1550–1800

In the course of the previous period, the Norwegian written language was gradually replaced by Danish, and it is symptomatic of the situation that while the Danes, Swedes and Icelanders had the Bible translated into their respective languages in connection with the Lutheran Reformation, in Norway (and the Faroe Islands) it was the Danish Bible (1550) that came to set the standard for the written language. Norwegian vocabulary, however, lived on in the rural dialects, but it was not preserved in written form, apart from shorter samples, word lists and the like, mostly collected for curiosity's sake. A more thorough inventory had to wait for Ivar Aasen's dictionary, first published in 1850 (*Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog*, new edition 1872–73 *Norsk Ordbog*). Aasen's dictionaries are, however, puristic in their intention, and hardly give a realistic picture of actual usage.

After the Reformation the ties between Norway and the Atlantic islands loosened, and from ca. 1600 commercial and cultural relations were no longer with Bergen and other Norwegian towns, but with Copenhagen. The old cultural and to some extent linguistic unity was broken up into smaller, isolated areas, where relations to the outer world were dominated by the Royal monopoly trade. But Icelandic, the most conserva-

tive of the Nordic languages, never suffered the break of continuity that affected the Norwegian written language so fatally. On the contrary, the medieval Icelandic texts, especially the laws, continued to be read and copied for centuries after the Reformation. Printed books from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries – the great majority of pious content – are full of Danish and German loanwords, but the spoken language remained essentially intact, partly because social conditions did not change much. Reykjavík, by 1800 a town of ca. 300 inhabitants, was an exception in this respect; many of the townspeople were Danish by birth and language, and the language of their Icelandic neighbours was by all accounts heavily mixed with Danish. By the end of the 18th c., when the ideas of the Enlightenment reached Iceland, attempts were made to introduce new methods and implements into the Icelandic industries (agriculture and fishery); the advocates of these technical improvements made a point of creating Icelandic neologisms for the commodities in question, when the foreign names were not adaptable to Icelandic phonology and/or morphology. Many of the neologisms introduced in this period failed to gain acceptance in the language, but some are still in use, e.g. *steinolia*, literally ‘stone-oil’ = ‘petroleum, paraffin’.

In these centuries the written sources in Danish and Swedish abound; account books, court records and inventories of possessions are some of the most reliable witnesses to material culture in the everyday lives of the populations. In the records of the regional courts from the first half of the 17th c., the rural culture of the time is reflected. The terminology for farm buildings and their rooms may be compared regionally in the 17th-c. court records from the Skast district in Southern Jutland and from the Sokkelund district in Zealand, and diachronically; compare for example the town house terms from 16th-century Malmö in 5.2 and West Jutlandic farms in the 19th century in 7. A number of features are common to Skast and Sokkelund: both farms are called *gård* and consist of several wings; both have a *fæhus* ‘cattle house’ and *holade* ‘hay barn’; among the building materials, *tag* ‘rushes’ reveal that they had thatched roofs; several terms for rooms are similar to those of the Malmö town house: *kælder*, *stue*, *herberg*, *loft*. The terms for the wings of the farm and for the farmhouse show regional differences: the wings are called *hus* in Jutland and

længe in Zealand, the farmhouse is called *salshus* in Jutland and *stuelænge* in Zealand.

In Iceland, as a result of an increasing lack of firewood, the oven-heated *baðstofa* (literally ‘bath-room’), which in the Middle Ages functioned as a sort of sauna, took over the function of the *stofa* and became a living room. This development occurred over the course of the 16th and 17th c.; still later, as house-heating ceased altogether, the bedsteads were moved into the *baðstofa*, which became the room in which people slept, ate and worked, much as they had done in the Viking Age *eldhús* (cf. 4.2), but without other heating than the warmth from human beings. In some cases the *baðstofa* was placed on the second floor over the byre (*fjösbaðstofa*, the term is not attested before the 19th c.) in order to take advantage of the heat from the animals.

In all the Nordic countries, people’s clothing had changed from the medieval types, and there was an increasing differentiation between the towns, where relatively short-lived foreign fashions were accepted, and the countryside with its more conservative habits, which included clothing vocabulary. The great revolution in women’s dress happened around 1500, when women began wearing two-piece dresses, a skirt and a bodice, instead of the medieval one-piece *kyrtill*. The skirt was called *skjört* (a LG loanword, but ultimately the same word as OWN *skyrta*, cf. 3.5., E *shirt*) in Norway and the Faroes (where the modern spelling is *skjúrt*), but *kjol* in Sweden and *pils* in Iceland; for the bodice, especially a knitted bodice, the most widespread word was *troje* (Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Faroe Islands, where the spelling is *troyggja*), but Icelandic differs by employing another loanword (of uncertain origin): *peysa*. Men’s trousers were not much different from the medieval *brækr*, but the new word was *bukser* (Sw. *byxor*, Icel. *buxur*, originally *buck-hose* ‘buckskin breeches’). Over the trousers Norwegian men wore a *kufsta/kofte*, made from *vadmål*. This garment became a kind of emblem for the farmer class in Norway, but the word *kufsta/kofte* seems to be imported; it is thought to have come from Turkish *kaftan*, a word which again has Persian roots. The corresponding garment in the Faroe Islands also had foreign names, despite their native appearance: *kot*, probably an abridgement of the Fr. *surcote*, or *sjóstúka*, literally ‘sea-shirt’, but probably a corruption of Fr. *juste-au-corps*.

Stability and stagnation characterized economic and social life in both Iceland and the Faroe Islands in this period. Wool – “the gold of the Faroes”, as the saying goes – was processed at the farms down to the 17th c. using prehistoric-type implements: the distaff (*rok-kur*, later *snældu*) and the warp-weighted loom (cf. 3.2.). In the 17th c. the spinning-wheel was introduced in the Faroes; the Danish name of this early type, which was worked by hand, was *skotrok* and may reflect a Scottish origin; in the Faroes, where it was first demonstrated by Shetlanders called in for the purpose, it was called *hjólrokkur*. Neither the spinning-wheel nor the horizontal loom was introduced in Iceland until the 18th century. Since the horizontal loom came to Iceland from Denmark, it was commonly called *danski vefstóllinn*, and the old warp-weighted loom by contrast was *islenski vefstaðurinn*.

Knitting is one of the most widely spread crafts: the oldest preserved knitted article in Scandinavia was knitted by a Swedish noblewoman, Sophia Vasa, in the first half of the 16th c. Knitted articles were imported, and they were produced on the farms; at the 19th-c. *bindstov* ‘knitting get-together’ in Jutland, women, men and children were all knitting. In her history of knitting terminology, Inge Lise Pedersen (1987) traces the craft of knitting from the Middle Ages when religious paintings in Northern Germany give the earliest evidence of knitting in Northern Europe. Evidence of knitting terminology is not found until the beginning of the 16th c., but in the following four centuries three verbs for knitting are found in Danish: *knytte*, *binde* and *strikke*. In its oldest usage *strikke* – the Mod.Dan. term for knitting – referred to imported articles, presumably with special patterns; *knytte*, borrowed from LG in this sense, and the native *binde* are found side by side; in some of the dialects of the 19th c. the two verbs designate different knitting techniques. In Sw. the craft is called *sticka*, in Far. *binda*, and in Icel. the term is *prjóna*, derived from *prjónn* ‘needle’, a loanword of uncertain origin.

Many of the new words from this period belong to different vocabularies for special purposes: the language of administration, the specialization of crafts with growing professional terminology, and new occupations and new technologies, e.g. mechanized workshops, among others a *tabach pibe værk* ‘pipe factory’. New exotic merchandise carried names like *appelsin* ‘orange’, *sokkelade* or *suk-*

kerlade (with reference to *sukker* ‘sugar’) ‘chocolate’, *thee* ‘tea’, *caffee* ‘coffee’, and *tabach* ‘tobacco’.

The cultural influence from Germany continued. Many inhabitants, especially in the towns, were of German origin and many people with Danish or Swedish as their mother tongue were fluent in German. In this period High German had replaced Low German as the most prestigious foreign language. The German influence continues in the terminology of the crafts and is otherwise noticeable in the area of abstracts.

The court, the nobility and the more influential citizens followed fashions from France in building, furniture, clothes, and in food and drink, and continued to do so throughout the 19th c. In Sweden the French influence was at its strongest in the reign of Gustav III in the last decades of the 18th c. French influence is reflected in building terms like Dan. *etage* ‘floor’, Dan. *entré*, Sw. *tambur* ‘entrance-hall’, Sw. *garderob*, Dan. *garderobe* ‘wardrobe’ and Dan. *boudoir* ‘boudoir’. Among the numerous words for garments are Dan. *chemise*, Sw. *chemis* ‘chemise’, Dan. *bluse*, Sw. *blus* ‘blouse’, Dan. and Sw. *permissioner* ‘pants’ developed euphemistically from *med permission* ‘with your permission’, and Sw. *kalsonger* ‘pants’. From the abundant terminology of dining borrowed from French, the following terms among many others are still in use in 20th-c. everyday vocabulary: Dan. *bøf*, Sw. and Norw. *biff* ‘beefsteak’, Dan. *sovs*, Norw. *saus*, Sw. *sås* ‘sauce’, Dan. *frikadelle* ‘rissole’, Dan., Norw., and Sw. *dessert* ‘sweet’, and Sw. *glass* ‘ice cream’.

7. The 19th and 20th centuries

In the centuries when most of the population lived and worked in the countryside, agriculture and its terminology was common knowledge; everybody knew how to keep cattle, grow corn etc. and were able to talk about it. The lexical items for agriculture were part of the general language.

Thorough investigations of regional languages in the 20th c. included many informants born in the preceding century. One notable example is Peter Skautrup’s complete inventory of the vocabulary of the dialect of Hardsyssel in Western Jutland based on interviews with his mother who also reported on the language of her father, who was born 1822. Consequently this inventory reflects the agri-

cultural terminology of Jutland in the 19th c. One of the basic characteristics of the agricultural vocabulary in this dialect was its stability. Agricultural techniques changed little over the centuries and terms from the 17th c. were still used in the 19th c. The Hardsyssel dialect had kept many of the housing terms mentioned in section 6: both *sals* (for older *salshus*) and *stuehus* were used for ‘farmhouse’, the wings were called *hus* as in the Skast district in the 17th c.; among the rooms were *stue* and *forstue*, and *tag* was the term for thatching.

In all the Nordic countries, the differences between the vocabulary of educated people, especially in the towns, and that of the rural population became more marked in the 18th and 19th c. than they had been before. These differences were partly due to direct foreign influence on the spoken language, partly to the fact that as literacy became more widespread, the spoken language, especially in the towns, tended to be influenced by the written language, both as regards pronunciation and vocabulary. This development was particularly striking in Norway, where the written language was Danish. Paradoxically, the impact of Danish on educated Norwegian, both written and spoken, grew stronger after the separation of the two countries in 1814. In the first half of the 19th century, pupils in Norwegian secondary schools were taught to write as pure Danish as possible and to avoid “provincialisms”. Among the blacklisted words were terms belonging to material culture, e.g. *lin* ‘flax’ (Dan. *hør*), *stry* ‘tow’ (Dan. *blår*), *nøste* ‘ball of yarn, knitting wool’ (Dan. *nogle* n.); to the same category belonged words like *fil* ‘rag’ (Dan. *pjalt*), *votter* ‘mittens’ (Dan. *vanter*), *fjøs* ‘byre’ (Dan. *kostald*), *kavring* ‘rusk’ (Dan. *tvebak*). We must conclude that such Norwegianisms belonged to everyday speech even in the towns. The efforts to eradicate them from educated language were only temporarily successful; after the middle of the century they were increasingly employed by Norwegian authors, whose language was in other respects more Danish than Norwegian (e.g. Henrik Ibsen, Jonas Lie), and in the 20th c. they were regarded as standard Norwegian terms, equally current in Bokmål and Nynorsk.

After the OWN written language fell into disuse in the 14th c., Norwegian rural dialects had no shared higher norm that could influence the spoken language. They were only marginally influenced by Danish, and were in-

deed the direct continuation of the OWN language. By virtue of this “purity” they became by the middle of the 19th c. the basis for Ivar Aasen’s constructed common written language for all Norwegian dialects. Norwegian 19th-c. purism was primarily directed against Danish influence (and specifically against the Germanisms adopted into Danish in the 18th c.), and Aasen’s dictionaries contain quite a number of cultural loanwords from the Middle Ages, e.g. *troya* ‘coat, jacket’, *buksa* ‘trousers’ (but not *skjørt* ‘skirt’; the common word for skirt in the Norwegian countryside being *stakk*), *skræddar* (or *skraddar*) ‘tailor’, *hyvel* ‘plane’; even the word *poteta* ‘potato’ is included, with the additional information that it is a new word in Norwegian.

Eating habits changed radically in Norway in the beginning of the 19th c., when herring and potatoes replaced barley porridge as the staple diet of ordinary people. Potatoes had been introduced to the Nordic countries in the 17th c. and were cultivated under various names: *kartofler* in Denmark (and, derived from the Dan., *kartöflur* in Iceland), but *potatis* in Sweden and *poteter* in Norway. In Faroese (and locally in Norwegian) the word for potato is, however, *epli* ‘apple’ (less common *jordæpli*, literally ‘earth-apple’, a calque from German or French). The fruit known as *eple*, *æble*, *äpple* in the other Nordic languages is called *súrepli* ‘sour apple’ in Faroese.

With growing specialization, the languages of the different professions were primarily part of the trades, and only the most basic terms from each profession were generally known. Mechanization through factories, machines, and instruments brought with it the international Graeco-Latin terms of technology: *instrumenter* ‘instruments’ and *maskiner* ‘machines’ (both words known in 17th-c. Sw. and Dan.), *elektrisk lys* ‘electric light’, *motor* ‘motor’; the birth of communication technology: *telegraf* ‘telegraph’, *telefon* ‘telephone’; vehicles like *cykler* ‘bicycles’ and *automobiler* – from 1902 *biler* – ‘motorcars’ appeared in the last decades of the 19th c. Although German cultural influence decreased in the second half of the 19th c., partly due to the wars between Germany and Denmark in 1848 and 1864, many of these international terms entered via German.

In Iceland the creation of neologisms gained momentum in the 19th and 20th c., as new commodities of all kinds which did not have Icelandic names flooded the country. The neologisms fall into three main groups: (1) cal-

ques, e.g. *hitamælir*, literally ‘heat-meter’ i.e. ‘thermometer’, *járnbraut* ‘railway’, literally ‘iron-road’ (cf. Sw. *järnväg*), *rafmagn* ‘electricity’, literally ‘amber power’; (2) adaptations of old words which were given new meanings; e.g. *simi* ‘telephone’, originally a poetic word for thread, and *skjár* ‘(television) screen’, originally a semi-transparent sheepskin membrane used for covering the louver (*ljóri*, cf. 4.2) in wet weather; and (3) creations based on indigenous linguistic elements, e.g. *tölva* ‘computer’ (from *tala* ‘number’ with an allusion to *völva* ‘prophetess’), *togari* ‘trawler’ (from *toga* ‘haul’). Many words were, however, simply adopted more or less in their foreign shape (but invariably with the stress on the first syllable), e.g. *tóbak* ‘tobacco’ (mid-17th c.), *kaffi* ‘coffee’ (mid-18th c.), *píanó* ‘piano’ (mid-19th c.). The abbreviation *bil* for the unwieldy *automobil* ‘motorcar’ was suggested by the Danish newspaper *Politiken* in 1902 and was an instant success in all the Nordic languages. The Icelandic form *bill* rhymes with *fill* ‘elephant’ (an old loanword from Arabic), and *still* ‘style’ (from Latin), and it fits neatly into the Icelandic inflexional system. The written language, however, prefers *bifreið*, literally ‘motion car’. With the proliferation of technical terms in the second half of the 20th c., the creation of Icelandic neologisms has become something of a national sport.

Faroese language policy in the 20th c. has been puristic, often inspired by Icelandic models. There is, however, less popular support for a puristic trend than in Iceland, and the gap between the spoken and written language is undoubtedly wider than in Iceland, at least in Tórshavn, where one third of the population reside. The majority of the population is bilingual, and spoken Faroese is said to be so tolerant of Danish vocabulary that virtually any Danish word may be used in a Faroese context, if marginally adapted to Faroese phonology and inflexions. Even in the written language we find examples of this: *marmuláta* ‘marmalade’, *sjokuláta* ‘chocolate’, *ballón* ‘balloon’, *bilur* ‘motorcar’, *bussur* ‘bus’, but in many cases the spoken language has a Danish form and the written language a more Faroese form. Thus one often hears *telt* ‘tent’ (Dan. *telt*), but the written form of the word is *tjald* (identical with the Icelandic word for tent). Another example is Dan. *hjul* ‘wheel’, frequent in the spoken language, while the correct written form is *hjól* (again identical with Icelandic).

Especially among the older generation of Faroese Islanders there is a certain reluctance towards neologisms, which are often regarded as Icelandic loans. It is true that Faroese neologisms often coincide with their Icelandic counterparts, whether this is due to imitation or parallel development: Far. *tyrla* ‘helicopter’ derived from *tyril* ‘whisk’ = Icel. *þyrila*. Often, however, there are differences which show that the new words draw independently on the same linguistic material: Far. *flogfar* ‘airplane’ (Icel. *flugvél*), Far. *myndatól* ‘camera’ (Icel. *myndavél*), and some Faroese neologisms are created from specifically Faroese elements and have no counterparts in Icelandic, e.g. *floga* ‘compact disc, CD’ (original meaning ‘thin layer of hay’) versus Icel. *geisladiskur* ‘beam disc’.

Andreas Fynning has shown the lexical interconnections in 20th-c. Scandinavia in his *Sammordisk Ordbog* where he has registered 33,000 words that appear in Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian Bokmål. Like most dictionaries, *Sammordisk Ordbog* is alphabetical, and it lists the words, not their subject area. The preface states that the dictionary comprises all the common old native words and all the imported words that appear in all three languages, e.g. *kommunikation*, *information*, *teknik*, *tekniker* etc.

In the 20th c., cultural influence on the Nordic countries has shifted from the south to the west. In the first half of the century, the fashionable clothing style was British, and English terms for garment types were imported in great numbers. The following are found in at least two of the three central Nordic languages: *blazer*, *cardigan*, *jumper*, *pullover*, *shorts*, *smoking* (meaning ‘dinner jacket’); peculiar to Norw. are *dress* ‘man’s suit’ (Dan. *habit*, *jakkessæt*, Sw. *kostym*) and *genser* ‘sweater’ (E *guernsey* (*shirt*) ‘from Guernsey in the Channel’); in Dan. the E term *sweater* is used.

Especially after the Second World War – from 1945 onwards – cultural development has been dominated by telecommunication and computer technology coming from the United States of America and Great Britain. Dictionaries in these areas of technology appear intermittently, and because of accelerating development quickly become outdated. In some cases local terms are coined, e.g. for ‘television’: *fjernsyn* in Dan. and Norw., *sjónvarp* in Icel. and Far., but *tv* or *teve* in Swedish; for ‘computer’: Dan. *datamat* or *datamaskine*, Sw. *dator*, Norw. *datamaskin*, Icel. *tölva*, Far.

telda, but at least in Dan. there is a tendency for the Anglo-American term to take over: *tv* and *computer*.

In the last decades of the 20th c., there has been a growing reaction against Anglo-American influence on Norwegian, and as a result Norwegian has admitted fewer Anglo-American loans in later years than e. g. Danish. Modern Danish usage permits Anglo-American words like *sweatshirt*, *t-shirt*, *jogging-suit* (or *joggingtøj*), while Norwegian prefers *bomullsgenser*, *T-skjorte* and *joggedress*. While Danes speak of *handouts* and *e-mail*, Norwegians have made a conscious effort to replace the English terms with *stotteark* (literally ‘support sheets’) and *e-post*. An effort on a grand scale was made in 1982 by the Norwegian state oil company Statoil, when it decided to establish a consistent Norwegian petroleum terminology for use in (parts of) the industry, which had until that time been under almost total Anglo-American linguistic dominance. The Norwegian Term Bank at the University of Bergen took on this task, which was completed by 1985. Later the database has been expanded greatly (to 30,000 concepts, over 90,000 terms) and implemented in manuals for the Norwegian petroleum industry both offshore and onshore. In developing the new terminology, transparency has been a primary consideration; a Norwegian term should not just be a translation of an existing English term, but should ideally be self-explanatory; examples are *ventiltre* for ‘Christmas tree’, *tårnplattform* for ‘monkey board’ and *foringsrør* for ‘casing’. The idea that the words should mean more or less what one would expect them to mean in general usage was given top priority, while linguistic purism was a factor of very little importance.

Many other cultural areas are influenced by North American phenomena; new sports like windsurfing and skateboard acquired the Dan. names *brætsejlad* and *rullebræt* in the 1970s and the 1980s, but in the 1990s the Anglo-American terms began to take over. American clothes such as blue jeans, Dan. *cowboybukser*, Sw. *jeans*, Norw. *dongeribukse(r)*, *-jeans* (< *dungarees*) were popular among both children and grown-ups in the later decades of the 20th c.

The eating habits in the late 20th c. were influenced by many people going on holiday in Southern Europe and young people travelling to the Far East: *pasta* and *pizza* from Italian, *sushi* from Japanese, and many exotic fruits from all over the world. The new food

terminology in Danish is treated by Pia Jarvad (1995).

Material culture has diversified to a very large extent with lexical richness in the wake. The 21st-c. citizen masters those parts of the lexicon that match his or her interests, and communicates with people with similar interests, face to face or via the electronic media, but the terminology of very few trades is shared by 21st-c. language users with the same mother tongue.

Rapid technological development has meant a radical change in most parts of the material culture. Buildings are made of *beton* ‘concrete’ in the towns with many floors. Shipping has changed completely with the coming of diesel motors, container transport and steel constructions. Agricultural production has been mechanized with the consequence that the countryside has been depopulated, and agriculture has joined the group of specialized trades where only professional people are well acquainted with the terminology in its totality. This technological advance has changed the shopping habits of customers, too. With the general availability of *koleskabe* ‘refrigerators’ and *frysere* ‘freezers’, food is bought in larger quantities in supermarkets where the staff may be less knowledgeable about the goods than the customers. Pre-packed goods are labelled with the name and the quantity, and the lexical circle is closed (cf. section 1 *horn*): *løse ris*, *parboiled* ‘rice for boiling’.

Anglo-American cultural influence in the 20th c. seems just as strong as Low German influence in the Middle Ages. The Low German lexical items were successfully integrated into the Nordic languages; it remains to be seen if Anglo-American lexical influence will have the same fate.

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39. Nordic language history and cultural geography

1. The cultural-morphological method and its Scandinavian representatives
2. The topicality of the method
3. Dialect geography and historical and cultural geography
4. Summary: Cultural geography and language history
5. Literature (a selection)

1. The cultural-morphological method and its Scandinavian representatives

The relations between language history and cultural history, which for a long time had been an important topic, have since the 1920s been developed into a special interdisciplinary variant, aiming at a synthesis of linguistics, dialect geography, history (especially medieval territorial history) and cultural history in order to throw light on both language history and ethnology and folklore. The discipline is often called “Kulturmorphologie/cultural morphology” and it is specifically German in origin, founded by Theodor Frings together with Hermann Aubin and Josef Müller (1926) and continued by other well-known Germanists such as Friedrich Maurer (1942), Ferdinand Wrede and others.

This method had its heyday in German studies between the two World Wars and continued several years after the Second World War, but it has not left many traces in Scandinavian studies. The best known scholar who tried to apply it to Nordic dialect material was Natan Lindqvist. In his studies on South Swedish dialect geography (1947) he drew a multitude of maps based on phonological and morphological phenomena and in particular on word geography; through these he estab-

lished an important linguistic opposition between Southwest and Central Sweden, which he then compared with cultural phenomena such as types of farms, types of houses, various tools etc. and he also tried to explore the linguistic dynamics behind present-day phenomena. Lindqvist has also made theoretical utterances about these problems. He refers explicitly to German dialect geography, but in part, he arrives at different conclusions: Lindqvist (1943, 62–64; cf. also Hesselman 1948–53, 5ff.) claims that territorial boundaries do not play the same role as in Germany, that the crucial point is communication in the widest sense. Another example of this sort of dialect geography is Broberg (1973), which was published thirty years later and considered a great number of factors, comprising not only linguistic geography but many cultural phenomena such as history in general, ethnology, folklore, topography, climate, communications etc. – it is indeed an excellent work which gives a comprehensive picture of language and culture in the province of Värmland (in western Sweden), but which is not well-known (Bandle 2000). Among other things it shows that in spite of Lindqvist’s assertion, cultural morphology is a reality also in Scandinavia.

More examples could be mentioned, e.g. northern Scandinavia, which displays several parallels between dialect geography and important cultural phenomena (Erixon 1945; 1957; Zetterholm 1937), and moreover, not only dialects, but also the distribution of place-name types can be compared with historical and cultural facts (Bandle 1997). To be sure, *exact* correspondences are rare; in particular those between dialects and old territorial units are in many cases uncertain or vague,

and therefore it may be understandable that this method, developed with reference to German conditions, has not become equally popular in Scandinavia.

2. The topicality of the method

In the meantime, however, the cultural-geographical method (also called “the Rhenish school”) has lost much of its fascination also on an international level, at least in part due to the opposition from structural linguistics with its emphasis on internal, systematic explanations for the rise and spread of innovations. While Frings and his followers believe that innovations spread through single words and continuously from one area to another, structuralists claim that common developments in different areas are based on a common predisposition, and this naturally excludes other than accidental connections with cultural and political factors. Höfler’s “Entfaltungstheorie/Theory of linguistic unfolding”), though not structuralist at all, is based on similar hypotheses and has contributed to weakening cultural dialectology’s position (Höfler 1955/56). Moreover, modern sociolinguistics such as Chambers/Trudgill (1980) have directed severe criticism against traditional dialect geography, finding fault with its lack of a theoretical framework and with its use of outdated materials from linguistic atlases, not to speak of the inexactitude of its results. It is therefore not surprising that works on general dialectology like Löffler (1974) or Grober-Glück (1982) describe Frings’ method as something belonging to research history, but the question is whether this exempts us from looking back and asking what this sort of dialectology has achieved in the study of Nordic language history.

The mutual elucidation of language history and cultural history has, all in all, brought language research considerable achievements. Not only have cultural areas become clearer in their geographical and historical dimensions, but cultural areas in the form of dialect areas can often serve as sources of language history. Dialectal kernel areas may e. g. indicate the starting point of a historical development; many examples show how modern dialect geography can confirm results from the study of older texts; in many cases our understanding of a historical development will rely on the linguistic feature’s geographical position – an aspect of special importance in a language area like Norway, where textual sources

are relatively rare. To mention just one example: the “East Nordic” monophthongization is only partly carried through in eastern Norway, and where there are new monophthongs, they are, in part, preserved as special phonemes (not merged with other monophthongs) (Bandle 1973, 64–66; Sandøy 1993, 114f., also Moberg 1953); and this indicates an intermediate stage in the development towards general monophthongization which otherwise is rarely testified (this agrees with the general distribution of monophthongization, which appears as a South Scandinavian innovation reaching far to the north on the eastern side of the peninsula).

3. Dialect geography and historical and cultural geography

Let us now try to sum up the cultural-geographical facts that may have been of some significance for Nordic language history.

3.1. Relations to prehistory and early history

At the dawn of modern historical studies, it was popular to relate geographically limited linguistic features to Germanic (German) tribes, but nowadays discussions about questions of that sort are not very acute any longer. To be sure, Kuhn (1951/52) does speak throughout of tribes and tribal boundaries, where Frings had considered medieval territories, and even in Frings’ own and several other scholars’ writings, there seems to have been some sort of revival of the tribal hypothesis which at that time already was at least disputed, but this has only left few traces in the field of Scandinavian studies. The best known scholar in this connection is Johan Götling (1940/41), who tried to relate a series of conspicuous dialect boundaries in the midst of the plain of Västergötland to conditions and events of the neolithic period: as there is no topographical obstacle in this area, he had no other explanation for these boundaries than the immigration of a tribe around 2000 B. C. Götling admitted that the dialectal features in question were not as old as that, but he supposed that they were “predestined” by the Stone Age – a rather mystical notion of continuity indeed! More exact is Lindqvist (1947), who also held that the Stone Age was the origin of the cultural contrast between Southwest and Northeast Sweden, but only in the sense

of preconditions in topography and communications; in 1943 he rejected tribal hypotheses altogether.

Something different are the relations between dialect geography and later migrations. With the help of word geography, Bandle (1967) tries to support the theory that Iceland was colonized from various areas of Norway and that dialect mixture resulting from the different origins of the settlers in the first phase was followed by dialect levelling, resulting in its turn in the well-known linguistic unity of Iceland. Especially from more recent times, the connection between language and settlement is well-known, e.g. from northern Norway, where the originally East Norw. dialect of Bardu-Målselv is still distinctly separated from its surroundings (cf. Bandle 1967, 481). Here as e.g. also in North Sweden, there is still much material to work with.

3.2. Relations to administrative and ecclesiastical boundaries

As already indicated, there is not much in the North Germanic area which could be compared to Frings' syntheses of dialects and territorial history. Lindqvist (1943), from his Swedish standpoint, mentions in extenso the restrictions on the results which Frings had attained in the Rhineland (the "Rhenish fan"). The parish (*socken*), which in former times had secular functions as well, is practically the only relevant linguistic unit, while larger linguistic areas usually are not related to administrative units – now and then a diocese is recognizable behind the geographical distribution of a linguistic phenomenon, but the "landscapes" (Sw. *landskap*) usually are not linguistic units, on the contrary, they are often crossed by distinct dialect boundaries; according to Lindqvist, boundaries of provinces (Sw. *län*) are rather more relevant. Lindqvist (1947) attains similar negative results: the distribution of Southwest vs. Central Swedish dialect features is only in a few cases in accordance with political, administrative or ecclesiastical units; what is essential for the spreading of linguistic innovations are the routes of communication, the intensity of cultural trends and the nature of the cultural and linguistic innovations. The old Swedish-Danish frontier in South Sweden certainly played a part in forming the dialect boundaries in that area, but of at least the same significance were the highlands of Småland as a communication barrier on the one hand and the waterways (rivers like Lagan and

Nissan) as paths of communication on the other.

As concerns Norway, Bandle (1967, 446 ff.) has also tried to establish relations between dialects (mainly the vocabulary) and older administrative and ecclesiastical units – with limited success. What he, on the whole, could confirm, was the comparatively important role of the *thing* districts, in particular the Gulathing, whose catchment area covered both western Norway and Hallingdal/Valdres on the eastern side of the mountains. The correspondence between dialect areas and dioceses, too, is comparatively well testified, e.g. the relations between western Norwegian and the chapter of Bergen or those between East Norwegian and the diocese of Hamar. In some cases there are parallels between dialect areas and the *fylki* of the 12th and 13th c., but more distinct are relationships not to whole areas, but to certain sections of borderlines, e.g. the great watershed between West and East Norway, the southern and northern boundaries of Trøndelag fylke and of the diocese of Nidaros etc., even if these correspondences are neither very precise nor numerous (for details, see Bandle 1967; 1994).

In particular, in southeastern Norway we observe that relations of the western boundary of this kernel area to territorial units are obvious, but the equally strong northern borderline of this same kernel area remains without such parallels, so that we might suspect that the correspondence is secondary, i.e. that it rests on common preconditions in cultural circumstances, ultimately in the network of communication (an area open to foreign influences vs. remote countryside in inner South Norway). Something similar could probably be said of the mountain range: that there are linguistic phenomena strictly confined to the fjord areas on the western side *and* phenomena reaching over to the eastern mountain valleys depends probably on the dual function – partly separating, partly connecting – of mountains, conditions which may also be responsible for the political and administrative boundaries.

3.3. Ethnological relations

Correspondences between the distribution of linguistic and ethnological phenomena are also apparent in the Scandinavian countries, even if they are not exact in all respects and the material has not yet been analysed completely. In Norway, the ethnological material

in question is rather sparse, but research work already done confirms on the whole the results of dialectology. The West Norwegian area, in particular, is distinct. Vreim (1933) mentions among characteristic phenomena farms in the form of irregular clusters (in contrast e.g. to quadrangular farms in East Norway), “smoke stove” (*røkovn*) in contrast to open fire-place (*peis*) with chimney etc. Erixon (1933) mentions some Swedish-Norwegian ethnological phenomena which confirm Southeast Norway’s position as a portal for eastern and southern innovations. Ethnological phenomena which support the southwestern and the North Swedish (North Scandinavian) cultural and linguistic areas have already been pointed out; most distinct are, however, not so much the cultural *areas* as the cultural *boundaries*. When we look round in Scandinavia, time and again we meet borderlines which are, in spite of overlappings, clear and distinct: one of the best examples is the borderline between eastern and western Norway; another is the salient borderline in North Ångermanland (Sweden), which in recent times has been the object of archaeological, ethnological, dialect-geographical and onomastic research and which is ultimately a consequence of settlement history (Westerdahl 1994).

In previous research, the focus has above all been on concrete ethnological phenomena, but we should not forget that possibly also social history and the history of mentality could be compared with dialect geography (cf. Øidne 1957). In any case, it seems certain that in spite of all inaccuracies in the details, parallels between linguistic and ethnological data could contribute to a deeper and clearer understanding of language history.

3.4. Relations to topography and general communications

In sect. 3.2. it was suggested that in various cases, where territorial relations may be considered, ultimately natural conditions and communications have top priority. Indeed, both Bach (1950; 1965) and Lindqvist (1943) maintain that it is these factors which are most important for the development of dialect areas and dialect boundaries. It is obvious that today it is above all the towns which, thanks to their significance to economy and culture, have the most influence over the linguistic conditions in their surroundings, but also for earlier centuries, we have to reckon with linguistic innovations emanating from the towns, not-

withstanding the question of territorial divisions. The influence of big cities like Copenhagen and Stockholm is well known; in Norway, it is not only the capital, Oslo, which sets the linguistic character of its surroundings, but also in the case of Bergen, where the influence of urban speech was apparent already in Late Middle Ages and Early Modern times, e.g. in the shape of loanwords and loan translations such as *manke* ‘mane’ or *springa* ‘to cover (animals)’ a.o., which have spread along the coast from Bergen all the way up to the distant north. Minor towns have also exerted such influence, e.g. Stavanger which nowadays is the centre of a distinct kernel area in Rogaland, or Hamar, an old market town (and also an episcopal see), which has had a central function in eastern Norway.

In particular, in a country with a varying landscape like Norway, however, the topographical conditions are also likely to be influential on dialect geography. This was certainly the case in many dialect areas which lack territorial parallels. In southeastern Norway, where at best the western boundary can be explained by territorial divisions, it is obvious that the open character of the landscape, which includes several important towns such as Oslo and Tønsberg, has been of considerable significance: in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern times and indeed right up to today, it lay open to linguistic innovations, phonological, morphological and lexical ones (even modern specialized words such as *hingst*, *vallak* or *hoppe* came in here and some of them were passed on to other parts of the country). Trondheim was not only politically and ecclesiastically important, but the town and its surroundings were at the same time the natural centre of northern Norway, from which numerous innovations could start. It is particularly difficult to find reasons other than topography and communication networks for the formation of large dialect areas such as East Norwegian, including Trøndelag. The South Norwegian dialect area as well, which extends from the south coast to Central Norway, can only at limited points be compared with administrative and ecclesiastical boundaries, e.g. the distinct word geographic borderline between Numedal and Hallingdal (Bandle 1967, 486). In several cases it seems impossible to find either territorial or ethnological parallels even for minor linguistic areas: in northwestern Norway, between Nordfjord and Sunnmøre, a distinct kernel area has developed which lies across every known admini-

strative and ecclesiastical borderline and cannot simply be a relic area, because it also comprises innovations such as *e-mål*; the only possible conclusion is that it must originate from the communications along the coast and into the fjords.

4. Summary: Cultural geography and language history

From the point of view of Nordic linguistics, it might seem as if the gains from cultural-geographical or cultural-morphological methodology were not so great as its founders had thought; the mutual elucidation of language history and cultural and linguistic geography is, however, of considerable value. Several examples have been mentioned; here, we shall only sum up some of the results.

As Frings and his colleagues have shown, the cultural geography of the Rhineland gains considerable depth if it is related to the High German consonant shift and other linguistic developments which have proceeded from south to north (some critics have rejected this, but not convincingly). We can also mention Nordic examples of the significance of language history for cultural geography: the southwest/northeast opposition in Sweden, brought about to a considerable extent by the historical linguistic movements since Denmark's "great power" period in the High Middle Ages; the Northeast Scandinavian linguistic and cultural area, one of the centres of which we can reasonably assume to be Central Sweden; the cultural area of Southeast Norway, which on historical and also word-stratigraphic grounds appears to be a most important innovation area and thus demonstrates its great significance for the cultural and linguistic history of Norway since the late Middle Ages.

On the other hand, studies on cultural geography can often explain or supplement facts of language history, both individual phenomena and whole areas or language movements. E.g. the geographical distribution of the *e-mål* in South and Northwest Norway between areas of vowel balance and of generally preserved *-a* points to their origin in a compromise, and the case is similar for the development of *ll* > *dd* in the west of South Norway, between *dl* and *ll*. Sounds, inflexions and vocabulary of the Norwegian dialects give us deep insights into the dynamics of Norwegian language history: after a series of west-east

movements during the Viking Age and High Middle Ages, the southeast of Norway became active, accepted numerous innovations from the southeast and east and passed them on to other parts of (especially eastern) Norway, in this way contributing much to the structure of modern Norwegian, in particular Bokmål. The examples could be increased considerably: from the south of Scandinavia, where several dialectal innovations, arranged in the form of concentric circles, point to the expansive vigour of this area in the Middle Ages (Bandle 1973, map 15); from the west, where linguistic and cultural geography together demonstrate clearly the historical relationship between insular Nordic and the dialects of the mother country; from Central Sweden, where the Swedish standard developed at the crossroads of south and north.

Today, the topicality of the cultural dialectological method may be a matter of dispute. Sociolinguistics and urban dialectology seem already to have made it a bit obsolete, and the development of sociolinguistics and dialectology will certainly continue in this direction (towards a "sociodialectology") the more the old rural dialects die or are levelled. In spite of this and although cultural dialectology doesn't seem to yield such rich results in Scandinavia as elsewhere (in particular in the German-speaking area), we should not forget its achievements for Nordic language history; we should keep it in mind, together with a sociolinguistic view, also in the future.

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40. Nordic language history and legal history

1. The Regional Law period (The Viking Age and the Early High Middle Ages)
2. The Initial National Law period (The High and Late Middle Ages)
3. The Integrated National Law period
4. Literature (a selection)
5. Special abbreviations

1. The Regional Law period (The Viking Age and the Early High Middle Ages)

1.1. Sources

1.1.1. Runic inscriptions

The extant legal sources from the Viking Age consist almost exclusively of runic inscriptions, from which some legal information can be deduced. Examples of this are the Oklunda inscription from Östergötland, Sweden, and the Forsa Ring inscription from Hälsingland, Sweden, both dated to the 9th century (see Ruthström 1988; 1990; Widmark 1999). The latter inscription must be regarded as the only undisputably intact piece of a Viking Age law that remains today.

A project analyzing runic inscriptions as declarations of property and inheritance has been undertaken by Birgit Sawyer (1988).

1.1.2. Regional laws

By the end of the Viking Age the Scandinavian countries of today, that is Denmark (in this period including Scania, Blekinge and Halland), Norway and Sweden, were in the process of becoming three separate kingdoms, each one uniting a number of smaller regions. The regions were originally independent, petty kingdoms, each with its own law. The regional laws (see *Danmarks Gamle Landskabslove*, *Norges gamle love indtil 1387*, *Samling af Sveriges Gamla Lagar* and *Grágás*) continued to be in force throughout the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages until national laws were given in Norway, Iceland and Sweden in the High and Late Middle Ages, in Denmark as late as 1683.

1.1.3. Town laws

As commercial contact with the outside world grew, special commercial sites or market places emerged, which called for separate sets

of legal rules. Such sets of rules were originally called *Björköa Laws*. Extant early laws of this kind exist from the towns of Nidaros (Trondheim) in Trøndelagen, Norway, from Lund in Scania, in those days in Denmark, and from Lödöse in Västergötland and (originally) Stockholm, Sweden (cf. Wessén 1980; Niitemaa 1980, 658 f.; Brattgard 1980; Meyer 1980). The town laws (see DGK, NGL, SSGL) were concise and appear to have been complementary to the regional laws.

1.1.4. National royal statutes

In accordance with the general ideas of 13th century Europe about the king's duties as peacekeeper and his right to institute laws, the kings of the Nordic countries – with the consent of an assembly of the principal men of each kingdom (national council) – began to create statutes which would be valid for the whole country. As time passed, these statutes (most often called *logh* or *handfæstninger* in Denmark, *nýmæli* or *réttarbætr* in Norway and *stadgor* in Sweden) were included in the (regional or national) law codex (Jørgensen 1982; Bøe 1982; Liedgren 1982).

1.2. Reading and understanding the laws – the point of departure

In the Nordic countries the laws are the oldest extant vernacular literary sources. Practically no other kind of contemporary literature exists, which could shed light on legal rules and customs in the Nordic countries in the Early Middle Ages. A remarkable exception to this rule is the Icelandic Saga literature. This exception has posed some very difficult questions for legal historians. Thus, on the one hand, the Nordic laws cannot be fully understood without at least a rough concept of the kind of society and culture of which they were part (cf. Wessén 1968, 7). On the other hand, however, the impression of that same society and culture which can be deduced from those same laws by careful reading cannot be corroborated or verified in the Saga literature in any simple way.

One initial issue is the problem how to evaluate the Icelandic law *Grágás*, since, in many respects, this law diverges from the other Nordic laws. A second issue is how to evaluate the legal evidence of the Saga literature, which

in its turn, in several respects, diverges from that of *Grágás* as well as from the Mainl. Scand. laws. A third issue – finally – is the question of the extent to which influence from foreign, in particular Roman, canon or Mosaic law, may be revealed in the laws. This subject will be treated in 1.3., and in connection with the exposition of the legal vocabulary of the sources.

1.2.1. Notes on research history

In political discussions in 19th century Germany and France, a central role was played by legal history, whereby the advocates of conflicting political views on constitutional and judicial systems made efforts to find arguments in the old Germanic laws for their respective standpoints.

A great benefit of the general importance assigned to the old laws in the legislation debate was that, by the turn of the century, a large amount of research of lasting value was carried out on the Nordic medieval laws by continental, particularly German, legal historians. Important names in this endeavour are Karl von Amira, Konrad Maurer and Andreas Heusler (see further 1.2.4.).

1.2.2. How to understand the constitution of *Grágás*

The Dan., Norw. and Sw. medieval laws all give fairly similar pictures of societies with a central, political power – a king – on a national level, and in which the authority of local powerful men or chieftains was always connected with a certain, delimited territory. In contrast to this, *Grágás* pictures a society which had no king or central political power whatsoever, neither on the national nor on the local level. The power of a chieftain, a *goði*, in this society was not connected with any specific territory.

The traditional view, as represented by legal historians like Ólafur Lárússon, has been that the Icel. type of constitution without a central, political power had been the original one in the Gulathing, the part of Norway from which most of the colonists came. This is claimed to be reflected in Ari Fróði's tale of *Úlfjóttr*. This man is said to have formed what was to become the first Icel. law in ca. 930 mostly after the pattern of what was the Gulathing Law before Norway was unified by king Harald Finehair and after hearing the advice of Þorleifr the Wise, and to have brought it to Ice-

land from Norway (Lárússon 1960, 7; cf. *Íslendingabók II*, 17; Meulengracht Sørensen 1993, 41; P.H. Sawyer 1980, 57).

In recent times, however, the tale of *Úlfjóttr* has been severely criticized and its importance profoundly revised by Sigurður Lindal (1969). According to Lindal *Úlfjóttr*'s mission ought rather to have been to inquire into what was the accepted law in the Gulathing on specific, fundamental issues, thereby solving pendent legal conflicts in Iceland (Lindal 1969, 471–3).

There are factors which seem to favour the idea that the Icelandic constitution may have been an Icelandic innovation. First of all, Iceland was not conquered by its settlers. There was no need for the Nordic colonists to use force, as the island was not populated in the normal sense. Secondly, the peaceful colonization of Iceland was achieved by a great number of small, separate groups of people. This prevented the creation of regions dominated by one single family or clan. Thirdly, because of its remote geographical situation, the colonized island needed no defense against attacks from abroad.

Consequently, no organization for war, no national army was ever devised. These circumstances made it unnecessary to have a king or chieftain to command organized warriors (cf. Foote/Wilson 1980, 132; Ólason 1998, 29). They also prevented the emergence of individuals who could claim political power out of their domination of a whole region. All these factors must have been unique for Iceland. In this perspective, there seems to be more indicating that the Icel. constitution was an Icel. innovation than a Norwegian import.

1.2.3. The political and juridical title *goði* and religion

The title *goði* for a chieftain has never been recorded in the Nordic countries outside Iceland. Neither has the word for the office of the chieftain, *goðorð*. Etymologically the word *goði* is a derivation of *goð*, *guð* 'god', and there are instances of *goði* 'warden or priest of heathen temple' in runic inscriptions as well as in the Icel. saga literature. The traditional explanation has it that in Iceland the office of the warden or priest of the heathen temple gradually developed into a chieftaincy. This interpretation corresponds well with the idea of a very close relation between law and religion, which has been widely accepted when speaking of the West Germanic languages in connection with the WGmc words *ewa/eo/*

æ(w)e ‘secular law, legal system’, but also ‘divine law, religion’ (cf. v. See 1964, 105–109 with notes). The existence of the Icel. title *goði* for a chieftain with fundamentally legal duties has been used as argument for the idea that a close relationship between law and religion had existed in the Nordic countries as well (Ólason 1998, 26f.).

Critical arguments, however, have been put forward against this conclusion by Ólafur Lárússon (1960, 9f.) and v. See (1964, 108–110). The former draws the conclusion that the religious duties of the *goðar* must have been merely a secondary matter, and the latter claims that the office of the *goði* may merely have had a loose and superficial connection with the religious office. A later attempt to give a new interpretation to the sources by Ólason (1998, 27) does not seem to add anything to the facts stressed by Ólafur Lárússon and v. See.

Now a recent study proposes a new explanation of the terminology surrounding the Icelandic chieftain and of his office (Ruthström 1999). It argues from the point of view of the legal system that the office, *goðorð*, and not the holder of the office, *goði*, is the primordial juridical concept of the two and that *goðorð* and *goðorðsmaðr* were the original terms, the latter word being a rather overlooked synonym of *goði* only found in the sagas (v. See 1964, 109). The consequence of this would be that *goði* is merely a secondary term, possibly introduced ca. 965 in connection with establishing the territorial division of the island into Quarters.

The denotation ‘chieftaincy’ for the primary term *goðorð* is explained as developing from an original ‘(right to) speech or say or authority characteristic of a warden of a heathen temple’, in an intermediary phase lexicalized as a more general ‘authority over a parish or assembly of people’.

If the theory referred to is a correct interpretation of the historical development, it would in fact define the title *goði* for chieftain as a purely Icel. phenomenon lacking any original connection with religion in Iceland.

1.2.4. How to understand the Icelandic sagas

Legal process purports to be a means of putting an end to disputes in the Icel. family sagas. However, in the saga world, legal process tends to be but one option among several in what is called a feud, i. e. successive, reciprocal slaying of many persons in a lengthy, ongoing

fight between two families or kin groups. Within narrow limits, it was accepted in law to avenge oneself (*Grágás* Ia, 147). However, this and other legal limitations are completely disregarded by the saga characters. This brings into focus the difficult question of the reliability of the Icel. sagas in general and of the family sagas in particular, the latter purporting to describe events which took place two or three centuries before the sagas were written. The so-called Icelandic school, well known for its careful observation of source and manuscript criticism, and with Sigurður Nordal as a leading name, has shown that the tales that are told about named characters in the sagas cannot be trusted as historical truth. A different question, however, is whether the cultural setting, the social context, can be relied upon as historically trustworthy.

In the beginning of the 20th century, Andreas Heusler was a pioneer in treating law in the sagas seriously. In recent times, renewed interest in the social context of the sagas has been shown by scholars like Preben Meulengracht Sørensen (1993), Kirsten Hastrup (1985), Jesse Byock (1982), Theodore Andersson and above all William Ian Miller (Andersson/Miller 1989; Miller 1990). (For a research review, see Karlsson 1993). In Miller’s view the saga sources are “admirably suited to certain social and legal historical inquiries concerning the time in which they were written” (1990, 45).

The Icel. model of feud and of the dispute process was one of balance and reciprocity (*ibid.*, 183). Legal process is in fact shown to be part of the feuding process (*ibid.*, 235; see also Heusler 1911, 103; v. See 1964, 239f.). The structure of the constitution was devised to maintain the balance of power between the constitutional chieftains (*goðar*). The chieftains were key operators in this structure. Now Miller shows that the feud in Iceland was one of the key structures in which the political competition for dominance was played out (1990, 181). This makes sense, considering that the chieftains lived in a society where there was no traditional mainland Scandinavian mechanism of increasing status and power, like joining the retinue (*hirð*) of the local king or taking part in a local war or even defending the country against invaders. When all this is taken into consideration, the impression of the exceptional importance of the feud in Early Middle Age Icelandic society appears to acquire a domestic, Icelandic explanation, and the seeming contradiction between

Grágás and the Icelandic sagas in the matter of the feud appears to fade or vanish.

1.3. Germanic law versus Roman, canon and Mosaic law

Modern research has showed the considerable extent to which the medieval laws were subject to foreign influence channeled by the Christian church. The canon law of the Christian church incorporated the biblical law of Moses, Mosaic law, as well as Roman law.

Around the year 1220, a wave of activity swept through Europe, aimed at writing down the different vernacular legal customs or laws in the different regions. The activity was inspired and assisted by the Christian church. The results of this codification activity in any given region must have been a mixture of domestic and foreign law. It is the task of legal historians to find out the extent to which foreign law replaced old, domestic law in this process. Indications of foreign legal influence, as well as contrasting patterns of domestic law, can be found at all linguistic levels, from loanwords to stylistic features. We can sum up the characteristic features of all these linguistic levels with the expression “legal language”.

1.4. Legal language

The law's need for specific ways of expressing legal categories, for linguistic clarity and consistency in legal matters, in short, for terms and terminologies of its own, demands a specific, professional legal language. Moreover, legal language not only reflects social reality, it also regulates it by means of words (cf. v. See 1964, 2; Koschacker 1947, 112). The development of a specific Nordic legal language, generally speaking, occurred in the Early and High Middle Ages (v. See 1964, 2).

However, the degree of exactitude of the Middle Age legal language is not considered to be very high. The principle of one meaning per word seems to have been poorly developed (v. See 1964, 4).

Sharply limiting the legal concepts in question, on the contrary, are so-called legal definitions. These are not so scarce as one might believe (cf. v. See 1964, 4f.). In the Sw. Östgöta Law, e. g., we find the following definition of a thief: “þri æru þiuaa en raþær ok annar stial ok þriþi takær uiþ” [there are three thieves: one who plots, another one who steals and a third one who receives].

A characteristic feature of Nordic legal language is the proclivity for establishing legal concepts by means of substantives. This is another factor which benefits conceptual clarity. An example: “allt þæt bondin ok husfrun kiöpæ samæn. baþi j iorþ ok lösörum. þæt kallær siængæ köp. aghi husfrun þriþung. ok bonden twælötinæ” [all that a husband and his wife buy together is called bed purchase. the wife shall own one third of it and her husband two thirds.].

Nordic legal language very early on attracted the interest of legal historians and historical linguists. Etymologies and efforts to reconstruct a Proto-Germanic legal language were then in the focus. Less interest was attached to studying the actual use of legal terminology both in individual laws and in an overall Nordic perspective. For research in recent times, see v. See (1964, 1 with notes). On the other hand, several studies of the syntax and style of the medieval Nordic legal language have been made (see de Boor 1922; Ståhle 1958; B. Pettersson 1959; Wessén 1968; Ehrhardt 1977, Naumann 1979; Jörgensen 1987; Wendt 1997 and 1999).

(a) Legal vocabulary

The complete vocabulary of the Nordic laws is laid out in dictionaries. The objective here is limited to giving a small sample of legal terminology. The words or denotations of words of each language are distributed into two groups, called domestic words and loanwords. In the loanwords group are included not only proper loanwords but also compounds with and derivatives of loanwords, regardless of whether these compounds etc., are proper loanwords themselves or formed long after their headwords had become integrated parts of the receiving language. Furthermore, I have included obvious loan translations – like OWN *tund* after Lat. *decima (pars)* – in this group, in order to give a clearer impression of the combined impact of foreign cultural influences.

An early layer of loanwords has come from Old English, Old Saxon and, in some cases, Old Frisian. A late layer of such words, on the other hand, has come from Middle Low German (cf. Hyldgaard-Jensen 1992, 12). This corresponds on the whole with the presentation below.

(b) Legal terminology

Legal terminology includes single words as well as expressions or phrases composed of

two or more words, like *ganga a griþ ok göræ sæt* 'break a truce and concluded settlement' (ÅVgL O.2). This survey, however, must in principle limit itself to giving single terms, *griþ, sæt*.

1.4.1. The early layer of the Regional Law period – examples of domestic words

The survey is based here on Skautrup (1944–53). From as far back as Ancient Nordic times (ca. 200–800), there are extant words for social relations and stratification corresponding to OWN *friáandi* 'friend', *fiáandi* 'enemy', *konungr* 'king', *þegn* 'free man' and *þjófr* 'thief'. Several words for family relations corresponding to OWN *faðir* 'father', *móðir* 'mother', etc. are in fact common IE words.

From Runic times (ca. 800–1100) there are more extant words for social relations corresponding to OWN *bræðrungr* 'father's (or mother's) brother's son' and compounds like *föðurfaðir* 'grandfather on the father's side' and so on.

In the sphere of crimes, there are words corresponding to OWN *bardagi* 'assault', *dráp* 'slaying', *hefnd* 'revenge', and corresponding to OEN *styld*, *þiufnaþer* 'theft, larceny'. Words for a jurisdiction district are (corresponding to ODan.) *hæraþand* (corresponding to OSw.) *hundari*. The central word for jurisdiction assembly, corresponding to OWN *þing*, is common Germanic.

The OWN equivalents of the common PN words for 'law' and for 'right, claim', are *log* and *réttr* respectively. The latter is found in the compound corresponding to OWN *lýréttr* and extant in the expression *at liuþriti* 'according to the rights (of the people or society)', in the Forsa inscription from the 9th (or 10th) century (see Ruthström 1990).

1.4.2. The early layer of the Regional Law period – examples of loanwords

First, two old loanwords correspond to OWN *kaupa* 'buy' (orig. 'trade' with *caupo*, Lat. for 'innkeeper, merchant') and *ambátt* 'female thrall, bondwoman'.

In this period the Christian church was being established. The central power of the king in each Nordic country (except Iceland) was being consolidated, probably inspired by the contemporary feudal development in central Europe and underpinned by the

canonical doctrine of kingdom by divine right. Finally, mercantile centers developed into real commercial towns, like Hedeby (Slesvig) in Denmark and Birka in Sweden. With these innovations came new legal terminology.

The Christian religion came to Norway and Iceland from the British Isles and to Denmark and Sweden mainly from northern Germany. As a result of this, the clerical terminology sometimes differed between western and eastern Scandinavia.

Common Nordic loanwords (and loan translations) from this early period are e.g. (in OWN): *biskup* 'bishop' (ultimately from Lat-Gr. *episcopus* 'superintendent'), *kirkja* 'church' (ultimately from Gr. *kyriakón* 'belonging to God'), *kristinn* 'Christian', *prest* 'priest' (ultimately from Lat.-Gr. *presbyter*), *primsigna* vb. 'sign a person with the cross as a preliminary act to christening', *tiund* 'tithes' (after Lat. *decima (pars)*). An OEN word is *dæpa* 'baptize, christen' (< OSx. *dopjan*). OWN words are *höfuðkirkja* 'cathedral' (cf. *heafodcirice*), *biskupa* 'confirm' (< OSx. *biscopian*). Mercantile words are OWN *kaupungr*, OEN *köpingr*, *köbing* 'commercial town', OWN *penningr*, OEN *pænningr*.

1.4.3. The late layer – examples of OSw. domestic words

(1) Words connected with the legal system and the structure of society: *Bo* 'farm', *bol* 'farm (where the landowner lived)', *byr* 'village', *folkvavn* 'customary set of weapons', *friþer* 'general peace and security, esp. against revenge', *fæ* 'property, belongings', *griþ, gruf* 'peace and security promised to person who feared assault', *heþer* 'honour', *hirþ* '(the king's) guard', *hælg(h)* '(important) holiday when *friþer* was decreed, *friþer* of important holiday(s)', *jarl* 'the king's most highranking official', *laghmaþer* 'judge for a whole land', *land* 'region with its own law', *leþunger* 'military sea expedition including necessary, obligatory provisions, such levied provisions', *lænder maþer* 'man entrusted or endowed with land by the king', *lösir örar, lösöre* 'movable property' (concerning *örir* see Ruthström 1993), *manhælg(hi, manhælgþ)* 'personal peace and security', *omag(hi, ovormag(hi)* 'person under 15 years of age', *qvinnaþriþer* 'women's peace and security', *þokki* 'insult, offence', *þrætta*, vb. 'dispute, contend'.

(2) Words connected with marriage: *Brullöp* 'wedding', *bruf* 'bride', *fylgþ* 'dowry', *gift*

(*gipt*), *giftarmal* (*giptar-*) ‘giving away of woman in marriage’, *hionalagh* ‘marriage’, *munder* ‘bride’s bargain’.

(3) Words connected with inheritance: *Arf*, neut., *arver*, masc., ‘inheritance’, *arvi*, *arvingi*, ‘heir’, *skötsætu barn* ‘legitimized child’, *ærv* ‘inherit’.

(4) Words connected with the acquisition, possession or use of land and farm:

Afraþ ‘land rent’, *jorþ* ‘estate’, *jorþafastar*, masc. pl. ‘trustees at land purchase’, *laghbúþ* ‘offer (of land) for preemption or for redemption’, *laigulenninger*, *landboe* ‘holder of land, tenant’, *oþolfastir* (*oþilfastar*), masc. pl. ‘trustees at purchase of *oþoliorþ*’, *oþoliorþ* ‘patrimonial land’, *umfærþ* ‘symbolic circuit performed at land conveyance’.

(5) Words connected with the acquisition, possession or use of property in general or of movable property, including claims: *Bolagh*, *fælagh* ‘economic partnership’, *inlaghs fæ* ‘deposited property’, *lana*, *læa* ‘lend’, *skyld* ‘debt’, *sælia* ‘sell’, *ut krævia* ‘claim’, *vin* ‘trustee at purchase’, *værþörrar*, pl. ‘currency’ (concerning *örir* see Ruthström 1993).

(6) Words connected with dispute, crime and offence in general: *Agnabaker* ‘crop thief’, *avugher skiold* (*bæra avughan skiold* ‘attack one’s own country, be a traitor’), *banaman*, *bani* ‘slayer’, *bunkabrytari*, *bunkabiter* ‘pirate’, *bælgmorþ* ‘criminal abortion’, *bæria*, vb. ‘assault’, *dræpa* ‘slay’, *fæarföling* ‘furtive killing of cattle’, *gorvargher* ‘cattle slayer’, *gorþiuver* ‘cattle thief’, *haldbani* ‘holder-slayer, assistant slayer’, *hordomber*, ‘adultery’, *kasnavargher* ‘incendiary’, *morþbrander* ‘arson’, *morþingi* ‘murderer’, *niþingsværk* ‘bastard’s work, villainy, esp. about class of very serious crimes’, *raþsbani* ‘plotter-slayer’, *rof*, neut. ‘robbery’, *ræna*, vb. ‘rob’, *stiæla*, vb. ‘steal’, *valrof* ‘plundering of the slain on a battlefield’, *viþertaku þiuver* ‘thief receiver’, *þangbrækka* (*bæra skiold ivir þ*. ‘attack one’s own country, be a traitor).

(7) Words connected with the process of dispute settling and crime punishing: *Akærandi* ‘plaintiff, prosecutor’, *asynar vitni* ‘ocular witness’, *basta* (*b. ok til þings föra*) ‘bind ((offender) and bring to court)’, *bot* ‘compensation, fine’, *bupkafl* ‘piece of wood used as fiery cross’, *domber* ‘sentence’, *dylia* ‘deny (in court)’, *döma* ‘to sentence’, *firigæra* ‘forfeit’, *hemuld* ‘legal guarantee or defense of right (to property)’, *hæfti* (*hæpti*) ‘imprisonment’,

jannaber ‘equity’, *jarnbyrþ* ‘ordeal of iron-bearing’, *lagh lysa* ‘lawfully publish’, *laghsokn* ‘bringing of lawsuit’, *malsæghandi* ‘person aggrieved’, *mæta* (*ut sak mans*) ‘make distraint (of a man’s property)’, *nam* ‘(lawful) seizure of security or payment for debt’, *ora*, vb. ‘seek or achieve revenge’, *ransak*, neut., *ransakan* ‘house-visitation’, *sak* ‘lawsuit’, *saksöki*, *-sökiande*, *-sökia* ‘plaintiff, prosecutor’, *sandbani* ‘true slayer’, *sander* (*s. at sak* ‘guilty of prosecuted crime’), *sannind(i)* (*s. leta* ‘search for truth’), *skilia* (*s. lagh* ‘give official explanation of the law’), *skipa* (*s. lagh* ‘legislate’), *skyfla*, vb. ‘make execution of forfeiture’, *stæmna*, fem., *stæmpning* ‘summons’, *syn* ‘legal inspection’, *sæmia*, vb., N. ‘(make) agreement’, *sæt* ‘settlement’, *sökia* ‘sue, indict’, *sökianði* ‘plaintiff, prosecutor’, *urbota mal* ‘case which could not be atoned for by money, crime’, *utlægher*, *utlaghder* ‘outlaw’, *vereldi* ‘wergild’, *vita*, vb. ‘prove, swear oath’, *væria*, *værna* ‘defend in court’, *væþia* ‘to appeal’, *ættarbot* ‘wergild to be paid by the kin of the slayer to the kin of the victim’.

(8) Words particularly connected with the king:

Biltugha maþer ‘outlaw’, *biltugher*, adj. ‘outlawed’, *epsöris brut* ‘breaching of the King’s and the leading men’s sworn prohibition against certain high crime’.

(9) Words particularly connected with the Christian church:

Hælghis brut, *hælghudaga brut* ‘breach of the Sabbath’, *inleþning*, *inleþsla*, *inleþsn* ‘reintroduction of newly wedded or delivered wife into the Church’, *vighia*, vb. ‘wed’.

(10) Words connected with the growing trade and the commercial towns:

Byaman ‘town’s man’, *byamot* ‘assembly of commercial site or town (corresponding to *þing*)’.

1.4.4. The late layer – examples of Old Swedish loanwords

Loanwords were introduced primarily in connection with the activities of the Christian church, the legislative activities connected with the growing power of the king and of the emerging nobility, and the growing trade coupled with the growing number and size of commercial towns.

(1) Words connected with the Christian church:

Ban (< MLG *ban*, masc., at least in clerical use) 'excommunication', *döpile* 'baptism', *ferma*, vb. 'confirm', *gufbarn*, *-dottir*, *-faðir*, *-móðir* 'godchild etc.', *kalker* 'chalice', *kanuker* (*kanoker*, *kaniker*) 'a canon', *kapellan* (*kaplan*) 'chaplain', *klerker* 'cleric', *kloster* 'cloister', *kristna*, fem. 'Christendom', *kristnu rættir* 'laws concerning Christendom', *lybbiskoper* (cf. OE *leodbisceop*) 'suffragan bishop', *munker* 'monk', *offra*, vb. 'to sacrifice', *oling* 'extreme unction', *provaster* 'provost', *tiunda*, vb. 'pay tithes'.

(2) Words connected with the king: *Hærra* 'lord, master', *hærtugh(i)* 'army leader' (cf. Ahldén 1949, 19), *kanceler* 'chancellor', *krona*, 'crown', *læn*, 'royal grant or emolument', *læns herra* 'fief holder, governor', *lænsmaðer* 'bailiff', *riddari* 'knight'.

(3) Words connected with the growing trade and the commercial towns:

Borgha, vb. 'stand surety', *bysætia* 'imprison for debt', *diker* 'number of ten', *fals* 'fraud', *köpari*, *köpi* 'buyer', *liþköp* 'party celebrating purchase', *panter* masc. 'security, pawn', *strætis köp* 'purchase without witness', *stupa* fem. 'pole or block where criminals were punished, jail', *stupugrevi* 'jailer', *torghköp* 'purchase in market', *vinköp* 'purchase with trustee'.

(4) Other words:

Fangilse 'captivity, jail', *fanter* 'servant', *forgærning* 'putting to death by poison or witchcraft', *forværka* 'forfeit', *makt* 'power, ability', *openbar* (*o. vitni* 'evident testimony'), *röva* vb. 'seize, rob', *rövvari* 'robber'.

1.4.5. Legal syntax and style

There is clear evidence that, from the beginning, law was oral. Customary law was recited every year at the *þing* by a *laghmaðer* or *lög-sögumaðr*, and it was an important duty for all freemen to understand and remember the *laghsagha* that was recited at the *þing*. "Nw sculu mæn till thingx fara oc laghsaghu waræ hæra, hæra the sum hæ æru oc sighiæ them som hemæ sitiæ [Now, men shall go to the Thing and hear our law being recited; those shall listen who are here, and tell them, who are sitting at home; SmL] 2.

The question of what the original oral *laghsagha* really was like has been much discussed (cf. Utterström 1975, 1978; Ståhle 1976; Ehrhardt 1977). In principle, the laws represent an early stage of development, linguistically

only very little influenced by Roman and canon law. There is in the laws a characteristic general principle of conciseness and clarity with a laconic and sententious way of expression. Foreign influence can be seen most often in younger parts of the regional laws and in the town laws (Ståhle 1981, 174).

In contrast to the concise style of proper law language is the language of the medieval royal and regional statutes, which in many respects was created on the pattern of Latin (and MLG) (Holm 1969, 7, 20).

2. The Initial National Law period (The High and Late Middle Ages)

2.1. General remarks

The beginning of the National Law period witnessed the emergence of national legal vocabularies formed primarily out of the legal language of the leading laws in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Norway took the lead in the 13th century, followed by Sweden in the 14th century. In Denmark the integration of legal language took place in juridical practice throughout the Middle Ages but without any expression in legislation.

From the beginning, in the politically independent period of the Icelandic Commonwealth, Iceland had developed a national legal language of its own. When Iceland gave up its political independence to the Norwegian king in 1262, this led to the old Icel. law, *Grágás*, being replaced with new legislation strongly influenced by Norw. national law. The consequences as far as legal terminology is concerned of these separate national processes of legal integration were, of course, that the former terminological regionalities were subject to corresponding processes of terminological integration. In this development, the emerging national terminologies were based on the language of the leading regional laws and town laws in each country.

2.2. National laws and equivalents (see *Danmarks Gamle Landskabslove*, *Norges gamle love indtil 1387*, *Samling af Sveriges Gamla Lagar* and *Grágás*)

Sweden: Magnus Eriksson's National Country Law of ca. 1350 (MEL) and Christopher's National Country Law of 1442 (ChL). Magnus Eriksson's National Town Law of ca. 1360.

Denmark: The Jutland Law of 1241. The Copenhagen Town Law of 1443 and the Malmø Town Law of 1487.

Norway: Magnus Lawmender's National Country Law of 1274–75. Magnus Lawmender's National Town Law of 1276.

Iceland: *Járnsíða* of 1271–73 and *Jónsbók* of 1281.

2.3. The Danish situation

Despite attempts, no national law was created in Denmark until 1683, when Christian V's National Danish Code came into force. In practice, however, the Jutland Law was used more and more in competition with the other regional laws in the rest of Denmark until, in the 16th century, it nearly took over as a de facto national country law (Jørgensen 1969, 42). In the Dan. towns, the Copenhagen Town Law of 1443 was directly or indirectly taken over in its entirety or with omissions or additions by a great number of towns in all parts of the country. (ibid. 104–5).

2.4. Legal vocabulary

Much of what is presented as country law terms were, in fact, used in town law as well. What is presented here as town vocabulary, on the contrary, was exclusively used in town law.

The interrelation between the two Swedish national country laws, MEL and ChL, has recently been studied by Wendt. The part of MEL that was taken over with unchanged contents by ChL shows little change in vocabulary (Wendt 1997, 48f.). Therefore, the words recorded in Swedish country law below (i. e. in MEL) are also to a great extent presented in ChL. If, however, a word is recorded exclusively in ChL, it will be marked with (ChL).

2.4.1. Examples of Old Swedish domestic words

(1) Country law.:

Frælsis man 'man exempt from tax, freeman', *landslagh* neut. pl. 'national country law', *utlagha* fem. 'tribute' (ChL), *vald(s) gæstning* fem. 'the act of obtaining accommodation by force'.

(2) Town law.:

Akærare masc. 'plaintiff, prosecutor', *handslag* neut. 'handshake', *skutman* masc. 'tax collector'.

2.4.2. Examples of Old Swedish loanwords

(1) Country law:

Bevisning fem. 'evidence' (ChL), *borghamæstare* 'mayor', *bödhil* (ChL) (cf. (2)), *friþsbref*, neut. 'royal letter granting peace to outlaw', *gæstgivare* 'innkeeper' (ChL), *hofman* 'courtier', *hækta*, fem., *hækte*, neut., *hæktilse* all 'imprisonment', *krono gots*, neut. 'national estate' (ChL), *landsfogate*, masc. 'governor' (ChL), *overvinna*, vb. 'convict' (ChL), *rækinskaper*, masc. 'accounts', *taverne*, neut. 'inn', *æmbetsman*, masc. 'official'.

(2) Town law:

Bort dobbla, vb. 'gamble away', *bure*, masc. 'burgher', *burskap*, neut. 'burghership', *bysætning*, fem. 'imprisonment for debt', *bödhil*, masc. 'executioner', *forlika*, vb. 'reconcile', *forsumilse*, fem. 'neglect, omission', *gubbar* 'godchild', *gæstgivare*, masc. 'innkeeper', *hofmæstare*, masc. 'steward of household', *kæmenær*, masc. 'accountant', *köpen-skaper*, masc. 'trade', *leydha bref*, neut. 'letter of safe-conduct', *orörligt gods* 'immovable property', *stadsskrivare*, masc. 'town scribe', *til tyghia* 'convict with witnesses'.

2.5. Legal syntax and style

Generally speaking, the different national laws took over most of the syntactic and stylistic characteristics of the regional laws and town laws on which they were based. In sections representing new legislation, however, influence can be noticed from the statute language used in the royal chancelleries (Ståhle 1981, 177). This applies in the first place to the development in Norway and Sweden. In Denmark, where the Jutland Law gradually took over in the other regions as well, comparably few and limited changes appeared as a result of manual copying. In the late medieval manuscripts of town laws, however, massive influence from Middle Low German and chancellery language can be seen (cf. Hylgaard-Jensen 1992, 28).

3. The Integrated National Law period

3.1. General remarks

The formal integration of country law and town law into one single codex took place at different times in different countries. The development of legal language in Sweden and Denmark was characterized by conservatism

and continuity. In Norway, however, the medieval tradition was broken. Although the first integrated Norw. national law was Norw. in content, its language was Dan. The second integrated national law was Dan. both in content and in language. After 1814, legislation and legal language took an independent Norw. turn. In Iceland, the language of legislation and jurisdiction remained Icel., in spite of the continued political and constitutional changes which, more and more, brought Iceland in close contact with Denmark.

3.2. Initial legislation

The Swedish National Code of 1734, Christian V's Danish National Code of 1683, Christian IV's Norwegian National Code of 1604 (in Danish), Christian V's Norwegian national Code of 1687 (in Danish) and Icelandic *Jónsbók*.

3.3. Legal language – notes on Sweden (and Finland)

The Swedish National Code of 1734 was founded in as much as possible on the National Country Law and the National Town Law. Although ancient in its language, the simplicity, clarity and the conciseness of this law must have made it effective in communicating legal knowledge to the people. Formally, the Code of 1734 is still in force in Sweden.

Despite the advantages of the Code of 1734, it lacked a uniform and consistent terminology, and the degree of explicitness of the Code was low. In contrast to this, as shown by G. Pettersson (1992), precisely these features were taken up by subsequent legislation in the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. This development entailed longer legal texts and a more complex syntax, features characterizing contemporary chancellery style (cf. Holm 1967, 121–126).

Since the middle of the 20th century, however, genuine concern about the deteriorating accessibility to legal language has led to the result that, since the 1970s, trained linguists have been attached to governmental legislative work on a permanent basis (G. Pettersson 1992, 35).

Research on the comprehensibility of law texts has shown that what matters most to the reader of a law text is the degree of correspondence between the perspective expressed by the law text and the functional perspective of the citizen, who tries to apply the text to

a concrete situation (Gunnarsson 1982, 12, 266f., 317).

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5. Special abbreviations

ChL	King Christopher's National Country Law
DGL	The Danish Regional Laws
MEL	King Magnus Eriksson's National Country Law
NGL	The old Norwegian Laws
SdL	The Södermanland Law
SmL	The Småland Law
SSGL	The old Swedish Laws
ÄVgL	The old Västgöta Law
O	The Book of Felonies (chapter in ÄVgL)

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41. Nordic language history and the history of ideas I: Humanism

1. Humanism and its journey to Scandinavia
2. National historiography
3. Specialized historical scholarship
4. The position of the vernacular
5. Poetry in the vernacular
6. The achievement of Scandinavian humanism
7. Literature (a selection)

1. Humanism and its journey to Scandinavia

Humanism began in southern Europe around 1450 as a return to ancient Roman ideas, advocating a study of man for man's own sake in opposition to the absolute authority of the Catholic church and to scholastic philosophy. After the Turkish conquest of Byzantium in 1453, Greek scholars came to western Europe bringing with them centuries-old manuscripts from ancient Greek literature as well as their own linguistic competence. Coinciding in northern Europe with the spread of the craft of printing from around 1450, humanism extended its interest from scholarly edited classical texts to philological revisions of biblical and other sacred Christian texts. Language studies written in Latin and later also in

the various vernacular tongues, school and church reforms, academies sponsored privately or by secular rulers, new universities and the establishment of networks of free scholars are visible results of humanist ambitions. Thus a predominantly theological culture was superseded by a concept of a common European civilization.

Chronologically, humanism entered Scandinavia together with the Lutheran Reformation. Until about 1560 it tended to get lost in the turmoil of religious and political disputes, as Sweden in 1523 had a change in royal dynasty, to the Vasas, and Denmark experienced a violent, but brief civil war, the Count's Feud (1534–36). Only after the final establishment and consolidation of Protestant state churches in Scandinavia could scholarly energy increasingly be turned towards secular fields. Two of these stand out: history and language.

2. National historiography

Humanism changed the concept of history and thus the course of historiography. To those living in the Christian Middle Ages, history described a linear movement from the cre-

ation to doomsday, divided into two periods by the birth, life, death and resurrection of Christ. Medieval monks hence were satisfied to record in annals and chronicles what happened along the way, day by day, year by year. Shifting to patterns from classical antiquity, humanist historians examined cause and effect, looked for the psychological traits of individual historical characters rather than for traces of divine providence, stressed certain moral teachings, and discussed constitutional and political principles. They further emphasized the artistic presentation of material, e. g. by including more or less authentic speeches and conversations to summarize a situation or making them up, as the Roman historian Titus Livius in particular had done. One problem for humanist historians was the lack of published sources, and another was that their unshakable confidence in the written word sometimes seemed at cross-purposes with a critical evaluation of the sources. Nevertheless, without entirely losing the idea of history as an expression of God's will, the humanists made pragmatism a key notion.

Though warmly recommended by the chief reformers Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon, national history was late in being accepted at the Scandinavian universities – 1621 in Uppsala and 1635 in Copenhagen. Yet the rulers of both states understood early on how history could be used to establish and emphasize a politically serviceable national identity, through private as well as state-supported scholars.

The first book printed in Danish in Denmark proper, incidentally, was a commercial enterprise, the late medieval *Rimkronike* [Rhyming Chronicle] (1495), a long series of fictitious self-presentations of Danish kings in knittelvers. It was reprinted at least 8 times up until 1613.

2.1. Christiørn Pedersen

In 1514, the then-Catholic scholar and later secretary of the Danish King Christiørn II (1513–23), Christiørn Pedersen (ca. 1478–1554), published Saxo's large chronicle of Denmark, *Gesta Danorum*, in Paris, in a truly majestic typographical style. Having been written in the decades around 1200, this work was an example of a previous humanistic trend, since Saxo had borrowed vocabulary and idioms as well as the content and structure of several episodes from Roman historians. According to his preface, Saxo also had picked

up native oral legend for his reconstruction of a venerable Danish national past comparable to that of the Roman empire. Among other things, he suggested that the greatest of the ancient Danish kings, Peace-Frothi, reigned in most of northern Europe at the time when Augustus was Roman emperor and Christ was born. Pedersen only with difficulty unearthed a fairly complete manuscript for this printing, after which it disappeared. Thus his 1514 edition remains the only authority on Saxo's full text. The elaborate Latin eloquence of Saxo thrilled even the greatest humanist of the age, Erasmus from Rotterdam, and the book left an imposing impression of the history of the Danish kingdom on its international audience. The edition was reprinted twice, in 1534 (Basel) and 1576 (Frankfurt a. M.).

Pedersen edited several other books, predominantly in Danish. His translations of two medieval chapbooks on Charlemagne and Ogier the Dane, both in 1534, gave the Danes a popular national hero, Holger Danske, who originally had been mentioned in the French *Chanson de Roland* (ca. 1060). Holger was unknown to Saxo, but Pedersen tried to substantiate his historical reality. At his death, Pedersen left a now-lost Danish translation of Saxo and also had worked partly on supplementing, partly on continuing Saxo's text. Some of his manuscripts have survived in transcripts, but most of them perished in the fire of Copenhagen in 1728, dimming the picture of Pedersen's efforts. In general he was an able editor and translator and may be considered the founder of the standard Danish written language.

2.2. The Magnus brothers

In Sweden, the equivalent to Christiørn Pedersen as a historian was the leading Protestant reformer Olaus Petri (1493–1552), whose *Swedish Chronicle* from the 1530s unfortunately was too critical to benefit Swedish nation building and therefore was suppressed by the new king, Gustav Vasa (1523–60). Instead, Swedish national history was first of all dealt with by two Catholic brothers, Johannes Magnus (1488–1544) and Olaus Magnus (1490–1557). Living in Rome as refugees from their Protestant native country, they brought out two major historical works in Latin. The comprehensive and anti-Danish chronicle *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus* [The History of all Gothic and Swedish Kings]

by Johannes Magnus was printed posthumously by his brother in 1554 and translated into Swedish in 1620. In 1555 Olaus Magnus published a cultural history of Scandinavia centered on Sweden, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* [History of the Nordic Peoples] – preceded by an excellent map of Scandinavia and its environment, the *Carta Marina*, 1539, which also was a graphic masterpiece. Olaus' book contained 476 chapters, lavishly illustrated with 481 woodcuts, and it soon appeared in several languages (yet not in a complete Swedish version until 1909–51). Both brothers reacted against the Hamburg canon Albert Krantz' elegantly written *Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarium* [Chronicle of the Scandinavian Kingdoms], printed in 1546. Finishing his work in 1504, Krantz had drawn heavily upon the then-unpublished Saxo, presenting Sweden as a vassal state to Denmark. For lack of genuine Swedish sources, the Magnus brothers had to rely much on classical literature as well as on Saxo and Old Norse tradition; about one third of Olaus' text consists of quotations. They both liberally sweditized the material, also adding self-invented events and heroes.

2.3. The origin of the Scandinavian nations

In the middle of the 16th century, a feud between Danish and Swedish historians broke out concerning which of the two Scandinavian kingdoms was the older. On each side arguments were diligently produced in accordance with contemporary historical methodology, i.e. by means of a free, at times really imaginative, combination of sources and not seldom through very speculative reasoning, bordering on pure fiction.

Johannes Magnus' chronicle suggested that the ancient Goths were "vagina gentium" [the womb of all nations]. He started there and continued all the way through Sweden's history up to Gustav Vasa. His description of the reign up until 1523 of the last Kalmar Union king, Danish Christiern II, is mercilessly rancorous. For European readers, Danish history written in Latin did not go any further than where Saxo ended, with Archbishop Absalon's triumphant conquest of the Wends in the year 1184. In 1575 Danish historian Anders Sørensen Vedel in his Saxo translation had added an account of 22 more years in order to report Saxo's supposed death in 1206, but at the same time Vedel wondered aloud why for more than 350 years nobody had

undertaken to continue Saxo's work. This was already a semi-official issue, since from 1553 the Danish crown increasingly had supported scholars to fill this gap. From 1594 (until 1882!) official Royal Historians were appointed. A doubt soon rose about which language to write in.

2.4. Anders Sørensen Vedel

During his career, Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542–1616), a historian supported by the Crown and one-time Copenhagen chaplain, wavered between using Latin and using the vernacular. In a report handed in to the royal Danish administration in 1578 on how to write the history of Denmark he used Latin, but in 1581 he rewrote it in Danish. Private entries in his manuscripts alternate between both languages. His Danish version of Saxo in 1575, commissioned by two successive chancellors, renders the artful medieval text freely in a deliberately archaic style that may not be as natural as it looks. Vedel toned down the rhetorical pathos of Saxo, omitted the intricate poems inserted in the part about the legendary past, added frank native idioms and in marginal notes included Danish proverbs as commentaries on the contents – a typically humanistic feature. In 1579 Vedel edited a Latin history of the Scandinavian church from the late 1000s, for the first time identifying the author as one Adam from Bremen.

2.5. C.C. Lyschander and Arild Huitfeldt

A Danish answer to Johannes Magnus' 1554 chronicle was presented in 1622 by the sixty-four-year-old Royal Historian C. C. Lyschander (1558–1624) in his volume *Danske Kongers Slectebog* [Genealogy of the Danish Kings]. Written in Danish prose, it maintained that Christian IV descended from a series of 135 ancestors, thus tracing Danish royalty back to Noah. Lyschander accepted among other things a fantastic fabrication from the 1550s by the vicar Niels Pedersen who, after nine years in the then-Danish Baltic island of Gotland, using certain local manuscripts and legends, produced documentation that the ancient Cimbrians not only came from Gotland, but also were descendents of Noah's grandson Gomer. His theory became known as the Gulland hypothesis, after the old Danish name for the island. His manuscript was utilized in Hans Strelow's *Gotland chronicle* from 1633 and was finally published in 1695.

In his genealogy, Lyschander even printed excerpts from Niels Pedersen in runic letters to lend an air of authenticity to the presentation.

But before that, the pragmatic and practically minded chancellor Arild Huitfeldt (1546–1609) had published an all-encompassing history of Denmark in 10 volumes in 1595–1603 – in Danish. It was a sober presentation, founded on numerous reproductions of genuine documents and written in a rather artless style. Along with a reprint in two folio volumes in 1650–52, it served Danish readers for more than a century.

3. Specialized historical scholarship

During the 17th century, history research in Scandinavia became specialized. Philology, archaeology and Old Norse studies emerged.

3.1. Saxo re-edited

Saxo had a scholarly revival, through an excellently revised text edited in 1644–45, with learned notes in Latin. For the first time a European medieval author was treated as accurately and meticulously as the acknowledged classical authors. The editor, Professor Stephanus Stephanus (1599–1650), had already published the much less extensive works of Saxo's colleague Svend Aggesen in a pioneer edition in 1642. Stephanus mastered both classical and medieval Latin authors and for his Saxo notes had procured assistance from Icelanders to be able to offer parallels from their native tradition. Generally Stephanus quoted Saxo's own possible sources and contemporary or later parallels quite at length, now and then noting discrepancies. However, his commentaries pertain to details and do not discuss the chronicle in its entirety.

3.2. The dispute over the runes

Not by accident, three quarters of Stephanus' annotations concern Saxo's rendition of the pagan period. A Dano-Swedish fight for the ownership of the pagan past by now had been going on for some decades. One battlefield was runology.

3.2.1. Ole Worm

In Denmark, Huitfeldt had reproduced a runic alphabet in his chronicle. But the important figure in this area was to be Ole Worm (1588–1654), who after lengthy European study

tours in his youth had become a renowned professor of medicine and a general practitioner in Copenhagen. He managed to dedicate much of his energy and wealth to exploring the customs of ancient Scandinavia, its original runic alphabet and its old inscriptions. Importantly, he came to humanistic studies on a background of natural science, having been taught to trust his own coherent observations from real life rather than to accept automatically acknowledged authorities such as Pliny or the Bible.

Worm started with a valuable book on runic perpetual calendars, *Fasti Danici*, in 1626, 2nd ed. 1643, hoping for a revival of them in modern life, but in vain. In 1628 and later he published sample papers on Danish runic monuments, including a hastily written book in 1641 about the image-covered golden horn found two years before at Gallehus in Slesvig. Finally, in 1643 he was able to publish his chief work, *Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex*, an attempt to survey and interpret all 144 Danish runic monuments known at that time (a supplement was added in 1651). Worm's woodcuts – retouched and polished by a carver who had not seen the original objects and only had very poor drawings to work from – and his linguistic interpretations do not impress modern readers, but for more than a century his book dominated the field and was quoted widely. A standard work of similar proportions was not launched until 1895.

In a theoretical introduction six years earlier, *Runer seu Danica litteratura antiquissima* [The Runes or the Oldest Danish Letters], 1636, Worm stated that runes were an exclusively Danish phenomenon and therefore did not pay attention to Swedish inscriptions, though he knew of them. True to his patriotic purpose, Worm argued that the Danish runes originated in the Hebrew alphabet, dating them back to at least six centuries before Charlemagne. Comparing runic language to contemporary Danish, Worm concluded that the Danish language should not be considered a derivation from German – on the contrary, a German-sounding word in Danish could always be better expressed by a genuinely native word. Worm's book in this way inspired budding Danish grammarians to feel proud of the national alphabet and language. It also created a sensation among European readers as the first thorough scholarly presentation of the topic.

Only a minority of the runic monuments Worm described had been inspected by him-

self, but already in 1622 he had been allowed by the king to call for reports on all of them and to demand copies of the inscriptions from the local clergy. This procedure marked the introduction of a felicitous cooperation between scholars and the populace which still exists in Denmark in fields like topography, archaeology, lexicography and folklore, even if runology has now become a discipline for specialists only.

Pioneering runology and archaeology, Worm, as compared to German and Swedish colleagues, succeeded in blending patriotism and scholarship in a palatable balance. In 1652 Worm even instigated a royal decree demanding that runic monuments from all over the kingdom should be dispatched to the capital. Fortunately only few arrived, most of which were destroyed in the 1728 Copenhagen fire.

3.2.2. Johannes Bureus

Swedes had in fact written about runes before the Danes, but with less impact. The Magnus brothers in their works of 1554–55 reproduced straight runic alphabets with Latin equivalents. Johannes Thomas Bure or Bureus (1568–1652) in 1599 edited a table showing 8 Swedish runic monuments placed around old Swedish runic alphabets, which was contrasted with a narrow column presenting only late medieval Danish runes. Thus Bure underlined Sweden's prior use of the ancient letters. In a small handbook from 1611, Bure tried to reintroduce the art of reading runes. But Bure's further efforts remained unpublished during his lifetime. In 1624 he finished recording 48 Swedish inscriptions inclusive of woodcuts, but for reasons unknown publication was stopped; a few copies were printed in the 1650s, and a third printing was issued in 1664. By the end of his life, Bure had produced about 200 plates, but again production stopped.

3.3. The Swedish Hyperborean School

Swedish self-esteem during the country's period as a Great Power in the 17th century required firm answers to Worm's usurpation of the runes for the Danes. King Gustav Adolf appointed two antiquarians in 1630 to gather Swedish runic texts. In 1652, Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie bought the library and collections of the late Danish professor Stephanius from his poverty-stricken widow, in 1658 he acquired the famous library of Dan-

ish nobleman Jørgen Seefeld as war booty, and in 1667 he instituted a Swedish Academy of Antiquities at Uppsala, stimulating some fruitful activity. Leading names there were Olaus Verelius (1618–82) and Johan Hadorph (1630–93). Hadorph inspired a royal decree in 1666 about the preservation of ancient Swedish monuments. Verelius was the initiator of the Hyperborean School. The term "hyperborean" has been taken from odes by Pindar and Horace, literally meaning 'people living north of the north wind (Boreas)'. Verelius perpetuated Johannes Magnus' viewpoint that human culture began in Sweden with the Goths; he firmly believed in the reliability of oral transmission of texts over very long periods.

The height of the nationalistic theory of Gothic origins can be found in the work of Olof Rudbeck (1630–1702). As a scientist, Rudbeck was a true genius, but when dealing with antiquities he was carried away by an uncontrollable imagination. His major work, *Atlant eller Manheim* [Atlantis or the Home of Mankind] (vol. I, 1679, vol. II, 1689, vol. III, 1698), was published in Swedish and Latin. It was dedicated to Verelius. By means of fantastic etymologies and bold combinations of historical and scientific facts, Rudbeck showed that Sweden was the cradle of mankind and all earthly civilization, identifiable with Plato's lost continent of Atlantis. He considered the Swedish language to be the mother of all other tongues and saw Greek and Roman mythology as distorted versions of now-lost Swedish proto-myths. The manuscript for volume IV as well as most of the print run perished in the fire of Uppsala in May 1702 shortly before Rudbeck's death (a reprint was issued 1863). In 1849 the Swedish critic and poet P.D.A. Atterbom termed the work one of the greatest follies in the history of the world. It could also be categorized as a beautiful piece of historical fiction. To conclude the topic, the Swedish historian J. Peringskiöld published *Scondia illustrata* in 1700–05, a lengthy history of Sweden from the Flood onwards left by Johannes Messenius (1579–1636), a one-time Uppsala law professor and state prisoner for 19 years.

Rudbeck's patriotic fervour was shared by some colleagues, while others such as Alsatian-born Johannes Schefferus (1621–79) anticipated Olof von Dalin's sober criticism directed against Rudbeck in the 18th century. Nonetheless, the Norwegian vicar and historian Jonas Ramus (1649–1718) tried to outdo

Rudbeck in his book *Ulysses et Otinus unus et idem* from 1702, proving the Greek Homeric hero to be the same as the Nordic god. Rudbeck and Ramus inspired Ludvig Holberg's parody in his *Epistle 193* (1750). Yet during their time, Rudbeck and the Swedish hyperboreans gave their country a feeling of glory which matched its political and military feats of the 17th century.

3.4. The Old Norse legacy

Another part of the common pagan past lay in Norway and Iceland, waiting for attention. Native speakers were instrumental in its rediscovery.

3.4.1. The Norwegian scene

In Norway, humanism came after the Reformation. The first printing shop was established in Kristiania as late as 1643. The complete body of national codes and the Bible having been printed abroad in Danish translations, the Old Norwegian language soon became a speciality for the very few. Higher education could only be obtained at the University of Copenhagen, so from their years of study academics born and working in Norway were accustomed to considering Danish as their literary language. The cultural center of Norwegian humanists was Bergen. Here in 1567, Absalon Pederssøn Beyer (1528–75), chaplain and headmaster, wrote an enthusiastic paper *Om Norgis Rige* [On the Kingdom of Norway] in Danish, reflecting upon the glorious past of his native country; his manuscript was time and again copied in handwriting. Also in Bergen, Laurents Hanssøn and Mattis Størssøn (1500–69) translated Norwegian Kings' Sagas. At Lister, rural dean Peder Claussøn Friis (1545–1614) completed a description of Norway as well as a free Danish translation of Snorri's Norwegian chronicle *Heimskringla*, published by Ole Worm in 1632 and 1633 respectively. Both helped to arouse national pride in Norway. A preface by Worm in the latter publication gave Snorri his well-deserved reinstatement as the authoritative historian of old Norway.

3.4.2. The Icelandic tradition

In Iceland, too, it was difficult to find anybody mastering the old poetry, since long and monotonous rhymed epics called *rimur* had taken the place of the Eddic and skaldic poems dur-

ing the late Middle Ages. Arngrímur Jónsson (1568–1648) turned out to be the person who could understand, revive and hand on the Old Norse material, and he had contacts with Stephanus as well as with Worm. Assisted by him and other Icelandic friends, Worm translated Icelandic poems into Latin or Danish, and in 1652 he published the death song of legendary King Ragnar, *Krákumál*, in Danish verse. Worm printed his Icelandic texts in runes and also used runes for the entries in his 1650 edition of Magnús Ólafsson's Icelandic dictionary 1650, *Specimen lexici Runici*, incorrectly assuming that the Icelanders wrote in runic letters.

After Worm's and Arngrímur's death, Brynjólfur Sveinsson (1605–75), Bishop of Skálholt since 1639, collected and had copied old manuscripts – some of the most famous of them actually were brought to Copenhagen through his efforts, such as the Codex Regius of the *Elder Edda* in 1662.

The Scandinavian nations also competed in Icelandic studies. Through the fortuitous capture of an Icelander as a prisoner of war in 1658, the Swedes were able to initiate an examination of Old Norse manuscripts, an enterprise supported by the administration in Stockholm through several more cases of contacting Icelanders and acquiring material from Iceland. So the Swedes were first to edit, translate and print Icelandic sagas. National antiquarian Verelius issued *Gothrici & Rolfi Westro-Gothiae Regum historia* in 1664 (co-edited by Schefferus), *Herrauds och Bosa Saga* in 1666, and *Hervarar Saga* in 1672. Texts that related to Swedish locations were preferred, because they helped to prove the antiquity of Swedish history. Verelius also published a handbook on ancient Swedish rune carving in 1675 and left a manuscript for an Old Swedish dictionary, published as the first of its kind by Rudbeck in 1691.

In Eddic studies, the Danes were ahead. In 1665, the energetic topographer P.H. Resen (1625–88) published Snorri's *Edda* accompanied by *Hávamál* and *Völuspá* (in Icelandic, Danish and Latin). Central parts of the *Elder Edda* – 104 stanzas altogether – were inserted in Thomas Bartholin Jr.'s 702 page comprehensive paper in 1689 on the reason for the contempt of death among the old pagan Danes. The book was in Latin, but the author's friend Árni Magnússon had selected quotes in Icelandic for him from yet unpublished poems. Unfortunately Bartholin died in the following year, only 31 years old.

At the end of the 17th century Danish historians abandoned Saxo's chronology in favour of that of the Icelanders. Icelandic-born historian Thormod Torfæus (1636–1719) completed a manuscript in 1664 called *Series dynastarum et regum Daniae*. His version of the chronology of Danish kings from Skjold, a son of Odin, to Svend Estridsøn drew upon Old Norse material and was known as the Icelandic Hypothesis, which endured well into the age of romanticism. Taking advantage of his immediate access to the mostly unedited Icelandic material, Torfæus maintained that the Icelandic historical tradition was as old as the language and much more reliable than the tradition recorded in Latin by Adam from Bremen or Saxo. When Torfæus finally printed his results in 1702, they had been improved upon considerably by Árni Magnússon.

Thus in the 16th–17th centuries a truly national humanism built upon Old Norse culture arose in Scandinavia, running parallel to the common European humanistic tradition rooted in ancient Greece and Rome. That the all-pervading historical focus often led Scandinavian scholars astray and resulted in the neglect of the religious and poetic qualities of the native sources was to become clear only in the following centuries.

4. The position of the vernacular

Besides national history, appreciation of the vernacular was a key notion of humanism as well as of Protestantism. But the vernacular was not part of the study programme at the universities, where Latin maintained its monopoly. Humanists had to be content with a position outside of the educational system. Through the art of printing, introduced into Denmark in 1482, in Sweden in 1483, they could survive as independent scholars, now and then supported by the king, the church and nobility, all of which at the time cooperated. A market for serious publications in the national languages grew only slowly. Works written purely for entertainment, sloppy translations of medieval texts and sensational versified news items dominated commercially.

While humanists in Germany, France, England and the Netherlands preferred to join the international brotherhood of scholars, promoting general enlightenment and the education of the European reading audience, their Scandinavian counterparts worked rather to encourage their own native culture inclusive

of the vernacular. In Denmark, as well as having royalty of German orientation, the Reformation imported from Saxony brought with it a heavy influence from the German language as it had been developed by Luther in his 1534 Wittenberg Bible. In Sweden the linguistic impact of German was felt less, since the country was reigned by native kings from 1523 onwards.

4.1. Linguistic initiatives

In Denmark, humanist scholars published no less than six individual vocabularies between 1510 and 1594, all of which were designed as Latin-Danish dictionaries, yet included interesting observations on the Danish words.

The internationally famous Danish phonetician Jacob Aarhus (1538–86) published in the year he died *De literis libri duo* [Two Chapters on Letters] in Basel, supporting the ideas of the French scholar Petrus Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée) on how to cultivate the vernacular through accurate descriptions of pronunciation as well as through reformed orthography. Passionate pleas for not neglecting the vernacular were repeated throughout the period by all scholars – in Denmark in printed prosodies and grammars from 1639 and 1663 respectively. In both cases even more manuscripts existed which were circulating among those interested as handwritten copies or excerpts.

4.2. Metrical and stylistic reforms

Academies for the advancement of national languages emerged in Europe, such as The Fruitful Society in Germany (1617). Poets and theorists of European fame like the Italian Julius Caesar Scaliger, the Frenchman Pierre Ronsard and the German Martin Opitz developed a new style and new metrics, breaking with the long-lived medieval tradition of poetry. During and after the Thirty Years' War, their principles spread in Scandinavia. Many terms for philosophical, scientific and scholarly ideas were still lacking in the vernaculars and had to be imported from Latin. The prominent Danish linguist Peder Syv sometimes offered a whole sentence in Latin in the middle of his Danish prose, "so that it might be better understood". Idioms and syntax could also be borrowed from High German and French, creating an impression of linguistic impurity and confusion, even if in the end a workable updated vernacular was produced.

Prosodist Hans Mikkelsen Ravn (1610–63) in his *Ex Rhythmologia Danica* in 1649 assured that Danish did not fall short of any other language regarding vocabulary, syntax, character or pronunciation. Professor of medicine Rasmus Bartholin (1625–98) gave a speech in 1657 at the University of Copenhagen in Latin on why one should study the vernacular, printed in 1674 as *De studio lingvæ Danicæ*. He optimistically predicted that the native tongue would be raised to a rhetorical level matching the achievements of Danish historiography, medicine and astronomy.

4.3. Dictionaries and grammars

In 1680, the Danish high official Matthias Moth (ca. 1649–1719) initiated a comprehensive Danish dictionary with Latin explanations, which at his death comprised 60 handwritten folio protocols. They have never been printed but form the indispensable background for later Danish lexicography.

The first Swedish grammar was published by Johannes Bureus in 1636 in Latin. His poetic and learned colleague Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672), who asserted that the Swedish language was very old, published in 1643 the letter A of a huge dictionary which was never to be completed. To cleanse the vernacular from the taint of Latin, he advocated the use of dialects and archaic expressions. The first Swedish grammar in Swedish came as late as 1696 in the form of Nils Tjällmann's *Svenska språk- och skrif-konst*.

Danish Bishop Erik Pontoppidan (Sr.) (1616–78) published the first *Grammatica Danica* in 1668 – in Latin. It had been written twenty years before, but was revised to meet the demand for a well-regulated vernacular after the introduction of absolutism (1660).

4.3.1. Peder Syv

Five years earlier, in 1663, *Nogle betenkninger om det Cimbriske Sprog* [Reflections upon the Cimbric Language] by Peder Syv (1631–1702) was presented to the public. He merged linguistic and literary history, stylistics, metrics and poetics in a somewhat subjective manner, backed by bibliographic sections and a multitude of footnotes giving learned references. To Syv, the Cimbric language, which included Scandinavian, Gothic, Slavic (Wendic), German and partly English and Russian, was one of the oldest tongues in the world, coming from Babel, close to Hebrew and older

than Greek and Latin. While Syv did not dare to maintain the exclusive Danish origin of Cimbric, he opposed the desires of German scholars to claim it was originally German. At the end of the book, in 114 self-composed poems he gave examples of desirable standards of the lyrical craft. An ordinary Danish grammar, *Den Danske Sprog-Kunst*, followed in 1685, and a two-volume collection of Danish proverbs from 1682–88, including some Icelandic and Swedish examples, also contained alphabetical glossaries. Altogether Syv – in 1683 honoured with the unique title of Royal Danish Philologist – had taken advantage of the period's increasing knowledge of Icelandic which, rather than random lists of parallels to Hebrew, Greek and Latin, facilitated the understanding of the past and present Scandinavian language situation. Thus Old Norse antiquarianism brought about an advancement in national linguistics.

Syv was no scholar of great genius, but rather a well-read, careful and diligent worker with a nice common-sense approach to his issues. His rival Henrik Gerner (1629–1700) took a narrower focus, concentrating on spelling reforms. In *Orthographia Danica* from 1678–79, he gave practical reasons for the neglect of the native language: our forefathers – the reformers? – preferred contents to form, our schoolteachers are not competent and erroneously teach their own dialect, and foreign words have entered Denmark during the frequent wars through foreign soldiers, but all these evils may be remedied.

5. Poetry in the vernacular

To all linguists of the age, it really was a problem that modern national poetry in the vernacular hardly existed, so theory had to anticipate practice. Ancient pagan Scandinavian literature had been suppressed by Catholicism and was also rejected by the Lutheran reformers, and they in turn did the same to medieval Catholic literature. The native languages were not taught in the grammar schools, so samples of successfully innovative poetry had to be taken from the as yet small stock of printed books. In the age of Lutheran orthodoxy, the predominantly religious literature in poetry or prose largely consisted of dogmatically correct repetitions of the sacrosanct words of the Bible and other authoritative texts. For lack of better inspiration, the grammarians patterned their presentations on clas-

sical philology and composed many of the poetic examples themselves.

5.1. Old Danish ballads in print

One fruitful revival, however, had to do with national poetry. Anders Sørensen Vedel was commissioned by the Danish queen in 1586 to collect old Danish ballads in a manuscript for her, but instead in 1591 he presented to her a truly pioneering printed collection, *It Hundrede vduaalde Danske Viser* [A Selection of One Hundred Danish Songs]. Since ca. 1550 in Denmark, courtiers, noblemen and noblewomen had gathered and copied these presumably very old popular songs, but Vedel's book established them as an acknowledged literary genre of the day and very likely inspired more collecting as well as the creation of new songs or updated variations. Vedel's own interest in the ballads was primarily historical, though in a fine introduction he also showed his comprehension of their functional, aesthetic and linguistic value. The book was reprinted at least nine times, and from 1695 it was republished in a version augmented with another hundred songs selected and edited by Peder Syv. In the vein of Worm and Stephanius, 8 of the new songs had been imported from ancient Icelandic literature.

6. The achievement of Scandinavian humanism

Nationally oriented humanism was evidently something to apologize for. Time and again Peder Syv explained in prefaces why he devoted his time to the vernacular instead of, like so many other vicars and scholars, to the Bible and classical culture. His paragraphs 19–20 in the introduction of the booklet *Prøve Paa en Dansk og Latinsk Ord-Bog* [Specimen of a Danish and Latin Dictionary] in 1692 run as follows about the vernacular:

We gape at foreign languages and clothes, let us look a little to our own language, and not keep on being like a sharp-sighted lynx abroad, but blinder than a mole at home. Those who have studied wring out their material in Latin, those who have travelled do it in French, and all others ape both parties, but all of them spoil it. Let nobody blame me that I as a parson feel like dealing

with such trifles. I cannot as I would like deal with large questions, about which other great and learned men certainly will be writing, sometimes even too much.

He continues to defend his enterprise by mentioning earlier parsons in the same line: from Anders Sørensen Vedel to Henrik Gerner. The reflection concludes:

Many use up their lifetime working in the fields of either the well-known old frail languages or the new foreign ones, but the ancient Greeks and Romans took great pains exclusively with their own languages, looking for the origin, power and meaning of the words.

This defensive attitude seemed natural, until the Enlightenment and particularly Pre-Romanticism and Romanticism allowed for a merging of humanism and patriotism in a strong collective emotion. While pride in national history and in the vernacular during the learned humanistic centuries could mainly be found in limited circles of specialists, the new movement appealed increasingly to the whole people. But without the small dedicated groups of humanists thinly spread across Scandinavia, these ideas would hardly have survived.

7. Literature (a selection)

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*Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen,
Copenhagen (Denmark)*

42. Nordic language history and the history of ideas II: Rationalism and Enlightenment since the 18th century

1. Introduction
2. Orthographic problems
3. Language purity
4. The best language
5. Language and Enlightenment
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

1.1. Forerunners in the 17th century

The 17th c. was a chaotic period in the study of the Nord. languages. Viewpoints moved from deep despondency over the inferior state of expressiveness in more abstract areas such as poetry and philosophy to strong assertions that the Nordic countries were the original home of mankind and the cradle of culture. Olaus Rudbeck (1630–1702) claimed in his monumental work *Atland eller Manheim* (1679–1698) that Sweden was Plato's legendary Atlantis.

The incipient interest in the Nordic national language was closely connected with prevalent European cultural currents. We can see a similar interest in language and its cultivation among the Germanic sister nations – Germany, the Netherlands and England. The need to promote the mother tongues rather than classical languages for many uses must be seen in connection with the establishment of centralizing absolute monarchies in Denmark and Sweden. For example, a codification of the existing legal practice into a national body of laws was felt to be necessary. In the Nordic countries this resulted in texts of very high quality: in Denmark-Norway, Christian V's Danish Law and its Norwegian counterpart (*Danske Lov* 1683, *Norske Lov* 1687), and in Sweden the law of 1734 (*Sveriges Rikes Lag*).

The study of language at that time was rather primitive – as seen with modern eyes. This can be explained by insufficient knowledge of language history and adherence to the language myths of the Bible. Hebrew was the oldest “Adamitic” language and was regarded as the mother of all languages. In a more practical vein, the interest in the Nordic national languages was reflected in poetic works of a high standard, composed in typical baroque style. In Denmark, we can mention Anders Arrebo (1587–1637) and Thomas Kingo (1634–1703); in Sweden, Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672), Haqvín Spégel (1645–1714) and

Urban Hiärne (1641–1724); in Norway, Petter Dass (1647–1707) was a typical representative of the movement.

The study of language in the 17th c. was characterized by etymological and comparative studies of a more or less imaginative character, e. g. Rudbeck's book mentioned above. In Denmark, Peder Syv (1631–1702) wrote *Nogle betenkninger om det Cimbriske Sprog* (1663) which was a little more down-to-earth (Bertelsen I, 75–270).

Orthographic problems were discussed eagerly, and the first grammars of Sw. and Dan. were written: Erik Pontoppidan's *Grammatica Danica* (1668) (Bertelsen II, 1–426) in Lat., Ericus Olai Aurivillius' *Grammaticæ svecanæ specimen* (1684, first published in 1884) also in Lat., and Niels Tiällmann's *Grammatica suecana Äller En Svensk Språk- och Skrif-Konst* (1696). Extensive lexicographic works were planned e. g. in Denmark by Matthias Moth (1649–1719), whose gigantic drafts, however, remained unpublished.

1.2. Language and society in the 18th century

The study of language in the Nordic countries during the 18th c. in many ways developed out of the linguistic pioneer work of the 17th c., but the often rather imaginative ideas of the baroque era were replaced by the rational spirit of the Enlightenment. The 18th c. is called the century of philosophy, and a large portion of the discussion about language during the period was marked more by philosophical than linguistic interests. Language first and foremost was seen as a tool for clear and logical thinking. At the same time, it should contribute to the common human process of improvement; the language had to be refined in order to refine the people.

Culturally and social-politically, the Nordic countries in the 18th c. development in a way that altered the status of the national languages in terms of both their actual development and the linguistic discussion about their form and importance. In the dual monarchy of Denmark-Norway, which included Iceland and the Faroe Islands, the form of government was enlightened absolutism. The king governed the state, but not as a ruler by the grace

of God as in the 17th c. The Danish kings were enlightened rulers surrounded by a host of competent officials; the king was the first servant of the people. In Norway, however, this led to the Danicization of the Norwegian written language, since these officials either came from Denmark or, if they were Norwegians, were educated in Denmark. The old Norw. language was regarded as a rustic dialect. The Icel. language, on the other hand, by and large survived the Danish influence, and the 18th c. in Iceland was marked by a number of authors who wrote in Icel. and introduced the thoughts of the European Enlightenment to that far-away island realm, e. g. the poet and natural scientist Eggert Ólafsson (1726–1768). An Icelandic public educational periodical was published in the years 1781–1798, *Rit þess íslenska lærdómslistafélags* (the Enlightenment in Iceland is treated in Sæmundsson 1996).

In Sweden the dreams of becoming a major power suffered a defeat with the death of Karl XII in 1718. An era of liberty was inaugurated in Sweden with the constitution of 1720, when an assembly of the Estates of the Realm ruled the country. The members of the parliament represented the nobility, the clergy, the common people and the peasantry. In practice the period was characterized by a conflict between two parties, “Mössorna” and “Hattarna” (the caps and the hats), largely comparable to Whigs and Tories in Britain. This period was brought to an end with a coup d'état by Gustav III in 1772 and was replaced by a sort of enlightened absolutism.

From a social point of view, the Nordic societies underwent great changes, which had a decisive influence on their linguistic development. A middle class arose which was fond of reading and had good purchasing power. The new citizens were not satisfied with learned dissertations in Lat. or weighty theological books. They wanted to be informed and amused by works written in a modern and easily read prose style and to become refined in the best spirit of the 18th c. The educational aspect was catered for by contemporary Dan. and Sw. original works covering such different topics as science, technology, economy, anthropology, philosophy etc., as well as translations of many central works of the European Enlightenment. The need for entertainment was fulfilled by a number of translations of English, German and French novels, besides original works of poetry in Dan. and Sw. The educational side was further served by what

we now call the mass media. The daily press flourished in the Nordic countries, and an abundance of often rather primitive periodical literature appeared, even such modern genres as periodicals for women and children.

An important element in the endeavours during the Enlightenment to educate and improve the citizens was the moral periodical. In Denmark and Sweden these had a great impact on the development of the modern written language. The most important of these periodicals mark the start of an epoch in Dan. and Sw. language history. In Sweden, Olof Dalin's (1708–1763) *Then swänska Argus* (1732–34) denotes the boundary between older and younger Mod. Sw., *äldre och yngre nysvenska*. In Denmark, Jens Schelderup Sneedorff's (1724–1764) *Den patriotiske Tilskuer* (1761–63) heralds the younger Mod. Dan., *yngre nydansk* period in the history of the language.

The great cultural project of the Enlightenment in principle included the whole of society from theology to science. Everywhere the prevailing impulse was to bring order and systematism into the world and let the bright light of reason guide mankind in its development, life and work. Yet this did not take the form of the abstract rationalism of the 17th c. as propounded by the great system-builders of that time, e. g. Descartes and Spinoza, but rather was an empirically founded study of man and the world. The title of a book by one of the fashionable philosophers of the time, the German Christian Wolff, translated into Dan. in 1744, exemplifies this mode of thought in a nutshell: *Fornuftige Tanker om det, som Menneskene have at giøre og lade, til deres Lyksaligheds Forbedring* [Rational thoughts about what man has to do in order to further his bliss].

The study of language and theoretical discussions of the topic in the 18th c. have to be seen in the light of ideas about cultivation and education. Language was regarded as a central element for developing the individual into a cultured and respectable citizen. But language was also, just as in the 17th c., a source of national pride, so it also had to be refined and cultivated. But the matter is even more complicated because language was both an instrument for implementing these ideas and in need of improvement itself. During the Enlightenment, the view of language followed the general views of the period about both the living and the inanimate world: language was structured according to a reasoned plan and regu-

lar principles. The task of the linguist was, through empirical investigations of living languages, to discover these rules and principles. Typical representatives of this point of view were: in Denmark, Jens Pedersen Høysgaard (1698–1773), e.g. Høysgaard 1747 (Bertelsen IV, 249–488) and 1753 (Bertelsen V, 1–550) and in Sweden, Sven Hof (1703–1786) (Thelander, 1985). The conception of language as a regulated system apparently ran contrary to the earlier view of language as being in decay or as an organism in a state of ill health. The anonymous author of the manuscript Gl.kgl.Saml. 789 fol. in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, who is probably identical with Hans Olufsen Nysted (1644–1740; cf. Henriksen 1976, 91ff.) can be quoted as an example of the theory of the sick language. Speaking for itself, the Dan. language describes its miserable condition and asks the doctors to help (Henriksen 1976, 136; the author uses ω for Dan. \AA and various diacritical marks for prosodic features):

Hvorlunge o mine læger! skal det være til forgæves at man beklager mig alleveine, retsom der var ingen der enten kunde eller vilde hielpe? jeg prot' teste' rer for Gud og min Fa' r imod Jer' alle som har i sø møder sat' Jerres pligt og Kærlighed til side intil denne dag! hvad vil vel undskylde Jer' efterdi I har vedst min ska', den I som Lægerne burde forlængst se' t he' let?
[How long, oh my doctors! shall it be in vain that everyone is sorry for me as if nobody could or would help me. I protest for God and my father against all of you who have neglected your duty and love unto this day! What justification can you give because you have known my injury, which you, as doctors, long ago should have cured?]

The conception of language as decaying is not quite correct. The rationalistic notion in the 17th c. of language as a logical deductive system was still a living tradition in the 18th c. (cf. Henriksen 1997). There is no specific evidence that the major work on rationalist and universal linguistic theory, Arnauld and Lancelot's *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (1660), was known and read in Scandinavia. But Leibniz was frequently named as an authority in discussions on language purity in the middle of the 18th c., and Høysgaard discussed the difference between universal and language-specific grammar. The rules of a universal grammar were in accordance with the mathematical or philosophical method (Bertelsen V, 6), while a language-specific grammar in principle was a set of unordered rules "den ene speciale Sprogregel grundet ikke paa den

anden" [the one special rule of grammar is not founded on the other] (Bertelsen V, 6). Høysgaard's particular rules for Dan. grammar, however, are logically stringent. What bothered the philologists of the Enlightenment and contributed to the decay and sickness metaphor was not so much the language system but rather language use. And as the discussions of language in the century first and foremost were about language use, it is a fruitful starting point to study the sometimes fiery debates about language in Denmark-Norway and Sweden.

1.3. Main points in the study of language

The first point involved the fact that the Nord. written languages were characterized by a lack of uniform orthography. Admittedly, there had been attempts to create common national standards since the Bible translations of the 16th c., but the general impression was still that the situation was rather chaotic especially in the handwritten sources of the period, but book printers were also doubtful about the norm. An essential cause of this problem was the lack of authorized dictionaries.

Second, the issue of language purity was discussed. Up to a point this was a reminiscence of the nationalistic debates of the 17th c. which focussed on the status of the Nord. languages in relation to the great European languages. The national aspect was still of importance in the 18th c., but more substantial was the use of language in the general process of civil education. This meant that foreign words, especially of Lat./Gr. origin and other learned words, as far as possible had to be replaced by familiar words. The purpose of this was primarily to give the normal educated (but not necessarily classically educated) citizen an opportunity to take part in scientific and scholarly discussions. Even women were to be included in this enlightenment. To this end the best known Danish purist, Frederik Christian Eilschov (1725–1750), wrote *Forsøg til en Fruentimmer-Philosophie eller alvorlige og lystige Samtaler med et Fruentimmer om det, der er nyttigt og fornøylegt i alle Philosophiens Parter* (Kiøbenhavn 1749) [An essay on philosophy for woman, or serious and merry conversations about what is useful and pleasant in all areas of philosophy].

Third, there were still discussions about which was the "best" language variety. The Nordic kingdoms were peasant countries. The majority of the population lived in the coun-

try, and they seldom or never travelled outside the boundaries of their birthplace. Danish, Norwegian and Swedish towns were small and insignificant. The only large cities were the capitals Copenhagen and Stockholm. The upper classes in the small towns consisted of officials educated in the capital, and the rest of the population were artisans, shopkeepers, tradesmen, workmen, beggars etc. who spoke the same dialect as the peasants in the area. The language consisted of various dialects, and a spoken standard language in the modern sense did not exist. The question was, which of the many regional and social language variants should be considered the best and thus provide the best candidate for the standard. In Denmark and Sweden the answer was a foregone conclusion: the language spoken in the capitals and by members of the educated classes became the standard. In Norway the conditions were different due to Danish domination. Presumably a form of Dan. with Norw. pronunciation had developed among the officials and other citizens in Oslo (Torp/Vikør 1993, 118).

Fourth, the general role of language in the process of cultivation was discussed. The baroque writing style of the 17th c. and its later offshoot, e.g. Ludvig Holberg's strongly Latin-influenced prose style, was considered old-fashioned. A change in style was necessary. Denmark and Sweden took new stylistic ideas from the great European nations, especially England and France. From England came the *Spectator* genre, with Joseph Addison's and Richard Steele's *The Tatler* (1709–1711) and *The Spectator* (1711–1713) as the best-known examples. Later in the century, English novels by Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding and Samuel Richardson were translated into the Nordic languages. From France, it was first and foremost the philosophical works of the Enlightenment that were translated in a modern prose style.

Four points were central aspects in the Nordic debates about language and the function of language in society. Each will be dealt with in turn, but of course other language issues were discussed at the time, e.g. the question of the origin of language. How language developed was seen as an integral part of the development of human rationality in general. Was language a gift from God at the Creation, or had it developed from a primitive level to modern perfection? The second point of view was supported by increasing knowledge about the languages of "wild" tribes; e.g. the lan-

guage of the Hottentots was viewed as a very primitive prototype. The authority of the Bible and the theories about the age of the earth supported the first point of view. (The Creation had taken place precisely 4004 B. C., stated e.g. in the Danish historian P. F. Suhm's *Samlede Skrifter* Vol. 9 (1792), 305).

2. Orthographic problems

Both in Denmark and in Sweden, the Bible translations of the 16th c. (*Christian III's Bibel*, 1550; *Gustav Vasas Bibel*, 1541) had epoch-making importance for the respective standard written languages. In spite of these relatively modern and uniform standards for printed works (especially in the Danish Bible; the orthography in the Swedish Bible was more conservative; Skautrup 1947, II, 320), there was a lack of agreement about a consistent orthographic standard in the period around 1700. Individual writers often used their own private orthography, and professional printers also disagreed about various details. In Denmark there was a relatively stable standard about 1700 (Skautrup II, 1947, 320), as can be seen in an important text, Christian V's *Danske Lov* (1683), which is characterized by its astonishingly uniform and modern orthography. In Sweden, a sort of orthographic degeneration occurred in the years before 1700, which in the early 18th c. resulted in a heated dispute between Swedish linguists. Urban Hiärne wrote in his *Orthographia Svecana eller den Retta Swenska Bookstafweringen*:

Den förste anledning til sådant olagh begyntes oförmärckt uthi Drottning Christinae sidste regiments åhr, då så många Frantzoser iemte andra fremmande i landet kommo och deras språk blef så högt skattet, ath uthi howfet föga annat hördes än Franska och den, som något wille gälla, måste sigh deruthi öfwa. Sij, det gjorde, at man om Swänskan begynte wara något mindre bekymrad [...] och begynte man sedan ibland gemena mannen icke så noga taga den sanskyllige skrijfarten i acht (quoted from Hernlund 1883, 19).

[The first cause of this disorder began unnoticed in the last years of the reign of Queen Christina when so many Frenchmen together with other foreigners came into the country and their language was so highly estimated that only French was heard at Court and anybody who wanted to pass for something had to practice it. This meant that you became less concerned about the Swedish language [...] and ordinary people began not to be careful about the right spelling].

Why did this orthographic dispute arise just at the beginning of the Enlightenment? Of course this can be viewed as a continuation of the endeavours of the 17th c. to centralize all aspects of society, which was an offshoot of the absolute monarchs' wishes to establish homogeneity in their kingdoms. Just as in all other parts of society, language had to be provided with a fixed framework. But the debate can also be seen as a genuine manifestation of the efforts of the Enlightenment to establish order and rationality in the domain of language, to save language from total decay.

The outlook for a successful outcome from the debate was favourable. There was interested although limited public comment, the authorities viewed these efforts with approval, and both in Denmark and in Sweden there were gifted linguists who could shape the ideas on a professional basis.

In Denmark the debate was opened by the linguists of the 17th c. – Erik Pontoppidan (1616–1678), Peder Syv and Henrik Gerner (1629–1700) – and was continued in the 18th c. by Peder Schultz in *Om Danskens Skriverigtighed* (1724, Bertelsen IV; 1–154), the anonymous writer of the manuscript Gl.kgl.Saml. 789 fol. (1727, Henriksen 1976), Niels von Hauen (1709–1777) in *Et lidet orthographisk Lexicon eller Ord-Bog* (1741) and Jens Pedersen Høysgaard in *Tres faciunt collegium* (1743, Bertelsen IV, 185–216; in Dan.) and *Concordia res parvae crescunt, eller Anden Prove af Dansk Orthographie, som viser skrevne Accenters Nytte og Vocalernes rette Brug* (1743, Bertelsen IV, 217–248).

In Sweden the discussion was carried on in the 17th c. by prominent linguists such as Samuel Columbus and Petrus Lagerlöf, and in the early 18th c. by the two quarrelsome men Urban Hiärne in the above mentioned treatise and Jesper Svedberg (1653–1735), *Schibboleth, Svenska Språkets Rycht och Richtighet* (1716). Later on the problem was discussed by one of the greatest Swedish linguists of the century, Sven Hof in *Swenska språkets rätta skrifsätt* (1753, Thelander 1985) and Abraham Sahlstedt in *Försök Till en Svensk Grammatika eller det nu för tiden brukeliga Sättet at tala och skriva* (1747).

The discussion about *det rätta skrifsätt* recalls the contemporary literary controversy between the “old” and the “modern”. The problem was whether, when using the authorized orthography, people should make allowance for tradition in order to preserve the continuity of the written language, or for utility

and establish an orthographic standard with maximal connection between speech and writing. It is a well-known fact that the final result became a compromise between the two points of view. But the “moderns” had the spirit of time on their side and were able to adduce the most effective arguments. They claimed that speech was primary and writing as far as possible had to be in agreement with the spoken language. That meant that the letters <c, x, z, q, w> had to be abolished, that mute letters had to be removed, a few very forward thinking linguists even proposed that the plural forms of the verbs should be abolished. In practice this did not happen until the 20th c., first in Denmark, later Sweden. In the heat of the fight, the debaters often used less urbane manners, e.g. the unknown writer of the manuscript Gl.kgl.Saml. 789 fol.:

Det er jo i sig selv en vrang, bagvendt, forvendt, forvirret, lumpenagtig og unaturlig handel, og et ufornuftigt forhold at skrive en bøgstav, men tale en anden, eller at skrive 2de eller 3de bøgstaver, og allene tale en bøgstav (Henriksen 1976, 410).

[In itself, of course, it is a wrong, awkward, bungling, confused, lubberly, and unnatural procedure to write one letter, but to pronounce another, or to write two or three, and pronounce just one letter].

The ideas of the writer did not succeed, nor did Høysgaard's proposal for an *accentuated* [accentuated] orthography evoke a response. In Høysgaard's *Accentuated Grammatica* (1747, Bertelsen IV, 249–488) the Dan. prosodic features of stress, length and *stød* (the special Danish glottal stop) are marked in print.

The discussion continued in Denmark throughout the century, but no official standard was established. The provisional solution was, if anything, in the spirit of Holberg, who wrote as early as 1726:

Om visse autoriserede Mænd toge sig for at give orthographiske Regler, vilde jeg være den første at rette mig derefter, endskiøndt jeg, efter mit tykke, kunde give bedre Raison til en og anden Ting: Thi, ligesom det er bedre at leve under harde love end under Anarchie, saa er det smukkere at alle skrive paa een Maade, skiøndt mindre beqvem, end at enhver bogstaverer ligesom han faaer Indfald til.

[If certain authorized men gave orthographic rules I would be the first to follow these rules although I – in accordance with my own opinion – could give better reason to one thing and another. Because just as it is better to live under

hard laws than under anarchy so it is more beautiful that everyone writes in one way, albeit less convenient, than that everybody spells according to his whims] (*Orthographiske Anmerkninger* 1726, Bertelsen IV, 159).

In an aide-memoire (1800) to the university and the bishops, the Danish Chancellery wrote that teachers of Danish in the grammar schools had to follow “Den Orthographie, som af Fædrelandets bedste og meest classiske Prosaister bruges” [The orthography used by the best and most classic prose writers in the native country] (Skautrup III, 1953, 163).

In Sweden the discussion proceeded by and large as in Denmark. In the beginning of the 18th c., a debate about orthographic problems was carried on with Hiärne and Svedberg as principals. Hiärne represented the conservative point of view whereas Svedberg maintained the modern one. The dispute was primarily about the orthography in a new hymnbook which Svedberg had edited and which had been rejected because of its modern orthography. A positive result from this Swedish dispute was Svedberg’s book *Schibboleth* in which he offered his general view of linguistic problems, orthography, grammar, vocabulary and linguistic correctness. In the middle of the 18th c., Sven Hof took part in the discussion in his book *Swänksa språkets rätta skriftsätt* (Thelander, 1985). He pointed out (p. 71) that “Swänksa språket har ännu icke något wisst, och genom allmänneligit bruk, wedertagit skriftsätt” [The Swedish language still does not have a fixed and, through common use, approved orthography].

Just like Høysgaard in Denmark so Hof’s main point was “write as you talk”. This involved among other things radical proposals such as writing words like *giva* ‘give’, *göra* ‘to do’, *genom* ‘through’ as *jiva*, *jöra*, *jenom*. Also, he wanted to remove the mute ⟨l⟩ and ⟨d⟩ in e. g. *ljus* ‘light’, *djur* ‘animal’ and write them as *jus*, *jur*. Yet Sven Hof, in the spirit of rationality, was not fanatic but gave his reasons as follows (Thelander 1985, 52):

Skulle man i det, som här anført är om g och j icke finna smak, och tro att myndigheten af wanan och bruket härvid icke står att öfwerwinnas genom några skiäl; så kan jag icke wara emot sådant, utan låter mig därmed giärna nöja.

[If you don’t appreciate what is said here about g and j and believe that the authority of custom and use cannot be overcome by any means, then I cannot be against it but I am content with it].

The heated dispute in Sweden did not result in the establishment of a standard but, in contrast to Denmark where the solution to the problem was to refer to the most classical prose writers as orthographic models, the Svenska Akademien in 1801 published an orthographic handbook *Afhandling om svenska stafsättet*. It is a wide-ranging publication, which served as the standard in Sweden up to the end of the 19th c.

Although the extensive and at times heated dispute about principles of orthography did not lead to major changes in the 18th c., it provides interesting insights relating to both linguistics and the history of ideas. The best linguists of that time presented excellent information about the pronunciation of Dan. and Sw. in the 18th c. The entire discussion also offers a real example of the mode of thought during the Enlightenment, as can be seen in Hof’s eminent example (Thelander 1985, 32):

Konsten att skrifwa och läsa bör göras så lätt, som någonsin möjligt är. Ty att denna konsten är högst angelägen för alla, som i det borgerliga samhället hafwa något att uträtta, och så nödig och nyttig, som människornas brister, nödtorfter och sysslor äro mångahanda; det lär ingen neka. Men som de flästes beskaffenhet och lefwernes art är sådan, att de hafwa liten tid att härpå använda, och dem jämväl swårt faller att lära äfwen det lättaste sätt att skrifwa och läsa; så följer nödwändigt, att denna konsten, särdeles till deras förmån, bör göras så lätt, som någonsin möjligt är. [The art of reading and writing has to be made as easy as possible. Because nobody denies that this skill is very important for anybody who is involved in civil society, and this skill is also so necessary and useful while the shortcomings, needs and occupations of man are so manifold. But as the conditions and mode of life of most people are such that they have little time to spend on this matter and they have difficulties in learning even the easiest mode of writing and reading, then it follows of necessity that this skill has to be made as easy as possible in particular to fit the needs of these people].

3. Language purity

The orthographic debate in the 18th c. was a typical product of the Enlightenment Age’s idea about clarity and logic combined with a serious desire for improving and educating the common citizen. The discussion about language purity can be looked at in the same light. While 17th c. endeavours above all aimed at upholding the status of the mother tongue as opposed to culturally dominant European languages, the 18th c. was characterized by a

wide range of popular and educational vernacular literature both in Denmark-Norway and Sweden. One of the representatives of this literature was Ludvig Holberg in Denmark, whose relations to purism were, however, complex: though in principle advocating a moderate purism he did use a lot of loanwords of Gr., Lat. and Fr. origin. As a purist he was clearly surpassed by other outstanding writers like the philosopher Frederik Christian Eilschov and the professors in Sorø, Jens Schelderup Sneedorff and Jens Kraft (1720–1765). In Sweden, thoughts about ennobling the language were represented by authors such as Olof Dalin (*Then Swänska Argus*, 1732–34) and by the scientist Carl von Linné (1707–1778), e.g. in his travel books. The theoretical discussion in Sweden was led by the competent linguists Abraham Sahlstedt (1716–1776), Sven Hof and Johan Ihre (1707–1780).

The discussion about purism was, as previously mentioned, first and foremost inspired by ideas about the role of language in the process of cultivating a civil society. The view at the time was that language had to be developed as an easy and elegant tool for thought, and even the most abstract philosophical or scientific ideas in principle ought to be expressed in the mother tongue. The model for these Nordic endeavours was Germany, where language purism was discussed eagerly. The philosopher Leibniz supported the movement, and the fashionable philosopher Christian Wolff carried the principle into practice in his many books with the words “Vernünftige Gedanken über [...]” [Rational thoughts about [...]] in the title. The dependence on German models lends a slightly comic air to the Nordic purists’ energetic attempts to create new words which often were translated directly from G, in many cases forming clumsy compounds, and only a few of the many proposals took hold in the languages. The aim was first and foremost to remove words of Gr. and Lat. origin. For example Eilschov, a typical exponent of the purist movement, proposed in his (Lat.) dissertation *Cogitationes de scientiis vernacula lingua docendis cum specimine terminologiæ vernaculæ* (1747) a list of 897 Lat. philosophical terms with a Dan. equivalent. Most of the Dan. words were taken from contemporary translations of German philosophical and aesthetic literature (e.g. Wolff, J. Chr. Gottsched); others were Eilschov’s, either his translations of corresponding G words or Dan. neologisms. A few examples from *Cogitationes* are: *Aands*

Nægtelse (materialismus), *Blad Viisere* (index), *Dømme Kunst* (critica), *Fjederkraft* (elasticitet), *Jord Deeleren* (æqvator), *Øye-Kreds* (horizon), *Bevægende Grund* (motiva); more fanciful ones include *Legems Nægtelse* (idealismus), *Langtfravisende Glas* (telescopium), *Dunst-Kugle* (atmosphæra). Many of Eilschov’s words are still alive in Mod. Dan., e.g. *Skarpsindighed* (acumen), *Spids-Vinkel* (angulus acutus), *Sandsynlig* (verosimilis).

In Sweden, Sven Hof expressed the idea about purism clearly in *Swänska språkets rätta skrifsätt* (Thelander 1985, 25):

Främmande ord böra lämpeligen och efter hand gifwas och förbytas med tianliga ord af moders-målet, som beqvämigen kan ske genom de, för ämbete, stånd och lärdom, anseligas bruk och myndighet.

[Foreign words gently and gradually ought to be replaced by serviceable words of the mother tongue; that can be done through the use and authority of those people who are distinguished owing to their post, rank and scholarship].

And just as Eilschov also wanted to philosophize for women in intelligible Danish, so Hof also showed consideration for the linguistic education of young Swedish women:

Lät dina döttrar lära Catechesen, Gudsfruktan, sedighet, hushåldning och skrifwa Swänska, men för ingen del att tala Fransyska: och föreställ dig, att de sedan icke mer lära skona någon, som i deras åhöra wille härmed förskämma språket, än den som i samtal med dem skulle slänga in en hop Latin och Grekiska, eller prata något för dem ur Logica och Metaphysica (Thelander 1985, 125).

[Let your daughters learn the catechism, fear of God, morality, housekeeping and to write Swedish, but not to talk French, and imagine that they afterwards will not deal gently with anybody who in their presence will disfigure the language or in conversation with them would throw in a lot of Latin and Greek or talk about logic or metaphysics].

This purism must be looked at in the same way as the spelling debate; its goal was also more modest than the heated disputes indicate. The most important problem concerning the vocabulary was the scholarly words of Greek and Latin origin, because they caused difficulties for the new readers. Many French words also had to be removed, not so much because they were unintelligible, but because they were regarded as a ridiculous fashion (cf. Holberg’s comedy *Jean de France*). Germanisms on the contrary were by and large tolerated. A real Nordic linguistic movement as

was seen in the 19th c. was not under discussion. When the poets of the late 18th c. dealt with Nordic topics in their poetry, they focussed on the morals and noble thoughts of the Old Norse gods and heroes and not so much on their language. However, the idea of a Nordic linguistic brotherhood can be seen in the Dane Sneedorff's *Den Patriotiske Tilskuere* (No. 32, 8/5 1761), where he expressed his wish for a Nordic linguistic community:

hvis vi til de Nordiske Nationers Ære [...] kunde finde et saadant Middel til at foreene det Danske og Svenske Sprog, at Indbyggerne i de tre Riger udgiorde kuns et Selskab i Henseende til Videnskaberne.

[if only we to the honour of the Nordic nations could find a means to connect the Danish and Swedish language so that the inhabitants in the three countries constituted only one society as regards the branches of knowledge].

4. The best language

A more concrete problem following from desire for uniformity and common national standards was which language was the "best" and consequently should become the standard. The question had two sides, a regional and a social one. The regional concerns the absence of a standard language in the modern sense of the word. Skautrup estimates (III, 213, 1953) that the number of people in Denmark speaking a sort of standard language rose from 5 per cent to 10 per cent in the period 1700–1870. In the 18th c. the number of standard speakers was very low. In Sweden the situation was the same or even more in favour of the dialects. The problem was, which dialect should become the basis for the standard language? On this point there was no doubt in Denmark and Sweden. In spite of the growing interest in the spoken language and knowledge of the dialects and their distinctive character, it was the language of the capitals, Copenhagen and Stockholm and their nearest surroundings, that was viewed as the exemplary form of the language. In Denmark the writer of *Gl.kgl.Saml.* 789 fol. wrote (Henriksen 1976, 382):

nør man rigtig vil vide hvad for bøgstaver et Dansk ord, i sær sø^nt et ord man tviler pø, eientlig skal skrives med, da skal man som ofte er sagt, konferere, eller her at si^, gi^noie agt pø den lyd som ordet høres med [...] nør det udtales av en Lerd mand der bøde har en re^ n stemme, sø og er fø^t i hovedstaden av Danske Forældre, og

tillige har ha^t^ li^gesø^ n person til sin Skolmester.

[If you want to know with which letters a Danish word has to be written, especially such words which you have doubts about, then you must as said before compare or pay attention to the sounds with which the word is heard when it is pronounced by a learned man who both has a pure voice and is born in the capital of Danish parents and also has had a similar person as schoolmaster].

Høysgaard in his *Accentuered og Raisonnered Grammatica* (1747, Bertelsen IV, 368) wrote: "Den beste Dialèct er efter de lærdeste og omhýgeligste Orthographisters skjønnende først dén i Roeskilde og dêrnæst den Kjøbenhávnske" [The best dialect is according to the opinions of the most learned and careful orthographers first the dialect in Roskilde and next that in Copenhagen].

In Sweden, Hof also emphasized the priority of the language of the capital and its surroundings (Thelander 1985, 80):

Den talarten som brukas i Stockholm och de nästgränsande landskap, särdeles i de förnämre och hederliga hus, må kallas den Upländske. Den Upländske talarten hålles och är ibland de Swänske, den bäste.

[The idiom that is used in Stockholm and the nearest provinces especially in the houses of distinguished and honourable people is called Uplandic. The Uplandic idiom is considered the best among the Swedish dialects].

Nor were there any doubts from a sociolinguistic point of view on the best language; the learned and educated citizens of the capital spoke the best language.

The discussion about the best language variety thus was entirely in the spirit of the Enlightenment. The most important function of language was to educate and improve the citizens of the country. An understanding in a deeper sense of the regional and social plurality of language belongs to a later time. Yet an incipient interest in these aspects of language can be seen. The writer of *Gl. kgl. Saml.* 789 fol. demonstrated knowledge of Jutlandic and Norwegian dialects and made many characteristic comparisons in tabular form (Henriksen 1976, 395ff.). In Sweden the first more detailed accounts of dialects and collections of words were published, e. g. Hof's *Dialectus vestrogothica* (1772) with a dictionary and a grammar of the Swedish Västgöta dialect. Johan Ihre published the first real dialect dictionary in Scandinavia in 1766, *Swenskt dialect lexicon*. Even in Norway, in spite of Dan-

ish dominance, there was a growing interest in the Norwegian language, e. g. in the form of lists of genuine Norw. words (cf. Knud Leem's *En liden Glosebog* ca. 1740, published in 1923; Laurents Hallager's *Norsk Ordsamling*, 1802). The relations between Dan. and Norw. in Norway are treated by Indrebø (1951).

5. Language and Enlightenment

The discussion about language in the Nordic countries clearly was connected with the general line of thought of the Enlightenment. The efforts of the 17th c. were chiefly aimed at upholding the value of the national languages and thus saving them from decay. In the 18th c., language was viewed as a means to expound new ideas about civil enlightenment and education. The language debaters of the time wanted to make their language a flexible tool of thought, but at the same time retaining elegance and good taste. The linguists of the 17th c. made a point of purity and gracefulness (*puritas* and *ornatus*) and had difficulties in tearing themselves away from the turgidity of the baroque style and dependence on poetry in verse form. In contrast the 18th c. was a century of prose. Modern European prose forms arrived on the Nordic scene from Germany, England and France and had a strong influence on views of language. Theorists both in Denmark-Norway and Sweden were heavily assisted by writers with good linguistic intuitions who mastered the new genres – popular science, essays and journalism.

The discussion was furthered by a fairly interested public participation. Concern about looking after the mother tongue can also be seen in the fact that the public or private learned societies both in Denmark-Norway and Sweden included language cultivation in their programmes, e. g. in the form of great dictionary and grammar projects, in Denmark, e. g. *Dansk Ordbog udgiven under Videnskaberne Selskabs Bestyrelse* 1–8 (1793–1905); as regards the lengthy history of this dictionary see Lomholt (1960); in Sweden, Abraham Sahlstedt's *Swensk grammatika efter det nu för tiden i språket brukliga sättet författad, af Kongl. Wetenskaps Akademien gillad* (1769), and his *Swensk ordbok med latinsk uttolkning, på Kongl. Majestäts allernådigste befallning författad, och i ljuset framgifwen af A. S., Kongl. Secret.* (1773).

In the last decades of the 18th c. a growing interest in Old Norse literature and culture

was typical in the Nordic countries. Old Norse texts were published, and the poets of the time e. g. in Denmark Johannes Ewald (1743–1781), Christen Pram (1756–1821), P. F. Suhm (1728–1798); in Sweden, Carl Gustaf af Leopold (1756–1829) used topics from Nordic mythology in their poetry.

The transition from the Age of Enlightenment to Romanticism was a gradual process, not a jump in development; the last two or three decades of the 18th c. are often named Pre-romanticism in the history of ideas. The great interest in the Northern antiquities can be looked upon as a manifestation of this current. The German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) was an important inspiration in the Nordic countries. His idea of a national genius (*Völksgesit*) and his emphasis on the importance of linguistic and literary tradition evoked a response among the intellectual leaders.

This transitional phase between rationalism and romanticism also showed up in the linguistic discussions at the time. The rationalistic tradition survived in the synchronic grammars of Dan. and Sw., e. g. in the form of greater reference books or text books. In Denmark, Jacob Baden's *Forelæsninger over det Danske Sprog, eller Resonneret Dansk Grammatik* (1785) was published in an abridged form as late as 1838; Baden's grammar was strongly influenced by Høysgaard. In Sweden, the grammars of the 18th c. survived the turn of the century, e. g. Sahlstedt's *Swensk grammatika* (1769) and Botin's *Svenska språket i tal och skrift* (1786).

The encounter of the old and new ideas showed up clearly in comparative, diachronic linguistics. The Dane Rasmus Kristian Rask (1787–1832) was the most prominent representative of these new views in Scandinavia. There is a typical duplicity in Rask's linguistic views; on the one hand a romantic, patriotic perspective was reflected in his extensive studies in Oícel. and his passion for the Nordic antiquity, on the other hand Rask's main interest in the study of language was systematism and classification. In principle, languages ought to be described in accordance with scientific methods in the same way as plants. Rask drew attention to the fact that he was influenced by Carl von Linné's botanical taxonomy (cf. *Breve fra og til Rasmus Rask* I, København 1941, 387). Rask's rationalistic, 18th century inspired, basic views on language is convincingly demonstrated in e. g. Hjelmlev (1951), Bjerrum (1959) and

Diderichsen (1960), most radically by Hjelmlev who regards Rask's later works as a sort of struggle for liberation from the romantic influence in his youth (cf. Diderichsen 1960, 144).

The national and historical view – inspired by the romantic ideas and comparative, historical linguistics – broke through in Scandinavia later in the 19th c.; e.g. in Denmark, N.M. Petersen's *Det danske, norske, og svenske Sprogs Historie under deres Udvikling af Stamsproget* (1829–30), in Sweden, J.H. Rydqvist's *Svenska språkets lagar* (1850–83) and in Norway, the *Landsmaal* movement with Ivar Aasen as the leading figure.

6. Literature (a selection)

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Noreen, Adolf (1903), *Vårt språk I*. Lund.

Pettersson, Gertrud (1996), *Svenska språket under sjuhundra år: en historia om svenskan och dess utforskande*. Lund.

Skautrup, Peter (1947–53), *Det danske sprogs historie II–III*. København.

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43. Nordic language history and the history of ideas III: Nationalism, identity and democratic movements in the 19th and 20th centuries

1. Introduction
2. Epochs in the history of ideas from Pre-romanticism to the present day
3. The history of ideas and language planning in the Nordic countries
4. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The history of ideas in the Nordic countries is immense in scope, yet its influence on the study of language remains under-researched. The only major works seem to be Diderichsen's *Sprogsyn og sproglig opdragelse* (1968, posthumously edited) and Tarschys' *Svenska språket och litteraturen* (dissertation, 1955). Obviously, there are many valuable suggestions and lots of useful information in Skautrup's great work on the history of the Danish language, but there is no Nordic overview. Many ideas – and the very concept of idea is not all that precise – do not have any bearing on the study of language and vice versa. The present article thus does not try to cover the entire subject area but rather focusses on certain key concepts and particular periods. The time span covered is the period from the pre-romanticists till the present day.

In the study of language, as in the study of all subjects placed within the traditionally circumscribed field of the human sciences, we may for all epochs and all research traditions distinguish between at least four different levels of linguistic theory.

At the first level we find the objectification of data and possibly a declaration of which linguistic data the tradition does not aim to cover. Data are always constructed. This is evident in the case of dialect studies where the spoken language is recorded in one or more ways (by using phonetic alphabets directly, by using a tape recorder and afterwards transcribing the recordings, or by video recordings etc.). It is, however, also found in the programmatic statements at the beginning of any grammar worth being called a scientific grammar stating what kind of language is included (e.g. cultivated speech, not vulgar speech, written language only etc.). The data base is always a selection of what there is.

At the second level are the methods used for manipulating the data. Actual speech or writing typically constitute (various types of)

texts. But this text has to be systematically dismantled in order to furnish the material for a new text, viz. a grammar, dictionary, or treatise.

The third level consists of what is usually called the theoretical stance of the researcher, his or her conception of language and of what research can and must do to achieve the objectives the tradition has set for itself. At this level belong the "schools of thought" (e.g. Radnitzky), the "research traditions" (Lakatos) or the "paradigms" (Kuhn) of linguistics (or any other human science).

By including a fourth level of theory, I wish to draw attention to the fact that these various schools of thought all have ideological implications at the level of what we conveniently, but a bit vaguely, might call "world views". World views may themselves be seen as variations on universal themes such as idealism versus materialism, realism versus nominalism, conventionalism or constructivism etc. The combinations of this limited vocabulary of oppositions and the various shades of stances are unlimited, and the particular aggregate of stances will always be a historical fact. Often a particular combination will be labelled an ideology by convention. The field of ideologies of language has in recent years developed considerably (Woolard 1998; Wingstedt 1998).

To complicate matters, we may further distinguish between the levels as applied to the object itself, i.e. in the study of particular languages, and to the conceptualization of the study of languages, i.e. to the object as constructed at a particular level. We use the expressions "object" and "reflexion object" (Gregersen/Køppe 1985) for these two levels. Most explicit thinking about the study of languages, i.e. most theorizing, will treat the reflexion object, while most empirical work will be about the object. In one sense we attempt to unearth the hidden presuppositions about the reflexion object when analyzing empirical work ostensibly about the object itself.

Returning now to the general history of ideas, the subject matter of this discipline may be found in principle at all the levels but most often will be found, most explicitly at least, at the fourth level of theory, the level of world views. This is also the level where scientific activities across the various disciplines at a cer-

tain point in time and space have most in common, cf. the idea of *Zeitgeist*. Thus we speak of the ideas of a certain epoch and often roughly delimit the epochs by focussing on certain characteristics while ignoring others. We shall follow this dubious strategy in order to give an outline of the period under scrutiny here.

2. Epochs in the history of ideas from Pre-romanticism to the present day

2.1. Herder and Pre-romanticism on language

Traditionally the ideas of J.G. Herder mark the beginning of a new epoch in the history of ideas in Western Europe (for Herder on language, cf. Diderichsen 1968, 129 ff. with note 2). The epoch may be viewed as characterized by the introduction of the complex of the *Volk* (cf. article 54). I think it is impossible to overestimate the influence of Herder's thought on contemporary ideas if only for the simple reason that it formed the basis for research and national language policies from then on. The very idea of a language must have changed. Obviously, many observers had noted that other people seemed to manage very well without using the same means of communication as the observer. Obviously, many people must have experienced not being understood. But the very idea of ascribing this mysterious importance to "language" must have sounded a deep note since it was accepted so quickly. Looking at empirical work in linguistics, we may ask what it meant to change the conception of language. First and foremost it meant that linguistics attained more prestige, and linguistic knowledge became essential knowledge since only through the study of language and literature could we begin to fathom the mind of the *Volk*. Secondly, the relationship between the sciences was changed so that the historical view united them in a never-ending quest for the origins of the present.

2.2. The romanticist complex of ideas: idealist historicism, the concept of *Volk* and its relation to language

Traditional histories of ideas name the entire 19th c. the epoch of historicism. Thinking in genetic terms became the dominant theme, and the origins and development of X became the dominant explanation for any X. Histori-

cism may, however, conveniently be divided into idealist historicism, dominant at the beginning of the century, and materialist or naturalist historicism, victorious at the end of it. At which point in time exactly the two change places is a matter for discussion. The important thing is to see this change in the light of the professionalization of the human sciences which took place during the 19th c. after the model of the Prussian Humboldtian university. The human sciences became the prime producer of nation state ideology and have only gradually freed themselves from this obligation – if, that is, they have yet. This task should not be seen as something imposed on the human sciences from outside. On the contrary, the scientists active in discussions in the public spheres of the newly created nation states all over Europe felt themselves that this was their very *raison d'être*: to put things right as to the history and mission of the nation and its people.

The beginning of the 19th c. hovers ambivalently between a "rationalist" search for the inner logic of languages and the historicist quest for the origins of present structures. This is nowhere felt more acutely than in the controversy surrounding the genius Rasmus Rask (M. Bjerrum 1979). Rask (1787–1832) can be seen as fundamentally a typologist concerned primarily with the structure of living (or dead) languages and the comparative analysis of these structures. In this view he is painted as a structuralist *avant la lettre* (or a rationalist *post festum*). This is essentially what Hjelmlev does in his *Commentaires sur la vie et l'œuvre de Rasmus Rask* (1951). Alternatively, Rask may be seen as the historicist founding father of comparative national philologies, as Holger Pedersen has it (Pedersen 1924; 1933). Crucially, Diderichsen, while studying the dissertation by M. Bjerrum (1959) on Rask's works on Danish, undertook a painstaking study of what views were held by Rask's teachers on matters linguistic (Diderichsen 1960). This unique book convincingly shows that Rask was heavily influenced by teachers who were imbued with the rationalist tradition and that this was what he brought to the study of the various languages of the Indo-European family and other languages he was concerned with. In a later paper, published posthumously, Diderichsen summarizes his results:

The chief merit of Rask is that he was the first who applied the theories and methods of eighteenth-century philosophical etymology and

grammar to all the main languages of Europe, Indo-European as well as others. [...] Rask was the first to demonstrate how the methods were able to solve problems of a highly complex type. [...] The predominant motivation for the work of the first comparatists was the romantic interest in old poetic, historical, and religious texts, and the national movements in Germany and Scandinavia. The edition and investigation of Old Norse “*edda*” and “*saga*”, Old German poetry, Sanskrit and Avestan forced Rask, the Grimms, and the Schlegels to painstaking grammatical and etymological inquiries; and this combination of text philology and comparative linguistics has continuously been an essential characteristic of the whole paradigm. (Diderichsen 1974, 301f.)

Only one thing need be added to this elegant and comprehensive summary of a complex change – viz. that the addition of an empirical facet makes all the difference. What Diderichsen, with reference to the eminent American theoretician of science Thomas S. Kuhn, calls “problem solving” in fact refers to the empirical stance: thinking about language is not doing linguistics; rather, doing linguistics is tantamount to describing without prejudice what is there in the sources, what is said by the speakers, in brief what the linguistic facts are. This takes us back to the basic level.

The consequences for the delimitation of linguistic facts of Herder’s ideas put into practice were obvious. As Diderichsen noted, the texts to cull for linguistic facts needed to change. First of all they had to be old and they had to be in the language of the forefathers. This, however, was not immediately practicable since the old texts were not printed and often had been transmitted through manuscripts which diverged significantly from each other. Thus the emerging field of Nordic philology had to purify and edit the sources so that they could be used for the historical grammars and dictionaries which would demonstrate the continuity and ancestry of the wonderful language used by the nation’s inhabitants.

In a paradigm such as this, it is important to know which “national” language is used in a particular text. Although the results are now uncontroversial, a significant number of texts from the Nordic countries are much more alike than they “should” be. It appears that there were not the same obvious limits between what was a text in Swedish and a text in Danish. Looking at this *Gründer* period, one may speculate how much the researchers were led to distill a language which was not yet in existence as “a language”. It would be

helpful to consider instead the various writing traditions without necessarily having to use the terms invented in later centuries.

The historical view led to the establishment of a new genre, the history of the Nordic languages. Niels Matthias Petersen, the first Professor of Nordic at the University of Copenhagen, taking his cue from the sketch of the history of Danish in Rask’s treatise on orthography (1826) and Rask’s inspired explanation of the endings and forms of Danish using the Old Norse language (1820), wrote his history of the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish languages in 1829–30. The Nordic ambition is logical, but the pioneering effort was felt by the author to be almost unbearably cumbersome since:

Ingen dansk Mand vil, uden et længere Ophold i Sverrig og Norge, og uden Adgang til de mange i Sverrig henhvilende Haandskrifter, være i Stand til paa en tilfredsstillende Maade at behandle disse Landes ældre Sprog; men Midlerne hertil stode ikke i min Magt. Med mine Lidelser i denne Henseende vil jeg ikke opholde Læseren; den som har erfaret, hvorledes man er tilmode, naar man hører Kilden risle i en Frastand, uden at kunne komme til at lække sin Tørst, vil kunne sige sig dem selv (N.M. Petersen 1830, 4f.).

The stylistic consequences of the changing conception of language in the 19th c. are usually summarized in terms of the influence of the Old Norse sagas on the thematic and stylistic choices of the contemporary authors. In short, romanticism itself influenced the translation of the sagas (N.M. Petersen was the first to translate the Icelandic sagas into Danish), and this translation shaped the idea of an Old Norse style, which in turn was imitated by e.g. the poet Carsten Hauch (cf. Rubow 1923, 95f.).

In all the Nordic countries the romantic invention of the *Volk* (cf. Burke 1978, part I, ch. 1) led to systematic attempts to reinforce and invigorate the written language by noting how people actually spoke the language. Thus Hans Christian Andersen’s prose style is an attempt to fuse spoken and written modes of communication in a specifically invented or construed genre, the fairy tale. The fairy tale used the format of the popular narratives collected and retold by the Grimm brothers in Germany but remodelled it thoroughly. The result renewed Danish prose style. It became legitimate to mimic a more oral and thus more popular style, less influenced by the Latin prose style of the learned writers: shorter sentences and an artful exploitation of the

possibilities of the sentences' first position, so important stylistically for the information structure of all V2 languages. Andersen's style remained a challenge for all later writers.

2.3. Naturalism

In keeping with the development of the university and the nation state, the second half of the 19th c. introduced a more materialist historicism, gradually replacing the earlier idealist trend. Naturalism, positivism and a host of other labels have been introduced to capture this change of climate, and in international linguistics this is normally seen in conjunction with the foundation and subsequent success of the neogrammarian school of linguistics. Diderichsen in his paper on Rask (1974) dismisses the neogrammarian school as a minor variation of an already fully fledged paradigm of historical linguistics. This may or may not be true – what is minor depends on the scale used in measuring the change. What seems important from the point of view chosen here is that the understanding of language as a physiological phenomenon with a psychological parallel separates this trend from its predecessors since it makes it possible to search for explanations of a type called “laws”. The controversy over the nature of sound laws is a *Lehrstück* in the history of linguistics (cf. the documentation in Wilbur 1977), but its significance lies less in the views expressed than in the aim of the discussion. While nobody in the early part of the century doubted that historical studies were relevant for the insights they gave into the spiritual side of the existence of the nation and its people, it now became obvious that linguistic facts could or ought to be explained by having recourse to more general laws of human nature. This at once puts universalism back on the agenda and squarely places it under an obligation to account for the linguistic facts, chronicled in an explosion of research since Rask, Grimm and Bopp.

Karl Verner (1846–1896), who formulated Verner's law, probably was the main representative of this new trend. He closely collaborated with German linguists, forming a closed group of like-minded scholars at Jena and Berlin, and he became famous as the linguist who had put the ideas of the *Junggrammatiker* to work in order to explain a hitherto mysterious exception. Verner's law thus became a symbol of the progressive nature of this particular research tradition, and his 1876 paper

can still be used as an ideal way to present a problem in order to solve it.

Verner was only one of a long series of eminent and very influential Nordic linguists belonging to the neogrammarian paradigm. Hovdhaugen et al. in their history of linguistics in the Nordic countries (2000) document thoroughly the fact that this particular research tradition has been very strong and very long-lived. One might say that the establishment of the Nordic philologies and the professionalization of this way of doing research led to a special fusion of philology and a positivist history of language typical for the Nordic countries (including Finland) and for Germany. The strong Nordic (and German) neogrammarian tradition was more or less responsible for the resistance to structuralism in the period between the two world wars. In Sweden structuralism never became the dominant paradigm. This has a great deal to do with the structure of universities. Structuralists are general linguists, but general linguistics is not a subject taught anywhere other than at universities. Thus general linguists have to influence researchers working in the various philologies because this is where the students are. This, of course, cannot always be realized.

The comparative philologist aims to (re)construct a proto-language which supposedly explains later developments. This led to a research practice looking backwards in time. This research tradition furnished the nation with etymological dictionaries and the *Stammbaum* model of family relationships between languages, thus creating order in the linguistic universe. At the same time the neogrammarians had to be able to work with sounds in order to corroborate their historical findings, their sound laws, by studying the dialects of the day. Neogrammarians thus were concerned with sounds as part of the physiological explanation of sound laws. The typical naturalist linguist – Lundell, Storm and Jespersen are the three heroes of this particular band – is an eminent phonetician and an ardent opponent of the traditional ways of teaching dead languages. They opposed both the choice of Latin as the reference language for grammar writing (cf. the warning against “squinting grammars”) and the muted voice of a dead language as the most important subject in schools, hence the “natural” method, focussed on teaching the pronunciation of living languages. Reinterpreting the historicist stance in evolutionary terms, Jespersen taught that language evolution was tantamount to progress.

The old languages, e. g. Gothic, simply used too many endings to express what in English could be said without any: cf. Go. *habaidēdeima* vs. E *had* (Jespersen 1891, 11 ff.).

For the naturalist linguist, linguistics is also a practical science:

It is, in short, clear that whatever may be the value of etymology as an intellectual stimulant, it does not afford an adequate basis for the practical study of languages. Our scientific basis evidently requires widening. What we want is an unhistorical philology, based on the study, not of dead spellings, but of living speech. Such a 'living philology', as it may be called, would start from the accurate observation of spoken languages by means of psychology and phonetics, and would make this the basis of all study of language, whether purely practical, or scientific and historical. A reaction in this direction has, indeed, already begun. [...] Indeed, the main impulse abroad has come from an important work by the Norwegian Professor, Johan Storm [...] (Sweet 1885, 5).

The reference to Storm is to his *Englische Philologie*, first published in German in 1881.

The practical study of language, or applied linguistics as we would now call it, included not only language teaching but spelling and curriculum reforms as well (cf. Gregersen 1991). Across the board, the naturalist fought the influence of the classical philologists (the "dead-letter people") and the etymologists, continuously striving for a better fit between speech and writing (Lundell 1886) and for the public recognition of modern languages. The result was a reform of language teaching, introducing English as the emblematic modern language, and stressing communicative efficiency in all the modern languages taught in school.

The naturalist tendency was strong in the Nordic countries, and the consequences for the choice of object were far-reaching. With Noreen in Sweden and Wiwel in Denmark (*Synspunkter for dansk sproglære*, 1901) we get the first analyses of modern national language. Noreen, in his introduction to the majestic *Vårt språk* with the significant subtitle *Nysvensk grammatik i utförlig framställning* [Comprehensive Modern Swedish grammar] writes about his definition of the notion of "a language":

Språkets byggnad eller struktur i det hela, särskildt den s.k. inre språkformen [...], dvs. det egendomliga sätt, på hvilket själslivets innehåll grupperas (i s.k. psykologiska kategorier) och denna gruppering får språkligt uttryck i s.k. grammatiska kategorier [...]. Som detta sätt vanligtvis – men långtifrån alltid – är gemensamt för en hel nation, på samma gång som det vanligtvis

– men långtifrån alltid – avviker från andra nationers, så benämns de hithörande olika slagen af språk efter de nationer som företrädesvis tala dem. (Noreen 1903, 22).

It seems to be difficult to define national languages if you are a naturalist. Their obvious existence is evidently all but obvious and has to be circumscribed with care. We further note the explicit reference to the idealist Humboldtian *innere Sprachform* and the use of the watchword of the next period, "structure", as equivalent to it. Noreen is concerned with precisely the specific patterns of the national languages and their psychological correlates. In this way the naturalists paved the way for what we may broadly term modernism and its particular branch of linguistics, i.e. structuralism.

2.4. Modernism and structuralism

The neogrammarian paradigm was part of a general trend towards a less idealistic science, a trend which has continued its logical course ever since. Modernism may be seen as a reaction to the breakdown of traditional society, but common to all the dominant reactions are their materialistic flavour and the introduction of natural science as the dominant model of thinking and economy as the dominant field of politics. This has created a wholly new situation for the humanities in general, and the linguistic sciences are no exception. While in the 19th c. the human sciences were central in the creation and use of the public sphere, they gradually lost this privileged position in the 20th c. The social sciences study the administration and economy of the nation states (national economy) and the more and more integrated global economies, while the human sciences focus on topics taught in the educational systems but otherwise relegated to "free" or leisure time. At the same time, consumption during the individual's leisure time has been made the strategic long-term target of a huge industry.

Whereas the political ideas of the 19th c. were concerned with equality and justice for all in the cultural sphere, the dominant controversies now revolved around how inequality in an economic sense leads to or determines inequality in other spheres of life. The problems surrounding the concept of equality were central to discussions inside the Nordic social democratic parties, all of them pivotal to the development of a much publicized Nordic model of society in the 20th c.

The Nordic model is characteristically a state model. The state regulates more and more facets of life. Art is subsidized on a grand scale, as are music making, theatres and opera. Education is free so that anybody can afford to be educated, and there is support for students while they study. Thus “democratization” became the watchword, and the great debate raged between the elitists and those in favour of mass culture.

But mass culture is no longer traditional or national. It is rather an industry, and the industry is profoundly influenced by American trends, hence the discussion everywhere in Europe of the consequences of “Disneyfication” of cultural traditions, fashions, etc.

While the human sciences receded into the background giving way to economics, biology, the natural sciences and the health sciences, linguistics went structural. Structuralism has various, in part very different, roots, with the Slavic branch featuring a more partisan organization and a broader field of interest than just language, the French branch being more sociological in its point of departure, the Americans being decidedly more practical and empirical, and the Copenhagen school being strictly immanent and theoretically minded. All structuralists, however, are united in attempting to create a new scientific linguistics with more rigorous and explicit methods and a more refined data base. Consequently, the terminology and key texts of structuralist linguistics are esoteric and elitist rather than popular in style. The difference between the naturalist who was talking directly to the (smaller) national reading public and the structuralist addressing an international public of like-minded scientists is striking. The structuralist influence on practical matters such as curriculum planning for the schools, reading methods, grammar books and so on is negligible (but cf. 3.5. for the second half of the century).

At the lowest level of linguistic theory, the structuralist stance means that data are reduced so that variation is removed. Only invariants take part in the deeper structures. The concept of the phoneme is e.g. conveniently defined as based on the difference (in expression) that makes a difference (in (denotative) content). Content differences thus do not include connotations.

The structuralists devoted an enormous amount of time and energy to delimiting the correct procedures for pruning the data base by codifying rules of e.g. complementary dis-

tribution and using them to reduce the number of elements needed to express content. A fixation on methodology was typical of American structuralist linguistics, which was the direct antecedent of the Chomskyan paradigm. With post-war American hegemony in all matters cultural, the Chomskyan version of structuralism has succeeded in reducing all other kinds of linguistics to peripheral status even in Europe, notably in Germany. This has not, however, quite been the case in the Nordic countries (cf. Hovdhaugen et al. 2000).

As to what kinds of data the structuralists worked with, this differs. In Denmark, a strong structuralist dialectological research tradition (Ejskjær 1993) took the lead from Louis Hjelmslev’s (1899–1965) work in general linguistics, partly dividing the Nordic dialectologists in two camps. The dialectological field worker had to be able to avail himself of techniques for finding the hidden structure of the dialect in question. Every dialect was treated as a national language and analyzed accordingly. In this way the sound system of all the dialects was revealed so that they could be compared and grouped into major regional dialect systems. But the dialectological field worker is not the typical structuralist. The typical European structuralist worked with any language, and preferably standard languages. The morphophonemic structure of Modern French, the phonemic system of English and the structure of grammatical categories such as case or comparison were among the favoured topics. In Norway and Sweden, structuralist influence was never as deep as in Denmark. Nationalism became a problem for the policies of the various social democratic parties in the Nordic countries, since the original labour movement was strongly international, looking at the nation state as a bourgeois entity created for and by the repression of the working classes. In Norway this problem has been analyzed in i. a. the writings of the eminent historians and prominent social democrats Edvard Bull and Halvdan Koht (Dahl 1970). Dahl’s conclusion is that these two academics represent the two stances which are in principle possible: for Koht, class is the subordinate concept while nation is the superordinate one, whereas for Bull it is the other way round (Dahl 1970, 29). This split mirrors precisely the problems the Nordic social democratic movements faced as they developed from their beginnings as the spokesmen for a particular class, thus being antagonistic to other classes, to become the

parties that embodied the state (Christiansen 1992). In Sweden this development is most relevant, since the Swedish social democrats were in fact able to govern alone for a long period. In an interesting paper, Gertrud Pettersson has shown that the legendary Per Albin Hansson, the Swedish social democratic prime minister from 1932–46, succeeded in appropriating the word *folk* for the social democratic movement (Pettersson 1994).

In general, the new social democratic welfare states are probably unique in their cultivation of the connotations of the “popular” (*det folkelige, folkhemmet*, etc.). The abolition of the pronoun of power and distance in address forms is almost universal in the Nordic countries and was the result of the combined effect of the ongoing democratization and the youth revolt of the 1970s.

The social democrats, aiming to build a strong welfare state, looked for partners. Both in Denmark and in Norway there was in the beginning a strong peasant movement which partly had the same ideals as the labour movements, and an important part of the intelligentsia (in Norway the original national liberal party was in fact named *Intelligenspartiet*) were sympathetic to the cause. The easiest way to include others is to choose an all-embracing idea as the rallying cry, and this was nationalism. Thus the social democratic parties developed into “folk parties” and by the same token adopted nationalism as a most valuable ideological tool. Once adopted, nationalism leads naturally to a language policy which seeks to protect the national language against attacks (a) on its validity in international communication (hence the adoption of all national languages as equally valid for communication inside the European Union) and (b) on its exclusivity within the borders of the nation state (hence efforts at teaching all immigrants the national language to perfection).

2.5. Postmodernism, new challenges for language policy and linguistics

While economics is still the central arena for politics and elections are lost according to the performance of the government in this respect, identity politics, cultural politics and image creation take on more and more significance as information density increases. This has led to a “linguistic turn” in various social sciences, including areas of economics, anthropology and history. The new study of “discourse” takes as its object the way social facts are put

into words in order to disclose the structures which are put to use, the stereotypes appealed to, the forms of narrative exploited. If the discovery of the phonetic side of language was a breakthrough in the later part of the 19th c., text linguistics and the study of discourse patterns may serve the same role in the 21st c.

The groundwork for this breakthrough was prepared by linguists working to transcend sentence boundaries thus making linguistics able to characterize texts and genres. While the syntactic studies by the transformational generative grammarians had rested squarely on the centrality of the sentence as the linguistic unit *par excellence*, the new theories changed this view of syntax and strove to put the study of syntactic structures at the service of semantics in order to create a genuinely functional linguistics.

3. The history of ideas and language planning in the Nordic countries

3.1. The framework

The theme delineated in the section heading is not quite so under-researched as a cursory inspection of the literature would lead one to believe. First and foremost, Bengt Loman in his useful introduction to a symposium in 1981 organized by the then comparatively recent *Nordisk språksekretariat*, has given the first review of the themes, facts, and the researchers involved. The next broader treatment is a report from a similar symposium five years later entitled *De nordiske skriftspråkenes utvikling på 1800-tallet 3. Ideologier og språkstyring*. More recently, Helge Sandøy et al. edited the papers from a symposium on *Språkideologi og språkplanlegging i Noreg* (1991), and Maria Wingstedt (1998) summarized ideologies of language in Sweden, focussing on the attitude to minority languages and the education of minorities in their own language. In what follows, the focus will be on the effects of three ideas on language development in the Nordic countries: nationalism and internationalism, purism, and democratization.

3.2. Nationalism and its impact

3.2.1. Nationalism and the Nordic nation states

Nationalism is a much debated issue in contemporary studies of European history and politics. The general consensus seems to be

that nationalism started out as a liberal theme of all citizens being equal before God. By being tied to the nation state, nationalism latched on to religious, linguistic and/or literary common histories in order to create the equality it presupposed. By being part and parcel of bourgeois revolutionary thinking, nationalism confronted earlier stable hierarchies and placed the individual as the central agent instead of traditional groups or networks. On the other hand, at the level of society, nationalism is an active levelling force. Thus any minority within the borders of a nation state faced hard times and often had no other alternative than to assimilate to the majority. Some nation states are predicated upon only one of these central defining categories of ethnicity, e.g. religion, but often religious and linguistic boundaries were solidified and transformed into national boundaries by the principle of the self-determination of "a people". Modern anthropological studies have looked at the concept of ethnicity or people as a cultural and social construct, and in this construction process linguistics played a significant role alongside that of archaeology, literary history and history proper (Gregersen 1994). National museums, national grammars, national encyclopedias and translations of the major works of European culture into the national language are sure signs of such national identity politics.

The three central Nordic nation states today, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, have different histories as nation states and thus also manifest important differences in the development of their national identity. Denmark is geographically closer to Germany and militarily hard to defend against intervention from the south. Furthermore, the concentration in Copenhagen of almost all the state apparatus makes it even harder to defend. Denmark was, and to a certain extent still is, a comparatively centralized state. Sweden had the most recent empire and is geographically and militarily further away from German influence, and Finland shields it from Russia, while finally Norway, just as far removed from Germany as Sweden, did not regain her independence until recently compared to the other two Scandinavian countries. The national question thus took different paths and developed along different lines in the three nation states.

At the beginning of the 19th c., Germany was not yet a military giant, and one way to see the idea of nationalism is indeed to stress its usefulness as a way of assembling a German

nation out of the many smaller states making up what is now the Federal Republic. The development of comparative philology soon pointed to the related nature of the Germanic languages, first and foremost as evidenced by Grimm's law. The linguistic facts were, in fact, open to various interpretations since the variations within the German-speaking area, e.g. in terms of dialect boundaries, were just as pervasive as those between the Nordic countries and the German-speaking area. This meant that the linguistic facts could be used to argue for the integration of (parts of) Denmark into a German nation, as was in fact done by Grimm in a paper in 1848 (cf. C.S. Petersen 1908, 12, note 1). This placed Danish linguistics in the awkward position of having to prove the nation's ancient right to South Jutland (Dan. *Sønderjylland* or *Slesvig*) by linguistic and historical means, while at the same time the people living there opted for one or the other by raising their children to speak either German or Danish, sometimes choosing a different family language than the one the parents had been brought up with (A. Bjerrum 1949).

We cannot understand the national question in the history of Danish linguistics if we do not realize that the two duchies of Slesvig and Holstein were the industrial centre and the richest part of the kingdom – and the closest to Germany. In Denmark the national question became formulated as the question of whether Denmark was to be an independent nation or part of a vigorously expanding greater Germany under the dominance of Prussia. The loss of Slesvig and Holstein to Prussia in 1864 was felt to be a national disaster and made many Danes very pessimistic about the future prospects of maintaining Danish independence.

In Sweden, no such thing could happen. Obviously, Sweden would be threatened by Denmark's succumbing to German expansionism, but since this did not materialize, the Swedish nation state evolved more naturally in the 19th c. linguistically speaking (Lindberg 1986). For Swedish linguistics, the romantic period with its nationalism seemed to be a logical development from the golden age of the empire (Lindberg 1986, 55). The crucial linguistic relics, i.e. the law texts, the rune stones and the ancient folk ballads, were edited and thus testified to ancient glory and a brilliant future.

In Norway, the national question became *the* question for the central human sciences of the 19th c. The Norwegian school of history

featured historians who based their insights on the teachings of linguistics or who used linguistic evidence as data for their theories of how the nation had a great past, which was not identical to Denmark's past, nor for that matter to Iceland's. In this period almost all research concentrated on the oldest valuable literature in a Nordic language, the Old Norse literature of the sagas and the Eddas. Since the sources themselves state that the Icelanders came from Norway (and went to Norway and bargained with the Norwegians), and since the Icelandic nation was not yet a nation state of its own, the historians concentrated on establishing the Norwegian character of the sagas and Norway as the place of origin for the Nordic people. In his analysis of Norwegian historical research in the 19th and 20th c., Dahl meticulously chronicles the various versions of the theory that the Nordic people came from the North (Norway) and East (Finland?). The main idea proposed by Rudolph Keyser was to show that the Danes represented a late settlement of the Nordic people who had defeated and subjugated the original Goths. This would supposedly explain the social stratification found in Danish archaeological remains but absent in Norway (Dahl 1970, 42ff.). For Keyser, the linguistic facts were central. Taking his point of departure in the fundamental distinction between Germanic and Nordic, Keyser notes that the purest forms are found further away from Germany, viz. in Norway. And "Hvad der [...] er sagt om *Sproget*, maa og gjælde om *Folket* eller *Folkestammen*, hvem Sproget tilhørte" [What goes for language has to be valid for the people or the ethnic group who spoke the language] (quoted from Dahl 1970, 43). Much here hinges on the concept of purity. If it means distance from Germanic, we have entered a vicious circle and I cannot see that any other definition of purity can be given.

In Norway the central national question was not, however, whether Norwegian had an old and honourable history but whether one could build a nation without a national written norm. The Norwegian language situation was akin to that of any new nation state in that one of the first essential symbols of nationhood is a written standard. The choice of a written standard is, however, circumscribed by the speech of the inhabitants. Since they vary as to dia-, regio-, socio-, and genderlect, as do citizens within the confines of any nation state, the choice of a norm to base the written norm on is the first problem. Ivar Aasen's feat

was to find the right blend of archaic (in the sense that those dialects most resembling Old West Norse phonology and morphology could be labelled archaic) and prestigious speech to base his written norm on.

The discussion of Aasen's work continues most fruitfully (documented in Røyneland 1997), but there is no doubt that he used Rask's methods to compare the dialects (Venås 1986, 84) in order to get at the essence of Norwegianness, itself a Herderian idea (Steinfeld 1997).

3.2.2. Scandinavianism

The central figure in Danish linguistics in the middle of the century was the first Professor of Nordic languages at the University of Copenhagen, N.M. Petersen (1791–1862), whose fellow student for four years, Rasmus Rask, had a lasting influence on him. Petersen was responsible for the popularization and later revision of Rask's ideas on orthography and he wrote the first history of the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian languages as a prize essay answering a question formulated by Rask, among others. As Professor of Nordic, he read through all that had been published within the confines of the kingdom, just as he had worked his way through the documents in the Danish State Archives after he had been appointed registrar there. The result was the first history of Danish literature (cf. Conrad 1996).

Petersen was a brilliant sociolinguist, as we can see from his insights into the language situation of the Nordic countries. In a beautiful passage written in 1844, he predicted that the Norwegian language would diverge from Danish as part and parcel of the independence movement. Yet, he argued convincingly that the only chance of a future for the Nordic languages would lie in the creation of a common Nordic written language. Since the Rask-Petersen programme for orthographic reform, in accordance with the subtitle of Rask's treatise on orthography (*med Hensyn til Stam-sproget og Nabosproget* [with reference to the ancestor language and the neighbouring language]) involved moving the Danish standard in the direction of the Swedish norm in a number of respects (most obviously in the use of *å* instead of *aa*), it is not surprising that he suggested doing so. But the timing was perfect. N.M. Petersen meshed with the broad Scandinavian and Scandinavianist movements which were developing in the middle of the century.

Skovgaard-Petersen has pointed to the fact that prominent Danes, e. g. the poet and publicist Carl Ploug, saw the Scandinavian movement not as an anti-German but as an anti-Russian force (Skovgaard-Petersen 1985, 203; cf. Tarschys 1955, 66 on v. Kræmer's poem on Scandinavism). This can only be explained by Russia being viewed as the conservative force in Europe, and this clearly shows the dual face of the national movements in the Scandinavian countries – they were simultaneously liberal and national (cf. Tarschys' analysis 1955, 343). The liberal strand stood for the abolition of the absolute monarchy and the creation of a bourgeois democracy. The national strand stood for the ideology of nationhood and could be flexibly interpreted depending on the fate of the liberal cause.

The idea of a common Nordic written language had its heyday in the period between the liberal 1840s and the end of the Scandinavian dream. Loman is precise here. He argues convincingly that the Norwegian independence from Sweden in 1905 opened the door for the final victory of national tendencies at the expense of Scandinavism (Loman 1981, 6; 12).

Realization of the idea of a common Nordic written standard was made extremely difficult by the rhythm of national language policies. Norway was in the process of separating Norwegian from Danish, whether doing it by reform (Knud Knudsen) or by revolution (Ivar Aasen), thus basing the orthography squarely on the spoken language. In Denmark and Sweden, on the other hand, the authorities were coming under pressure from the pedagogical necessity of forging an orthography which could be taught without too much trouble to the mass of people wanting to be taught. These orthographies were hotly debated, since the conservatives held the view that writing represented the highest authority in itself (the so-called "principle of tradition") while the reformers took as their point of departure the principle of the relationship between speech and writing modified by contemporary usage as the highest rule: writing should reflect speech, viz. the cultivated speech of the well-educated.

In Sweden the orthographic standard had been settled early in the 19th c. by C.G. Leopold in a treatise published on behalf of the Swedish Academy in 1801. This treatise is rather conservative in that it refuses to change spelling rules in order to narrow the gap between spelling and pronunciation where usage had found a principled solution. The

date is important here, for it meant that in 1869 when the opposing currents met on a singular occasion, the orthographical meeting in Stockholm (Lökke 1870; Lyngby 1870; Spang-Hanssen 1970; Ståhle 1970; Karker 1998), the Leopoldian orthography had already been established and used for ca. 70 years. The Rask-Petersen programme of revolutionizing Danish orthography had, however, only been accepted by some and thus was still highly controversial (Gregersen 1984). The meeting, which was attended by delegations from all three Nordic countries (among the delegates were Carl Säve and Henrik Ibsen; no representative of the Swedish Academy had been invited: Karker 1983, 290), decided on several reform suggestions which, properly coordinated, would make the written languages easier to understand and thus approach the distant ideal of a common written language. Karker summarizes the results as follows:

- (1) to abolish the use in Danish of capital letters for common nouns which, on the model of German, had prevailed since about 1700;
- (2) to change the Danish digraph *aa* to the Swedish letter *å*;
- (3) to change *gj, kj, skj* in Danish to *g, k, sk* before a front vowel, *j* being silent (the traditional spelling reflected a transitory tendency to palatalize *g, k, sk* in these positions, as in Swedish);
- (4) to change *ei, ai, oi* in Danish to *ej, aj, oj*;
- (5) to change double vowels in Danish to single vowels (e. g. *Huus* 'house' > *hus*);
- (6) to change *qv* to *kv* in both languages;
- (7) to change *x* to *ks* in both languages;
- (8) to change *e* to *æ* and *ä* respectively if pronounced [e];
- (9) to change *f* and *fv* in Swedish to *v* if pronounced [v];
- (10) to spell such foreign loanwords which may be considered fully adopted according to the rules of the native language. (Karker 1983, 291)

The immediate result of the deliberations in Denmark was that Svend Grundtvig, assisted by K.J. Lyngby, produced a dictionary following the conventions recommended by the Stockholm meeting. The dictionary (Grundtvig 1870) was meant for the schools but was much too liberal and thus was immediately followed by another edition of the dictionary (Grundtvig 1872 with several later editions), which hastily reinstated the much-debated capital letters in all the substantives. Capital letters for nouns were actually not abolished until 1948, that is shortly after the Second World War when the Nordic argument had gained force and anti-German feeling was at its second height (Karker 1998). Since the 1948

reform, the Nordic languages have not grown closer to each other orthographically. The 1869 idea of a common Nordic language seems as far away as ever.

The Nordic meeting in Stockholm in 1869 is a focal point for this article not only because it is paradigmatic in the efforts to put into practice the ideology of Scandinavism, but even more so because it failed. The fate of the suggested orthographies tells us more about the role of ideology in language planning than volumes of theory.

I have said that the rhythm of language politics in the three Nordic countries was different: Denmark had had its theoretical discussions on orthography in the period from ca. 1800 until 1830 (cf. Skautrup 1953, 162ff. with bibliography), and the various ideas had crystallized into comparatively consistent systems. Norway was taking a nationalistic road away from the dominance of Danish and through this was building on the spoken language of the people, thus confronting the variation inside the nation's political borders head-on. Finally, Sweden was peculiar in that a learned and conservative body, the Swedish Academy, was seen as the highest authority, and the Academy was in no mood to follow the practical needs of teachers or researchers (cf. Tarschys 1955). Thus the Nordic meeting was a brilliant attempt to reconcile conflicting interests and developments and undoubtedly it remains a very illuminating episode in the history of the language. As Carl Ivar Ståhle noted:

Man var förvånande fast och enig i den optimistiska övertygelsen att en ljudenlig stavning i stort sett skulle närma skriftspråken till varandra, och man tycks ha varit helt aningslös inför vådorna av den huvudprincip, som Hazelius formulerade så: 'Riktigheten måste nödvändigtvis ställas i främsta rummet. Först i det andra borde fråga uppstå om enhet.'

Termen "riktighet" gör naturligtvis satsen oanriplig, men eftersom riktighet i stort sett jämfördes med ljudenlighet blev innebörden i själva verket att det nationella uttalet som norm var överordnat den nordiska samhörigheten och därmed i princip borde följas även då det särade de nordiska skriftspråken. (Ståhle 1970, 8)

It has universally been the case in the history of the orthographical wars in the Nordic countries that those advocating a phonetically based writing system were the radicals, the democrats, the naturalists, and its opponents have always been conservatives, elitists and

idealists. The opposition to the measures proposed by the Nordic meeting is no exception to this rule, as witnessed by the bitter confrontation which followed between the Swedish secretary of the meeting, A. Hazelius, and the former reformist, now academician, J. E. Rydqvist (Ståhle 1970).

The reason for this state of affairs is not easy to uncover. The theory of writing has developed considerably since the structuralists first undertook analysis of writing systems as systems. The result of this renewed scrutiny is that it is possible to discern opposing principles in any orthography. Seen from the beginning writer's point of view, a phoneme-grapheme one-to-one correspondence seems very favourable. This would make a writing system easy to learn (and presumably to teach as well). Seen from the beginning reader's point of view, morphological constancy is a paramount wish so that the mental representations may be fixed graphically once and for all. This would mean a writing system that keeps a morpheme constant no matter what morphophonemic processes operate at the boundaries or within the morpheme. Since synchronic morphophonemic processes in the Nordic languages very often reflect historically pertinent processes, there is a certain tendency in pre-Saussurian literature on writing to label this drive for morphemic constancy the "etymological" principle (cf. e.g. Berg 1902, 14). Apparently, the radicals take the language production point of view, whereas the conservatives are the readers' spokesmen. Avid readers are more or less identical with the cultural elite.

It is an interesting fact that the idea of democratization has been present in Norwegian discussions from the start much more than in either Denmark or Sweden. But once the idea of democratization was taken into consideration in orthographic matters, it was very effective. Mass education became a fact in the Nordic countries over the course of the 19th c. Accordingly, a new role for teachers developed, and they were instrumental in bringing about both the reform of Danish orthography and the comparable Swedish reform somewhat later. The arguments were strikingly similar: it is not possible to teach an orthography which cannot be described with (relatively simple) rules. The traditional writing systems in Denmark and Sweden are complex primarily as the result of historical developments in the spoken language which the writing system did not keep pace with. This puts

a heavy burden on teachers, who have to spend an enormous amount of time teaching the minutiae of a writing system which some of the pupils will never master. This creates cultural boundaries within the country, and the art of writing becomes (or rather remains) the privilege of the upper classes.

A common theme in the teachers' arguments for a more regular orthography is the assumption that if this problem is solved once and for all, they will be free to teach many more interesting skills (Lundell, quoted in Berg 1902, 40). Seen at a century's distance, the optimism is striking, even somewhat touching. On the eve of the modern welfare state, the belief in education as a democratic force was widespread.

What remains to be discussed is whether Scandinavianism is a kind of nationalism or not. It is relevant here to remember that nationalism originally was a battle cry for drawing new borders of political entities. Obviously, this was the case for Germany. So what prevented one from heeding the linguistic facts and uniting three regions speaking dialects no more different from each other than, say, the dialects spoken within the French nation state? This idea has two different versions: One is that the three states should be united as one *political* entity, and this was a short-lived idea which was mostly considered totally unrealistic. The second version, which is more pertinent to language planning, is that the three different nation states should develop into a single *cultural* entity, united e. g. by a common written norm. The road to this cultural unification might be a long and winding evolutionary trail, or it might be conceptualized as a revolution. Again, the latter idea was not entertained seriously by anyone.

Actually, the problem remaining in perhaps all the Nordic countries, but certainly in Denmark and Sweden, is the need to cater more for producers' needs and less for consumers': phoneme-grapheme correspondences become ever more difficult to master as the spoken language evolves (Brink/Lund 1975). But changing the orthographies so that they become more consistent in this respect in order to serve the Scandinavian cause presupposes that the spoken languages of the Nordic countries evolve in the same direction. Sadly, they do not, and the radicals of today cannot at the same time be Scandinavists (Karker 1998).

The reform of orthography foregrounds a problem which Moltke Moe has formulated

most precisely (although I do not think he has solved it completely); why do orthographic principles raise so many emotions in the populace, and why are all spelling reforms the result of bitter fights? This problem may have to do with the role of speech and writing in nation states whose cultural traditions supposedly constitute the national identity. Everybody knows that one person speaks differently from the next, and hence, speech cannot be the basis of a national identity predicated upon sameness. Writing is different. Writing is not acquired, but is learnt (and obviously taught), and some people do not learn it so well. These people, the so-called functional illiterates (Elbro et al. 1991), in fact make up quite a substantial part of contemporary societies. One reason why spelling reforms are greeted with mixed feelings is precisely that those who are right today are wrong tomorrow, and the whole point of having a norm is to tell people what is right and what is wrong. Thus none of the liberal and culturally advanced Nordic societies have any qualms about producing dictionaries or word lists which tell their citizens how to correctly spell a given word. There is thus a premium on being right in writing (notwithstanding the fact that almost everyone makes spelling "errors" every day). The parallel notion in speech has a different status. How would we defend a given pronunciation system as the right one in view of the dialect, regiolect, sociolect, chronolect and genderlect differences which we know exist in all the Nordic countries? Thus national languages are represented by the written form, and all language policy is directed towards regulating written language. However, prestige does not stop at the borders of written language, but filters through to spoken language as well – most non-linguists do not differentiate between the two anyway. Consequently, for many na(t)ive speakers "educated" or "correct" speech ought to sound like spoken writing. In fact some of the phonetic developments in Danish have brought speech closer to writing.

For the orthographic reformers, this turns the issue upside down. For Rask and for Aasen, as for all language planners who are faced with the problem of defining a suitable base for a writing system, speech is the basis for writing, and the writing system should consistently reflect the main phonological system of the common speech core. Given the fact that writing enjoys the prestige which is accorded to anything that must be taught and thus will be a good not acquired by all (only

the elite know how to write), the elite feel that any orthographic reform that brings writing closer to speech makes the writing system vulgar (which is indeed correct in the most original sense of *vulgar*). It is a fundamental fact of Danish that nobody is able to hear the difference between the present tense of *r*-verbs like *horer* and the infinitive *høre* ('to hear') but nobody has until now proposed spelling them exactly alike, e.g. *hoå*. If you show a segment of phonetically transcribed speech to a well-educated person, the certain reaction is "I do not speak like that" which we can interpret as "I do not want my speech to be written like that".

Recent research has stressed the fact that writing as such has other purposes than representing speech; it was invented in order to solve the communication problems that speech could not solve. Writing has become independent of speech, if it ever was dependent on it in the first place (Olson 1994; Perregaard 1999).

3.3. Purism

Purism is given the following working definition by Thomas:

Purism is the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language). It may be directed at all linguistic levels but primarily the lexicon. Above all, purism is an aspect of the codification, cultivation and planning of standard languages (Thomas 1991, 12).

The advantage of this broad definition is that it locates purism as part of a process of standardization. Standard languages in the Nordic countries are invariably written languages. The period under scrutiny here falls in the middle of the process, since standardization had been going on before this and continues after the important codifications of the written standards at the end of the 19th c.

Purism is mainly directed at the lexicon, Thomas says. Under purism, loanwords are seen as unnecessary and unaesthetic. These are evaluative judgments, based on a norm of the "pure" language. But the norm presupposes that we are able to accurately distinguish what may be called a regular Dan./Sw./Norw./Icel. word and what may only be termed a foreign word. This is easy in most cases where the donor language is recognizable by its orthographic conventions. But any Nordic lan-

guage will contain several layers of loanwords, some of which are loans from each other, but most of these have been fully integrated into the native orthographic system. A particular strategy, used most forcefully by Icelandic and Faroese language planners but also found to be appealing by some of the Norwegian language planners, is to create new words from already existing native roots to fill a need instead of importing foreign words. In this way, by creating so-called *aflosningsord*, the need for integration does not arise at all.

It is interesting to note with Loman that the negatively loaded terms Danicism, Norwegicism and Swedicism were frequent in stylistic analyses around 1900 (Loman 1981, 10f.). Ibsen was taken to task for his Danicisms and Snoilsky and af Geijerstam for their Norwegicisms (and af Geijerstam for Danicisms as well, cf. Skautrup 1953, 452 on the rich literature on Danicisms in the language of Swedish poets of this period). For a linguist, these stylistic judgments are interesting in that they seem to prohibit the invention of constructions akin to those already known from some other closely related language. Purism coupled with nationalism leads to a very conservative critique of style indeed.

But sometimes even the most ardent purist must admit that there is no known word in the language with that particular meaning which the speaker intends to convey, which is precisely the reason for the appearance of a foreign word in the first place. This may lead the purist to propose the creation of new words. All Nordic languages have had linguists or non-professional private individuals who tried their hands at coining new words in order to make foreign words superfluous. Some of these neologisms have indeed been successful, but the most interesting aspect of this is that we still know very little about why some words are accepted by users and some aren't (cf. Jarvad 1995; Sandøy 1997). This ties in with the fact that we know even less about why people feel attracted to using loanwords. The ardent purist's only suggestion for a motive is the attraction of following the latest fad or an equally unhealthy tendency to show off. This may be true at some particular time and for some specific people, but it cannot account for the large-scale influx of borrowings among certain sections of the Nordic populations. The users obviously feel that these foreign words have the right connotations being foreign or the right meaning, or they simply come to mind more easily. And if this is the

case, no amount of moralizing will stop them from using such loanwords.

3.4. Internationalism

Nationalist purism is by its very logic conservative. Internationalism has been seen as the peak of progressivism, and coupled with rationalistic naturalism it was responsible for the attempts at introducing one common international language, Esperanto or Ido or Novial etc. These efforts have remained singularly unsuccessful due to a surprising lack of sensitivity to the sociolinguistics of national languages. The naturalists who were active in this type of internationalism, notably Jespersen, were all rationalists who were not themselves aware of the importance for the national ideology of having a mother tongue. Jespersen firmly believed as did many other scientists in the inter-war period that a rational approach to the problems facing world peace would solve them. The parallel with language is obvious.

3.5. Structuralism and language planning

Structuralism introduced a new note in language planning. In principle, close scrutiny of the structure of the lexicon and the subsystems of phonology and graphematics (Spang-Hanssen 1947; 1959) would pave the way for insights into what were accidental gaps (and thus could be filled without any structural upheaval) and what changes were structurally impossible to introduce. This programme was put into practice in the development of terminology (importantly, the Norwegian project on oil terminology) and in the quiet but thorough pruning of the orthographical systems so that they became more consistent (notably, the new Danish dictionaries 1986 and 1996). Linguistics had acquired a new subdiscipline, applied linguistics.

3.6. The postmodern situation

Historically, the time of the nation state has passed. Regions and unions are beginning to dominate, and the cultural and linguistic homogeneity which the nation state had tried to construe as its *raison d'être* was seen to be non-existent in fact. The dissolution of the colonies became an obvious fact in European cities, notably in France and Great Britain, but soon it dawned upon the nation states that multicultural cities would gradually lead to multicultural societies. This fact has triggered vari-

ous responses, some of them neonationalistic, some of them even close to earlier chauvinism, if not (inspired by) Nazism. Curiously, this multiculturalism, which would be accompanied by linguistic heterogeneity, goes hand in hand with the cultural levelling and internationalization which has been construed as "globalization". The currents are interrelated and both put the national system under stress, from within and from without.

3.6.1. The threat from English

In post-war Europe, American influence created a new international language which was also a European language, viz. English. Striking parallels have been noted between the Middle Ages and later so-called "learned" periods when Latin was the common language of education and thus scientific treaties were written only for an international audience, the difference being that Latin was not the native language of any population. In the Nordic countries, the reactions to this development were at first positive. Active support for classes taught in English together with a liberal attitude towards the import of American cultural artefacts created an atmosphere which furthered the use of English by and for all. This climate has changed, though, starting with the Norwegians, but the Swedish and lately the Danish language politicians quickly followed suit. Since the actual policy with regard to English is still being formulated, only the following observations can be made:

(a) The loss of domains where there is exclusive use of the mother tongue is drawing attention in the Nordic countries to the question of which domains, or "spheres" as Skastrup calls them, are now and should in the future be reserved for the use of the mother tongue, and which domains should be bilingual. In the latter case, the question of translation services arises. Finally, some domains have already been "lost": most natural and medical scientists write their papers in English now.

On the other hand, there is still a cultural public sphere concentrated in some of the more elitist newspapers which is Danish/Swedish/Norwegian-only territory, although as described above, loanwords abound there as well.

(b) The question of language authorities and an active language policy is being actualized in a manner resembling that of the earlier discussion on the proper way to effect changes

in orthography. The question involves the role of the body politic and the role of linguists, in particular those working on the various language boards (*sprognævn/språkråd/språknämnd*).

(c) Finally, the common denominator being the pressure from English, there is an interesting opportunity for a new, active, realistic and operational Scandinavism. Nothing unites people like a common threat from abroad.

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44. Nordic language history and religion/ecclesiastical history I: The pre-Christian period

1. Language, religion, origins
2. Religious change in Old Germanic times
3. Inscriptions in the older and younger futhark
4. Bracteates
5. Names
6. Linguistic material in non-Nordic sources
7. Recent Nordic sources
8. Terminology of the pre-Christian religion
9. Literature (a selection)

1. Language, religion, origins

1.1. Contemporary sources regarding the pre-Christian religion of Scandinavia are generally not in Old Nordic language but are descriptions by foreign observers of local religious facts in their own languages. Our sole linguistic sources are runic inscriptions or single words reported by foreigners; it is debatable which of these refer to religious concepts. This kind of evidence needs interdisciplinary interpretation, involving archeology, history, history of religion, and philology. Many of the sources are not of a religious nature themselves. Rich 13th c. material is available which, however, must be regarded as having been manipulated according to its authors' or their masters' motivations. As this sort of mythology provides insufficient information about pagan cults, corroborative methods are indispensable, especially etymological studies of religious terms or the interpretation of place-names indicating sites of worship dedicated to divinities.

1.2. Philology so far has taken less advantage of the results of history of religion than vice versa. Such attempts were indeed undertaken regarding the question whether Bronze-Age rock carvings (especially those of a relatively recent agricultural and mainly southern Scandinavian civilization) may be regarded as being related to a later Nordic religion, and – if so – whether continuity of religious concept might indicate linguistic continuity. Today, a clear no is the answer to such questions. Almgren (1934) produced evidence of parallels to Scandinavian rock carvings that point to Egypt rather than to any specific Indo-European culture. The hypothesis that there was a Bronze-Age Indo-European language spoken in Scandinavia, which later on gave rise to the Germanic languages, is based on

findings of artifacts belonging to the object culture (e.g. war axes similar to Aegean ones) rather than on religious evidence. Interpretations of isolated elements of rock carvings as representing Germanic divinities are associative rather than methodically authenticated: e.g., a one-armed personage (Lökesberg carving) as the God *Týr*, or a phallic, oversized spear-bearer as *Óðinn* (de Vries 1970, 2, 24). Such elements may signify completely different things in religious contexts unfamiliar to us. The assertion that the spearman must be Odin is contradicted by Schier (1992, 199f.), who argues that a personage without spear, represented on Gotlandic pictorial stones, is interpreted as Odin on account of the eight-legged horse he rides.

1.3. Týr put his hand into the Fenriswolf's jaws to confirm his oath (Snorra Edda 37). Týr, the God of Justice (notwithstanding von See 1988, 56ff.: the Roman interpretation of a Germanic divinity as “Mars of the Thing Assembly” proves that he must have held the functions both of a God of War and of a God of Justice, so he could have been no other than **Tiwaz*), was punished for perjury, the position of a divinity within this mythological system being such that he himself could be found guilty of violating universal order, and must therefore suffer punishment even if his infringement of the law were essential to uphold the universe. Loss of a hand for perjury is symbolic punishment: when taking an oath, one raises one's fingers. Snorri's myth is a reflection of the moral code and of the inevitability of punishment. Whereas the one-armedness of a Bronze-Age image does not suffice to identify Týr, the Trollhättan A bracteate image (about 500 A.D., Axboe et al. 1985ff. no. 190), “animal biting off four fingers of a man's hand”, has more in common with the myth. Similar bracteates show different versions and complicate the question; however they may be identified with Týr. De Vries (1970, 2, 23 and Dumézil 1988) quote yet other Indo-European myths involving one-handed war-divinities, such as Mucius *Scaevola* (“the left-handed”) euhemerized by Livius (II, 12–13): captured by the Etruscans, he himself burned his right hand, thus proving that he was unafraid of torture, after which he perjured himself swear-

ing that he was only one of 300 conspirators. The surname of the other Roman hero fighting the Etrurians, Horatius *Cocles*, which may be interpreted as “the one-eyed” (although the myth does not report him as being such) is proof to Dumézil that both the Germanic and the Roman mythologies are acquainted with one-eyed and one-handed personages (Tyr-Odin : Scaevola-Cocles). According to Livius, the false oath follows the loss of his hand. If the loss of a hand as punishment is not Snorri’s invention but rather the original version of an ancient myth, then it is obvious that Snorri safeguarded its true sense better than the Roman did. The fact that there may be a pre-Germanic version of this myth casts doubt on the Germanic origin of the carving, even if the identity of the one-armed personage were assured.

1.4. As religions and languages often spread at different speeds and cover different areas, the question of the ancientness of religious structures and essential elements of the North Germanic religion is treated separately from the question of language age. Terminology is not really precise: one may refer to “Germani” in a linguistic but not in a religious sense and, vice versa, to religious Germanic elements that may have been also practised by non-Germanic-speaking peoples. Tacitus refers to the Germani as religiously heterogeneous: not all of them worship the same divinities. He considers Germanic to be a bundle of characteristics, the most significant of which is language. If a population lacks some of these characteristics, he hesitates to call them Germani. The question, how well-informed Tacitus’ sources were, remains open. Nor does he tell us whether his Germani conceived of themselves as a unity. The modern expression “Germani” applies exclusively to “members of the same linguistic family” rather than to communities with an identical origin or self-identity or religion; and we don’t know the criteria for self-identification of these peoples.

1.5. Tacitus (*Germania* 2) mentions mythological historic poetry: “in their quaint chants, which are their sole mode of memorizing history, they celebrate Tuisto as a divinity, the earth’s offspring”. Tuisto’s son was called *Mannus*; he was considered *origo* and *conditor gentis*, ‘origin and founder of the people’. The word is etymologically cognate to E *man* etc. In other Indo-European languages the ancestor of man bears a corresponding name; the

concept is considered to be Indo-European. We are not sure whether the sequence God-Hero-Man applies to Germanic tradition as well; in any case, Mannus and the generations following him are not simple human beings. Three sons are attributed to him, whose respective offspring form three groups of Germani: *Ingvaeones* (sic Plinius), *Hermiones* and *Istvaeones*. The Ingvaeones are reported to live in vicinity of the North Sea; Plinius calls the Cimbri, the Teutones and the Chauci of Jutland and of the adjacent North Sea coast Ingvaeones. An “East-Danish” hero *Ing* is found in the Old English Rune Poem (discussion: de Vries 1970, 2, 166; Baetke 1964, 153ff.); *Ing* cannot be etymologically separated from the Tacitean ancestor of the *Ingvaeones*, nor from the corresponding names in Old English royal dynasties, nor from *Yngvi*, the surname of the god *Freyr* mentioned by Snorri, *Heimskringla* I, 23 (likewise *Lokasenna* 43: *Ingunarfreyr*), nor from the royal dynasty *Ynglingar* descending from Yngvi according to *Heimskringla* 10. The literal sense of *Ingvaeones* is ‘Ingvi’s people’, and Ingvi is probably the later Nordic divinity. Belief in a mythical ancestral community of origin does not necessarily imply a communion of cult like the common cult which is testified for the Suebi, which form a part of the Herminones; it does neither for all Mannus peoples together nor for each of their three branches. Further on, Tacitus mentions differing traditions as to the mythical original community, which attribute more sons to the divinity: tribes of growing importance were keen to appear in those myths (according to Tacitus, the Marsi, Gambrivii, Suebi, Vandilii) and manipulated them accordingly, passing off each respective version as the “ancient truth”. There is no Nordic tribe amongst the Mannus peoples. Tacitus reports the Mannus genealogy in chapters dealing with the Germani in general; however, we think this was an exclusively West Germanic tradition (though the Vandilii are East Germanic); Tacitus’ or Plinius’ informants could only report about tribes they actually knew.

1.6. *Tuisto* (or *Tuisco*) is related to E *two*, *twin*, G *Zwitter*, Lat. *duo*, etc. and must be a hermaphrodite. The concept of a primordial androgynous being is also present in the North: *Ymir*. Snorri described “somewhat disorderly” (Meid 1992, 495) the rime giants as Ymir’s offspring: man and woman grew under his arm, and one foot begot a son with the other

foot (*Gylfaginning* 4). Nevertheless, Ymir is not man's ancestor. Etymologically, Ymir is cognate with Lat. *geminus* 'twin', OInd. mythology mentions *Yama* and *Yami* (the names of the first human couple, twins); Latvian calls a double fruit (i.e. a nut with two kernels) *Jumis*, which is also the name of a cereal demon who may assume bi-sexual, male, or female guises (Neuland 1977). Ymir's myth therefore has pre-Tacitean bases. This signifies that Ymir was no late Norse invention to replace Tuisto, but that the Germani never had an ancestral mythical community of origin common to all of them. There is a third tradition, pertaining to the Goths, whose mythical ancestor is called *Gapt* [gaut] by Jordanes. Later, this name reappears in Old English royal genealogies from the 7th/8th c. A.D. as *Geat*; so do *Woden* (*Óðinn*) and *Bældæg* (*Baldr*); ON *Gautr* is confirmed as one of Odin's names. Analogies with the Langobards are evident. As it is unknown whether the Old English genealogies contaminate Jordanes with local concepts or with imported ones from Scandinavia, this part of the problem remains controversial. We may thus conclude that the relatively uniform Proto-Germanic language is not paralleled either by pan-Germanic genealogical traditions nor by a uniform pan-Germanic mythology. This might be explained by the hypothesis that, while Germanic expanded as a language, those peoples who lived beyond the originally Germanic-speaking territory, especially the Nordic peoples, kept their divergent origins in mind. Basically, however, both Germanic Tuisto and Ymir traditions are cognate insofar as Tuisto and Ymir (and some of the Baltic *Jumis*) have in common that they are considered hermaphrodites, whereas the concept of twins appears in the Old Indian, Roman and the other part of the Baltic parallels. The etymology of the name *Sviones* (Tacitus, *Germania* 44f.), as conserved in *Svear*, probably appertains to the pron. stem **swe-* (Lat. *suus*). The tribal name would then signify 'we ourselves' and might point to a mythical ancestral community of origin as well.

1.7. After the pan-Germanic era, linguistic contacts among the expanding populations did not come to a stop. The Donzdorf fibula with the runic inscription **eho** was manufactured in Jutland around 500–520 A.D., and deposited in the tomb of an Alamannic female (Schwab 1999). The **alu**-formula, as well, that appears in 6th c. Alamannic runic inscriptions

has been adopted from the North and is not of Proto-Germanic heritage. Procopius (*Bellum Gothicum* II, 15) reports that during Iustinian's reign, the Eruli who had been living in Illyria without a king for some time, sent for a man of royal blood from Thule in Scandinavia, a member of another Erulian group that had previously moved to Gautland, and made him their king. The reconsideration of ancient kinship had political, not sacral motivations: they wanted to avoid having an Erulian resident on Roman soil be nominated king by the grace of Iustinian. Traditions that refer to mythical ancestral communities of origin are political necessities rather than biologically based.

2. Religious change in Old Germanic times

2.1. Changes in the practice of name-giving during the 4th c. suggest change in religious concepts. This is when the eagle and the wolf, both sacred to Odin according to later Nordic sources, made their appearance in East Germanic and West Germanic personal names (while there is no evidence of contemporary Nordic personal names). The North probably underwent further transformations in religious concepts in late pagan times, prior to its Christianization, as is attested elsewhere in the Germanic area: new religious practices became customary in the Roman Rhineland, where the custom of dedicating steles with inscriptions to certain divinities was adopted during the 2nd c. Construction of temples did not start contemporaneously for all Germanic tribes and may well be attributed to Roman influence.

2.2. According to Tacitus, the Germani did not enclose their divinities within walls but rather consecrated woods and groves to them, which indicates that they had no temples. He contradicts himself when he reports on a feast by the Marsi in the year 14 A.D. held in the *templum Tamfanae* (*Annales* I, 51): either single tribes developed individual habits, or the groves held buildings for assemblies and utensils (archeological and literary testimony: Much 1967, 185). Linguistic evidence is ambiguous: Go. *alhs* 'temple in Jerusalem' (cognate to Gr. *ἄλσος* 'grove'; the etymology proves the development from groves to temples) has cognates in OSx. and OE, but apparently not in ON, where **al* appears but mar-

ginally in place-names (see lit. in: Andersson 1992b). If the word is thus not pan-Germanic, the diverse denominations for pagan temples indicate that temple-building began after the era of pan-Germanic language; otherwise pan-Germanic expressions for temple-building would indeed exist; in the North, however, the respective vocabulary changed during the pagan era (probably due to changes in the relevant objects; cf. 8.4.).

3. Inscriptions in the older and younger futhark

3.1. Inscriptions in older futhark may be cultic, magic, or profane (see lit. in Nedoma 1998; Nielsen 1985). Strict separation of religion from magic is not possible. Magic manipulates non-human forces, whereas religion attributes freedom to the divinity: the believer subjects himself to it and is eager to win its grace. In reality, the two overlap; many religious rites are manipulative; not even the fact that magic pursues individual goals, whereas religious rites are to the benefit of society, permits actual separation of the two. Rhineland monuments from the 2nd and 3rd c. are often dedicated to divinities by individuals in exchange for divine grace. The fact that we know little of the social context underlying these sources is an additional difficulty in their classification. Inscriptions on amulets, whose function is magic-apotropaic, may implore divine protection. Amulets were used to protect individuals; if worn by priests or sovereigns they probably were to grant the welfare of the entire society. The only possible question is whether an inscription is magic-religious or profane. Such a distinction cannot even be made in the case of the earliest runic inscriptions: e. g., **raunijar** (Øvre Stabu, Krause-Jankuhn 1966, No. 31; the rune transliterated as **R** had the phonetic value of a voiced *s*, [z]). **raunijar** corresponds to ON *reynir* 'trier' and probably refers to the weapon itself. Thus its purpose may have been either magic-religious (the name is to make the weapon find its mark) or profane. Birkmann (1995, 46) refers to the dispute as to whether the Thorsberg shield-buckle (Krause-Jankuhn 1966, No. 21) was purposefully destroyed prior to its being thrown into the swamp and whether the runes it bears may have been inscribed after its destruction. If so, this might signify that the inscription refers to the divinity to whom the site of sacrifice was dedicated. The inscription,

aisgrh, might be interpreted as **aisigar* 'the furious one' (the final *h* might be a runic symbol for 'hailstorm') and could thus be associated with Odin. To judge linguistic situations in Denmark it would be necessary to know whether inscriptions on weapons deposited there were made by the victors upon sacrifice, or whether they had been carved by the enemy, namely in northern Germany or Sweden. Others of the most ancient runic inscriptions seem to be signatures by their manufacturers and bear no reference either to religion or to magic.

3.2. The invention of runes is a matter of dispute. Divine origin is attributed to them not only by Eddic poetry (the late-pagan and post-pagan elements concentrate on Odin), but even by pagan rune stones, of which the Noleby stone is the oldest (Krause-Jankuhn 1966, No. 67, late 6th c.). The word "rune" appears already on the Einang stone (Krause-Jankuhn 1966, No. 63, 2nd half 4th c.), as acc. sg. **runo**. It is etymologically cognate with Lat. *rumor*, OIr. *rín* 'secret', Go. *runa* μυστήριον, G *raunen* 'to whisper'. The early use of this word for the runes proves their mysterious quality for the ancients. Therefore the theory of sacrality is ascertained with respect to the *handed-down concepts* of the origin of runes, whereas their *graphemic original patterns* are to be sought within the range of antique inscriptions on objects of daily use, and their *practical application* is considered multifunctional. In answer to the question of whether an individual divinity or the council of all divinities should be given credit for the invention of runes, we must refer to the late-pagan poem *Völuspá*, which attributes the creation of universal order and of the tools of civilization to all divinities collectively (without specific mention of the runes, however).

3.3. Constant interest is aroused by eight inscriptions containing the word **erilar** (**irilar** by means of *i*-umlaut). These inscriptions appear on different materials (stone, animal horn, lance shaft, gold bracteate) and thus refer to the art of rune carving in general, and are not limited to any group of skilled professionals (e. g. rune-stone setters). The etymological sense of the word is obvious: it differs from the ON *jarl* (**er-al*) and the tribe called *Eruli* only by ablaut in the suffix (*-il-* vs. *-al-* or *-ul-*). The cognate words mean 'man', often 'noble man'. The inscriptions bear the formula **ek erilar** (or similar), followed by a (sur)name,

and – in three cases – by **haite** (or similar; i. e. ‘my name is ...’), and sometimes by ‘made (the artefact)’. Thus the **erilōr** were professional rune carvers. Special skills were declared by, e. g., **ek erilar sawilagar hateka** (Lindholm amulet, side A, Krause-Jankuhn 1966, No. 26, 6th c.). The simplest grammatical interpretation connects **sa** to **erilar** and normalizes **hateka** to **haitek*. **wilagar** is probably cognate with ON *vél* ‘tricks’; the gloss is thus ‘I, the Eril, ‘The Tricky-one’ is my name’.

3.4. Other inscriptions refer to the rune-master without involving the word **erilar**. The names he attributes to himself are not normal personal names: **owlpupewar** (Thorsberg chape, appr. 200 A. D., Krause-Jankuhn 1966, No. 20) with the second component *-pewaz* ‘servant’, while the first component most likely makes reference to the ON divinity *Ullr* (Go. *wulpus* ‘brilliance’); the Himlingøje II buckle (1st half 3rd c.) bears the attribute **widuhudar** (for **widuhundaz*) ‘wood-dog’, probably a kenning for ‘wolf’ (Krause-Jankuhn 1966, No. 10). The rune-master’s name on the Zealand II bracteate (Krause-Jankuhn 1966, No. 127; Axboe/Düwel et al. 1985ff., No. 98), which reads **farawisa** may be interpreted as ‘one knowing dangerous things’ or ‘one knowing passages’. Special skills are thus declared, although the true meaning here as elsewhere is not evident. Hultgård (1998, 720) draws parallels between self-predication of Avesta divinities, such as ‘The X (The Victor Over the Enemy, The Greedy-One ...) is my name’, and runic inscriptions, but attributes these epithets on the runic inscriptions to rune-masters. Hauck (1998, 302f.), however, qualifies such terms as cultic names for Odin. The inscriptions do not support his hypothesis; the recurring word “made” proves their relation to the artifact rather than to the mythic personage. The trickiness of the rune-master alluded to by the Lindholm amulet (other similar inscriptions do exist) may consist of the fact that he either changed his name or wrote it in coded runes in order to protect himself from demons. It is uncertain how far we may take such hypotheses. Should metatheses of letters be interpreted thus, or should we attribute it to dyslexia? The rune-master Asmuntr (**Asmundr*) Karasun of Uppland (about 1050 A. D.) often signed his name as *Asmunrt*. This, however, may simply be a case of wrong spelling, because he also signed himself in uncoded form (Jansson 1969). Where do we draw the line in these matters? Klingenberg (1973) hy-

pothesized that this was a case of gematria (i. e. use of the numerical value of the letters for magic purposes): if one admits such a possibility, then the intention to arrive at certain numeric values must have led to arbitrary orthography in some inscriptions. Alas, this hypothesis is harder to prove than Klingenberg meant it to be.

3.5. Magic-religious function is ascribed to runic inscriptions when the *fupark* or parts of it appear (alphabet magic). The same is likely for amulet words such as **alu** ‘inebriating drink, ale’ and **laukar** ‘leek’ (both did play a role in the cult); and also for **labu** ‘summons, invitation, citation’, though it is not clear who was to be invited or summoned (a demon? the spirit of a dead?); also for **ehwaz* ‘horse’, which had a certain cultic role but which may well have been the very one to be protected or to be healed. Magic-religious function is also ascribed to runic inscriptions, which were carved in connection with a funeral and were only visible from within the tomb (either by the deceased thought of as alive, or by grave robbers); and when the object was submerged as a sacrifice immediately after the runes were carved. Surely *laukr* ‘leek’ and *alu* ‘ale, inebriating drink’ found on bracteates, as well as *lin* ‘flax’, in the *Völsi* cult are magic words, but they themselves are not religious words, although these objects were used in religious ceremonies or magic practices.

4. Bracteates

4.1. Interpretation of effigies and inscriptions on bracteates is subject to controversy. They represent further development of Roman coin effigies, whereby the originals were often copied beyond recognition. The metamorphosis of the image must correspond to a new symbolic significance. This is located by Hauck (last 1998) within the field of magic and religion, in view of the function of these objects as amulets. His point of departure are several hypotheses, especially that the original emperor’s head was now interpreted as the head of the god **Wōdanaz*; that bracteates represent mythological scenes; that identical attributes of figures appearing on different bracteates signal identity of the mythological personages; that the animal on many bracteates, which often appears horse-like (corresponding to horses on the Roman prototypes), is the horse healed by Wodan in the Old High

German *Zweiter Merseburger Zauberspruch*; and that this horse must be Balder's (which is not ascertained for the Merseburg charm). Setting out thus, he finds the Balder myth represented on bracteates and even reconstructs lost Balder myths by free interpretation of bracteate images; he hypothesizes that a personage once identified by him as Balder or Loki, etc., must remain Balder and Loki elsewhere, as long as the attributes are identical. When such a personage appears in a context alien to extant myths, he does not take this as a contradiction to his hypotheses, but considers the myth as lost. He sometimes has no choice but to force the effigy interpretation and to attribute non-demonstrable meaning to linguistic material.

4.2. Of the contrapositions, Seebold's (1998) is noteworthy: elements of effigies that Hauck interprets as motifs from Germanic mythology appear in specimens so similar to the Roman prototypes that the head is recognizable as that of a Roman emperor with attributes unthinkable for Odin. As far as the inscriptions on bracteates are concerned, Seebold observed that sometimes putting down letter-like characters had more meaning in itself than the contents of these characters, as is demonstrable by some senseless imitations of Roman capitalis (Seebold 1998, 275). Nevertheless, there are many bracteates whose runic inscriptions do make sense. But where may we construct sense by assuming e.g. the abbreviation of words? Or where have illiterate workmen produced inexact copies of runic inscriptions that originally had made sense? Seebold's method is not well thought-out and many of his hypotheses are untenable: that the existence of an (abbreviated) *fupark*, e.g., might signify that "the depicted personage is a king", whereas the sources he quotes – from Tacitus to the *Rígsþula* – demonstrate that tribal chieftains, priests, divinities, as well as kings, were considered rune experts.

4.3. Starkey (1999), too, is skeptical about Hauck's theories. She emphasizes that the identity, and sometimes even gender, of depicted personages is uncertain. Some bracteates could represent healing rituals; however Odin is not the only divinity who could heal.

4.4. Thrane (1998, 223) is in search of new criteria when he raises the question of the identity of the bearers of bracteates. Because of the opulence of cultic objects found there, he con-

siders the site of the bracteate-hoard Gudme II on Funen (where several place-names point to an organized cult) to be the residence of a sacral king (1992, 358). One specific collection of nine gold bracteates might be the necklace of Gudme's "sacral king", however a precise definition of "sacral king" is missing. Otto Höfler's concept (1952a) of "sacral king" cannot be it; Baetke (1964) is perfectly right when he says that sacral royalty is undemonstrable in Germanic antiquity.

5. Names

5.1. For the North, literature on names as sources for the history of religion has been collected by Andersson (1992b); while Holmberg (1992) expounds methodological problems through instructive examples, and Reichert (1992) – in the same volume – deals with the oldest Germanic material referring to personal names and the appertaining problems of method.

5.2. The main sources are place-names referring to sanctuaries. Andersson (1992b, 508) states that place-names are "condensed descriptive texts". For example, *ODan. Othinsvæ* – today Odense – proves that a *væ* ('sanctuary'), dedicated to Odin, existed there. Few Nordic place-names may be traced back to pagan times. Place-names rarely appear in runic inscriptions (Sørensen 1998); none of them contains the name of a divinity. The other, very scarce, pagan-time documents at our disposal are foreign reports, especially by missionaries. Odense is cited by Adam of Bremen as *Odansue*. But such early sources are rare and the earliest occurrences of most place-names date from Christian times; so normally a place-name signifying 'sanctuary of divinity X' is ambiguous: it may go back to pagan times and mean 'site of a sanctuary of divinity X (worshipped by us)', or it may be recent and mean 'site of a sanctuary of divinity X (at the time of our pagan ancestors)'. Nevertheless, in both cases the existence of such a place-name by itself enables us to deduce that the respective divinity had been worshipped there in pagan times. Actually, names of sanctuaries usually reappear in the names of the settlements that arose in their neighborhood. Names are problematic when their etymological significance is not clear, or when it must be suspected that the settlement was named for historic reasons and without thorough

acquaintance with its historic past. Such misinterpretations may always be the case; their probability grows proportionally to the recentness of the place-name, and where archeological sources do not provide certainty as to the continuity of settlement. The geographic distribution of divine names contained in place-names gives us good reason to believe that a pagan background is reflected here. Proceeding merely statistically, the misinterpretation of single names becomes insignificant. The recurrence of names allows to draw conclusions about the divinities, the landscapes and the sites which were preferred for the edification of sanctuaries in pagan times (e.g., in the vicinity of estuaries admitting Viking ships, place-names involving Odin's name are significantly frequent).

5.3. It is not at all “unthinkable” (Holmberg 1992, 546f.) that, in Christian times, sites containing pagan relics were named after some pagan divinity: place-names often involve names of divinities that rarely appear in literary sources, such as *Horn* (fem., de Vries 1970, 2, 331) and *Ullr* (masc.), whereas *Heimdall*(*l*)*r*, and maybe even *Baldur* – of outstanding importance in 13th c. myths – do not appear in place-names. The hypothesis that there might be divinities not mentioned in written myths is admissible; however it is practically impossible to deduce from place-names names of divinities which are not attested in literature. The only exception is *Niærþ* (Hellberg 1986, 62f.), who appears only in Swedish place-names, and although she is mentioned neither by Snorri nor by any other source, she may be the female counterpart of *Njörðr* since Snorri mentions that the latter had a sister. *Niærþ* may be identical to Tacitus' (*Germania* 40) *Nerthus*, his main goddess of Eastern North Sea and Jutland tribes; however, Tacitus does not mention any cult worshipping siblings.

5.4. The main divinities mentioned in 13th c. literature do appear in place-names, specifically *Freyr*, *Óðinn*, *Þórr*, *Ullr*, *Njörðr* and *Freyja*. There are regional differences, as documented by de Vries (1970). Alas, his attempts to project place-names back into the Bronze Age must be considered failures. Elgqvist (1955) deduced that there was a sanctuary of the god *Ullr* within today's city of Uppsala from the district name *Ullarakers hundare* (Ulleråkers härad); but *Ullr* is not amongst the divinities worshipped in nearby

Old-Uppsala listed by Adam of Bremen (4, 27) as *Thor*, *Wodan*, *Fricco*. What remains unclear is the relationship of divinities that frequently appear in place-names such as *Ullr*, to those divinities of whom there is evidence in ancient cults which – as is the case in Uppsala – are known to us from as early as the pagan era. Place-names provide information about the organization of the cult: they appear mostly in district names, e.g. *Fros hærath*, later *Fros herred*, an administrative district in southern Jutland, or OSw. *Frosfjærðunger* (*fjærðunger* ‘quarter of a hærath-district’) in Västergötland, and *Fröstolpt* (*tolpt* ‘twelfth’); it may be assumed that this district was under the protection of a specific divinity (Andersson 1992b, 538f.).

5.5. The designation of a single entity “divinity” or “gods” is rarer in place-names than names of individual gods. Sørensen (1985) interprets the place-name *Gudhem* (and similar spellings; all-in-all twelve places, plus a few probably secondary ones) as ‘home of gods’. In 13th c. literature (*Egils saga* and Snorri's *Heimskringla*), *Goðheim* and *Goðheimar* appear as the place to which the dead are led by Odin and where he retires after his own death. The name does not refer to a single god (or to the Christian God), which is evident by the lack of gen. sg. -s. Whether such places are sites of a cult cannot be proven. Furthermore, even rarer designations for the divinities collectively (or for groups of divinities) appearing in place-names, are Gmc **ansu* (maybe in the place-name *Oslo*; cf. Widmark 1989). There are also traces of ON *tívar* in place-names, distinguished from *Týr* by the lacking gen. sg. -s; e.g. *Tibirke* (*birke* ‘birch wood’) as opposed to *Tislund* (*lund* ‘grove’). Worthy of note is *dis* for a group of goddesses in a few Norw. and Sw. place-names.

5.6. Personal names reflect religious elements of a different kind. In the narrower sense they are baptismal names; they probably involve a blessing or an association with the mythical ancestral community of origin, the “Sib”. Social values are reflected by names assumed in later life upon initiation into a special group; or when a function, such as priesthood, is taken on; or by “nicknames”. In a primitive society, nicknames may have been names of honor, or else – as with the Romans –, they became part of the traditional name system, and thus represented a large group of cognomina (e.g. *Cicero* derives from *cicer* ‘chick

pea'). Name-giving in life later sometimes replaces the original name and sometimes adds surnames: the Norwegian king Haraldr, e. g., was surnamed *Lúfa* 'tuft of hair' after his oath neither to cut nor to comb his hair until he had united Norway and *Hárfagri* 'hair-beautiful' after fulfillment of his oath (*Egils saga* chapt. 3). The "professional names" of runemasters are not classified as personal names.

5.7. Some personal names involve the concept of divinities or a single divinity. Pan-Gmc are **guða-* and **ansu-*; **ragina-* is indeed pan-Gmc, documented in Frankish *Ragnacharius* from the 5th c. onward, and later on also EGmc, while the significance of the pl. 'divinities' is exclusively Nordic; in any other connotation the appellative stands for 'council', and it remains open whether names such as *Ragnarr* were secondarily connected to divinities (Janzen 1947, 87).

5.8. Many German and Dutch scholars, especially before 1950, preferred to assume a mythological context wherever there is doubt. Names under which Odin hides in 13th c. sources, the *Odins-heiti* (*Hertýr* e. g.), are interpreted by Hauck (1998, 303) as "authentic cultic names for Odin". Scandinavian research prefers profane interpretations: Wessén (1927, 74), e. g., supposed that personal names with *Frey* appertained to the Proto-Nordic appellative **fraujaz* 'lord', and only secondarily, by supposition, were thought to include the divinity's name. In a similar fashion, Sørensen (1974), contradicting Höfler (1952a), attempts to demonstrate that the name *Othinkar* does not involve the divinity's name. There can be no proof in such matters; however, the name Odin, if ever, very rarely appears in personal names. There is evidence of non-Nordic names containing the Go. appellative *wulþus* ('glory, honor, brilliance') and its cognates, but the pertinent divinity *Ullr* is exclusively Nordic; **wulþubewar** could therefore be an appellative form. One argument against this is its second component **þewaz* 'servant': i. e. name of divinity + 'servant' becomes typical from the 4th c. onward (Reichert 1992, 573); its Christian counterpart is *Theodoulos*, etc. Names of divinities as first components of personal names are late peculiarities and do not permit speculation regarding the Germanic religion (a possible exception is: *Othinkar*).

5.9. The High Middle Ages interpreted pagan theophoric name-giving as follows. The *Eyr-*

byggja saga reports that Þórolfr Mostrarskegg was initially called Hrólf, and later on, as *mikill vinr Þórs* he received the name Þórolfr. He gave his son Steinn to Þórr calling him Þórsteinn. Þórsteinn, on his part, gave his son Grímr to Þórr, thereby changing his name to Þórgrímr. Still another son of Þórolfr gave a son to Þórr naming him Þórsteinn. All of this is the saga's invention and only demonstrates 13th c. imagination (Wessén 1927, 77ff.). However, we have early analogies: Ammianus Marcellinus (XVI, 12, 25, ad 357 A. D.) mentions an Alemannian chieftain who was initiated into Greek mysteries in Gaul and, upon his return home, changed the name of his son Agenarichus to Serapio. This proves that there was a tendency to give theophoric names and to adopt foreign cults prior to Christianization.

5.10. Mythical beings hiding behind pseudonyms are not exclusively Germanic. In pagan times, Odin seems to have specialized in this; literary texts such as the *Grimnismál*, where Odin appears under a pseudonym and in disguise, have ancient bases. But the extant texts represent imaginative new versions; so we cannot be sure about any pseudonym reported in them, that it originates from pagan times. This regards both the *Odins-heitis* and names of other mythical beings; the *Völuspá* transmits dwarf names, whose version in the Poetic Edda differs from that in *Hauksbók*; and the difference to the manuscripts of the *Snorra Edda* is even more conspicuous. This proves that it was possible to invent mythical names in Christian times. Ancient names may hide amongst the *heitis*, dwarf-names, etc.; but because of lack of evidence, they cannot support any hypothesis.

5.11. We are able to reconstruct the antecedents of some of the names in heroic legends: one of their legendary heroes is *Guðþormr* (a Burgundian king). Janzen (1947, 122) associates the name to *þyrma* 'to venerate', i. e. cognate with *Véþormr* 'he who venerates the sacred'. The historical personage's name was *Godomarus*, which – in oral tradition – would have resulted in **Goðmarr*. *Guðþormr* is probably a product of 12th c. scholarly etymology; it may not represent any pagan religious concepts. *Beowulf* also cites names whose phonetics are not conform to the Nordic version: *Wæls* in *Beowulf* (10th c.) does not coincide with *Völsi*, which is the personage's name in the *Völsunga saga*; an ancient relation to a horse cult (*völsi* 'horse phallus') is thus ex-

cluded. Names of heroes whose phonetic divergences are unexplainable were collected by Heusler (1910).

5.12. Müller (1970, 195ff.) and Beck (1986) see the meaning of theriophoric personal names in the evocation of good augury; they run parallel to animals depicted as symbols of good fortune. Christendom kept up the use of theriophoric personal names: obviously they were regarded as bearers of general bliss regardless of which divinity the animals were sacred to. In pre-4th c. Germanic they are rare (Reichert 1992). Thus the great number of Nordic theriophoric personal names are considered a specific creation of the Viking Age. The animals sacred to **Wōdanaz*, the wolf and the raven, appear in personal names no earlier than the 4th c. A.D., and the name **Wōdanaz* itself remains practically unused ever after; however “Odinic” designations are found apparently in names of rune-masters. This need not be a contradiction: according to Tacitus (Ann. 13, 57), the Hermundures and Chatti dedicated their enemies’ armies to Mars and Mercurius, the latter being probably **Wōdanaz*, which meant that they did not make prey but tried to destroy the enemies together with their horses and armaments. It is hardly imaginable, that a newborn infant could have been dedicated to Odin, as an augury of good fortune, in view of these consequences of a dedication to him; the contrary is true regarding professional names of magicians and priests. Krause (1971, 81) interprets not only **Wulþuþewar*, but also **Woduridar* (Tune stone, ca. 400 A.D.) as theophoric names of priests: ‘the rider storming ahead in ecstasy (like Wodan)’. The etymology, cognate with G *Wut* (‘ecstasy’) is certain; the reference to Odin is also probable; priesthood is within the range of possibilities. There is certainty as to the original denomination of a priest: *Vēseti* ‘one sitting at the sanctuary’.

5.13. Four of the Germanic prophetesses variously attested are known to us by their names, all of them professional ones: Tacitus names *Velaeda* (‘seer’; IE **uelēt-*; **uel-* ‘to see’) and *Ganna* (ON *gandr* ‘magic wand’); and also **Albruna* (corrupted), the first component probably cognate to ON *álfr* (a group of mythic beings) and the second component *run-* ‘secret’ (in giving personal names probably *Guðrún* ‘who received secret knowledge from the divinities’, was a prototype for similar

names). The fourth prophetess is the Semnonic woman, *Waluburg* (Gmc **walus* ‘magic wand’), who apparently ended up in Egypt in the services of a Roman officer.

6. Linguistic material in non-Nordic sources

6.1. The ancient authors do not record any words pertaining to Nordic religion. They do name peoples whose names, where etymologizable, may reflect a general system of values; but problems are insurmountable. The *Sithones*, e.g., mentioned by Tacitus (*Germania* 45) as reigned by a woman: are they Germani, Finns, or Laplanders? If their name were cognate with OIcl. *siða* ‘to practise magic’, its meaning would be obvious; if to *siðr* ‘hanging down’, ‘pendent’, they might be inhabitants of the lowlands; if the alternative were E *side*, they might be a ‘seaside’ population (Much 1967, 517).

6.2. Apart from runic inscriptions, more information is provided as late as Christianization. In Adam of Bremen’s description of the Uppsala cult, *Wodan’s* name is explained as *id est furor* and is thus cognate to G *Wut*. A scholion (i.e. additional medieval explanations) to Adam’s work is a matter of dispute: it nominates *G(h)immendegop* as the local word for the bottomless pit of the ocean which, according to Adam’s own text, King Harald approached in the far North. Adam himself calls it *abyssus*. The manuscripts containing the scholion postdate Snorri, whose *Ginnungagap* ‘the initial chaos’ might have been their source (Dillmann 1998). The word evidently is the same one, but the different spelling makes Snorri as source for the scholion improbable; the different spellings point to different sources. The best etymological interpretation of *ginn-* is from Gmc **gin-* as the null-grade of the IE root **ghei-*, which is extant in Gmc **gainōn* ‘to yawn’, and of *gap* from ON *gapa* ‘to gape, open one’s mouth wide’: thus together ‘gaping throat’. Because Adam was already familiar with the concept of an abyss, the word as well may be regarded as ancient.

7. Recent Nordic sources

7.1. Many mythological names and concepts are handed down through 13th c. sources. Their evaluation as religious evidence has been

compiled by Lindow (1988), and by comments on the *Poetic Edda* (Gering/Sijmons 1927–31; Dronke 1969–97; von See and others 1997ff.), and on the *Snorra Edda* (Lorenz 1984).

7.2. The medieval manuscripts nominate the following designations for divinities or groups of divinities: *týr* (sg.), *tívar* (pl.), *díar*, *rögn*, *regin*, *bönd*, *höpt*, *goþ*, *æsir*, *vanir*. Of these, *bönd* and *höpt* are considered more or less synonyms for ‘fettters, chains’. Dronke (1992, 657) returns to the idea that all the various concepts of fetters in mythology are related: starting with Tacitus’ Semnonic grove which may be entered only *vinculo ligatus* ‘by one tied with a ribbon’ or ‘fettered’ (?); continuing with the (9th c.) *First Merseburg Charm*, *sumir hapt heptidun* ‘some tied fettters’; and ending in the *fjöturlundr*, ‘grove of fettters’ (*Helgaqvíða Hundingsbana II*) where Dagr kills Helgi with Odin’s spear. The concept of the ritual fettering of humans and, moreover, of ‘fettered gods’ goes beyond the Germanic sphere. Therefore, and because *bönd* and *höpt* involve all divinities, we cannot agree with Höfler (1952b), who uses the Helgi Poem’s reference to Odin as proof that Odin was the divinity worshipped in the Semnonic grove.

7.3. The words *bönd*, *höpt*, *rögn* and *goð* are neuters; when applied to the Christian god, *goð* becomes masculine. The reason for the neuter gender might be abstractness; but Germanic languages also use the neuter for groups (of people) of mixed gender. However, the neuter does not permit any conclusions as regards pre-patriarchal Proto-Germanic societies. *Rögn* and *regin* are, semantically speaking, ‘advisers’, ‘counsellors’; the concept brings to mind the council of all gods upon the establishment of world-order (*Völuspá* 6ff.). It is unclear if and how *goð* is cognate to the Gmc vb. root **geut-* ‘to pour’. The fact that the Go. word for priest *gudja* is cognate (OHG *gotinc* and ON *goði* are limited to jurisdictional functions), and that *goþ* was adopted by Christianity for its god proves that it was applied to anything divine (de Vries 1970, 2,4).

7.4. *Týr* sg. is the name of one divinity and appears in kennings such as *Hanga-Týr* ‘the Týr of the hanged’ for Odin. The plural *tívar* stands for the totality of divinities. Thus *Týr* simply seems to be the divinity; etymologically it leads via Gmc **teiwaz* to IE **deiwós* ‘clear sky’, which in many Indo-European languages

means ‘god’ and especially ‘god of the sky’. Odin thus must have dislodged Týr from his pre-eminent position. The fact that Tacitus names two divinities to whom the enemy’s army was consecrated (5.12.) may signify their co-existence around 1 A.D. *Díar* is mentioned only a few times, each time by Snorri: in a kenning for the mead of poets he cites the skald Kormákr (*Skáldskaparmál* 2); the *Ynglinga saga* (chapt. 2–9) nominates the *díar* as the masters of sacrifice and of jurisdiction under Odin’s guidance; and Njörðr and Freyr are temple priests to the gods. Also Gr. *θεοί* (and *θύειν* ‘to sacrifice’) qualifies the divinities as receivers of sacrifice. Gmc *d* and Gr. *θ* derive from IE *dh*; *díar* and *theoi* may thus be cognate. It is unlikely that this be incidental and that Kormákr, who admittedly was half-Irish in origin, but Icelander himself and nowhere else in his extant stanzas used an Irish word, should have used a foreign Irish word for ‘gods’ (which like *tívar* derives from IE **deiwós* ‘clear day’), and that Snorri should have adopted it without knowing it nor comprehending that it was a foreign word.

7.5. ON *æsir* is cognate with OE *ōs* ‘god’ and Go. *ansis* (acc. pl.), which is the name by which Jordanes (*Getica* XIII, 78) refers to Gothic *semideos*, the mythical ancestors of the royal dynasty of the Amali. The word is pan-Germanic for ‘god’; a goddess of war *Vihansa* appears on a Roman inscription in the Rhineland (de Vries 1970, 2, 325). Apart from ablaut in the suffix, Gmc **ansuz* is identical to Go. *ans* ‘beam’ (Gmc **ansaz*), which probably indicates divine images constructed from piles of wood. But others take these for incidental homonyms and connect **ansuz* ‘god’ to IE **asu* ‘breath’, ‘creative power’, or to the Hethitic word for ‘king’ which, in its turn, may be cognate with Gr. *ἡνία* ‘reins’ and ON *æs* ‘loop’, and – in a similar fashion as *höpt* and *bönd* – might refer to binding or bound divinities (Polomé 1989, 56). The relationship between *æsir* and *vanir* is unclear: the *vanir* are divinities of fertility; of all the possible etymologies, Lat. *Venus* is certainly the correct one. Regarding the war of the *Æsir* against the *Vanir*, *Völuspá* 23–24 only mentions that the fight was about whether all divinities should receive sacrifices and that the *Vanir* won. In the antecedents of the story of the origin of the poet’s mead, Snorri (*Skáldskaparmál* 1) reports how – in order to confirm the peace treaty – the *Vanir* together with the *Æsir* spat into a cauldron, and how, from their saliva,

the all-too-wise Kvasir was formed. Edda lays allude to the Æsir taking the Vanic god Njörðr hostage. A detailed report, parts of which, however, contradict the *Skáldskaparmál*, is found in the *Heimskringla* (4f.): the Æsir start an aggressive war against the Vanir which ends in deadlock; the Vanir send Njörðr and clever Kvasir as hostages; the Æsir, in turn, send Hœnir and wise Mímir to the Vanir. When still with the Vanir, Njörðr begat two children, Freyr and Freyja, by his sister, a tabu with the Æsir. The two of them became temple priests with the Æsir; Freyja taught the Æsir a new kind of magic. Opinions vary as to whether the *Heimskringla* is the ancient version and not merely a combination of motifs from *Völuspá* and *Skáldskaparmál*. Mythologies of various peoples report feuds between divine groups; the mythic war is not necessarily a reference to any submission of a pre-Germanic civilization to the Germani.

7.6. Interpretation of divine names helps us understand the functions of the respective divinities. The etymologies of the most important ones are certain: *Óðinn* from **wōds* (G *Wut*) ‘furor, ecstasy’; *Þórr* from **þunaraz* ‘thunder’; *Týr* from IE **deivos*; *Ullr* from Go. *wulþus* ‘brilliance’; *Frigg* from Gmc **fri-* ‘to love’ (IE **pri-*); *Freyr/Freyja* from IE **pro-* ‘in front’, ‘ahead’, thus ‘the Lord/the Mistress’. But there are contradictions between Nordic and Langobard myths: Frigg and Freyja are etymologically not cognate, and their functions are different (“functions” here do not refer to ruling power, war, or fertility; such categorization is not possible with Germanic divinities: Frigg, as Odin’s wife, rather than Freyja should refer to ruling power, but the etymology convinces of the opposite). The Langobard principal goddess *Frea* is etymologically identical with *Frigg* (while the North “sharpens” the semi-vowel *j* to *gg*, the South vocalizes it), and her function as Wodan’s wife is congruent. However, dog-symbolism in the Langobard tribal myth and the motif ‘dog + boar’ (regarding the combination of boar banners and dog helmets, cf. Beck 1965, 75) is in keeping with Freyja; the *Njáls* saga attributes the following verse to a Christian: *Spari ek eigi goð geyja! Grey þykki mér Freyja* [May I be spared barking gods! A bitch to me seems Freyja.] Moreover, Freyja’s riding animal is a boar (*Hyndloljóð* stanzas 5 and 7).

7.7. Alas, in some cases, where mythological interpretation of divinities is problematic,

their etymology is also uncertain; this is the case especially with *Heimdal(l)r*, *Njörðr*, *Baldr* (from IE **bhel-* ‘to shine’ or OE *bealdor* ‘lord’), *Loki* and *Hænir*. Philology, however, illuminates the function of *Urðr* as the goddess of destiny and fate. Her name is an abstraction of *verða*; in OE manuscripts *Wyrð* stands for ‘destiny’ (Weber 1969; Meid 1992, 490). *Bragi*, the god of poetry in the *Snorra Edda*, and also the oldest skald, has been explained by Indian philology: in the oldest documents (*Rigveda*) OInd. *brahman* (IE **bregħ-*) stands for ‘shape, form, distinct expression (of truth)’, not for ‘sacrificial priest’, which meaning comes later. So the oldest records of *brahman* fit to *Bragi*, both etymologically and in his function. On the other hand, Lat. *flāmen* ‘sacrificial priest’ should not be connected with *brahman*, but with IE **bhlād-men* (cognate with ON *blóta*), as phonologically expected.

7.8. The names of days of the week could – had they been translated into Germanic as early as the 3rd c. – prove that the names **Tiwaz*, **Wōdanaz*, **Punaraz* and **Frīja* already existed then. But no pre-Christian monument bears Germanic weekdays. Germani in touch with Romans certainly knew the seven-day week implemented by Augustus, but they may have never adopted the concept ‘week’. The *Völuspá*, which reflects late-pagan concepts, states (stanzas 5–6), that the council of gods organizes time. Only Night, the waxing and waning Moon, times of the Day (morning, noon, vesper, and evening), and Year are mentioned there.

7.9. Snorri’s *Ynglingatal* and Saxo’s *Gesta Danorum* are euhemeristic delineations depicting mythical personages as human beings and attributing mythic qualities to humans. Dumézil’s (1970) attempt at philological clarification as to whether *Hadingus* (Saxo, Book I) is a mythicized Viking or an euhemerized divinity has been unsuccessful.

8. Terminology of the pre-Christian religion

8.1. Baetke (1942) explores the development of the significance of words for ‘holy’, ‘divinity’ etc. to arrive at the focal point of religious concepts, i.e. for the NGmc **wīhaz* (manifest only in ON *vé* ‘sanctuary’) and **hailigaz*, which is still alive in *heilagr*, and other derivations. He clarifies the meanings of *heill*,

heilagr, etc. (1942, 58ff.), even if etymological derivation is a matter of controversy (different opinions are given by: Pokorny 1959, 520; de Vries 1977, 218ff.; Seebold-Kluge 1995, 364). *Heill* is cognate with OSl. *cělŭ*, ‘healthy, whole’, Cymr. *coel* ‘omen’, and other Celtic etyma; it might also have Gr. cognates. The ON noun *heill* in its fem. form means ‘(bona) fortuna, good luck’, and as a neuter ‘(good) omen’; its opposite thus is *óheill*, G *Unheil* ‘bad luck’. In OHG Christian manuscripts *heil* is used to translate *salus*, *salutare*. Later on it also signifies ‘omen’, and ‘amulet’ (once). The original connotation was therefore religious. The sagas speak of *heill* in connection with pagan sacrifice and prophecy through sacrifice. In 4th c. Gothic it is a greeting for those entering a hall (*De conviviis barbaris*, *Anthologia Latina* 285); in Wulfila it stands for *χαίρε*, the normal Greek greeting. It is also a salutation in OHG, OSx., OE and ON. It is not only well-wishing; it also translates the biblical salutation *osanna* ‘help’. *Heill*, “directly or indirectly related to favorable providence granted ultimately by divinity” (Baetke 1942, 79), is involved in the concept of *mannhelgi* ‘inviolability of person’ mentioned by Nordic juridic sources, and in ‘the king’s good luck’ (*fortuna Caesaris*) in Snorri’s tales of the kings Dómaldi and Óláfr trételgja (*Heimskringla* 15 and 43); and probably already in *hailag* on the Go. Pietroassa necklace (Reichert 1991–93).

8.2. Etymology helps us understand religious terms, such as *blóta*, OHG *bluozan*: the probable connection with Lat. *flāmen* ‘sacrificial priest’ has its parallel in the fact that the victim, ON *tafn* (IE **dap-no*) is also cognate with Lat. *daps* ‘sacrificial meal’ (and less close to OHG *zebar*, OE *tifer* ‘sacrificial animal’ and Go. **tibr* ‘sacrificial offering’: from IE **dip-*). The victims were not always sacrificial repast; often they were left to putrefy or were destroyed otherwise (Reichert 1999, 178ff.). Reference to ritual consumption of victims is probable when the word in question, especially OE *hūsl*, ON *húsl*, is applied to the Christian Lord’s Supper; in keeping with this is Go. *hunsl*, which stands for a food offering (Düwel 1970, 229).

8.3. A word never used in Christian rites, such as ON *blóta*, probably had pagan sacral significance (Düwel 1970, 223). Morphological criteria, such as *u*-stem inflection, next to a non-sacral *a*-stem (perhaps **ansuz* ON *áss* ‘god’ next to **ansaz* ‘beam’), are no proof of

sacrality, as non-sacral *u*-stems and sacral non-*u*-stem words exist.

8.4. The interpretation of words designating sites of worship is difficult: ON *vé* (Go. *weihs* [wīxs] ‘holy’) ‘sanctuary’, and *hqrgr*, *hof* are preserved in place-names, but they can hardly be separated from the general vocabulary (Andersson 1992a). OHG *harug* is used to gloss Lat. *lucus* and *nemus* ‘grove’; OE *hearh*, *hearg* ‘temple’, ‘altar’; *Vqluspá* stanza 7 reports that the Æsir *hqr oc hof há timbroðo* ‘they timbered *hqr* and *hof* up high’, which implies buildings (Andersson 1986). Contradictions are generally resolved by the argument that first simple stone altars were built and real buildings later on (cf. 2.2.).

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45. Nordic language history and religion/ecclesiastical history II: Christianization

1. Historical background
2. The sources
3. Mission languages
4. Types of borrowing
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Historical background

Raids and voyages for trade brought the Vikings into contact with southern and western Christianity early on. Christian intolerance of paganism forced them to undergo exorcism or allow themselves to be baptized if they wished to have dealings with Christians or settle in their midst. This frequently remained a worldly, practical affair or led to syncretisms, but the superiority of Christianity soon prevailed, especially in the mixed culture of the Danelaw, and its influence was felt in the Nordic homelands in the 10th c., including the still pagan West Nordic poetry. Following scattered missionary activity from the beginning of the 8th c. onward, the task of Christianizing the North was placed officially in the hands of the archdiocese of Hamburg, founded in 831 (after 845 in Bremen). The Nordic mission followed trade routes and concentrated on Jutland and on Birka, Sweden, possibly also reaching southern Norway. Ansgar and his successors were acting partly in the interests of German hegemonic claims, so the intensity of missionary activity at any given time depended on the strength of the empire; the reactions of the populace were politically motivated as well. All Norwegian kings were Christian after Hákon góði (ca. 940–60), who was raised in England; they fought paganism with varying degrees of zeal and often with considerable violence. Hákon was forced to yield to the opposition of the independent farmers, but he probably helped to pave the way for the quick success of Olaf Tryggvason (995–1000), who fell victim to a Danish-Swedish alliance, and of Olaf Haraldsson (1015–30), who justified his claims to absolute rule in Christian terms and whose death at the hands of Norwegian rebels was interpreted as martyrdom and made the Christianization of Norway complete. Both had among their retainers Anglo-Saxon bishops and clerics who later preached in Sweden as well. In Sweden the pagan party was stronger, especially among the Svear, and the Christian Olof skötkonung

(ca. 980–1021/2) was forced to retreat to more extensively Christianized Västergötland; due to further setbacks, Christianity did not prevail until the end of the 11th c. In Denmark, it had already gained ground under the first sole ruler Harald Bluetooth (ca. 936–87); as the political center shifted to England under his son Sven Forkbeard and his grandson Knud the Great († 1035), Anglo-Saxon influence grew in Denmark until Sven Estridsen († 1074/6) consolidated the organization of the Church in collaboration with Archbishop Adalbert.

Continental and Anglo-Saxon influences thus converged in the Nordic countries in a characteristic mix. Adam of Bremen protested against English presumptuousness, and kings such as Harald harðráði (1046–1066) played the English trump card in their competition with the Archdiocese for influence in Church affairs. In practical mission work, these two currents may well have complemented each other. The Roman Church was universal, and exchanges of personnel among different countries were the rule, so that, for example, German clerics could be sent abroad from England; Ansgar of Hamburg was from Picardy, and Anglo-Saxon missionaries were trained in Irish monasteries. In the beginning, missionaries came from a wide variety of countries and included representatives of the Eastern Church. The decisive fact is that Christianization made the Nordic countries, together with its languages, part of Europe. The newly founded churches were dependent on foreigners to fill the more important posts; at first, young Scandinavians were sent to school in Germany, then primarily to Paris and England from the 12th c. onward, and in the late Middle Ages to Germany once more. The Church was dependent on secular power and had to accommodate itself to established customs and social conditions, though without renouncing its new messages. As guides for living, these messages would have spread only gradually from the elites to the broader classes, as the distribution of Christian names shows: in the beginning they were found as second names given at baptism, then primarily among the daughters of leading families, and were not truly common until the 12th c. Bishoprics appeared in Denmark by the mid-10th c., in other areas around 100 years later, and monasteries appeared from about 1100

onward; these institutions must soon have included schools. The diocesan organization did not become definitive until the national churches emancipated themselves through the establishment of Nordic archdioceses: Lund in 1102/3, which was given supremacy over the Nordic countries and could thus assert itself against Hamburg-Bremen, though it remained open to German influence; Nidaros in 1153/54, which was responsible for the islands as well; Uppsala in 1164. From this point on, the Church saw itself as an authority of higher law and tried to assert monastic and papal reform plans and the newly codified canon law against secular power. Although the Church won some of these controversies, which could be bitter, in the end the kings were able to maintain their influence over the investiture of bishops. In the East Nordic area, the decline of clerical authority from the 14th c. onward led to a more personal lay piety (details in Maurer 1855; Thors 1957, 11 ff.; and in Church histories and handbooks).

2. The sources

2.1. The propagation of the new faith and a new way of life posed great difficulties for missionaries used to thinking in Latin. They either had to adapt their native dialect or use untrained interpreters, and they had to attempt to express themselves in a language without a philosophical-theological tradition of its own, to find words for concepts that ultimately lay beyond language (e.g. *óumræðiligr* = *ineffabilis*, *óumráðiligr* = *incomprehensibilis*). Their listeners would have understood them only vaguely at first, but since the new concepts were not introduced in isolation, the lexicon soon underwent a thorough restructuring. The complicated new message of faith placed the present in relation to the transcendent; it demanded a spiritualization of the individual (*inn iðri maðr* = *homo interior*, seeing with the eyes of the heart and the soul) and a new attitude toward one's fellow man that was not easy to assert under existing social conditions. Language as a bearer of ideology is a step ahead of reality, but also a part of it. For the proselytes, the innovations were manifested not least in the organization of churches, which was established in the regional laws and had to be supported by the parishes, and in new, binding customs. But *siðr* does not simply mean custom independent of personal convictions, it is both conveying and expressing the new doctrine. Thus

the word is often linked with *trú*; *heilagr siðr* and the like means religion, *forn, heiðinn siðr* the *cultus paganorum* (in EN rarer in this meaning). This corresponds to the situation throughout Europe, where the propagation of book-religion in an oral culture led to a ritualization and re-archaizing of faith into the High Middle Ages (see Angenendt 1997, 23 and passim). New knowledge and new skills (the septem artes, writing, horticulture, medicine etc.) came to the Nordic countries through the educational and social activity of the Church; linguistic coinages from translated religious literature entered into general use. It is important, therefore, not to separate the ecclesiastical-religious core vocabulary too strictly from the context of a general openness toward southern influences.

2.2. The content of missionaries' sermons is preserved only in the form of Church directives and later vernacular (fictionalized) accounts. The early conversions left traces in Viking Period runic inscriptions and in WN skaldic poetry (from the end of the 10th c. exclusively Icel.). The Swedish memorial stones in particular preserve an important, albeit thematically limited, vocabulary. In skaldic poetry up to 1050, Christian vocabulary appears either in isolated fragments, embedded in panegyric poems (especially addressed to the Norwegian missionary kings), or in occasional verses (*lausavisur*) transmitted in later prose texts. Metrical considerations generally guarantee authenticity, although younger forgeries cannot be ruled out. For example, the Christian verses attributed to Gísli definitely do not date from the 10th c., and for the fragment of *Hafgerðingadrápa* or Hallfred's last verse, such an origin is doubtful. In the 100 years after 1050, reflections of organized Christianity begin to appear, if only sporadically; from the second half of the 12th c. onward, clerical authors remodelled the old praise-poem into powerful Christian sermons, which immediately entered the written record.

Prose writing began in the west in the 11th c., in the east around 100 years later. There is evidence for that written tradition began in all regions with the laws, in which Christian law was codified in a prominent place. They transmitted some older material in modernized form, such as references to the legislation of St. Olaf and his bishop Grímkell. Translations and other religious writings must also have been produced at an early date; the especially extensive and diverse religious litera-

ture in the west is preserved in manuscripts from the second half of the 12th c. onward. Some early material is preserved only in late or even post-medieval copies, but the vocabularies of the manuscripts up to 1250 as collected by Holtzmark (1955) and Larsson (1891) are best treated as a closed group for the purpose of establishing definitive termini post quos non. Latin models aid in the semantic interpretation of the words, but the precise source text is often unknown, and misunderstandings cannot always be distinguished from creative adaptation. In these early manuscripts the religious terminology was already fully developed; after 1250 it was in general merely made more precise and supplemented with special terms or more modern synonyms. For EN a periodization of this kind is impossible. Apart from law texts and two fragments of Birgitta's revelations, the corpus documented and analyzed by Thors (1957) does not begin until the 14th c., even though the OSw. legendary and a Pentateuch paraphrase derived from a WN translation can be dated to the second half of the 13th c. The late medieval religious translations and devotional texts in Sweden and, somewhat later, in Denmark are, on the whole, products of the reform movement emanating from Birgitta's *Vadstena* (dedicated in 1384).

3. Mission languages

3.1. At the end of the 19th century, Taranger (1890) traced practically the entire WN religious terminology back to England; Maurer (1895) for his part championed a strong German influence. Phonic and grammatical criteria (especially the assignment of gender) are frequently indecisive, due to the genetic affinity of the languages, the incomplete and exclusively written nature of the sources, and the constant possibility of assimilation to the writer's native system and analogy. Different avenues of influence will have run parallel and sometimes crossed. Vernaculars other than English and German are of little significance. Despite the importance of Irish missionaries and ethnic mixing in the colonies, Celtic influence on WN ecclesiastical vocabulary is evident only in *bagall* 'crozier' (attested late), clarified as *bagalstafr* (Irish *bachall*, Lat. *baculus*; perhaps via ME); for the pagan religion cf. WN *bjannak* 'blessing', *diar* 'gods'. Irish models can also be found for WN *kross*, EN (with metathesis) *kors* 'cross', probably via England (ME *cros*), and for *klokka*, *klukka*

'bell', brought to the Continent by the Irish mission (AS rare *cluce* beside *bell(e)*, ON *bjalla*). Romance influence on ecclesiastical terminology seems in every case to have been mediated by LG or AS. The same is mostly true for the extremely numerous Latin models. But since the leading churchmen were versed in Latin from an early date, independent creations and borrowings must have taken place, even where parallels in other languages exist. Thus *oblata* is attested beside WN *ofláta*, EN *ofláte* (AS *oflæte*), and the occasional instances of *trakt(e)r* = *tractus* in Norw. and Sw. do not have to be related to each other or to MDu. *tract*. It is the same with the frequently adopted Lat. designations of rank such as *prior*, *abbatissa* (assimilated as *abbadis*), attested in skaldic poetry from the 12th and 13th c., and occasionally in prose, or the inflected forms of *crux*; in the latter forms the root-final *s*, as in ON *krussa*, may point to the Continent (MDu. *cruse* beside *cruce*, but attested in Man already in the 10th c.), while the masc. dat. *kruzi* may derive from rare AS *cruc* masc. or be a product of analogy with *galgi*. The early loanword for 'bless' in all other Germanic languages (e. g. MLG *segenen*) is based on the Vulgar Lat. form with lowered *i*; only Nord. *signa* is based on the classical form *signare* (already in Egill, Eddaic; EN in the Viking Period). *Prímssigna* 'drive out paganism through exorcism and the sign of the cross', from *primum signum*, is a purely Nord. creation that was subsequently borrowed into ME. Isolated translator's forms such as *langhyggja* = *longanimitas* or *yfirligr* = *supernus* were no doubt constructed directly on the basis of the source text. In light of the large number of loan formations in which Lat. *con-* is represented by *sam-*, it may not be necessary to derive WN *samvizka*, EN *samvit(i)* = *conscientia*, which was created in the 13th c. after various earlier translation attempts, from Cont. models such as OHG *gewizzanī* and MLG *gewēten* (Dan. *samvittighed* on the other hand, beside *samvit*, stems from MLG *samwitticheit*). As with the concept of conscience, which was foreign to them, the Germanic peoples also had difficulties with the *incarnatio*, as circumlocutions show; here WN found its own elegant solution, *holdgan* (also Mod. Icel.).

3.2. The basic terminology of Christianity had been taken over by the Germanic peoples at the time of the first contacts: the central terms for the transcendent Persons, for the organization of the Church, and for the distinction

between Christians and unbelievers. They are found everywhere in Germanic-speaking territory, thus also in South German and to a large extent in Gothic. In the Nordic countries they are among the earliest attested words; they were highly productive in the formation of new terms and have survived up to the present. Their route northward can be reconstructed only in exceptional cases.

For *Deus*, the non-specific *goð* was borrowed from the pagan pantheon, etymologically either the being that is invoked or that is sacrificed to. Egill already knew the Christian-inspired word *goðheimr*. In Christian usage *goð* is masculine, without substitution of the nominative ending; with few exceptions, the original neuter gender (often in the plural) now designates false gods. In WN, the gradual introduction of the EN form *guð* for *Deus* led to a further differentiation. For God as Lord, old words for rulers were employed, such as *dróttinn*. Later, AS poetry borrowed *hearra*, *hærra* (on the model of *senior*) from OSx., which reached West Scandinavia early on as *harri* but was then replaced by Cont. *herra*. The Romance word for ‘Christian’ is borrowed from the Franks (*kristinn*); the unbaptized are designated by the etymologically disputed WN word *heiðinn*, either a calque on *paganus* developed in early urban Christianity or a corruption of ἔθνος spread by the Goths. The basic vocabulary also included *angelus* = *engill* and *diabolus* = WN *djöfull*, EN *diävul*, OSx. *diūbal*, AS *dēofol*, in which the form of the borrowings was modified by renewed reference to the Lat. source word. In the 4/5th c. the word *κυρι(α)κόν* ‘(house) of the Lord’ was borrowed from the Greek form of Christianity still being practised in Trier or Lyon at that time. Phonetic considerations (palatalization of *k*, the presence of *y*, also broken to *iu* in Sw.) indicate that *kirkja*, *kyrkja* derive from AS *cir(i)ce*, *cyrce*. Southern Vulgar Lat. **(e)bescobo*, which was not only used for the high official, was borrowed by the pre-Franconian period; the Anglo-Saxons had already borrowed *bisc(e)op* on the Continent. WN *biskup*, EN *biskup(er)* can have reached the Nordic countries from various sources. More specialized terms point to England: WN *ljóð-biskup*, EN *lybbiskuper* (AS *lēodbisceop*) = *suffraganeus*; *erkibiskup* (AS *arce-|ercebiscop* vs. southern *erzi-*); WN *biskopa* = *confirmare* (AS *bisceopian*). The same holds true for other early loans: *munkr* = Vulgar Lat. *monicus* (AS *munuc*, Cont. *monk*, *munk*), but WN *munklif(i)* from AS *munklif*; WN *mynstr*, EN *mönster* =

monasterium, used for various religious buildings, WN *mustari* perhaps from Fr. *mustier*; and *prestr* = *presbyter*, Vulgar Lat. *prestr(e)*, AS *prēost* (*ēo* should have yielded *jó*), Cont. mostly with root-*r*, which, however, can be taken for a nominative marker (Halldór Halldórsson 1969, 122).

3.3. Early secular poetry already betrayed a considerable influence from the mixed Nord.-AS culture of the Danelaw (Hofmann 1955). Some Nord.-AS isoglosses in religious vocabulary probably stem from innovations in the Danelaw, e.g. (*kirkju*-)*sókn*, AS *ciricsōcn* for ‘churchgoing’ (on the model of legal terminology), later for *parochia* (Mod.Icel. *sókn*, Nyno. *sokn*, Dan. and Bm. *sogn*, Sw. *socken*). In Sweden, some AS borrowings reached only areas along the Norwegian border or were displaced by southern words. There is no reliable evidence for AS borrowings into Sweden via Denmark. AS words in this group include the names of important Christian holidays, except for Easter and Pentecost, terms for certain liturgical acts, and specialized words such as *rúmaskattr* (AS *römgesceot*, ME *rōmescot* ‘Peter’s pence’, probably transmitted by the English cardinal Nicholas Breakspeare in the mid-12th c. and designated expressly as an English word). Almost all of them are old, most attested before 1250, and remain in use today. The direction of borrowing is not always absolutely certain, however. WN *postuli* for *apostolus*, for example, is always traced back to AS *postol*, and the numerous Nord. attestations are supposed to prove that in England the only sparsely attested word was common in the spoken language (MacGillivray 1902, 40); but borrowing into AS is also conceivable, or both languages could have borrowed the word from the south or from colloquial Church Latin independently of one another (see Frings 1966, 18; Müller-Frings 1968, 92). In the Nordic countries the *albae* of baptismal candidates are treated as a characteristic sign of Christianity: *hvítaváðir* in Sw. runic inscriptions of the Viking Period, WN *Hvíta-Kristr*. It is therefore logical to derive ME *hwītesun(n)e dei*, first attested in the 12th c. as an alternative to the older *pentecosten*, from WN. In EN, following Cont. models, the word designates the first Sunday after Easter or the first Sunday in Lent.

Some examples of AS influence are:

Holidays: *dies natalis*: originally pagan AS *gēol*, WN *jól*, EN *jul*, beside it the rare Cont. form *náttin helga*; – *purificatio B. Mariae Virginis*, *missa candelarum*:

AS *candelmesse*, WN, EN *kyndil(s)messa* after *kyndill* 'torch'; AS *mæsse* already on the Continent from the Vulgar Lat. form with lowered *i*, while other early Cont. vernaculars have only *missa*; Dan. has southern *missæ* beside *mæssæ*; – *dies viridium* (Maundy Thursday; the baptismal candidates' day): ME *skērepursdai*, WN *skirdagr*, *skirþórsdagr*, EN *skárdagher*, *skär(a)þórsdagher*, either a loan into English or an innovation during the Danelaw (Thors 1957, 340); – *dies parasceues, passionis*: AS *langafrīgedæg*, WN *langafrjádagr*, Sw. *langafréadagher*, Dan. *langfredag*; – *dies ascensionis*: AS *hálga þunresdæg*, Nord. *helgi þórsdagr* (WN also *uppstigningardagr*, AS *úpstígan*, EN mostly Cont. *upfara*), EN later displaced by Cont. *himilsfärdh*; – *ieiunia quattuor temporum*: AS *ymbrendagas*, WN *ymbrudagar* EN *imberdagher*, beside Cont. *tämperdagher*.

Church services: AS *bletsian* = *benedicere, ordinare, consecrare* (originally from the [blood] sacrifice), *blétsung*, WN *bletsa* = *benedicere, blézing, blezan*; Sw. only archaic, not in Dan.; – AS *húsl*, the old word for the sacrifice used for the Eucharist, WN *húsl*, *hunsl*, in Sw. only older and western; – AS *scrift* = *confessio, poenitentia*, WN and EN *skript*, also in Nord. compounds and derivations, such as *skripta*; – AS *calic, cælic, calc* = *calix*, WN *kalkr* already Eddaic, EN in early secular usage as *kalker*, later WN *kaleker* in both sacred and profane usage; – AS *rēcels* = *incensum*, WN *reykelsi*, EN *rökilse*; – the extended system of godparenthood, *cognatio spiritualis*: AS *godfæder, godmóðor*, Nord. *godfaðir* (before 1000), *guðmóðir, -sifjar* etc.; – AS *bēn* = *oratio*, Nord. *bæn*.

AS influence exclusively on WN: AS *ðrin(n)es* = *trinitas*, WN *þrenning*, EN on the Cont. model *thräfaldoghet*; – AS *ræðing* = *lectio, ræðingbōc* = *lectionarium*, WN *ræðingr, ræðingabók*, later *lektia* on the Cont. model, as EN *läkza*; – AS *antefn*, WN *antefna, antemna*, EN only *antiphona* (also with Sw. inflection); – AS *forerynel* = *praecursor*, WN *fyrir-/forrennari*, EN *forelöpare* on the Cont. model.

3.4. Frequently it cannot be determined whether a Nord. word was influenced from the west or the south (cf. 3.2.). The Anglo-Saxon mission, which was relatively tolerant of pagan vocabulary, replaced *wih* even on the Continent with *hālig* (WN *heilagr*, EN *hēlagher*) corresponding to *sanctus, sacer*, originally probably 'inviolable', but which was already in religious usage in pagan times; the word became the base of many Nord. derivations, some exclusively dialectal. The Christian reinterpretation of *fasta* 'fast', often attributed to the Goths, is in any case attested everywhere in the Germanic-speaking territory, as is *tiðir* for the *horae canonicae*, later for church services in general. Due to their being restricted to WN, it would seem logical to derive words like *guðspjall, -spell* (AS *god-*

spel, reinterpreted from *gōðspel* = *bona annuntiatio*) or *gjöf, gípt(a)* in the sense of *gratia* (AS *giefu*) from their English cognates, but the Anglo-Saxons introduced them to the northern Continent as well. The direction of borrowing is completely obscure in the case of *offer, offra*, attested in all Nordic countries, a "northwestern" word based on *offerre* as opposed to HG *opfern* from *operari* (Frings 1966, 42; Müller-Frings 1968, 340 ff.); AS has only the verb *offrian* and its derivative *offrung*. The concept of 'humilitas' was difficult to grasp. Of the various WN translation attempts, *litillæti, litillátr* was the most successful until *auðmjúkr* was created in the 13th c. This corresponds to EN *öpmjúker*, AS *ēaðmōd* (with wider meanings), but also to Cont. *ōdmōdi*, a borrowing from AS which competed with **thiomōti* in German. Both routes of borrowing are possible. The south is definitely the source of EN *barmhertogher*; WN *aumhartaðr*, too, more likely stems from German *armaherz* (*miseri-cors*; see Frings 1966, 26) than from the unsuccessful AS coinage *earmheort*. The synonyms for 'redemption' and 'Redeemer' show how the Nord. languages were receptive to influences of different kinds which they then developed independently. Redemption was understood in the Middle Ages as a legal buying-back, *red-emptio*. In the south, as in England, words for ransoming and liberating were thus enriched with a specifically Christian meaning: OSx. (*a*)*lōsian*, MLG *er-/vorlösen, (vor)lösere, vorlösinge*, AS *ālīesan, ālīesend, ālīesing* etc. WN preferred *lausn*, also *aflausn* ([*af*] *lausn synda* also for *indulgentia peccatorum, absolutio*), *leysa, lausnari*. Sw. *lösn* is an archaism, while *atirlösn, atirlösa* (inseparable), *atirlösare* reproduce the Lat. more exactly; *aflösn* = *absolutio* has the corresponding verb *aflösa*, Dan. *genlösere, genlösning*. Slavish imitations such as *aptrkaup* are rare in WN. In EN a different word for *liberare* dominates in Christian contexts: *frälsa*, along with *frälsare*, which plays only a minor role in WN and AS. The second important semantic field is Christ as healer, *inn hæsti læknir, salvum facere* = *gera heilan*, AS *hāl dōn*. AS *hālend* = *salvator* pushed competing translations on the Continent aside. Older texts in Sw. have *hēlare*, unattested in WN; *heilsa, hālsa* '(good) health' in the borrowed sense 'redemption, eternal salvation' on the model of *salus (til ælifrar heilso = ad perpetuam salutem)* is attested relatively early, though not often, and WN has *heilsari*, EN *hālsare*. The principal word for *salvator* in

WN, however, is the exclusively WN word *græðari*. As *auxiliator*, *adiutor*, Christ is referred to as in other languages as EN *hiälpare*, WN *hjalpari*, *hjalpandi*, from the verb *hjalpa*, attested in a religious sense already in the Viking Period runic inscriptions but probably not borrowed; WN *fulltingjari* is rarer. The search for a specific donor language also remains moot in cases in which imitation of the Lat. form is likely (see 3.1.), e. g. the various similar translations of *omnipotens* or *tiund* = *decima*.

3.5. Because of their close genetic affinity and mutual contact, and because the written record is fragmentary and starts late, the languages of the northern Continent are best treated together as Cont. In the area of Christian vocabulary, for example, none of the much discussed Frisian loanwords have proved indisputable (Ahlsson 1987). The sparse skaldic fragments before the year 1000 only demonstrate contact with England. For the following fifty years, however, southern sources can be proved for some words in WN and in EN runic inscriptions and are likely for others. In 1032 Þórarinn loftunga, associated with the Danish court in England, used *kerti*, which is not attested in AS and Sw., *altári* (in AS usually *wigbed*, *wēofod*; the translator's word *alter* is not established until ME), and *klokka* (see 3.1.). The northern Continent is also the source of Sighvat's *páskar* (1016; Sw. already in the Old Västergötland law), a loanword that Cologne successfully asserted against AS *ēastron* (HG *Ostern*; see Frings 1966, 38; Müller-Frings 1968, 361 ff.). The concept of sin was expressed in both poetry and prose by numerous words for guilt and offense (*culpa*, *crimen*). The etymology of *synð*, *synd* is uncertain (see Walter 1976, 84 ff.), though it is probably linked with OSx. *sundea* (AS *sym*); first used (in the negative *syn-dalauss*) about St. Olaf, it is attested in EN runic inscriptions and later formed the base of numerous compounds and derivations. The old WN word *likn* took on first the Christian and secular sense 'reconciliation, forgiveness', then that of *gratia* in general, after the model of LG (*líkenen* 'reconcile, settle'); in EN it had only the sense 'image, form', perhaps also 'mercy' in runic *lík(n)hūs*. The ultimately HG word *náða* appeared early in the sense of *misereri* in EN runic inscriptions, but in WN only after 1250, and was popular in the Late Middle Ages; *fyrir-/forgefa*, on the other hand, attested in runic inscriptions and WN prose before 1250, can point to England (AS

forgefan in the borrowed sense of *ignoscere*); on *siäl* see 3.7. The first clearly southern word for a Church official is WN *páfi*, attested from the beginning of the 12th c. (OSx. *pāvos*, which lost its grecizing *-s* when assimilated to Nord. morphology); it is unclear whether Ari's designation *papar* for the Irish anchorites in Iceland reflects a Celtic word or the use of MLG *pāpe* for ordinary clergy, occasionally attested in late medieval Sweden (on the Cont. distribution see Müller-Frings 1968, 355 f.).

An increase in southern influence is evident in the surviving pre-1250 WN prose and even more strongly after 1250. The older layer includes the legal term *bann* in the sense of *excommunicatio* (Sw. distinguished further between *excommunicatio maior* and *minor* as *ban* and *forbudh*, WN *forboð*); *aflát* = *indulgentia*; *upnuming*, Sw. *uptakilse* = *assumptio*; *sönghús*, EN *sanghus* 'small church' and 'choir'. *Ölmusa*, Sw. *almosa* = *ele(i)mosyna* derives from OSx. *al(e)mosa* (see Müller-Frings 1968, 88 f.); Dan. has also *almisse* from LG, while in AS a learned form *alimosina* developed into *ælmesse* colloquially. In the later period of transmission, WN *ferma* = *confirmare* (MLG *vermen*) appears beside *biskopa* from AS, attested early in EN. Further examples of this layer are *lektari* = *lectorium* (MLG *lekter*); *líða* in the sense of *pati*; EN *vastelaven*, WN sporadically *föstulavent* (MLG *vastelavent*); *leikr*, *lēker* = *laicus* as opposed to the clergy: *lærðr sem leikr*. The more frequent use of Lat. terms, as well, may be due to southern influence.

In the EN area, LG influence on the religious vocabulary is much more extensive. While AS created *fulwian*, *fulwiht* for *baptizare*, *baptisma* (occasionally *dyppan*, *deppen* 'dip' = *tingere*, like *deypa*, *deyfa* in WN laws), WN alone (though in conformity with Church doctrine: *abluere crimina*) adopted the legal term *skíra* 'purify' and created *skírn* even before the year 1000. In the east, *döpa* (OSx. *dōpian*), *dōp* (OSx. *dōpi*), more commonly *dōpilsa* (OSx. *dōpisli*, LG *dōpsel*) predominate from the start. OSx. (*thie*) *hēlagon* (WN *helgir*) becomes *hālghon*, first in the plural (WN occasionally has *helgonamessa* from Sw.). Other exclusively EN loanwords are *nödhiälpare*, *kättare* (rarer *villoman* like WN *villumadr*: heresy as error), *míðhlare*, *máðhlidhning*, *predikostol* (MLG *predikstol*), *stift* for diocese (MLG *sticht* < *stift[e]*) beside *biskopsdöme* (like WN *biskupsdæmi* on the model of AS), names of feast days such as *hálgha líkama dagher*, *nyarsdagher*. Thanks to Birgitta's example, late medieval Sw. and, later, Dan.

texts are much richer in the vocabulary of mysticism. These terms usually reflect their Lat. sources directly, though some have older Cont. analogues or appear in translations of vernacular literature. The mystic texts translated in the west were generally intended more to educate and edify than to report personal experiences. West and east share the translation of *visio* as *sýn*, *revelatio* as *vitran* ('information', an archaism in EN), *contemplatio* as *upplitning*, and both seem independently to have translated *inspiratio* as *iblástr*, EN more frequently *inblasilse*. Exclusively WN are *leizla* 'vision' (*leiða i andarsýn*) and *birting* for *illuminatio*; EN has *opinbara* (only secular in WN), *opinbarilse*. *Meditari*, *contemplari* are expressed by reinterpreting native words or borrowing foreign ones such as *þánkia*, *hugha*, *skodha*, *betrakta*, for 'ecstasy' (*up*)*kippa*; the soul, not the Church, as *bruþ* of Christ. Following Church Lat. models, the west was more concerned with the allegorical interpretation of material phenomena (*merkja*, *tákna*, *jarteina* = *significare*) and with typology: *fyrirmerking*, (*fyrir*-)*mynd(an)* = *typus*, also *figúra* as a loanword, *fyrirmerkja*, *-greina*, *mynda* = *praefigurare*.

3.6. The Scandinavians were converted at a time when Christian terminology was already established in the other Germanic languages. Nonce formations are thus much rarer than in the tentative OHG experiments, for example, which first had to compete for survival. Yet despite the common bond of the Nordic linguistic community, the product of a shared heritage, parallel avenues of influence, and inter-Nordic exchange, special features do exist. The west was often freer and more independent in word formation and drew on its own legal and poetic traditions, e. g. in the numerous synonyms for 'sin' (such as *grand*, *glæpr*, and – shared with EN – *mein*, *sök*) and 'pride' (*ofbeldi*, *ofstopi*, [*of*]*metnaðr*, *dramb*). More attention has recently been paid to early southern influence, without, however, denying the importance of the AS mission (Halldór Halldórsson 1969 for WN, Hellberg 1986 for EN). Reliable statistics are not possible due to the high number of indeterminate cases, but estimates can be made. Thors identifies in his summary (628 ff.) the donor languages for the ca. 350 most important EN words: at least 56 per cent have Cont. sources, 20 per cent or so are from AS (including especially old and central words), less than 10 per cent from Lat., 14 per cent indeterminate. My recalculation

based on a corpus almost one-third larger and of somewhat different composition produced similar results, except that I judged the number of indeterminate cases to be somewhat higher and identified a correspondingly smaller quota of clear southern influence; even so, the latter still ran to over 50 per cent. The loanwords of the Old Västergötland law analysed by Ahldén (1945) include 28 religious terms; according to him, 6 are not identifiable with certainty, although they are probably LG, 1 is Lat. (*kapæ*), 12 Cont., and 9 AS/ME. In WN, I rate the quota of indeterminate cases very much higher; among the other categories, AS influence clearly outweighs that of the Continent.

3.7. Exclusively Nordic innovations are relatively rare (for WN see also 3.1., 3.5.). One class consists of native words that had been unique to the Nordic countries at the time of conversion and were then adapted to Christian usage. *Freista*, *fresta* took on the meaning of *tentare*, *sýkn* 'time in which litigation is permitted' became 'workday free of religious strictures', *jarteikn* 'mark' became 'miracle' (*signum*), also 'deeper meaning'; *anger* 'sorrow' in the sense of 'repentance' is exclusively EN. For *virtus*, EN had only *dygþ*, which was not used in WN until relatively late; WN attests more variation but primarily used *kraptr* for the various meanings of *virtus*, probably due to AS influence, alongside (*mann*)*kostr*, *dáð*, *dugnaðr* and other words (Tveitane 1968, 96 ff.). Another class consists of new formations, some destined for secular as well as religious usage. Unique to EN is *hughsvala* ('cool the mind'), *hughsvolare* = *consolare*, *paracletus*, where WN has *hugga*, *huggare*; unique to WN is *skur(ð)goð* for *sculptile* (cf. AS *græft*[*geweorc*], EN *skyrð* in the Pentateuch paraphrase influenced by WN). Common to all Nordic countries are WN *iðrask*, EN *idhra* 'repent', WN *iðran*, EN *íþroghe* (probably from *iðr* 'viscera'), *miskunn* for *indulgentia*, *misericordia*, also *compassio* (*miss* + **kunþi*, influenced by *ignoscere*) and *dymbildagar* 'quiet days before Easter' (bells were rung with wooden mallets). The Nordic countries are also at least relatively independent in their forms for the fundamental concepts *fides* in the sense of 'conviction' (beside *siðr*, see 2.1.) and *spiritus*. On the Continent and in England the Gmc word *galaubjan* 'become familiar', attested in Gothic, established itself in the sense of *credere*, as a substantive OSx. *gilōbo*, AS (*ge*)*lēafa*, beside OSx. *trūon* ('put

one's faith in', on the model of *fides*), *treuwa*, AS *trēowan*, *trēow*. Since *leyfa* 'praise' was unsuitable, the Scandinavians chose *trú*, *trúa* (*trúa á, í* after *credere in*; Ljungberg 1947, 151 ff., Thors 1957, 474 ff.), which remains unique to the Nordic countries today. On the Continent, the AS mission prevailed with (*hālig*) *gāst* (originally probably 'ecstasy') for *spiritus* (*sanctus*) over southern *ātum*. During the mission period in the Nordic countries, the word *andi* 'breath' – really more suitable – was chosen for all senses of *spiritus* except for 'wind'. Lat. *anima*, *animus* and *mens* (preferred in the Roman liturgy) as opposed to *corpus* were expressed by Nord. *önd*, the soul returning to God to be judged by him, also the thinking, feeling, and willing life-principle; a further word, *hugr*, the old term for 'mind' with emphasis on character, predominated in the Homily Books as in the Heliand. Before high scholasticism, these concepts were seldom distinguished precisely (Angenendt 1997, 257 ff.); *andi* and *and* are thus interchangeable, especially in the prayer formulas of the Viking Period runic inscriptions. Since the eternal soul is conceived of as distinct from the body, the conception of death shifts to a 'going over' or a 'breathing out of the soul' (*exspirare*, *animam ponere*). By the early 11th c., WN developed *andask*, later *láta önd* and *sálask* (cf. AS poetic *gāstgedal*, *gāstlēas*). The word 'soul', as well, unattested in the pre-Christian Nordic countries, was taken over already in the conversion period via the typical paths of influence: WN *sál* from AS *sāwol*, in 10th c. Man already *sāla* (more likely from the inflected form *sāwle* than OLG influence), EN usually *siala* from Cont. *seola*, *siala*, but on runestones in present-day Sweden and later in Dan. texts frequently *sāl(a)* and similar forms, Dan. and Sw. later also *sæl* from LG *sēle*.

4. Types of borrowing

The ways a language can express borrowed semantic content have been classified by Betz and Haugen, whose systems agree on all important points; this classification can be expanded or modified according to the type of language contact involved (see Schottmann 1977). In the semantic loan (loanshift extension, Lehnbedeutung), a native word takes on a new (nuance of) meaning: words for 'enemy' used for the *hostis antiquus*, *mildr* for *pious*, *upptimbran* for *aedificatio*. Loanwords (Lehnwörter) borrow both their meaning and their phonetic shape from the source language, but

are adapted in their phonetics and morphology to a varying extent: Sw. *biskuper*, *lektari* from MLG *lekter*, EN *orgha* from an incorrect analysis (suffixed article) of MLG *organ*. Borrowing often reduces the semantic range of the foreign word (see *bletsa*, 3.3.) or reinterprets it: *helviti* 'Hell' in contrast with pagan *hel*, AS and Cont. 'punishment of Hell'; *aldarfaðir* for the Old Testament patriarch from AS *eald-fæder* 'ancestor'. A transparent compound or derivation may be translated exactly in a loan translation (Lehnübersetzung) such as *consentire* appearing as *samþykkja*, or more freely in a loan rendering (Lehnübertragung) such as *aequitas* becoming *jafngirni*; since the distinction is not always clear-cut, I shall refer to both as loan formations (Lehnformung). A relatively rare type is the loan creation (Lehnschöpfung), which is based only vaguely on a formal model or not at all (examples in 3.6.). Some borrowings are merely experimental attempts at translation; many remain dialectal. On the other hand, foreign influence is not restricted to individual words: whole phrases could be translated (*göra iðran = poenitentiam facere*), and the so-called "florid" style used Lat. syntactic and rhetorical devices in its striving for an indigenous artistic prose.

If one tries to reconstruct the original contact phenomena from a relatively late and fragmentary textual record, the assignment of words to one of the types of the model summarized here proves in many cases to be uncertain. Formal correspondences can be coincidental, and the age of a word is often impossible to determine. Is *leiðrétta* a loan creation for *convertere* (Walter 1976, 117) which was later used in a more general sense, or is the religious usage a semantic loan? Is *algerr* a loan formation based on *perfectus*, or is its application to human beings and abstractions a semantic loan? Moreover, in the dynamic situation of direct contact between closely related languages, a loan translation cannot be clearly distinguished from the direct borrowing of a loanword. Sometimes it is advisable to assume the borrowing of a homonymous loanword or a loan translation instead of a semantic loan: *lidha* (a weak verb in WN) for *pati*, *standa saman* for *constare*. Allowing for the inevitable margin of error, it is possible to draw certain conclusions from the statistical distribution of the main types. In the oldest texts, the Viking Period runic inscriptions and skaldic poetry up to about 1150, semantic loans predominate with roughly half of all borrowings, while loan forma-

tions play only a minor role at about 10 per cent. In WN prose up to 1250, which faced the task of rendering abstractions, the proportion of loan formations rises to over one-third, and new semantic loans amount to just under 30 per cent. In the following period of the textual record, semantic loans drop to less than 10 per cent, since the Christianization of native vocabulary was more or less complete, while the proportion of loanwords rises above 50 per cent due to the rendering of specialized ecclesiastical terminology. The WN prose corpus as a whole shows little difference from Sw.: in the east the proportion of loanwords is slightly higher, at just under one-third, while loan formations are 7 per cent more numerous at just under 40 per cent. Comparative analysis of other Germanic languages shows that the proportion of semantic loans is generally much higher and that of loanwords correspondingly lower. This is because words that the Scandinavians borrowed from their Germanic neighbours directly as loanwords had already been assimilated to Gmc in these languages as loan formations or semantic loans.

5. Literature (a selection)

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46. Nordic language history and religion/ecclesiastical history III: Luther's Reformation

1. The context of the Reformation
2. Translations of the Bible in Denmark and Sweden
3. The language of the Bible translations – a comparison
4. Other religious literature in the initial phase
5. Later religious literature
6. Literature (a selection)

1. The context of the Reformation

As a result of the Reformation, the national languages in Scandinavia acquired a new and important functional domain when they were raised to the same high position in the religious sphere that they had previously enjoyed in the judicial and administrative spheres. Although monks and nuns had written some religious literature in their own vernacular, the language of worship in the Catholic Church was Latin, and the sanctioned translation of the Bible was the Latin Vulgate. A factor of great significance for the spread of the religious message was that the reformers were able to take advantage of the revolutionary aid afforded by the printing press, and religious texts were also to make up the majority of all the printed texts in the Nordic countries throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

Of particular importance were the translations of the Bible which were quickly produced and printed in Danish and Swedish. The monumental Bibles (the Swedish one in 1541, the Danish in 1550, and the Icelandic in 1584) crowned the extensive work of biblical translation which had been started in the 1520s by the representatives of the Reformation. The language in the complete Bibles (those containing both the Old and New Testament) was to serve as a national standard for a long time to come. Other religious literature – catechisms, collections of sermons, prayer books and other devotional manuals, hymn books, etc. – was published in the vernacular languages to make it easier for the clergy to hold divine service according to the new model, and particularly to spread the doctrine of the Reformation. A number of polemical writings for and against the Reformation were also spread, chiefly during the years immediately before and after 1530, which encompassed the real breakthrough of the Reformation.

1.1. Roots in humanism

The success of the Reformation was due in large part to the crucial influence of Erasmus of Rotterdam, the prime representative of humanism in Northern Europe. He applied his main criteria, "ad fontes" [back to the sources], not just to the works of the classical Greek writers but also to the Bible. His edition of the New Testament in 1516, with the Greek text and Latin translation, differed in several respects from the Vulgate, and therefore helped to shake the faith in the Catholic Church and the Pope. Erasmus himself was, however, a devoted Catholic and an opponent of Protestantism; for him humanism was scholarly philology, not religion. Erasmus was nevertheless in several respects a predecessor and a model for many of the reformers. He was a great popularizer. His Latin was a living and supple everyday language, and it has been said that he used the printed book as a modern columnist uses the newspaper.

Many of those who led the intellectual debate for and against the new Lutheran movement, above all in Denmark, had their roots in the Erasmian variant of humanism. From humanism and reformist Catholicism it was but a short step to Luther's teachings, in which the Bible, the original text, was ranked above the exegeses and ceremonies of later times. The popular approach and the conviction that ordinary people could understand the gospel if only it was preached in their own language was also fully in line with Erasmus' humanism. And just like Erasmus, the reformers made frequent use of the printing press to spread their message.

1.2. Channels of diffusion

New ideas and currents were mainly spread by the Nordic students who completed and pursued their studies at foreign universities. As regards humanism, the stimulus came mainly from the universities in Paris and Louvain. Several of the Danish biblical translators were among those who studied there. Christiern Pedersen, for example, matriculated from the University of Paris in 1508, while Hans Tausen and Christiern Vinter studied in Louvain, where Erasmus himself lived from 1517 to 1521. These Nordic schol-

ars all started with humanism and then moved on to Lutheranism.

For Nordic students, however, the most important channel for Luther's ideas was the German universities. As regards ideas and culture, Scandinavia had long had close ties to Germany. The most important place for contacts with the new religious currents was of course Luther's own Wittenberg, where the Swedish reformer Olaus Petri, for example, was studying in the very year when Luther nailed up his theses. It was a natural consequence that several students should be deeply affected by the new teachings and help to spread them on their return home. For Denmark, the geographical proximity to Germany also meant that the ideas from that source could be spread quickly and directly outside student circles as well. It is not surprising, then, that the new currents, both humanism and the Reformation, quickly gained followers among the young Nordic students who were at the very centre of events. What is surprising, on the other hand, is that Luther's doctrine, mainly passed on by enthusiastic young students, was able to threaten and in less than a decade break down the power of Catholicism and the papacy in the Nordic countries. A contributory factor here was the political situation.

1.3. The political situation

The 1520s was a crucial period for the development of political and religious life in the Nordic countries in the ensuing centuries. In political terms, the decade saw the break-up of the Kalmar Union of the three countries into a Swedish kingdom and a Danish-Norwegian kingdom. This encouraged national sentiment above all in Sweden, where it became of great importance to emphasize one's independence from the former Union partners, especially as regards language. The fact that they still carefully observed developments in each other's countries, despite the dissolution of the Union, is evident particularly from the contemporary religious debate. In Denmark the decade saw a divisive struggle for the throne, a contest in which religion also played a major part. King Christiern II, who was deposed as king of Sweden after the Stockholm Bloodbath, was also expelled from Denmark in 1523, to be succeeded by Frederik I. A long time was to pass, however, before Christiern II completely gave up hope of regaining his position in Denmark. In Sweden,

on the other hand, the newly elected Gustav Vasa sat securely on the throne with no serious rivals.

For the monarchs of both Denmark and Sweden it was clear at an early stage that the doctrine of the Reformation was an excellent aid in maintaining the rights of the nation state including those of its ruler. Thanks to the Reformation, the riches of the church and the monasteries would fall to the state, which was no longer subject to the power of the Pope. At the same time, the new doctrine suited the emerging middle class, with its rejection of conservative authorities and its democratic content: God's message should not be confined to the learned but should be given to everyone. There was a distinct difference here, however, between the situation in Denmark and that in Sweden. It was only in Denmark that the Reformation received powerful support from the middle class, whereas the supporters of the new doctrine in Sweden chiefly consisted of younger theologians educated in Germany and German citizens who had moved to Sweden.

King Christiern II had shown his sympathy for the Reformation early on, one example being his summoning of theologians from Wittenberg to Copenhagen. One of the charges that the rebels, among them four Catholic bishops, levelled against him was in fact his relationship with Luther's supporters. His successor, on ascending the throne, therefore had to pledge not to allow any heretic or Lutheran to preach against the Pope. Instead, many Lutheran supporters followed Christiern into exile, and a band of ardent Lutherans established itself around him. At home in Denmark, on the other hand, the Catholic clergy managed to win the backing of the Council of the Realm and the nobility for a general ban on importing not only Luther's own writings but also those of his supporters, and for a short period also a ban on translating the Bible into Danish.

It was not until 1526, however, that a real Lutheran party arose in Denmark. This happened in the circle around Hans Tausen, who was then successfully preaching the Lutheran doctrine in Viborg, a town which under his leadership was to be the centre of Danish Lutheranism for a few years. By 1529 the new doctrine had totally triumphed there, the mass was no longer given in Latin, monasteries and churches had been demolished, and the monks expelled. All this had been able to happen with the permission of King Frederik, who had al-

ready shown his sympathy for the Reformation at the diet of the nobles in 1527. In 1529 a training college for evangelical clergy was set up in Malmö, which thus replaced Viborg as the headquarters of the Danish Reformation. Finally, Lutheranism was officially recognized in 1536, and its external framework was established by the Church Ordinance of 1537, paradoxically written in Latin, but with an official Danish version in 1539. Whereas Denmark saw the emergence of widespread popular opinion in favour of Luther's doctrine, particularly among merchants and craftsmen, it did not attract the same support among the Swedish population. The introduction of the Reformation in Sweden, where Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae were the driving forces, took place faster and more quietly. When Gustav Vasa forced through the Reformation at the Diet of Västerås in 1527, it was mainly as a result of royal power politics.

2. Translations of the Bible in Denmark and Sweden

Full-scale work translating the Bible got under way quickly in both Denmark and Sweden. By far the most important thing for the Lutherans was to make the Bible available, primarily the New Testament, in Danish and Swedish. These texts were their most important instrument for spreading the new doctrine. The close bonds between the religious translation work and the prevailing political situation are particularly obvious from the fact that Danish became the ecclesiastical language in Norway, and both the Bible and other religious literature were available only in Danish and were printed in Denmark. Iceland, which also belonged to Denmark, nevertheless received its own translation, albeit not until 1584.

The following section presents, in chronological order, the earliest printed Nordic translations of the New Testament (into Danish in 1524 and 1529, into Swedish in 1526) and of the whole Bible (into Swedish in 1541 and into Danish in 1550).

2.1. *Thet Nøye testamenth paa danske*, 1524 (DNT24)

The first to translate the New Testament were the Danes from the circle of supporters around their banished king, who had obviously

ly nourished plans to initiate this work even before his exile. But the actual decision was not taken until his exile in Wittenberg, where Christiern was staying with a close friend of Luther's, and where he could experience at close hand how the citizens were seized by the new ideas. Since he saw the translation of the Bible as a way to regain the throne, it was important for him that the translation should appear as quickly as possible. It was printed in Wittenberg, but chiefly for political reasons the place of publication was stated as Leipzig. It was completed in August 1524, less than two years after Luther's first German translation, "the September Testament" of 1522. The men behind the translation were three of those who had accompanied the king into exile: Christiern Vinter, Hans Mikkelsen, and Henrik Smith. While Vinter based his part of the translation on Erasmus' text, using Luther's September edition in part, the reverse was the case for the two other translators. For them Luther was the main source, while Erasmus was used to a more limited extent (Molde 1950a).

From Wittenberg the new book was sent home to Denmark, where the reaction was one of indignation. Although the ban on translating the Bible into Danish had been rescinded, it was still forbidden to import heretical writings, and DNT24 could be viewed as such, since Mikkelsen had prefaced Paul's epistles with an open letter of his own, attacking the papacy and the opponents of King Christiern. The problem was solved by the removal of this leaf, which was distributed separately (see 4.1.).

The language of the translation attracted harsh criticism. The leading Danish advocate of the Catholic doctrine, Poul Helgesen (Paulus Helie), in his reply to Mikkelsen, described the language as neither German nor Danish and went on to write: "thet som effther Danscke maals natur oc ejjedom schulde staa fore, haffuer tw seth bag oc saa forwendt, ath thet er hwercken forstandelige athskild eller beqwemellige tilhobe kommet" [what should come first, in accordance with the nature and character of the Danish language, you have put last, and twisted it so much that it is neither comprehensibly separated nor suitably put together] (Helie 1932, 49). The criticism came not just from the opposition; even Lutherans agreed with it (cf. 2.3.). Another reason for the criticism of the language was that the three translators (one from Mors and two from Scania) wrote in their respective

dialects and according to their own orthographic patterns. As a result, the reader could encounter the same word in different forms, which was admittedly not uncommon in other contemporary texts. But although the language was not of the highest class and was not to influence later Bible translations, the new translation nevertheless meant a great deal. The target group was not the learned scholar but the common man. That the translators actually did reach this group is clear not least from Helgesen's letter, where we read:

Om tith breff en agtis aff een wforstandig almwe, som ere bryggere och bagere, smeder oc skredere, swdere oc remesnedere, bardscherre og badsthument, kødmangere och fiskekere, toldere och aagerkarle, prackere oc kremmere, oc anden saadan adill [even if your letter is esteemed by the foolish peasantry, who are brewers and bakers, blacksmiths and tailors, cobblers and belt-makers, barbers and bath-keepers, butchers and fishermen, customs men and farmers, salesmen and tradesmen, and other such nobility]. (Helie 1932, 115)

The work was probably printed in a relatively large edition, since quite a few copies survive today. Despite the great haste with which it was produced, the inconsistent orthography, and the "un-Danish" language, the translation was still a true pioneering work: the first printed Nordic translation of the entire New Testament.

2.2. *Thet Nyia Testamentit på Swensko*, 1526 (SNT26)

Whereas the Danish translation was done outside Denmark on the initiative of the exiled king and as part of a political power struggle, the corresponding work in Sweden was carried out entirely within the kingdom and with the full support of the reigning king. On the other hand, there is great uncertainty regarding who actually did the translation. On one point, however, history is completely clear. At the start of the summer of 1525, Archbishop Johannes Magnus sent a letter to the cathedral chapters and the most distinguished monasteries in which he announced that the king had commanded that the New Testament should be translated into Swedish, and the letter also contained a specification of the parts of the Bible that each recipient institution was to translate. The message was obviously received with mixed feelings. Bishop Brask of Linköping, for example, declared that other solutions should be sought, either tracing the transla-

tion that Saint Birgitta had initiated, or using the Danish translation of the gospels (apparently referring to Christiern Pedersen's *Jærtegnspostil* from 1515). The languages differed so little, he felt, that the Danish version could safely be used within the Swedish church. We have no information today as to how far the translation work actually progressed in the cathedral chapters.

In August 1526, however, a finished translation was presented in print: *Thet Nyia Testamentit på Swensko*. No translator is named, and there has been an at times intensive discussion of the direct responsibility for the translation and its exact distribution between different names (see the surveys in e.g. Lindqvist 1941; Ståhle 1970). The main candidates have been Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreæ. The latter was described by Johannes Magnus as "Christi Euangelii corruptor" in his *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Suenomque regibus*, written in exile. From the current state of research, it seems perfectly clear that Laurentius Andreæ was responsible for the Preface and Olaus Petri for the Gospel of St. John. There are very strong reasons for believing that several people were involved in the work of translation. Adell (1936) has claimed that the translation was actually done in the cathedral chapters and the monasteries and that only the final editing and marginal explanations were the work of the reformers. This theory would better explain Johannes Magnus' wrath and choice of words, and also why Olaus Petri, who served in the diocese of Strängnäs, wrote precisely the part of the Bible that was entrusted to the cathedral chapter in Strängnäs.

The General Preface, *Itt almennelighet förspråk*, explains the purpose of the translation. It says that it was done so that

fatighe eenfåldughe prester som fögo latina kunna/ och oförfarne äro j scriffenne/ och teslikes andra christna menniskior som j book läsa kunna/ mågha här åt minsto haffua enfallegha texten/ såsom han vthaff euangelisterna och apostlana scriffuen är [poor simple priests who know little Latin and are inexperienced in the scriptures/ and other similar Christian people who can read books/ may here at least have the plain text/ as it was written by the evangelists and apostles].

Just as in DNT24, the Preface also explains a number of words, the reason being that when the text was translated, there were not always equivalent words in Swedish to serve as suitable translations of the Latin and Greek words.

The Swedish translation was based on those of Erasmus and Luther (in that order), but there are also certain traces of the Vulgate and DNT24 (Sjögren 1949, 15f.). Naturally, the translators were also familiar with the religious literature produced in Vadstena Convent. In the spirit of Luther, the reformers wanted to achieve a popular language easily understood by the general public, while simultaneously being as close as possible to the original text. Contemporary language, especially in the towns, was greatly influenced by Low German, and this, together with the dependence on Luther's translation, meant that there were many Low German words in the translation, although the aim was a decidedly Swedish language. There appears to have been a greater ambition to avoid Danish rather than German influence.

By contemporary standards, the translation showed a surprising aspiration towards consistency in the external form of the language, although different parts employed a rather large number of variant spellings. The uniformity is greatest in the so-called "normal language" section, from Galatians onwards, and in the Preface. A striking new feature in SNT26 is the introduction of the letter type <å>, which was subsequently to persist in Swedish. The forms <ä> and <ö> were also used throughout (in the original variant with a diacritic <e>) instead of <æ> and <ø>. The unusual character of these letters is also evident from the note at the end of the errata, where we read:

Kan och henda ath flere stadz finnes förseedt warit besunnerligha medh the bokstaffuar å ä ö ath then ene står för then andra thz medh en ringa ting kan rettas. [It may also happen that in some places errors have been made, especially concerning the letters å ä ö so that one stands in the place of the other, which can easily be corrected].

The choice of these characters should probably be seen as a clear emphasis of Swedish nationality, establishing a distance from Danish. Another distinctively Swedish trait, just as in the language of Vadstena, is the use of spellings in *-a*, for instance in the infinitive form of verbs, even though forms in *-e*, as in Danish, were very common both in official written Swedish and in many dialects.

It was in orthography that SNT26 made its major contribution by returning to older patterns, chiefly the half-forgotten Vadstena orthography, and thereby halting tendencies towards dissolution. As regards syntax, however, the dependence on the Latin original is evident in the large number of un-Swedish participial constructions.

2.3. *Det Ny Testamente [...] paa reth Danske*, 1529 (DNT29)

In Christiern II's circle, work began at an early stage on a revision of DNT24, or rather a new translation. This was never completed, however, since another new translation, a one-man achievement, saw the light of day in August 1529. The man behind the work was Christiern Pedersen. He had been in Denmark when DNT24 appeared, and he could see for himself both how well the translation sold and how deficient it was in linguistic terms. He himself had produced a great deal of literature, such as the dictionary *Vocabularium ad usum Dacorum* in 1510 and the above-mentioned *Jærtegnspostil* in 1515. After being forced to leave Denmark, he fled to Christiern II, and the work must have been carried out nearby, although the ex-king himself did not mention it anywhere in his correspondence. No translator is named in the printed work, but particular phrasing in the Preface reveals that it was the author of the well-known *Jærtegnspostil* who had done the translation. In the second edition, which appeared just two years later, in 1531, it was clearly stated on the last page: "Her endis det Ny Testamente som er prentet i Andorp (oc rettet paa ny igen aff Christiern Pedersen som vaar Cannick i Lund)" [Here ends the New Testament which was printed in Antwerp (and newly corrected by Christiern Pedersen who was a canon in Lund)]. In the same year he also published his translation of the Psalms, *Dauidz psaltere*.

In his Preface, Christiern Pedersen expressed the hope that "hwer mand skall vel forstaa denne danske" [every man will easily understand this Danish], unlike the previous translation, which many could not understand (cf. Helgesen's criticism in 2.1.). His main source was the Vulgate, but he had also used the translations by Erasmus and Luther, and of course DNT24.

His language was strikingly modern, simple and uniform. Molde (1950b, 44) has described it as being a pure Danish that was rarely found in translations of the time. It was influenced by neither Latin nor German. The vocabulary was not particularly rich, but it was modern and without dialectal or archaizing features (cf. also Skautrup 1947, 216). Another characteristic was that he treated the basic text with more freedom than the other translators. He did follow the source text sentence by sentence, but he did not endeavour to follow it verbatim. Pedersen himself said in his preface

to the epistles of Paul: "Skulle ieg screffuit ord fra ord lige som det staar i latinen/ Da hagde der ingen dansk forstondet dansken rettelige." [If I had written word for word exactly what the Latin says, no Dane would have understood the Danish properly.]

Pedersen's work had enormous significance for the development of standard Danish. He has sometimes been called the founder of Danish literature, but Skautrup (1947, 176) considers that he can more rightly be called the founder of the Danish written standard. His orthography was not identical with what was to become the norm, but certainly formed its basis. It was the most consistently implemented orthography of the time, and it was spread both through his writings and those by other people which he revised and printed at the press that he operated in Malmö in the early 1530s. Several other important reformers, such as Hans Tausen and Peder Palladius, abandoned their older and relatively irregular orthography and adopted Pedersen's. This was also the orthography that was to be followed, with minor adjustments, in the translation of the whole Bible of 1550.

2.4. *Biblia, Thet är all then Helgha Scrifft, på Swensko, 1541 (SB41)*

While the Danes were the first to produce a printed version of the New Testament, the Swedes managed to print a translation of the whole Bible first. When SB41 left Richolff's presses in Uppsala, it was a work of tremendous significance for the history of the Swedish language. This Bible was to serve as the general linguistic standard for two centuries, and even longer as a standard for religious language. While it is true that the spelling of the translation was slightly modified in subsequent editions, no completely new translation appeared until 1917.

The leading force in the translation of the Bible was the Archbishop of Sweden, Laurentius Petri, although he had several assistants. These no doubt included his brother Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae, although their contribution at the final stage was limited by the trial at which they were both condemned to death; the penalty was, however, commuted to a fine. The main source was Luther's Bible of 1534, but other editions of his were also used. For the New Testament, SB41 was really only a revision of SNT26.

To a large extent, the translators continued along the lines drawn up in the "normal lan-

guage" section of SNT26. The orthography developed the same earlier model as SNT26, for example, with postvocalic <dh> and <gh> and the doubling of a vowel to mark length, but it went much further as regards consistency. In the inflection of words, SB41 was more archaic, often eliminating the more modern, colloquial forms used in SNT26. However, it was not always the older forms that were chosen in SB41, but those that best suited the inflectional system. Here too, then, the aspiration for uniformity is obvious. The vocabulary is often described as archaizing, although this is questioned by Sjögren (1949, 104f.), who thought that it should rather be described as conservative with support in contemporary living dialects. In several cases, however, as in SNT26, the language spoken in the capital was favoured, with German loanwords appearing at the expense of native equivalents, e. g. *begynna*, *förgäta*, and *ansikte* instead of *börja*, *glömma*, and *anlete* ['begin', 'forget', and 'face']. The main linguistic contribution concerned the syntax. Sentence structure was simplified by breaking up participial constructions taken from Latin; above all, there was a decline in the use of present participles that had been so numerous in SNT26. The aim was to achieve a natural Swedish word order, although German influence sometimes made itself felt in the placing of the finite verb at the end of subordinate clauses.

A characteristic feature of SB41 is that it uses all the devices of the language to achieve a solemn and dignified style. In his description of the language, Ståhle (1970, 35) says that it is not spoken language but a language suitable for being spoken, listened to, and remembered.

2.5. *Biblia/ Det er den gantske Hellige Scrifft/ vdsæt paa Danske, 1550 (DB50)*

After DNT29, besides Christiern Pedersen's translation of the Psalter in 1531, there also appeared a translation of the Pentateuch, produced by Hans Tausen in 1535. Skautrup (1947, 152) describes it as the distinctive early biblical translation, bold and powerful, popular and vivid. The vocabulary is rich, with only a few loanwords.

The entire Bible did not appear in Danish until 1550, and, like its counterpart in Sweden, it became the prime work in the language, setting the standard for a long time to come. The translation was officially the work of a five-

man commission led by Bishop Peder Palladius. In accordance with the king's express wish, Luther's Bible of 1545 was to be the model for the work of the commission. Christiern Pedersen, however, had already done a Danish translation of the Bible, which is mentioned in a written source in 1543. It is also clear from the accounts for DB50 that Pedersen received a certain sum "fore han wdschreff først bibellen" [because he first wrote out the Bible] (Skautrup 1947, 154). How close his version was to the final one cannot be determined today, since it is completely lost, but it probably served as the preliminary working material for the commission. Everything suggests, however, that Pedersen's translation underwent fairly significant changes when it was adjusted to conform with the Lutheran Bible of 1545, which was formerly considered to have been the only model (as e.g. by Skautrup 1947, 154). Molde (1949), however, has shown that DB50 deviates from it in several places, and that other sources were used instead (earlier Danish translations and SB41).

Since the German Bible was the main source, a relatively strong German influence could be expected in both the syntax and the lexicon, and there are indeed such cases, but DB50 is still surprisingly independent in its language. Part of the explanation for this may be that the Danish reformers had already created a Danish religious language in speech and writing which could also be used for the translation of the Old Testament. Mostly, however, it is almost certainly due to the influence of Pedersen's underlying text. Skautrup (1947, 210f. and 155f.) described DB50 as a homogeneous linguistic monument in every respect: orthographically, morphologically, lexically, and syntactically. It was the perfect expression of the printed standard chiefly created by Pedersen and already recognized as the norm. It was simple and uniform in orthography and decidedly Danish in its vocabulary, with only a few Germanisms and loanwords – and unlike SB41, it was completely without archaizing elements. It was a wholly contemporary language that was used.

3. The language of the Bible translations – a comparison

That the differences between the Nordic languages were still relatively small is suggested by Bishop Brask's proposal above that the Swedes should use the Danish gospel texts,

and by Laurentius Andreae's attempts to sell the remainder edition of SNT26 to Norway, and by the wording used by the Swedish Council of the Realm in a letter to its Danish counterpart in 1506: "wij ære alle eth twngomaal" [we are all one language] (Skautrup 1947, 36). During the Union, Danish had increasingly influenced Swedish and Norwegian, chiefly in the chanceries. It was not unusual to have Danish scribes in the Swedish chancery, and vice versa. The writings of the Reformation, however, prevented the continued decline in distinctive features of the separate languages, and religious reform may thus be said to have entailed linguistic reform as well.

The task of the Bible translators was complicated by two partly conflicting requirements: to render the text literally, and to create a language that was simple and comprehensible to the ordinary reader. The different translators tackled the task in different ways, partly depending on which of the two requirements they gave priority to, which source text they used, and which linguistic ideal they cherished. As we have seen, DNT24 did not manage to satisfy the requirement of comprehensible Danish, whereas Pedersen's DNT29 gave priority to this rather than to a literal rendering of the original text. The difference between DNT29 and DB50 can in a large part be explained by the different sources: the Latin Vulgate vs Luther's German Bible. There is a similar difference in the source texts used by SNT26 and SB41: Erasmus' Latin text and Luther's German. The difference in linguistic ideals between, on the one hand, SNT26 and SB41 and, on the other hand, DNT29 and DB50 is obvious. The Swedish translators chose to go back to the older linguistic pattern, aspiring to a solemn, almost literary and archaizing language, while the Danish translators (as a result of Pedersen's powerful influence) chose a simple and up-to-date language with no archaic features and without a particularly formal tone. On the other hand, there was no difference when it came to the endeavour to achieve consistency, chiefly in orthography, or to arrive at a pure national language.

A concrete illustration of differences and similarities between the various translations is provided by renderings of the first verse of Matthew 10 in each version.

DNT24: Oc samenkaldet tuoff siine discipeler/
gaff hand thennom macht/ emod vreene aand at
the skulle vdriffue thennom oc helbrede giøre
alhande syuge oc huer soet.

SNT26: Och kalladhe han sina tolf läryungar till sigh/ och gaff them mact offuer the fwla Andar/ at the skulle driffwa them vth/ och bota alla handa siwkdom/ och allahanda kranckheet.

DNT29: Ihesus kallede sine tolf Apostle til sig/ och gaff dem mact offuer diefflene/ ath de skulle vddriffue dem/ och gøre alle helbrede aff all sot och siugdomme.

SB41: Och han kalladhe sina tolf Läriungar til sigh/ och gaff them macht offuer the orena Andar/ at the skulle driffua them vth/ och bota allahanda siwkdom/ och allahanda kranckheet.

DB50: Oc hand kallede sine tolf Disciple til sig/ oc gaff dem mact offuer de wrene Aander/ At de skulde vddriffue dem/ oc helbrede allehonde Sot oc allehonde Siugdome.

[And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease.]

The differences are clearly very small. At some points only one translation differs from the others; sometimes the dividing line is not between countries but translations. The two versions that differ most in syntax are DNT24 and DNT29, but in completely different ways. DNT24 is unable to make Danish out of the underlying Latin participial construction, which remains intact at the start of the sentence in a way that serves as a good illustration of what the contemporary critics meant. DNT29, in contrast, is the freest translation, and even this brief passage clearly shows Pedersen's technique of not feeling bound to translate word by word (see 2.3.). He alone permitted himself, here as in many other places, to omit the introductory conjunction. The concluding phrase, *gøre alle helbrede aff all sot och siugdomme*, also differs in many ways from the other translations, which stick exactly to the underlying text. Pedersen put in a personal object *alle* and turned the direct object of the original into a prepositional phrase (*aff all sot och siugdomme*), in which he found it sufficient to have just one *all*. As regards SNT26, the archaic feature of inversion after an introductory conjunction may be noted: *Och kalladhe han*. Both SB41 and DB50 have the modern word order here.

There are certain variations in vocabulary, and they sometimes follow the national border: Danish *soet/sot* vs Swedish *kranckheet*, and Danish *helbrede giøre/gøre helbrede/helbrede* vs Swedish *bota*. Sometimes the differences are between different translations: the counterpart to *wreene aand* 'unclean spirits' in DNT24 is *orena Andar* in SB41 and *wrene Aander* in DB50, whereas SNT26 has *fwla An-*

dar; and here too DNT29 deviates the most by choosing to render the expression with a noun only: *diefflene* 'the devils'. DNT29 alone departs from the national pattern in using the word *Apostle* where DNT24 and DB50 have *discipeler/Disciple* and SNT26 and SB41 have *läryungar/läriungar*. Only DNT24 differs from all the others in using *syuge* as opposed to the others' *siwkdom/siugdomme/Siugdome*.

In morphology, the national boundaries stand out very clearly, since the Swedish biblical translators so explicitly avoided the Danish-inspired forms in *-e*, which were common in contemporary official texts and in some dialects, and instead chose forms in *-a* in keeping with the language of Vadstena (cf. Svensson 1981). This applies to the inflection both of verbs in the infinitive (Danish *vddriffue, giøre/gøre* vs Swedish *driffwa/driffua vth, bota*) and the preterite (Danish *kallede* vs Swedish *kalladhe*), and of adjectives (e.g. *wreene* vs *orena*). In several respects the Swedish translators, as we saw above, used more archaic paradigms. In DNT24 one may note the pronoun *thennom*, formed by analogy with *hannom*; this form was common in the 16th century but was totally eliminated from DNT29 and DB50.

The most striking orthographic feature is that DNT29 and DB50 chose initial <d> for pronouns, while both DNT24 and the Swedish translations SNT26 and SB41 preferred the older <th>: *de* vs *the*. Pedersen had already abandoned spellings with <th> in 1515, and it was obviously entirely due to him that the new model caught on so quickly in writing and was further reinforced by DB50. However, the Danish chancery stuck to the older <th> for the remainder of the century. In Sweden the situation was the reverse. Thanks to the Bible translations, <th> became an orthographic norm associated above all with religious language; it was still used in the 1703 Bible, and it was not generally questioned until the early 18th century. In the chancery, however, spellings with <d> were introduced as early as the 16th century (Zheltukhin 1996). Whereas in Denmark the orthography of the Bible was modern and the chancery spelling was conservative, in Sweden the Bible was conservative and the chancery modern in orthographic terms. This clearly illustrates how differently the two Nordic Bibles related to contemporary language. In other respects too, DNT24, SNT26, and SB41 represent an older orthographic tradition in opposition to DNT29 and DB50.

The sample sentence quoted above does not show what is perhaps the most striking

graphic difference between the Swedish and the Danish translations, namely between the ⟨å⟩, ⟨ä⟩, ⟨ö⟩ of the Swedish translations and the Danish counterparts ⟨aa⟩, ⟨æ⟩, ⟨ø⟩ (cf. 2.2.). In this respect it was the Danish translations and not the Swedish ones that followed the older tradition.

To sum up, it may be said that DNT29 and DB50 presented a shorter, simpler, and even by Danish standards much more modern orthography than DNT24 and SNT26 and SB41.

4. Other religious literature in the initial phase

Since copies of the Bible were expensive and few in number, they did not reach beyond the churches and never became the literature of the people. It was instead via other religious literature and sermons that the public encountered the message of the Bible in its new indigenous linguistic form. The initial phase of the Reformation was characterized by frantic activity in translating and writing, above all in Denmark, where several people from different parts of the country were actively involved, but also in Sweden, where Olaus Petri was the sole but highly productive central figure. Naturally, Luther was the main model, and it was chiefly his writings that were translated and/or adapted in more or less free form: Luther's catechisms, collections of sermons, prayer books, and so on. Some newly written works – albeit wholly in Luther's spirit – were also created in the Nordic countries, along with translations of other Lutheran writings. Some were quite simply necessary aids for the clergy, such as handbooks for conducting the divine service, while others were works of pure instruction, argument, and explanation aimed at the general public. Topical issues included the Eucharist, matrimony, the monastic system, and the mass. An example is Olaus Petri's *Orsack hwar före Messan böör wara på thet tungomåål som then menighe man forston-delighit är* [The reason why the mass should be in the language that is comprehensible to the common man] from 1531, a short piece which has been called the declaration of independence for the Swedish language. Quite a few highly polemical works were also issued in defence of the Lutheran doctrine and attacking Catholicism and its representatives. It may be said that during the transition period there was a war for people's souls, a propa-

ganda struggle waged with pamphlets and counter-pamphlets. For the Lutherans, religious issues did not just concern the learned; they went to the trouble of explaining them to the general public in the simplest and most popular terms.

The texts of the transition period show a great diversity of individual writing patterns, which may exemplify the variety that prevailed before the coming of the biblical standard. Only a few samples of the other religious Reformation literature can be given here, selected mainly to show inter-Nordic contacts. First we present some of the polemical writings that were exchanged (4.1.), followed by examples of inter-Nordic translations (4.2.).

4.1. Polemical writings

In Denmark the years 1526–36 witnessed violent controversy with strong political undertones between Lutherans and Catholics. Matters of faith were linked to other issues, such as Christiern II's claim to be restored to the Danish throne. This polemical literature constituted the first great Danish debate in writing, a battle over outlooks on life, waged directly with the contemporary political development and it left deeper marks than any later dispute (Friis 1945, 255). The debate was carried on partly through open letters which were frequently of considerable length, often existing first in transcripts and then in printed form. It is particularly interesting that this debate was also waged across the new Danish-Swedish border. The main opponent of the Lutherans was the Danish reformist Catholic Poul Helgesen. The argument between him and the reformer Hans Tausen of Viborg was, according to Friis (1945, 253), the most bitter and dramatic in Danish disputational literature. In Sweden it was Olaus Petri who was Helgesen's main combatant. As contributions to the debate about burning issues of religion and politics, these letters differed in tone and vocabulary from other Reformation texts, with violent personal attacks and numerous abusive words. Here too, of course, the model was Luther and his polemical writings. Each side was anxious to meet the opponent's arguments point by point and in a way that was truly accessible to the common man.

The first move was in the letter Hans Mikkelsen inserted into DNT24, where he attacked the men of the Catholic church, calling them false prophets and teachers who mocked God and deceived people. The adjectives used

were “wanuittige/ forblindede oc forstockede” [insane, blinded, and hidebound]. The Catholic reply did not come until 1527, through Helgesen (Helie 1932). The tone was set in the very title page: the pamphlet was a response to “thet ketterlige wcristelige och wbesindige breff, som then wbesckemmede kettere” [the heretical unchristian and thoughtless letter which the shameless heretic] Hans Mikkelsen of Malmö had printed. Helgesen's purpose is manifest. He declared that he wrote his reply so that Mikkelsen would not have the opportunity to mislead any more people, especially not “then simpel menige mandt her wdi riget” [the simple common man in this kingdom] with his “forgifftighe oc bedrægellige raad” [poisonous and deceitful advice]. Helgesen addressed Mikkelsen as “tw arme mandt” [you poor man], “thijn stymper” [you mutilator], “thijn fule kettere” [you foul heretic], and “thijn mørcke oc gamble graa kettere” [you dark and old grey heretic]. He compared him to “then hwn dt ther kand gøø och icke bijde” [the dog that can bark and not bite] and said that Mikkelsen did not consider anyone wise unless he had either been in exile or studied at Wittenberg. On his critique of the language, see 2.1. In his reply, he followed Mikkelsen's account precisely, challenging him on point after point. He also devoted a great deal of space to the purely political issue, Christiern's right to return to Denmark and his prospects of doing so.

The same technique was used by Petri in 1527 in his reply to another letter by Helgesen which has not survived, but which can be partially reconstructed from Petri's reply. In Petri's letter the tone is likewise set in the title: *Swar uppå itt ochristelighit sendebreff som en lögnactigh Munck hetandes Paulus Helie| hafuer vthgåå latit emoot thz helga Euangelium som nyo (aff gudz nådhe) är i liwset kommet* [Reply to an unchristian letter that a lying monk by the name of Paulus Helie has issued against the Holy Gospel which has (by God's grace) come into the light again] (Petri 1914, 151). The Devil, he declares by way of introduction, has now aroused a false and lying prophet in Denmark, Paulus Helie, who has sent a lying and blasphemous letter to the knight Tyghe Krabbe. He did not doubt that there were many learned men in Denmark who could respond to the letter, but he also wanted to do so on behalf of Sweden, since this opponent of the gospel was distributing the same letter in Sweden and could perhaps seduce some people with it. Some examples from

Petri's letter: “tw liuger j thin eghin hals” [you are lying in your own throat], “jach wil sättie tich annat för näsene Paule” [I will put something else before your nose, Paule], “en oförskämelig och odygdig ande” [a shameless and sinful spirit]. He also appealed directly to the reader: “Ther före (Christelige läsare) sätt tw ingen troo til sådane lögner” [Therefore (Christian reader) put no faith in such lies].

The Danish Catholic Helgesen and the Swedish Lutheran Petri also fought a bitter struggle in 1527–28 about basic matters of belief. It started with the questions that Gustav Vasa had sent out prior to the Diet of 1527. Responses were submitted by the leading representative of the old doctrine, Peder Galle, and by Petri. The latter subsequently had his and Galle's replies edited and published in 1527 (Petri 1914, 223 f.), after they had first circulated as transcripts. These replies also became known in Denmark, and Helgesen wrote a letter in reply, addressed to Gustav Vasa but never delivered to him. A transcript of this reached Petri, who in a new letter of 1528 faced Helgesen directly: *Jtt fögho sendebreff til Paulum Helie* [A little letter to Paulus Helie] (Petri 1914, 331 f.). In the same year, Helgesen had his reply printed, now in an expanded version (Helie 1932).

The latter examples show that polemical initiatives which crossed the national border were taken from both sides, and that letters from both parties circulated not just at home but also in the neighbouring country. They also show that transcripts and printed versions often went hand in hand, so that the different contributions first circulated in manuscript form and were then printed, sometimes with additions.

4.2. Inter-Nordic translations

Although the vast majority of the translations were made directly from German, there are also some cases of the neighbouring Nordic language being used as an intermediary. An example of this is Peder Borgsmed's *En liidhen Indgangh vj schriften* [A little introduction to the scriptures], which today survives only in the second edition from 1530. The title page declares that the work was first translated from German into Swedish by “mester Oluff pssen Secreterer vj stockholme Ther effther aff swenske paa danske Oc nw tridie gangh forlenghedt oc förøgth” [master Olaus Petri secretary in Stockholm, then from Swedish to Danish and now for the third time extended

and expanded]. Petri's source was a Low German version of a German work written by Johannes Toltz. Petri's translation, with the title *En liten ingong i then helga scrifft* (Petri 1915) appeared in 1529. That same year, the first Danish edition was printed in Malmö, while the second was printed in Viborg the following year. This shows how quickly works were spread. The additions that Borgsmed made to the second edition included many quotations from and references to the Bible, and many vehement polemical attacks, which meant that what was originally a purely instructive text also took on the character of an assault on Catholicism. The following quotation from Petri's (1) and Borgsmed's (2) versions shows how the two translations are related in purely linguistic terms, and how Borgsmed expanded the text with his own polemical additions (italicized here for clarity):

(1) Antichrister, falska propheter, och predicare och diäffwulens tjänare äre alle the som gudz ordh, then helga scrifft förfalska, läggiandes ther noghot til, eller taghendes ther noghot aff, och ey bliffwa widh then retta scrifftennes mening, och wilia doch at thet the såå lära och så föregiffua, skal hallas lijka widh gudz bodh. (Petri 1915, 382f.)

(2) Antichrister/ falsche Prophether/ falske predickere oc dieffuelsens tieneræ/ ære alle the som gudtz oerdt/ then hillighe scrifft forfalske/ leggendhes ther noghz til/ eller taghendes ther noghz fraa/ Oc ey bliffue wedt then redthe scrifftthens mening/ Oc wille tog ath thz the ssaa lære oc forgiiffue schal holles liighe wedt gudtz budt: *sodane ære nw alle Papister oc phariseer som seg kaller moncke/ huilke mz menniske glosser forwendhe gudz sandhe ordt for theres eghen bugfyller [...]* (Fem reformationsskrifter 1987, T 118).

[Antichrists, false prophets, false preachers, and the Devil's servants are all those who falsify the Word of God, the Holy Scriptures, adding something to it, or taking something away from it, and do not stick to the true meaning of the scriptures, and nevertheless want what they thus teach and allege to be equated with God's commandments: *such are all Papists and Pharisees who call themselves monks, who with human glosses twist God's true word to fill their own bellies.*]

Borgsmed, as can be seen, followed his source word for word, with the language being only superficially Danicized in the morphology and orthography. The Swedish ending *-a* in verbs and adjectives is replaced throughout with

Danish *-e*. In his spelling Borgsmed, just like other early Reformation writers, was wholly uninfluenced by Pedersen's model. It may be noted, for example, that he used initial <th> throughout for pronouns. In syntax, the translation was a direct transfer. Even participial constructions were taken directly from the Swedish: *läggjandes* and *taghendes* became *leggendhes* and *taghendes*. Despite this, his own additions were not in stark linguistic contrast to the preceding text. The difference was rather in the style.

Early hymn composition likewise displayed a certain degree of inter-Nordic influence. In 1529 Claus Mortensen, in his enlarged hymn book, included four of Petri's Swedish hymns in Danish translation. Three of them are expressly stated to come from "thet Swenske exemplar" and the fourth was from the special collection that Arvid Pedersen had contributed (Malling 1967, 321f.). Here too the Danish translation was very close to the Swedish text, which may be illustrated by the introductory lines in the following hymn, written by Petri and translated by Arvid Pedersen. The quotation from Petri's version (1) comes from the fragment of a hymn book from 1530, while Arvid Pedersen's (2) is from the *Malmösalmebogen* of 1533, issued by Christiern Pedersen, who simultaneously adjusted the spelling.

(1) O Fadher wår barmhertigh och godh/ som oss wille til tich kalla/ och stenkia oss medh Christi bloodh/ som bortagher synder alla/ (Petri 1915, 563).

(2) O fader vor/ barmhiertig oc god som oss ville til dig kalle/ oc stencke oss met Christi blod/ som bortager synder alle (*Malmösalmebogen* 1533, XLVII).

[O our merciful and good father/ who would call us to you/ and spatter us with Christ's blood/ which takes away all sins].

There are also several examples of translation in the opposite direction. For instance, Arvid Pedersen's *Al then gantzke Christenhed* [The whole of Christendom] from 1529 is translated from the Danish in the 1586 Swedish hymn book: *All then ganske Christenheet* (Liedgren 1926, 207). There were obvious risks of mistranslations, since the languages were very similar. One such mistake is discussed by Liedgren (1926, 161), although he has to resort to guessing in order to explain it. It concerns the third verse from a paraphrase of Luther *Medh glädhe och fridh faar iag nw hän* [With joy and peace I now depart] in the second

supplement to the Swedish hymn book in 1572, which by all appearances was also included in the hymn book of 1549. It is a translation from the Danish *Met glæde oc fred far ieg nu hen*. Liedgren cites a Danish version which he says is from 1533: "thit dyre oc helliche ord, som synder og nør fast klinger" [thy precious and holy word firmly resounds south and north], and the Danish version from 1553: "som synder oc nør kundgøris" [which is proclaimed south and north]. The Swedish version of 1572 runs: "som synder och nød kundgöra" [which proclaims sins and misery]. Liedgren assumes that a lost intermediate version caused the Swedish mistranslation. The *Malmö-salmebogen* of 1533, on page XLVII, has precisely this missing link assumed by Liedgren: "som synder och nør kundgøris" [which is proclaimed south and north].

5. Later religious literature

Once the Reformation was secured and the basic writings were available in the national language, the work of producing religious writings entered a calmer phase. The text of the Bible was subject to only minor adjustments in subsequent editions. The greatest departure was seen in the Resen's Danish Bible of 1607, which like its successor, Svaning's Bible of 1647, was printed in octavo, and in which certain wordings were altered and mistranslations from the original were corrected. According to Skautrup (1947, 287), however, there are no grounds to assume that these led to a completely new text of the Bible; rather, it was a revision. The older Danish text underwent very small adjustments in the church Bibles that appeared in new editions in folio format in 1587 and 1633. It was also printed in octavo in 1670. The Swedish Bible did not appear in an authorized revised version until 1618, the only one published in that century; it was not replaced by a new revised edition until 1703, the Bible of King Karl XII. In Sweden, the language was likewise retained virtually unchanged; the alterations were confined to orthography and morphology. Certain systematic orthographic modifications could nevertheless occur when printers composed new editions of the existing version of the Bible (Santesson 1988).

In smaller works, prayer books, and devotional manuals, there was a general endeavour to follow the standard established by the earliest Reformation Bibles. There were certain exceptions, however, such as Mårten Helsing's

Swedish prayer book, which contains large differences between the 1567 and 1577 editions as regards both orthography and morphology. Above all, in 1567 the ending *-e* was often used in verbs and adjectives, whereas in 1577 it was replaced by the *-a* of the Bible, presumably instigated by the printers (Svensson 1981, 135; Santesson 1997, 140).

German influence, which was already substantial in the initial phase of the Reformation, continued throughout the Early Modern Swedish period and even grew in the 17th century. The many translations of prayer books and devotional manuals (Estborn 1929) were important contributory factors in this. In her study of literature in Swedish translation in the 17th century, Hansson (1982) has shown that about 70 per cent of all translations were spiritual texts. The majority of these were general edifying works and prayer books. The original or intermediary language was overwhelmingly German. It is, of course, not surprising that people turned to the homeland of the Reformation, where they could be sure that the content was pure orthodoxy. Several of the translated religious works also attained great popularity. Hansson (1982, 313) lists the 16 works that appeared in the largest number of editions in Sweden in the 17th century, and of these, ten are books of spiritual edification. Kegelius' *Tolf andelige betrachtelser* [Twelve spiritual meditations] and Neumann's *Kärna uthaf alla böner* [Core of all prayers] appeared in 13 editions each, closely followed by Förtsch's *Een andeligh wattukälla* [A spiritual well] in 12, while Arndt's *Paradijs lustgård* [The garden of paradise] reached only nine editions.

Since 75 per cent of the Swedish translators were responsible for only one work each, it may be expected that they were particularly linguistically dependent on their originals. An example of this is Andreas Petri Amnelius, who in the 1680s translated a devotional manual by Johann Qvirsfeldt. Like many other devotional books, it contained a large number of unlabelled biblical texts incorporated in the running text. Amnelius translated these direct from his source, who in turn followed the wording of Luther. This gives us an excellent opportunity to compare Amnelius' version of the biblical passages with those in the Swedish Bible. The comparison clearly shows that Amnelius stuck much more closely to Luther's Bible than the Swedish biblical translators had done, above all in the syntax but also in the lexicon (Santesson 1991). Through several

translations of this kind, Nordic devotional literature became more influenced by the German language in the 17th century than earlier.

6. Literature (a selection)

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47. Nordic language history and religion/ecclesiastical history IV: From Pietism to the present

1. Recent Nordic religious literature: a survey
2. Bible translation and Bible reading
3. Church hymnbooks
4. Other religious literature
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Recent Nordic religious history:
a survey

From the 18th century onwards, the religious life in the Nordic countries has been subjected to profound changes due to several modernising processes. On the one hand, Pietism and

revivals have contributed to a renewal of traditional Christian beliefs; on the other hand, the growing secularisation of culture and society has led to religion losing its central role in public life and becoming concentrated around private life and various types of organisations within the established church. Until the middle of the 20th century, the religious situation in the North could be characterised as being almost totally dominated by the Lutheran state church, whereas its development especially during the second half of this century shows a clear tendency towards greater

cultural plurality, where not only a secular humanism of the classic Western type has strengthened its position, but also alternative forms of religion allow for real choice, to an extent hitherto unknown. These include, in part, a broad stream of new religious movements, as well as a greater representation of traditional non-Christian religions, mainly of Islam.

1.1. The first half of the 18th century saw the breakthrough of Pietism in the Nordic countries. Pietism came from the South, from Germany, and manifested itself through the more conservative traditions inspired by P.J. Spener and A.H. Francke, through the Moravian Brethren and through various radical Pietistic movements. Many of the new forms of religious expression, especially the Moravian and the radical Pietistic, met with the scepticism and resistance of the clerical leaders. Both in Sweden-Finland (1726) and in Denmark-Norway (1741), the authorities tried to gain control over these movements by introducing laws which set certain limits on private assemblies. But at the same time Pietism in its more disciplined form, as developed by Francke in Halle, gained a large amount of power in society. It reached its strongest political influence in Denmark-Norway under the reign of Christian VI (1730–46). Like several of his counsellors, this king was moved by the new ideal of piety and introduced a number of decrees and reforms in the spirit of Pietism. The two most important for language history were the introduction of compulsory confirmation (1736) and the law on public schools for rural districts (1739).

The interest and engagement of Pietism in schools and education was largely religiously motivated. Lessons were expected to convey a fundamental knowledge of Christianity and thereby lay the basis for the church's confirmation instruction. Pietism also introduced new ideals to teaching methods: Pupils were not only to learn the most important religious passages by heart, but also to improve their reading abilities; they were to be capable of reading their catechism and Bible history on their own, gaining their own personal understanding of the subject. By encouraging the use and teaching of their mother tongue, the Pietistic education program contributed to strengthening the position of the national written language in relation to Latin.

The Pietistic revivals during the first half of the 18th century first had an impact in towns

and among the nobility. Gradually, the new spirituality also established roots in larger circles of the population. This development was aided by the rules for confirmation and the new school policy, as well as the spreading of songbooks, books of homilies and other devotional literature. Thus 18th century Pietism contributed to the shaping and spreading of a modern type of Christianity with less emphasis on baptism and traditional church affiliation than on conversion and a personal experience of faith, on moral conduct and on the community of the true believers.

1.2. In most of the Nordic countries with the exception of Iceland this Pietistic ferment was reinforced by a series of revivals in the post-Pietistic period. The great revivals of the 19th century made a particularly forceful impact when dynamic preachers launched country-wide movements (Denmark: J. V. Beck; Finland: P. Ruotsalainen; Norway: H. N. Hauge; Sweden: C.O. Rosenius, P.P. Waldenström). Strong lay activity grew out of their initiative and became organised as national societies for foreign and home missions. A wider public was reached by means of their magazines and by agents (*bibelbud*) distributing devotional books. Another indication of the importance the "awakened" placed on ardent studies of the Bible and other religious literature is found in the term *läsare* which was in use in Sweden as early as the middle of the 18th century.

A characteristic trait of Christian life in the North is the fact that most of the groups gripped by these great revivals maintained their position within the established church. Their relations to the ordained clergy and the ecclesiastical authorities have sometimes been rather strained, though, as the "awakened" have been sceptical about traditional routine Christianity as well as various forms of liberal theology. They have often wished to present themselves as the true "people of God" and held the major part of their activities in their own meeting houses (*bedehus/bönehus*), limiting their participation in church services to *rites of passage* such as baptism, wedding or funeral. Nevertheless, this tension represents only one side of the picture; just as often, clergy and lay people developed fruitful cooperation, especially when the minister himself stood close to revivalism, or at least sympathized with those ideals.

One pietistic-puritan revival which kept its distance from the established church was the one led by the northern Swedish minister L.

L. Læstadius in the 1840s and 50s. It spread all over the northern areas, especially within the Sami part of the population. In the movement's early phase, ecstatic scenes were relatively frequent, and the term "criers" (*ropare/ropere*), which already was known from earlier revivals, was used for the converts. The Læstadian revival, which later split into divergent factions, combined a conservative Lutheran attitude with a severe and sober lifestyle. Læstadianism still plays an important role as a religious force in the northern regions of Sweden, Norway and Finland.

1.3. In the second part of the 18th century, Pietism began to be challenged even in the North by theological trends following more or less the trends of the Enlightenment and seeking to establish Christian beliefs based on pure reason, or at least a well-balanced synthesis of belief and rationality. Several clergymen representing this type of Christianity contributed greatly to popular education, for instance by instructing farmers in the use of new farming methods and products. As a religious force, though, this Enlightenment theology had limited importance, since it demanded a certain degree of philosophical and literary education and therefore could not reach a large part of the population.

It was not until the second half of the 19th century that traditional forms of belief and thought began to be seriously defied, and the church encountered severe criticism, at the same time as industrialisation and urbanisation brought about profound changes to traditional community life and social patterns. Dramas and novels in the spirit of realism and naturalism were the means important authors chose to bring current problems up as a topic for debate. Many prominent cultural personalities and politicians emerged as free-thinkers, promoting liberal ideas and moral autonomy. At this point, the church, still supporting traditional authoritarian structures, was seriously challenged by evolutionism, which was inspired by natural science, and by several types of critical liberation programs (parliamentary government, socialism, women's liberation). A good illustration of this cultural change is found in the great Norwegian poet B. Bjørnson's development: In his early writings, he aimed at a synthesis of the Christian and the national heritage in the spirit of Grundtvig (cf. 1.4.), but later he acted as an enthusiastic spokesman for Darwinism and its criticism of the church.

1.4. After 1800, the ecclesiastical landscape of the North included low-church revivalist traditions as well as various forms of secularism and distinguished itself as a comprehensive national church incorporating various – even contradictory – theological programs and factions. From a historical point of view, it is worth mentioning the Romantic trends which reached the North at the beginning of the 19th century; their new appreciation of both the common European and their own national history contributed to a renaissance of high-church spirituality. Special attention should also be given to the theology of the Danish poet and clergyman N.F.S. Grundtvig (cf. 3.1.), combining central motifs of the Early Church, the Reformation and Old Nordic heritage. Not only in Denmark, but also in Norway, Grundtvigianism stood out as an influential wing of the church and in society for a long time. Through a large number of 'folk high schools' (*folkehøjskoler*), it has fostered a liberal and broad-minded type of Christianity (see art. 55).

1.5. After the Reformation in the 16th century, Lutheran Christianity was the official form of religion for all the Nordic countries and also the only one permitted. Christians belonging to other denominations had very limited possibilities to practice their religion in these countries (e.g. some Calvinists in the Danish "free city" Fredericia and small groups of Orthodox Christians in the East Finnish district Karelen and the easternmost part of the Norwegian district Finnmark). Laws guaranteeing freedom of religion were only introduced from the middle of the 19th century. Since then the Roman Catholic church and also several Protestant free churches have established their own congregations, mainly in the towns. In Norway and Sweden, the Pentecostal movement, brought over from America in 1907, soon became the largest free-church community. However, in recent years the growth in immigration from other parts of the world has led to a marked increase of Roman Catholics as well as Orthodox and Oriental Christians.

Even before the introduction of general freedom of religion, some Jews were allowed to settle in Denmark, Sweden and Finland for reasons of economic policy. Finland also inherited a small Islamic minority from their time under Russian control (1809–1917). Apart from this, it was not until the last quarter of the 20th century that the Nordic coun-

tries were exposed to a noticeable influx of immigrants with non-Christian, mainly Islamic, backgrounds. On the threshold of the 21st century, one can still maintain that the Nordic countries to a large extent form a cultural and religious unity, yet this traditional unity is increasingly challenged by cultural pluralism. A characteristic example of this can be found in Sweden, where the state church system was abolished in the year 2000.

2. Bible translation and Bible reading

In Protestant Christendom, the Bible plays an essential role as the source for Christian knowledge and the norm for Christian faith and theology. Therefore it also has a central position in the post-Reformation religious life of the North, a position which was reinforced by Pietism. Due to the influence Pietism had on school and confirmation laws, reading proficiency increased generally at the same time as frequent revivals made many people interested in reading the Bible themselves. Cheaper and more convenient editions of the Bible became common, so that nothing could prevent it becoming a widely read book. Sermons and other preaching, hymnbooks and various forms of devotional literature were further means for biblical language to penetrate deep into the consciousness of the people. Over the course of time, it has left many traces in both the literary and spoken language. A long list of biblical words and phrases – often in a more or less archaic form – have found new areas of use, independent of their original context. Many of these phrases have become such a natural part of the country's cultural heritage that a modern citizen often no longer is conscious of their biblical origin and meaning.

The importance Protestantism placed on using and reading the Bible not only during the divine services but also in the daily life of the faithful has made translating the Bible a constant challenge. Keeping pace with the development of language, all the Nordic countries have more or less continuously been working on translations of the Bible, especially after the establishment of national Bible societies in the early 19th century (Finland 1812, Denmark 1814, Iceland and Sweden 1815, Norway 1816). In the following survey of the history of Bible translation in the North after 1700, there will, however, only be limited possibilities to consider the language of the various editions in detail.

2.1. In addition to the authorized edition of the Bible from the era of the Reformation (1550: *Christian III's Bible*; third revised edition 1633: *Christian IV's Bible*), Denmark received a new translation in the 17th century (1607). This translation was more in accordance with the orthodox understanding of the Bible that prevailed at the Copenhagen theological faculty at that time. In this new edition, loyalty to the original text predominated over considerations regarding the Danish language. This text by H. P. Resen was carefully revised by H. Svane in 1647 (= the *Resen-Svane Bible*), and in the course of the 18th century it reached a more or less official status, even though the old Reformation Bible still was in use.

Due to its loyalty to the original text and somewhat heavy Danish language, people did not find the *Resen-Svane Bible* easy to understand. Some changes were made at the time of Pietism (1732, 1737), but an attempt at making a completely new translation of the Bible failed. It was only after the Danish Bible Society was founded that official revised versions of the New Testament (1819), and – much later – of the Old Testament (1871) were carried out. But this was also a relatively careful revision; the changes were restricted mainly to adjustments in orthography and morphology, and a certain modernisation of the vocabulary. On the whole, the text kept its old-fashioned, solemn language.

A number of private initiatives for a completely new translation show that the distance between the language of the Bible and contemporary Danish was strongly felt. As early as the period of Enlightenment, two editions of the New Testament were published: one by a prominent preacher at the court, C. Bastholm (1780), clearly influenced by the author's rationalism; the other by the statesman O. H. Guldberg (1794), who had found in "the spoken language of cultured people" a golden mean between a solemn, poetic style and the language of the common people. In the years 1837–56, J. Lindberg produced a more popular translation of the whole Bible; it was a piece of work in the spirit of Grundtvig (cf. 1.4.) – and also dedicated to him. It was written in "a bold and lively Danish" (Skautrup III, 258) and became widely disseminated, especially in Grundtvigian circles. A more moderate style of language – holding the archaic as well as linguistic innovations at a distance – is found in the edition (1887) of the New Testament by T. Skat Rørdam, a text which was also used frequently.

Just as Lindberg's translation had an effect on the official revision of the Old Testament in 1871, Skat Rørdam's was of importance to the very last translation of the New Testament in the Resen tradition, published in 1907. Again the work was done with great care to avoid making the congregations feel unfamiliar with the new edition. Like Skat Rørdam, the translators made a point of freeing the text from a list of "German and half-German" words and phrases that had been incorporated into the Danish Bible translation from the very beginning; now they seemed strange and even stylistically jarring.

With the Danish Bible translations of the 20th century (OT 1931, NT 1948; new translation of the whole Bible in 1992), the traditional Resen text was abandoned and completely new translations made from the original languages. The development of modern Bible research was taken into consideration, and the contemporary Danish language situation was observed much more than earlier. A sample translation of the New Testament (1942) led to intense and sometimes vehement discussions; many people felt the break with tradition was too strong. But on the whole, the congregations received the new Danish church Bibles positively.

2.2. Unlike the other Nordic countries, Norway did not receive a national Bible translation during the Reformation. The political union with Denmark meant that the country was provided with the Danish Bibles from Copenhagen until as late as 1814. For the educated, relatively small part of the population, this did not cause a serious problem. But for most people the linguistic distance from the archaic Resen-Svane text was even greater than in Denmark. After the foundation of the Norwegian Bible Society, they therefore soon took up producing Norwegian Bible editions. At first, they had to be content with revisions of the Danish church Bible. By 1891, the Old Testament was translated into Norwegian from the Hebrew text, and by 1904 a corresponding new translation of the New Testament was finished.

Until the middle of the 19th century, Danish was the written language in Norway. Then – National Romanticism was flourishing in Norway at the time – a resolute policy of Norwegianising began and determined the linguistic development for the following hundred years. During this period, the Norwegian written language went through a much more

radical development than the neighbouring languages. The 1891 translation of the Old Testament, which deliberately chose a careful course of action and has been characterised as "Golden Age Danish", was already behind the general development of language at the time it was published. The 1904 edition of the New Testament, which did not represent a radical break with tradition either, had gone one step further with regard to language. The discrepancy called for mutual adaptation, and a revised edition came into use in 1930, based on the spelling reform of 1917.

But the Norwegianizing of the Danish written language ("Bokmål") was only one aspect of Norwegian language policy after 1850; the other was the attempt by the linguist I. Aasen to create a completely new language ("Nynorsk") based on Old Norse and on Norwegian dialects. The New Testament came out in Nynorsk (at that time called "Landsmål") for the first time in 1889, by private initiative, and the complete Bible in 1921; a thoroughly revised edition followed in 1938 under the direction of the Norwegian Bible Society.

The fast pace of development of both Norwegian languages soon entailed the need for further adaptation of the Bible to modern spoken and written language. The use of the Bible at school and in confirmation courses had become problematic. In this situation the Bible Society settled for a double strategy. First, the most urgent problem was to be solved: a revised translation considering the needs of the youth ("ungdomsoversettelsen": Bokmål 1959, Nynorsk 1961); then followed a new Norwegian church Bible in both languages (completed in 1978, revised edition in 1985). More emphasis was laid on conveying the meaning of the original text in a language that was up-to-date than on rendering every single word. A relatively moderate course was followed as a compromise between conservative and radical language policies, but there were still many people – especially on the Bokmål-side – who felt the new Bible language was far from what they were accustomed to.

The number of private Bible translations has traditionally been lower in Norway than in Denmark. But as a reaction to the translation of 1978, a group of low- and free-church leaders published an alternative Bokmål-edition (*Norsk Bibel*, 1988) which was not only motivated by stylistic but also by theological considerations. Their conservative view of the Bible led them, above all, to miss some classical religious terms (e.g. *kjød* for the Greek

sarx) which had been replaced by various equivalents.

2.3. In the 18th century, a translation of Christian IV's Danish Bible was used in Iceland. A new translation by Bishop Steinn Jónsson (1728) was neither stylistically nor typographically up to standard and never gained any importance. But after the Icelandic Bible Society was founded, new revised editions of the Bible were published (NT 1827, 1851; the complete Bible 1841, 1859). This work took also account of the Hebrew and Greek original, but held a conservative line, and on the whole, the text bears witness to a strong influence from Danish and German translation traditions. An entirely new Icelandic Bible translation, the first fully based on the original languages, was completed in 1912. It was received with a good deal of scepticism by the theologically conservative side, but nevertheless soon found general acceptance. In the revised edition of 1981, parts of the New Testament (the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles) were reworked linguistically, while the Old Testament was left mostly unchanged. A new Bible is under way, but it is too early to say if the result will be a revision of the traditional text or a completely new translation.

2.4. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Swedish language underwent such big changes in style and vocabulary that the text in Gustav Vasa's Reformation Bible of 1541 began to seem old-fashioned, despite minor adjustments. But the people who demanded a renewal of the language of the Bible were not heard. Even in Carl XII's Bible of 1703 only slight changes were made, as the editors still thought the traditional language of the Bible could continue being an exemplary Swedish language norm. At least a list of explanations of over 200 difficult words was included, in consideration of the population of the regions captured from Denmark-Norway during the 17th century.

In the second half of the 18th century, the time had come for another official Bible commission. It was appointed in 1773 and was to try to combine two diverging interests: to have regard for the traditional text and to also consider the wish for a more natural and comprehensible language. This controversial task could be interpreted in favour of traditionalists as well as revisionists; in any case, the starting point for a more far-reaching revision was better. During the 18th century, a gen-

erally accepted prose style had gained ground, a literary form of expression used in scientific presentation as well as public debate, thus presenting a respected alternative to the archaic language of the Bible. A sample translation of the New Testament submitted in 1780 was clearly influenced by precisely this cultivated written language of the time. Morphology, syntax and vocabulary had undergone profound changes. At the same time, great importance was attached to a precise and objective style quite in the spirit of the time where abstract and general notions played a considerable part. In this way, this Gustavian translation could be judged a typical product of its time, when it for instance has Jesus' Galilean audience appear with "traits of a cultivated 18th century public, an assembly of literary gourmets" (Stähle 1970, 57).

A sample translation of the Old Testament followed some years later (1792). But there was no agreement concerning the drafts, and therefore they were not authorised. So various commissions continued the translating work throughout the 19th century, sometimes with quite different translation ideals. Romanticism brought a renewed respect for the traditional text at the same time as spokesmen for a more nationally minded direction took to clearing the Swedish Bible of traces of Hebrew, Greek and German influence. Finally, there was a strong desire in revivalist circles for a text as close to the original as possible but still comprehensible to most people.

This long procedure did not lead to a new Swedish church Bible in the 19th century, either. Still, a "standard edition" of the New Testament was authorised in 1883 for catechesis and religious education, while the liturgical text still had to follow the old translation. Thus, a "church Bible" and a "popular Bible" came to complement each other during the following years. Finally, in 1917 – after 144 years of committee work – the goal was reached: for the first time, Sweden had an official Bible based on the original languages.

The Swedish 1917 Bible sought to solve the tension between commitments towards tradition and modernity by compromise: words and expressions no longer customary were maintained to a certain degree, while the syntax of everyday language was used as far as possible. The new translation met with a certain amount of criticism from the theological as well as the literary side, mainly because of the use of explanatory particles (*ju-bibeln*) but it soon was accepted and served its purpose. Meanwhile,

it did not take many decades before more and more people pointed out the need for a text that was more in accordance with modern Swedish, a need which also expressed itself in several private translations of the New Testament after the Second World War. For this part of the Bible, an officially nominated committee (1968) had recommended two versions, a “church” and a “popular” edition. But this strategy was not successful; the aim once more is a uniform Swedish Bible text, a text for the 21st century. The New Testament was authorized in a preliminary edition in 1981, while the complete Bible followed in 1999.

2.5. While the New Testament had already been published in Finnish during the Reformation, a complete Finnish Bible was not ready until 1642. A revised edition of this translation followed in 1776 and remained the official church Bible for almost 200 years; for even though language development in Finland during the 19th century necessitated a new Bible, no agreement was reached at first. A private translation by A. W. Ingman in a style bearing the stamp of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala* did not find sympathy either, and the work done by official Bible committees (from 1861) was not authorized until 1933 for the Old Testament, and 1938 for the New Testament. This translation conserved the archaic Bible style but also took up expressive elements from colloquial Finnish. It aimed at an accurate rendering of the original text and avoided a paraphrasing style. A new Finnish translation of the whole Bible, carried out according to the same dynamic principle of equivalence as other recent Bible translations in the North, appeared in 1992.

2.6. In Sweden, biblical and other religious texts began to be translated into the Sami language in the 17th century; at first, this concerned parts of Luther’s Small Catechism and of church handbooks. The New Testament appeared in Ume Sami in 1755, and the whole Bible was finished in 1811. A Lule Sami translation of the New Testament was first published in 1913, a thoroughly revised version came in 2000.

In Denmark-Norway, Sami Bible translations began about 100 years later; they were motivated by increased missionary interest at the time of Pietism. However, a complete Northern Sami translation of the New Testament did not appear until 1840, and a translation of the whole Bible only in 1895.

As a result of common Nordic translation efforts, a completely new edition of the New Testament in Northern Sami was published in 1998. The starting point for this translation was the new Norwegian translation of 1978/85, but it also built in the Greek original and – to a certain extent – on the Finnish translation of 1992. Like in other modern Nordic Bible translations, more importance was laid on rendering idiomatic expressions; Norwegianisms and other Scandinavianisms were removed, and importance was attached to using syntax which conformed better to Sami linguistic structures. A corresponding new translation of the Old Testament is under way and is planned to be finished within 2010.

3. Church hymnbooks

Apart from the Bible, other religious literature has also played an important role in the Nordic language areas in recent times. Even before the Bible was disseminated among most people, the official hymnbook and Luther’s Small Catechism naturally belonged to many homes. For several generations these “oldest folk books” (Pleijel 1967) therefore influenced both Christian life and language usage in a large part of the population. The hymnbook was often used as a first reader. And those who could not read could learn the hymns by heart and in that way gain a personal relationship to religious language.

In the wake of the Pietistic revivals, a series of religious song collections appeared and were used at home and in various conventicles. To a certain degree, these collections mirror the characteristics of the new spirituality, where individual moods and feelings received a more prominent place at the cost of the classic, more collective forms of expression. Many of the texts differ both in form and content from the hymns authorised for church use, and will therefore be treated separately in a concluding paragraph of this survey (cf. 4.2.). Yet, this does not mean it is possible to operate with an absolute division between the two genres. Of course, church hymns were also influenced by changing religious ideals, and gradually a large number of the free-church songs have found their way into the authorized hymnbooks.

3.1. In 1699 Denmark received a new official hymnbook. About a third of the hymns were written by T. Kingo, a typical representative

of the Baroque period. Not without reason, then, the book bore his name, a name which remained one of the most important in Danish literary history. A number of Kingo hymns are still used in revised editions, not only in Denmark but also in the other Nordic countries.

The most important contribution to Danish hymn writing in the 18th century came from H. A. Brorson. In his translation of German hymns and in his own writing, he gave expression to Pietism's fervent, subjective religious experience. A central motif is the love of Jesus ("the most graceful rose"), which he often described with erotic metaphors drawn from the Song of Solomon, and which corresponds to a strong longing for heaven. Some Brorson hymns were included in alternative hymnbooks of the 18th century (Pontoppidan, 1740; Guldberg, 1778), but it was only in the middle of the 19th century that he received an acknowledged position in the Danish hymnbook tradition. Separate editions of Brorson poems, however, were widely found in pious homes, and – thanks to H. N. Hauge's support – he was especially well received in Norway, where his texts were sung to popular melodies and where he probably has played a more important role than any other hymnist.

A new Danish hymnbook, *Evangelisk-christelig Psalmebog*, authorized in 1798, has been treated harshly by posterity; the critics thought it was influenced too heavily by the rationalist Christianity of the Enlightenment and therefore was neither evangelical nor Christian. It was replaced by *Psalmebog for Kirke og Huusandagt* in 1855, which itself was succeeded by *Salmebog for Kirke og Hjem* (1898) and *Den danske salmebog* (1953). Another new edition of the Danish hymnbook is expected for the beginning of the new millennium. In an outline of the history of Danish hymns over the last two hundred years, however, one must above all include the name of Grundtvig (cf. 1.4.), the third great hymnist besides Kingo and Brorson. Through his many-sided and voluminous literary works, his rare power of language and imagination, and his pedagogical innovation, he influenced Danish – and to a certain degree also Norwegian – cultural life more than any other individual.

3.2. Until the middle of the 19th century, the same hymnbooks were used in Norway as in Denmark: Kingo's, Guldberg's and *Evangelisk-christelig Psalmebog* (cf. 3.1.). Then there gradually appeared a number of private collections, and in 1869 a Norwegian *Kirkesal-*

mebog was authorised. It was mainly the work of the clergyman M. B. Landstad, who already was known as a publisher of Norwegian folk songs. Landstad did not only take account of the traditional German and Danish hymns, but also included older Norwegian authors (e.g. P. Dass, D. Engelbretsdatter, J. N. Brun) and more recent hymns (e.g. Grundtvig). He also contributed several hymns himself.

Both as translator and as writer, Landstad tried to be a language innovator. Through his occupation with Norwegian folk song traditions, he found his personal style of writing, and he used popular words and expressions in a way that aroused considerable criticism. Many people found that "rural language" and "urban language" were mixed in an improper manner. As a consequence, Landstad had to follow the suggestions of an official committee and accept some modifications.

Through his sympathy for Norwegian dialects and folk literature, Landstad challenged not only the cultural elite but also a large part of the revivalist circles. For theological reasons, they were sceptical about his work with songs, legends and folk tales, and efforts were made to authorize an alternative hymnbook in the spirit of Pietism (1871). In the long run, this collection could not compete with Landstad's, which gradually became the only one used and which in 1924 was published in a revised edition.

The New Norwegian (Nynorsk) language tradition has also produced important hymnists and translators. As early as 1892, *Nokre Salmar* by E. Blix was authorized for church use, and in 1925 a complete *Nynorsk salmebok* followed. In connection with liturgical revision after the Second World War, a joint *Norsk salmebok* for both Norwegian languages appeared in 1984; it provided more space than previous books for translated texts from English speaking churches and revivalist circles.

3.3. In Iceland, Guðbrandur Þorláksson published a new hymnbook in 1671 which contained, among others, Hallgrímur Pétursson's passion hymns of 1666; these are texts which came to occupy a central position in Icelandic Christian life. New hymnbooks appeared during the 18th century, although one can hardly talk of important innovation at that time. A rationalistic counterpart to the Danish *Evangelisk-christelig Psalmebog* was published in 1801 by Magnús Stephensen, the most important spokesman of the Enlightenment in Iceland.

As a result of long committee work under the direction of Helgi Hálfðanarson, leader of the theological seminary, Iceland received a new hymnbook in 1886. The contribution of Hálfðanarson himself was first of all the translation of a long list of central hymns from different periods, but also some poetic work of his own. Other important contributors were Valdimar Briem and Matthías Jochumsson, one of the most productive and gifted poets in Iceland in recent times. In the 20th century, the years 1945, 1972 and 1996 brought new editions of the Icelandic hymnbook; the biggest changes came with the 1972 edition.

3.4. In the history of Swedish hymnbooks there are two remarkable years: 1695 and 1819. In 1695 the first hymnbook appeared which (in 1698) became authoritative for the whole kingdom. Because of its exclusive authorisation, this “old” hymnbook, which mainly represented orthodox Lutheran Christianity, gained a very special position in Swedish church and everyday life; it practically reached the status of a creed. Still, its old-fashioned language soon brought demands for revision, but the solutions proposed in the 18th century (1765, 1793) were not accepted.

Finally, in 1819, the efforts to produce a new Swedish hymnbook were successful. The leading force in the committee nominated (in 1811) was J.O. Wallin, one of Sweden’s most important preachers and hymnists. Originally he was influenced by the Enlightenment, but over the course of time he began to share the Romantic interest in historical and national heritage. He carefully revised old hymns but also provided about 150 of his own and 200 translated or adapted texts, so that the hymnbook rightfully carried his name.

In accordance with Wallin’s own wish, use of the new hymnbook was not imposed this time but left to the congregation’s own choice. All the same, this book also soon reached an exceptional position of importance in Christian life and religious education that cannot be overestimated. But it also attracted scepticism and criticism in revivalist circles, both in southern Sweden and in Norrland (among the so-called *nylåsare*). Their objections concerned both the urban ideal of Christianity which permeated the anthology and, according to their opinion, the excessive amount of space given over to the preaching of civil duties and virtues compared to the Pietistic concentration on sin, repentance and mercy. In addition,

the refined, classicist-rhetorical mode of language and style felt unfamiliar to them.

At the first synod of the Swedish church (1868), it was proposed that Wallin’s hymnbook be revised. But the suggestions (1889 and 1896) presented by an official committee were not accepted. During the first decades of the 20th century, further committees and suggestions followed, and finally, in 1937, a new Swedish hymnbook was approved. The newest edition came in 1986 and caused much discussion, as it had replaced many old hymns with simpler songs that broke with the liturgical tradition of the Swedish church, both in literary and musical respects.

3.5. The “old” Finnish hymnbook of 1701 marks the end of the first phase of post-Reformation hymn history in Finland. The idea was that it should be a counterpart to the corresponding old Swedish hymnbook of 1695 (cf. 3.4.), and a large number of those hymns had also been translated. But the main part consisted of old Finnish hymns, which to a large extent also were translated from other languages.

On the anniversary of the Reformation in 1817, an initiative for a new hymnbook was taken, but it was only in 1886 that its result could be approved. The folklorist and philologist E. Lönnrot, the collector of the Kalevala songs, was a driving force in this process. But developments in language and church history soon called for further revision; this task was taken up after Finnish liberation in 1917. In the new hymnbook (1938), the classical heritage was strongly adapted, and the more popular revivalist songs received much more space.

In the Swedish-speaking congregations in Finland, the Swedish hymnbook of 1695 held its central position until 1886. The new hymnbook, which on the whole followed the tradition of 1695, had several important contributors like J.L. Runeberg and Z. Topelius. A thorough revision in the 1930s led to a new hymnbook in 1943; here too, the song culture of revivalist circles filled more space.

4. Other religious literature

The religious literature that had an impact on thought and language usage in the Nordic countries also includes several postils, collections of sermons and spiritual songs, prayer books and other devotional texts. Most of the literature is translated from other languages;

during the first centuries after the Reformation, translations from German dominated, then gradually the influence of Anglo-American Christianity grew in importance. But Nordic religious literature also comprises a large number of original works. It is not possible to give a short summary of this large and varied literature, where a long list of names ought to be mentioned. Instead, certain aspects of oral preaching will be characterised in brief, with a quick look at the free-church song tradition.

4.1. While many of the sermons of the 17th century give evidence of the great pleasure derived from rhetorical devices and their frequent use, the Pietistic ideal in the following century was directed towards a simpler and less elaborate style. E. Pontoppidan, one of the central personalities of Danish-Norwegian state Pietism, recommended “an open style, a light, fluent and sensible style” and warned against “oratorical courtesies” and “mere verbalism”; instead, one ought to keep to “pure and clear words of the kind the congregation is used to in daily speech, but without improper coarseness or naughty, rude and all too rustic expressions” (Skautrup III, 252). In Sweden also, the language of sermons went through a modernising process, as with Anders Båld, one of the period’s most recognised clergymen: “the predicates are moving from the end of the subordinate clauses into their centre, and the Latin loanwords are practically gone” (Wifstrand 1943, 34).

Homiletic theory is one thing; the question of whether a sermon in practice really lived up to the ideal of simplicity and comprehensibility is another. The Danish ministers in the period of Pietism often turned to an even stronger use of classical rhetorical devices, “so that the movement with its use of language in a remarkable way came to unite subjective-heartfelt and ponderous objective-formal elements” (Skautrup III, 250). Besides, there is the question whether ministers at that time generally wrote their own sermons. It is likely that most of them still were “sermon riders” (Pontoppidan), relying on printed sermon texts they adapted to their audience’s linguistic faculties.

Pietism also brought changes to religious vocabulary; besides a whole series of Pietistic “key words” (e.g. *värld*, *ondska*, *fiender*, *anfäktning*, *skrymtare*, *pröva*, *invärtes*, *utvärtes*), the number of more emotional words and phrases increased (*välsignad*, *mild*, *huld*, *dyr*,

öm, *ljuf*, *hjärteligen*, *outsäglig*, *rörelse*, *känsla*, *barmhärtighet*; *en stor och obegrundelig nådenes rikedom*, *en oändelig nådesfullhet*). A word like *salighet*, which earlier mainly described heavenly bliss, was now used more and more often for the salvation which the “awakened” experienced already here on earth (Wifstrand 1943, 35). A characteristic element of the preaching in many Pietistic circles is the frequent use of the metaphors “lamb” for Jesus and “bride” for the believer. Both cases are from the classical Christian heritage, but in the notion of Jesus as a sacrificial lamb, the attention was now focused on the blood and the wound in Jesus’ side. And the bride motif from the Song of Solomon, which both Jewish and Christian tradition had used for the congregation, was now linked to the individual believer as an expression for the intense and intimate love for the Saviour.

An emotional style of preaching was usual throughout a large part of the 18th century, although some preachers influenced by the ideals of the Enlightenment preferred a more sober form of language. Towards the end of the century, many preachers were also influenced by a more refined academic, secular rhetoric of the classicistic type, and both elements – the emotional as well as the rhetorical – were passed on to the preaching of the 19th century. In the lay movement, however, a simpler, more enthusing kind of preaching had always been the most wide-spread form. Of course, this is not to say that capable revivalist preachers did not know how to make use of striking rhetorical figures – on the contrary. But their use of popular phraseology and dramatic metaphors is more prominent, and the appeal to the audience is more direct and aggressive and is heightened by rhetorical questions and the regular use of interjections.

4.2. A good insight into the low- or free-church spirituality of the North can be gained by reading the anthologies of “spiritual songs” which appeared in Sweden – partly anonymously, partly also illegally – during the 18th century, some of them published in new editions right up to the 20th century. The oldest one, *Mose och Lamsens Wisor* (1717), has been characterised as “the most notable document” on the part of conservative Pietism in Sweden (Pleijel 1935, 163). In these texts, which have a simpler form and therefore are often more easily understood than church hymns, erotic and sentimental traits are not

yet as strongly represented as in Moravian and radical Pietistic songbooks. But even here, noticeable elements of blood and bride mysticism are found, for instance in all the sighing about “(snow)white clothes”, or in contexts where Jesus is called “Blood Bridegroom” or “sweet” Saviour (Liedgren 1926, 347/354).

No indications of date or place of publication are given for the radical Pietistic songbook *Andeliga Wijsor / Om Hwargehanda Materier och Wid Åtskilliga Tillfällen*. It includes texts written in mild and soft tones about the longing to escape from the outer world and about the happiness of an inner world, as well as texts expressing “fiery polemics against the Babel of the world church, excited apocalyptic expectations, hot Jesus eroticism and ecstatic intoxication”. Sometimes, religious ecstasy is described with an “unabashed preference” for naturalistic and strongly sensual metaphors: every drop of blood “burns” and “jumps” for joy, the body “sweats” because of the “fire” of love, and the poet attains mystical rapture at the thought of the Saviour’s embrace (Liedgren 1926, 371/374).

Two collections of songs originating from several Moravian groups were more in line with mainstream Lutheran Pietism: *Sions Sång* (1743–48) and *Sions Nya Sång* (1778). Here, the emphasis lies on unmerited salvation through Jesus’ humiliation, suffering and death. The Saviour is preferably described as the “lamb”, and mercy, the cross, blood and wounds are frequently used terms. Again, the believer receives “clothing” or “vestments” as a gift, but the white colour of innocence is less important than the red colour of blood, symbol of reconciliation and forgiveness. Consciousness of sin – the perception of one’s own hard and unfeeling heart – is well developed, as well as the certainty of one’s lack of personal merit (*blott och arm, blott och bar, hel utfattig*); salvation is given “for nothing” and experienced by the individual already here and now through the alliance with Jesus. The frequent use of possessive pronouns in descriptions of the relationship between God and man (*min Gud, min själ, min synd*) is typical of this Pietistic tendency to individualise Christian life.

From the start, *Sions Såger* were criticised by orthodox, conservative theologians. By studying the language used in the songbooks, they thought they could find proof of a one-dimensional preaching style which emphasized the message about God’s love and forgiveness over the demands of the law and over

themes like repentance and betterment, which – in their opinion – were not given proper attention. Because of this controversy, both sides carried out frequency studies which showed that it was not so much the individual words that distinguished the songbooks from the official hymnbook, but rather the way they were used and the weight they had within preaching as a whole. In any case, the dissemination of these songs and their vitality show that they appealed to a large part of the population. Although they were mostly written by men and women of a relatively high level of education, they also appealed to all those who perhaps had less education but committed plenty of sins and, with this background, found their own situation described in the songs (Dovring 1951, 143).

5. Literature (a selection)

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48. Nordic language history and natural and technical sciences

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1. Introduction

This article will deal with the vocabulary of natural and technical sciences and its history. This vocabulary partly consists of terminology different from general language, in particular taken from Latin and Greek, partly of general language in specialized use. The natural sciences are said in a narrow sense to comprise biology, physics and chemistry. The vocabulary of science and technology, however, shows so many similarities in origin, word formation and usage that it is impractical to distinguish sharply between these, related, sciences such as astronomy, botany, mathematics and medicine, and technical sciences, engineering and the language of industry. To a large extent they will therefore be treated as one field, much in the spirit of the medieval and later pioneers in science and technology, many of whom were active in several fields, employing their knowledge and skills in the one when turning their attention to the next. Professions among early inventors of the typewriter (*skrivemaskin*) were pianist, blacksmith, watchmaker, carriagemaker and steam engine builder, apart from the famous Danish school administrator and teacher of the deaf and dumb, H. R. M. Malling-Hansen (1835–1890), who invented his *skrivekugle* ‘writing globe’ in 1870 and *tørtryk* ‘dry-print’, ‘xerography’ in 1872.

2. The Nordic language area

To a large extent Denmark, Norway and Sweden can be treated as one area when dealing with borrowed terminology and technical language. Different adaptations led to some differences, such as *faner* (Sw.), *finer* (Norw.) ‘plywood’, *vanadin* (Dan., Sw.), *vanadium* (Dan., Norw.). From the 16th until well into the 19th century, written Norwegian hardly differed from Danish. In more recent times the

three Scandinavian languages have come to differ somewhat in the adaptation of borrowed words: In Danish the foreign spelling is kept more often than in the other two, while Sweden has a long tradition in adapting borrowed words to the vernacular spelling. Norway has done the same, though more gradually. Towards the end of the 20th century Norwegian as well as Swedish language policy has been to adapt the spelling of borrowed words where possible, and for the rest to look for adequate candidates for replacement in the vernacular, e.g. from *metalimnion* to *sprangsjikt* (Norw.), *språngskikt* (Sw.). In such cases the foreign word may be felt to be the more terminological one, especially where no one-word replacement has been found. In Faroese (Poulsen 1997) many earlier borrowed words, especially from Danish, have been replaced by words from the more closely related Icelandic language, e.g. *verkfroðingur* ‘engineer’, *ravmagn* ‘electricity’, *tøkni* ‘technique’, or by new words coined on indigenous patterns, e.g. *mýl* ‘molecule’, *eyðkvæmi* ‘aids’, *telda* ‘computer’. Iceland (Jónsson 1997) has a centuries long tradition of replacing borrowed words; its first set of principles for this was published in 1779, and words such as *farfugl* ‘migrant bird’, *fel-libylur* ‘hurricane’ are almost as old. In some cases a foreign and an indigenous word coexist as synonymus, e.g. *baktería* – *gerill*. In such cases the indigenous word is felt to be more closely tied to written language than the foreign one is.

3. Science and art

Videnskab (Dan.), *vitenskap* (Norw.), *vetenskap* (Sw.) – like *science* – originally meant ‘knowledge’, and from the 17th century were also used in the current sense of a system of known methods used to discover and describe natural phenomena. *Fróðskapur* (Far.) and *fræði* (Icel.) also have both meanings.

Beside *vitenskap*, *kunst* (Dan., Norw.), *konst* (Sw.), through German from Latin *artes*, came into use in the 16th century, e.g. Peder Månsson’s (Sw.) description of the “konst” of mining. Though *legevitenskap* and *legekunst*, OIcel. *lækningariþrótt*, have both been used with reference to medicine, *kunst* implies the practical side, the curative one, and from the beginning *kunst/konst* was used especially for practical fields such as engineering

and technological works, e.g. mills (*mølle*, *kvern*, Dan., Norw.) or fountains (*vannkunst*, ‘water art’, Norw.). Engineer (*ingeniør* (Dan., Norw.), *ingenjör* (Sw.), *fæstnings-* ell. *krigsbygmester* (Norw. 1854) and pioneer (*pioner* (Dan., Norw.), *pionjär* (Sw.)) were military titles for builders of defence structures, bridges, artillery, etc. In early Nordic books engineering was called *stridskonst* (Sw., ‘war art’), e.g. in Peder Månsson (d. 1534; KLN 13, 156) and J. Wårnschiöld 1673 (Nilsson 1987, 23). The latter also contained some mathematical terms, e.g. *fyrhörning* ‘rectangle’, *månghörning* ‘polygon’.

4. The human body as a source of terminology

The use of body parts as so-called ‘natural measurements’ may be timeless. *Fot* (Norw., Sw.), *fod* (Dan.), *hand* (Norw., Sw.), *hånd* (Dan., Norw.), *famn* (Norw., Sw.), *favn* (Dan., Norw., ‘fathom, cord of firewood’), etc. have survived as practical approximations or become exact measures, such as *tomme* (Dan., Norw.), *tum* (Sw.) ‘thumb’, ‘inch’, said to be the breadth of King Henry VIII’s thumb, now = 2.54 cm. Components of machinery are given metaphoric names such as (Norw.) *hode* ‘head’, *øye* ‘eye’, *arm*, *finger*, *tunge* ‘tongue’, *kne* ‘knee, bend’, *ben* ‘leg’, *fot* ‘foot’, *jomfru* ‘maiden, a double-handled paving rammer’, etc. Even animals have contributed: *oksehode* ‘hogshead, a liquid measure’, *hale* ‘tail’, *vinge* ‘wing’, *kran* ‘crane’, *rotterumpe* (Norw.), *rottehale* (Dan.), *råttsvans* (Sw.) ‘rat-tail, a file’, *kubein* (Norw.), *koben* (Dan.), *kofot* (Sw.) (‘cow’s foot’, crowbar), and lately *mus* ‘mouse, a computer cursor steering device’.

5. Science in the Middle Ages

5.1. Folk science

Man’s need from the earliest times to describe natural phenomena and their importance to him led to a blend of actual observations and folk belief that not only are reflected in medieval vocabulary, but which survived in modern vocabulary, e.g. in medicine: *elleblæst* (Dan., borrowed from Norw.), *alvblåst*, *elveblest* (Norw.), *älvblåst* (Sw.) ‘elves breath, urticaria’. Zoology included catalogues of *pisces monstrosi* (KLN 15, 349) and *mirabilia* (KLN 4, 110f.). A particularly rich field of folk nomenclature is sea monsters, e.g. (OIce.) *sjóskrimsl*, *marmennill* ‘sea manikin’,

margýgr, *sjógýgr*, *sjókona* (all female), *hafstrambr*, *hafgufa* (also whale “heiti” in Snorri Sturluson’s *Edda*), in later Norw. folk tradition *krake*, (*sjó*)*horv* and *sjoorm* ‘sea serpent’. *Finnwalk(a)n* and *elgfroði* were centaur-like creatures, *dreki* on the ground and *flugdreki* in the air were dragons or serpents. Some were counted as human freaks, e.g. (KLN) *ein-foting* ‘monopode’, *skuggfoting* ‘monopode using his big foot as a sunshade’. At least some of these creatures were part of serious natural history throughout the Middle Ages. Some terms have survived to this day, though re-defined: (Norw.) *akefal*, now ‘a headless and stillborn foetus’, *sjoorm* (Norw., Sw.), *søslange* (Dan.), German *See-Schlange*, English *sea-serpent*, now ‘a possibly surviving ichthyosaurus’ (*fiskeogle*, Dan., Norw.). The element names *kobolt* (Dan., Norw., Sw.) and *nikkel* (Dan., Norw.), *nickel* (Sw.), both from German (*nickel* from *Kupfernickel*), were named after mountain gnomes believed by the miners to have changed valuable ore into worthless substances.

5.2. Imported and indigenous science

Before the Nordic countries established their own universities (in Uppsala in 1477, in Copenhagen in 1479), their students had to go abroad for higher education. This brought them into contact with European science and its terminology, which was almost exclusively Latin. Exceptions occur, e.g. Icel. *fill* (Arabic) as a synonym for *elephantus*. Northern medieval terminology became a blend of Latin and vernacular. Of the latter, Snorri Sturluson’s *kringla heimsins* ‘Earth’s circumference’ has had the most lasting fame.

The ON *Konungs skuggsjá* ‘The King’s Mirror’ (ca. 1250) deals with tides, winds, the round (!) earth, creatures of the ocean, etc. in vernacular terms. A contemporary source (cf. Brun 1981, 209) credited the Icelanders with mathematical proficiency above the other Northerners. A major encyclopaedic compilation is the OIce. (possibly partly ONorw.) *Hauksbók* (early 14th century), owned by and written for Haukur Erlendsson (d. 1334). It is famous for introducing the Arabic (originally Indian, as is stated in the *Hauksbók*) digits 0–9 in *Algorismus* (1892–96 edition p. 417; cp. Brun 1962). Zero is called *cifra* (from Arabic *sifr* ‘zero, empty’). Otherwise mathematical concepts are presented in vernacular terms, such as the seven branches of algebra: *viðrlagning* ‘addition’, *afdráttir* ‘sub-

traction', *margfaldan* 'multiplication', *taka rót undan ferskeyttri/átthyrndri tölum* 'take the root from four-edge/eight-edge numbers, i. e. extraction of the square/cubic root', etc. Apart from this work and original contributions by the Dane Peder Nattergal (KLN 11, 498 f.), medieval mathematics were mostly presented in Latin.

Astronomy, OIcel. *stjörnufræði*, was important in navigation and the computation of time. Especially important was the *dagstjarna* 'Arcturus'; among other terms are *hneiging* 'declination' and the *sólmarkahringr* 'zodiac' with the twelve signs given in the vernacular (KLN 2, 619; 3, 40, 121; 16, 413 f.; 17, 186 f.). Early instruments of navigation were the *sólarsteinn* 'calcite', catching polarized light, and from the 13th century *leiðarsteinn* 'magnetite', a primitive floating compass, whereas the *kompassa* 'compass' came into use during the 15th century (KLN 12, 262).

In medicine some terms are translations, e. g. OIcel. *lækningarbragð* (Latin *medicamentum*), *læknisfingr* (*digitus medicus* 'ring finger'), *blóðspýja* (Greek *haimatemesis*). Our forefathers' life style made for a goodly number of composites with *blóð-*. Genitals had vernacular names such as *kúkr*, *flann* (male) and *fuð* (female); two Norw. legal terms for a person breaking his/her engagement were *fuðflogi* 'male' and *flannflugá* 'female; literally man/woman who flees from the *fuð/flann*'. Medieval zoology and especially botany were closely tied to medicine. The principle of "like cures like" (e. g. dressing a wound with "the hair of the dog that bit you") and the "signature" theory, i. e. that nature has put its mark on some plants to show their curative qualities, is still reflected in plant names with (Norw.) *lege-* 'healing', *nyre-* 'kidney', *lever-*, *lunge-*, etc. or saints' names (*jon-*, *mari*). The old humoral pathology, the "four fluids" theory (*firesaftslæren*), is reflected in *humor* 'humour', *humør* 'mood', and phrases like "snakke rett fra leveren" (Norw., 'speak straight from the liver', i. e. straightforwardly), and "vara vid sunda vätskor" (Sw.), 'be of sound fluids, i. e. in good health'.

6. The dawn of modern science and technology

6.1. Use and replacement of Latin

All through the Middle Ages, Latin was the language of learning. Nordic lexicography (cp. Hannesdóttir 1998) was bilingual, with Latin as the source or target language, and

its aim was to ease the Northerners' contact with Latin. Some early attempts at an indigenous terminology were "barbarisms" coined on Latin patterns, but unknown in classical Latin (Nilsson 1987), e. g. *cavitas* 'cavity', *extremitas* 'extremity, arm or leg, in medicine still called *ekstremitet*'. Such Neo-Latinisms are still coined and included in dictionary etymologies and termed "international scientific vocabulary" (ISV). Not till the 18th century was the Latin structure of dictionaries gradually replaced by a lexical description in the editor's own language; monolingual lexicography emerged around 1800. The first complete monolingual Danish dictionary, by Chr. Molbech, appeared in 1833. He had previously participated in a Danish dictionary project on a much larger scale, started on the initiative of The Danish Academy of Sciences; volume 1 appeared in 1793, and it was finished in 1905. The first complete monolingual Swedish dictionary (Dalin) appeared in 1850.

6.1.1. Latin in international systems: Linné

The most outstanding international system of classification is doubtlessly that of Carl v. Linné (1707–78), who laid down his 365 rules of systematization in his work *Fundamenta Botanica* in 1736 (Nilsson 1974, 77 ff.). He preferred Latin as the language of classification; if a science cannot be described uniformly through one language, he felt a situation like the Tower of Babel would arise. Linné excluded very long names (> 12 letters), names with many consonants, and words differing from others used in botany. Where two words were joined, the first should be genitive in form. Generic names should be nouns rather than adjectives. An older generic name still in use should not be discarded till a better one has been found, and should not be transferred to another plant genus even if this would be more suitable. The generic name gives the *genus proximum* 'hyperonym' and the specific one the *differentia specifica* 'hyponym', a distinction introduced by Aristotle and still the principle used in dictionary definitions of the analytical type. Both parts of Linné's two-part names are based on the geometrical categories of number, shape, position and proportion.

6.1.2. From Latin to mother tongue

"The language of science was Latin for its devotees (*dyrkere*), but where its facts and results were intended for wider circles the

mother tongue had to be employed” (Skautrup II, 20). Next to Latin, German was the main source for word borrowing, Low German before the Lutheran reformation, then gradually High German. German loanwords contributed to the replacement of Latin by being more easily adaptable to the Scandinavian languages. Skautrup (II, 253) mentions craft names such as *dönniker* ‘stucco worker’, *isen-snyder* ‘stamp cutter’, *sejermager* ‘watchmaker’, etc.

Especially in the 17th and 18th centuries the coining of *kunstord/konstord* – a German loanword (ca. 1630), itself a translation of *terminus technicus* – increased heavily (listed exhaustively in Nilsson’s works). The Dutchman Simon Stevin (1548–1620), a pioneer on the Continent, was a model and an inspiration to term coiners such as Christoffer Dybvad (Dan., 1577?–1622) and Georg Stiernhielm (Sw., 1598–1672). Among Dybvad’s words were *dele* ‘divide’, *flade* ‘plane’ and *grundlinie* ‘basis’. Stiernhielm had great, though unfulfilled, ambitions of writing a series of textbooks on mathematics, *mätvishet* or *mätekonst* (German *Messkunst*) in Swedish. An expressed aim of The Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences, established in 1739, was to provide the language with words that it so far lacked, in order to divest the arts and sciences of their foreign terms. A study of the success or failure of neologisms could throw light upon contemporary thinking about language and patterns in word formation; e.g. that root words were more common in the 17th and 18th centuries than in the 19th and the 20th until they came into common use again after the second World War. Thus J. Faggott (Sw., 1699–1777) tried out *tvär* for ‘diameter’. New knowledge of electricity in the 18th century led to terms in Sw. such as *glasaktig* ‘glassy’ and *kådaktig* ‘resinous’, from materials used to produce static electricity, or “*excessiv* or *ökad/jakad*”, “*defectiv* or *minskad/nekad*” as (unsuccessful) attempts at replacing B. Franklin’s *positive* and *negative* of electricity.

6.2. Chemistry

(Cp. Rancke-Madsen 1984.) For a period during the 18th and 19th centuries chemistry was almost a Swedish and Danish specialty. This was an era of discovery. The Swedish place-name Ytterby occurs in the names of four rare earth metals: *erbitium*, *terbitium*, *yttterbitium* and *yttrium*. Even pre-Christian gods lent their names: *thorium*, *vanadium* (from *vanadis*, i.e.

Freyja, a name chosen by Sefström and Scheele; earlier discovered, but misunderstood, by A.M. del Rio in 1801 and going by names such as *panchromium* and *erythronium*). *Tungsten* (Sw.), ‘heavy stone’ was chosen because Cronstedt found the mineral to be heavy. The name was changed to *wolfram*, but is still used in English and French. *Tantal* alludes to the Tantalos myth because tantal oxide cannot “drink” acid, i.e. be dissolved. This is a good example of the pioneers’ impressive knowledge of classical culture as well as of the classical languages; it was part of everybody’s secondary education.

Among the numerous proposed neologisms based on the vernacular, only a few survived, e.g. H.C. Ørsted’s *ilt* ‘oxygen’, from *ild*, ‘fire’ and *brint* ‘hydrogen’, from *brände*, ‘burn’, and J.A. Afzelius’ (Sw.) *kväve* ‘nitrogen’, from *kväva*, ‘choke’, *syre* ‘oxygen’, from *sur*, adjective, ‘acid’, *väte* ‘hydrogen’, from *vät*, ‘wet’. Some discoveries were shared by two or more scientists; the following list of “Nordic” elements may differ somewhat in the various presentations of the history of chemistry: Arfwedson, J.A. (Sw., *lithium* 1818), Arrhenius, C.A. (Sw., *yttterbitium* 1787), Berzelius, J.J. (Sw., *cerium* 1804, *selen* 1818, *zirkonium* 1824, *thorium* 1828), Bohr, N. et al. (Dan., *hafnium* 1922, corrected to *danium*, but the correction was not published), Brandt, G. (Sw., *kobolt* 1735–39), Cleve, P.Th. (Sw., *thulium*, *holmium* 1879), Cronstedt, A.F. (Sw., *nickel* 1751, *tungsten* 1751, cp. Scheele), Ekeberg, A.G. (Sw., *tantal* 1802), Gadolin, J. (Finnish, but wrote in Sw., *yttrium* 1794), Gahn, J.G. (Sw., *mangan* 1774), Hisinger, W. (Sw., *cerium* 1803–49), Hjelm, P.J. (Sw., *molybden* 1781), Mosander, C.G. (Sw., *lanthan* 1839, *erbitium*, *terbitium* 1843), Nilson, L.F. (Sw., *scandium* 1879), Sefström, N.G. (Sw., *vanadium* 1830), Scheele, C.W. (Sw., *mangan* 1774, *oxygen* 1771–72, *klor* 1774, *barium* 1774, *molybden* 1778), *wolfram* 1781 (of the element, 1730 of the mineral; cp. Cronstedt), Thomsen, J. (Dan., anticipated several inert gases (*edelgasser*)), Ørsted, H.C. (Dan., *aluminium* 1825). Berzelius also was the discoverer of *protein*, the name was meant to signify ‘the first, most important matter’.

7. A common scientific scene

7.1. International terms

To a large extent Nordic scientific terminology is identical with international usage, with the

necessary adaptation of orthography and derivational and inflectional elements. Some examples: *atto*, *femto* ('decade prefixes', H. Højgaard Jensen, Dan., ca. 1960), *bakterie* (C.G. Ehrenberg, German, 1795–1876), *bar* (V. Bjerknes, Norw., 1862–1951), *base* (in chemistry, G.F. Rouelle, French, 1703–70), *biologi* (J.-B. de Lamarck, French, 1744–1829), *bronsealder* (C.J. Thomsen, Dan., 1788–1865, see *jernalder*), *dinosaur* (R. Owen, English, 1804–92), *elektrode* (M. Faraday, English, 1791–1867), *elektron* (G.J. Stoney, Irish, 1846–1911), *euforisere*, *euforiserende* (P. From Hansen, K.O. Møller, Dan., 1945–46), *fenotype* ('phenotype', see *gen*, *genotype*), *fraktal* (B. Mandelbrot, French, 1924–), *gass* (J.B. van Helmont, Flemish, d. 1644), *gen* 'gene', *genotype* (W. Johannsen, Dan., 1857–1927), *jod* (Gay-Lussac, French, 1778–1850), *jernalder*, *stenalder* (L.S. Vedel Simonsen, Dan., 1780–1858; his proposal *kobberalder*, 'Copper Age', was changed into *bronzalder* by C.J. Thomsen), *kitin* (Odier, French, 1823), *mikrobe* (C.E. de Sédillot, French, 1804–1883), *mutasjon* (H. de Vries, Dutch, 1848–1935), *pH* (S.P.L. Sørensen, Dan., 1868–1939), *proton* (E. Rutherford, English, 1871–1937), *robot* (K. Čapek, Czech, 1890–1938), *sentrifugal*, *sentripetal* (I. Newton, 1643–1727), *syk-lon* (H. Piddington, English, 1855), *taksonomi* (A.P. de Candolle, French, 1778–1841). Nordic family names used as terms are *sievert*, *ørsted*, *ångström* 'units' and *celsius* 'temperature scale'. This too is part of international practice, as are proper names used in the names of industrial processes, diseases, etc., e.g. *gramfarging* (Gram, Dan.), *soderberg-elektrode* (Søderberg, Norw.), *brinellhardhet* (Brinell, Sw.), *Hansen's sykdom* 'H.'s (Norw.) disease, lepra', *Perman-Rovsings tegn* 'P. (Sw.)-R. (Dan.)'s sign, symptoms of appendicitis'.

7.2. Loans from Nordic

The lexicographical maxim "the word comes with the thing" can be exemplified by the great extent of word borrowing into the Nordic languages. Some examples of the opposite, Nordic coinages for internationally accepted terms, have been given in subsection 7.1. Otherwise, loans from Nordic have for the most part been confined to Nordic specialities, present or past, such as *ombudsman*, *smorgasbord* and *slalom*, and to export articles such as minerals (e.g. *larvikite*, *skutterudite*).

8. The present time

8.1. Borrowings from English

Since the end of World War II, English, especially American English, has been the main source of terms imported to the Nordic countries. (As to the adaptation of terms, see section 2 above.) Some fields have had such a rapid technical development that the vernacular has had no chance of competing with English terminology; importing the term with the product has been a matter of course. A good example is *svart boks* 'black box', Norw., box with unknown technical contents; Dan. *den sorte boks*, Sw. *svart låda* now means a flight recorder, Norw. *ferdskriver*, which is often orange. Some words have been re-borrowed, e.g. *sensor* in its technical meaning. Words are borrowed in (usually one of) their denotative senses, without their older connotations, such as the oilfield jobs *roughneck* 'drilling assistant' and *roustabout* 'auxiliary worker'. The sometimes colloquial or humorous background of the borrowed term is lost in transit, e.g. *woofer* 'bass amplifier' (*woof*, the bark of a very big dog). English loanwords based on Latin are more easily adapted to Scandinavian patterns of orthography and pronunciation than words of Anglo-Saxon or French origin (e.g. *sightseeing*, *guide*, Norw. optional spelling: *gaid* (noun), *gaide* (verb)). In scientific milieux, opinions differ as to whether one should prefer the internationalisms or try to replace them with neologisms based on the vernacular. A difficulty lies in the word-formation rules of the Nordic languages. Here one-word composites are preferred, which may lead to very long words (e.g. from *helicopter fuel tank* to *helikopterbrennstofftank*). Though the system allows for this, very long words (more than ca. 25 letters) are generally felt to be impractical. The alternative is multi-word terms (e.g. *brennstofftank for helikopter* or *tank for helikopterbrennstoff*). Andersen (1998) refers to one-word terms as "wrapped up" (*innpakket*) and multi-word ones as "unwrapped" (*utpakket*). The latter type contains more linguistic information (through function words, esp. prepositions) than one-word compounds, but look less terminological and more like general language. However, a multitude of borrowed English terms consist of two words, which has led to a common deviation from written standard in the Scandinavian languages, namely writing the parts of composite words separately.

Longer terms may be abbreviated; examples from ca. 1870–90 are *buss* (Norw., Sw.), *bus* (Dan., from *omnibus*), *trikk* (Norw., ‘tramway’, from *electric*); *bil* from *automobil* was introduced by the Danish newspaper *Politiken* on March 14, 1902. A newer example is *el* (Dan., Norw., Sw.) for *electricity*; *plast* (1946, for *plastik(k)*), *data* (for *datamaskin*, computer), *lab(b)* (*laboratorium*, ‘laboratory’, *trafo* (*transformator*, ‘transformer’). Such abbreviations are more often found as shop jargon than as formal terminology.

8.2. Consumer goods

Consumer goods, like other products, are mostly imported, and they keep their foreign and protected brand names. This important sector of Nordic vocabulary is almost entirely exempt from standardization. In fact English spelling – sometimes called “status spelling” – or deviation from the standard is often used as an eye-catcher in the marketing of products. In the 19th century a few Nordic inventions were given vernacular brand names, e.g. *sikkerhedsnål* ‘safety pin’, Dan., *binders* ‘paper clip’, Norw., *skiftnyckel* ‘spanner’, Sw.

8.3. From terminology to general language

The natural sciences have a reputation for being exact, and their terminology enjoys a corresponding status. Developing a terminology is an important element in new sciences or new branches of older ones, often leading to the transfer of terms, e.g. *batteri* ‘battery’. Some newer disciplines, e.g. electronic data processing, have come into vogue with the general public, and the element of being fashionable or marking their users as “in” has led to the extended use of terms from these disciplines, e.g. *opdatere* (‘update’, competing with *ajourføre*, *modernisere*), *implementere* (also *iverksette*). They have become “buzz words”.

9. Standardization

All the Nordic countries have official language councils whose task it is to standardize the orthography of their languages and in general follow their development. They are also in contact with other bodies dealing with vocational language, such as Tekniska Nomenklaturcentralen (Swedish Centre for Technical Terminology, TNC) and Rådet for teknisk terminologi (The Norwegian Council for

Technical Terminology, RTT). Since the Nordic languages are, and always have been, great borrowers and the sources of borrowing limited, their area of work today is an increasingly demanding one.

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49. Nordic language history and literary history I: Denmark

1. Introduction
2. Orthography
3. Vocabulary
4. Proverbs and familiar quotations
5. Imagery
6. Morphology and syntax
7. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

In Denmark the beginning of literature in the widest sense coincides with the first use of runic script, the oldest inscriptions dating back to about 200 A. D. The runes of the Iron Age and the Viking Age, preserved almost exclusively in short memorial inscriptions, were superseded by the Roman letters introduced together with Christianity and Latin but known only from around the middle of the 13th c. in Danish texts. Medieval Danish manuscript literature comprises laws, legal documents, leech-books, prayerbooks, legends and other devotional texts, didactic works, proverbs, annals and chronicles, romances about chivalry, ballads, lyric poetry, drama. The religious strife preceding the Lutheran Reformation in 1536 produced diatribes as well as versions of the New Testament in print, and the 16th and later centuries saw the further development of translating the Bible, of hymn-writing, storytelling, historiography, essays, scholarly literature of all kinds, journalism, etc. Most of these genres, however, are beyond the scope of this article, which will focus chiefly on the interaction between standard Danish usage and the language of prose fiction and poetry, excluding the scanty dialect literature. In the following, which is not a chronological account, the essential linguistic aspects will be treated separately. Unless otherwise stated, the quotations are examples representing the language of

several authors or even a general literary trend.

2. Orthography

In spite of the gap between the runes of the Viking Age and the Roman letters of the 13th c., it is obvious that the use of both alphabets was based on a fairly clear idea of the contemporary phonemic structure of Danish. While runic spelling seems to represent one standard language, the early medieval manuscripts written in the Roman alphabet reveal dialectal differences, but the underlying orthographic principles are identical. The great changes in Danish pronunciation and grammar which took place during the Middle Ages caused spelling conventions to waver, but by 1550 the majority of writers and printers followed the example set by Christiern Pedersen whose spelling was remarkably consistent. Over the succeeding centuries certain conventions changed, but it is characteristic that such changes were never brought about by poets; Jon Jakobsen Venusinus' use of the Swedish letter *å* instead of the digraph *aa* and his omission of the silent *h* in words beginning with *hj* and *hv* in a poem published in 1594 remained unique. As a rule, poets and fiction writers endeavoured to comply with the spelling conventions of their time, including the use of initial capitals for nouns (originated in the Bible of 1550, following Martin Luther's example). Not until the late 19th c. did a serious dispute arise when a group of conservative writers, facing an official spelling reform to be introduced by the Government, agreed on what they called "den literaire Retskrivning" [the literary orthography] (1888). But they made no impact, and history repeated itself in 1948 when only a small minority of authors,

among them Karen Blixen (Isak Dinesen), opposed another official reform which abolished initial capitals for nouns and prescribed the use of *å* instead of *aa*. This reform had been advocated and practised for almost a century by a good many scholars and folk high school teachers (cf. the song book *Folkehøjskolens sangbog*, 1894ff.) but by only a few poets and fiction writers, e.g. Niels Møller, while Valdemar Rørdam and Tom Kristensen accepted only *å*, and Nis Petersen and Mogens Klitgaard used small initial letters but retained *aa*; yet, soon after 1948 nearly all writers adopted the new official orthography.

Nevertheless, one typical deviance from conventional spelling has occurred widely for centuries. Corresponding to their highly frequent monosyllabic pronunciation, a few disyllabic present tense forms may be shortened either for metrical reasons in poetry or as an intentional reflection of spoken language. Thus, for instance, *bliver*, *giver*, *lader*, *tager* may be written *blir*, *gir*, *lar*, *tar* or more often *bli'r*, *gi'r*, *la'r*, *ta'r*. On the other hand, the shortened past tenses or infinitives *ku'* and *sku'* for *kunne* and *skulle*, though unremarkable in everyday speech, are likely to be interpreted by the reader as reflecting the speaker's lower-class membership or vulgarity. Using an apostrophe as a means to create this sociolinguistic illusion, authors like Karl Larsen and Robert Storm Petersen would moreover write e.g. *ka'*, *ska'*, *ha'de*, *si'er*, *no'en*, *li'e*, *li'*, *hva'*, *te'* instead of *kan*, *skal*, *havde*, *siger*, *nogen*, *lige*, *lide*, *hvad*, *til*, and *a'* representing *af* as well as *ad* and *at*. In Soya's prose, however, the same spellings *ka'*, *sku'* etc. were used regularly in the informal conversation of educated people, too, while very few writers went as far as Harald Herdal who over the years became fairly consistent in generalizing spellings like *hade*, *sier*, *noen*, and *sa* with no apostrophe for *sagde*, *ga* for *gav*, *lissom* for *ligesom*, besides *blir*, *tar* etc. An attempt by the poet Gustav Christiansen to introduce an apparently phonetic "working class" spelling (*Degte på døns*, 1980; *Dæn levne tsid*, 1984) has so far had no followers.

3. Vocabulary

While Skautrup (1944–70) has presented the general history of the Danish lexicon (cf. also his 1958 monograph *Arv og gæld i ordenes samfund*), only some aspects of usage will be outlined in this article. Unless it is clearly related to the development of literary style, a lexical

change will be left out of consideration, e.g. the fact that a word may become obsolete, attested in 1472 when a scribe copying the Jutlandic Law chose to change *limmæ* into *grenæ* in the phrase "swo langt sum limmæ lutæ" [as far as the branches reach]; or the reluctance to accept the recently coined new word *genstand* 'object' in a dictionary, reported from 1777 (cf. ODS VI, 873).

One important aspect of the development of the Danish vocabulary is the use of archaisms. The first step was taken by Anders Sørensen Vedel in his translation (1575) of Saxo Grammaticus' Latin history of Denmark *Gesta Danorum* from ca. 1200. Among his borrowings from the medieval Danish ballads (a fine selection of which he edited in 1591), from the medieval *Rhymed Chronicle* and other old texts were e.g. (in modern spelling) *frille*, *mø*, *manddrab*, *strådød*, *ulivssår*, *dannis*, *meGLE*, *give sin tro*. Inspired by Vedel, 17th and 18th c. poets continued, to some extent, to draw on his sources, and in 1780 Professor Jacob Baden in a Latin essay pointed to Vedel's translation of Saxo as a treasure trove for the literary language. A new standard was set by Adam Oehlenschläger, the pioneer of Romanticism in Denmark, who in his *Vaulhundurs Saga* (1805) did not take the Old Nordic saga style but Vedel's archaizing 16th c. prose for his model; the use of archaic words, primarily taken from the medieval ballads, was an essential element of his poetry. Becoming himself a model for the following generations, Oehlenschläger basically formed the general idea of a specific poetic vocabulary. Even Christian Wilster's translations of Homer's *Iliad* (1836) and *Odyssey* (1837) were markedly influenced (cf. the quotation in 6.4.). This concept, though not unaffected by the change in literary taste after 1870, was to last well into the 20th c., supported by wide reading and singing of the classics of the previous century. But modern poetry has done away with tradition, and archaisms formerly cherished as specifically poetic are likely to become obsolete and incomprehensible.

One of Oehlenschläger's followers was N. F. S. Grundtvig, who in 1818–22 published his new translations of Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* and Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*. In these, Grundtvig combined archaisms appropriate to the nature of the source texts with harsh vulgarisms in an intended popular style which he labelled *Borgestuedansk*, approximately 'servants' hall Danish'. However, not only his academic critics but also his intended

uneducated readers were outraged; the latter target group was fully aware of the written standard, which they refused to see mingled with vulgar speech in print. According to Skautrup (1953, III, 142) the two works were hardly read until the late 19th c. By then literary naturalism had come closer to various levels of speech, even including swear words. A phrase like the stationmaster's "Satan til lidt Forslag i Tiden" [damn it, time goes too fast] (Herman Bang, 1886) would be current in most social classes whereas, reflecting vulgar Copenhagen pronunciation, *kraftedeme* (meaning literally 'cancer eat me') and similar coarse expressions were originally quoted only in a distinctly proletarian setting (C. Staun, *Proletardrengens Læreaar*, 1911).

The literary fate of the ancient word *røv* 'arse' (identical with OWN *rauf* 'hole, opening', cf. ODan. *næsæ rof* 'nostril') may illustrate the changing attitude of the linguistic community. In the medieval proverb "Mwss fiærther ej som hæst vdhen røffwen reeffner" [a mouse will not fart like a horse without her arse bursting], the semantic value may still be neutral. But in the 1540s Bishop Peder Palladius apologized for the word, talking about the churchgoers who should turn their faces to the pulpit and not "uende deeris røff (med forloff sagt) til deeris sognepræst" [turn their arses (saving your reverence) to their parson]. The debasement of the word appears in a trial before a local court in 1682 where the mayor's maid was reported to say *ende* 'bottom, behind' while five ordinary women said *røv* (Skautrup 1947, II, 391). Ludvig Holberg, who used this word only in his mock-heroic poem *Peder Paars* (1719–20), refrained from spelling it out; he wrote *R..* or left it to be guessed as a rhyme with *døv* 'deaf'. In his standard dictionary *Dansk Ordbog* (1833, 1859), Christian Molbech referred *røv* to "den laveste Talebrug" [the basest speech], and ODS (1939, XVIII, 265) labelled it "meget uhøvisk" [very indecent]. However, the latter half of the 20th c. saw a rapid change. In a Royal Theatre staging of G. B. Shaw's *Pygmalion* in 1953, Eliza's "not bloody likely" was rendered "rend mig i røven" [put it up your arse], and in 1967 the current usage in radio and television cultural and dramatic programmes caused an angry listener to name the overall trend *røvkulturen*. Nowadays, *røv* is frequently seen in print, in books as well as newspapers, included also in recent set phrases like *røvrende* or *tage røven på én* 'stab somebody in the back', *let røven* or *få din røv i gear* 'get moving, pull your finger

out' and in new compounds like *røvkedelig* and *røvsyg* 'deadly (dull), annoying'. The formerly offensive word may even occur in film titles, e.g. *Med røven i vandskorpen*, approximately 'in a tight corner' (the original Canadian title was "Meatballs"). It is symptomatic of the modern attitude, particularly among younger people, that such expressions may be used by women, though they are still used mostly by men.

In his special prose style, the already mentioned *Borgestuedansk*, as well as in his poetry, Grundtvig included quite a few dialect words; but like those used sporadically by 17th c. poets, they remained by and large alien to standard Danish. Not until Steen Steensen Blicher introduced them in his outstanding short stories from Jutland (1824ff.) were dialect words appreciated by the readers as a means of adding local colour to a tale. Of course this element became integrated in regional literature after 1870, for instance in novels by Jeppe Aakjær and Thorkild Gravlund, while dialect words interacted with the rest of Johannes V. Jensen's huge vocabulary in his multifarious works. But on the whole, few dialect words have been accepted in the spoken standard, e.g. *luffe* 'mitten', *trals* 'tiresome, annoying', *svirpe* 'to flick', *al den stund* 'inasmuch as'.

4. Proverbs and familiar quotations

Danish proverbs are known to have existed in the Middle Ages. The earliest collection made by one Peder Låle was printed in 1506 but dates back to before 1400. It was followed up by the learned philologist Peder Syv in his edition of *Aldmindelige Danske Ordsproge* in two volumes, 1682–1688. In context, proverbs occur sparsely in medieval Danish literature, e.g. in the 15th c. *Rhymed Chronicle* "I ær muss alt som hwn maa/i fattig kones posæ" [a mouse will always take her chance in a poor woman's bag]. Some were quoted by the Lutheran reformers in the 16th c., for example by Bishop Peder Palladius: "den gaass kæger icke der hoffuedt er aff" [a goose will not cackle after her head has been chopped off]. Anders Sørensen Vedel introduced Danish proverbs into Saxo's history of Denmark, both in his translated text and in his own marginal notes. Similarly, Grundtvig included proverbs particularly in his *Borgestuedansk*, while e.g. Oehlenschläger, Blicher and later Henrik Pontoppidan and Martin A. Hansen

would quote proverbs in the speech of peasants and other ordinary people.

Nowadays, proverbs are of small literary importance. But in everyday speech, quite a few figurative proverbs of universal validity are current, including medieval ones; in the following examples, a literal translation precedes the equivalent English idiom (if any): *brændt barn skyr ilden* [burnt child avoids the fire \approx once bitten twice shy]; *nød lærer nogen kvinde at spinde* [need teaches naked woman how to spin \approx necessity is the mother of invention]; *tyv tror hvermand stjæler* [thief thinks everyman steals]; *liden tue vælter ofte stort læs* [little tuft often overturns big load \approx little strokes fell great oaks]; *mange bække små gør en stor å* [many brooklets make a big stream \approx every little bit helps]; *smuler er også brød* [crumbs are also bread \approx half a loaf is better than no bread]; *små gryder har også ører* [small pots, too, have ears \approx little pitchers have big ears]; *tomme tønder buldrer mest* [empty barrels rumble most \approx empty vessels make the most noise]; *én fugl i hånden er bedre end ti på taget* [one bird in the hand is better than ten on the roof \approx a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush]; *enhver so synes bedst om sine grise* [any sow likes her (own) pigs best]; *når katten er ude, spiller musene på bordet* [when the cat is out, the mice play on the table \approx when the cat is away, the mice will play]; *nu sidder vi alle godt, sagde katten, (den sad på flasket)* [now we are all well seated, said the cat (she was sitting on the meat)]; *ingen roser uden torne* [no roses without thorns \approx no rose without a thorn]. The third member of a Wellerism (in parentheses here) may be silently implied. The most recent type is the last one with no verb.

The historical role of quotations in Danish literature, e.g. the use of biblical quotations in sermons, is not important in the present context. On the other hand, a store of familiar quotations, on a par with proverbs, is available to the Danes who, in many cases, are ignorant of their origin. For instance, the phrase “at rette bager for smed” [to execute the baker instead of the smith] may also be quoted “at rette smed for bager” [to execute the smith instead of the baker], probably due to the awkward phrasing in Johan Herman Wessel’s poem from 1784 where the judge finds nothing “hvorved forbuden er, for Smed at rette Bager”; and most people, having forgotten that Hans Christian Andersen says “et lille Barn”, will refer to “den lille dreng” who in *Keiserens nye Klæder* sees through the self-

deception of the grown-ups. But it is general knowledge that the idea of Denmark as a country where “få har for meget og færre for lidt” stems from a still popular song written by Grundtvig in 1820. A couple of lines in Oehlenschläger’s *Aladdin* (1805) “naar I kun sparer mig, min Hustrue og/min lille Hassan, med de skieve Been” are the background of the set phrase in which someone’s “egen lille Hassan (med de skæve ben)” represents his or her narrow self-interest. Similarly, it is sufficient to say “hvad hjertet er fuldt af” when, perhaps unwittingly, quoting Matthew 12:34, for everybody knows the unquoted continuation “løber munden over med”. Unlike this current biblical quotation, several others, clinging to tradition, disagree with the latest authorized version (1992), e.g. “I dit ansigts sved skal du æde dit brød” (Genesis 3:19; *æde* was replaced by *spise* already in 1931) and “Hvi ser du skæven i din broders øje?” (Matthew 7:3, Luke 6:41; *Hvi* was changed into *Hvorfor* in 1907, and in 1948 *skæven* was replaced by *splinten*). In addition to the biblical quotations, a few other familiar ones have a foreign (but generally unknown) background, e.g. “godt brølt, løve!” from Shakespeare’s “well roared, lion!” and “træerne vokser ikke ind i himlen” reflecting Goethe’s dictum “Es ist dafür gesorgt, daß die Bäume nicht in den Himmel wachsen”.

5. Imagery

Being figurative, proverbs may be said to involve imagery. But there has always been a gap between elaborate literary imagery and the use of metaphors and comparisons in plain Danish. Johannes Ewald’s following stanza from 1775 may exemplify the classical diction of poetry:

Hvor Hiordene brøle,
Mod Skovens letspringende Sønner,
Og puste, og føle
Den Rigdom, i hvilken de stønner –
Hvor Meyeren synger
Blant gyldene Dynger,
Og tæller sin Skat, og opløfter
sit Raab,
Til den, som har kroned hans Haab. –

The distinctive element in this poetic style is paraphrase: “Hiordene” (not *Qvæghjordene) stands for herds of cattle, “Skovens letspringende Sønner” for deer, “Rigdom” for the fatness of the pastures, “Meyeren” for the

harvesting farmer, “gyldene Dynger” for the reaped crop, “Skat” for the yield, “opløfter sit Raab” for the farmer’s thanksgiving, and “den, som har kroned hans Haab” for God who crowned, i.e. fulfilled, his material hope. The metaphors imply comparisons but are bolder than the formal literary comparison, a classical example of which, including an explicit *tertium comparationis*, occurs in one of Ludvig Holberg’s comedies from 1724: “Kierlighed er ligesom et oprørt Hav, hvilket jo meer det indskrænkes og indknibes, jo meer bruser det”. Much later, Henrik Pontoppidan would sometimes still make use of elaborate, almost Homeric comparisons, e.g. in a novel from 1914:

Som det skamskudte Vildt bryder ud af
Flokken, naar det mærker Døden
komme, og vakler ind i Tykningen for at
forbløde i Ensomhed, saaledes havde han
søgt herop til sin forladte østjyske
Fædrenegaard med den Beslutning at
dø uden Vidner.

By then, however, this style had generally become obsolete in prose, though it was still appreciated in poetry, e.g. in a popular song written by Jeppe Aakjær in 1916:

Som dybest Brønd gi’r altid klarest
Vand,
og lifligst Drik fra dunkle Væld
udrinder,
saa styrkes Slægtens Marv hos Barn
og Mand
ved Folkets Arv af dybe, stærke Minder.

In everyday speech, metaphors occur in a good many set phrases, e.g. (with approximate translations) *fare i blækhuset* ‘rush into print’, *gå for lud og koldt vand* ‘be neglected’, *spænde livremmen ind* ‘tighten one’s belt’, *sætte lus i skindpelsen* ‘make mischief’, *ikke til at skyde igennem* ‘irrefutable, invincible’. Some metaphorical phrases are reminiscent of proverbs, e.g. *man skal ikke skue hunden på hårene*, literally ‘one should not judge a dog by its coat’, i.e. appearances are deceptive; *efter de forhåndenværende som’s princip*, literally ‘according to the principle of available nails’, i.e. determined by the accidental resources, was originally known to be a quotation from an eccentric MP. Comparisons are concrete, e.g. *det passer som hånd i handske* ‘it fits like a glove’, *det går som en leg* ‘it goes swimmingly’, *det er så let som at klø sig i nakken* ‘it is as easy as falling off a log’, in slang (supposed

to have been coined by a sports reporter in 1965) *kold som en brøndgravers rov* ‘as cold as a well digger’s arse’.

6. Morphology and syntax

6.1. Morphology vs. syntax

Because of the interdependence between literary and language history, it is not possible to isolate morphology from syntax, except maybe for the use of a few obsolete inflections as poetic archaisms, e.g. adjectives with the original nom.masc. ending *-er* irrespective of the gender and function of the relevant noun, like Vedel’s “en trædsker Quinde”; or Oehlen-schläger’s past tense *aatte* instead of *eiede*, imitating medieval ballad style. In contrast, the original acc.masc. ending *-en* in adjectives was combined only with a governed noun, like Ewald’s “Kong Christjan stoed ved høien Mast”; owing to Oehlen-schläger’s frequent use of them, such collocations became a current element in romantic poetry. A number of archaic verbal forms were also dependent on their syntactic surroundings, e.g. 2sg. *du est/skalt/løjst* and imp. *gak* ‘go’, and pret.pl. *vi/I/de drukke/finge* etc. used by Oehlen-schläger both in his prose imitation of Vedel and in his poetry and copied by other romantic poets.

6.2. Verbal singular and plural

Unlike these poetic archaisms, the general distinction between verbal sg. and pl., though it was probably already about to fall into disuse in the spoken language by 1300, remained a convention in written Danish for centuries. In poetry, exceptions were permitted, cf. Ewald’s stanza quoted in 5 where the pl. subject *Hior-dene* is correctly combined with pl. *brøle/puste/fole*, whereas *Sonner* necessitates sg. in the corresponding rhyme *de stønner*. In Oehlen-schläger’s lines “I som raver i blinde/skal finde/et ældgammelt Minde”, the metre demands sg. *skal* instead of pl. *skulle*, and *raver* may be seen as the result of analogy; but in his following stanza

Underlige Aftenluft!
Hvorhen vinker I min Hu?
Svale, milde Blomsterdufte:
Siig, hvorhen I bølge nu!
Gaaer I over hviden Strand
Til mit elskte Fødeland?
Vil I der med Eders Bølger
Tolke hvad mit Hierte dølger?

it is obvious that he chose sg. *vinker I, Gaaer I* and *Vil I der* (instead of **Ville I*) in order to avoid hiatus, cf. *I bølge*. Such considerations, of course, did not make themselves felt in prose where, however, the force of tradition showed itself in the fact that Hans Christian Andersen stuck to the bookish grammatical distinction even in his fairy tales. The first writers to do away with it were the literary naturalists after 1870. After the year 1900, when schoolchildren were officially granted permission to drop it in their exercises, the distinction soon disappeared from public use; and until it was also abolished in the modern versions of the Old and New Testament (1931 and 1948 respectively), it came to be felt as a characteristic biblical archaism. Nowadays, many Danes no longer understand the implication. For example, Matthew 19:30 may still be quoted “de første skulle blive de sidste og de sidste de første”, but the obsolete pres.pl. *skulle* is likely to be misinterpreted as the past tense, written *skulde* before 1948; the familiar quotation “Vi alene vide”, ascribed to the absolute king Frederik VI in 1835, occurs frequently reshaped with a subject in the sg. though the verbal form is left unchanged, e.g. “han tror at han alene vide” (instead of *ved*).

6.3. Pronoun and article

The enclitic use of pronouns, attested already in some medieval texts, was frequent in the 16th c. reformer Hans Tausen’s popular style, e.g. *tillen, henten, meget* instead of *til den, hente den, mig det*. But it was never fully accepted in the written standard. In modern fiction, e.g. in works by Karl Larsen, Staun and Soya, spellings like *a’et, er’et, gi’en, gaar’et, ha’et, i’en, om’et, var’et* for *af det, er det, give den* etc. clearly signal everyday or even lower-class speech. In the informal spoken standard of today, such pronunciations are considerably less frequent than they used to be. An additional example of the difference between literary and standard usage is the omission of the definite article in a noun phrase with an attributive adjective, e.g. in Oehlenschläger’s verses “Fælt knager Granen i kolde Nat” and “Forladte Hakon fnyser og flygter”. Copied by his romantic followers, this use came to be felt as distinctly poetic but was never admitted to standard prose. It is a curious coincidence that around 1960, similar noun phrases, e.g. “sexede Sophia Loren”, “nyskilte Sybil Burton”, popped up in journalism, not as a revival of 19th c. poetry but obviously modelled on English.

6.4. Syntactic licence

Imitating medieval Danish ballad style, 19th c. romantic poetry exercised some forms of syntactic licence which did not spread to prose: the use of a proclitic pronoun as a kind of definite article, and of post-positional adjectives or pronouns, e.g. “de Nætter”, “den Ganger graa”, “kier Moder min”, quoted from Oehlenschläger. On the whole, syntactic licence had often been resorted to in poetry since the beginning of the 17th c., owing to the stricter metrical demands. One outstanding exception is the 18th c. poet Johannes Ewald, in whose elevated work there is hardly one verse in which the word order is incompatible with prose. His complete opposite in that respect was Grundtvig, whose poems were often marred more or less by very awkward syntax, e.g. “saa lukke maa med Flid jeg tit/for Verdens Klarhed Øie mit”. However, it is noteworthy that poetical deviance from normal syntax was tolerated to a much greater extent in the 19th c. than nowadays; compare the romantic diction in Christian Wilster’s translation of Homer’s *Iliad* 5, 297–301:

Frem Aineias da sprang med sit Skjold
og sin mægtige Landse,
Frygtende svart, at hans Liig af
Achaierne bort skulde slæbes.
Trindt den Faldne han gik i Lid til sin
Kraft som en Løve,
Og over Dødningen holdt han sit Spyd
og sit blankede Rundskjold,
Sindet ihjel at slaae hver den, som
kom ham imøde

with Otto Steen Due’s syntax in his modern translation (1999):

Da sprang Aineias frem med sit skjold
og sin mægtige lanser
for at forhindre Achaiernes folk i at
bortslæbe liget.
Over den døde stod han så tryk ved
sin kraft som en løve,
rede med lanser og skjoldets behændigt
rundede plade,
klar til at dræbe enhver der voved sig
frem i hans nærhed.

Even nursery rhymes were affected, cf. the following lines from *Den store Bastian*, translated from German in 1867: “Hvo ei rede la’r sit Haar, / sine Negle skjære, / han til Spot som Konrad gaaer, / Øgenavn maa bære”. But to-

wards the end of the 19th c., poetic syntax came gradually closer to prose and eventually merged with it in the 20th c., though traditional licence might still occur in metric poetry, e.g. in a modern hymn: “bittert var bægret, som fyldt vi dig rakte, / da med dit legeme døden du brød” (by Holger Lissner, 1990). However, metric rhymed poetry had had its day soon after the middle of the 20th c., surviving only in poems intended to be sung, particularly hymns and popular ballads.

6.5. Legal and academic syntax

The oldest Danish prose texts, after the brief and rather monotonous runic inscriptions, were the medieval provincial laws, for which the Preface of the Jutlandic Law in 1241 expressed the aim that they should be “opænbaræ, swa at allæ mæn mughæ witæ oc undærstandæ hwat loghæn sighær” [clear, in order that all men may know and understand what the law says]. In general, the provincial laws did live up to this claim, but sometimes the intricacy of the matter in question would cause the lawmaker’s syntax to waver, reflecting probably also the looseness of everyday speech. For example, where the Jutlandic Law provides that a man’s concubine may, under certain circumstances, obtain the position of a wedded wife, the lawmaker’s view and, consequently, the grammatical subject change suddenly from the man to his concubine:

Hwa sum hauær slækæfrith i garth
mæth sik, oc gangær opænbarlich
mæth at souæ, oc hauær laas oc
lykki, oc sökær atæ oc dryk mæth
opænbarlich i thre wintær, hvn
skal wæræ athalkunæ oc ræt hwsfrø.

Legal instruments other than laws, e.g. royal orders, were originally written in Latin; and when, towards the end of the 14th c., the central administration changed the language to Danish, its model remained the elaborate Latin style. The resulting Danish civil service style (*kancellistil*), with its intended clarity expressed in lengthy periods, had a lasting influence on the literary language, though less on fiction than on historical narratives, essays and scholarly literature. It is obvious in the following quotation from one of Ludvig Holberg’s essays, published in 1748:

og varede dette [viz. an unsuccessful marriage] indtil paafulte Skilsmisse, da efter

et nyt Ægteskab, som ogsaa havde et ulykkeligt Udfald, hun omsider tredie Gang begav sig udi Ægteskab med en gemeen Matrods, med hvilken, endskiønt han dagligen handlede ilde med hende, hun sagde, sig at leve langt meere fornøyet, end udi det første Ægteskab.

The generation after Holberg, feeling his style to be obsolete, took the syntactic elegance of contemporary French belles-lettres for their new model, but the general idea of standard written Danish was not shattered. It is symptomatic that passages like the following occur in B. S. Ingemann’s highly popular historical novel *Valdemar Seier* (1826):

Den tidlig vakte Æresfølelse i det barnlige Sind fandt Saxo det betænkeligt ved Mistillid at krænke; men for at forebygge alle farlige Følger, som Tiden, Stedet og Drengens levende Indbildningskraft kunde medføre, besluttede han, hemmelig at blive der i Nærheden, og forlod kun Capellet for ubemærket, gennem en Sidedør fra Sacristiet, at vende tilbage og skjule sig i den mørke Krog, hvorfra han, ved Skinnet af Lygten paa Gravstenen og den nylig opstaaede Maane, kunde bemærke enhver af den unge Helts Bevægelser.

6.6. Syntax of speech

While specimens of the syntax of speech occur in Holberg’s comedies and e.g. in a novel by J. C. Tode (1791; cf. the quotation in Skautrup 1953, III, 229), it was not until the 1830s that Hans Christian Andersen ventured to introduce it into the very narrative of his fairy tales (except for the traditional distinction between verbal sg. and pl., cf. 6.2). After 1870, literary naturalism and particularly impressionism endeavoured to close the gap between written and spoken language, though, of course, the author’s narrative would still be less “natural” than the direct speech of his characters with perhaps an anacoluthic and/or sociolectal colouring, like the following quotation from a short story by Karl Larsen (1896):

Som nu med min Kone, jeg véd ikke rigtig, men det ka’ godt være engang i en Kæfer, dengang vi var forlovede, at jeg har fortalt hende, jeg ha’de saadan en [viz. an ex-girlfriend with the speaker’s illegitimate child], for *no’et* forberedt paa den første, det var hun.

Fiction writers after 1870 would often mingle the use of direct and reported speech with free indirect speech. This intermediate mode was felt by many contemporary readers to be a novelty characteristic of modern narrative style. However, free indirect speech occurred sporadically already in medieval narration, e. g. in a legend in *Jesu Barndoms Bog* (1508) where young Jesus is accused of having caused the death of a playmate:

Wor herre ihesus bad thet døde barn, at thet sculde siæ for alth folket obenbare, huar thu æst fallen, oc om ieg sloo teg eller giorde teg noget ont, tha sig ræth sanningen ther pa.

Brøndum-Nielsen (1953) has shown that free indirect speech originated in popular narrative style. Having, of course, introduced it into his fairy tales, Hans Christian Andersen made use of free indirect speech also in his last novel *Lykke-Peer* (1870): “Faermoer [told that she] havde boet paa Postgaarden, det var dyrt til Forfærdelse”. But it is true that this element of narrative style became particularly frequent in impressionistic fiction after 1870. Growing less remarkable in 20th c. fiction, it occurred even in Karen Blixen’s deliberately old-fashioned style.

6.7. Conclusion

It is apparent from the preceding outline that in the history of Danish language and literature, there has been a constant interaction between literary and standard usage. The 20th c. has seen a growing influence from the mod-

ern spoken language on literary style which, in the case of syntax, may seem to match a purely native diction in the oldest medieval texts. It is, however, noteworthy that the traditional view held by Skautrup (1944) was severely criticized by Diderichsen (1968, 93–98) who pointed to Latin syntactic models even for the style of the Old Danish provincial laws. As to foreign influence on syntax after ca. 1500, Skautrup (1947–68, II–IV) took only original Danish texts into consideration; the possible intermediary influence of translations from foreign languages has so far not been investigated.

7. Literature (a selection)

Albeck, Ulla (1939, 7th ed. 1973), *Dansk Stilistik*. København.

Brøndum-Nielsen, Johs. (1953), Dækning – Oratio tecta i dansk Litteratur før 1870. In: *Festskrift udgivet af Københavns Universitet i anledning af universitetets årsfest*. København, 1–117.

Diderichsen, Paul (1968), *Dansk prosahistorie I*, 1. København.

Karker, Allan (1993, 2nd ed. 2001), *Dansk i tusind år* (Mødersmål-Selskabets Årbog 1993). København.

Møller Kristensen, Sven (1955, reprint 1965), *Impressionismen i dansk prosa 1870–1900*. København.

Rubow, Paul V. (1923, reprint 1968), *Saga og Pastiche*. København.

Skautrup, Peter (1944–70), *Det danske sprogs historie I–V*. København.

Allan Karker, Århus (Denmark)

50. Nordic language history and literary history II: Sweden

1. Introduction
2. Literary and non-literary genres
3. Research situation
4. The genre of poetry
5. The genre of drama
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8. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

An account of the development of a language can be made from the standpoint of “language as a system” or “language as practised”. The history of the Swedish language has been charted from the perspectives of both language and style. For language history all aspects of linguistic development can be studied and all kinds of written documents can serve as sources. For stylistic development the focus is on linguistic variation which is determined by different factors: epoch, genre and author. Such variation can involve both quantitative and qualitative deviations from “standard language”. However, the history of language and the history of style are not entirely distinct concepts, as can be seen in work from the various research traditions.

2. Literary and non-literary genres

The concept of “literature” has been restricted here to fiction, divided into three main genres: poetry, drama and prose. Below, the development of the Swedish literary language will be presented by genre and in chronological order. Only original Swedish texts will be dealt with. In addition, aspects of how literature is related to the “standard language” will be considered. This will in fact cover a wide spectrum of different genre languages, including the fundamental difference between spoken and written language. There are features of the language of a period that are in the main common to all genres. On the whole, literature reflects contemporary language. However, the traditional Swedish poetry right up to the end of the 19th century also reflects the poetic language of older times. In the modernistic literature of the 20th century there is, on the other hand, a need to shake off traditional restraints, disregarding established grammatical forms and “correct” language. In surveys of Swedish literature the term “syntactic revolt” has been coined, applied above all to poetry but also to prose.

The great writers are regarded as highly conscious stylists who have in various ways influenced the development of the language. An interesting task for linguists is to compare the development of literary and non-literary language. As non-literary texts are almost without exception in prose form, such a comparison can only be made with literary prose, while the genres of poetry and drama have to be left aside. Attempts have been made to consider literary and non-literary prose side by side in order to find out whether they develop in parallel, whether one text genre influences the other and, in that case, which one directs the development.

3. Research situation

Comprehensive research on the development of the language of Swedish literature compared to “ordinary language” and based on recurring patterns has not been carried out so far. Some isolated investigations can, however, be mentioned. Engdahl (1962), in his studies of non-literary prose from 1878 to 1950, has shown that sentence structure, measured in terms of the number of words and clauses, was clearly simplified during this period and that this development was paralleled in literature. The same pattern applies to words and forms close to spoken language. For example, the Swedish negator *inte*, which is the common spoken alternative, first gained ground in dialogue, then penetrated into narrative passages and finally into light non-literary texts. The singular verb form represented by the type *de går* first entered literary prose, then the language of the press and other forms of non-literary prose. A similar development has been pointed out by Östman (1992) in her study of the rise of short word forms in written language. The short forms were first used to differentiate dialogue and narrative, and then gained a foothold in narrative and non-literary light prose. A conclusion reached in these studies is that the modern emergence of such elements in the standard language during the 20th century originates in the language of literary prose. A third study concerns grammatical words such as pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions, which have not been considered to be of any stylistic importance (Thavenius 1972). This study shows that prose, in comparison with poetry, has a much higher fre-

quency of grammatical words. In lyric poetry, only a few conjunctions are used to mark relationships, while prose employs the whole register. Thelander (1970) also carried out an investigation based on literary and non-literary prose, showing that change has been more rapid in the former. Some of his findings are that the length of sentences in literary prose has decreased, just like the length of clauses and words. Finally, mention should also be made of the investigation by Haskå (1972) on the use of the deviant phrases *det vida hav* ('the wide ocean') and *vida havet* alongside the normal standard variant *det vida havet* in Swedish poetry between 1500 and 1940. To some extent these deviant forms also occur in prose, but they must be considered typical of traditional poetry, where considerations of rhyme and meter and an idealised archaic style ideal have guided the use of linguistic forms.

Isolated investigations have also been carried out concerning epoch styles, writers and genres, most of them in the form of monographic descriptions of authorship or of individual works. The greatest part of the material available has not, however, been studied. Some historical surveys have been published. The first was written by Svanberg, *Svensk stilistik* (1936), which describes the development of styles in Swedish literature, and it is still the only survey of its kind. In *Epoker och prosastilar* (1967) Holm has surveyed the development from Icelandic sagas to modern prose, which mainly involves a progression from simple colloquial syntax to complex Latin-influenced syntax with its focus on sentence structure. In a large-scale work Hallberg (1982) has described the development of figurative language. After a theoretical introduction, he offers a description of important older sources of metaphor (e.g. the Bible, Homer), followed by a survey of the figurative language of some authors and groups of authors from the 17th century to the present.

4. The genre of poetry

4.1. The ballad

During the Middle Ages, literary language in Sweden was mostly in the form of translations, even though original Swedish poetry has been found. An important genre was the medieval ballad. The *ballad* is a genre common to all the Nordic countries and is perhaps the first Swedish secular genre that can be called literary. A distinction is made between the West

Nordic and the East Nordic ballad. Since ballads were handed down orally for centuries and were only at a late stage recorded in several variants, they reflect the language of different periods, which changed more rapidly in the East than in the West Nordic countries. The ballads use an epic-dramatic technique where dialogue is frequent. Although ballads occur in many variant forms, they also have linguistic traits in common which have been preserved. They use older inflectional forms: e.g. the definite form of a noun is similar to German (*den hind* 'the hind'). In syntax, inversion and parataxis stand out. The ballads contain older poetic words and phrases, which occur as stereotypes in several ballads, e.g. words for girl, weapons and articles of clothing. However, metaphors are very unusual. The language of the ballads is formulaic but provides information about medieval vocabulary (Wessén 1928).

The modes of expression typical of the ballad form the basis for a popular Swedish song tradition, and even 19th century poets were inspired by the ballad style, which they thought was popular in origin. Swedish poetic licence is based on this ballad language, for the language of poetry is largely determined by the requirements of rhythm, metre and sound and thus exhibits many deviations from standard language. This is especially true of traditional poetry right up to the 20th century. Such poetry often preserves older elements of language. Later, at the end of the 19th century, when free verse was introduced, the genre was modernized, and new and bolder types of deviations from standard language appear.

4.2. From baroque to classicism

Swedish literature in the modern sense originates in the 17th century. Swedish baroque style took its models from Europe and applied them to verse. Baroque style aims at striking and surprising effects, achieved by means of a rich rhetorical apparatus and linguistic devices. The most famous baroque poem is Georg Stiernhielm's *Hercules*, the first hexametric poem in the Swedish language. The model is Latin hexameter, with the important difference that Latin hexameter is based on the quantitative measure of long and short syllables while Stiernhielm's relies on the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables. The poem contains phonetic effects, long multi-segmented epithets (*frisk-dagg-drypande*), bold metaphors, antitheses, circumlocutions and

puns, mythological allusions, exclamations etc. The wealth of vocabulary is impressive with its mixture of ornamental words, archaisms and specific words, which give an insight into contemporary colloquial language. The choice of words is Swedish with a sprinkling of Old Nordic archaisms, which led the author to add an explanatory glossary (Ståhle 1975).

Stiernhielm was not only a poet but also a philosopher and linguist. He was fascinated by the Old Nordic words and was convinced that they phonetically expressed the original divine meaning. He had a definite conception of the effect of different vowels and consonants in the language. In his poetry he has also, by coining numerous new words, demonstrated the wide possibilities in Swedish for creating compounds. This gives Stiernhielm a place also in the history of Swedish word-formation.

The development of Swedish verse led by Stiernhielm is an important explanation for the extensive publication of verse in the 17th century. Also, Andreas Arvidi published a handbook on composing poetry with the accent on problems concerned with versification: *Manuductio ad Poesin Svecanam* (1651; Ståhle 1975). Other poets who used verse and language with masterly skill, for instance forming new imaginative compounds, were Lars Lucidor and Johan Runius. These and many other less distinguished poets also wrote commissioned honorific poems, so-called personal verse, for weddings, birthdays and funerals. This particular verse genre was marked by conventional structure and language.

A great part of 17th-century poetry has been classified in literary history as baroque. The delimitation of baroque as an epoch style has, however, been questioned by Olsson (1980). He examined texts from the period 1600–1760, showing a difference in substance and language progression. Olsson characterizes the period between 1640 and 1670 as Renaissance style and the time up to 1740 as baroque, followed by classical style.

4.3. Classicism

Classicism was a general European reaction against the linguistic exaggerations of the baroque period and the mixture of different stylistic levels. The period is characterized by strong linguistic awareness and the beginning of public concern for language. In this period the Swedish Academy was founded with the purpose of guarding the development of the

Swedish language. A group of writers appeared who created the first golden age of Swedish poetry, which was the main genre of the period. Two of these writers, Carl Gustaf af Leopold and Johan Henrik Kellgren, made public appearances dealing with linguistic questions and influenced the development of the Swedish language. The linguistic ideal of classicism was based on the poetics of Boileau, where a strict dividing line was drawn between genres: high, middle and low. A linguistic purge involved the weeding out of concrete and popular words and phrases. The result was an impersonal, more abstract kind of language with a highly restricted vocabulary in genres such as the epic, didactic poetry and tragedy. To the extent that concrete words did occur, their meaning often glided into common symbolism, e.g. *aska* ('ashes') takes on the meaning 'mortal remains of a dead person'. Such poems made constant references to ancient mythology and culture. The dominance of nouns during French classicism, the inclination to establish abstractions and to nominalize adjectives and verbs, have often been mentioned as definitive of classical style. The rhetorical apparatus was more or less retained from the baroque period but was used in a more sober manner so that for instance metaphors, and vocabulary generally, were standardized, while loanwords and imitation were more highly regarded than neologisms. In other genres, for instance the epigram and satire, writers strove for an elegant and natural language representing contemporary spoken language typical of conversation in the higher social circles. The most prominent writers of these genres were Johan Henrik Kellgren and Anna Maria Lenngren. Both supported the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment but presented them in different ways, Kellgren more abstractly and Lenngren more concretely. This has been thought to illustrate the difference between male and female, but this aspect has not been more closely studied. The greatest poet of the period, Carl Michael Bellman, nevertheless broke the rules of classicism and in *Fredmans epistlar* created his own unique genre with its own language, which contained both classical and naturalistic features, often in the same poem, and in which the colloquial speech of the lower classes was represented, more attention being paid to the demands of the verse and the context than to rules (Modéer 1953). Bellman used a concrete vocabulary, for instance, common nouns like *gädda* ('pike') and *svala* ('swal-

low'). Bellman created his own metrical patterns which conformed to borrowed melodies and were adjusted to the content. This technique contrasts with the Alexandrine form cherished in classicism. Bellman's vocabulary has invited research, leading to a glossary of *Fredmans epistlar* (Larsson/Hellqvist 1967) and a large number of studies. Bellman's vocabulary was not influenced by French, in spite of the fact that there was abundant borrowing of French words into Swedish during this period. French also influenced the poetic language of this period syntactically. Typical instances were the use of a preposition in verb phrases (e. g. *neka ngt åt ngn*) and periphrasis of the future aspect with an infinitive: *gå att* (Stenfors 1994).

4.4. From classicism to romanticism

During the last stage of the classical period, literature displayed an emotive trend which had in fact existed before as an undercurrent, but which now increased in strength and contrasted with the previous markedly intellectual attitude. The transition was already noticeable in Kellgren, who had earlier been one of the chief defenders of reason. During the preromantic period that followed classicism and was a reaction against it, emotively and formally innovative poets like Thomas Thorild and Bengt Lidner appeared. Thorild emphasized in theoretical writings the right of the poet to break rules in order to create his own. The preromantic movement is linguistically characterized by highly emotional or intimately ordinary vocabulary, and new irregular structures violate the classical genre patterns. An excellent example of this new style is the large poem *Grevinnan Spastaras död* by Lidner, where strongly subjective and emotional words and a great number of outbursts, interruptions, exclamation and other punctuation marks in irregular lines of verse form a sharp contrast to the ideals of classicism.

The transition from one epoch to another can also be studied in one and the same author, Esaias Tegnér, who became perhaps the chief representative during the romantic period proper. His youthful poetry has been studied, and proves him to be a disciple of the classical movement (Mjöberg 1911). The central principle here was not to create an individual style but to conform to existing models and in this way show familiarity with classical literature. Tegnér was no exception. But in spite of this, new features emerged in Tegnér

which came to be typical of the romantic period: an interest in the Nordic past and its mythology ("gothicism"), and a striving for fresher metaphors, now not only from the over-used metaphorical resources of classicism but from down-to-earth, prosaic reality, in this respect heralding Strindberg's revitalization of metaphorical language. As one of the greatest creators of figurative language in Swedish literature, Tegnér stands out through his readiness to seek the right and effective metaphor.

What is of interest when considering the transition from one period to another is what is retained as an achievement and what is added. This has been dealt with in a lengthy description of the heyday of the Swedish romantic movement focusing on one of the leading poets, Erik Johan Stagnelius (Malmström 1961). The romanticists retain the baroque rhetorical devices but concretize the vocabulary, at the same time introducing a number of highly poetic simple words and compounds of these. Different verse forms are used with great mastery, e. g. the canzone and the sonnet of the Romance Renaissance, and great stress is laid on the purely musical sound effects of the words. The most conspicuous feature is the use of so-called ornamental words, both as simple words and as compounds, e. g. *purpur-purpurnmoln*, *guld-guldmoln*. In Gothic poems, i. e. poems with Old Nordic themes, Old Nordic words and proper nouns were used, while poetry inspired by folk songs is characterized by poetic words as well as concrete words side by side. The poet who more than others utilized everyday words, giving them a poetic touch, was Johan Ludvig Runeberg, the Finnish national poet, above all in hexametric poems and in the collection of poems called *Fänrik Ståls sägner* ('The Tales of Ensign Stål'). A study of poetic licence in 19th-century poetry (Berg 1903) demonstrates that there were a great number of grammatical deviations from prose texts, for instance as regards inflections and word forms, phraseology and word order. The deviations do not stem solely from metrical factors but are also used deliberately to create a specific poetic style, but the result is often a deviant use of language. Another effect is the frequent use of reduced word forms e. g. *solen-soln*, *sedansen*), which coincide with those of spoken language. Other reductions in the form of elision and syncope may, on the other hand, be of a type unknown in spoken language, e. g. *papegoja* from *papegoja* ('parrot').

4.5. Late 19th-century poetry

In the 1880s, when naturalism prevailed, a trend was broken and different levels of style were utilized in verse: highly poetic styles side by side with sober naturalistic ones. This had happened before in Swedish poetry. Free verse was now introduced and involved a partly naturalistic choice of words and more colloquial language, represented by authors like August Strindberg (e.g. *klorofyllgrönt* ('chlorophyll-green'), *schäslong* ('coach')). In the 1890s, Swedish literature witnessed another golden age with poets like Verner von Heidenstam, Gustaf Fröding and Erik Axel Karlfeldt. Rhythm and sound, highly poetic words, among them Biblical and archaic ones, played an important part, as did everyday words and metaphors. The chief exponent of such a style, both poetic and colloquial, was Fröding. During this period, pastiche was also cherished, and ballad style, baroque style and classical style were imitated with great skill.

4.6. 20th century poetry and modernism

In the first decades of the 20th century, free verse was used by symbolism and expressionism. The symbolism is based on nature and musical effects but relies on traditional syntax and metaphorical language. It is represented in Swedish poetry above all by Vilhelm Ekelund and Edith Södergran. Expressionism has a distinctive, peculiar syntax and ungrammatical clause structure, ellipses and long compound words, strongly emotive and dynamic words, often in semantically unusual combinations, as well as a bold use of figurative language in which there is often no clear semantic relationship between image and content. The chief expressionist poets are Edith Södergran, Elmer Diktonius, Pär Lagerkvist and Birger Sjöberg (the collection *Kriser och kransar*; Helén 1946). Sjöberg also created the lyrics and music for *Fridas visor* in a partly colloquial style with conscious stylistic violations. Sjöberg carried on a tradition from Bellman and was succeeded by Evert Taube, who was also both poet and musician. An entirely individual, fragmentary and syntax-violating poetic style was, however, developed by Gunnar Björling. It should be pointed out here that three of the leading modernists, Södergran, Diktonius and Björling, hail from the Swedish-speaking part of Finland. In the 1930s and 1940s surrealism arose, with texts dominated by rather obscure metaphorical

language. The chief representatives of this movement in Sweden are Gunnar Ekelöf and Erik Lindegren. Collectively, all these movements can be labelled as modernism, but this concept is consequently very heterogeneous. Its characteristics include: (1) Free verse, often close to prose, changing with the content and thus giving rise to nonrecurrent forms; (2) New structural approaches: associative structure, a stream of metaphors, composition imitating music; (3) Linguistic compression, both syntactic and visual; (4) Associative, autonomous metaphors which often support the central content; (5) Bold collocations in the form of phrases and compounds; (6) Often a mixture of styles with literary language, specialist terms and everyday language. It is, however, important to observe that, alongside modernistic poetry, traditional verse with regular rhythm and a "poetic" vocabulary was also written. In the 1950s, as a reaction against the obscurity of modernism, so-called neo-simple verse, close to prose and in imitation of colloquial language, was written (e.g. by Sonja Åkesson). In the 1960s, use was made of the collage technique and concretism as non-linguistic modes of expression, such as pictures and emblems of different types.

5. The genre of drama

5.1. 17th-century dramas

Drama forms a special genre in the sense that the text almost exclusively consists of turns of speech, possibly interrupted by brief stage directions. The turns of speech may resemble spoken language or, on the other hand, may be stylized in a manner foreign to colloquial speech. The latter is true of verse dramas, produced in Sweden up to the middle of the 19th century, when prose took over. The history of Swedish drama can be said to begin in the 17th century with Biblical and historical plays, comedies and school dramas. They were written in medieval doggerel verse, which to some extent imitated spoken language, and they were characterized by a concrete, often harsh and colloquial language with invectives and expletives (Stähle 1975). An important verse unit was the rhymed couplet. The word order was most often natural, but more archaic features were also in evidence. There are also dramas containing a mixture of language styles. In realistic dramas one can for instance follow the emerging use of a singular verb

form with a plural subject. A study has been produced of how the language has changed in this respect starting from the 17th century (Larsson 1988).

5.2. 18th-century drama

In the 18th century, drama was a highly appreciated genre. A stylistic convention of the time decreed that tragedies should be written in verse and comedies in prose. Many of the dramas of the period, perhaps mainly comedies, were translations from French. In the 1830s, three Swedish comedies were written, one by Carl Gyllenborg, *Swänska Sprätt-höken*. It is written in a natural colloquial style, so that the characters representing various social levels speak in different ways (Widmark 1969). Spoken language is also rendered naturalistically in A. F. Ristell's *Några mil från Stockholm* (Grip 1901). Some other comedies from this century have also been preserved, and we are fortunate that the contemporary Stockholm pronunciation has been marked in many of the actors' copies of the texts (Hillman 1973).

5.3. August Strindberg

Between 1830 and the 1870s, before Strindberg, many historical dramas were written, usually in blank verse, sometimes with inserted colloquial prose passages, as in Shakespeare. A new type of drama emerged in the 1870s with Strindberg's *Mäster Olof* plays, written in three main versions. Their language has been analysed by Liljestrand (1976, 1980). Strindberg's ambition was to write in close imitation of spoken language. He reached this goal only partly, but he created an effective dramatic prose language based on the Icelandic style of dialogue. In his subsequent and prolific output of dramas, which reached most of the stages in the world, Strindberg developed his dramatic technique, which he adapted to the content: contemporary language for contemporary action and mixed with archaic language for historical events. In his late works, especially his chamber plays, Strindberg developed an associative dialogue language that more closely imitated colloquial speech. A comprehensive analysis of Strindberg's linguistic development as a dramatist has not yet been made. This could be accomplished using linguistic methods and conversational analysis.

5.4. 20th-century dramas

The dramas of the 20th century have not been studied from a linguistic point of view. Prominent authors of the first half of the century are Hjalmar Bergman, who published some of his novels in dramatic form as well, and Pär Lagerkvist, who in his expressionistic dramas followed in the footsteps of the late Strindberg. The most recent period is represented by Lars Norén, who has imitated an everyday form of language and in addition experimented by letting the actors themselves construct their dialogue. To this must be added radio and TV dramas, all uninvestigated from a linguistic point of view.

6. The prose genre

6.1. 18th-century prose

The genre of original literary prose had a late start in Sweden. A limited range of Swedish prose literature did exist, for instance recorded folk tales. Olof von Dalin can therefore be considered the first author in this genre. In the 1730s he wrote short stories on different themes for *Den svenska Argus*, and in *Sagan om hästen* he dealt with a section of Swedish history in the style of Swedish folk tales. Dalin created a modern journalistic style which does not imitate Latin but is based on Swedish vocabulary, syntax and clause structure. Dalin opposed French influence, adjusted his language to content and was a master of style imitation. In a second edition, 20 years later, Dalin elevated his stylistic level and made it more classical and less colloquial. The style became more formal. Dalin's prose played an important part in the development of written Swedish as many of his grammatical features became normative (Hillman 1970, Widmark 1998). In the travel accounts of the scientist Carl von Linné there are passages with a literary flavour, and this is also the case in other travel writing during this period. Linné's use of language draws attention to the exact factual terms ("factual poetry"). His clause structure is distinctive, as Linné often introduces a clause by a thematic word which serves as a heading. His matter-of-factness and simplicity set a fashion in Swedish descriptions of nature (Fries 1971).

6.2. The prose of the 19th century

The first Swedish prose novel was published as late as the 1740s. In the early 19th century,

there were a few novelists like Fredrik Cederborgh and Claes Livijn, but then Carl Jonas Love Almqvist appeared. In his vast body of work, Almqvist mastered both romantic and realistic language, mixing various modes of expression (drama, poetry, letters etc.). Almqvist's realistic prose is an important source of knowledge about the language of the 19th century. Studies of Almqvist's language focus on his synaesthesia, changes made in his manuscripts and his realistic dialogue. Individual novels and short stories have been studied, and Almqvist's work is also included in dissertations on 19th-century prose (Janzén 1946, Wieselgren 1971). In spite of this, most aspects of Almqvist's language and narrative technique still remain to be investigated.

As regards female writers from the first half of the 19th century, Emilie Flygare-Carlén's use of language has been studied (Janzén 1946) in connection with dialogue in 19th-century novels. In Flygare-Carlén's novels, the dialogue is markedly dialectal, even for the main characters, which was something new in Swedish prose. Janzén shows how the dialogue in the novels of the 19th century became socially differentiated: the upper classes used speech typical of written language and the lower classes used every-day colloquial language. Examples of the language of the lower classes are enclitic forms of pronouns (e.g. *tro't* = *tro det*, 'believe it'), reduced forms of common verbs e.g. *ta* = *taga*, 'take') and adverbs (e.g. *lite* = *litet*, 'little'), every-day words and syntax, for instance singular verb forms with plural subjects (e.g. *de tror* = *de tro*). Another prominent female writer was Fredrika Bremer; a few more could be mentioned. A new field of research might be a comparison of the language and narrative technique of these female writers and of their male colleagues.

Viktor Rydberg, poet, prose writer and an important personality in the field of culture, imitated Latin sentence structure in *Den siste atenaren*, but opposed German influence on Swedish as regards the choice and formation of words. This can be studied in his novels *Singoalla* and *Vapensmeden*. Rydberg was active not only as a literary figure but also as a journalist, which gave him the opportunity to spread his puristic conception of language. A number of Swedish words which Rydberg used to replace loanwords have gained a foothold in the language, for instance *kynne* 'character' and *flertal* 'majority' (Holm 1918).

6.3. August Strindberg and Selma Lagerlöf
Modern Swedish prose emerged with August Strindberg's *Röda rummet* (1879). This novel contains both traditional features of written language and modern elements taken over from spoken language. The choice of words and the phraseology are concrete, with a sprinkling of traditional formal words, while the sentence structure is of both an older and newer type. Strindberg's dialogue is rapid and effective, imitating speech, and is comparable to the language of his dramas. His vocabulary is extensive in many fields: natural science, technology, medicine etc. and is considered to be unsurpassed in range and precision in Swedish literature. For instance, the novels *Hemsöborna* (1887; Dahlbäck 1974) and *I havsbandet* (1890) jointly contain a very great number of highly specific words referring to scenery, the sea, nature, plants, birds etc. This precision and concreteness could be said to follow in the tradition started by Linné. A glossary of Strindberg's language is being compiled. Through for instance dynamic and dramatic force he enlivens even his prose texts. Strindberg's rich metaphorical language is innovative and varied both formally, involving a modification and extension of over-used metaphors, and in the choice of images, as he progressively utilized more and more new terms and concepts, found in contemporary technology and science (Kärnell 1962).

Selma Lagerlöf made her debut in 1891 with the novel *Gösta Berlings saga*. It is characterized by rhetorical and emotive language with many stylistic figures and interjections but with simple sentence structure. This style is exceptional in Selma Lagerlöf's output, which comprises prose exclusively. In *Nils Holgersson* (1906–1907), written as a textbook for elementary schools, and in subsequent works, she used a different type of language based on oral narrative tradition and folk tales. This book paved the way for a closer connection between Swedish written and spoken language.

Strindberg and Lagerlöf have influenced both the literary and the standard language. At the end of the 19th century, the language debate was led by influential scholars who, opposing Latin-influenced written language, held up the spoken language as a model. Noreen considered Strindberg the foremost stylist of his time and prophesied that his language would become classic and normative. Strindberg is considered to have contributed

to the establishment of modern language by his use of colloquial elements not only in dialogue but also in narration. This probably contributed to the adaptation of similar elements in lighter non-literary prose genres.

6.4. The turn of the century and the early 20th century

In 1895 Hjalmar Söderberg made his debut. He used a stylized form of spoken language which followed French and Danish prose style as regards the choice of words, syntax and clause structure. Rhetorical figures are almost completely lacking. Söderberg's seemingly simple style and narrative technique have been admired and imitated. In the domain of lyric poetry, he had a contemporary counterpart in Bo Bergman who, in opposition to the romantic style of the 1890s, created a simple but expressive poetic language.

The following period (1910–1920) is marked by a more academic style with complex clause structures based on the written language. In the 1920s a “syntactic revolt” began, the main representatives of which were Pär Lagerkvist and Tage Aurell. Consciously approaching colloquial language, Lagerkvist wrote sentence fragments and main clauses linked by commas. Lagerkvist's choice of words is simple and lacks rhetorical figures. Aurell used sentence fragments where clause constituents were reduced to the utmost, and deviant punctuation. In Aurell's prose the dividing line between narrative, reflection and dialogue has been dispensed with, also linguistically. In spite of colloquial elements and a sparse use of rhetorical figures, the language is far removed from spoken language. Aurell's technique is similar to that of lyric modernism and has been further developed by other writers. This is a field that has not been investigated.

In the 1930s the so-called working-class writers appeared, among them Jan Fridegård and Ivar Lo-Johansson. They were self-taught and came from a non-bourgeois milieu. They described the environment in which they had grown up and used a colloquial type of language with every-day, often harsh words, simple syntax and clause structure. One of them, Eyvind Johnson, little by little widened his world picture and described various environments in different periods, which required more complex language. The intricate structure and symbolism of one of his novels, *Hans nådes tid*, has been studied by Söderberg

(1980). In the 1930s most prose writers stopped using plural verb forms, and the same development took place in the weeklies.

6.5. Modern prose

The prose literature over the next five decades is almost boundless in content, narrative techniques and language variety. Here only the main features can be indicated. The realistic writers continued to stick to the colloquial trend and developed it both in narration and dialogue. Statistically this has meant shorter words, shorter sentences with fewer clauses and shorter clause constituents, more sentences consisting of a single clause and more nominal sentences. Many writers have also developed an effective technique of rendering authentic spoken language in its different social and individual variants. A characteristic feature of modern realistic prose is that large portions of the text, in some cases up to 50%, are made up of dialogue. This technique already occurs in older narratives, for instance in the folk tale, where action and dialogue are dominant. In modern times the technique is also supported by the fact that colloquial language has attained a position of its own and that many writers have lent an attentive ear to authentic speech. But stylized dialogue which does not imitate spoken language occurs as well. Spoken communication in literary prose has been illustrated in theory and practice in two works (Liljestrand 1983, London 1989). Great epic writing is above all represented by Vilhelm Moberg in novels that have become classic, e.g. in a series of novels about Swedish emigration. Moberg is an eminent stylist, displaying a rich variety of colloquial simplicity, including dialectal elements and American-Swedish as well as archaisms and rhetorical figures. Documentary prose (e.g. Per Olof Sundman and Per Olov Enqvist) imitates informal non-literary prose with a sprinkling of specialist terms, with simple syntax and clause structure and an absence of rhetorical figures. Close to this style is also that of other realistic writers, for instance P. C. Jersild, who has rendered medical and administrative jargon as well as the Swedish and the diary style of immigrants. In the tradition of Linné, Harry Martinson used detailed scientific vocabulary and a great number of neologisms and advanced metaphorical language. Writers like Sara Lidman and Torgny Lindgren use the dialect of Norrland, combined with scriptural language. Hovering between

different modes of presentation, choices of words and metaphors, syntax and clause structure, Lidman creates an individual style, based not only on spoken language, while Lindgren builds on oral narrative tradition with forms and compounds from the Norrland dialect.

7. Final words

It is clear from this brief survey that Swedish literary language will have to be described with due regard to different genres. It also is obvious that there are great gaps in our knowledge, due to the fact that most research efforts have been sporadic. Language ought to be described in a manner that transcends boundary lines, so that, for instance, structure, cohesion, narrative technique and dialogue structure are integrated with linguistic analysis. Ideas for such research can be found for instance in a relatively recent collection of studies of style, *Stilstudier* (1996). It is also an urgent matter to study the role of dialects, not least in the prose of the last few decades.

The variation found in the language of literature over the course of time fluctuates between a complex style based on the written language and a simple style representing spoken language. Colloquial language in non-literary prose, literary prose and drama, has played an important role in the development of written language from the Latin tradition to the original Swedish one based on spoken forms of morphology, syntax and clause structure. This is probably related to factors described above: first the spoken language was established in literary dialogue, then also in narrative and simultaneously in lighter non-literary prose. When elements closely related to spoken language have penetrated into all types of text, including the modern translation of the Bible, they become neutral on the stylistic scale. This has been a link in the democratization of language. The fact that more exclusive views of language also exist, for instance in the literature of modernism, is in this connection a marginal phenomenon.

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Translated by Rolf Lindholm

51. Nordic language history and literary history III: Norway

1. Introduction
2. The situation at the beginning of the 19th century
3. Henrik Wergeland and the National Romanticism
4. The Modern Breakthrough
5. Landsmål – a new literary language
6. A literary shift of focus: The 1890s
7. Literary language and dialect. Ideological invocations
8. Modernism – Nynorsk and Bokmål
9. Literature (a selection)

This article focuses on various aspects of the relationships between the language history and literary history of Norway from the last decades of the 18th century up to the present day. Taking a mainly chronological perspective, the article describes and discusses the development of the two literary languages of Norway, within the frames of general language development and the changing aesthetic norms of literature.

1. Introduction

A glimpse at the table of contents of a Norwegian language history book convinces us of the close connection between language history and literary history. To take Vemund Skard's *Norsk språkhistorie III. 1814–1884* as an example, most of the chapters of his book borrow their names from the canon of Norwegian authors of fiction: Henrik Wergeland, Ivar Aasen, Aasmund O. Vinje, Henrik Ibsen, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Jonas Lie, Alexander Kielland. The only linguist, apart from Aasen, who is given a separate chapter is Knud Knudsen, Aasen's contemporary and a father figure

for the Bokmål movement which advocated the gradual Norwegianization of the Danish written language. This example strongly signals the impact that writers of fiction are supposed to have had on language development in the 19th century, not only in their capacity as competent and innovative users of the written language, but in many cases as participants in the public debate on language issues as well.

The road to literary and linguistic independence, especially from Denmark, was long and difficult, but in many senses was the *same* road. Thus the literary history of the 19th c. deals to a large extent with questions of language, vocabulary, syntax and style, just as the history of the language is very much concerned with literature, with how and what sort of Norwegian language authors of fiction use. This mingling of literary and linguistic matters is the topic of this article. In a century with few competing medias authors of fiction traditionally have been regarded as the most competent and influential users of language. The historian Ernst Sars coined the term “poetocracy” to express the power of the poets in many fields of society in the last third of the 19th c.

The main focus of this article will be directed towards the two last centuries. Historical conditions and circumstances make the 19th c. crucial to our study, marked as it is by the foundation of a new Norwegian state in 1814, and by nation building efforts in several political, social and cultural fields. As far as language and literary history are concerned, the Norwegianization of the Danish literary language through the century and the creation of a new Norwegian written lan-

guage, Aasen's *Landsmål*, around the middle of the century, are historical phenomena that are focal points for the subject matter of this survey article.

2. The situation at the beginning of the 19th century

In 1814, a Norwegian literary language and a Norwegian literature, produced and received within its own literary institutions, were non-existent. What did exist was a national enthusiasm and a strong urge to develop a national literary language, a national literature and literary institutions. But this patriotic enthusiasm was, in most cases in the first two decades after 1814, stronger than the poems and songs it employed.

The Norway of 1814 had fewer than a million inhabitants, scattered in small rural and coastal communities and in small towns. With an acceptable degree of simplification, one could divide the small population into three social groups: the farmers, the bourgeoisie and the civil servants. According to the historian Jens Arup Seip, these three social layers were so different in their economic basis and way of living, as well as in their world view and norms of behaviour, that one could consider them as three societies living side by side (Seip 1974, 63). They lived in different worlds, and they knew it. The farming group was by far the biggest. Nearly 90% were dependent on agriculture and a barter economy, as farmers, cotters, servants and casual workers. The once wealthy, mercantile aristocracy was displaced due to the blockade during the Napoleonic wars and the economic depression in the years after that, so the leading political and cultural role was taken over by the new intellectual upper class of civil servants, comprising three juxtaposed hierarchies: the lawyers, the clergy, and the officers. They were not wealthy and not numerous, but they were spread across the entire country as a social class and a political institution. There was a cultural gap between the civil-servant class and the others due to their education and knowledge of Latin. Their spoken language also separated them from the dialect-speaking rural population and their university studies in Copenhagen and their mastery of Danish connected them to a literary culture outside Norway.

Seip (1974, 68) comments that by taking responsibility for matters of common concern, the isolation of the Norwegian civil-servant

class as a political power was broken. They based their political hegemony on *national* interests, against Swedish threats of amalgamation, but at the same time they had to choose allies either in the farming class or among the middle classes in the towns. They tried both, but around the middle of the century most parts of the bourgeoisie supported and relied on the leadership of the civil servants. The period of 1814–1884 is commonly called “*embetsmannsstaten*”, the civil-servant state. Up to 1884 the civil-servant class managed to stay in office due to support from the upper classes in the rural districts and in the towns, but the alliances were never strong or permanent and finally the breakdown of the “*embetsmannsstat*” led to the introduction of a parliamentary system. The fathers of the 1814 constitution had themselves contributed to future conflicts by stipulating that two-thirds of the members of the Storting should come from the rural districts, that is to say from the farmers. In order to understand the history of Norwegian culture, and in our case the history of language and literature, one has to be familiar with these two cultures of 19th c. Norway, the civil-servant class and the farming class. The relations, in a wide sense, between these two cultures provide a frame of reference for understanding the complex topic of this article.

The main issue was: on which bases should Norway develop her own independent culture? The farming society had its own local forms of culture; wood carving and the peasant style of decorative painting (*rosemaling*) were flourishing, and popular poetry was still alive in the first decades of the 19th c. The *nystev*, a short improvised poem sung at wedding celebrations and similar occasions, was probably enjoying its richest period just at the time. Local poets, writing in their own dialect, were probably part of most rural communities, and some of them were even known outside their local borders. But all in all, the farming culture was marginal and isolated. It received little input from outside, and it was for a large part unknown or not appreciated by those who were in power.

But even academic poets were drawn to the dialect of their home place and life among ordinary farmers. The *Norske Selskab* poets Edvard Storm and Thomas Stockfleth had written popular dialect poems (from Gudbrandsdalen) in Copenhagen, and Henrik Anker Bjerregaard had written the musical *Fjeldeventyret* (1824) using a Norwegian

setting and with Norwegian local colour, including a dialect-speaking dairy-maid, Aagot who performs as the lyrical highlight of the play an evening-song in Vågå dialect (Gudbrandsdalen): “Sole gaar bak Aasen ned,/ Skuggjin bli saa lange [...]”. Waldemar Thrane wrote the music for the play.

Compared to the literary tradition, the dialogues in this musical are rather close to daily speech, and the vocabulary excels in Norwegianisms. Several local poets carried on the dialect genre. The most prominent of them, Hans Hanson, wrote his most famous poem, *Sveinung aa Aastri*, in Telemark dialect, as a rather free adaptation of Horace. When Horace was used as a model even for dialect poems, one can easily imagine the general impact of classical Greek and Latin authors on the literary language of the writers of the civil-servant class. Their Danish literary language was based on Latin models of rhetoric and style. Even their patriotism took on a Roman feel, stressing ideals such as duty, self-sacrifice and modesty together with those of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution that were written into the Constitution of 1814.

With the sparse production of Norwegian books in the first decades of the 19th c., the reading public turned to Danish literature, to popular European and American authors in Danish translation, or to original German, French and English literature. The book market and the weak literary institutions in the fledgeling Norway strengthened the impact of the Danish literary language. A translation of some of the Icelandic sagas around 1820 introduced quite a few Norwegian words and the saga style into Danish literary language, and initiated a language dispute. But the tendency to break with the Danish models as far as vocabulary and syntax were concerned, was followed by many authors, among them the most prolific, Maurits Hansen, whose farmers and craftsmen used dialect words and a spoken variety in the dialogues that was closer to the Norwegian linguistic reality.

Most of the Norwegian authors of fiction in the 19th c. were sons and daughters of civil-servant families. Ivar Aasen, Aasmund Olavson Vinje and Arne Garborg were the most prominent exceptions. Aasen constructed a literary language based on the dialects of the farming or rural population and was the first to use it as a literary language. Vinje and Garborg adapted Aasen's *Landsmål* and developed a subtle literary language only a few decades later. This fact illustrates rather strikingly

the connection between social heritage and choice of literary language. However, in the last three decades of the century or so, the authors' social background became more varied. A meta-perspective on the national history of language and literary genres will underline their origin in romanticism. The change of paradigm from classicism to romanticism is paralleled by the political and economic liberation of the middle classes. The static and normative classicist aesthetics of feudal society was challenged and undermined by the notion of progress and development in the ideology of the middle classes. The classicist cultural view and the classicist aesthetics of imitation were destroyed by the theses of human progress, together with Montesquieu's idea of historical development as a causal phenomenon. The new perspective on history and development established the basis for the new historical sciences. Herder took up Montesquieu's view that phases of culture are periods with their own specific life, causes and conditions. He asserts that these phases are links in an organic course of development. The history and culture of a country develops as an organism dependent on the surroundings and the conditions of growth. This implies a view of culture as a *national*, not a general, phenomenon, as the classicists saw it. And it stresses that the people of a country form an organic unity with a common spirit expressing itself in their cultural activities. The concept of the organism applied to history and culture entails the idea of a phased course from birth, through childhood, youth, mature age, old age and death. The notion of the organism and development equipped historians with tools that put them in a position to situate and explain the texts of the past as manifestations of national growth and progress towards true national identity and comprehension.

The Norwegian poets of the period 1800–1830 certainly did not constitute a “poetocracy”. This period was a golden age in the literature of Denmark and Sweden, but the romanticist movement was not blessed with highly gifted poets in Norway, until Henrik Wergeland. But sentiments usually associated with romanticism, such as national pride, love of home, nature and countryside, had already been developed by members of *Norske Selskab* in Copenhagen in the last decades of the 18th c., and continued to be used by the new generation of authors after 1814.

3. Henrik Wergeland and National Romanticism

In Norway's language history, Henrik Wergeland (1808–45) is the first and most powerful advocate of the Norwegianizing of the Danish written language. He strongly asserted the need for cultural independence from Denmark, and in the struggle for national independence, language and literature had to play an important role. In his article *Om norsk sprogreformasjon* (1835), a central document in Norwegian language history, he sees the unhappy language situation from the poet's point of view: only minor poets can work in Danish; true Norwegian poets are drawn to the richness of the language of the people. In his own literary works Wergeland used many words from spoken Norwegian, his revolution being more concerned with words than syntax.

In Norway's literary history, Wergeland has become a legend, and is seen as an unsurpassed literary genius, the only true Norwegian romantic poet and an engaged champion of freedom and equality, a symbol for most progressive forces in Norway later on – politically, socially and culturally. His lack of fame outside Norway is explained as a consequence of the small number of people who can read Norwegian; his own poetic explanation for his isolation being taken as a fact: “med et sprog/som ei rekker fra sin krog,/lenger enn dets lebers ånde” (“Følg Kaldet!”, *Jodinden*, 1844). Or, as he sums up his life in the autobiographical text *Hassel-Nodder* (1845): “jeg var – og det var min ulykke med et så sneverbegrenset språk – intet annet enn dikter”.

Wergeland's negative assessment of contemporary Danish literature, which he called “Sofa-Literatur”, came from his view of the poet as a politically engaged teacher of the people. Wergeland was a child of Romanticism, but also of the Enlightenment. According to this romanticist view, there was a close connection between the natural environment, the people, and the language of a country. Poets had to exploit the riches of common people's speech in order to be genuine Norwegian poets. The real people, in opposition to the upper classes, were the basis on which an independent Norwegian culture had to develop. We can see this cultural program most clearly in the linguistic issue, in Wergeland's use of Norwegian vowels, diphthongs and words in his more traditional classical-rhetoric style. But even stylistically there is some development towards simplicity in his

works, although his attempts at Norwegianizing the stylistic tradition cannot be described as consistent or extensive.

Wergeland's article *On Norwegian language reformation* was written as an answer to an attack by his literary adversary, Johan S.C. Welhaven (1807–73), who characterized his language mixture as “det wergelandske sprogforderveri”, the Wergelandian language corruption. The two opponents personify conflicting views on and strategies for political, cultural and literary development of the young Norwegian nation. Wergeland's claim for cultural and literary independence from Denmark was ridiculed by Welhaven, who clearly saw the dilettantism of early 19th c. poetry, and the need for inspiration, not least from Danish literature.

On March 29, 1849 there was a performance at the Christiania Theater that has been viewed as the epitome of Norwegian National Romanticism. The most effective scene was the *Bruddefærden i Hardanger*, a tableau representing Tidemand and Gude's famous painting accompanied by Andreas Munch's poem “Der ånder en tindrende sommerluft/varmt over Hardangerfjords vanne”, set to music by Halfdan Kierulf and sung by the Student Chorus. The audience for this idealized rural scene were city dwellers with a strongly aroused enthusiasm for the *national*, for natural scenery and the cultural value of folk art. This infatuation with folk culture by the civil-servant class led to the “national breakthrough”, understood as an intellectual movement that came to characterize the 1840s–50s and give direction to the development of Norwegian culture.

The “national breakthrough” did not create much distinguished poetry, apart from Welhaven's, but for him and the other central poet of the time, Andreas Munch (1811–84), the *national* concept did not include the language. But the tradition of Norwegianizing the written language that Wergeland initiated was taken up and advanced by the writers and famous collectors of Norwegian folk tales, Peter Chr. Asbjørnsen (1812–85) and Jørgen Moe (1813–82). Wergeland's rather abstract reference to the richness of folk culture was concretized by Asbjørnsen and Moe and other National Romanticists, who collected and wrote down the oral folk tales and legends. Their editions of *Norske Folkeeventyr*, (1841–44), together with Asbjørnsen's *Norske Huldreeventyr og Folkesagn* (1845–48), were of great importance for the development of

19th c. Norwegian prose. Their intent to preserve the storyteller's language, at least as far as vocabulary and paratactic syntax were concerned, resulted in a norm-breaking prose style that aesthetes like Camilla Collett and her husband Jonas Collett found too rough and unpolished. The main edition of the folk tales from 1852 was "collected and *told*" by Asbjørnsen og Moe, signalling their intent not to render the tales as true to the dialect and the specific wording of the storyteller, but rather to render it as stylistically and syntactically coloured by the mode of telling that had prevailed for centuries in Norway. Norwegian language history is concerned with the linguistic documentation of the "eventyrstil", the style of the folk tale, but we need not go into that here. One issue is important to stress, though: the simple style that Asbjørnsen and Moe introduced, in contrast to the traditional prose style of the time, illustrates perhaps more the difference between popular and literary style than between Norwegian and Danish.

The influence of the linguistic, or rather stylistic, adaptation of the folk tales may be seen in the next generation of Norwegian authors, Ibsen's and Bjørnson's generation. The new stylistic pattern of the folk tales was, in Asbjørnsen's case, only applied to the tale itself, not to Asbjørnsen's framework for the story, which was kept in the rather traditional classical-rhetoric literary style of the period. But when we come to Bjørnson's peasant tales in the 1850s, there is a radical break with the stylistic tradition. The peasant tales were not Bjørnson's invention – Steen Steensen Blicher (Denmark), Berthold Auerbach (Germany) and Jeremias Gotthelf (Switzerland) were predecessors – but the ideological basis for Bjørnson's tales, as for many of the different cultural endeavours in the mid-19th c., had a distinctive national stamp, a growing national consciousness, a conviction that Norway, young as a country but ancient as a kingdom, was intimately related to its heroic past, and that it was important to foster that inherent relationship. The Norwegian peasant was the connecting and custodial figure in this ideology, the bearer of a set of traditional moral, spiritual and existential values. In a speech late in life, in 1908, Bjørnson said that the peasant tales were intended as a plea on behalf of the peasant, and concerning the language he stressed that we "had come to understand that the language of the sagas lived in our peasants, and their way of life was close to the sagas.

The life of our nation was to be built on our history; and now the peasants were to provide the foundations". But the peasants themselves were not aware of this fact, of course; it had to be passed on to them. This cultural and literary program largely influenced the style and language of the peasant tales, which were not only written *about* the peasants, but *for* them, as well. In the light of their popularity and appeal, they undoubtedly affected the readers' social and stylistic conceptions.

The use of distinctively Norwegian words and idioms is extensive in the peasant tales, while the orthography and mode of inflection is rather traditional. When Danish readers experienced the peasant tales as "et ravnorsk, lavet Idiom" [a broad Norwegian, artificial idiom], the reason is mainly their vocabulary, the syntax and the style. In general the nationalistic ideology and the cultural and literary program behind Bjørnson's peasant tales put the focus on the literary language and favoured its Norwegianization. The peasant tale *Arne* (1858) was the culmination of Bjørnson's efforts in that direction and it shocked the public with his radical linguistic solutions that approached the norms of Ivar Aasen's Landsmål. What probably worked against the Norwegianization of the language was the close connections between the Norwegian authors and the Danish editorial house Gyldendal. Considerations on behalf of the Danish reading public presumably made the publisher, the famous Frederik Hegel, reluctant to implement a radical division of the literary language of Denmark and Norway.

4. The Modern Breakthrough

In the anti-idealistic, and anti-metaphysical cultural climate of the 1870s and 80s, prompted not least by positivism (Auguste Comte), utilitarianism (John Stuart Mill), and Darwinism (Charles Darwin), Norwegian literature came to concern itself with the present-day realities, not a heroic and idealized past. This development towards realistic, problem-oriented literature was inspired and defined by Georg Brandes in his public lectures in Copenhagen, starting in 1871, and later published under the title *Hovedstrømninger i det nittende Aarhundredes Literatur* (1872–90). *The Modern Breakthrough*, Brandes' term for the realism he advocated, turned out to be a great period in Norwegian literature, the period of Ibsen, Bjørnson, Elster, Lie, Kielland, Skram,

Garborg, and other minor authors. The “realism” and the “naturalism” of these authors were of course a linguistic phenomenon, an attempt to render “reality” in a true and accurate way. The literary language changed, as paradigmatically demonstrated in Amalie Skram’s naturalistic short story *Karens Jul*, (1885). Instead of calling the physical centre of the story a miserable shelter, the narrator presents an extremely thorough and detailed description of it in the opening of the text. A later description of the weather on the cold December night is just as detailed. This intentionally logical stylistic consequence of the objective, scientific attitude of naturalism can be seen in the texts of several authors of the 1880s and 90s, and most strikingly in some of the works of Skram and Garborg.

But, perhaps surprisingly, the dominant stylistic mode of naturalism and realism in Scandinavia is designated by the term *impressionism*. The main feature of impressionism was to substitute the detailed description with the characteristic and characterizing detail. Impressionism, in Denmark and Norway, is first of all a stylistic concept, not a concept of literary period. Impressionism influenced literary language in many ways and on many levels, concerning narratology, style and syntax. The mimetic aesthetics of impressionism, intended to create a strong illusion of reality, concealed, to some degree, the literary quality of the discourse. The means of perception, more than the rules of grammar, were given priority in the impressionistic ideal of language and style. The impression that the literature of the 1880s and 90s was closer to spoken language was the effect of a highly artistic, literary style. Scenic representation and the use of dialect is consistently practised for instance by Amalie Skram in her naturalistic work *Hellemyrsfolket*, even if her mimetic strategy made the reading of the text difficult, not least for her Danish audience.

Neither Skram nor Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906) were propagandists in language matters. Any activity that distracted Ibsen from his literary work was avoided, but still, according to Trygve Knudsen, Ibsen had a most potent influence on the development of Norwegian literary language and style, achieved first and foremost through the impact of his realistic dramas. And from the point of view of stylistic history, his work is of particular interest because it mirrors, in a way more typical and more independent than that of any other author, the sequence of the various phases of

style and linguistic expression in nineteenth-century Norwegian literature (Knudsen 1967, 143–144).

In *Kongsemmerne* (1863), Ibsen turned against his earlier attempts to imitate the saga style and adopted Bjørnson’s view that the characters of the drama, whether a saga or not, should speak a modern, living language. Under the influence of Knud Knudsen (1812–95), he mocked the attempt to fabricate a Norwegian language on the basis of Old Norwegian (in *Sancthansnatten*, 1853) and worked seriously to make the existing literary language a completely Norwegian linguistic medium. He also supported Knudsen’s attempts to Norwegianize the language of the theatre. Up to the 1860s only Danish pronunciation was accepted there. Ibsen’s rhymes had presupposed a Danish pronunciation (e.g. ryggen: lykken), but from *Kjærlighedens komedie* (1862) and *Peer Gynt* (1867) onwards, he is careful to base his rhymes on the pronunciation of his own Norwegian language. *Kjærlighedens komedie* is supposed to represent an important phase in progress towards *linguistic realism* – in spite of the verse form of the play. But towards that goal, he had to create a prose style that was based on the actual speech of living people, and more specifically on “the speech of Norwegian townspeople of the upper and middle classes” (Knudsen 1967, 162), which was the social setting of his modern plays. The Norwegianization of vocabulary, style and syntax was a necessity in order to give a natural sound to the dialogue. To that aim, to enhance the “idiomatic authenticity of the whole movement of the speech of his characters” (Knudsen 1967, 162), Ibsen introduced linguistic material that was at that time uncommon in traditional literary language, such as the double article, for instance in *Rosmersholm: de hvide hestene, alle de nye tankerne, alle de gamle fordommene*. Ibsen’s mastery in characterizing through language comprises, on the lower social ladder, his rendering of “illiterate” and “vulgar” speech, as in the case of Engstrand in *Gengangere* (1881) and Gina Ekdal in *Vildanden* (1884), and on the higher social scale, the bureaucratic, formal language of Peter Stockmann in *En folkefiende* (1881), far away from the colloquial levels of speech of the other characters of the play.

Ibsen’s rendering of language in his plays is certainly not, as Trygve Knudsen puts it, “a tape-recording of everyday urban speech with all its trifling and incidental elements” (Knud-

sen 1967, 165). It is rather a linguistic creation on the basis of everyday language, in which certain typical and significant elements of the spoken idiom are integrated in the literary language. In addition to the double definite article, Knudsen mentions peculiarities of word order, e. g. Hilde's "Var der tårn på det huset også?" (*Bygmester Solness*, 1892), her use of repeated unstressed pronouns as in "Jeg synes det er så liketil, jeg", her use of pronominal terms referring to complex, emphatic parts of the sentence, e. g. "Alle mulige småting, så husker han dem på flekken", and the large number of interjections and unstressed modifiers, e. g. Hilde's "Isch, neida" and "Nei, det har jeg da ikke". These linguistic features and the special tone they evoke defy direct translation.

The urban speech of Kristiania (Oslo) and other towns in southeast Norway lies behind Ibsen's stage language. The speech of eastern Norway had not been accepted on the stage during Ibsen's National Romantic period. Most of the actors were Danish, and even Norwegian actors had to adopt Danish pronunciation. Educated Bergen speech was for a while the only accepted version of spoken Norwegian on the stage, until Ibsen moved the linguistic centre of gravity to eastern Norway. It is due to Ibsen's modern plays, Trygve Knudsen maintains, that the utterly formal vocabulary and syntax of Peter Stockmann in *En folkefiende* (1881), the language of official documents, has "disappeared almost entirely from Norwegian literature" (Knudsen 1967, 170). That is a strong assertion, but even if it is partly true, the modern plays of Ibsen have had a thorough and widespread linguistic influence.

5. Landsmål – a new literary language

P. A. Munch (1810–63), who defended the Danish standard and attacked Wergeland for his superficial Norwegianization, suggested in an article from 1832 that a genuine Norwegian standard could be created only by bringing one of our purest dialects into a proper form, using Old Norse as a guide. Twenty years later the self-taught linguist and poet Ivar Aasen (1813–1896) carried out Munch's idea, not by converting one Norwegian dialect to a proper form, but by creating a proper form out of a large collection of dialect material. In 1853 Aasen published *Prover af Landsmaalet i Norge*, in which he demonstrated the ability of the language to express a wide variety of

speech acts and genres of literature. The Landsmaal that Aasen created (from 1929 called Nynorsk) got a flying start as the language of fiction, and that position, acquired in the latter half of the 19th c., has been retained until today. Based on Aasen's linguistic achievement, a new literature and, gradually, a new literary institution developed. Even though Bjørnson and some other authors from the civil servant class were attracted to the Landsmaal movement, the most prominent authors using Aasen's Landsmaal were from the farming society, as Aasen was himself, Aasmund Olafsson Vinje (1818–1870) and Arne Garborg (1851–1924), the two most famous Landsmaal authors of the 19th c. It is remarkable that within a period of thirty years, Aasen's Landsmaal had become an adequate linguistic tool for all types of fiction and non-fiction writing. Aasen, himself a minor poet, wrote poems that grew very popular as songs, for instance *Millom bakkar og berg utmed havet*, a poem typical, as well, for its focus on general feelings, attitudes and concerns.

The poet and journalist Aasmund O. Vinje took up Aasen's Landsmaal in 1858 in his weekly journal *Dølen*, and even if he developed his own version of Aasen's norm, his achievements as a poet and a journalist were of the greatest importance to the expansion of Landsmaal to new discursive fields. Vinje's poetry, compared to that of Aasen, was more personal; the often ironic journalist more often chose the role of *Den Særde* in his poems. His nature poetry, e. g. poems like *Ved Rondarne* and *Vaaren*, were made popular through Grieg's music and contributed, probably decisively, to the widespread notion, even among Nynorsk adversaries, that Landsmaal or Nynorsk is a language well suited for poetry. Perhaps it is too easy to connect that idea with the sonority of the language, but the notion came to support an extensive tradition of nature poetry that several recent Nynorsk poets have felt obliged to oppose and alter. Vinje's journalistic writing in *Dølen* comprises a wide range of topics that thoroughly transgressed the ties to rural and domestic ways of thinking and acting. Vinje made his version of Aasen's Landsmaal to a flexible, expressive and modernized variety. By simplifying the syntax, he brought Landsmaal closer to the structure of everyday speech, and by loosening the purism of Aasen, he made room for foreign words that Aasen did not accept. In the creation of a new journalistic style, Vinje was a model for

both norms of written Norwegian. The year before Vinje died, the political party Venstre was founded, and this party supported the Landsmaal movement. By 1892, municipalities were given the opportunity to choose which language norm they wanted to use in their schools, thus establishing Landsmaal as the second official Norwegian language.

Arne Garborg has a central position in the history of Norwegian language and literature as an eminent writer of fiction and as an influential participant in the debate on the language situation. As a leading intellectual of his time, well read and informed on the ideas of the day, he added authority and prestige to Landsmaal, which, in his hands, proved adequate for many different types of intellectual and artistic discourse. Poetry, which had been Aasen's and Vinje's genre, was written splendidly by Garborg in his poem cycle *Haugtussa* (1895), in which the inspiration of folk tale and folk songs was crucial. And he was the first one to make Nynorsk a language of modern novels, thematizing the conflicts between rural and urban culture, the great morality debate of the 1880s, and the strict pietism and religious fanaticism within the farming communities in naturalistic novels like *Bondestudentar* (1883), *Mannfolk* (1886), *Hjaa ho Mor* (1890), published simultaneously in Dano-Norwegian with the title *Hos Mama*, and *Fred* (1892). *Hjaa ho Mor* exposes Garborg as a purist, like Aasen, wishing to exploit the resources of Norwegian vocabulary, giving hundreds of foreign terms in the Dano-Norwegian version Norwegian equivalents. Garborg strongly stressed that Nynorsk was a *modern* language, and thus had to develop as one; but the modernity of the dialects was sometimes concealed by Aasen because of a romantic misunderstanding, Garborg asserted in a fierce debate in 1887 with Bjørnson, who had accused the Nynorsk movement of being reactionary. Garborg's greatest European success, the fin de siècle novel *Trætte Mænd* (1891) was written in Riksmål, signaling, perhaps, a feeling that Nynorsk had shortcomings as a language for modern topics.

6. A literary shift of focus: The 1890s

While the Ibsen generation of prominent authors were still prolific, the 1890s in Norwegian literary history are distinguished by a new generation of prose authors, first of all

Knut Hamsun and Hans E. Kinck, the poet Sigbjørn Obstfelder and a group of regional prose writers. As we have shown in section 4, the impressionism of the realistic authors of the 1880s aimed to express feeling and atmosphere through suggestive words, and this subjectivity was further developed in the expressionistic pattern of style characterizing an important part of the literature of the 1890s, not to mention the paintings of Edvard Munch. Kinck's style and language is a literary counterpart; his projection of states of mind on the surroundings make nature and landscape images of anxiety and loneliness. Kinck's literary language, Riksmål, drew heavily on the dialects of western Norway and made him a linguistic innovator. Knud Knudsen, the leader of the Norwegianization movement, looked upon him as an important ally, but Kinck himself was totally indifferent to the programmatic effort to develop the language in certain directions. He was a linguistic artist who succeeded in creating a language that appeared fresh and new, a language with a literariness one cannot fail to sense.

With a shift of focus from the outer world to the inner, from society to mind, literature in the 1890s developed a new language and style. Kinck and, in certain ways, Knut Hamsun (1859–1952), were the main exponents for this inward expansion of literary language, but the precise and meticulously detailed observations of the phenomena of the life of the mind, as a technique, may be said to be inherited from the naturalism of the 1880s. The new style aimed at capturing the fine nuances of the soul. Literature, for Hamsun, was to a large degree an artistic struggle with literary language. His linguistic consciousness, combined with his exquisite powers of language and style, made him one of the great innovators of Norwegian prose. The reception of his works proves that he succeeded in wooing the reader, but the enticing powers of his style have been used against him as well. The assertion that his enthralling or seductive style covers an intellectual emptiness or reactionary ideology makes him a dangerous author to those practising a rather widespread tradition of ideological criticism.

We have seen that the dialects, especially those of western Norway, were important to Kinck's literary language. The speech rhythms and idioms of northern Norway play an important role in many of Hamsun's works. Dialect is tied to identity and origin, valuable ideas in Hamsun's ethics.

The literary theme of origin is dependent on the feeling of strangeness. In Hamsun's literary world this dichotomy is central, existentially and linguistically, as it is in the high literature of the 1890s. Sigbjørn Obstfelder has been called the first Norwegian modernist poet, and he focussed on the themes of alienation, of isolation, of being estranged from life, with a typical powerfulness that has given him classical status, not at least based on the famous poem "Jeg ser". While Hamsun's literary production is spread over six decades, Obstfelder belongs totally to the 1890s, he died from tuberculosis at the very turn of the century. Obstfelder's search for the unsayable made him an innovator of language and form, a creative explorer of poetic language. The result of his break with literary tradition, with rhyme and metre, was an extremely reductive style, a formal simplicity that startled the traditional readers of poetry and many competent readers were critical and deprecatory, seeing only banality or nonsense in the poems. Obstfelder exploited the tonal qualities and the rhythmical patterns of the words (*Rain, Orkan*), but more and more he came to see the expressive inadequacy of the words, and his obsession with the themes of death and decay grew.

7. Literary language and dialect. Ideological invocations

The history of the Norwegian language in the 20th c. is marked by the development of the two official forms of written Norwegian, Bokmål and Nynorsk (until 1929 Riksmål and Landsmål). The expansion and reform of Nynorsk and the Norwegianization of Bokmål, both adopted through a number of orthographic reforms, reached its peak with the reform of 1938. Nynorsk has, on the whole, kept the results of those reforms, while Bokmål has regained the opportunity to choose traditional alternatives. By the end of the Second World War, the percentage of Nynorsk pupils in primary schools was 34.1, compared to the rather stable 16–17% during the last two decades of the 20th c. As we have seen, Nynorsk gradually and rather rapidly developed a literature of its own in the last half of the 19th c., and Garborg proved its suitability for all literary genres. This early success as a language of literature may have triggered its expansion and acceptability in the schools, the church and the press. A vital relationship in

the literary discussion of the period is that between literature and dialect. The poet Olav Aukrust spoke for many authors of fiction, Nynorsk as well as Bokmål writers, when he stressed that the written language could not live without a direct and organic relationship to the dialects, a relationship which the language of literature first and foremost communicated.

Not only poets, but literary critics of the academic type as well, have stressed the intimacy between Nynorsk literature and life. Bjarte Birkeland asserts that the reason why Nynorsk writers of fiction have succeeded in coming so close to naked life is not that they are more genius than authors writing in Bokmål, but that they are using their mother tongue, their home language which contains in itself a richness of life, "all the syntactic variations that are the very life of spoken language" (Birkeland 1964). Ideological postulations like Birkeland's add literary quality to the use of the dialect source, and many assessments of literature are based on similar beliefs. It is beyond doubt that the dialects are artistically important to Nynorsk authors like Olav Duun, Kristofer Uppdal, Olav Aukrust, Tore Ørjasæter, Tarjei Vesaas, Olav H. Hauge, Aslaug Vaa and many, many others. But still there is a tension, too, between dialect and standard language of several poets and in the more official attitudes to the relationship between dialect and literature. Kristofer Uppdal e.g., changes his view on this over the course of a few years: from the traditional view that closeness to the dialect enriches the Nynorsk poetry, to a warning against that same closeness. Uppdal's new priority is a high-Norwegian ideal, an artistic language that may unite Nynorsk authors from different parts of Norway and at the same time make room for some dialectal variations. Using this high-Norwegian literary language, he achieves a higher level, he maintains, than he would have if writing in "Trønder" dialect (Uppdal 1965).

Birkeland's point of view, quoted, has a rather strong touch of exclusiveness: Nynorsk literary language, based on dialects, communicates life more subtly than Riksmål does. A consequence of that view would be that only readers belonging to the same geographic area could participate fully and completely in literary communication. Uppdal's view opposes Birkeland's romantic idea, and we could add: what about literature that does not primarily intend to reflect life intimately and subtly?

Birkeland's view seems to presuppose a mimetic ideal of literature, but as we know, the stress on the autonomy of literature in the 20th c., which accompanied the many modernistic "isms" of the century, makes this presupposition problematic.

A recent, personal assessment of Nynorsk as a literary language by the author Einar Økland points to the linguistic difficulties a writer of Nynorsk still may experience. His point of view is the opposite of Birkeland's, and is a heresy from within the movement, coming from an experienced author from the core area of Nynorsk. In "the core of my experiences and insights", Økland admits, he is confronted with the following two sore points: "Nynorsk is an unfinished language which at any time has to serve as a finished language. To write Nynorsk is unpleasant (*ubehagelig*) because so much has to be written in another way than one wishes, and because there are so many things one does not manage to write" (Økland 2000: 310). These provocative assertions are elaborated in the essay not in order to discount Nynorsk, which is his only alternative as a literary language, but in order to point to problems that have not been raised because "your Nynorsk is a standpoint in a battle" (p. 311); it has thus become impossible to separate Nynorsk as a language from Nynorsk as a popular movement. "Your writing is, in the end, either a handshake or a betrayal" (p. 311).

Another central Nynorsk author, Kjartan Fløgstad, seems to have quite an opposite view on this matter. According to him, Nynorsk is a "peripheral language", and as such, is in a better position to express popular experiences than the dominant Bokmål. If language history were interested in the changing qualities that make a text a "literary" text, a special version of language, then Fløgstad would deserve a prominent place in the history. Here we present some of these changing forms of literary language in the 20th c., focusing first of all on the breaks with established norms. Fløgstad will be taken up again in that connection, but before we turn to the literary movements, let us take a glimpse at the situation of Riksmål.

The Norwegianization of Riksmål, later Bokmål, led to fierce debates, culminating in the 1950s. The authors of fiction were officially involved in the debate in 1952 when 28 Riksmål authors founded a new organisation (Forfatterforeningen av 1952), protesting against the participation of the existing or-

ganisation of authors (Forfatterforeningen) in the Norwegian language committee (Norsk språknemnd) which was established to revise the orthography once again and to reduce the number of optional forms. This protest may be seen as a reaction against the official Norwegianization, or it may be seen more in line with Økland's point of view: as a protest against an official linguistic construction that at least some authors refused to accept as a language of literature. With the revision of the orthographic norm in 1981, optional forms were reintroduced, meeting the demands of the Riksmål movement.

As we have seen, the language of literature, either in the Nynorsk or in the Bokmål version, is related to the issue of spoken language. The attitudes to the potential linguistic and psychological resources of the dialects are many, and they are connected to the question of poetics, or aesthetics. The aesthetics of Birkeland is that of mimesis and identification; the value of literature lies in the ability of literary language to communicate life fully and intimately to the reader, to stimulate perception by means of a language both writer and reader are closely tied to. In other words, it is a matter of *language and identity*.

8. Modernism – Nynorsk and Bokmål

Literature in the 20th c. was not only viewed in a mimetic perspective. Literature won an autonomy that made it less dependent on the real world and the ability to create vivid illusions of reality. In literary theory this autonomy may be followed through the century from the Russian formalists to the post-structuralists, and in literature itself through the many versions of modernistic movements. Even though a mimetic and realistic norm kept a strong grip on Norwegian literature through decisive parts of the last century, the modernistic impact is important.

Like their predecessors from the *modern breakthrough* period in the 19th c., the new epic writers wrote in a realistic mode. They were not iconoclasts, like Ibsen, but responsible authors writing about Norwegian social and individual life in the past and present, often intending to stress the continuity between past and present, a *realism* that literary historians have called "new", and a responsibility that made the literary critic Daniel Haakonsen coin the term "ethical realism" for the period

between the wars. The period certainly includes more or less forgotten examples of prose modernism, produced by authors like Ernst Orvil, Gunnar Larsen, Rolf Stenersen, Paul Gjesdahl, Emil Boyson and Edith Øberg, but they have been dominated and upstaged by the great epics of the period, Undset, Duun, Uppdal, Falkberget, or by the radical Freudians like Hoel and Krog. The slow and late change in poetry towards modernism in Norway occurred in the first postwar years communicated first of all by poets and critics like Paal Brekke and Erling Christie. Brekke had been a fugitive in Sweden during the occupation, where he became acquainted with *fyr-titalister* (poets of the forties) such as Erik Lindegren and Karl Vennberg, exponents of European Modernism. The manifestation of modernistic form in their poetry encountered strong denunciation, led by the poet Arnulf Øverland. His essay "Tungetale fra Parnasset" (1953) produced a fierce debate in the press in 1954. The title of Øverland's essay indicates the heart of the dispute, the opposition between two ideals of *poetic language and form*, clarity and distinctness against fragmentation and obscurity.

Modernism may also be connected to the question of the form of language, Bokmål or Nynorsk. In literary criticism there has been a strong tendency to stress the theme of *nature* in Nynorsk poetry, an idea of nature as a living spirit that closed the doors to modernistic pessimism and absence of meaning. Partly true as this view may be, there were few modernistic poets writing in Nynorsk in the 1940s and 50s, but there is at least one exception, Tarjei Vesaas, who published five collections of poems between 1946 and 1956 in which nature is still a prevailing theme, but not as a guarantee of metaphysical wholeness, unity and meaning.

Modernism represents a break with ordinary language and as such is an interesting linguistic phenomenon. "Literariness" is defined through the distance to everyday language. Another modernistic thrust, the so-called "Profil rebellion" in the 1960s, mostly affected prose fiction. The closely knit group around the student journal *Profil*, included many gifted new writers, such as Dag Solstad, Tor Obrestad, Espen Haavardsholm, Einar Økland, Jan Erik Vold, Paal-Helge Haugen, Liv Køltzow, who wanted to guide Norwegian literature in the direction of modernism. Tarjei Vesaas had long before that, in the 1940s, developed a modernistic type of discourse for

the novel that could serve as an inspiration more than a model, but the type of modernism the "profilists" promoted in 1966 was only modestly realized, and in the early 1970s many of them converted to the Maoist form of Marxism/Leninism and adopted a new literary program in which everyday reality, presented in documentary form, took the place of "modernism", and purely literary questions had to yield to political matters. A literary revolt concerned with a new form of language directed first of all against popular realism, was transformed into a political revolt with a realistic program.

Dag Solstad's literary works have been divided into phases by literary critics and literary historians, phases that may be seen as paradigmatic for more general changes and debates in the literary development in Norway from the 1960s to the 1990s. But even if the focus on realism or modernism, on politics or literariness may be connected to certain phases of his literary works, a more thorough study of them would uncover a tension between the two parts of the dichotomy in most of his works. The focus on language and writing which was so central in his modernistic period in the 1960s, never leaves his sight. The search for a language, the testing of different types of language and the thematizing of the relationship between language and literature never cease to fascinate the novelist Solstad. He focusses not only on the instrumental function of language, but also on its primary function, the insight that reality is nothing but a linguistically perceived and communicated reality. This focussing on and foregrounding of language and writing is often acutely present in modern literature, but represents a field of inquiry that is beyond traditional studies of language history. On the other hand, what has been coined "AKPml"-language, a sort of radical Bokmål intended to reflect the speech of working class people from the Oslo region, would be a possible topic for the history of the Norwegian language in the 1970s and 80s.

Solstad's artistic aim is to fascinate the readers by means of mundane topics. The fascination is consequently left to literariness, to the romanesque quality of the discourse. This is hard to define (for Solstad and for us), but as it is not dependent on the subject matter, it must be a matter of form, of language. The stress on literature as language and form is a dominant idea in the theory and in literary practice of the 20th c.

We have seen that literary language, Nynorsk and Bokmål, has taken inspiration from the spoken dialects as a sign of both national and social solidarity. Fløgstad's solidarity with working-class culture is unquestionable, but as a marked intellectual writer he rejects the traditional form of the social novel and the psychological novel. The tension between the popular and the intellectual attitude, which is typical of the literary culture of the 1970s, expresses itself in a very special form in the case of Fløgstad, called grotesque realism, fantastic realism or magic realism after the South American literary tradition he is influenced by. If we divide the concept of style into three levels, low, middle and high, Fløgstad rejects the middle level, the dominant style of society's rationality, and creates a "grotesque" mixture of low and high styles modelled on the debasing of the high and holy in the carnival tradition. The attitudes to Fløgstad's style among literary critics are many, but none can deny his important contribution to a renewal of Norwegian prose style.

Jon Fosse is another Nynorsk author who has developed a prose style of his own, and a very different one from Fløgstad's. In the last half of the 1990s Fosse also wrote a number of plays that have been staged in Norway and abroad with great success. Fosse's stylistic trademark involves suggestive, rhythmic repetitions both at the micro and macro level. Words, sentences, rhetorical figures, scenes, characters, motifs and themes are repeated over short or longer intervals within the text, giving his prose a very special quality of rhythm and musicality. His prose avoids foreign words and complex vocabulary, striving to be concrete and sensuous.

Literary realism is a many-sided and pervasive phenomenon in the literary history of the 20th c. Central novelists of the 1980s and 1990s like Herbjørg Wassmo, Lars Saabye Christensen, Ingvar Ambjørnsen, Roy Jacobsen, Erik Fosnes Hansen and many others are writing within a realistic norm in a wide and varied sense. The non-realistic prose of the same period is tentatively divided into two main categories by the literary historian Øystein Rottem: a "modernistic" and a "fantastic" one, which often mingle within many texts. The first is characterized by a formal break with realism. Linguistic distortions, breaks with grammatical rules and normal syntax, strange techniques of composition etc. undermine the very basis for a realistic aesthetics.

Jan Kjærstad (born 1953), some ten years younger than Solstad and Fløgstad, is a central novelist of the 1980s and 90s, and at the same time a talented essayist. He began his literary career by forcefully rejecting the realistic poetics of the 1970s. To create "credible" characters was not at all his intention. On the contrary, the sign of literary greatness and novelty was tied to the quality of *construction*; "true" and "genuine" were no longer terms of literary value. Kjærstad's anti-mimetic attack resembled that of Hamsun's in 1890, both in form and content. Accepted, traditional versions of man, depicted in generally accepted versions of philosophy, psychology, sociology, and in literary fiction had to be banned from modern literature. In his own novels he searches for a new way of constructing man within the modern frames and forms that surround him in today's media-, computer- and information society. In his *En poetikk for 80-årene* (1984) he wants to transcend "saboterende språkekspesimenter", the modernistic tendency to experiment with language in order to sabotage it. He wishes to be constructive, to create an alternative to the destructive language practice of modernism and the confirmative forms of mimetic ideals. He makes the novel a medium for this complex constitution of modern man in a context of knowledge and information from very different areas of society, from complex forms, models and matrices, and from combinations of these models. Kjærstad's characters are not recognisable as "real", or "living", they are constructs that intend to say something relevant and true about our postmodern world.

To conclude, we may say that the "modernism" (in a broad and general sense) of the 1980s has a strong "metafictional" aspect, whether this is concerned with the narration or with the language itself. Kjærstad's literary discourse, in fact, comprises both these aspects, but his theoretical consciousness and knowledge about his literary activity is combined with a desire to fascinate and enchant the readers. He intends to be open and readable, and in that sense he differs from "metafictional" novelists who put a radical focus on linguistic with the effect to be unreadable to most audiences. But perhaps he is in tune with a tendency in the new literature, or among the new authors of the 1990s?—a tendency to give preference to "reality", to "the story", and to a communicative literary language.

9. Literature (a selection)

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52. Nordic language history and literary history IV: Iceland

1. Beginnings of Icelandic literature
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4. Poetry
5. Danish and German influence
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9. Literature (a selection)

1. Beginnings of Icelandic literature

1.1. It has been said of the Icelanders that they are “the only nation in Europe able to recall their origins” (Nordal 1942, 42). Written sources certainly provide us with a terminus a quo – not that every archaeologist would agree with this starting date. The *Íslendingabók* by Ari Þorgilsson (1067–1148) tells of the colonization of the country and its earliest history, the founding of the National Assembly at Þingvellir around 930, the acceptance of Christianity in 999 and the first bishops. The *Landnámabók* (‘Book of Settlements’) accounts for the original settlers in all parts of the country and tells of their ancestors and descendants.

1.2. Christianity brought books and learning to the country. The oldest extant manuscripts date from the 12th century, but most of the literature is preserved in volumes written a good deal later. Thus, *Íslendingabók* itself is preserved only in two 17th century copies of a transcript from around 1200.

1.3. From the 12th century *First Grammatical Treatise* we learn about the types of literature which were first written in the vernacular, namely “laws, genealogies, or sacred writings, and also that historical lore which Ari Þorgilsson has recorded in his books with such understanding wit” (Haugen 1972, 13). Another independent source is *Hungrvaka*, a brief history of the first bishops of Skálholt, written around 1200. According to the preface, its main purpose was “to induce young men to read books written in their native language such as those on law, histories and ancestral records” (cf. Turville-Petre 1953, 203). Let us look briefly at these early literary categories.

2. The oldest literature

2.1. Fragments of the Free State laws, the so-called *Grágás*, are indeed among the oldest preserved Icelandic manuscripts, dating from the middle of the twelfth century, i. e. not long after the first codification of these laws which began in 1117/18. There is no significant difference between the syntax and style of these fragments and the preserved comprehensive codices of *Grágás*, written towards the end of the thirteenth century (Naumann 1979, 174–175). Stylistically, the early laws of western Scandinavia have been grouped with the Family Sagas under the category of “popular style” (Nygaard 1896). Naumann (1979, 71–72) has shown that the Old Norse law style

is in fact unique, neither comparable to the style of the sagas nor the “learned style” of Saints’ Lives, homilies, etc. The features which some scholars have associated with Scandinavian laws in their oldest orally transmitted state, such as “alliteration, assonance, rhythmic constructions with syntactic parallelism” (Foote 1977, 49), are also notably absent in these laws. Indeed, the few examples of such features in *Grágás* are often found to belong to younger text segments, i.e. they are more likely to be symptoms of “learned” rhetorical amplification than mnemonic transmission (Naumann 1979, 86).

2.2. The early genealogies or ancestral records were no doubt of vital importance for Icelandic saga writing. A couple of old genealogical poems and some genealogical tables can be found in medieval Icelandic manuscripts; Ari’s *Íslendingabók*, written between 1122 and 1133, ends with an impressive genealogical table whose last member is Ari himself.

The narrative of *Íslendingabók* is quite brief and compact, mostly written in a sober and dispassionate style. Some Latin influence has been detected in the syntax, but the vocabulary is largely free from foreign loans, and in general the style is remarkably fresh and independent (Benediktsson 1968, XXVI–XXIX).

2.3. Most of the first written manuscripts must have been sacred writings or directly designed to promote Christian instruction and serve the cause of the Church. Many such manuscripts were probably destroyed after the Reformation, but we have remnants from as early as the 12th century containing homilies, didactic religious works (such as the *Elucidarius* by Honorius Augustodunensis) and Lives of Saints. The word ‘histories’ in *Hungrvaka* probably applies to this last category. Some encyclopaedic works were known and partly translated. A few secular translations must also have preceded the writing of *Hungrvaka*; this must be the case with *Rómverjasaga*, for example, a translation of Sallust’s *Iugurtha* and *Catilina* and Lucan’s *Pharsalia*.

3. Different categories of saga literature

3.1. Not every kind of Old Icelandic literature had been entrusted to parchment around 1200; some were still preserved orally. This

applies to the Eddaic and scaldic poetry (cf. 4.1.–2.) and the Heroic Sagas (*Fornaldarsögur*).

3.2. The term Contemporary Sagas usually refers to the Sturlunga collection; the most important of these sagas is the *Íslendingasaga* composed by Sturla Þórðarson (1214–1284). This is an extremely important contemporary source on the civil war raging in Iceland during the last decades of the Free State. The author’s detachment in the narrative is most remarkable considering how thoroughly involved he himself was in the brutal and tragic episodes described. Sturla was at the same time a historian and a superb story-teller: some of his eyewitness episodes are among the most memorable ones in all the saga literature. This is contemporary history, not an epic, but the style and the structure of the narrative is closely related to that encountered in the Family Sagas (3.5., cf. Sørensen 1988; Ker 1926, 249–267).

3.3. Bishops’ Sagas are among the oldest biographies in Iceland, and they were later reworked and expanded in various ways. In these sagas one can discern various stylistic layers, from the sober and sparse first biographies, reminding one of Ari’s *Íslendingabók*, through the more entertaining, anecdotal story-telling, resembling the Family Sagas, to the expanded versions in “florid” style dating from late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Foote 1978). The classical story-telling tradition still survived in the late life story of Laurentius of Hólar, written soon after his death in 1330.

3.4. The years 1170–1230 represented a lively period for writing sagas about the kings of Norway, both in Norway (cf. art. 51) and in Iceland, probably inspired by the upsurge of nationalism associated with the 12th century Renaissance.

With Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241), the Kings’ Sagas reach their perfection. His *Heimskringla* is a complete dynastic history of Norway from prehistoric times down to 1177 when King Sverrir was about to make his entrance. We are fortunate enough to have access to some of the older Kings’ Sagas dealing with the same period, sagas which Snorri used as his sources. Through comparison with them, we can gain some insight into his stylistic choices (Nordal 1920; Lie 1937; Hauksson/Óskarsson 1994, 236–255).

In the main, the style of *Heimskringla* resembles that of the Family Sagas. The narra-

tive is neutral, objective, presenting events without explaining them. All interpretation is left to the reader. Often the chain of events in the older sagas is rearranged in *Heimskringla*, resulting in a more coherent and vivid presentation. To the same end, Snorri often compressed the dialogue, making it more pointed, dramatic or humorous, often by use of puns (antanaclasis). Other features, e. g. in the speeches, also show Snorri's acquaintance with precepts of classical rhetoric. He made some use, albeit sparingly, of figures such as parallelism, chiasmus, antithesis, climax, and some rather simple metaphors and similes. *Heimskringla* occasionally resembles "learned" writings by reason of the explicit intrusion of the narrator, who refers to his sources and sometimes weighs them against each other.

3.5. The Family Sagas or Sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendingasögur*) have been called "the sole original contribution of the Nordic countries to world literature" (Hallberg 1964, 1). Scholars now generally agree about the comparatively late age of this genre. The writing of these sagas seems to have begun in the thirteenth century, culminating at the end of that century. There are also indications that Family Sagas were composed far into the fourteenth century or even later. The emergence of this literature is an unsolved riddle. Some scholars have shown parallels in motifs between sagas supposed to be among the oldest ones and the French romances which were introduced and partly translated at the Norwegian Court in the beginning of the 13th century (Rubow 1936; Einarsson 1976). Others have pointed out similarities between characters and episodes in Contemporary Sagas and certain Family Sagas, which then could be seen as echoes of or a subtle contribution to the power struggle in the Sturlung Age (see, e. g. Guðmundsson 1958; Foote 1963, 130–131; Vilmundarson 1991, XLVI–LXVII).

The Family Sagas display some syntactic and stylistic characteristics which are otherwise unique in European medieval literature. The syntax is characterized by parataxis or simple hypotaxis, rather short, compressed sentences and an absence of all Latinate constructions. There are almost no descriptions of scenery, and we get only occasional glimpses "indispensable for advancing the story and for delineating character" (Springer 1939, 112). This is accompanied by the absence of descriptive adjectives, adverbs and

verbs; epitheta ornantia do not occur. There is not much use of phraseological variations; the vocabulary is relatively small – much more limited than that in common use in modern novels. The tone is subdued and objective; the narrator conceals his presence. The proportion of dialogue is relatively high; the dialogue is compact and can be very charged and dramatic.

Portrayal of character is an essential element in these sagas. When a person is introduced, there usually follows a short description of his or her ancestry, appearance and character. It is also the case that this description can come later on at a dramatic point where the focus is on the person involved. As a rule, the persons are described from the outside; it is left to the reader to judge them from the way they look, how they act and what they say, and occasionally from public opinion about them. Tropes and figures of any kind are very rare in this literature; instead, we have

the bleak objectivity, or appearance of objectivity and the ever-present sense of laconic understatement which represent such a contrast to the turbulent subject matter of the sagas that it encourages the reader to investigate the silences, and assign to the words and deeds a deeper meaning than they seem at first sight to possess (Ólason 1998, 114; cf. Springer 1939; Hallberg 1964, 63–72; Hauksson/Óskarsson 1994, 273–293).

3.6. Most of the genres found in old Icelandic manuscripts have been traditionally labelled as having special types of style: learned style for Homilies, Lives of Saints and other clerical translations; court style for the translated French romances; more recently, florid style for the late 14th-century Lives of Saints, with their heavy rhetorical ornament (Widding 1965, 133–136). All these types of style are of course learned and literary, and they are balanced against the popular style, traditionally ascribed to the Family Sagas and also the oldest lawbooks (cf. 2.1.).

Many problems are still unsolved in connection with individual Family Sagas, and only some of them are available at present in adequate philological editions. However, textual research has yielded valuable information. For example, contrary to the general belief of scholars and saga enthusiasts, where two different versions of a saga exist, the one with a more verbose and expansive style is more likely to be closer to the original version (see e. g. Jansson 1945, 115–171; Einarsson 1977, CXXXI; Kolbeinsson/Kristjánsson 1979).

The translations of Saints' Lives are a genre which both preceded and outlived the native Family Sagas. This large body of literature has been rather neglected; recent research has shown that it is not as homogeneous as people have tended to think; for example, it has been demonstrated that the oldest preserved Saints' Lives are characterized by a relatively simple style. The conclusion is that there may not have been so great a difference in style between the oldest Saints' Lives and the Family Sagas in their original form apart from the difference necessarily dictated by subject matter. The mature classical saga style is a highly literary form which was gradually developed by saga writers and even scribes, culminating towards the end of the 13th century or even later. This style may have been a conscious reaction against the verbosity and exuberance of hagiographic literature during the same period.

3.7. The idea of some older scholars that the Family Sagas acquired a fixed form in an oral stage of transmission and that this was then "committed to the parchment almost verbatim" (Springer 1939, 117–118) has now been generally rejected. Although there is ample evidence for a lively oral tradition in medieval Iceland, it is very difficult to say very much about the oral form of sagas from the evidence of the written texts. However, Hofmann (1982) and Benediktsson (1992) have compared old translations with the original Latin texts and pointed out a couple of stylistic traits typical of the Family Sagas which can be found in the translations independent of the originals and which therefore belong to a preliterary, oral mode. Kristjánsson's comparison (1981) of the oldest preserved Saints' Lives with their Latin originals shows that Nygaard's (1896) syntactic criteria for learned style are almost totally absent in them; every sentence is reshaped in accordance with the rules of the mother tongue. Research by Collings (1974) has shown that the same applies to a good many of the Saints' Lives in the *Codex Scardensis*. Translators of these texts also frequently omitted the explications and the rhetorical figures of the originals, concentrating solely on the narrative sequences. Another trait which seems to be ingrained in the preliterary native tradition is a kind of an "episodic narrative" with scenes following one upon another. These scenes have a remarkably fixed structure and are one of the main characteristics of the Family Sagas; they also occur in translations of Saints' Lives and Heroic

Sagas independent of the originals (Clover 1974).

4. Poetry

4.1. Prose is the Old Norse medium for epic literature. When, for instance, the French *romans* and *chansons de geste* were translated during the 12th and 13th centuries, it was into (more or less embellished) prose.

The old poetry falls into two categories: scaldic and Eddaic poems. In the latter, the subject matter is either historical or mythological, but the presentation of the subject is different from classical epic poetry, no doubt due to the concentrated metres. The most common metre, "fornyrðislag", for example, has only four or five syllables in each line. The story is told through the presentation of a few major episodes and through dialogue. This results in a very highly concentrated dramatic account. Through, or in spite of, this concentrated form, the poem *Völuspá* surveys the whole history of the universe and of the gods from the creation to the final battle and destruction of Ragnarök. Besides describing the heathen cosmology, the mythological poems also present rules of conduct and vivid pictures from daily life. Imagery is essential in the fabric of this poetry, from the simplest metaphorical applications of individual words to highly elaborate comparisons (Hallberg 1983).

Much of the scaldic poetry is panegyric, composed in praise of a monarch. Among the oldest poems are some describing pictures, mostly on decorated shields. There are further lyrical strophes, love songs, battle songs and other occasional verse from everyday life. The most common – and the most fashionable – metre, the "dróttkvætt", was extremely strict and demanding, with a fixed number of syllables, rhyme scheme (half-rhyme in the odd lines, full rhyme in the even lines), alliteration of course, and a deliberately scrambled word order. It employs a special vocabulary, usually not found in the prose texts, and an abundant use of the complicated figurative paraphrases called "kennings".

We have scaldic verse dated from as early as the 9th century. The panegyric poems were used as sources in the Kings' Sagas, and besides, this poetry has been most important for the preservation of heathen myths and as a link between native tradition and classical learning. G. Nordal (2001) has emphasized the role of scaldic verse in the development of the

textual culture in Iceland. With reference to the abundant scaldic material in the 13th century grammatical literature, she assumes that scaldic verse was part of the syllabus for those who enjoyed formal education.

4.2. In the 14th century, a new form of epic poetry emerged which became the most popular literary form over the next 500 years, the *rímur*. They are long narrative poems in short stanzas, usually versifications of written sagas. They were composed in blocks of different metres, and it soon became obligatory to introduce every block with a *mansöngur* ('maid-song'), a few lyrical stanzas unconnected with the narrative. The *rímur* adhere to very strict metrical structures with regard to alliteration and rhyme, and the poets made frequent use of the kennings of scaldic poetry. The *rímur* have traditionally been considered an isolated Icelandic phenomenon, born of a marriage between native scaldic poetry and imported ballads. Recent research, however, has shown some parallels with late medieval narrative verse on the Continent (Ólason 1982, 52–82).

5. Danish and German influence

5.1. The vocabulary of written Icelandic, with comparatively few loanwords, does not seem to have changed much during its first centuries of use. In translations of mainly religious prose from the 15th and early 16th centuries, one comes upon a growing number of especially Danish and Low German loanwords. These texts were translated from the vernaculars – English, German, Danish – and many of them are heavily dependent on the syntax and even the vocabulary of the originals.

5.2. The Reformation, finally effected in 1550, was followed by a concentrated effort by churchmen to make all the necessary Christian literature accessible in Icelandic. The translation of the New Testament, made by Oddur Gottskálksson, was published as early as 1540 and became the model for the religious prose of the Reformers. It is partly written in the tradition of the later Lives of Saints and shares with them some "learned" features of syntax in imitation of Latin usage. In addition, it shows considerable influence from Luther's German original in syntax and vocabulary (Helgason 1931, 38–39). Nearly 50 years later, the first Icelandic Bible was printed, and this was accompanied by prayer books, hymns and sermons, commentaries, meditations, etc. Westergård-Nielsen (1946) has recorded a

considerable number of loanwords from this period. Only a few of them have survived to the present day, largely owing to the 19th-century puristic campaign to get rid of them.

5.3. At the same time, during the first decades of the Reformation, a growing interest in and concern for the Icelandic language can be detected. In his *Crymogæa*, for example, Arngrímur Jónsson (1568–1648) maintained that the Icelandic of his time was practically the same language that was once called Danish or Norwegian and which was spoken all over Scandinavia. Its purity, he said, was partly due to the preservation of old manuscripts written in an unadulterated and elegant language and partly to little communication with foreigners. And he expressed the hope that his countrymen would refrain from imitating Danish or German when they wrote or spoke and would instead seek their models in the richness and elegance of the native tongue (Benediktsson 1951, 30). This Humanist attitude is echoed in the writings of some of Arngrímur's contemporaries, even if it was rarely put into practice. The 17th century saw a growing interest in the old literature in spite of its profane content; as an example we can cite the gifted hymn-writer Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–1674), who in his leisure wrote very competent interpretations of scaldic poetry.

5.4. Written documents from the 17th and 18th centuries show a strong influence from contemporary Danish and German in vocabulary, syntax and style. The majority of the printed texts from this period were issued by the secular and clerical authorities: all kinds of religious literature, as well as official announcements, verdicts and decrees. But during this period, a rather rough distinction between "learned style" and "popular style" can be clearly seen, the historical writings and folk tales belonging to the latter category. Little of this was printed until around 1900. Neither, in fact, were some of the most valuable "learned" writings of the time, such as travel books and autobiographies.

5.5. Interest in the Golden Age and its literature was widespread, and some 18th-century writers even tried to imitate the old language, with rather poor results. Knowledge of the language was most imperfect; no adequate grammar was available until Rasmus Kristian Rask's *Vejledning til det Islandske eller gamle Nordiske Sprog* was published 1811. At the same time, there was a great progress in edit-

ing and studying classical Icelandic literature. One of the central figures in this enterprise was Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1791–1852), author of the *Lexicon poeticum*, who was a teacher at Bessastaðir, the only grammar school in the country. Sveinbjörn was also one of the pioneers of modern prose writing through his translations of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* in a narrative style which combined saga-style syntax with the poetic diction of the Eddas.

6. Fjöltnir to Neo-Romanticism

6.1. The periodical *Fjöltnir* was launched in 1835 by four students in Copenhagen, among them the poet Jónas Hallgrímsson (1807–1845) and Konráð Gíslason (1808–1891), who later became Professor of Old Norse at the University of Copenhagen. All the editors of *Fjöltnir* had studied at Bessastaðir and no doubt had acquired some philological grounding there, even though neither Icelandic language nor literature was part of the curriculum.

It is not unusual to speak of *Fjöltnir* as having inaugurated a revolution in Icelandic prose. This was not a revolution in subject-matter, except for the poetry of Jónas Hallgrímsson and a couple of translations of contemporary romantic literature in the first issue. The main concern of the editors was the purity of the language. Although, for obvious reasons, the journal's founders had to be extremely careful about sending the Danish authorities any explicit message of political independence, they made up for this by waging a merciless war against Danicisms in the Icelandic language, showing by their own example that one could develop a rich vocabulary while avoiding all the Danish features that had come to be so deeply ingrained in the written language. Their model was not so much the older literature but rather the natural spoken language of the countryside (Ringler 1998; cf. Hauksson/Óskarsson 1994, 468–469, 482–490). The vocabulary is extraordinarily extensive and varied, and instead of letting the syntax follow prescriptive rules, they used a word order as free as that of the sagas, shaping every sentence with care and to the best aesthetic effect. In the translations of Tieck, Heine and H. C. Andersen, and not least in the short stories of Jónas Hallgrímsson, published posthumously in the last issue of *Fjöltnir*, a new style of literary narrative was born. This style flows freely, even playfully, without any syn-

tactic stiffness, being at once colloquial and poetic.

The romanticism in *Fjöltnir* appears mainly in the worship of nature and in the idea of a mystical connection between Icelandic nature and the life and literature of the Golden Age, e.g. as brilliantly expressed in Jónas Hallgrímsson's poem "Ísland" in the first issue. The poetic ideals of Jónas were made manifest in the third issue of *Fjöltnir* where he fired a harsh broadside against the most popular rímur poet of the day, Sigurður Breiðfjörð (1789–1846). In his own poetry, he sought his models in the more classical forms of especially Eddaic and even scaldic poetry. One of Jónas' most brilliant achievements is how he succeeded in revitalizing these old metrical forms. His language is never archaic or affected; on the contrary, he managed to combine the ancient poetical wording with the living colloquial language of his own time. His own exquisite neologisms, most often adjectival compounds, sound so natural that they often go unnoticed. His poetry also includes imaginative and original adaptations of a variety of foreign metres.

6.2. The first published Icelandic novel was *Piltur og stúlka* (1850) by Jón Thoroddsen (1818–1868). His two novels were inspired partly by Dickens and Sir Walter Scott and partly by Icelandic folklore and folk tales, a systematic collection of which was in progress all over the country at the time. The novels are set in the Icelandic countryside, and their rather uninteresting plots about lovers finally united are compensated for by vivid settings and a mixed array of comic secondary characters.

The chivalric and heroic sagas were the main sources for the novel *Sagan af Heljarlóðarorrustu* (1861) by Benedikt S. Gröndal (1826–1907). This is a burlesque portrayal of a contemporary event, the battle of Solferino in 1859.

6.3. The last decades of the century were the era of the Romantic so-called "National Poets" who were extremely prolific and dominated the cultural life of the country, inspired by the new optimism and dreams of national independence. The most popular poets, Steingrímur Thorsteinsson (1831–1913) and Matthías Jochumsson (1835–1920) were also active as translators of foreign literature, both in verse and prose.

6.4. In 1882, the "modern breakthrough", inspired by the famous lectures of Georg

Brandes at the University of Copenhagen, reached Iceland through the periodical *Verðandi*. The founders were again four Icelandic students in Copenhagen. The opposition against the glorification of the Golden Age of the sagas is reflected in the opening poem by Hannes Hafstein (1862–1922), and the contributions of the novelists in the group, Gestur Pálsson (1852–1891) and Einar H. Kvaran (1859–1938), were realistic short stories from contemporary daily life which made “problems a matter of debate”. Only one issue of *Verðandi* was published, but Gestur Pálsson and Einar H. Kvaran continued their literary and journalistic careers, partly in Iceland, partly in the Icelandic settlements in Canada.

These two authors, in fact, mark the beginning of modern Icelandic prose writing. Their style is characterized by avoidance of any imitation of the sagas. The syntax is dominated by parataxis and simple hypotaxis; the language is the educated, spoken language of the day. Another characteristic, as opposed to previous 19th-century novel writing, is the disappearance of the omniscient narrator. The characters step into the foreground, their thoughts are related in *erlebte Rede*, which in Gestur’s hands becomes a sophisticated instrument for subtle irony; in Einar’s case, it constitutes his means for identification and empathy, involving the reader in the fate of his humble and unheroic protagonists.

Even more radical innovations, inspired by the reading of contemporary Scandinavian literature, are found in the style of a farmer in the north of Iceland, Þorgils gjallandi (pseudonym for Jón Stefánsson, 1851–1915). In his writings, e.g., the traditional logical syntax often breaks down, reflecting swift action or the inner turmoil of the characters.

6.5. At the turn of the century there was a fierce debate between the spokesmen of idealism versus those of realism, and in a newspaper article in 1897, Einar Benediktsson (1864–1940) advocated a program incorporating both: the poets should seek “soul in nature” but at the same time stand with their feet planted firmly on the ground. In fact, Einar Benediktsson was the only poet who followed this program, even though the social radicalism of his early poetry was gradually muted. In his poems he combined brilliant descriptions of visible nature with a kind of a pantheistic mysticism. Einar was a master of poetic language, metaphor and antithesis, but

his diction and syntax are complicated and his later poetry becomes increasingly abstruse.

6.6. The turn of the century marks the beginning of modern Icelandic novel writing. Following the debut of the *Verðandi* writers and Þorgils gjallandi, the first decade of the century saw the publication of ten new novels with contemporary settings. In his first two full-length novels, *Ofurefli* (1908) and *Gull* (1910), Einar H. Kvaran takes a Jesus-figure and places him as a parish priest in the Cathedral in the midst of the corruption and hypocrisy of contemporary Reykjavík. In *Upp við fossa* (1902), Þorgils gjallandi writes about erotic and social conflicts in a rural society, revealing how the natural instincts of man are suppressed through conformity, cowardice and self-deception. Even though the novels of Þorgils gjallandi are written in the colloquial language of the day, his prose also displays an intimate knowledge of the saga style and of the popular narrative traditions of the countryside.

Another self-taught novelist making his debut during this period was Jón Trausti (pseudonym of Guðmundur Magnússon, 1873–1918) who in the following years wrote a number of realistic novels about people and life on the small inland farms and about the burgeoning conflicts in the developing villages. In style, these novels in fact differ somewhat from those immediately preceding them, with a comparatively intrusive narrator commenting and interpreting and at the same time revealing the thoughts of the protagonists in *erlebte Rede*. Other traces of influence from an earlier romantic tradition include the considerable use of metaphors and similes. The novels of Jón Trausti have been acclaimed for their “typical Icelandic” character portraits and milieu descriptions, and they have served as the principal models for later epic prose, such as that of Gunnar Gunnarsson (1889–1975) and Halldór Laxness.

6.7. The upsurge of the social novel barely outlived the first decade of the century. Jón Trausti converted to National Romanticism and began to write historical novels, and Einar H. Kvaran moved away from the cares and concerns of this world and became a spiritualist. At the same time, a new literary generation was entering the scene, poets who in Iceland are often called Neo-Romanticists and who are quite different from the “old ones”. Instead of a pompous diction and proud collective dreams for the future of the nation,

their voice is simple and natural and their poetry highly individualistic and emotional. Besides contemporary Scandinavian symbolist literature, it was above all the popular heritage of folksongs, ballads and lullabies, with their musical sounds and rhythm and their mystical content, which served as the literary models of these poets. From this period we also have the first modernistic experiments in poetry. The most popular of these poets were Jóhann Sigurjónsson (1880–1919), Stefán frá Hvítadal (1887–1933) and Davíð Stefánsson (1895–1964).

7. The literary renewal

7.1. From the time of *Fjölnir* and far into the 20th century, even up to the present day, there has been a general consensus on what constitutes good and correct Icelandic language. It should be “pure”, i.e. free from foreign influence in vocabulary and syntax; so instead of borrowing foreign words, great effort has been made to create new ones. The recommended models are either the saga literature or the unspoiled language of the countryside. This view is represented in numerous periodical articles at the beginning of the 20th century, where the authors express their fear that the “language mixture” of the towns will in the course of time prevail in the countryside as well. And they lay the blame not least on careless translations of trivial novels which at the time were being published in cheap editions. To restore the balance, the years 1891–1902 saw the publication of the first cheap edition of the sagas and the Eddas in 38 volumes, which became very popular. Times were changing; the economic stagnation that had gripped the country for centuries was finally being overcome, resulting in an increasing movement of people from the countryside to the coastal towns. The transformation of society was beginning.

Among the literary novelties in the first decades of the 20th century was essay writing in which the intellectuals connected with the new University of Iceland strove to enlighten and guide the public; the authors made an effort to write readable and inviting texts while using classical vocabulary. Their essays are full of neologisms for modern ideas and instruments. The general message of many of these essays is that one must be cautious in adapting innovations without reservation and not reject the old indiscriminately in favour of the new. So it was no wonder that some younger writers

identified this style with the cultural conservatism of the message.

Bréf til Láru (1924) by Þórbergur Þórðarson (1889–1975) has been called “the first real breach against the purist style which had reigned supreme since *Fjölnir*” (S. Einarsson 1957, 291). This book is written in all kinds of styles, thanks to the author’s skill and extensive knowledge of the entire Icelandic literary tradition. It is a long essay in the form of a letter with all kinds of digressions: polemic, humorous autobiographical sketches, short stories, parodies, pastiches, etc. In the words of Halldór Laxness (1902–1998), the author of *Bréf til Láru* “broke many barriers and opened many doors for us, the writers who followed and made many things permissible and natural which were previously forbidden and unthinkable”. In the writings of Laxness himself from around 1925, he rejects all the accepted standards of pure and beautiful language, both the rural and classical models, and he also claims that an author has the right to use foreign words when appropriate for the occasion.

7.2. As mentioned before, sporadic modernistic experiments in poetry were made in the first decades of the 20th century. A similar tendency is seen in the novel writing of this period. *Hel* (1919) by Sigurður Nordal (1886–1974) and *Vefarinn mikli frá Kasmír* (1927) by Halldór Laxness break the tradition of Icelandic story-telling by presenting extreme subjectivism, fragmentary narrative, bold and vivid imagery and even surrealistic experiments. The intellectual life and shifting emotions of the hero are centre-stage while the social background is vague or non-existent.

7.3. In the early thirties, international repercussions of the Great Depression affected Iceland too. There were serious class conflicts, and literature became dominated by social realism. Laxness had now converted from psychological to social novels and from international themes to the social life of his own country. During the 1930s, he published three cycles of novels, one with a fisher girl, another with a small farmer and a third with a parish pauper and poet as the central character. In these works, he renews the novel as a realistic story-telling form but does not turn to the early sagas for his models. Indeed, in writings from this period, he declared that he wanted to write “the language of the living” and refused to “tailor my thoughts to the fashions of Icelandic 600–700 years ago”.

An examination of these novels shows the gradual development of his personal narrative style. The subtitle of the first one, *Salka Valka* (1931–32), was “a political love story”, so readers might expect a good deal of left-wing propaganda, but they don’t get it. Even though it is apparent with whom the author sympathizes, irony is the most conspicuous device in this novel, both with regard to the political issues and the love story. The riots connected with the strike, for example, are always described with a touch of humour and in the courtship of the protagonist Salka and the revolutionary leader Arnaldur, you find a subtle parody of the neo-romantic tendency to project the feelings of lovers on Nature.

Already in these early novels, Laxness demonstrates his versatility as a writer, never adhering to any fixed models or traditions, always adapting his style to the different subject matters. This is particularly evident in the case of *Sjálfstætt fólk* (1934–35), a book about the unbending small farmer Bjartur and his struggle for independence. Here, Laxness’ propensity to write “the language of the living” takes a new turn. In the vocabulary, there are masses of rural words not previously found in dictionaries, mainly designating all types of weather or connected with work on an old-fashioned farm. The narrative mood is more flexible than in *Salka Valka*; the style is closer to the sagas in that the characters often are allowed to present themselves through their actions and speech, and one notable characteristic of *Sjálfstætt fólk* is the use of different types of discourse. The reader will find here a conscious and sophisticated elaboration of the literary tradition: the saga literature, folk songs, folk tales and legends, even *rímur*. When Bjartur is struggling through a heavy snowstorm out in the wilderness, he keeps his courage up by reciting to himself one of the *rímur* he knows, thereby identifying himself with the ancient hero of the poem as he fought against immense odds or defended himself against the improper advances of alluring giantesses. This episode about the power of poetic language says a good deal about the role and importance of this literature in the life of the common people over the centuries. Moreover, the author has made use of jargon; even whole speeches are lifted from contemporary ideological and political debate. This applies to the solemn rhetoric of the local official’s wife about the delights of the modest and carefree life of the

small farmers, here presented in an ironic, glaring contrast with reality.

Such contemporary allusions and parodies are much more fierce in *Heimsljós* (1937–40), which is the story of a poet of every and any age, localized in an Icelandic countryside and seaside village. Here the narrative style is entirely new. It is mainly through the consciousness of the sensitive poet that the scenes and events are presented, and the narrative abounds with poetic descriptions and imagery as a consequence. This also legitimizes the use of exaggeration and caricature, and irony, because sometimes the poet’s fantasy causes him to misunderstand what the reader does not. The subject is touching and tragic, but this is still one of the novels where Laxness conveys a most delicate sense of humour.

In the historical novel *Íslandsklukkan* (1943–46), Laxness has overturned his pronounced rejection of the saga literature. In fact, by this time he had become engaged in intense studies of the sagas, declaring that “an Icelandic writer cannot live without constantly thinking about these old books”. Influence from the sagas manifests itself above all in his economy of phrasing and his objectivity. The narrator conceals his presence. He presents events without commenting on them; the characters are seen from the outside, and their thoughts can only be guessed at by the way they react and what they say. The scene of *Íslandsklukkan* is Iceland in the 17th century, and the vocabulary is skilfully coloured with the official language and the religious rhetoric of the period.

Another historical novel, *Gerpla* (1956), borrowed its subject-matter from Family and Kings’ Sagas and for the most part used their style as a model. But besides this, the author drew a good deal on the early medieval learned writings, on the Heroic Sagas and the Edda. Laxness then used sources from the entire Old Icelandic/Old Norse literary tradition, but always felt it possible to parody and exaggerate, with an amusing and sometimes shocking effect. He announced that his rule was never to use a word in this novel which could not be proved to have existed in the language of the 11th century. In this respect the author has left himself with considerable freedom of action: the burden of proof is on the reader!

Between these two historical novels, Laxness published a thoroughly modern novel, set in postwar Reykjavik: *Atómstöðin* (1948) where through his style he tries to capture “the scattered and hectic features of the environ-

ment he wishes to describe” (Hallberg 1971, 164).

As these short descriptions have shown, all these books are totally different one from another; each of them is a world of its own, cast in its own special style. A stranger might think that they were produced by many different authors.

The model, or rather the highest standard of story-telling from the classical sagas, hovers in the background of all the later works of Laxness. In view of his unrivalled supremacy among 20th-century writers, his return to the saga models has no doubt served to consolidate the classical realistic tendency in modern Icelandic prose writing. But he has also availed himself of many later narrative traditions, autobiographies, popular annals, and local history. Sometimes the narrator presents himself as a disinterested annalist. *Kristnihald undir Jökli* (1968) can be said to mark a temporary return to Modernism on Laxness’ part. In it he depicts a “neutral recorder” who becomes inextricably involved, quite against his will, in a confusing human situation which he has unsuccessfully tried to reconstruct in a coherent report.

7.4. The most important works of Þórbergur Þórðarson following *Bréf til Láru* were two novels describing a few years in the author’s own life, *Íslenskur aðall* (1938) and *Ofvitinn* (1940). *Íslenskur aðall* takes place mostly during the summer of 1912 and is at the same time a kind of an autobiography and an acute and witty portrait of the author’s own Neo-Romantic generation. The style is versatile and humorous with bursts of expressionism, skilfully adapted to the various moods and emotions of the hero.

8. Modernism and tradition

8.1. Modernism in verse was introduced in the late forties and fifties of the 20th century and met with considerable criticism, even hostility, for obvious reasons. An Icelandic reader had in fact direct access to an unbroken tradition of poetry which had preserved the use of alliteration and even rhyme for more than one thousand years. What had above all set the standard at this stage were the lyrics of the National Poets which had enjoyed immense popularity, inspiring optimism, confidence, solidarity, some of them even put to music. The poetry of Steinn Steinarr (Aðalsteinn Kristmundsson, 1908–1958), beginning with

his second collection, *Ljóð* (1937), marks the beginning of lyrical modernism. In fact, this poetry was not so great a departure from traditional forms; the metres and rhythms are freer than before, but most of the poems are alliterated and a good many have rhymes as well. What is new are the startling metaphors, antitheses, paradoxes, not to mention the overriding sense of futility and alienation, disillusionment and skepticism.

The revolt against the poetic tradition expressed itself in a number of ways during these years. In his third collection of poems, *Þorpið* (1946), Jón úr Vör (1918–) rejected both alliteration and rhyme. This is a cycle of poems describing the poet’s childhood and youth in a poor village in the west of Iceland, written in a kind of lyrical realism in a simple, everyday language. In spite of the poverty and hard living conditions described, the atmosphere is depicted in a kind of a romantic light. A similar combination of lyrical realism and romantic imagery can be seen in the poems of Vilborg Dagbjartsdóttir (1930–).

Some leading modernist poets of the period were called the Atomic Poets after the designation given to a couple of bizarre characters in Laxness’ *Atómstöðin*. Among them, Stefán Hörður Grímsson (1919–) exhibits a very personal style which is entirely different from previous poetry, being more compact and introspective, with fresh, surrealistic imagery, building up a poetic world of his own in direct opposition to the factual world. In his latest poems, there are increasing elements of mysticism, as the world of Nature is brought in opposition to the world of “civilized” man.

The third alternative to the tradition is represented by Snorri Hjartarson (1906–1986) who made his debut in *Kvæði* (1944), where he follows the example of Jónas Hallgrímsson and tries to renew the lyrical tradition by introducing foreign metres and revitalizing the old ones. Some of these poems are tapestries of alliteration and rhyme, sounds and images. Among the characteristics of Snorri’s early poems are his fresh compounds of adjectives and nouns, not least in his exquisite descriptions and images of Nature. In his later poems, all this romantic splendour is discarded in favour of a simple style with few and pregnant images.

In fact, many of the poets tried in various ways to renew the old poetic forms while revolting against them. So even though the battle against the lyrical tradition was fought

and completed during the fifties, this tradition still reverberates in the works of many modern and modernistic poets. For example, the poems of Þorsteinn frá Hamri (1938–), in spite of their modernistic diction, are interwoven with the tradition, expressing the questions and problems of modern man through inherited themes and symbols.

8.2. The first genuine Modernist prose writer was Thor Vilhjálms­son (1925–), who made his debut in 1950 with *Maðurinn er alltaf einn*, a collection of sketches and short stories. The Modernist breakthrough, however, did not come until the late sixties with Thor's novel *Fljótt fljótt sagði fuglinn* (1968), the short stories and novels of Svava Jakobsdóttir (1930–), *Veizla undir grjótvegg* (1967) and *Leigjandinn* (1969), and *Tómas Jónsson metsölubók* (1966) by Guðbergur Bergsson (1932–). These three "Modernists" do not, however, have very much in common. The style of Thor Vilhjálms­son is very visual, almost exuberant, with vivid powerful imagery and a kind of a suggestive rhythmical quality. He flouts nearly every maxim of traditional story-telling, caring nothing for coherent plot, consistency of character, or unity of time, space and action. Svava Jakobsdóttir writes about modern, everyday life in a realistic style, free of any kind of rhetorical embellishment. Or so it seems, but her style may quite suddenly glide over into the grotesque and fantastic in a way that may remind us of fairy tales and folk tales. These stories often focus on language conventions, not least those revealing rooted prejudice. They are heavy with symbolism, and the protagonist is generally a woman, a middle-aged housewife. The narrative method of Guðbergur Bergsson's early novels hinges on a kind of a grotesque realism, which infuriated many readers who thought that the author focused too much on the repulsive side of contemporary life. The setting of these novels is, at first sight, realistic, an Icelandic seaside town with a stinking fish factory in the centre and an American military base nearby. As they proceed, some of the characters tend to split in two, the sense of time is confused, and so is the sequence of events. In Guðbergur's later novels, his style has become increasingly introspective and surrealistic.

8.3. Icelandic literary language was preserved and developed over the centuries in isolation, in primitive and static farming communities. A part of its heritage is a great number of idioms which nobody can explain without

reference to antiquated methods connected with farming and fishing. The basic vocabulary has remained the same for centuries, but a great number of neologisms have been created in order to make the language more able to express a totally different world and ways of living.

The Icelandic authors now in their prime are the first generation to have been born and bred mainly in Reykjavik and have this as their natural starting point. In many respects, the quartet by Pétur Gunnarsson (1947–) beginning with *Punktur punktur komma strik* (1978) can be said to have paved the way. This is the life story of a young man from his conception to his manhood. The scene is Reykjavik during the fifties and sixties; the novels describe how the protagonist appropriates the world through the discovery of the language around him and later, as an adolescent aspiring writer, through the books of older authors, above all Halldór Laxness. The style, accordingly, is full of puns and fresh metaphors, and the narrative and situations are extremely comical. The first three books follow the pattern of the developmental novel (*Bildungsroman*), but in the last book, *Sagan öll* (1985), it turns out that the protagonist is in fact a character in the work of another character, or perhaps his alter ego.

8.4. Foreign cultural influence has increased dramatically over recent decades, through frequent communication, films, mass media, etc. However, many modern Icelandic writers have reverted to national and historical themes, even some of the Modernists. Svava Jakobsdóttir, e.g., in her novel *Gunnlaðar saga* (1985) deals with a mythological subject from the Eddas, trying to give it a contemporary relevance. Thor Vilhjálms­son's latest novel, *Morgunþula í stráum* (1998) is an epic "rhapsody" based on the dramatic life of one of the principal characters from Sturla Þórðarson's *Íslendingasaga*.

Younger writers have also made use of and developed the tradition in various ways. In many modernistic texts one can find frequent allusions to the traditional Romanticism of Nature, e.g. in the poetry and prose of Steinunn Sigurðardóttir (1950–). The popular tradition of story-telling has been extended in the novels of Einar Kárason (1955–), partly influenced by the saga literature. Others, such as Einar Már Guðmundsson (1954–) and Gyrðir Eliasson (1961–) have, in various ways, combined the influence of modernism

and the folklore tradition into a kind of “magical realism”.

Let us conclude with two examples. Þórarinn Eldjárn (1948–) is one of the writers who combines traditionalism with modernism. His latest novel *Brotahöfuð* (1996) is based on 17th-century sources and written in 17th-century language. One of his first published works was *Disneyrímur* (1978), a “heroic epic” from the modern world dealing with the life and work of Walt Disney but composed throughout in the metre and poetic diction of the traditional rímur. The lyrics of the poet and troubadour Megas (Magnús Þór Jónsson, 1947–), influenced by the American Beat Generation, can be said to belong to an international world characterized by drug dealers, pimps and petty criminals, but they follow all the traditional rules of alliteration and rhyme and are packed with allusions to the literary heritage: the ancient sagas, 17th-century hymns, the National Romantic poems, folklore and folk tales.

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Þorleifur Hauksson, Reykjavík (Iceland)

53. Nordic language history and literary history V: Faroe Islands

1. Introduction
2. The Faroese *kvæði*
3. The period 1846–1888. A standard norm for written Faroese is created
4. From 1888 to 1912.
5. From 1912 to 1948
6. Language and literature after 1948
7. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

When the history of written Faroese literature begins, the phonological and morphological structure of the language is already next to identical with today's Farøese.

The Faroese are probably one of the smallest nations in the world (ca. 45000 inhabitants) that has a comprehensive printed literature in its own national language. However, 150 years ago, there was no written standard norm, nor were there any printed works of original literature in the Faroese language. When the Faroese became part of the great Dano-Norwegian kingdom in the Middle Ages, Danish was introduced as the language of administration. The ON writing tradition died out, and after the introduction of the Danish Bible during the Reformation, Danish was the only language used in writing, in court, and in church. For hundreds of years, Faroese existed exclusively as spoken dialects without a written norm.

2. The Faroese *kvæði*

Strong support for the Faroese language during the centuries after the Reformation was provided by its unique treasure house of oral

tradition, especially the old epic ballads, the famous Faroese *kvæði*. The medieval chain-dance, preserved only in the Farøes, has been the most popular social entertainment up to the present. Since the singing of the dancers is the only music, and the texts are mainly the *kvæði*, these have been perpetuated through the centuries through the dance. More than 200 old ballads have been preserved in this way. The contents are much the same as in medieval Nordic literature. Thus there is a mighty cycle of Charlemagne and his paladins, and another tells the story of Sigurd the Dragon-Slayer.

2.1. Language and style of the *kvæði*

Characteristic of the Faroese *kvæði* is its length; 200–300 rhymed stanzas is not exceptional. The story in the ballad is as a rule told with considerable circumstantiality. Dramatic episodes are often repeated in parallel stanzas, sometimes identical, sometimes with slightly varied wording. A refrain (Far. *niðurlag*), consisting of one or several lines, is repeated after every stanza throughout the ballad. As an illustration three stanzas from the *Sjúrdar kvæði* (Lyngbye 1822, 88f.) will be quoted here, rendered with normalized spelling:

110. Tað var hin snari Sjúrdur,/sínum svørði
brá./Hann kleyv tann hin Frænarorm/sundur
í lutir tvá.

Grani bar gullið av heiði./Brá hann sínum
brandi av reiði./Sjúrdur vann av orminum./
Grani bar gullið av heiði.

111. Vant var tað høggið,/ið Sjúrdur gav tann stund./Tá skalv báði leyv og lund/og øll verøldins grund. Grani bar etc.

112. Tá skalv báði leyv og lund/og øll verøldins grund./Sjúrdur brá sín bitra brand,/og hjó hann í miðju sundur. Grani bar etc.

In the ballads a great number of words and expressions which are extinct in today's Faroese have been preserved, many of them used metaphorically as in ON poetry. Thus *brandur* for 'sword' is used exclusively in the *kvæði*. Other examples: for 'fight' or 'battle' are found poetic expressions as *randarný* (ON *randargný*; lit. 'clang of shields') and *brynjugiðlvur* (lit. 'storm of armour'); 'blood' may be called *benjardogg* (lit. 'dew from wound'), etc. (Matras 1958, 90). Besides metaphoric expressions, hyperboles are common, as a rule used to give force to dramatic episodes. Thus the whole world quakes when Sigurd slew the dragon. Obsolete word forms are frequent, e.g. *sjá* for *siggja* '(to) see' (ON *sjá*); *tvá* for *tveir* 'two' (ON masc. acc. *tvá*); *tú ár* for *tú eigur* 'you own' (ON *þú átt*).

2.2. The *kvæði* are written down

A pioneer in the recording of the *kvæði* was Jens Christian Svabo (1746–1824), who invented a kind of phonetic-phonological orthographic system, and wrote down a large number of ballads in the 1770s and 1780s, spelling the words as they were pronounced in his West-Faroese dialect. He also inspired others to record *kvæði*, and during the 19th century several handwritten collections were produced.

2.3. Tættir

A vital and specially Faroese variety of the ballad is the *táttur*, a satiric lay, where local events or ridiculous behaviour are made fun of. Unlike the medieval *kvæði*, the themes of the *tættir* are always Faroese. The most famous specimen of this genre is *Fuglakvæði* ('Lay of the Birds') by Poul Nolsøe (1766–1809). It is a political satire directed against the Danish officials, who are depicted as birds of prey, whereas the Faroese population are represented by the small birds, defended by the oystercatcher, symbolizing Poul Nolsøe, the national hero.

3. The period 1846–1888

3.1. A standard norm for written Faroese is created

Svabo's ultimate goal had been purely scientific and antiquarian: to save the language from oblivion. He accepted Danish as the principal language of the islands and did not believe that Faroese could ever be used as a literary and national language. A decisive year in the history of the Faroese language was 1846. In that year a young theologian in Copenhagen, V.U. Hammershaimb (1819–1909), published a number of folklore texts in an entirely new orthography, founded less on pronunciation than on etymology. In the following years Hammershaimb published many ballads and other specimens of oral tradition, and in 1854 his *Færoisk Sproglære* 'Faroese Grammar' appeared. Many years later, in 1891, he issued *Færoisk Anthologi*, containing his grammar of 1854, slightly revised, and a large number of *kvæði*, riddles and folk tales. Included were also nine short sketches of rural everyday life, the oldest examples of literary Faroese prose. The themes are haymaking, fishing, whalehunting, wedding, etc. On the whole, the language is the same as in the rendering of the folk tales, especially regarding vocabulary and syntax.

3.2. The birth of modern Faroese poetry

The birth of modern Faroese poetry can be dated to the 1870s, when Faroese students in Copenhagen began to write lyric verse which had no connection with the poetic idiom of the ballads. These poems, which were read or sung at their social gatherings, were drinking or patriotic songs, generally in the somewhat old-fashioned romantic style that was the rule in that kind of poetry.

4. From 1888 to 1912

4.1. National revival

When the patriotic movement among the Copenhagen students was transferred to the Faroese, it became more concerned with practical and political questions. An increasing number of Faroese began to be proud of their culture and of their language, which was felt to be the most important unifying symbol for the Faroese as a nation. A significant event was a meeting in Tórshavn at Christmas 1888, held in order "to discuss how to defend the

Faroese language and customs". After the meeting the *Føringafelag* (Faroese Union) was formed, the aims of which were to raise the status of the Faroese language, and to work for unity, progress, and self-sufficiency of the Faroese people (Debes 1982, 149 ff.). It was hoped that Faroese – instead of Danish – would eventually be used for all public business, and that a national Faroese literature would develop. An important outcome of the activity of the *Føringafelag* was the publication of *Føringatiðindi*, the first newspaper (a monthly) written exclusively in Faroese.

4.2. Language planning and language cultivation

The efforts to guide the development of the language in a national direction was called *Reformbevægelsen* 'The Reform Movement' in a newspaper article 1889 by the Faroese philologist Jakob Jakobsen (1864–1918). He suggested three methods to counteract the decay of the Faroese language, which he found threatened by the strong impact of Danish: to revive obsolete Faroese words, to replace foreign words with neologisms, and to exchange Danish affixes for Faroese equivalents. Jakobsen's principles for language cultivation were generally accepted, and during the 20th century literary Faroese has become more and more "pure". Thus most of the examples of the affixes *an-*, *be-*, *for-*, *heit* (Dan. *-hed*) found in *Føringatiðindi* are not used in modern Faroese prose.

4.3. Development of prose literature

Most of what was written in Faroese before the turn of the century was somewhat limited in scope. However, in the beginning of the 20th century a more diversified literature began to unfold, consisting not only of patriotic lyric verse in a neoromantic style, but also of imaginary prose sketches on different themes. The first novel in the Faroese language, *Bábelstornið* ('The Tower of Babel') by Regin í Líð (pen-name for Rasmus Rasmussen, 1871–1962), was published in 1909. The theme is the conflicts between two families through three generations in a Faroese village, against the background of the social and political development that took place from the 1840s onward. The happenings are told in simple chronological order in the style of the continental realistic novel. The language, although rather refined, is not innovative. More successful were Regin í Líð's short stories, and

still more so were Sverre Patursson's (1871–1960) at the same time realistic and poetic descriptions of Faroese nature, above all of Faroese bird life.

4.4 Poetry

Ever since the rise of Faroese literature in the 1870s, poetry has dominated over prose, probably to some extent due to the influence that the perpetual singing of the ballads has exerted. The poetic idiom of the *kvæði* is clearly recognizable in the verse of several poets, among others Jóan Petur Gregoriussen (1845–1901) and Jógvan Dánjalsson (1843–1926) from the village of Kvívík, both of whom preferably wrote somewhat lengthy poems about rural and national themes. More sophisticated lyrics were produced by the men who were directly engaged in the Reform Movement, above all Jóannes Patursson (1866–1946), whose vigorous and audacious language was innovative, with puristic neologisms such as *lunnavagnur* 'tram' and *snarlýsismáttur* 'electricity' (lit. 'lightning-power').

5. From 1912 to 1948

5.1. Faroese in public life

During this period, thanks to the Reform Movement, several important changes took place in the status of Faroese in public life, in domains, where the Danish language had been totally dominant. Thus oral Faroese was made a compulsory subject in the schools in 1912, followed by written Faroese in 1920. In 1938 Faroese became allowed as the language of instruction on all levels of education. The same development took place in the use of Faroese in church, ending with an ordinance in 1939 which allowed ministers to use Faroese in all parts of the divine service. These changes in the status of Faroese naturally required a considerable corpus of printed texts. Readers for the schools had already been produced at the beginning of the century, particularly by the clergyman A. C. Evens (1874–1917). A Faroese religious idiom was created above all by Jákob Dahl (1878–1944), who translated most of the Bible from the original. The New Testament appeared in 1937, the Old Testament in 1961 (completed after Dahl's death by K. O. Viderø). Dahl's language is at the same time homely and worthy. In texts where a solemn style is required, he effectively uses obsolete word forms and syntax. Thus, for in-

stance (in the Service Book, 1929): *Vær tókum tær* ('We thank Thee') instead of *Vit takka tær*; the possessive pronoun *vár* ('our') instead of *okkara*; abundant use of constructions with the genitive such as *fyri syndarinnar skuld* 'because of our sins', and *doypa [...] til navns faðirins og sonarins og heilaga andans* 'christen [...] in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit'.

5.2. Poetry

A break-through towards a more personally coloured poetry came with Jens Hendrik Oliver Djurhuus (1881–1948). His *Yrkingar* ('Poems') 1914 was the first collection published by a Faroese poet. With Djurhuus Faroese poetry left behind the provinciality and romanticism that had been hovering over the lyrics of the earlier poets. His themes are both personal and universal. By his abundant use of symbols and metaphors, as well as by his vigorous language – with alliteration and bold syntax – Djurhuus has exerted a strong influence on later poets. His most eminent follower was Christian Matras (1900–1988), who during his long life published a considerable number of collections of poetry. His lyrics show great variation in themes and style – from traditionally formal stanzas to utterly concentrated aphoristic verses –, always precise in diction and with a personal tone of warm imagination. His nature poetry, combining description and vision, reflects with a religious undertone Matras' deep love of his country. More decidedly modernistic than Matras were Karsten Hoydal (1912–1990) and Regin Dahl (b. 1918). Titles such as *Myrkrið reyða* ('The Read Darkness') and *Syngjandi grót* ('Singing Stone') of two collections by Hoydal reveal the poet's view of nature as animated, and of natural scenery as symbols of human feelings. During this period a great number of poets appeared who were more or less original. One of the most popular was Hans Andrias Djurhuus (1883–1952). He was an accomplished and versatile versifier who wrote a large amount of melodious poetry in a traditional style, displaying a pleasant optimism.

5.3. Fictional prose

The first novel to be published in the Faroese language after *Bábelstornið* was the two-volume story *Lognbrá* ('Mirage', 1930) and *Fastatøkur* ('A firm Grip on Life', 1935) by Heðin Brú, pen-name for the agricultural consultant Hans Jacob Jacobsen (1901–1987). In this

story of a dreamy and melancholic boy in a remote Faroese village, of his childhood, his growth and progress to maturity, the author gives a vivid and true picture of rural Faroese life on land and at sea at the beginning of the 20th century. The story, although rather simply told, enthralls the reader through its style and its language, as well as through the author's imaginative strength. Later on Heðin Brú published four more novels – among them the masterpiece *Fedgar á ferð* ('Father and Son on the Go', 1940) – and five collections of short stories. Heðin Brú was deeply rooted in the old stable peasant society, where most of his stories are set; the scene is as a rule the small village and the powerful, dangerous nature, and the characters are peasants and fishermen – Faroese to the core – who led a life far from the modern conveniences of Tórshavn. No other Faroese author has so successfully transformed spoken Faroese into literary language as Heðin Brú, and his style remains artistic, even when it is audaciously colloquial. Relying on the rich and pure vocabulary of his native village of Skálavík on Sandoy, he is admirably independent of Danish syntax and grammar. Thus he often deletes the conjunction and the relative particle at the beginning of subordinate clauses, and as a rule he writes *Tú er/var/fekk/komdi*, etc. 'You are/was/got/came' instead of *Tú ert/ vart/fekkst/komst*, etc., which are the forms prescribed in normative grammar.

Of the same generation as Heðin Brú was Martin Joensen (1902–1966), who published a few novels and a large number of sketches and short stories, some of them of high literary value. In his two-volume novel *Fiskimenn* ('Fishermen', 1946) and *Tað lýsir á landi* ('There is Light over the Country', 1952), where the main theme is the conflicts between the shipowners and the fishermen, Joensen introduces social realism into Faroese literature, probably influenced by Danish authors such as Hans Kirk and Martin Andersen Nexø.

6. Language and literature after 1948

6.1. The Home Rule Act and the status of Faroese

When the Home Rule Act was passed by the Danish Parliament in 1948, Faroese was declared the principal language of the islands, and so Faroese began to be used both orally and in written communication within the sections of administration that were taken over

by the Faroese authorities. These political changes have revealed large gaps in the vocabulary of Faroese, particularly with reference to administration and science. Much work has gone into creating new words in these fields. Thus a number of word-lists have been produced, e. g. of terminology for administration, for the postal system, for grammar and linguistics.

6.2. Modern poetry

During this period a considerable number of poets have emerged. Among the most talented are Steinbjørn Jacobsen (b. 1937), Guðrið Helmsdal Nielsen (b. 1941), and Rói Patursson (b. 1947). Their poetic works from the 1960s and later may be characterized as modernistic and post-purist. The literary language has now attained such inner strength that authors dare to use the whole range of the vocabulary, unconcerned with the etymology of words. Jacobsen and Patursson in particular use colloquial, sometimes harsh everyday expressions freely in their political poems, where they criticize modern Faroese society. Patursson's verses have an extremely free form; in his collection *Likasum* ('As if', 1985) there are no rhymes, no capitals, no punctuation marks. Repetitions are used in a suggestive way. The themes are often wholly philosophical and without reference to a Faroese background. G. H. Nielsen has a taste for diminutive poems in unrhymed free form. Her collection *lýtt lot* ('mild breeze', 1963) is the first book of poetry published by a Faroese woman writer.

6.3. Fictional prose

With the rapid material and economic progress after World War II, a more international and urban trend is noticeable in the works of the younger writers of literary prose. Among these Jens Pauli Heinesen (b. 1932) is outstanding. Up to now he is the only writer of Faroese fiction that has been able to make a living as an author. He is by far the most productive of all writers of Faroese fiction. His many novels and short stories include a great variety of themes. In a series of semi-autobiographical novels – six volumes from 1980–1988 – Heinesen gives a detailed picture of Faroese life and scenes from his childhood and adolescence, combining the old delight in story-telling with modern realism. Heinesen's most impressive novel is *Frænir eitir ormurin* ('The Dragon's Name is Frænir', 1973). The title alludes symbolically to *Sjúrðar kvæði*, and

the main theme is evil, realized as deep and pervasive corruption in human life. This novel abounds in sarcastic pictures of Faroese post-war social and political life, the problems of which are made obvious, relevant, and tangible. Like most of Heinesen's stories it is a novel with a purpose, and the characters are created with a view to illustrating his thesis. Heinesen uses the whole stylistic range of Faroese. Some of his short stories, told in simple and vigorous language, thrill the reader with their deliberate harshness and cruelty. After Heinesen many young fiction writers have appeared on the literary scene, some of them determined critics of contemporary Faroese society and hostile to its traditional ideals.

6.4. Recent linguistic developments

The most clearly distinguishable trends in post-war Faroese are the considerable increase in vocabulary, the great variation in literary style, and the effects of energetic language cultivation, which has led to widespread consciousness of what is considered good and bad language. The gap between a more pure, "high" literary language and a conversational parlance with a high frequency of loan words is still a reality, an unavoidable consequence of the heavy impact of Danish due to the bilingual situation.

7. Literature (a selection)

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54. Nordic language history and the history of philosophy

1. Introduction: the framework
2. The dichotomies in action
3. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction: the framework

The strategy of unavoidable simplification in this article is the following: Only those branches of philosophy which have a bearing on language are accounted for, and the treatment as a matter of course does not aim at any complete coverage whatsoever. Rather what I shall do is to take up certain recurrent themes in the philosophical treatment of language in order to exemplify their consequences, if any, for the Nordic languages. Let it be remembered at the outset that it has always been a hallmark of the philosophical endeavour that it is *not empirical* in the ordinary sense of empirical, i. e. leading to scientific descriptions of the linguistic facts.

I take the following three dichotomies to be basic:

- (a) universalism vs. particularism
- (b) idealism vs. materialism
- (c) nature vs. culture

2. The dichotomies in action

2.1. Outline

A universalistic point of view would stress the fact that language as such, *langage* in the Saussurian sense, is a universal feature of the human being. Since universalists have this priority, they are less interested in the particular languages and tend to see them as (less significant) variations on a common theme. Universalism may be coupled with idealism, which would give us an idealist universalism referring to God-given ideas, or to innate ones, or to both at the same time. On the other hand, a materialist universalism would be based on biology and would tend to see development of language as one step only on the evolutionary ladder, stressing the continuity of communication at all stages.

Particularism takes as its point of departure that the differences between the various languages are what matters. In its idealist version the effects of language structures are coupled with psychological functions so that differences among languages reflect, and by the same token bring about, differences among their users.

The dichotomy of nature vs. culture with reference to language involves rival stances as to what a language is ontologically. If language or languages are first and foremost natural phenomena, then human agency is futile. You cannot change the laws of nature. If, on the other hand, language and languages are instead cultural phenomena, it becomes perfectly natural for human agents to design it/them and to mould it/them for the future, in short to cultivate it/them. One variant of the culture vs. nature dichotomy places speech as the (most) natural linguistic domain, while writing is defined as being cultural. Thus writing systems may be changed by human agents, whereas spoken language is beyond the reach of the linguist, who only has to analyze it.

2.2. Medieval ideas about language

Idealist universalism has been dominant in most of the history of the philosophy of language. In the vast epoch which we may conveniently label “the Christian era”, the divine nature of language made it incomprehensible to speculate along other lines. The medieval *modistae* formulated questions about language and cognition in a language which was not their mother tongue, viz. Latin, and they answered by pointing to the relationship between grammar and logic (Ebbesen/Friedman 1999). Framed in a universalistic mode, the specific relationship between a language and thought simply could not be posed.

2.3. The Sorø group – between universalism and particularism

It is not the place here to go into the influence of French rationalist thinking in the history of Nordic thinking. Suffice it to say that the universalism of the *grammaire générale* deeply influenced teaching as well as philosophy of language. In Denmark the influence of Leibniz was felt through the Sorø group (middle of the 18th c.), who consciously followed in the footsteps of Wolff and wanted to be able to philosophize in Danish as Wolffians did in German. Since Danish did not have a philosophical vocabulary, the group, Eilschov, J.S. Sneedorff and Kraft, faced the challenge of either translating or creating the necessary terms in Danish.

As J. Christensen has noted in his booklet on Aristotle (1961), the common European

words for abstract matters all go back in some version to the influence of the Greek philosophers in general and Aristotle in particular. Thus the problem which the Sorø group, and the Wolffians before them, had to solve was how to integrate classical thinking as reflected in its terminology into the vocabulary of a Germanic language.

Lollesgaard quotes from Eilschov's deliberations on translation as follows:

I Modersmaals-Terminologien følger jeg den berømte Wolfs Fremgangsmaade. Hvis Ordet er mig bekendt i Modersmaalet, saaledes at det i sin almindelige Brug svarer til det latinske Ord, indlader jeg mig ikke paa at danne et Ord. Hvis der maa dannes nye Udtryk, oversætter jeg ikke Ord for Ord, men danner dem i Overensstemmelse med Sprogets Aand. Jeg danner undertiden helt nye Ord, og jeg søger derved at træffe den tekniske Nomenklatur's Mening.

(Eilschov, quoted in Lollesgaard 1925, 24f.)

We see here an awareness of the particularistic viewpoint that language structures differ significantly ("Sprogets Aand") while the thought of having parallel structures in Danish and Latin is universalistic. Note that Eilschov's main work was written in Latin (cf. J. Christensen 1986) and that the whole idea of being able to philosophize in the mother tongue was part of a democratic effort, not a means to supersede Latin.

2.4. Herder, the first particularist

With Herder and his pre-romanticist thinking, particularism enters the scene. Pre-romanticism may be hailed as the introduction of historicism, or as the first philosophical trend to introduce particularism into cultural studies, or as a forging of the two. For the human sciences this meant that thinking in genetic terms became the hallmark of the scientific approach. This made history, a human science, the key to understanding the world. The distinction between the natural sciences and the historical ones or *Geisteswissenschaften* did not have the same meaning in the pre-romantic and the romantic period proper as it has now, as witnessed by the fact that (part of) the natural sciences became "natural history" and both were seen as contributing to the same endeavour. A celebrated "modern" chemist such as the Dane H. C. Ørsted was part and parcel of the romantic quest for the unity of scientific insight (D. C. Christensen 1995).

More important for the study of language, however, was Herder's insistence on the com-

plex relationship between what we would now typically call "culture" and "ethnicity" on the one hand and language on the other. Herder started off with the problem of the role of language in the making of the human species, a favourite subject of rationalist thought on language, but his thinking developed from this problem, which we would now treat as the relationship between biology, neurology and language, towards a cultural anthropology of language and humankind.

Through a complex argument reaching from the biologically based unity of mankind to the family as the smallest group, Herder reaches his strange conclusion: the apparent unity of humankind is "naturally" (this argument is called "the third law of nature" in his famous treatise on the origin of language) fragmented into smaller groups that perpetuate themselves through their cultural and architectural monuments and thus become a nation. Since the different groups, ultimately all individuals, create infinite variations in the use of language, we lack a framework to maintain some sort of stability. The small group, the family, is taken as this stabilizing factor:

Und welcher Schatz ist Familiensprache für ein werdendes Geschlecht! Fast in allen kleinen Nationen aller Weltteile, so wenig gebildet sie auch sein mögen, sind Lieder von ihren Vätern, Gesänge von den Taten ihrer Vorfahren der Schatz ihrer Sprache und Geschichte und Dichtkunst, ihrer Weisheit und ihrer Aufmunterung, ihr Unterricht und ihre Spiele und Tänze [...]

(after Heintel (ed.) 1964, 74).

Thus Herder's thinking has no level between that of the small interacting group and the nation; or better, he conceptualizes the nation and the *Volk* as an enlarged small group, i. e. as some sort of family. This particular characteristic of Herder's theoretical stance is relevant for the study of language in that the relationship between the language of small interacting groups (usually called dialects) is thought of as parallel in kind to the language of whole societies (national languages). A language is thought of as a particular dialect promoted to the status of a standard language.

So far, the influence of Herder is primarily that with his works he overturned the earlier view of the divine character of language; but the influence of Herder is much deeper in his introduction of the concept of the nation and the relationship between language and the genius of the people that make up the nation. Writing about the *desideratum* of a book on

the German language written by a philosopher versed in linguistics, Herder states:

Wiefern hat auch die Sprache der Deutschen eine Harmonie mit ihrer Denkart? Wiefern ihre Sprache Eindrücke auf die Gestalt ihrer Literatur gemacht? Wie kann man es ihrer Mundart, von ihren Elementen, von ihrer Aussprache und Silbenmassen an, bis zu dem ganzen Naturell derselben an kennen, dass sie unter dem deutschen Himmel gebildet worden, um unter demselben zu wohnen und zu wirken? [...]
Der ganzen Nation wäre ein solches Buch ein Schatz: ein Schatz für ihre ganze Literatur. Denn der Genius, der über die Wissenschaften eines Volks wacht, ist zugleich der Schutzgott der Sprache desselben [...]
(after Heintel (ed.) 1964, 104f.).

This passage has all the qualities which were to influence the thinking of language in Western Europe deeply: each ethnic group is simultaneously characterized by a genius and a language, and the two are interrelated at all linguistic levels from phonology to semantics. The complex interrelationship will illuminate the specific *Denkart* and the peculiarity of the literature of the nation since it is reflected in both (and partly, we may infer, determines it).

It is an interesting problem in itself to follow the influence of this thinking into the language sciences. Taking Rasmus Rask as the prime influence for the romantic school of linguistics, and leaving aside for a moment the controversy surrounding this stance, we may note that Herder is not mentioned in the letters of Rask at all (Bjerrum 1968) and that Diderichsen (1960), in his study of the origin of the ideas in Rask's early work, always resorts to indirect influence, i.e. via Adelung or other more directly linguistic writers. On the other hand, Skautrup outlines a possible route of influence into the Danish milieu via the historian Laurids Engelstoft who visited Herder in 1798 (Skautrup 1953, 131; cf. Diderichsen 1968, 234). What is important, however, is that Herder's formulation of the complex relationship between language, people and cognition had to be transformed into a framework for doing linguistics by others.

As documented above, Herder's particularism was strongly idealist. Nowhere can this be seen as clearly as in his ideas of the *Volksgeist*, and an essential part of this spirit was the language. This naturally entails differences between peoples. What the specific nature of the relationship between a language and its people or the other way round was like became

the logical next question. But the linguists had no need for an answer. They felt that Herder had provided the necessary reason for the importance of the analysis of the national languages: simply that languages were important in themselves as documents of the *Volksgeist*; if one was able to trace them back to their earliest appearances, one would by the same token contribute to documenting the history of the ethnic group.

2.5. The curious case of Humboldt

It cannot be overlooked that if we see the history of the 19th-c. human sciences in general and the linguistic sciences in particular as dominated by the *Leitmotiv* of history, we fall all too easily prey to so-called whig history. The conquering current wrote the histories of the linguistic sciences by focussing on the line of thinking relating Jakob Grimm, Franz Bopp and Rasmus Rask as the founding fathers to August Schleicher, Karl Brugmann and B. Delbrück as the perfectors of the same science, i.e. Indo-European comparative philology. This is the line most convincingly taken by Holger Pedersen (1924) in his famous history of linguistics in the 19th-c.

But another line might just as convincingly be drawn. The fact is that Herder was not the only pre-romanticist to influence thinking on language in Europe; Wilhelm von Humboldt, as well, had a lasting importance. Humboldt was probably construed as a linguistic thinker by his pupil Heymann Steinthal, in particular as concerns the concept of the *innere Sprachform* (cf. Borsche 1989; Di Cesare 1998, 85ff.), the concept that Chomsky mentions with approval as equivalent to his "deep structure" (Chomsky 1965, 198). Still, it remains true that Humboldt's link between grammar and mind has inspired a tradition of so-called philosophical grammar. The results of this German school of philosophical grammar have been an important source of inspiration, e.g. for the Danish structuralist Louis Hjelmslev's work on case systems (1935). The path from Humboldt through Steinthal and Misteli to modern typological work is short, but the link connecting Humboldt to the linguistic relativity of Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf is equally obvious. The challenge is permanently with us; what does it mean (for the user's cognizing of his or her surroundings) that languages diverge in structural features?

Thus the Humboldtian trend in linguistics (cf. Koerner 1977) is not the main trend in

19th-c. linguistics but constitutes a line of opposition to mainstream historicism. It has severe problems getting in touch with the realities of empirical work, whether typology or grammar, and yet it is undeniably there as a theoretical challenge. In a sense Chomsky is right in connecting this line with the rationalist Port Royal view which he sees himself as continuing. Rationalism and Humboldtianism – as well as Chomskyanism – are concerned with the deepest layers of language, not the nitty-gritty levels of empirical detail. They are all in some sense philosophical linguists.

Humboldt's question is simple. He starts with the fact that there are several different languages, even several different types of languages, and he asks what this means for the individual and for the speech community in general. The answer has been difficult to formulate – precisely because Humboldt was an idealist particularist confronting the universality of language. I can think of two possible paths to follow. One line of thinking says that the various structures of different languages mean that those who speak them perceive their worlds in accordance with their language structure. The extreme version of this stance is called linguistic relativity and is traditionally taken as being the stance of the American linguist Benjamin Lee Whorf, who himself coined the term. The other possible answer is that the linguistic differences are contingent, even accidental. They can be explained and they do not mean anything for the perception of the world. Needless to say, linguists of all kinds could be tempted to endorse the first stance (linguistic relativity) simply because it seems to furnish their work with a strong legitimation. In fact, however, most linguists since the beginning of the 20th c. have taken the second view if they have given this philosophical question much thought.

It may be seen as a characteristic feature of the modern stance, the post-Saussurian stance, in linguistics that all forms of Humboldtianism are discarded without further ado as being out of date. But this was not the case during the 19th c. In all thinking about language stemming from that century we find that the national question is a central problem. The earlier idealist treatment of the question by Rask and N. M. Petersen forms the basis for the later naturalistic concerns, but the question remains on the centre stage. One reason for this is that the professional structure at the universities and the curriculum in schools still reflect the national, if not nationalistic,

view in their combination of language, literature and history for the subjects of e. g. Danish, Swedish, Nordic. This handbook itself reflects the thinking we are concerned with here.

2.6. Esaias Tegnér, the naturalist idealist

The Swedish linguist Esaias Tegnér the younger wrote his treatise on *Språkets makt öfver tanken* in 1880. His book was one part of an effort to make the naturalistic viewpoint popular in Sweden, and he seems to have been eminently successful. The book was part of a series called “Ur vår tids forskning” [from modern research] and is explicitly called a popular account. This notwithstanding, the book is part of the long tradition of philosophical arguments about the nature of language and thus explicitly takes issue first and foremost with Humboldt.

The Swedish background for Tegnér's treatise is probably most significantly Kristian Claëson's work (Tarschys 1955, 71 ff.). Claëson wrote his two papers on the philosophy of language as part of an attempt to elucidate the relationship between language and nation. His point of departure is that modern empirical linguistics has pointed out so many specifics of the different languages that the earlier idea of a *grammaire générale* can be dismissed. Though organic in its structure, language is not a natural phenomenon but a social one. Following the Danish classical philologist Madvig, Claëson considers the function of language to be communication. And his conclusion is thus that the speech community is the central fact. But as a good pupil of the famous idealist Boström, Claëson finally finds his definition in the words

språket är en uppenbarelse af nationalanden. Därifrån, från nationaliteten, dess liv, dess själ, dess fria utveckling, dess organiska natur
(Claëson quoted from Tarschys 1955, 74).

Claëson thus represents precisely the type of idealist particularism which inevitably latches on to some sort of nationalism since for this stance the nation is both the presupposed social reason for language and its perpetually produced result.

Tegnér agrees with Claëson (citing again Madvig and the American linguist Whitney as his authorities) in so far as he sees the power of language to be in the creation of a nation. The language determines who can understand each other, and since communication is cen-

tral, the most vital function of language is to build nations. But note that there is no national spirit or *Volksgeist* here, only function.

Tegnér offers a condensed argument leading from differences of vocabulary within the speech community to the essential role of grammar in the delimitation of the common core:

Emedan grammatiken sålunda är någonting hela folket mera allmänt omslutande än ordförrådet, synes man hafva rätt att i språkets grammatiska bildning söka de för nationaliteten i djupaste mening kännetecknande dragen. Man synes böra antaga, så väl å ena sidan att hvarje folks grammatik trognast afspeglar dess egenomliga skaplynne, som ock å den andra, att om språket öfver hufvud eger något inflytande på de talandes tankesätt, detta inflytande allra påtagligast måste vara förnimbart i fråga om språkets grammatiska faktorer.

Särskildt W. v. Humboldt har betonat nödvändigheten af denna slutsats. Vi skola dock söka visa, att den ingalunda är obetingadt hållbar [...]

(Tegnér 1880, 46f.)

A long chain of arguments is presented before we reach the conclusion some twenty pages later:

Af det föregående bör hafva framgått, att man ej har rätt att i ett språks grammatik vänta synnerligen mycket "folkpsykologiskt" material. Såsom det icke beror af ett folks sätt att uppfatta världen, huruvida det kommer att tala ett isolerande eller ett agglutinerande eller ett flekterande språk, och såsom ett och samma tankeinhåll med ungefär lika grad af tydlighet kan återgifvas i hvilkendera af dessa språkets hufvudformer som helst, så bör man ej håller i språkets grammatiska byggnad leta efter väsentliga bidrag till folkets karakteristik. (Tegnér 1880, 66)

Here language is seen as something external to the people, and not the essential ingredient, as the romanticist would have it.

It seems to be a bit surprising, then, when we later find that Swedish is not simply at the disposal of its popular users but has a pronominal structure which apparently makes address forms a complicated matter. The argument is as follows: Pronouns are used for addressing people. We have in Swedish two forms which may be used, *du* and *ni* corresponding to the T and V forms of the Brown and Gilman hierarchy (1960). But in many cases this supply is not enough for speakers who must resort to using titles instead:

Om vi ock nu så vant oss vid detta missförhållande, att vi till och med, som någon sagt, finna *herr generalkrigskommissarien* vara ett bekvämare ord att uttala än *ni*, så kan dock ingen vara blind för det stora inflytande på våra umgängesvanor, som denna grammatiska egenhet utöfvar. Blott genom det tvång, saknaden af ett gångbart tilltalspronomen pålägger oss, gestalta sig i vårt land många ej blott sällskapliga utan äfven i högre mening sociala förhållanden på annat sätt än de eljest kunnat göra. (Tegnér 1880, 87f.)

The Swedish language forces the Swedes to be formal! The naturalist Tegnér suddenly becomes an idealist when it comes to sociolinguistic matters.

2.7. Frederik Dreier, a Danish materialist universalist

I do not doubt that the Danish philosopher and socialist Frederik Dreier would have been sympathetic to much of the critical content of Tegnér's booklet but he would have thought the retreat to idealism disturbing. His manuscript on *Sproglige Tilstande og Bestræbelser i Norden. Forsøgene til et almindeligt Sprog* was never published. Written between 1846 and 1852 (shortly before Dreier's death), it consists of more than 335 small handwritten pages and will only now be published in the planned edition of his collected writings. I have had the opportunity to read the transcript by courtesy of the editors. Dreier's main target in the first part is N. M. Petersen as a representative of nationalist idealism which – so we are told – beguiled Dreier himself until he became able to discover its foundations. Dreier's method is akin to what would later be called *critique of ideology*, i.e. an internal critique of what is gradually disclosed as ideas which run contrary to what is taken to be the *real* world or the preferred development. The constant theme is the juxtaposition of the universal idea of humankind and the particularist idea of the people.

In Conrad (1996) we may find a painstaking analysis of a somewhat later work by N. M. Petersen, viz. his history of Danish literature (1853–61). Among other things, Conrad discusses what Petersen could mean by the "people". Obviously, writing the history of Danish literature was for the benefit of the Danish people. On the other hand, the literature written within the Danish Kingdom was written by at least three different nationalities, viz. Germans, prominent in Holstein, Norwe-

gians and Danes proper. Furthermore, there is a difference between the language of the written texts which form the sole object of the history of literature and the various dialects used by the people in daily interaction. Petersen does not deal with these dialects in his history of literature, but he comments on them elsewhere. He is not impressed – the dialects cannot form the basis for any renewal of the written language and are bound to disappear as education progresses. On the other hand, it is obvious that precisely because they keep vestiges of the old they are valuable as objects of study. Petersen's most beloved pupil, Carl Säve, educated a generation of Swedish Nordic philologists – and dialectologist. He was himself a dialectologist of considerable merit.

Petersen is thus torn between his esteem for all the original virtues inherent in the old spoken languages and his conviction that only the written standard language is polished, cultivated and brought to fruition by the noblest spirits of their times, viz. the poets. This is an inherent split in the early idealist conception of language, leading to both dialect archaeology, which stresses the regular correspondences between the earliest written texts and the actual dialects of the 19th c., and to the refined critique of literature as more or less Danish and more or less valuable (cf. also Diderichsen 1968, 243, note 36).

Dreier has noted this ambivalence and makes the most of it in his attack on Petersen's idealist cultivation of the past. Dreier is emphatically a modernist and a progressivist at that – in fact he is even an optimist. Petersen was an avowed pessimist and was always tormented by imagining the doom of the Danish people who would disappear because the Danish language would be swallowed up by German. Dreier's optimism makes him discard the backward-looking Scandinavism (though he favoured any movement towards more communicative ease, he was ardently opposed to its Old Norse basis). The national researchers, notably Petersen and Martin Hammerich, disguise a social bias when they pick out the speech of the Church or the learned classes as emblematic for the language as such. The empirical basis is lacking. Whenever Petersen and Rask argue that writing has to mirror precisely the sounds of speech, Dreier agrees wholeheartedly only to reiterate his fierce attacks whenever Rask makes concessions to "usage", i. e. the writing traditions.

Dreier is an unusual type in the history of the Nordic philosophy of language – a materi-

alist universalist. Siding with Madvig, again, he connects thinking and language:

Tænkningen er ikke noget fra den indre Sprogforførmelse Adskilleligt; jo klarere denne er, des klarere staaer Tankeprocesserne for En, og omvendt, hiin er et Moment i denne. Det er forsaavidt med Rette at man taler om at "tænke paa dansk, fransk, tydsk", eftersom den klare Tænkning foregaaer i danske, franske eller tydske Sprogformer; dette har naturligviis aldeles Intet at gjøre med Nationalisternes danske, franske, tydske Tænkning, idet Tankeproces og altsaa Resultat kan være aldeles den samme, om end forskjellige Sprog afgive Midlet.
(Dreier 1846–52, 202)

Dreier is fully aware that thinking is a complex process and notes that some day we shall know more about what goes on in the brain. But until then what we have is its manifestation in language. And language may be changed (developed) and evaluated so that it develops in the right direction:

[...] det er tydeligt at man maa kunne sammenligne forskjellige Sprogs Metoder og i mange Tilfælde bestemt erklære sig for en af dem, under Forudsætning af dens Gjennemførelse med alle dens Conseqvenser; men langt vigtigere er det, at Hensynet til Begrebernes hensigtsmæssigste Udtryk paa videnskabelig Maade lader sig gennemføre, saaledes at der dannes Nomenclaturer efter almene Grundprinciper.
(Dreier 1846–52, 222)

Dreier here foreshadows the conscious development of terminology for specific areas, which is an integrated part of modern language planning efforts.

Nowhere do we see more clearly the close connection between universalism and rationalism and the materialist socialism which Dreier professed than in his suggestion that we may in fact have a better future if we construct an international common language, much as Leibniz had argued. Dreier gives various hints throughout the manuscript as to the programme he envisages for the liberation of the masses. The natural sciences must take the place of the human sciences and literature as the central matter of the educational curriculum (p. 225), and he repeatedly refers to the creation of special languages (or as we would now say languages for special purposes), in particular the terminology of mathematics, to bolster his argument. When it comes to human agency, he is insistent that it is possible and indeed preferable to influence the development of language.

He quotes with approval Rask's thoughts on the creation of a new language, foreshadowing Esperanto and Jespersen's Novial by half a century. The technical knowledge which Rask brought to the task inspired Dreier to be a linguistic engineer. Last but not least, Dreier's materialist conception of the role of language manifests itself in the hierarchy of determination. Only a "rearrangement" of the production system and a scientifically based educational system may further the new.

I have chosen to dwell on Dreier's little-known writings (but cf. Diderichsen 1968, 235 and Stybe 1959) because they seem to me to complete this ultrabrief overview of the philosophy of language by exemplifying the last of the possible stances, the materialist universalist.

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55. The special case of Grundtvig: Poet, philosopher, politician, educator

1. Grundtvig and the Danish language
2. Grundtvig's own linguistic progress
3. Grundtvig's language policy
4. Grundtvig's achievement and legacy
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Grundtvig and the Danish language

N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872) was one of the strongest driving forces in the 19th century to purify and cultivate the Danish language, helping to turn it into a truly cherished medium for poets, scholars, scientists, teachers, parliamentarians, popular speakers and journalists. Working in the light of the language philosophy of the German anthropological thinker J. G. Herder, who considered the mother tongue an essential part of any national identity (“*Volksgeist*”), Grundtvig was a contemporary of Herder's pupils in the romantic era such as Professor Laurits Engelseft in Copenhagen and the philosopher J. G. Fichte in Berlin. But being extraordinarily well-read, Grundtvig also included efforts supporting the vernacular by Danish humanists of the 15th–16th century, e. g. in national historiography and in collections of proverbs and popular ballads.

During his long and active life, Grundtvig constantly improved his own mastery of the Danish language along with the acquisition of other languages that were not part of the general education of the period. For a quarter of a century, Grundtvig experimented with very different types of style and literary genres, usually having written three to four times as much in rejected drafts as was published. A good deal of his writing never was printed but can be accessed in the extensive Grundtvig Archive at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, comprising 535 parcels of manuscripts, registered in a mimeographed index of 30 volumes (1957–64). Diligence and determination are indispensable factors in Grundtvig's linguistic progress. His philological work was professionally painstaking in surveying, collecting, excerpting and copying material.

2. Grundtvig's own linguistic progress

As a schoolboy (1792–1800), Grundtvig was only taught the dead languages Latin, classical Greek and Hebrew. In his adolescence he must have learned German, which was a second lan-

guage in the then-multinational Danish state. During his stay as private tutor at a manor house (1805–08), he read Friedrich Schiller and the romantic philosophers Schelling and Fichte in the original; in the 1810s he even wrote some poetry and a few other texts in German. Grundtvig did not seriously learn English until the middle of his life, when he undertook four study tours to England (1829–31 and 1843); in his youth he studied Shakespeare in German translations. Neither the French language nor Romance culture ever attracted him, and his relation to the Slavic world was even dimmer.

2.1. The vernacular

Previous, then-neglected phases of the vernacular caught Grundtvig's attention early on. He had discovered old-fashioned and downright archaic Danish, when in his childhood days he explored the library of his ageing father, vicar of the country parishes of Udby and Ørslev in southern Zealand. The youngest of five children, Grundtvig found that he could not even cope with his sister who was only one year older than him, and feeling unfit for any manual labour except turning over the leaves of a book, he threw himself into reading. He became acquainted with e. g. C. C. Lyschander's *Danske Kongers Slectebog* [Genealogy of the Danish Kings] from 1622, a comprehensive church and world history from 1706 by the Norwegian antiquarian Jonas Ramus, and historical works by Ludvig Holberg and P. F. Suhm – advanced reading for a boy not yet ten years old. In addition, at his childhood home the permanent maid, old crippled Malene Jensdatter, taught him the popular dialect and proverbial expressions of South Zealand, which he thanked her for in 1824 by calling her his language master (“*Sprogmeisterinde*”). When Grundtvig later in life was in doubt about a sentence construction, he simply asked himself: what would Malene have said here?

2.2. Studies of Old Icelandic prose

As a university student of divinity (1800–03), Grundtvig spent much of his time and energy planning a career as a writer of secular fiction. In 1801, a fellow student made him aware of the sources he would gain access to if he could read Old Icelandic. Grundtvig hesitated until

his graduation, but when his friend referred him to the then-untranslated *Jómsvíkinga Saga*, he suddenly decided to overcome the hostile genius of the Icelandic language that always seemed to be getting in his way. Staying at home in Udby as an unemployed graduate in divinity, he started an intense study of Icelandic in June 1804, producing a small grammar and dictionary for his own use by comparing and recording words in poetic samples rendered in Icelandic and Latin in an ecclesiastical history from the 1770s in his father's library. From there he proceeded to read saga texts in the original, gathering idioms and kennings, rapidly improving his skill. In his attempts to write historical fiction in modern Danish prose, he was able to take advantage of directly transferred idioms that were not found in the corresponding place of his Icelandic source, e.g. writing *faret med Seyd* [used sorcery] instead of the original *úti setit* [been sitting in the open air – the usual scene of nightly sorcery in the sagas]. His corrections are also telling, e.g. as Old Norse *vel búnir* first is given as modern Danish *klædt* [dressed], then changed to Germanizing Early Modern Danish *udstafferede* [decorated], finally to end in the archaic Danish word *udredte*. Grundtvig's linguistic sensitivity had really been sharpened. In a total of only nine summer weeks away from the libraries of Copenhagen, he made his way through 1500 quarto pages, 140 octavo columns and 42 folio columns of Old Norse printed texts and could certainly now be considered competent in Icelandic prose.

2.3. Old Icelandic poetry and mythology

The Old Icelandic Eddic poems came into the picture, when Grundtvig published three periodical articles on Nordic mythology in 1806–08, two of them discussing recent poetic use of the ancient material. In the first of these, Grundtvig translated anew 22 stanzas of the *Skírnismál* in the melodious rhymed style of contemporary romanticism (Adam Oehlenschläger), a little later turning this version into a much freer re-creation which was printed in his handbook *Nordens Mytologi* [Nordic Mythology] in 1808. Yet in this work, he also translated no less than 53 Eddic stanzas in a style much closer to Old Norse.

2.4. Poetic attempts

Living at Valkendorf's Kollegium in Copenhagen from May 1808 as a scholar and writer,

Grundtvig worked on an ambitious series of chronicle plays and saga-like stories reconstructing poetically the Nordic pagan antiquity from Odin's entrance in Scandinavia until the death of Palnatoke, the last Viking chieftain, a period spanning more than 1000 years (50 B.C. to 1002 A.D.). This romantic enterprise was interrupted in December 1810, as Grundtvig suffered a fit of insanity combined with a religious crisis (or vice versa), both probably caused by overwork and by a deteriorating relationship with Grundtvig's ageing parents who needed help in the parish from their prodigal son in Copenhagen. Two volumes of plays not designed for performance on the stage, dealing with the downfall of Palnatoke and of the Volsung dynasty, appeared 1809–11 respectively. They demonstrate a solid influence from Old Norse, along with rude expressions and clever puns clearly borrowed from Shakespeare. A short saga about Odin's arrival remained in manuscript form, whereas a story about a sword called Tírfing taken from *Hervarar Saga* was printed in December 1810. At that time, Grundtvig admitted that the huge project was stranded. The same happened to a plan for translating the Elder Edda as literally as possible which he launched in a prospectus of January 1810. His samples published subsequently in a Copenhagen newspaper announcement indeed seemed very close to the original Old Norse. The soon-to-be-famous linguist Rasmus Rask in the same newspaper violently attacked Grundtvig's style as "too packed, contrived, unnatural and partly incomprehensible". Recognizing Rask's sincere involvement in the matter, Grundtvig answered back that he wanted to demonstrate the interaction between words and ideas and therefore had to keep linguistically close to the source. However, the controversy scared subscribers away, which Grundtvig himself in 1818 considered "fortunate". He never translated the Eddic poems in their entirety.

2.5. Revival of 16th–17th century Danish

Grundtvig's break-down around Christmas 1810 meant that he changed his course from rivalling Oehlenschläger, the king of Danish romantic poetry, to fulfilling his calling as a Lutheran preacher, in church as well as in historiography. For a while, he even doubted his right as a Christian to produce literary art of any kind, but soon drawing from the examples of St. Paul and the Danish preromantic pietist

poet Johannes Ewald, he convinced himself that poetry could be allowed as long as it praised Christ and Christianity.

Grundtvig hastily abandoned his stylistic imitation of Old Norse language, at the same time shifting emphasis in contents from common Scandinavian pre-Christian history to the Danish Middle Ages and to the Reformation period. The sermons he gave in Udby church in 1811–13, deputizing for his ailing father, focused his attention on the language of the Danish Bible, for a while stopping other stylistic experiments. In 1814 he resumed his search for a suitable style, when he published a prose comment on his rhymed account of the Danish church viewed through the history of Roskilde Cathedral, *Roskilde-Rim*. He recited this lengthy poetic text at a Zealand diocesan convent in 1812 and published it in an augmented book version in 1814. The commentary carried the somewhat misleading title *Roskilde-Saga*. Actually it featured a heavy imitation of 16th–17th century Danish, e.g. Anders Sørensen Vedel's translation from 1575 of the medieval historian Saxo and Arild Huitfeldt's 10 volume chronicle of Denmark from the years around 1600. Grundtvig had now decided to write in a genuine and exclusively Danish style.

Grundtvig's real intention in this phase was, as he later revealed, to gain linguistic competence to make a Danish translation of the Bible equal to Martin Luther's German *Wittenberg Bible* from 1534. This never was to be, but Grundtvig started an in-depth study of the Danish language by gathering popular idioms and words. He attempted to exhaustively examine the dialects which still were used for oral delivery and systematically excerpted old Danish texts such as the Law of Jutland (from 1241), Vedel's Danish Saxo and Peder Syv's collection of 200 ancient heroic ballads from 1695. He also recorded both orally transmitted and printed proverbs in amazing quantities. His efforts culminated in the summer of 1816, where in two months he filled 362 quarto pages with them and additionally initiated a manuscript to be completed in 1822 with another 1200 proverbs. The appreciation of proverbs is at the same time a humanistic and a romantic feature. To Grundtvig, proverbs represented the spirit of the people and should be part of colloquial conversation.

Through all these studies, Grundtvig acquired an instinctive feeling for the roots of the Danish of the day in earlier periods of language history. His linguistic knowledge of the

vernacular was matched by few, if any, of his contemporaries. His truly professional newspaper review in 1826 of a scholarly edition of the *Old Danish Rhyming Chronicle* (1495) published in the previous year is proof of his level of scholarship.

2.6. Translation of Snorri's chronicle

Meanwhile, Grundtvig had embarked upon a translation project of far-reaching significance. In 1812, he had been contacted by The Copenhagen Royal Society for the Welfare of Norway to make a new translation of the poems from Snorri's *Heimskringla* (Norwegian Kings' Sagas). After May 1813, the commission covered the entire text. However, the loss of Norway in the peace treaty of Kiel in January 1814 put an end to the semi-official financial support for the project.

2.7. Translation of Saxo's chronicle

The following years saw an important extension of Grundtvig's obligations. While translating Snorri, in January 1815 he suddenly experienced a fit of glowing passion for his now geographically reduced native country and immediately decided to translate Saxo's Latin chronicle of Denmark too. In April he was working on both texts.

In August, Grundtvig established a Copenhagen Society for the Publication of Texts from Ancient Scandinavia, which soon was organized as a sort of nation-wide book club. Through bishops, parsons and other officials, money was collected from all over the kingdom and even from Norway. In September he published a booklet with specimens of his translations, giving arguments in the preface for why he did not aim at a literal reflection of the sources, but rather preferred to write "in the characteristic spirit of each, in a simple, intelligible and ingenuous style".

2.8. The discovery of Anglo-Saxon poetry

Grundtvig's linguistic situation was to become even more complex, as the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf Poem* was published for the first time ever in June 1815, accompanied by an inadequate neo-Latin translation by the Copenhagen editor G.J. Thorkelin, an ageing Icelandic-born Danish official. Seeing in the ancient epic another proof of Danish grandeur in the past, but rightly suspecting Thorkelin's translation, Grundtvig quickly taught himself

Anglo-Saxon and in newspaper contributions launched harsh attacks on the edition. It was Grundtvig's distinction to be the first to identify the legend of the Danish King Skjold [Shield] in the rather impenetrable beginning of the poem along with other observations which still support his reputation as a pioneering Beowulf scholar. Thorkelin, whose scholarship was superficial and unreliable, answered sharply without being able to refute Grundtvig's arguments. Fortunately, the controversy ended in Grundtvig's undertaking to translate this old text into Danish, financed by a wealthy nobleman. Planned cooperation with Rasmus Rask on an improved edition of the original came to naught, but Grundtvig published a lively re-creation of the poem in Danish in 1820, largely in the style of current romantic ballads. This was the first version of Beowulf in any modern language. Much later, in 1861, he also published a scholarly edition of the original, though by then British-edited versions had appeared in print. Anglo-Saxon, which Grundtvig fairly easily appropriated on the basis of his knowledge of Old Norse, was to be his last linguistic conquest, to the extent that in 1820 and 1861 he actually composed a few stanzas in the extinct language. In 1840, Grundtvig published an edition of the Anglo-Saxon poem *The Phoenix* accompanied by a free translation. Until his death, Grundtvig kept up an interest in medieval Christian Anglo-Saxon poetry.

2.9. Grundtvig's servants' hall style

Yet Anglo-Saxon stylistics can hardly be accorded an important influence on Grundtvig's own language, since when he encountered Beowulf he had already come to the end of his period of close imitation of ancient languages. That is clearly demonstrated in his translations of Saxo and Snorri, published in three volumes each from 1818–23. Instead of reflecting the personal style of these very different chroniclers, Grundtvig transformed their works into a self-invented third style that he unhesitatingly imposed upon them. His idea was to try to retell the historical events the way an intelligent ideal farmer from Grundtvig's day and native district would have done it, without any marks of Latin or German-oriented education. Grundtvig took great pains to achieve his goal, maybe too great. The basic syntax was predominantly hypotactic, the sentences often long-winded and labyrinthine. However, this language

fabric was interwoven with features from spoken narration. Grundtvig dramatized the action by turning reported speech into direct speech; he added subjective touches in emotional, evaluative or even biased adjectives; he transcribed serious incidents in a jocular manner; he inserted blunt comparisons, rural proverbs and proverbial sayings; he enlivened the style by clever puns; he alluded to the Bible, Holberg's comedies and Oehlenschläger. In short, without ever defining his own part in the account, Grundtvig was omni-present as the story teller. He produced entertaining and lively prose, which might not have been as strange as his first readers and reviewers thought, but was odd enough and at that time new in print. This was the first time that anybody from the circles of fine literature had tried to capture the rhythm of Danish popular speech when dealing with such prestigious material. Thus Grundtvig anticipated Hans Christian Andersen's stylistic experiments in his fairy tales for children from 1835 onwards. The reception of this work was not favourable. Academic critics felt shocked at Grundtvig's lack of balanced literary taste and predilection for popular phrases. In 1820, Grundtvig answered that it was necessary to bridge the gap between scholars and laymen as Luther had done in his German Bible by using peasant language which was something different from boorish diction. Grundtvig further confessed that his stylistic ideal could be found in the servants' hall [Danish: Borgestue] where uneducated people speak their mother tongue with ease, as if it were the only language in the world. However, even these common readers sometimes felt that Grundtvig was making fun of the old stories, and the books did not sell well, because an agricultural crisis economically paralyzed the audience he had been aiming at. In 1834, close to 2000 of the original 3000 copies of each translated author were donated to the primary schools in the Danish kingdom. Saxo was reprinted in 1855, Snorri in 1865, for use at the now-established Grundtvigian folk highschoools. A joint edition appeared in 1865. The six volumes were to be Grundtvig's largest, boldest and last linguistic experiment.

Grundtvig's later comprehensive world and church histories (1833–69 and 1871 respectively) were not written in this pseudo-oral and pseudo-rural style, nor were his contemporary journalistic contributions. But Grundtvig himself found that a thorough Danicizing of his heart and head was the main profit of his

seven years of hard labour. By then he knew his instrument, having also learned how it should not be played.

2.10. Pragmatic and Christian simplicity

In an unfulfilled promise of a continuation of Saxo, Grundtvig in an 1823 newspaper article foresaw his future style. He hoped

that when the greatest affects me I may succeed in moderating my enthusiasm, as I allow it in a moderated form to spread all over my writing, in dissolving the language which I preferably use about days gone-by, and in concealing the core of my language in the simplest words that even babes would understand.

Grundtvig very likely was alluding to Christ's linguistic statement in Matthew 11:25. This manifesto laid the foundation for the communicative prose Grundtvig was to employ as a pedagogical thinker, as a public speaker and as a member of the Danish parliament from 1848–58. He generally held the view that in human existence things should be allowed to grow organically and cannot be forced, a conviction he also applied to language. Still now and then featuring proverbs and colloquial expressions, he considerably cut down his reliance on Danish dialects and old-fashioned idioms. Clarity and simplicity were given high priority in his theory, although he never managed to get around rather heavy sentence constructions, in principle similar to that of the languages whose influence he wanted to fight against – Latin and German. But the purpose of his leisurely rambling style was to reflect the pros and cons of his thinking, as he proceeded. Allusions from his extensive reading of history and fine literature were inserted, though not emphasized. He was time and again testing the latent possibilities in language, making puns based on etymology and sometimes also on deliberately misunderstood surface similarities. Adding popular humour to his presentations became a new and lasting element. All of this was a far cry from the polished and well-planned prose of his academic contemporaries.

2.11. Lyrical genres

As a lyrical poet, Grundtvig wrote ballads about national history or homely nature. He also wrote numerous hymns, altogether about 1600 (including originals, adaptations, translations). Alternating between stylistic and

metric patterns of the late 18th and early 19th c., he sometimes in robust rhythms didactically meted out proverbial wisdom on life, and sometimes using ambiguous symbolism conveyed inner visions of God's creation or of divine love for mankind. Quite often he avoided unnecessary pathos by resorting to good-natured jocularity.

The lack of acceptance for his historical translations made Grundtvig realize that publishing book after book cannot awaken a people – it takes more than that to change the course of national history. Increasingly his status grew from being just an individual writer to being a spokesman for Danish Christianity and for a secular Danishness. In poems such as *Paaske-Lilien* [literally: The Easter Lily, the Danish botanical term for daffodil] from 1817, and especially the great visionary autobiographic prophecy *Nyaars-Morgen* [New Year's Morn] in 1824, he interpreted his personal life as a symbol of Denmark's fate in ecclesiastical and secular history, giving the Danes hope for a happy future. Very few understood this and even fewer were able to share his self-evaluation. But this self-identification gave him energy to continue the enlightenment of his countrymen in spite of adversities. From 1825, onwards, he centered his theological thinking around the spoken words of Christ (especially in the baptismal covenant and the Eucharist), reminding his fellow Christians that the Lord had not written a single sentence of the gospels. Little by little, in secular affairs Grundtvig also came to treasure spoken words in speeches and conversations more than dead letters in a book. By this Grundtvig concluded his personal linguistic education, and now he turned to completing and realizing a language policy.

3. Grundtvig's language policy

In Grundtvig's childhood, Denmark was a bilingual monarchy with Danish and German as official languages. At his death in 1872, it had been reduced through peace treaties after lost wars in 1807–14 and 1864 to a small, purely Danish-speaking kingdom, in fact leaving close to 200,000 Danes in Prussian-conquered Schleswig.

Immediately after the loss of Norway in 1814, it became necessary to redefine the essence of being Danish. Grundtvig launched a language policy that would not be official until after 1864, when the German-speaking areas were no longer part of Denmark.

3.1. The merits of the Danish language

Grundtvig's view of the mother tongue stems from the conviction that a people first of all forms an entity, a "family" across generational gaps, because of a common language. In July 1815 in a never reprinted pamphlet called *Europe, France and Napoleon*, Grundtvig proclaimed Danish to be the closest of all languages to the human heart ("Hjertesproget"), suited to soften and melt down "the Roman iron sounds" of Latin. The proof is that throughout its history, Denmark never was inundated by foreign peoples nor violently subdued by foreign masters. He advised the rest of Europe to realize this, since it was clearly a sign that the Danish tongue was destined to become the medium of a modern revival of Christianity.

His high evaluation of the mother tongue seems typical of the prevailing mood of the day. In the same year, Grundtvig's former friend Christian Molbech spoke about the native language as "the first, earliest, most widespread and most unmistakable sign of the existence of a people as a particular and independent nation". In 1816, the poet Jens Baggesen started a one-man periodical called *Danfana* to erect a temple for a cult of the Danish language. More down to earth, in his corresponding one-man periodical *Danne-Virke*, Grundtvig issued his manifesto in 1816 in his article "On Danish Poetry, Language and History". To him, the Danish language was the most simple and artless of all, but also was filled with the sweetest and most natural melodiousness, made to express the highest reflections as well as the deepest emotions and the wittiest jokes. Further to Grundtvig, the Danish language represented the highest possible perfection, and accordingly all living Danish poets ought to serve as its guardians in the spirit of Jesus cleansing the temple of Jerusalem from tradespeople. He named well-read scholars the true aristocracy of a people, whereas he conceived of political democrats as wilful persons.

Grundtvig often converted opinions originally given in diffuse prose to absolutely dense poetry. He did exactly that regarding the mother tongue in a stanza of his song *Langt høiere Bjerge* [Much higher Mountains throughout the Earth] from 1820, where he admitted that foreign languages may be loftier, nobler, more refined than Danish, but that in everyday discourse the Danes in their vernacular can speak with greatest truth about

grandeur and beauty. He went on to say that if foreign languages, like a hammer, beat things into hard categories, Danish instead melted categories down to a fruitful harmony.

In his introduction to the *Beowulf* translation from the same year, Grundtvig compared the vernacular to precious mortar keeping the people together with everything great, true and beautiful that has been accepted by their ancestors in the course of history. Therefore a historical study of the vernacular is the only way to achieve mastery of a language, and herein lies the demand on modern writers.

After having lost a libel suit in 1826, Grundtvig automatically incurred lifelong personal censorship (in his case it was retracted in 1837). All the same, his *Literary Testament*, which was published in 1827, showed a writer in fine spirits. He maintained that if literary style loses contact with the spoken language, it is on the wrong track, only advancing like a ghost in the desert of artificial barbarism. He still looked at the problem from the viewpoint of a writer.

3.2. The vernacular in practical life

Grundtvig's thoughts on communication were not to become useful until he adapted the viewpoint of the beneficiaries – the people. That occurred after three summer journeys to England in 1829–31 which opened his eyes to the blessings of British society with its freedom to use the vernacular and its oral and public proceedings in parliament and the law courts. The introduction in Denmark in 1831–34 of advisory provincial assemblies, functioning from 1835 onwards, again set Grundtvig reflecting upon language policy. In the beginning, he doubted that the uneducated Danish peasant representatives could hold their own against nobles and academics. Besides that, for historical reasons, he was against reducing the absolute power of the king. He felt that a truly popular literature was more important for enlightening the people than a constitution based on French political taste. Therefore in the preparatory constitutional assembly (1848–49) which preceded the regular parliament, he fought for the freedom of the press and of the spoken word and finally managed to achieve the introduction of public and oral procedure at all Danish law courts.

Acknowledging the surprisingly unimpressed common-sense reactions of the peasant delegates in the Roskilde provincial assembly, he had already in a song from 1839 grate-

fully coined the phrase that in Denmark the hand of the king [Konge-Haand] reigned after having consulted the voice of the people [Folke-Stemme]. Though the provincial assembly as an institution had been borrowed from modern Prussia, Grundtvig always conceived of it as part of a national heritage where the peasants met their king in public meetings of the *thing*.

3.3. The folk highschool project

The increasing demand for a democratic constitution prompted Grundtvig to discuss in booklets issued in 1836–47 education for citizenship intended for the non-academic part of the population. *Highschool* [Højskole] was the old Danish term for university, and Grundtvig now suggested that a state-operated national folk highschool, without examinations or degrees, be opened for this purpose, if possible located in Ludvig Holberg's old academy in Sorø fifty miles southwest of Copenhagen.

In one of his publications about such a highschool, *The Danish Four-Leaf Clover* (1836), Grundtvig mentions one of the leaves being the mother tongue, calling for courses in the vernacular and in national literature, preferably given by living Danish poets. Here and everywhere else during this period, he particularly emphasized the living, i. e. spoken, word [det levende Ord] as the medium for true interaction between teachers and participants. He pointed out that written matters always are null and void if nobody talks about them; in contrast, fiery and living speech in churches and schools, societies and circles of friends possesses unspeakably great strength and influence, even though nobody writes anything about it.

Grundtvig also included songs in Danish at the prospective folk highschool, since to him the spoken word reached a climax in song, especially when performed by girls. He made this point in his ballad *Moders Navn er en himmelsk Lyd* [This Heavenly Sound, our Mother's Name], published in February 1838. In seven introductory stanzas, he interpreted the term "mother tongue" literally as the language taught to infants by their mother, i. e. a person untainted by Latin, since Danish women could not at that time get into higher education. In thirteen following stanzas, Grundtvig through very affectionate phrases praised the Danish language as it sounds in songs sung by mothers, daughters and small girls under

the beech trees near the shore. The text seems repetitious when read silently, but when recited or sung, it features an almost ecstatic flow of images and notions. Grundtvig was not appealing to reason but confirming a belief.

In the autumn of 1838, Grundtvig had been allowed to give public lectures in Copenhagen on recent Danish history to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the peasant reforms of 1784–88. On October 17, his audience spontaneously started to sing one of his ballads, and from then his lectures and lectures delivered by his friends and pupils were framed by singing – a habit that in present-day Denmark still is sustained in connection with popular enlightenment.

In 1842, a language struggle between Danish and German broke out in the provincial assembly of Schleswig. At a mass public meeting in Jutland on July 4, 1844, Grundtvig welcomed the resistance of Schleswig inhabitants to German language dominance. As a result, a privately financed folk highschool was opened at Rødding in North Schleswig on November 7 the same year as the very first manifestation of Grundtvig's thoughts on the enlightenment of the people. Grundtvig was not directly involved in the running of the initially very modest institution and never visited the place, probably because he would rather have had a centralized folk highschool at Sorø, authorized by the king. However, more folk highschools started to appear around in the countryside through local and private initiative and funding. In a way, this was more in line with Grundtvig's general ideas of popular participation in cultural life, though for the rest of his life he seemed annoyed at his failure to establish his Sorø school. A similar plan for a centralized Common-Scandinavian folk highschool in Gothenburg in Sweden near the historical meeting point of the ancient Scandinavian kings, Kungälv, was launched by him to no immediate avail in 1839. The project was only partly realized after World War II.

In the mid-1840s, Grundtvig supported the cause of the mother tongue by publishing collections of Danish proverbs and old Danish ballads (1845 and 1847 respectively) for use in the schools, feeling that they could help sweep away pieces of foreign, i. e. Latin and German, influence and purify the taste, style and intellect of the Danes. He underlined that if a vernacular is only used to describe materialistic everyday phenomena, the populace will irrevocably lose the sense of images and symbols from their religious and spiritual life and

consequently sink down to the level of beasts. If the vernacular is threatened, the very life of the people is at stake. Grundtvig was convinced that even the most elevated emotions and the deepest philosophy could be expressed very well in the Danish language.

As a member of the newly instituted parliament, Grundtvig stresses in theory as well as in political practice the importance of defending the vernacular. In the debates leading to the democratic June 5, 1849 Constitution, he fought vehemently against technical terms taken from French parliamentary tradition, not always successfully. Regarding other foreign words and idioms, he continuously claimed that the academic members of the parliament should learn to speak Danish from the uneducated populace. He resented all linguistic barricades set up by intellectual aristocrats to prevent popular participation.

3.4. Two wars, 1848–50 and 1864

Prompted by the Three Years War from 1848–50 between Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein nationalists backed by the German Federation, Grundtvig published another one-man periodical, *Danskeren* [The Dane]. In its four volumes from 1848–51 he conducted an incessant campaign against the import and impact of anything German into Danish culture.

As early as in March 1848, Grundtvig stated that the Danish monarchy should only reach as far into Schleswig as Danish was spoken. Encouraged by Danish military victories, he later preferred the river Eider as frontier, which would mean a linguistic conversion of German-speaking southern Schleswig, in his mind to be carried out in a peaceful and non-oppressive manner. To Grundtvig, as spokesman of Danishness and tolerance, the years from 1851 onwards were largely disappointing. Under pressure from both of the non-revolutionary Great Powers in Europe, England and Russia, the official Danish policy until 1863 had to maintain the frail old bilingual state at the expense of the continuously spreading ideas of Danish identity. A new war in 1864, this time with the German Federation itself, led by Prussia, had been brought about by the ill-advised Danish incorporation of the Duchy of Schleswig into the kingdom. Denmark lost badly, with all of Schleswig becoming a Prussian province. Underrating the enemy's political resolve and military capacity, Grundtvig had supported and even been part

of provoking the outbreak of hostilities. After the war, he recommended patiently waiting for a change in the situation and never stopped hoping for the inclusion of the Danish-speaking part of Schleswig into the kingdom. Grundtvig lived to see an expanding network of local folk highschoools making up internally for what had been lost externally in 1864. Incidentally, the official boundary which was finally drawn between Denmark and Germany in 1920 after a plebiscite corresponds to Grundtvig's language criterion from 1848 and may be the most fortunate of its kind in Europe today.

4. Grundtvig's achievement and legacy

Grundtvig's tireless efforts through three quarters of the 19th c. established the vernacular in the mind of the Danes as an asset of national importance. Particularly after 1864, his endeavours were continued ardently by his followers and disciples. A small sign of this is the fact that hardly any other European nation has had so much lyric poetry written about the qualities of its language as Denmark.

As a poet or scald, Grundtvig had no successors or imitators. But his own poetry still is very much alive because of his overwhelming representation in the authorized Danish hymnbook (1953, forthcoming new edition in preparation) and the 17 editions of the *Højskolesangbog* [The Songbook for the Folk Highschools], the latter being a standard songbook used by the Danes far beyond the circles of Grundtvigians at the folk highschools and in the Danish church. The yearly Christian holidays also serve to remind the Danes of Grundtvig, since his poetry on these occasions is presented in several ways – in churches, schools, concerts and over the electronic media.

In a historical perspective, Grundtvig's philosophy about the vernacular and his struggle against Latin and foreign languages are typical of linguistic romanticism in Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic Europe. Grundtvig's ideal that in Denmark everything should be conducted in Danish was a natural countermeasure to the Danish military and political defeats in his lifetime. In the popular Copenhagen discussion club The Danish Society, run by Grundtvig from 1839 well into his parliamentary career, he considered conquests of territory beyond nationally defined objectives

to be worthless, and instead recommended exploration of inward qualities. He seemed himself to have been suspended between, on the one hand, a specifically and mainly defensively defined idea of national identity and, on the other, a humanistic belief in the general progress of history. Not all of his followers were able to keep this balance.

In his advocacy of the importance of the mother tongue, Grundtvig was on a level with contemporary theological and humanistic academic culture in Western Europe. At the same time, his ideas in no way should be understood as signs of provincial limitation in a citizen of a small country. He knew what he was rejecting and why. Grundtvig mobilized the Danish language to serve in peace and war, and by doing that, he mobilized the Danish people in a fight for cultural survival that was rather successful then, yet is still going on.

5. Literature (a selection)

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56. Nordic language history and the history of translation I: Danish

1. Contexts, discussed and specified (the programme of Quintilianus)
2. Holy and official texts
3. Translation and shift of text-type: older translations and paraphrases
4. Case: The tradition of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*
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9. Literature (a selection)

1. Contexts, discussed and specified (the programme of Quintilianus)

The history of translation in Denmark is part of several stories: foreign influence, the Christian Church as agent of a new faith and as bearer of classical tradition; the writing down of legislation and history; warfare, technol-

ogy; and not least the history of the book market of a small multilingual society which developed, over the centuries, into a monolingual nation state with an increasing spread of and competence in changing dominant international languages.

From a linguistic point of view, this includes orthography, loanwords, syntax, stylistics, language change, new text-types etc. and education in the liberal arts: reading and writing, i.e. literacy and text-processing. Most of these histories are told or commented on elsewhere in this handbook. But the last point, that of text-processing, will particularly be considered here. I venture to use the terms text-processing and text-type as equivalents to the Danish general terms *tekstbehandling* and *teksttype*. For the problem of terminology, cf. Adamzik (1995) and Pilegaard (1996).

The art of text-processing is described by Quintilianus in his *Institutio oratoria* (Book

10, 1st c. A.D.). In antiquity, the discipline *conversio* (i.e. ‘translation’), mostly from Greek into Latin, was produced along the same guidelines as paraphrases (Curtius 1973, 147–148) within one language, from poetry to prose and prose to poetry, from drama to prose and prose to drama, repeating the same content but in a different text-type, as an *opus geminatum* (Haastrup 2002). Paraphrases within the same text-type, carried out by change of levels of style (e.g. from “the wheel of Vergil”), were done by means of the *ratio quadripertita* (Lausberg 1998, §462, §1099–1103): addition, omission, change of place and replacement (Lat. *per immutationem*), e.g. by figurative speech, using words not *proprie* but in metaphors (Lat. *translatio*; cf. Lausberg 1998, S. 558; Curtius 1973, 128). The presentation by Quintilianus of rhetorical instruction, part of the old *trivium*, is considered the most comprehensive and reliable one because it criticized other educational practices as being less efficient. His full text was not available for centuries in the Middle Ages, but his legacy was disseminated through various elementary textbooks, *progymnasmata*, in Western grammar schools until the decline of Latin as a main subject in learned secondary education. The history of the programme in Denmark – not always glorious – can be followed in textbooks, e.g. Melanchthon’s grammar and rhetoric (cf. the *Kirkeordinans* 1537–39), and in Dal (1960); Haastrup (1991; 1997b); Tortzen (1988); Kornerup (1947); Jacobsen (1958); B. Andersen (1971) and Kr. Jensen (1982, on Thøstesen/Theophilus 1573). For use of the vernacular in teaching and text-processing, cf. Haastrup (1968; 1991) and Kr. Jensen (1982). The *ratio* was used – as the rational framework it is – in Renaissance and Baroque works on textual criticism, purism etc., and it will be the point of departure in this article, too.

Translations made on the terms of the source language are useful for historical language studies because they often represent domains not set on paper before in the target language and thus indirectly illustrate the shortcomings of the “developing language” and the limits which the translators are forced to respect, transgress or refuse to cope with; however, this kind of usefulness will not be focussed on in this article. Translations are of course also useful if they comply with modern – utopian – standards, being based (a) on a pretended equivalence in the amount of information and aesthetic impression and (b) on respect for idioms of both source and target

language, i.e. on a level with original, not translated texts, cf. Blatt (1957); Pedersen (1987); Skyum-Nielsen (1998); Kelly (1994). Using the strong definition of the two criteria (a) and (b), many texts will fall between the stools. Paraphrased texts, however, may be on a level with originals as far as respect for the idiom is concerned – often because being moved (not to say “translated”) to the target language, they change the text-type, e.g. from prose to verse, or to drama. The text-processors, freed from the exact wording in the source language, might – like “singers of tales” – benefit their new audience/readers by using the idiom of the target language and by inserting supplementary information on obsolete or presupposed knowledge. A major point of this article is, then, to give prominence to the group of hybrid texts that have been moved, thereby changing text-type, though not as full equivalents. The focus will be on a few source texts processed several times over the centuries.

2. Holy and official texts

The modern definition of translation, which pretends that equivalence is possible, applies almost only to texts produced after the middle of the 18th c. (Skautrup 1953, III, 150–153), while the historical definition applies to many older texts (Paludan 1887–1912, *passim*).

Some older translated texts, however, are even today recognized as being “faithful”, viz. standard Bible versions. The authority of these was not given by word-to-word resemblance but was explained by divine inspiration, as a new start in the target language, e.g. the Greek *Septuaginta* and the Latin *Vulgate* made by Saint Jerome who – like Cicero – is often quoted for principles resembling modern standards in order to profile the shortcomings of medieval translators. The German Luther Bible for Protestants in Germany ostensibly addressed the laity (cf. his *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*), using standards like the modern ones. This Bible shows Luther’s dilemma in some conclusive examples, e.g. in the translation of Romans 3:28 on “the justification by faith”. Luther ventures a bold translation, adding *allein* to the phrase *durch den Glauben*. In the Wittenberg revised edition of the *Vulgate*, however, a similar addition is not found, as is evident from the “Loeb edition” *Biblia Germanico-Latina* (1565; cf. Haastrup 1999). The first Danish full Bible version, called ‘*Christian III’s Bible*’ (1550), is by and large

a reproduction of Luther's, though one might believe it to be based directly on the Hebrew and Greek sources, since Luther's name does not occur in it (Ejrnæs 1995; Haastrup 1999).

An opposite tendency to Luther's rhetorical approach (Lindhardt 1983) is the grammatical one: *verbum e verbo*. "The Oldest Danish Bible Translation" from the end of the 15th c. is often considered an example of this and therefore is described by Haastrup (1999) as "a Latin Bible in Danish". This text is first of all notorious for its use of calque translations of the Latin inflectional system, e.g. gerunds and participles construed as compounds of the Danish infinitive and *-skullende* (Haastrup 1968; 1990; 1991; Kelly 1990). Because the use of these forms as "signa danicalia" is not fully consistent, some instances may just signal the quality "transferred from Latin", as do, presumably, similar constructions in texts not known to be translations, viz. diplomas and some Bridgettine religious texts (Haastrup 1968). Other features were Latin prefixes, e.g. *circum(-)* rendered *omkring* and, not least, glosses explaining the specific Latin wording (often homographs or possible figurative meanings) but not the meaning of difficult words, metonyms or metaphors in the Hebrew source texts of the Vulgate (Haastrup 1968; 1988 b; 1999).

Later on, Luther's happy combination of the two trends split again. Hans Poulsen Resen made his learned translation (1607, corrected to follow the Hebrew and Greek sources) to benefit students at the university (Diderichsen 1968, 130–146, with synoptic passages of various biblical translations), while Peder Jensen Wandal favoured the freer reproduction combined with commentaries, addressing his paraphrases of biblical texts (in the 1650s) directly to the laity (Skautrup 1947, II, 301). Accuracy in transcription and translation is also found in legal texts.

3. Translation and shift of text-type: older translations and paraphrases

Many medieval translations – categorized as *verbum e verbo* – are often regarded as clumsy or unprofessional in modern times. The question is: Do they represent a fully processed text or an intermediate text, a result of the grammatical reading (Lat. *lectio*) often done by the teacher as a *praelectio* (Kr. Jensen 1982, 93)? And are they supposed to be restyled later in some way (Lausberg 1998, §1100; cf.

Horace on the *fidus interpres* in his *Ars poetica* 125ff.) or just to provide ancillary help for the less trained people reading the text in the source language and in need of both explanations of "Wörter und Sachen" and theological solutions on discrete levels (Albertsen 1972) to possible contradictions in the holy text? Cf. Jacobsen (1958, 83–99) and Haastrup (1999, e.g. for nuns reading the Bible). Such a stripped text might then become the basis for the production of a new coherent text in the source or target language, a paraphrase either abridged to a summary or *argumentum* (aim: *brevitas*) or expanded (aim: *copia*) with explanations incorporated in the text or given separately in glosses.

As the focus here is on the change of text-types, legends will not be considered. We know that many of these unambitious texts were necessarily based on models in a foreign language. A fruitless quest for direct models for this kind of texts has been made by many editors, e.g. by Paulli (1936) editing old popular tales (Dan. *folkeboeger*) received in a very free, sometimes careless, reproduction (cf. Horstbøll 1999, 198f.). Texts like these are seldom edited with copious critical apparatuses showing variance in tradition. Therefore editors of translations are not well prepared to see the limits within which variations typically appear, i.e. whether or not the last variant reading they looked for in the sources might have been made in the processing of the very text they are editing. An example of ambitious Latin prose is that of the medieval mystic Suso, translated into Danish with high aspirations but not always successfully (Skautrup 1947, II, 25, 86). An example of successful metric translation from Low German is Weigere's *En Ræffue Bog* (i.e. 'Reynard the Fox'; Skautrup 1947, II, 159). In the following, a selection of examples (cases) will show the combination of change of text-type and translation.

4. Case: The tradition of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*

This text, composed about 1200 A.D. by Saxo called Grammaticus, was edited in 1514 by Christiern Pedersen and printed in the excellent printing office of Badius Ascensius in Paris (Karker 1967, 9). We do not know how much the editor and the printer "improved" the text. Badius praised its style, as did Erasmus Roterodamus. The *Gesta Danorum* is a

wonder of text composition, so difficult that few Danes can have been its target readers and so manneristic that it seems impossible to find a way to translate it properly. It combines many antique models, demonstrating overtly the rhetorical learning and competence of its author (Johannesson 1978), who elaborates on many sources, oral and literary, including versions of sophisticated old scaldic poems in Latin metres. In the overview of his sources, Saxo mentions separately (preface 4) “the diligent work of the Icelanders” (*Tylensium industria*) which he pretends to imitate in composing his text; cf. Billeskov Jansen’s harangue in Rossel (1992, 85). An old fragment of the *Gesta Danorum* found in Angers (France), with traces of contemporary text-processing, is considered a sample of Saxo’s rhetorical work on his own text.

The full text – with a maximum of *copia* – was not as widespread in the Middle Ages as an abbreviated version of it, later called *Compendium Saxonis*. The relation between the two texts is described by Knudsen (1994, 134f.) as follows: “The text of the *Compendium* only amounts to about 23 per cent of that of the *Gesta Danorum*. A certain shortening has been achieved by jettisoning Saxo’s poems and the many stylistic variations on the same theme of which he is so fond.” Knudsen (1994, 89–123) carefully records the results of his collation: subtractions and additions, exactly the same proportions that Paulli (1936, 204–210) found in the *folkeboeger* of the 16th c. The *Compendium* might be conceived as the result of an “interpretation procedure” in a grammar school: all *ornatus* sponged away, the text is ready for further rewriting, e.g. to other text-types. The *Compendium* cancels the sophisticated overall disposition (much discussed) of the *Gesta*, making the mere list of Danish kings run as a main thread through the work.

The *Compendium* became the main source for the first part of the “Rhymed Chronicle” (*Rimkroniken*) in the 15th c. (Olsen 1969). This text was the first book to be printed in Danish (1495, by Ghemen). It is normally conceived of as an original, and it is certainly so – though as a kind of paraphrase: the basic structure is the list of kings, as in the *Compendium*. The third-person narrative of the *Compendium* is changed into a row of royal narrators (still “told”, by *sermocinatio*, cf. Lausberg 1998, §820–823) presenting themselves in first-person monologues, as in a drama. The Latin prose is transformed into a metrical pattern

(Jørgensen 1989, 19–36) called *knyttelvers*, popular in the northern Germanic vernaculars, not least on the stage. This metre differs from the metres learned and taught in the grammar schools, which were unrhymed and in principle based on quantity. The *knyttelvers* metre, with coupled or crossed rhymes and syllabic accent, is very free, but the rhymes are a potential constraint on syntax and phraseology. The point is that these constraints are due not to the source language but to the vernacular target language, with features known from ballads and folk tales. In the Middle Low German metric version of the Danish *Rhymed Chronicle*, the narrator (*Broder Nigels to Sore*, i.e. Sorø in Zealand) introduces himself in this way: “I did not drink of the French wine, neither of that grown on the Rhine”, his ambition being to compose a text in the way he received his language from his father and mother. This is a plea for the mother tongue and its types of text.

Furthermore, the text of the *Compendium* is found in a Middle Low German prose version (Knudsen 1994, 37f.). It might be possible to publish the four texts (the two prose texts: in Latin and Middle Low German; and the two metric texts: in Danish and Middle Low German) side by side, as in a Loeb edition, to illustrate the concept of *opus geminatum* (Haastrup 1982; Friis-Jensen 1987, 105–110; Haastrup 2002).

The odyssey of the *Gesta Danorum* continued. The first known full translation into Danish was made by Anders Sørensen Vedel (1575), who commented on an earlier attempt by Christiern Pedersen, now lost (Karker 1967, 10): “The rendering of Saxo’s meaning was not to the point but often deviating and prolific”, and later, “he has made a paraphrase only, using ten words to render one in Latin” (my translation). Vedel’s prose version is a major work in Danish literature. A summary from his preface (fol. C1v–C2v) gives an impression of his text-processing as an editor and translator: Vedel declares that he has made no alterations as far as Saxo’s meaning is concerned, but (paradoxically) over a hundred alterations in Saxo’s Latin. Vedel, conscious of his own shortcomings, challenges his potential critics to experience themselves “how kind Saxo is to speak with – just try to translate one page!” Karker (1967, 10–12) shows that Vedel did not care much about rendering Saxo *verbum e verbo*, his own text being a new version in an ingenuous but dignified diction, characterized by the use of rhetorical devices

like alliterations, tautologies, proverbs and archaisms. Vedel normally renders Saxo's very sophisticated metrical passages in prose (Hastrup 2002) and abbreviated, maybe because they often are repetitions (*opus geminatum*) of events, even speech events, told in prose. Karker's evaluation corresponds to the more general thesis of this article: Translation was often combined with change of text-type or level of style (Hildebrandt-Günther 1966, 113–126), in this case a new *ornatus* of a more popular and national taste – as in the ballads and the *Rhymed Chronicle*. Skautrup (1947, II, 223–230) made a major point, calling Vedel the first *pasticheur* in Danish literature. He gives detailed documentation preparatory to his chapter on the literary language of the great Danish poet of the national romantic period, Adam Oehlenschläger (1953, III, 293–295, 303–309), who used Vedel's Saxo and his ballad edition (1591, facsimile 1993), viewing the ballads as literary texts.

Karker (1967, 21–27) quotes passages from a number of later editions and translations of Saxo to substantiate his evaluation (for more popular publications, cf. Horstbøll 1999, 530–545). These translations give an interesting picture of the reception of this national treasure, reflecting the changing styles. Sejer Schousbølle (1752) found the then obsolete baroque prose appropriate to Saxo's style and rendered his verses in alexandrines. In 1818–22, N. F. S. Grundtvig – a pillar of the national church – published his version, which is in principle correct but written in a very low style that he himself called *Borgestuedansk* 'servants' hall Danish'; Skautrup's appraisal (1953, III, 324–328) is that Grundtvig's style is popular but undignified. While Fr. Winkel Horn's translation (1898) is rather non-descript, the one made by Jørgen Olrik (1908–12) appears a bit old-fashioned, recalling the historical pastiches of the 19th c. described by Rubow (1923). A popular paraphrase of the older translations made by Helle Stangerup appeared in 1999, and in 2000, Peter Zeeberg launched his new scholarly version (cf. Hastrup 2002).

5. Case: The provincial and urban laws

The medieval laws form – as tokens – the greatest part of texts preserved in Danish. Among these, the Jutlandic Law – dominant for many years – has been preserved in 240

manuscripts but in different languages: 160 in Danish, 70 in Middle Low German and 10 in Latin (Skautrup 1944, I, 212). A reasonable hypothesis is that the vernacular law texts were recorded because the young Danish Church, as a societal counterpart of the Crown, conducted its administration through written laws and documents – and had to draw up concordats with laymen in the so-called "church laws" known as *Sjællandske Kirkelov* (1171) and *Skånske Kirkelov* (1174), which are interesting because they are supposed to have been issued simultaneously in Danish and Latin (Karker 1993, 63f.). The provincial laws are not translations, but the processing they had to undergo when recorded by professional scholars trained in Latin text-processing and law (Hoff 1997, 13–43; Jørgensen 1987, 95ff.) may have left some imprint of Roman and canon law on their composition and the structure of articles through protasis and apodosis, however with many subordinate clauses on syntactic levels not so easily determined as in Latin. The Danish texts were not always satisfactory to professional administrators, e.g. Anders Sunesen, Archbishop of Lund. He is renowned for two paraphrases, (a) the *Hexaëmeron*, a scholastic theological work composed in Latin hexameters instead of Latin prose (cf. Ebbesen 1985), and (b) a Latin version in prose of the provincial law of Scania, the site of his chair. In 1590, the historian Arild Huitfeldt gave (b) this mark (quoted in J. L. A. Kolderup-Rosenvinge, *Samling af gamle danske Love* I, 1846): "It is not made *verbum e verbo* but rearranges the matter under relevant headings" (my translation). This more logical and abstract construction allows for creative juridical reflection beyond the complexity presented in the casuistic articles in Danish (cf. Toulmin 1988). Sunesen adds several definitions of vernacular legal concepts, useful for students at the school of the Chapter in Lund, as well as for modern scholars. His paraphrase has the important advantage of being readable aloud, text and commentary are one text, in contrast to a text commented on in marginal glosses or even separately.

The *Jutlandic Law*, the only provincial law given assent by the king (1241), has a preface with general legal statements reflecting canon law but in later times often quoted as a symbol of the Danish sense of justice. In the Danish prose of the preface, a trained reader will not miss the Latin and canonical imprint which overshadows the large number of Middle Low

German loanwords (Karker 1993, 89f.). In the Middle Low German version, the text-type of the preface was changed into *knyttelvers*, and here the reader would hardly recognise the foreign learned model. Bishop Knud Mikkelsen, a professional jurist, *doctor utriusque juris*, studied the *Jutlandic Law* and commented in Latin on both the Latin and the Danish versions of it, comparing Danish legislation with canon as well as Roman law and using an earlier commentary by Thord Litle. Knud Mikkelsen wrote his scholarly commentary in a marginal gloss. The manuscript tradition of his work presents a layout interesting for translation studies: all the three texts in one opening, first the Danish, then the Latin text, and the glossator's Latin notes in the margin (photographs in Jexlev 1982, 51–53). A manuscript called “the notebook of Bishop Knud” is just an apograph without the basic text commented on (Jexlev 1982). Legal texts often need commentaries as language changes, articles are cancelled and new ones added. Before the new nationwide legislation in *Danske Lov* (1683), “darkened words” were listed and explained (i. e. “translated”), a necessity for judges and lawyers (Skautrup 1944, I, 244f.). Later, the old provincial laws have been translated into Modern Danish by Erik Kroman in three volumes (1945–48), the third one being a commentary.

Urban legislation was from the beginning given in Latin and later often translated into Danish prose, though influenced by the Middle Low German versions. The Latin texts use Danish words for special local purposes, like the Danish texts use Latin for special legal purposes, e. g. certain technical terms. Skautrup assumes that Danish translations were produced when the king issued or confirmed the urban charters, but little evidence is left (Skautrup 1944, I, 213).

As for guilds and artisan fraternities (Dan. *lav*), Latin also prevailed (Skautrup 1944, I, 207; 1947, II, 7f., 12f., 139f.). It is a mystery how a Latin charter (Dan. *skrå*), read aloud once a year, could possibly be effective. Since the charters regulated e. g. table manners, they must necessarily have been explained in a vernacular paraphrase, being extremely relevant for women, apprentices and servants who had no Latin.

Other texts difficult to understand and in all likelihood seldom presented to a wider public are diplomas, evidence from the court records etc. Until the late 14th c., they were normally in Latin, but the Danish original di-

plomas which replaced them reproduced the Latin models as if they were translations (cf. 1.). Texts set up in two or more languages, e. g. bilateral or even multilateral international treaties, are well known in Danish administration but seldom used for internal/domestic purposes (Haastrup 1997a). Furthermore, it should be noticed that several Danish scholars and authors wrote in foreign languages for an international public and later somehow had the text “translated” into Danish. Famous examples are Niels Hemmingsen in the 16th and Ludvig Holberg in the 18th c.

6. Cases: School texts, drama and other dialogic texts

Danish proverbs, once to a rather optimistic extent considered relics of old popular wisdom, are partly translations of Latin phrases, partly Latin translations from vernaculars. The medieval collection named Peder Låle combines Danish and Latin sentences meant for teaching grammar and presumably also text composition (“chrias”, cf. Lausberg 1998, §1117–1120). Christiern Pedersen published an annotated printed edition with criticism of the obsolete medieval Latin (Paris 1515; cf. introduction in Kjær 1979).

Drama was a central part of the curricula of grammar schools from antiquity. The metric plays of Terence (in iambic senarius) were, e. g., rewritten in prose and became the most widely chosen models of dialogues using first and second person, deixis, polite address, (drawing-room) oaths, etc. The traditional rhetorical textbooks aiming at forensic use (Lat. *contentio*) gave no guidelines for everyday dialogues, the *sermo* in a household (Lat. *in circulis familiarum* ‘in the private/intimate sphere’). The Renaissance dialogues, however, were often named after the social status of the interlocutors present in the situations (called “occasions” and “scenes” by Guazzo 1574/1614, cf. Haastrup 1994, 67–70 with plate XIII), just like in the theory of drama: the interlocutors are like characters on stage (Scaliger; cf. Lausberg 1998, §1198). In Danish schools, the plays were converted into the vernacular and into the local metre, the *knyttelvers* (cf. 4.), in a metre-to-metre translation as in an epitaph analyzed by M. S. Jensen (1997). The stage directions seem always to match a change of character with a change of line, though the original ancient drama was more like an everyday dialogue, i. e. able to

change speaker in the middle of a verse (Kr. Jensen 1982, 94). The schoolboys learned the Latin lines by heart and were trained in making variations of different speech acts and collocations, cf. a textbook from Herlufsholm, Zealand, *Phraseologia Terentiana* (1652–53) with a Danish parallel translation (Haastrup 1991, 259f.; Kr. Jensen 1982, 97–101). Another textbook (by Schletter, printed in 1667) gave sketches of the *dramatis personae*.

Even if the plays were performed in Danish, the stage directions were in Latin, the language of the schools. One example is *Ludus de sancto Kanuto duce* ('the play of Saint Canute the Duke'), based on a Latin prose legend and dramatized in Danish *knyttelvers* by a known teacher in Ringsted, Zealand, about 1500, to be performed on the medieval simultaneous stage (Nyrop-Christensen 1971). The villain, e.g., speaks *cum indignatione* and the king (with) *gaudio*.

Among later translations of dramatic texts, those of the (metrical but unrhymed) plays of Shakespeare offer an excellent example. Shakespeare was rediscovered in Germany (by Lessing, Schiller, Schlegel) and read and quoted in German by Danes. The first Danish translations in rhymed iambic pentameter were lively and more Shakespearean than the German versions but without great aesthetic ambition; they were made in 1807–16 by P. F. Foersom, an English-speaking actor who did Hamlet in the first performance of that play (1813). Although he was unable to follow Shakespeare's stylistic achievement, Foersom's texts were a revelation to Danish poets, and later many new translations were made by Lembcke, Østergaard etc., cf. the detailed descriptions with parallel texts in Rubow (1932; 1933, e.g. 103).

Phrasebooks and ready-made model dialogues for training communicative competence in foreign languages are a kind of Loeb editions with several columns in one opening, one of them for the Danish source language (often in itself a translation from German), the others for target languages, often French. Modern language studies did not become a subject of secondary education until the mid-19th c. but were carried out privately with or without the assistance of native speakers of the target language. But dialogues in Latin/Danish in the grammar schools are known, not only phrases from Terence or the *Colloquia* of Erasmus Roterodamus, teaching good manners, but communicative routines designed to facilitate the pressure from the immersion pro-

gramme, the schoolboys being obliged to use Latin even on their way to school and back home. In Heyden (1660; cf. Haastrup 1991, 252–254), a question "Why do you whisper like that?" (Lat. *Cur tu sic mussitas?*) is answered, "Because the schoolmaster has forbidden us to speak Danish". The main subject of private instruction in the 17th and 18th c. was French, for the purpose of gaining competence in oral language use and courtesy, to master the routines of everyday encounters (for bilingual models in ready-made dialogues and manner books, cf. Haastrup 1994, 73–75) face to face with foreigners, e.g. on the Grand Tour. The grammar books were composed with great pedagogical skill, showing the importance of grammatical and pragmatic instructions; e.g., paradigms on "moves", later called "speech acts" (Austin), were combined with (a) paradigms of politeness: how to address superiors, equals and inferiors, older and younger, males and females, arranged in various ways (cf. Aristotle's Rhetoric II, 12–16), as well as with (b) paradigms of emotion for use in the household, e.g. how to reprimand severely a man- or maidservant. Other examples are conversation with shopkeepers, learned people, clergymen, physicians, attorneys, military men, aristocrats, etc. These contrastive textbooks in modern languages for Danes have been ignored for years, not considered equal to treatises which have Danish as their only subject (cf. the edition of *Danske Grammatikere* I–VI, 1915–29), although some of these contrastive grammars were based on first-class international textbooks by Des Pepliers (1759), Hilmar Curas (1760), etc. (Haastrup 1988a; 1992, 75–97; 1995).

7. Cases: Some newer translations approaching modern standards, up to ca. 1800

This article stops at the end of the 18th c. But the new utopian type of translation was already there, the one that pretends equivalence, respecting the idiom of the source as well as the target language and presenting a text of the same text-type and, if metric, even the same metre, without notes and inserted explanations. The way to the use of metres natural for the Danish tongue was long and winding, with many learned discussions (Skautrup 1947, II, 362–377). Anders Arrebo's *Hexameron* (posthumous edition 1661) portrays his struggle with Du Bartas – like Jacob's with

the Angel; it is problematic and appreciated mainly for its freer and independent passages, mostly additions. Like his predecessors, Arrebo chooses another ground to fight on, creating a different metre, a special rhymed hexameter, in order to avoid the alexandrines of Du Bartas. But after a while he gives in, changing to alexandrines but using feminine rhymes only (Simonsen 1955, 198–205). In the second half of the 17th c., Matthias Moth in his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* chose the alexandrine instead of Ovid's hexameter (cf. Haastrup 1981; Hjorth 1982). Holberg, inspired by Boileau, did the same in his mock-heroic epic *Peder Paars* (1719–20), parodying Vergil's hexametric *Aeneid*. The translation of Seneca by Birgitte Thott (1658) is a really successful attempt, though her many German loanwords are a major problem for the modern reader; Skautrup (1953, III, 291) explains this as a common feature in the contemporary usage of the nobility.

The idea of translation in the late 17th and the 18th c. was dominated internationally by the French *belles infidèles* (in Denmark, the Gottsched movement coming from Germany). The main problem of Danish translation in the second half of the 18th c. seems, however, to be the language purism, under German influence as often before. The purist idea was to use no words considered "foreign", i. e. at the time French words and phrases (Skautrup 1953, III, 143–150). Texts following this trend could be just as difficult as the clumsier *verbum-e-verbo* translations of earlier times, but for quite different reasons. The trend was challenged and ridiculed by Charlotta Dorothea Biehl, the translator of *Don Quijote* (1776–77), who had an unerring instinct for oral conversation (J. E. Andersen 1997). The protagonist in her comedy *Haarkloveren* ('the hairsplitter', 1765) uses a good many purist "paper words"; the ensuing controversy made a lasting impression on public opinion (Skautrup 1953, III, 147f.).

The purist movement was part of a greater movement to cultivate the Danish language and the literary taste of the reading public, and a means to further this was – like earlier on – to compete with models from classical and modern foreign literatures, at least through translation as a practice on equal terms. A selection of translations and translators is mentioned and commented on by Skautrup (1953, III, 150–153). The number of translations of novels into Danish describes a steeply rising curve in the period 1710–1810

(Skautrup 1953, III, 106). The ambitions were supported by literary societies, the members of their boards being almost the same significant few but very enthusiastic people. Skautrup (1953, III, 107, 151) gives a survey of valuable translations following modern standards, among them translations from Latin classics representing the heaviest task of tradition.

8. Conclusion

This tradition tells us that "From Roman times to the present, Europe has been a civilisation of translations, every aspect of its culture, literature, administration, trade, religion and science having been deeply influenced by translations" (Kelly 1994, 4716). This statement applies considerably more to small language communities like the Danish one, which was multilingual for many years. The national bibliographies (cf. the outline in English by Ilsøe 1985) show that a great proportion of the books printed in Denmark stems from abroad (cf. Dal 1987), for centuries from Germany, and during the 20th c. from Anglo-Saxon countries, whether they are issued in the original language or paraphrased or translated, often second-hand. A useful guide to literature, primary and secondary, in English is Rossel (1992, 635–658).

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57. Nordic language history and the history of translation II: Swedish

1. Introduction: Foreign languages and the vernacular. Translation.
2. The periods of translation in the history of the Swedish language
3. The impact of translation on the structure of the Swedish language
4. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction: Foreign languages and the vernacular. Translation

The current conception of the history of Swedish involves the idea that the written language – as well as the modern supraregional, geographically levelled spoken language – has taken shape under a constant, partly deep-seated influence of foreign linguistic patterns. Such influence has been communicated through international cultural exchanges, where Sweden has principally played a receiving part. In the development of a national written language, the dominant examples always presented themselves in the great languages of the European continent and of

Western history. The familiarity in older times with particularly Latin, French and German, and in the last century with English, has always been widespread in – constantly growing – literate circles of Swedish society.

Of course, people's contacts with these (and a few other) foreign languages have taken place in several forms and at different levels of deliberate planning: the one extreme being a vague, general accommodation to another "linguistic world" than the one at home, unreflectingly brought about by reading, correspondence, personal contacts and travelling; the other a well-reasoned, methodical imitation of specific patterns in the lexicon, syntax and text formation.

One of the most distinctly perceivable, probably even one of the most important channels of influence from foreign languages is no doubt that of translation. In Sweden, translating activity has been going on, and is documented in literary sources, ever since the oldest epochs of the history of the written vernacular. In fact, translation, in varying pro-

portions to original writing, has contributed to production of written text in the Swedish language from the dawn of history up to the present day.

By “translation” we normally mean the rendering of a message given in one language, called the “source-language”, in another language, called the “target-language”. In today’s linguistic culture, translation in a proper sense is restricted to written language (as opposed to the oral “interpretation”) and should be based on a particular relationship of *equivalence* between the message of a source-text and that of a target-text. The equivalence, though always approximate, should be perceptible on the grammatical and lexical levels. This means either that essential single words, phrases and clauses in the source-text are rendered by reasonably recognizable units, “equivalents”, in the target-text, or, at least, that the essence of the message of a readily surveyable source-text sequence – say a sentence – is reasonably recognizable in an equally surveyable target-text sequence. It also means that the source-text is thus rendered *in its totality* in the target-text, without relevant omissions, additions or transpositions.

2. The periods of translation in the history of the Swedish language

However deeply rooted in Western civilization, translation in this modern, relatively strict sense is a cultural product of an advanced though limited age. Previous, more “primitive” periods knew no more “accurate” kind of translation than that of freely rendering the totality of a message, in a “translating paraphrase”. The ideal of formal equivalence was introduced only at a relatively advanced level of literacy. In a country like Sweden, this crucial point in history was reached at the end of the High Middle Ages, i. e. in the late 14th c. It was preceded by a phase of free paraphrase of foreign originals, closely connected with the adoption of Latin script for vernacular writing which occurred in Sweden and Scandinavia as a result of Christian missionary work and the subsequent introduction of Latin. In the case of Sweden, these events took place primarily in the 11th c. (which is about one century later than in Denmark and Norway). The main periods of Swedish translation history – still rather hypothetically delimited – are named and briefly characterized below.

2.1. The period of chivalry (early 13th to late 14th century): adaptation and paraphrase

The first “books” in Sweden, written with Latin characters in vernacular language (i. e. in “classical” Old Swedish), are records of the provincial laws, which were not produced until the early 13th c. Traditionally, this so-called Folkunga period is described as the “golden age” of medieval Swedish culture. Vernacular adaptation of inspiring achievements in continental literature, primarily in Latin, was frequent, and indeed provided the origins and starting points for domestic literature. The main genres were different kinds of legal and religious writing. The relationship to the originals was loose: most texts produced were paraphrases and free imitations. Translation in today’s strict sense of the word occurred only rarely at this early state of linguistic development.

2.2. The monastic period (late 14th to early 16th century): the introduction of lexical and grammatical equivalence

The Monastery of Vadstena dominated the production of literary texts in the 15th c. Vernacular writing there was based on translation in the modern sense of the word, i. e. transfer from a source to a target language, consisting in the substitution of equivalent linguistic material on lexical and grammatical levels. The grand Swedification of St. Bridget’s *Revelations* at the beginning of the period indicates the “birth” of a properly translating tradition in Sweden. This is indicative of the development of an effective national language.

Text production was still based on manuscripts. However, the archaic grammatical system of the East Nordic language changed dramatically during the period, from synthetic to analytic: inflexion was getting simpler. The vocabulary was interspersed with continental, particularly Low German loanwords, connected partly with the material and spiritual sides of chivalry, partly with the large expansion of trade and crafts. On the other hand, Latinized modes of expression colour syntax, which in some genres, particularly in monastic translated literature and in diplomas, became heavy and complicated. Translation acted as main channel for this influence.

2.3. The Reformational period (early 16th to early 17th century): royal Bible translation

Printing was invented and radically changed the external conditions of written language. Mass production of texts became possible and was systematically made use of by both the state and church. The dominant stylistic patterns of continental literature were still based on Latin and German – though now even on High German.

The great Bible translations of 1526 (The New Testament) and 1541 (Gustav Vasa's Bible) are powerful achievements, crucially significant to the development of the national language. In general, however, the literary culture of this period in Sweden, including text production, is poor.

2.4. The Great Power period (early 17th to early 18th century): translation in a stabilizing vernacular

The Great Power's ambitions of cultural prestige, King Gustav Adolf's and Queen Christina's fairly open-handed cultural politics, Lutheran orthodoxy, patriotic historical fantasy, and the pronounced interest during the concluding Carolinian epoch in orthography, grammar, and preservation and regulation of the national language – all these were the driving forces behind the increasing production of texts during Sweden's Great Power era, setting their distinct marks even on translator activities. Though supported by the state for ideological reasons, translation, now primarily from German, did not, however, dominate the literature in the Swedish language. The hegemony of the Latin school in the Swedish educational system reached its peak in the 17th c. Nevertheless, baroque ideals left their unmistakable mark on authors' as well as translators' writing, and old Latinate stylistic patterns were balanced by fresh ones, particularly German and French.

2.5. The academic period (early 18th century to ca. 1830): translation in a maturing vernacular

In the centuries immediately succeeding the Reformation, written Swedish slowly but steadily had strengthened its position as a civilized language of the European community. The death of King Karl XII in 1718 marks an important transition to a new era. This basically insigni-

ficant peasant country, now forced to give up its visions of being a great power, began accommodating to the modest role of a small, peaceful border state in northern Europe. In the long run, this turned out to be positively fruitful even to the interests of the national language. It was now developed and refined in peace and quiet, in all relevant types of text and in most literary genres that were cultivated in Western Europe at the time. A final layer of normalizing polish was applied in the late 18th c. The international outlook of the educated classes was getting wider and deeper, and an increasing dominance of the French language in Swedish culture reached its peak during the reign of King Gustav III (1772–92).

2.6. The industrial period (ca. 1830 up to the present): translation on the literary mass market

Far-reaching revolutions have taken place in Swedish society during this last and most extended period: industrialization, popular movements, emigration, the breakthrough of democracy, and, in recent decades, immigration from a large variety of foreign countries. Seemingly little affected by all this, translation and translating activity presents a remarkable continuity. On the other hand, it has developed forms which contrast distinctly on essential points with preceding periods. It is obvious, for instance, that literary texts in the 19th and 20th c. were translated for mass production in new genres of fiction, meeting the demands for simple entertainment directed at the broad public. Commercialism required high-speed production and a linguistic form fully adapted to the ordinary, unschooled reader. The result was a strong demand for simplicity and uniformity, not least in translation. On the other hand, it is also obvious that increasing secularization and cultural pluralism, together with a wider international outlook, gradually paved the way for translations from several new, more "exotic" literary languages.

3. The impact of translation on the structure of the Swedish language

Translation, particularly when it occurs on a large scale in a small linguistic society – as has always been the case in Sweden – is a catalyst, working with a powerful and enduring effect. The translator's endeavour to render

the message adequately gives rise to tension between the observed structure of the source-text and the given system of norms and rules in the target-language. This conflict is universal, and it is well known to any translator. Historically, it does not lack the ability to create change: in the long run, it may lead to displacement of the limits of tolerance in the grammatical system of the target-language and to restructuring semantic fields in the vocabulary; the latter involves far more than the mere influx of loanwords. Translators are intermediaries for the strong pressure exerted on language users by foreign linguistic and cultural patterns.

It is a reasonable, not to say a trivial, hypothesis that translation – together with other channels of linguistic influence – has, over the course of history, not only created cultural incentives, implicitly and explicitly, but also affected the language itself. By virtue of its central role in the very production of text, as well as its extended occurrence ever since the Middle Ages, translation is a dimension of its own in the history of written Swedish.

In the process of translation, two linguistic versions of the same message meet: one observed in the actual source-text, the other envisaged in the potential target-text. In the translator's conception, these structures are confronted immediately and sharply, at all levels. Unlike the original writer, the translator is forced to take an attitude towards a linguistic form and is called upon for deliberate solutions to specific problems concerning sentence structure and/or wording, conditioned by differences in the systems of linguistic rules and norms, sometimes even by differing textual traditions.

In the first place, this is a matter of the immediately observable structure: the set of words and phrases has to be replaced, the grammatical network normally has to be resolved and reconnected, more or less radically. But this is rarely the end of it. The translator has to take into account differences in cultural prerequisites of reception, to reinterpret an entire attitude to a given content. Normally this is not dramatic, but in some cases it may have far-reaching consequences, deeply affecting the very form of the text.

This last aspect is a crucial one, though not so frequently observed and studied. Significant traits in the external *text formation* of original documents may be taken over in translation and imitated in the composition of vernacular text. At levels within the linguis-

tic system, principally similar conditions govern the translator's relationship to the lexicon and syntax, since the translator here has the choice – more or less free – of different alternatives, relative to lexical and grammatical elements of the source language, in some cases readily transferable, in others not. But even at other levels within the same system, such as the morphological and phonological/orthographic, where the writer is subject to rules and conventions quite irrelevant to the usage of any other language, it is nonetheless possible sometimes to recognize the translator as an active mediator of more or less spectacular innovations in the target-language system.

Consequently, translation has taken part – and at the first three levels mentioned above probably a very significant, not to say a predominant part – in developing vernacular language through foreign patterns. The possible share of other channels of influence in this development is hard to judge; probably the proportions are specific at each level, in each period of time and in each particular genre.

In the following, the influence of translation will be regarded as a channel of foreign linguistic influence in general – irrespective of its possible interplay with other driving forces in the history of the language.

3.1. The chronology of influence

In medieval Sweden, the relationship between Latin and the vernacular was contradictory and complex. On the one hand Swedish took shape as a written language on the very basis of Latin. On the other hand, this occurred during a "classical" phase of its early development, when the archaic structure of the old language was still principally intact and the vocabulary reasonably genuine. Its position in relation to the dominant Latin, then, was one of a certain amount of independence. It is clear in the preserved documents that classical Old Swedish was strikingly successful in maintaining certain native forms in the lexicon and syntax; in a way it moved quite easily within the framework given by the constant paraphrasing of Latin originals. This is true at any rate with regard to writing dominated by this kind of text production, i.e. within the "literary" genres. In some kinds of judicial records, which are mainly original writing, the style is far more – and sometimes in the extreme – Latinizing.

In the late Middle Ages, during the Union period, a stricter practice of translation

emerged in the Monastery of Vadstena, and Latin's grip on the formal structure of Swedish became stronger, even in literary genres. At this time written Swedish became stiffer and heavier, in a sense less native. Moreover, there was a massive influx of Low German words; even some derivational elements and grammatical constructions of the same origin penetrated into the Swedish language during this period. This large-scale exposure to foreign influence – certainly to a significant extent conveyed by translation – for a time, it has been argued, appeared to threaten the basic Nordic identity of Swedish.

In the long run, however, the pressure from abroad had a stimulating effect upon the development of Swedish as a civilized language at a European level. Under the tight reins of Latin stylistic patterns, imposed particularly on the translators, variation decreased, and the language became more uniform. A more solid structure matured, heralding later epochs, and written Swedish gradually assumed a stability enabling it to develop a new rich variety of genres and styles. By that time – say in the late 17th c. – the numerous Low German loanwords had made themselves completely at home in the Swedish language, making an invaluable addition to its rich linguistic heritage.

The reformers' monumental Bible translation from the mid-16th c. was to become an essential element in setting a standard for the development of the national language during the New Swedish period. At this time, however, the linguistic system remained essentially unaffected. What remained was the standardization at different levels of a system that was essentially completed at the end of the Middle Ages; it was as well a question of variation in orthography. The originators of the Vasa Bible spelt, inflected, and composed phrases and clauses in a way that writers in succeeding periods, with varying degrees of consistency, either adopted or rejected, though always taking up some kind of position about it, sometimes even referring expressly to it. Discussion on questions of language and language use in Sweden was often more or less explicitly related to the Bible translated by the reformers. This biblically dominated phase in Swedish linguistic reflexion lasted from the 17th at least into the 19th c.

For the writers of non-religious genres, translators in the beginning played a less prominent part: in the early New Swedish period (late 16th and 17th c.) they were relatively few

in number, and text production in Swedish mainly consisted of original writing. This situation changed rather dramatically over the course of the 18th c. In the Gustavian era (1772–1809), new fields for using Swedish in literary writing opened up, with translators in the lead. They became the dominant suppliers of text for the expanding theatre, further, and still more important, for the rapidly growing commercial production of secular prose fiction, directed at constantly increasing strata of the population. The latter development set its mark firmly on the production of books in Swedish within literary genres during the 19th and 20th c. The share of translation in this production was never below half, though quite often, and particularly in the initial and final phases of the two-century period, considerably above it.

The role of the translators in this modern development was a dual one. On the one hand, they could act as efficient intermediaries of innovative linguistic trends in rendering more or less avantgarde literature from abroad into Swedish; to what extent they actually did this is another question. On the other hand, they could be expected to take part in adapting the written language to the particular needs of light reading, supplied by the massive import of simple fiction translated into Swedish. The actual effects on the structure of the target-language in the interplay between translators' different efforts at various levels of the literary system, as well as the relationship of the translations to the achievements of the original writers, remain on the whole unexplored.

At one level of the language system, the assessment of the effects from translators' activities is particularly obvious: the lexicon. Swedish vocabulary has been enriched during all historical epochs with loanwords from the great, dominant languages of Western civilization. The lasting contributions occur in layers still bearing witness to the continuous change in international influences:

Low German in the Middle Ages, e. g. *hövisker* 'courteous' and *æra* 'honour';

Low and High German in the Reformation period, German, French and Italian in the Great Power period, e. g. *drabant* 'bodyguard', 'satellite', *fänrik* 'second lieutenant', *gevär* 'rifle' and *artig* 'polite';

German and increasingly French in the 18th c., e. g. *bassäng* 'basin', *chiffonjé* 'escritoire', *fåtölj* 'armchair', *depå* 'depot', *kasern* 'barracks', *manöver* 'manoeuvre', *chef* 'head', 'principal', *direktör* 'manager' and *fabrik* 'factory';

German, French and increasingly English in the 19th c., e.g. *attaché* ‘attaché’, *automobil* ‘motorcar’, *blus* ‘blouse’, *cykel* ‘bicycle’, *filé* ‘fillet’, *fotboll* ‘football’, *gin* ‘gin’, *lokomotiv* ‘[railway] engine’, *match* ‘match’, *omelett* ‘omelet’, *pincené* ‘eyeglasses’, *pyjamas* ‘pyjamas’, *radikal* ‘radical’, *rekord* ‘record’, *toddy* ‘toddy’, *ulster* ‘ulster’, *velociped* ‘bicycle’; predominantly Anglo-American in the 20th c., e.g. *astronaut*, *container*, *designer*, *fight* or *fajt*, *party*, *slogan* and *status*.

Latin and Greek loanwords cover all periods from the runic inscriptions to present-day electronic media. Old Swedish forms corresponding to modern variants of high frequency include *diæful*, Mod. Sw. *djävul*, ‘devil’, *kyrkia*, Mod. Sw. *kyrka*, ‘church’, *prædika*, Mod. Sw. *predika*, ‘preach’, *tæxter*, Mod. Sw. *text*, ‘text’, ‘lesson’. Sweden’s share of the vast, relatively uniform stock of international words of Latin and Greek origin which have spread over the Western world is considerable. In the last three or four centuries, Swedish has used at least a thousand Latin and Greek lexemes to create terms used today.

To what extent translators have been the very originators of lexical innovations or have just reflected or confirmed them is as yet unexplored.

During the final phase of the 20th c., translators began to play a significant role in the complicated linguistic pattern of the European Community. The accommodation (partly imposed) to prevalent standards of conservative French officialese in particular has already left visible traces in several judicial documents produced by Swedish translators.

3.2. The levels of influence

Most easily – and most frequently – observed are certain aspects of the growth of the lexicon. This is mainly effected by a constant influx of loanwords, most obviously the direct loans, examples of which, chronologically arranged, were given in 3.1. Even loan translations and semantic loans, though less conspicuous, have deeply affected the structure of the vocabulary. Typical Old Swedish instances of the former category are words like *alzvaldugher* (Mod. Sw. *allsmäktig*, ‘almighty’, from Lat. *omnipotens*) and *upbyggia* (Mod. Sw. *upbygga*, ‘edify’, from G *aufbauen*), of the latter *hember* (lost in Mod. Sw., ‘world’, Lat. *mundus*) and *skapa* (Mod. Sw. *skapa*, ‘create’, Lat. *creare*).

Swedish syntax has developed under the constant pressure, directly and indirectly, of Latin influence in particular. This is reflected in a complex phraseology and sentence structure, and in several written genres very remote from the relative simplicity and looseness of spoken language. Setting their unmistakable mark on most genres of medieval prose, Latinate patterns have governed, often indirectly through German and French intermediaries, professional as well as literary writing throughout the history. The examples have served both as positive and as negative models – the latter particularly in the 20th c., when democratically based efforts to simplify official language constantly aimed at forcefully combatting deeply rooted traditions of complicated Latinate writing.

The imitation of Latin structures sometimes forced medieval translators to introduce innovations into the grammatical system of the vernacular, e.g. the use of the present participle governing subordinate elements: *Maria, utgangandis af huseno* ‘Mary, going out of the house’. More often, however, the translators just reinforced certain modes of expression that actually occurred even in “genuine” language, though with considerably lower frequencies. This is the case, e.g. for the general use of the present participle.

The morphological system, however native and inherited, has been directly influenced by foreign languages. Latin and Greek neuter plurals such as *centra* ‘centers’ and *temata* ‘themes’ have survived in the vernacular, often alongside adapted forms such as *centrum* and *teman*. In some individual instances this may affect the word formation: English plurals like *slips* and *rails*, borrowed in the 19th c., have been given singular Swedish forms: *en slips* ‘a tie’ (with the secondary plural *slipsar*), *en räls* ‘rails’. In Old Swedish and Early New Swedish texts, the full paradigms of Latin nouns, particularly proper names, were observed, e.g. in the Reformational Bible: *Pauli* in the genitive case, *Iesum* in the accusative and [*af*] *Pilato* in the ablative/dative.

Even indirectly, foreign influence has affected the morphological system. This is evident in a tendency – apparently reinforced by frequent contact with texts – of the writers of certain, particularly medieval genres, strictly to maintain the archaic system of the vernacular. The late medieval Vadstena language, e.g., is strikingly conservative in this respect, and was probably rather obsolete even to its contemporary public.

In a closely related sense, the impact of foreign linguistic patterns is indirectly felt even in the process of semantic elaboration and formal standardization. Strenuous efforts in these respects have, in very general terms, constantly governed the development of written Swedish throughout history. Up to, say, the reformers' great Bible translations in the early 16th c. – in a sense even up to the energetic regularization measures of the Carolinian epoch in the late 17th and early 18th c. – Swedish translators were working in a target-language which had still relatively limited means for expressing abstract levels of argument and was subject to more or less wide variation. With good reason, translators were generally influenced by continental source texts in which complex or abstract content was given precise wording based on underlying elaborated semantic systems, and in which spelling, inflexion, phraseology and sentence structure were comfortably uniform. Certainly, the inclination to transfer such qualities to the product text was always a powerful driving force in cultivating the written vernacular, probably even inspiring writers originating texts in Swedish.

The import of intact written word forms has influenced the development of Swedish orthography. It all began, of course, with the adoption of the Latin alphabet, with its given sound values, rather mechanically transferred to a vernacular system partly otherwise structured. Some of these early loanwords took part in later phonological changes, like *pawi* > *påve* 'pope', whereas a few others possibly contributed to the creation of new sounds. So, in the many nouns ending in the suffix *-tio[n]/-sio[n]*, e. g. *imitation*, *flexion*, ordinary habits of medieval and humanist Latin pronunciation ([-tsiu:n], [-siu:n] and the like) in early New Swedish may have led to confusion with fricative sounds recently developed, as we find in certain initial consonant clusters like those in *sjuk*, *sjö*, *stjärna*: in Modern Swedish the pronunciation of the consonant phoneme in question is one and the same in these cases. In a principally conservative orthography, unassimilated loanwords in several cases have, of course, made their mark on Swedish spelling traditions. There is, e. g., still a tension in French loanwords, spelt either phonetically like *butik* or "etymologically" like *boutique*: both mean 'shop', though differing in their degree of elegance or exclusiveness.

For overall text formation, some striking conventions are related to foreign languages

and indirectly to translation. Most obvious is that of typography: the medieval Gothic script was naturally continued in the printed black-letter/German type, used in texts written in Swedish (and other Germanic languages, particularly German), whereas texts in Latin and French were printed in Roman type. Not until the early 19th c. did the latter take over in (practically) all printed text in Sweden. Accordingly, the translation of printed source texts, written in Latin or Romance languages, and intended as printed target-texts in early New Swedish, normally meant a change of typography. It may be assumed, that the frequent contact with – including translation from – French in the Gustavian era hastened the adoption of the Roman type in Swedish printing.

Another important aspect of text formation, certainly related to translation, is the use of indices, headings, registers and other technical and dispositional measures for making the structure of a text clear, particularly in books. In the medieval provincial laws, the main sections (the *balkar*) in some cases (e. g. in the Östergötland law) had been arranged differently in different manuscripts, a fact which partly indicates that text formation was secondary to the original editing. In a sense, the development of clarifying strategies began in the same high medieval epoch, inspired not least by a scholastic predilection for thorough systematization. This is particularly apparent in the translation of St. Bridget's *Revelations*. Lengthy enumerations of items in a hair-splitting theological argument are rather frequent in this genre, and normally they are uncritically and meticulously taken over in the target version. Later, Renaissance culture took up another, more independent attitude to the attempts at clarity and order, though at the same time confirming such endeavours. It is significant that registers and indices appear in the Swedish Reformers' great Bible translation of 1541, later to be completed and augmented in the revisions of 1618 and 1703 and reduced or removed in the several 19th c. versions. The division of the chapters into numbered verses was introduced into the Swedish Bible in the revision of 1618 and was maintained in all subsequent Bible versions; the model came from German Bibles around 1600 (cf. Olsson 1968, 354ff.). In contrast, we may cite Swedish law texts, which stand outside this translation culture. Here the division of the *balkar* into numbered paragraphs was not introduced until in modern editions, as the work of a 19th c. scientific editor.

Translation is not merely a question of prose writing. Even poetic diction in the vernacular has been in some respects influenced by translators, particularly as regards metre. The paraphrasing “translators” of medieval chivalric poetry introduced the knittel verse and a lasting innovation conveyed by this initiative was the rhyme. Elegant Shakespearian blank verse was given a vital push into Swedish poetry by C. A. Hagberg, who carried out his classic translations of the English playwright in the mid-19th c. The ancient Greek and Latin metres, however, particularly the hexameter and the elegiac couplet (distich), were not introduced into Swedish by translators but by great original poets, such as Stiernhielm, Tegnér, Stagnelius and Runeberg, in the 17th, 18th and 19th c. Great translators followed later, though, the most brilliant being perhaps Lagerlöf in his congenial renderings of Homer in the early 20th c.

4. Literature (a selection)

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58. Nordic language history and the history of translation III: Norwegian

1. Translation – past and present
2. Impact of translation
3. Conventions and practice
4. The volume of translation in Norway
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1. Translation – past and present

1.1. Before the Reformation

Translation history in Norway, as in the other Scandinavian countries, begins with the introduction of Christianity. The literary language in Europe at the time was of course Latin. We assume that translation activities started in Norway in the 11th and 12th centuries. The Norwegian clergy did what the Anglo-Saxon clergy did – they mostly wrote the religious texts in their mother tongue. (In Sweden and

Denmark, fewer texts were translated into the vernacular). Also, like the Anglo-Saxon tradition, a few letters were added to the alphabet. This was necessary in order to render the spoken language better. In the churches in Norway and Iceland, the priests were loyal and read their texts in Latin, but we know that they preached in the vernacular.

The period from 1100 to 1300 saw quite important literary activity in Norway and Iceland. Significantly, it is reasonable to consider both countries as *one* literary community at the time – with Bergen as its centre (Rindal et al. 1998, 18).

The first Norwegian religious legends that we know of were translated from Latin about 1150. The book is called *Gammalnorsk homiliebok* [Old Norwegian Book of Sermons], and it is the oldest known Norwegian book. The

original text is probably an old French poem *Un samedi par nuit*. If so, this is also the oldest known example of translation from French into Norwegian (Rindal et al. 1998, 30). The translation is obviously done by a highly skilled and competent person – the text is written in a popular and oral style. It is also quite typical that this is a translation from French – French culture and language dominated European civilization in the 13th century in much the same way as it did four hundred years later, in the 17th century. In *Speculum regale (Konungs skuggsjá)*, written in the 13th century, one of the king's men tells his son to learn Latin and French, since these two languages are the most prominent ones and have “the widest influence”.

Parts of the Old Testament were translated from the Vulgate in the 13th century. The first version we know of, is called *Stjórn* [rules; ruling]. In the preface, the translator excuses himself for possible mistakes and shortcomings, and he reveals a very humble attitude towards the difficult task he is undertaking. These biblical translations were, perhaps, done in Trondheim (Nidaros), since the cathedral was located there and the archbishop of Norway and Iceland resided in Nidaros from 1152 onwards.

The first explicit “worldly” translation we know of was written in 1226, when King Håkon Håkonsson, then 22 years old, ordered the Story of Tristram and Isolde to be translated into Norwegian. The Norse title was *Tristrams saga ok Ísondar*; the translator was a certain brother Robert. Håkon Håkonsson (1204–1263) was an ambitious king – he wanted to be a good Norwegian and a good European. We might say that the king probably had a dual motive – both to offer a diversion to his court (entertainment) and to show that his court was part of the aristocratic mainstream in Europe (prestige). And we must not forget that the Norwegian kingdom in the 13th century actually had a powerful role in European politics – its realm embraced Shetland, Orkneys and Hebrides, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland, Norway and parts of (today's) Sweden.

More of the same genre followed. The novels of chivalry represented a new world of heroes and ideas, they were mostly translated from French and introduced patterns of style and language hitherto unknown in Old Norse saga prose (Beyer 1963, 63). Copies were spread to all parts of the huge Norse kingdom. King Håkon, interested in the cultural cur-

rents of his time, ordered the stories written by Marie de France to be translated into the Norse language. We know very little about this Marie, but she probably lived from around 1130 to around 1200. As her name indicates, she was probably French. Therefore we assume that the original texts were written in French. The translated collection of texts was given the title *Strengleikar* in Old Norwegian. The oldest copy of this manuscript is from 1270.

Another translation of the same genre was the saga of Pamphilus. The original text was in Latin, entitled *Pamphilus de amore*, probably written in France just before 1200 (Rindal et al. 1998, 44). The text gives pieces of advice about the art of love. The translator has followed the original text surprisingly well and the translation may have been done as a qualifying piece of work by somebody (perhaps a student) wanting to show his ability in the field.

Religion first, then worldly entertainment – that was how the history of early Norwegian translation developed in the 12th and 13th centuries. The translators are mostly unknown to us, but we do have the names of a few. As mentioned above, a certain brother Robert (an immigrant from England or Ireland?) translated Tristram and Isolde. And around 1300 we find a certain Jón Halldórs-son, obviously from a solid Norwegian family, who translated the tale of Clarus from Latin, *Klári saga*.

Later on, the first legal translations were made. In 1274, Norway, as one of the first countries in Europe, elaborated a national law for the whole kingdom. (This was actually the Norwegian common law until 1687). From around 1400 onwards, these laws, written in Old Norwegian, were hard to understand for the Norwegians and practically incomprehensible to the Danish public servants and officials, who already at that time dominated Norwegian public administration. The old Norwegian laws were therefore translated into Danish. The oldest translation we know of is from around 1530, written by a Norwegian judge, working in Oslo.

Finally, we should mention a text composed by the Catholic church in Norway (the archbishop in Nidaros) and the Norwegian king. The text is an agreement that states the rights of the church. The agreement was first written in Latin and called *compositio*. This text, intended for the Roman Catholic church, was then translated into Old Norwegian. This ver-

sion was the official version of the agreement, called *sættargerð*, intended for the Norwegian king. This agreement between king and church was signed in August 1277 (Rindal et al. 1998, 48). Thus parallel texts – legal or administrative ones – so common in modern times in Brussels and elsewhere have a long tradition.

1.2. From the Reformation to 1900

After the Reformation, contrary to the situation in many other European countries, Norway's status as a religious and political nation was weakened. From the end of the 14th century, Norway and Denmark had been a united kingdom, and in 1536 King Christian declared Norway a province of Denmark. This decision had dramatic long-term consequences for Norway. The once dominant kingdom in Scandinavia (in the 13th century) was now simply part of Denmark. The country was an extremely rural society, even compared to the other Scandinavian countries. Bergen, once the biggest city in Scandinavia, was the only city of some size, with 5000–7000 inhabitants.

After the Great Plague around 1350, most of the nobility had disappeared, and literary life was in a poor state. No books were printed in Norway until 1643 – a hundred years later than in Iceland. Norway had only four “cathedral schools”, secondary schools attached to the residences of the bishops in Oslo, Kristiansand, Bergen, Trondheim. (As late as 1787 the cathedral school in Trondheim had only 47 pupils). And Norway did not get its own university until 1811.

These are important facts to keep in mind when we consider the translation activities of the period. And the explanation for this state of affairs is, of course, the fact that Norway was part of Denmark up to 1814. Important events in Denmark became inevitably important events in Norway. This means that several of the most important cultural events for Norway during the period happened in Denmark. The main translation event, for instance, in the 16th century was undoubtedly the translation of the Bible, done by Christiern Pedersen (1480–1554). It was printed in 1550, and is known as *Christian III's Bible*.

It is important not to forget that in this early period, printed books were costly. Around 1600 a copy of the Bible cost the equivalent of a horse (Rindal et al. 1998, 55). It goes without saying that books were rare in the rural Norwegian community. The most important publications in this period – beside the Bible

– were probably the translations of the old sagas. The famous Norwegian priest Peder Claussøn (1545–1614) in Agder translated both the works of Snorre Sturluson and the kings' sagas from Old Norse into Danish – of course, since Danish was the public written language. (But, not surprisingly, certain elements in his style and vocabulary reveal the Norwegian origin of the translator, cf. Beyer 1963). If there was one worldly book on the shelf in a Norwegian farm house in those days, it was Snorre. Claussøn Friis did not live to see his translations published; the first books were printed in Copenhagen in 1633. The second edition from 1757 especially achieved quite a wide distribution in Norway (Beyer 1963).

From the Reformation onwards, there were a considerable amount of translations made from German into Danish – and what was written in Danish, was of course the current written language for educated people in Norway. Theologians had to begin to look to Wittenberg rather than to Rome in matters of guidance and spiritual questions of the day. As far as religious texts are concerned, we should not forget that several scholarly texts, originally written in Danish, were translated into Latin. From Latin such texts could then be translated into English or French. And much translation followed the same route in the opposite direction (Hjørnager Pedersen/Qvale 1998). Thus a number of texts in the 16th and 17th centuries used Latin as an intermediary language. This even happened with literary texts. Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), who was born in Bergen and taught at the university of Copenhagen, actually wrote a novel in Latin: *Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum*. The book was published in Leipzig in 1741, and the following year it was published in Copenhagen, translated by the Norwegian Hans Hagerup as *Niels Klims underjordiske Reise*.

Typically enough, direct translation from English into Danish did not begin until around 1700 and was quite exceptional until around 1800. Most translation from English literature was instead done via German. Translation from Romance languages, especially French, only developed towards the end of the 18th century. Early examples of French influence typically took the form of loose imitation, as in Ludvig Holberg's *Peder Paars* (1719–20), which obviously has passages from Boileau's *Le Lutrin*. On the whole, many of Holberg's comedies were influenced

by Molière. (Some of Molière's plays were translated for the theatre in Copenhagen from its opening in 1722, cf. Hjørnager Pedersen/Qvale 1998).

The most important literary event in the last part of the 18th century was the founding of the Norwegian Society (*Det Norske Selskab*) in Copenhagen in 1772. The members of this club – and club is the proper word – were Norwegian students and writers living in Copenhagen. They were active in the cultural and literary life of the capital, and several of them published translations, mostly from French (Rindal et al. 1998, 57). One of the leading members was Johan Herman Wessel (1742–1785), born in Akershus near Oslo. Among his translations from French were works by Louis Ansaume, Jacques-Marie Boutet de Monvel and Charles Simon Favart. Two other active members were Niels Krog Bredal (1732–1778) and Christen Pram (1756–1821). The latter translated a book by Voltaire, *Gengiskan i China*. Rousseau's *Confessions* was translated by M. Hagerup in 1798, and *La Nouvelle Héloïse* was translated in 1800 by J.J. Garnæs. Obviously, the Norwegians were fascinated by Rousseau's ideas and thinking.

The most popular foreign author at the beginning of the 19th century was undoubtedly Walter Scott. His novels were introduced to Norway in 1827–1832. James Fenimore Cooper's *The last of the Mohicans* (*Den sidste Mohicaner*) was also published in the 1830s. The national poet, Henrik Wergeland (1808–1845), translated some of the poems of Burns and Byron.

Two important, but quite different, translation events from the 1830s deserve a special mention. This was the era of national reawakening (as in many other European countries at that time), and in Norway this meant a renewed interest in Old Norse culture and literature. One of the well-known people in politics and humanism from 1814 onwards, Jacob Aall (1773–1844), had for years worked with the old sagas. He started with a translation of *Laxdæla saga* in 1816, and the complete works of the great Icelandic author Snorre Sturluson (1170–1241) were published in 1838–39. The translation of Snorre into Landsmål was carried out by Steinar Schiøtt (1844–1920) in 1872–79.

The other event concerns the Sami culture in the north. In 1834, Niels Stockfleth (1787–1866) published his Sami version of the New Testament.

It was during the 19th century, especially from 1840 onwards, that French literature lost its leading position as the dominant source-language. English and American literature gradually took over, and this position has been strengthened ever since (cf. article 170 on Norwegian 19th century translation).

For non-fiction literature, the situation was not quite the same. In the scientific world, German was still the most important foreign language in the 19th century. The volume of non-fiction translations, however, was modest indeed, compared to modern times. But “LSP translation” (Language for Special Purpose translation) did exist. The tradition of translating economics treatises and business documents in Denmark and Norway can be traced back to the 17th century. In 1635, King Christian IV established an official body of non-fiction translators. All ships passing through the straits of Øresund had to pay tax, and the king ordered that all tax documents were to be filed in Danish. In order to accomplish this business, a certain Frederik Urne was given the responsibility to hire and pay qualified translators (Koue 1987, 33).

The fairly strict division between literary and non-literary texts is thus deeply rooted in the Norwegian tradition. When it comes to translation norms, we have reasons to believe that the translators in the Middle Ages did not transfer scrupulously all details from the source-text. Later on, in the 17th and 18th centuries, word-by-word fidelity, sticking to the letter of the original, was the preferred method. In the translations of the Bible, the style and syntax of Greek and Hebrew are often apparent (Kvarme 1993, 240). The importance of the communicative aspect, with the focus on the audience, is obviously a concept from the 20th century.

1.3. After 1900

Norway's literary and cultural situation cannot be understood without taking into account the fact that Denmark and Norway were united politically up to 1814 – and culturally up to around 1900. The director of the national library in the 1970s, Harald Tveterås (1904–1991), who has written a history of Norwegian book stores, maintains that even in the first decades of the 20th century Norwegian book stores sold large quantities of books translated into Danish as part of their general sale of literature (Tveterås 1950–96). This explains some crucial facts: the dominant

written language for centuries – up to 1900 – was Danish. Norway had few printing offices of their own, few largescale publishers, no university until 1811 and no Bible in Norwegian – since the Danish Bible was fairly well understood by most Norwegians.

It is fair to say that the beginning of the 20th century marks a shift in Norwegian cultural history. In the years after 1900, Norwegian publishing firms finally got hold of the Norwegian book market. The first complete translation of the Bible into Norwegian (Riksmål) was published in 1904. A handful of skilled scholars were working on the translation of the Bible into Landsmål – the most prominent one being Alexander Seippel (1851–1938). The work on the Landsmål version of the Bible was finished in 1921.

The volume of translation continued to grow (see section 4.), the dominance of English and American literature continued to increase, and the variety of source languages (besides English) was no longer European – it gradually became global. The volume of non-fiction translations grew substantially, and these texts played a more important role than ever before. The non-fiction translation activity therefore received more attention and public interest. New forms of translations like subtitling and dubbing, translation for the deaf, conference interpretation etc. gradually became important communicative tools for society. Finally, the translators and interpreters have established professional organizations in order to fight for fair rates of payment. These are the features of the 20th-century translation field in Norway.

But in Norway, the cultural and linguistic rivalry between Nynorsk and Bokmål adds a special sociolinguistic perspective to all translation activity and translation criticism. It even influences the terminology discussions among the translators themselves. Especially in the field of non-fiction translation, the coining of Norwegian standardized terms is an ongoing debate among translators and linguists: do we seek one common term, or do we go for two different terms – one in Nynorsk and one in Bokmål? In Nynorsk, the tradition has been to look for words rooted in the Old Norse tradition or based on the spoken language of today, even if this leads to a situation of a lexical split with Bokmål. (Bokmål often has used established terms, coming from the Norwegian-Danish tradition). But since World War II there has been a clear tendency to unite the two concerns – when creating new terms

– first the need to have one common lexeme for both varieties of written Norwegian, and second the wish to develop an efficient and linguistically sound vocabulary.

The special status of poetry translation has been formalized in a subtle way. In the Norwegian language this is not called “translation” at all; the front page announces a “re-created version”. This indicates, of course, the impossibility and importance of the task, but according to Norwegian agreements and the actual rates for literary work, this term also entitles the “recreator” to receive a higher honorarium than a “translator” can claim. One might call this good trade union work by the translators of poetry.

The translators’ trade unions have mostly lived in peace with their employers – publishers, broadcasting, cinema, public administration, business and trade. Conflicts have been solved through negotiations – with one exception. In October 1991, the literary translators did not reach any agreement with their publishers, and more than 400 translators went on strike. The final agreement was not reached until June 1992 (Rindal et al. 1998, 216). The strike was worth while: the translators achieved a 20–30 per cent rise in their pay.

In the 20th century, Norwegian writers continued to publish translations as part of their literary activity. One of the great writers in Nynorsk, Arne Garborg (1851–1924), published translations of works like *Macbeth* (1901) and *The Odyssey* (1920). The short-story master Arthur Omre (1887–1967) translated Steinbeck’s *Grapes of Wrath* in 1940 into Bokmål. One of the greatest novelists of the century, Johan Borgen (1902–1979), wrote the Norwegian version (in Bokmål) of *Sons and Lovers* by D.H. Lawrence, which was published in 1935. (An interesting detail: *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* was translated into Norwegian in 1952 – eight years before it was legally published in England). Inger Hagerup (1905–1985), Hans Heiberg (1904–1978), André Bjerke (1918–1985), Magli Elster (1912–1993), and Helge Krog (1889–1962) were among the Bokmål authors who most actively worked as translators.

Around 1930, Norwegian Gyldendal (a publishing house) started its so-called *Yellow series* – with the aim of introducing modern international authors to the Norwegian public. The editor was Sigurd Hoel (1890–1960), who himself was one of the leading Norwegian novelists in the middle of the century. Hoel translated several of Jack London’s books,

and he also translated Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim* in 1932. The editor and journalist Gunnar Larsen (1900–1958) translated several of Hemingway's books, and Nils Lie (1902–1978) translated Graham Greene.

It seems that fewer of the Nynorsk writers were active as translators. Several literary important translations into Nynorsk were done by university professors and other scholars. Professor Johs. A. Dale (1898–1975) translated the medieval classic *Chanson de Roland* in the 1930s. Another scholar, Olav Rytter (1903–1992), also writing in Nynorsk, was one of the prominent translators at that time. Among his translations are 55 songs from *Rigveda* (1932) in the series *Austerlandske bokverk* [Literature from the East], a series that started in 1929 on his initiative. The family Skard – father Matias (1846–1927) and the sons Sigmund (1903–1995), Eiliv (1898–1978), Bjarne (1896–1961), Vemund (1909–1994), who were all scholars (bishops and professors), made the translation of the great Greek classical texts into Nynorsk a family enterprise, Sigmund being the most prominent translator in the family. The series *Klassiske bokverk* started in 1921 with the translation of Socrates' speech of defence by Eiliv Skard, *For-svarstalen åt Sokrates*.

What are the great foreign successes in Norwegian literature? For translations from English to Norwegian, William Shakespeare is, of course, the leading author with around 50 translations published. The first play to be translated was *Macbeth* (in 1767), and this is no doubt Shakespeare's most popular play in Norway; it has been translated several times – three times after 1900. (Hartvig Kiran, 1911–1978, director in the Norwegian Radio Corporation, is considered to have written the best translation of this play in 1962).

Arthur Conan Doyle is the second most translated English author. The topseller of his work has been *The hound of the Baskervilles* (1902). Third comes Charles Dickens. His most popular book is probably *David Copperfield*. This novel was translated into both Bokmål and Nynorsk. But Dickens' popularity is a fairly recent phenomenon; it did not grow until after the turn of the century (Rindal et al. 1998, 66). The great translator of Dickens in Norway was C. J. Hambro (1885–1964), an influential politician who was for many years Speaker of the Norwegian parliament.

If we leave the Anglo-Saxon world, we find that one of the most popular foreign novels in the 20th century is Henry Sienkiewicz' *Quo*

vadis? Between 1902 and 1988, the novel has been translated 16 times(!) into Norwegian – one of them into Nynorsk (by Marta Steinsvik). But according to critics, only a few of them merit the word “translation”. Most of the Norwegian versions are translated from languages other than Polish, and – even worse – most of them are incomplete texts.

Among the great translation successes are Scandinavian books – from Swedish, the novels by Selma Lagerlöf and the books about Pippi Langstrømpe by Astrid Lindgren; from Danish, we might mention *Kongens fall* by Johs. V. Jensen, translated by Sigurd Hoel (1938). H. C. Andersen was not translated into Norwegian during his lifetime – for obvious reasons (Danish was also “Norwegian” in the 19th century). But in 1917 there were Norwegian versions on the market, translated by Inge Debes and Gabriel Scott (Rindal et al. 1998, 90).

It goes without saying that selecting a few translators among the several hundreds of Norwegian translators in the 20th century who have done an admirable job, is necessarily doing an injustice to many. In spite of this, we have picked out six different translators for special mention – Anne-Lisa Amadou (1930–), Olav Angell (1932–), Kari Risvik (1932–), Kjell Risvik (1941–), Halldis Moren Vesaas (1907–1995) and Wolfgang Fischer (1927–).

Anne-Lisa Amadou, professor of French, was chosen because of her work with a so-called “untranslatable” author, Marcel Proust. In 1962 she started with the first volume of *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*. In 1992, after thirty years, she finished the last volume, number twelve. She never regretted it, although – or perhaps because – the transfer of Proustian syntax to Norwegian often seemed an impossible task. Among her numerous prizes is Les Palmes Académiques in 1991.

Olav Angell is famous for being the one who finally persuaded a Norwegian publisher to pay for the translation of *Ulysses* by James Joyce. Sigurd Hoel once said that if this book was translated, ten people would buy it, and nine would claim their money back (Rindal et al. 1998, 237). After three years of work, several trips to Dublin, and long questionnaires sent to Joyce-researchers, this weighty novel went on sale in February 1993 – forty years after it appeared in English. Hoel's prediction proved unfounded – around 8000 copies have been sold so far. And the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation spent half an hour

of its prime time on television to show the translator at work – for example walking the streets of Dublin looking for the proper meaning of Joyce’s words (Rindal et al. 1998, 240).

The next two translators, Kari and Kjell Risvik, should be mentioned together, simply for the reason that they very often – though not always – work together. They are married and are the most famous translating couple in the country. The couple “covers” 14 different languages, and they have contributed especially to the translation of authors from South America and Africa in the years after 1970. Kjell Risvik translated Gabriel García Márquez as early as 1970 and Isabel Allende in 1984.

Halldis Moren Vesaas wrote in Nynorsk and was one of the most popular Norwegian poets of the 20th century. Her husband, Tarjei Vesaas (1897–1970), is one of the greatest Norwegian novelists. As a translator, however, she has worked for the theatre; she is the greatest theatre translator of the century, having translated more than 50 plays from 1940 to 1995, including Sophocles, Brecht, and Molière. Her translation of Racine’s *La Phèdre* into smooth Norwegian alexandrines is considered her most impressive work.

The last translator to be mentioned in this survey – Wolfgang Fischer – was German by birth but arrived in Norway in 1935 at the age of eight. If we take volume as a criterion, he is the most productive Norwegian translator of the 20th century. In the 1950s he worked as a journalist in Oslo but took up translating western books and other paperback books from English. During the first six years he translated around 300 paperbacks – on average one book per week. Fischer translated more than 1000 titles (Rindal et al. 1998, 164).

2. Impact of translation

From the beginning of translation around 1100 up to now, translated texts have played an essential part in Norwegian literature and society. Norwegian translation history started with religious texts, went on with secular texts (medieval ballads for the court etc.), administrative texts (the old laws), up to paperback books and the translation of mass media items in our time. In the 20th century, translation covers a wide variety of oral and written messages in different media.

Occasionally, translation activity has no doubt been a symptom of a sense of cultural inferiority, for instance in the 13th and 14th

centuries. At that time, little original literature was produced in the country. Even *Konungs skuggsjá*, one of the most important books from the 13th century, was directly inspired by and adapted from learned French books of the time.

In the 19th century, the revival of Norwegian nationalism was part of a quest for a separate national identity. The new, heroic translations of the sagas into modern language by men like Jacob Aall and Gregers Fougner Lundh (1786–1836) directly inspired the first plays written by Henrik Ibsen, for instance *Hærmændene paa Helgeland* (1858) and *Kongs-emnerne* (1863).

The history of Norwegian Bible translation also illustrates the cultural and linguistic situation of the country. The importance of Bible translation in Western civilization is well documented, and the fact is that Norway – from the Reformation up to 1900 – lacked a Norwegian version of the Bible. Therefore it was an event of great cultural importance and impact when the scholar Alexander Seippel between 1900 and 1920 singlehandedly translated 60 per cent of the Bible into Landsmål from Hebrew and Greek. The kind of stylistic and idiomatic language he created represents a landmark in the development of Nynorsk as well as in Norwegian translation history. Both the Bokmål and the Nynorsk versions of the Bible have naturally been pivotal texts in Norwegian language planning projects of the 20th century.

The greatest success for a single book, translated into Norwegian, is a children’s book translated from Swedish into Norwegian. Astrid Lindgren’s book about Pippi Langstrømpe has sold more than 70,000 copies.

There is no better way to explain the impact of translation on language development and (possible) change in modern society than to show its variety. There are the three main modes of transfer: oral, written and signs (for the deaf). There are an endless variety of domains: science, literature, conferences, politics, radio plays, film and television, international news, international business, immigration, social welfare. It is revealing of the impact of translation that when Norwegian publishers were invited to pick out the most important book in the 20th century, their choice was a translated novel, Franz Kafka’s *Prosesen*.

3. Conventions and practice

Before 1900, translation was not considered an activity of high complexity and great scientific interest (in striking opposition to current attitudes) in Norway or elsewhere. Many considered it a kind of easy work and a second-tier literary activity. No wonder that many translations were badly written, with arbitrary adaptations, serious mistakes, changes of meaning and – worst of all – substantial omissions.

This does not mean, however, that specialists today agree about translation quality. When Olav Angell finished his translation of *Ulysses*, some of the critics maintained there were faults, misunderstandings and bad language in the translation. Others asked: “What if these details were part of the translator’s strategy to create an equivalent text?” Discussions about translation quality are by no means a simple matter. But probably most Norwegian critics today agree that the notion of text is crucial, and that in principle equivalence is a matter of text, not a matter of details in grammar and vocabulary.

Some translators ask: “Are there different parameters in literary and non-fiction translation?” Others maintain that in spite of all textual and functional differences, the common notion of communicative equivalence is valid. But traditional claims about “strict fidelity” are no longer universal and absolute. The text’s function and goal (poetry, Bible translation, documents in court, etc.) have taken priority over categorical claims (Gutt 1991). It is fair to say that modern translation assessment is less concerned about linguistic form than linguistic function, and translation critics now talk about a shift of focus – from the text itself to the *use* of text.

When it comes to subtitling, the most widely read translated texts in Norway, the question of equivalence is different yet again. Here infidelity and reduction is a must (Lomheim 2000). This is a universally accepted principle of the subtitling activity. In addition, due to the special linguistic situation in Norway, with two official written standards (Bokmål and Nynorsk), the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) is obliged to subtitle its films either in Nynorsk or in Bokmål. (One out of four should ideally have Nynorsk subtitles). This means that after introduction of television in the 1960s, all Norwegian viewers read quite a lot of the minority standard, Nynorsk. This situation probably has had an impact on

people’s acceptance of Nynorsk as a natural written form by the majority Bokmål users.

4. The volume of translation in Norway

People visiting public libraries in Norway will find that more than half of the books (60 per cent) are translations. If we take a random year in Unesco’s *Index Translationum* (1973), the survey shows that 1006 titles had Norwegian versions. Around 70 per cent (762 titles) were literary books (Heinrich Böll, Pearl S. Buck and Marguerite Duras were on the list that year). The United Kingdom translated 682 books that year, the USA 1966, France 1935, Spain 4486 and West Germany as many as 6462. These figures are interesting in the sense that they reveal great differences on the international level when it comes to translation.

In the 1970s Norway translated around 1000 books per year (Ingo 1991, 15). In the 1980s the volume varies from 2000 to 4000 per year; in the 1990s, between 4000 and 6500. These figures illustrate the growth in volume of translations during the last twenty or thirty years. If we go back a hundred years or so, the change is even more dramatic: in the 1890s, just about 50 books were translated every year in Norway. Forty years later, in the 1930s, the annual volume had doubled, to 100 per year. The figures document that a communicative revolution has taken place – from around 50 books translated per year in 1900 to more than 5000 books in 2000.

Statistics like these are interesting indications of cultural import. We see that even nations of the same size differ a great deal. If it is true that “you are what you read”, statistics like these deserve attention. And in Norway one must not forget to ask an additional question: How many books are translated into Nynorsk, and how many into Bokmål? Nynorsk is struggling for its position as a target-language for translations; approximately nine out of ten books are translated into Bokmål.

The next important question is: what are the source-languages? From 1900 to 1950, the situation in Norway was fairly stable in this respect. Half of the titles were translated from English, whereas German and French together accounts for approximately 25–30 per cent. Swedish alone constitutes 10 per cent (Danish much less, for obvious reasons; many Danish books were sold directly in Norway).

What we may call “other languages” are clearly under-represented – about 5 per cent.

In the period from 1950 to 2000 this situation has gradually changed – not as far as English is concerned, but when it comes to “other languages”. Before 1950 the perspective was European, after 1950 it slowly becomes global. Up to 1970, we find only 9 translations from African countries (3 of them were radio plays); in the 1990s this changed completely. Black African writers like Wole Soyinka (Nigeria), Sembène Ousmane (Sénégal), Chenjerai Hove (Zimbabwe) and Emmanuel Dongala (Congo) are now in the libraries. The group “other languages” included 50 translated titles in 1979; twenty years later the number has more than doubled, to around 120.

The total number of translations in 1997 was more than 5000 titles; 2150 of these were fiction. This means that the importance of non-fiction translation has grown, and today it is the most important translation activity by quantity.

English still dominates as source language, but its part has been reduced to about 40 per cent. French and German together account for less than 5 per cent; Danish and Swedish 5–10 per cent. The rest come from all corners of the world – on the threshold of the year 2000 the translation market has finally become global. And books are no longer dominant as the translating medium – the mass media, the computer world and the news agencies represent perhaps the most important sector of translation today.

5. Translators in Norway today

Norway has three different organizations affiliated to the FIT (Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs): the sworn translators, STF (*Statsautoriserte Translatorers Forening*); the literary translators, NO (*Norsk Oversetterforening*); and the non-fiction writers and translators association, NFFO (*Norsk faglitterær forfatter- og oversetterforening*). In comparison, Denmark, Finland and USA each have only one organization in FIT, and the United Kingdom and Russia have two.

STF is the oldest, founded in 1913. Since 1923 only translators with government authorization – that is to say “sworn” translators, can be members. In 1986 the ministry delegated to the Norwegian School of Business in Bergen the administration of this prestigious examination for non-literary translators. NO, for literary translators, was established in

1948. Membership is obtained after a certain amount of literary translation has been published, for instance two books. NFFO, the association for non-fiction writers and translators, is the youngest one, founded in 1983, but it is by far the biggest organization. Scholars, technical writers, journalists and translators – with or without formal training – can be members. (The non-fiction translators actually had their own organization in the 1980s, but decided to join the NFFO in 1990). We should also add the subtitlers’ organization, NAViO (*Norsk audiovisuell oversetterforening*), established only in 1997. Its members work in the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation, NRK, and in private subtitling firms, the latter carrying out subtitling for private television companies. Finally, there is the interpreters’ organization (*Norsk tolkeforbund*), to which both oral interpreters and sign language interpreters can belong. There are few professional conference interpreters in Norway. Since this is a highly specialized profession with few practitioners, they get their education abroad, and the few who practice are members of the international organization, the *AIIC (Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférences)*. In sum, this gives us a picture of different groups of translators in Norway more concerned about their professional profile rather than joining together to obtain organizational strength.

Even though literary translators receive more attention from the public, the great majority of translators work on non-fiction texts. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for instance, has its own Office of Translation, where translators may produce 40,000 to 50,000 pages of text per year.

The main markets for non-fiction translation are, not surprisingly, in the cities – Oslo and Bergen (administrative, legal and economy texts), Stavanger (oil-industry-related texts) and Trondheim (the technological and engineering center of Norway). The non-fiction texts are quite heterogeneous; some may exist in only one or a few copies (legal documents, for instance), others may have an open, ordinary circulation (technical and political texts). In the educational system, fairly little is translated. Books are either written by Norwegian teachers and scholars or read in a foreign language, mostly English, as is often the case in higher education.

All in all, there are about 2000 professional translators in the country. (NO has around 300 members, and NFFO has around 1500

translators among its 4,200 members). According to estimates barely more than 20 per cent of these are full-time translators. In addition, there are interpreters and subtitlers. In the latter category there are probably around 150 people working as freelancers.

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59. Nordic language history and the history of translation IV: Icelandic

1. Introduction
2. From the Old Norse period to the beginning of the 16th century
3. From 1540 to the early 19th century
4. From early 19th to the end of the 20th century
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

Research on the history of Icelandic translations through the centuries and their influence on the Icelandic language is only fragmentary. One can really only rely upon discussions about single works, and it is often pure chance which works have been described from a linguistic point of view. The most thorough survey of Icelandic style and foreign influence on the early Icelandic language is to be found in *Íslensk stílfræði* (Hauksson/Óskarsson 1994), which will be used in this article. In the following, the period from the oldest literary works to the Reformation in the middle of the 16th century will be discussed first. Then the

focus will be on the influence of translations of the Bible in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries into the Icelandic language. The literature of the Baroque period will be discussed as well as aspects of the influence of the Enlightenment movement. The final section deals with the influence of the Romantic movement of literary translations on the usage of present-day language and vocabulary.

2. From the Old Norse period to the beginning of the 16th century

2.1. Different types of styles

One of the first attempts to group Nordic prose into types of style was based on syntactic features. This was done by Nygaard (1896; 1905), who divided the oldest sagas into two groups. In the first group were sagas either translated from Latin or based on a Latin original (“learned style”); in the second were those which had their roots in Nordic culture and oral narratives (“popular style”). He

looked e. g. at the use of present and past participles instead of whole sentences as a characteristic of “learned style”, but also at verbs in the middle voice used with a passive meaning and inflected pronouns used instead of relative particles. Other scholars have since refined Nygaard’s analysis (e. g. Halvorsen 1966, 119–123). Nygaard emphasized the influence of oral narrative on the oldest Icelandic literature, but Paasche (1935, 21–22) claimed instead that Latin religious works had had great influence on the development of the Icelandic written language. Turville-Petre voiced a similar opinion when he maintained that the oldest stories of the saints had taught the Icelanders how to write down biographies and wonder-tales. These had helped them to develop their own “literary style” and to express their thoughts: “In a word, the learned literature did not teach the Icelanders what to think or what to say, but it taught them how to say it” (1967, 142). Kristjánsson used Turville-Petre’s hypothesis in his studies of the style of the oldest *Lives of the Saints* (1981). He revised Nygaard’s ideas of “learned style” and claimed that it was not possible to divide the oldest sagas into two groups on the basis of style: “A truer picture can be presented: the oldest sagas in W. Norse are the saints’ lives translated from Latin and written in a style which was moulded both by the Latin of the originals and by spoken Norse” (1981, 291). Later (1985; 1986) Kristjánsson tried to explain the possible influence of the oldest translations of the *Lives of the Saints* on the style and language usage in domestic writings. He believes that the *Lives of the Saints* were composed in the so-called “saga-style” or “popular style” as opposed to the “learned style” which we “find mainly in the homilies and in later sagas or saga-versions” (1986, 195).

The “learned style” of the 13th and 14th centuries has been divided into “court style” and “florid style” after the characteristic influence in the translated works. Kristjánsson is of the opinion that “court style” is composed of “Nordic saga style”, stylistic influence from the foreign originals and clerical “learned style” (1972, 256f.). Widding (1965) was the first to define “florid style” in Icelandic and Norwegian religious works from the second half of the 13th century and the 14th century. Its characteristics are to be seen e. g. in an affected use of words, in foreign influence on words and phrases, in the use of the present participle instead of the indicative or subjunctive and in complicated syntax.

Widding and Bekker-Nielsen (1960) were also the first to point out the unusual style of translated religious works from the late Middle Ages (Hauksson/Óskarsson 1994, 178). This style creates a connection between the “court style” and “florid style” on the one hand and the style of the Reformers in the early 16th century on the other. These works were not translated from Latin but from Danish, Low German and English, which explains the great number of loanwords, loan-translations (calques) and syntactic influence in the Icelandic language noted in the texts.

2.2. The Lives of the Saints

Among the first written down in Icelandic were the translations of the *Lives of the Saints*, *Heilagra manna sögur*, composed originally in Latin. In spite of these texts being so old, scholars did not take notice of them for a long time. Nygaard e. g. did not discuss them in his abovementioned work. Turville-Petre (1967, 129) and Kristjánsson (1985, 566) have emphasized that the translations were usually faithful and accurate and that the translators had striven for linguistic purity. In spite of these intentions influence from Latin could not be avoided completely. The occurrence of Latin words e. g. is not unusual in some of the texts while others are almost free of them. Latin abbreviations are quite common and the use of the numeral *einn* (‘one’) as an indefinite pronoun has its roots in the Latin originals. In spite of these facts, most of the translators strove for a clear and simple text, written according to a Nordic tradition, and it has been maintained that most *Lives of the Saints* show a clear, probably oral, saga tradition (Hauksson/Óskarsson 1994, 196). There are translations of the *Lives of the Saints* from the 14th century which show a much more complicated and florid style under the influence of European rhetoric.

2.3. The Book of Homilies

One of the oldest religious texts from the Middle Ages is the so-called *Book of Homilies* (*Hómiljubók*), written around 1200. It contains 62 texts and parts of texts, among them sermons, prayers and explanations of several ideas concerning Christian religion and ethics. Most of the texts were composed in a Nordic language (Icelandic or Norwegian), but some of them were translated from Latin, either very faithfully or retold freely (de Leeuw van

Weenen 1993). The translator tried in part to follow the common Nordic linguistic usage in his interpretation, but several of the characteristic features of “learned style” under the influence of Latin are to be found. Among them are the use of the present participle as a gerund with the verb *vera* (‘to be’) to signify duty or something necessary; the past participle often used instead of a relative clause; verbs of the middle voice used with a passive meaning; and accusative with the infinitive (*accusativus cum infinitivo*) used instead of an independent subordinate clause (Hauksson/Óskarsson 1994, 203). Relatively few Latin words occur in the text, but several loan-translations (calques) are to be found, among them many words ending in *-leikur*, like *bjartleikur*, *dauðleikur*. The clear language used in the *Book of Homilies* has without doubt had some influence on the language used within the church and on the first translators of the Lutheran Bible in the 16th century.

2.4. Romances

The Icelanders also became acquainted with chivalric romances, *Riddarasögur*, which started to appear as Norwegian translations early in the 13th century. They themselves began to translate romances and later, in the wake of and under the influence of the translations, to compose indigenous narratives. As these narratives described the refined courtly lives of the knights and exotic surroundings unknown to the Icelanders, it was necessary to borrow words and phrases from the originals. In that way many words, mostly from OHG and MHG, but some from MLG, OE and OSx., found their way into the romances, and many such words are still used, sometimes with a new meaning. Among those used nowadays are e.g. several titles such as *barón* ‘baron’, *riddari* ‘knight’, *knapi* ‘varlet’, *lávarður* ‘lord’, *jungfrú* ‘maiden’, *herra* ‘mister’ and *frú* ‘married woman’. Others worth mentioning are *skjaldsveinn* ‘shield-boy’, *fantur* in the meaning ‘rascal’, the older meaning being ‘footman, vagabond’, *mussa* ‘loose jacket’, *burtreið* ‘tournament’, and *turna* ‘turn upside down’ (usually in modern Icelandic *umturna*). The adjective *hæverskur*, from MHG *hövesch* ‘one belonging to the court’, from *hof* ‘court’, is a common word in Icelandic used to mean ‘modest’; the noun *hæverska* ‘modesty’ is also used. Under the influence of the romances the noun *kurteis* and the adjective *kurteis*, which are regarded as loanwords from OFr. *cortois*,

sie, cortois, became a part of the Icelandic vocabulary, meaning ‘politeness’ and ‘polite’.

The romances influenced the writing of some of the sagas, especially in the second half of the 13th and in the 14th century. Traces of the “court style” are to be seen e.g. in *Laxdæla saga*, *Njáls saga*, *Grettis saga* and *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*. Many loanwords, derived from the romances, are used in these sagas to describe homes, weapons, and clothes as well as the hero’s appearance, manner and skill.

2.5. Exempla and younger legends

Relatively few translated works have been preserved from the late Middle Ages. Among those to be found are translations of some clerical texts from the end of the 15th and the first part of the 16th century. These were not originally written in Latin, unlike religious works already mentioned, but rather in English, Low German and Danish, and the translators sometimes used printed books as sources. Translated from English were e.g. *ævin-týri*, the word being a translation of the Latin word *exempla*, i.e. fables intended to improve the readers morally (Pétursson 1976, VII). These exempla were translated in the second half of the 15th century, and the oldest manuscript (AM 624, 4to) dates from ca. 1500. The lexicon is for the most part Icelandic, and English influence on the language is relatively small. Several loanwords and loan-translations (calques) can be found, among them some “false friends” where old Icelandic words were used in an English meaning because the translator had misunderstood them. These words have not found their way into the Icelandic vocabulary but others, originating from Low German and Danish, must have been a part of everyday speech around 1500, i.e. *kvinna* ‘woman’, *fortapast* ‘get lost’, *forgleyma* ‘forget’, *reisa* ‘travel’, *selskapur* ‘company’. English influence is also visible in the use of phrases and an unusual use of noun cases. The exempla were mostly written in a “learned style” and among the characteristic features were e.g. the use of an interrogative pronoun instead of a relative particle and the use of a present participle instead of the indicative mood. The possessive pronouns usually stand in front of the nouns instead of behind them, and the numeral *einn* ‘one’ was used instead of an indefinite article (Hauksson/Óskarsson 1994, 327–328).

The same characteristic features can be observed in *Reykjahólabók* (Stock. perg. fol.

no. 3), an Icelandic legendary containing twenty-five saints' lives and dating from around 1525. It is translated from Low German, and it has been pointed out that the scribe, Björn Þorleifsson at Reykjahólar (after 1467 – before 1552), had deliberately tried to imitate contemporary Norwegian (Loth 1969–1970, XL). The text contains many loanwords and loan-translations as well as foreign influence on syntax. The source of much of this influence is Norwegian and Danish, sometimes in Low German. It has been maintained that the translator had often tried to imitate Low German syntax (Widding/Bekker-Nielsen 1962, 258). It is obvious from the exempla and later from the legends that foreign influence on the Icelandic language was increasing, and some of the characteristics of *Reykjahólabók* can be observed in the earliest translations of the Reformers.

3. The period from 1540 to the early 19th century

3.1. Bible translations

Ten years before the Reformation in Iceland an Icelandic translation of the New Testament was published in Denmark (1540). The translator was Oddur Gottskálksson († 1556), a fervent supporter of Luther's doctrine. He was a well-educated man who had studied in Norway, Denmark and Germany. During his years abroad he became acquainted with the reformative movement and the people who proclaimed a new understanding of the doctrines of the church. The leaders of the movement wanted to have influence over the general public, and therefore they soon began to work on new translations of the Bible. In this spirit, Oddur translated the New Testament into Icelandic.

It is not known which works, domestic or foreign, Oddur used as sources during his work on the translation. Helgason (1929) pointed out in his thorough work on Oddur's translation that the main model was Luther's translation of the New Testament, probably the 1530 edition, but that he also used the *Vulgate*, a Latin translation of the Bible done by Erasmus from Rotterdam and most likely a Low German edition of the New Testament. One has to assume that Oddur also used the library of the bishopric at Skálholt, where he must have had access to the biblical texts already existing in translation, and it has even been maintained that he used a lost translation

of the Gospels as a source as well (Kirby 1986, 101).

A thorough comparison of Oddur's translation with his sources has not been done, but it is obvious that loanwords, word order, syntax and other linguistic characteristics have their roots in foreign languages, especially Low German and Norwegian. The greatest portion of the loanwords derive from the German and Latin originals. Oddur used e.g. many loanwords where, without difficulty, he could have used common Icelandic words. His translation of the New Testament has had a great influence on the Icelandic language, and some of the verses in the Bible today have not been changed since they were translated by Oddur.

Oddur and his fellow Reformers translated several religious books, and he and Gissur Einarsson (1512–1548) started on the Old Testament. Oddur is supposed to have translated e.g. the Psalms, the 5th book of Moses and the first part of the Books of Kings, but Gissur translated the Proverbs and the Book of Sirach (*Ecclesiasticus*). It became the lot of Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson (1541?–1627) to collect existing translations of parts of the Bible, read them through and correct them according to his taste. He himself is supposed to have translated the missing parts. Guðbrandur used Oddur's translation of the New Testament in his Bible without major changes. As far as can be seen, he never retranslated whole chapters, but he made corrections and additions, and occasionally replaced words and phrases. He often changed the tense and also the word order where he found the foreign influence too obvious. He often made corrections where he found the diction too Norwegian and put in Icelandic words instead of some of the German loanwords or loan-translations. Usually Guðbrandur's alterations were for the better. He e.g. changed the word *skurðgoðapénari* used by Oddur to *skurgoðadýrkari*, as *pénari* was a loanword from German *Diener*; also *bífan*, German *Befehl*, to *boð*, *aflifa* to *lifláta*, *thesaur* to *fjésjóð*. But Oddur's Bible itself is often marked by the diction and style of 16th century scholars, who were under the influence of Danish and German without having always been aware of the fact that their language was marked by foreign words and syntax. The Bible was published in 1584 and had without doubt great influence on the Icelandic language and its preservation. Guðbrandur published about 80 books at the bishopric Hólar, of which a great many were religious transla-

tions, and it has been maintained that he prevented Danish influence on Icelandic written language from becoming greater than it actually did (Karlsson 1984, 55). Bandle (1956) has studied the language of Guðbrandur's Bible, and his and Helgason's work mentioned above are the most thorough studies of the Icelandic language and its development in the 16th century.

It can be maintained that, for the next two hundred years, all Icelandic translations of the Bible had their roots in *Guðbrandsbiblíja*. Guðbrandur's grandson, Bishop Þorlákur Skúlason, published a Bible during the years 1637–1644 which was mostly a reprint of his grandfather's Bible. He made some alterations, but few of them were for the better. He compared the translation to Luther's Bible and a Danish edition from 1633, and some of his alterations were influenced by these sources.

The Bible published in 1747, called the *Vajsenhúsbiblíja*, after a Danish orphanage (vajsenhus) in Copenhagen, was a reprint of *Þorlákssbiblíja*. The same can be said about the version published in 1813.

The Bible translation by Bishop Steinn Jónsson (1660–1739) in 1728 represents a diversion from an otherwise direct path from *Guðbrandsbiblíja* to the 1813 Bible. King Frederik IV ordered him to revise Þorlákur Skúlason's Bible and make it more like the Danish one translated by Hans Svane in 1647. The Bishop seems to have taken the order literally, and the language shows a great amount of Danish influence. This translation was commented on negatively when it was published and was used very little by the general public. But if it is compared with Bible translations from the 19th century, it can be noticed that the translators used it to some extent (cf. Kvaran 1994).

3.2. The Baroque period

Few books were written in the "Baroque style" in Iceland. In fact there were only two, the *Húspostilla*, written by Bishop Jón Vídalín (1666–1720) and first published in 1718–1720 (1995), and *Mendacii encomium* or *Lof lyginnar*, written by Þorleifur Halldórsson (1683–1713) in Latin in 1703 and translated by him in 1711. *Lof lyginnar* belongs to a literary genre called "fool's literature" (1988, 7). Vídalín's book of sermons had an influence on the religious life of the Icelandic people, but neither of these books influenced the spoken or written language.

3.3. The Enlightenment

Influences originating during the Enlightenment came to Iceland in the second half of the 18th century. At that time the language showed a great many signs of Danish influence, especially around the trading centres. Educated Icelanders had noticed this, and in the spirit of the Enlightenment a purposeful attempt was made to introduce and write in Icelandic about new topics, on which nothing had been written before. The policy of the Enlightenment was to write in a clear style, construct neologisms instead of using foreign, especially Danish, loanwords, and avoid all foreign influence. Among neologisms from that time are e. g. the words *farfugl* 'migratory bird', *felli-bylur* 'hurricane', *gróðurhús* 'greenhouse', *hvirfilpunktur* 'zenith', *lóðréttur* 'vertical', and *steinolia* 'kerosen'. Magnús Stephensen (1762–1833) became the central figure of the movement and took the initiative to start periodicals and publish books for the purpose of informing the Icelanders about practical matters.

The Enlightenment opened the way for further language purism in the 19th and 20th century. One of the men who, under the influence of the movement, was enthusiastic about the Icelandic language early in the 19th century was Reverend Gunnlaugur Oddsson. He wrote a Danish-Icelandic dictionary in 1819 (1991). His aim was to make it possible for less-educated people to be able to read Danish books and learn from them. It is obvious that he wanted people to make the most of what they read and be able to talk about it to others in their mother tongue. He had to use a considerable number of neologisms, and according to the Institute of Lexicography at the University of Iceland (Orðabók Háskólans), many words appear for the first time in his dictionary. Gunnlaugur did not invent them all. He found some of them in Old Icelandic, as e. g. *salerni* 'toilet'; some are verbs made from already existing nouns, like *amstra* from *amstur* 'trouble' and *klúðra* from *klúður* 'muddle, mess'. But he coined several words himself, which are still used in the everyday language, e. g. *afvopna* 'disarm', *aðskotadýr* 'intruder', *einkvæni* 'monogamy', *fjölkvæni* 'polygamy', *hagspeki* 'economics', *kvöldmat* 'dinner', *málvisindi* 'linguistics', *rakamælir* 'hydrometer', *samsvara* 'correspond to', and *skaprauna* 'annoy'.

4. From the early 19th to the end of the 20th century

The spirit of the Enlightenment was still at work in the early 19th century when Sveinbjörn Egilsson translated two epic poems of Homer, *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. He has been called the instigator of modern Icelandic style, his language being clear and easily understood. He avoided foreign influences in his translations, his model being the language of Old Icelandic poetry, and he invented many poetic neologisms. Even if few writers used his style in their works, he laid a foundation for the linguistic purism of the second half of the 19th century.

The growing interest in linguistic purism was also the reason for the Bible being translated again in 1841 (*Viðeyjarbiblíja*). As mentioned above, all translations of the Bible until 1813 were in fact a reprint of *Guðbrandsbiblíja* with few alterations, but in this new version the translators aimed to clear the text of all Danish and German influence. Even if they did not succeed completely, considerable changes were made. Egilsson translated the greatest portion of both Testaments from Greek and Latin, while the others used Danish or German Bibles. This translation had a considerable influence on the lexicon because the translators tried to choose new words instead of the loanwords which had been used in the Bible since the 16th century. When a new translation was made early in the 20th century (1912–1914) both *Guðbrandsbiblíja* and the 1841 Bible were used as models, as is also the case for the new translation which is currently being worked on.

During the 19th century many poets and writers translated all kinds of literature, poems, novels, short stories and plays, mostly from Danish, but these translations had little influence on the Icelandic language and style. But in 1842 the book *Stjörnufræði* ('Astronomy') by the astronomer G. F. Ursin was published in translation by the poet Jónas Hallgrímsson. Vilhjálmsón (1985) studied Jónas' language policy and his neologisms used in this work, and it is interesting to notice how many words that are now common in everyday Icelandic were used there for the first time. Examples include *aðráttarafl* 'gravitation', *sporbogur* 'ellipse', *fjaðurmagnaður* 'resilient', *hitabelti* 'tropics', *miðflótttafl* 'centrifugal force', *sjónauki* 'telescope', and *ljósvaki* 'ether'. Other words, less used, are e.g. *fleygbogi* for 'parabola', *breiðbogi* for

'hyperbola', *hringskekkja* for 'eccentricity' and *ljósfræði* 'optic'.

Some books were also translated from English. The editor Jón Ólafsson translated e.g. *On liberty* by Stuart Mill in 1886 under the title *Um frelsið*, which became very popular at that time. At the end of the translation was a list containing neologisms and rare words. Most of them now belong to the everyday Icelandic lexicon, as e.g. *dómgreind* 'judgement', *fjölbreytni* 'diversity', *frumleiki* 'originality', *hugðarefni* 'matter of interest', *misbeita* 'misapply, misuse', *neikvæður* 'negative', *raunhæfur* 'practical', *raunvísindi* 'exact sciences', *réttmætur* 'legitimate', *siðmenning* 'civilization', *siðspilla* 'demoralize' and *þverstæða* 'paradox'. At the Institute of Lexicography in Reykjavík, no older examples of these words could be found, so it is likely that Jón Ólafsson coined them for his translation.

During the 20th century much has been accomplished within the field of translation. The most influential work, however, is being carried out in the field of language policy. Within almost all scientific subjects, as well as trades, groups of e.g. mathematicians, physicists, engineers, physicians and many others work constantly and with good results to invent new words in their field and translate texts for students as well as for the general public. For example, within a relatively young branch of science, computer science, people can now communicate in Icelandic without any difficulties. These efforts will in the immediate future be the most significant for the development of the Icelandic language.

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60. Nordic language history and the history of translation V: Faroese

1. Translating in the Faroes
2. Religious literature in translation
3. Recent translations
4. Literature (a selection)

1. Translating in the Faroes

Translation into Faroese is of a fairly recent date. In late medieval times, the vernacular was replaced by Danish which was used in church, in court and in writing on the whole, but never became the spoken language of the people. It is characteristic of the situation that the Faroese law amendment (*réttarbót*) of 1298, the so-called *Seyðabræv*, was ratified in 1637 by Christian the Fourth in a translation into Danish (Debes 1673, 263). The rulers no longer mastered the language of the ruled!

Quite a few short ballads have been recorded, which obviously have been taken into Faroese from Danish, their language swarming with Danicisms, and they may be looked upon as a kind of oral translation. Similarly, the Icelandic religious poem *Ljómur* from the time of the Reformation became a part of Faroese tradition, but has been handed down in a reduced version. The short history of translation into Faroese commenced with *Evangelium Sancta Matthæussa* [The Gospel according to St. Matthew] in 1823. The translator was the Reverend J.H. Schrøter (1771–1851), at that time the only Faroese clergyman born and bred. It was published by the Danish Bible Society and given to every household in the Faroes. It was popularly given the name *Føroyska bók*, being the first and for a long

time the only book in that language, but the general reception was all but positive, as Danish was generally looked upon as the “holy” language. Consequently, when Jens Davidsen (1803–78) in 1832 offered the Bible Society his translation of the Gospel according to St. Mark, the answer was in the negative.

In the *Færeyinga saga* (ed. C. C. Rafn 1832), J. H. Schrøter made the translation into Faroese which was printed alongside the Old Icelandic text and a translation into Danish. Schrøter’s orthography was based on the orthographic spelling used by J. C. Svabo (1746–1824), the orthography of the *Færeyinga saga* translation being amended by the famous Danish philologist Rasmus Rask. There are four later translations of *Færeyinga saga*.

2. Religious literature in translation

The etymologically based orthography established in 1846 by V. U. Hammershaimb and the emergence of a national movement towards the end of that century heralded a new era of Faroese language use with a growing body of literature, including translations which often gave rise to puristic neologisms, frequently inspired by Old Icelandic or Old Norse. The demand for Faroese language in church eventually led to Bible translations, the first of which was the Gospel according to St. John (1907), translated by the Reverend A. C. Evensen. In 1937 the New Testament appeared in two separate translations, one by the dean Jákup Dahl, the creator of Faroese liturgical language, the other by the free church minister Victor Danielsen; his translation of the whole Bible appeared in 1947. J. Dahl died in 1944, but the Reverend K. O. Viderø completed the translation of the Church Bible from the original languages in 1961. In 1990 the Apocrypha appeared in the translation by the Reverend Axel Tórgarð, an eminent translator of classical literature. A large number of hymns have been translated, mainly from Danish. The second edition of the church hymnbook (1990) contains 592 hymns, 225 of which are translations.

3. Recent translations

During the last century there has been a huge amount of translation activity, for prose as well as poetry, for instance Homeric poetry (J. H. O. Djurhuus), plays by Sophocles and

Euripides (Axel Tórgarð), plays by Shakespeare (Heðin Brú, Axel Tórgarð, Hanus Kamban), works by Danish-writing Faroese authors like William Heinesen (e. g. Christian Matras, Heðin Brú, Bjarni Niclasen among others). *Heimskringla* and other Icelandic sagas and poems have been translated from Old Norse (by e. g. Bjarni Niclasen, Eyðun Winther, Rasmus Rasmussen, Meinhard Djurhuus). Translations of classical and modern Scandinavian and world literature are manifold. One of the most productive translators is Jákup í Skemmuni, who has translated well over one hundred books, mainly from Swedish. Children’s books have also been translated to a large extent. The publishing house of the teachers’ union has issued more than four hundred illustrated children’s books, most of them translated, in co-print with foreign publishers. Movies in cinema are not subtitled in Faroese because of the small numbers of cinemagoers, but films are shown with Danish subtitles. The Faroese television also generally shows films with Danish subtitles, but programmes for children and youth are usually dubbed or subtitled in Faroese.

The art of translation is a difficult one which demands plenty of time, but the language of daily news often bears the mark of being produced at the last moment, and even originally produced texts may look or sound as “translated” because of the many foreign (Danish) words and phrases. There ought to be more teaching of translation in schools and institutions of higher education.

4. Literature (a selection)

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61. Nordic language history and philology: Editing earlier texts

1. Introduction
2. Areas of editing
3. Historical development
4. Preparing an edition
5. Translations
6. Text series
7. Electronic editions
8. Literature (a selection)
9. A few Internet resources

1. Introduction

The history of editing is usually traced back to the invention of printing, and in so far as editions are defined as printed texts this is obviously right. Yet editions are not confined to the transferring of handwriting to print. There are a number of medieval manuscripts which in many ways may be seen as editions, e.g. *Hauksbók*, compiled by the Icelander Haukr Erlendsson (d. 1334). This book is in effect a private library, written by Haukr for himself, and containing his edition (or “version”) of a wide variety of texts. A similar approach is found in many compilatory manuscripts, especially of the kings’ sagas, and also in a number of law manuscripts. In the latter, variant readings may occur in the margin, inserted either by the copyist himself or by a later hand, and law amendments, *réttarbætr*, were frequently added to the text. As early as in the oldest extant manuscript of the *Gulapingslög* (ca. 1250) a distinction is drawn in the text between the laws of King Óláfr Haraldsson and King Magnús Erlingsson.

As may be expected, handwritten copies made after the introduction of printed editions will reflect the approach of their printed counterparts. This particularly applies to what has been termed academic transcripts, i.e. 16th and 17th century copies of medieval manuscripts. When the Norwegian humanist Jens Nilssøn (1538–1600) copied *Jofraskinna*, an important witness to *Heimskringla*, he did so character by character, including abbreviated words he probably did not understand. In an otherwise mediocre copy of the kings’ sagas (Uppsala R: 685 fol.), the Swedish antiquarian Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655–1727) supplied his copy with a number of variant readings from another manuscript, the now lost *Kringla*. In Iceland, manuscripts were copied by hand until the end of the 19th century, and many of these late manuscripts resemble printed editions, even to the extent

of having column titles, a mix of Roman and italics, subtitles, etc. In general, the borders between the copyist and the editor were often blurred. Behind many medieval compilations there are a number of editorial decisions, though they are rarely made explicit in the text.

With these reservations in mind, the present article will focus on the history and practice of *printed* editions. In this slightly narrower sense, an edited text is characterised by being chosen from several manuscripts, and even in the case of editions based on a single manuscript, the editor will evaluate the text, and correct it or comment upon it if necessary. Like the medieval scribes, the editor presents a copy of the text, but unlike the scribes he explicitly describes the text and motivates its selection. An editor is, in a sense, a scholarly scribe.

2. Areas of editing

There are two alphabets to be considered in the context of editing early Nordic texts, the runic alphabet and the Latin one, and there are two literatures, the Latin literature, flourishing in Sweden and Denmark, and the Nordic vernaculars, most extensively developed and cultivated in Norway and Iceland.

The earliest texts – or more appropriately inscriptions – in the Nordic language were written in the runic alphabet, beginning some time in the first centuries after Christ and continuing well into the Middle Ages. A couple of medieval manuscripts are written in runes (notably *Codex Runicus* of *Skånske lov*, AM 28 8vo), but otherwise runic inscriptions are found on materials such as stone, bone, metal and wood. Runic inscriptions have so far been published in specialized editions which include photographic facsimiles of each inscription, transcriptions, translations, and often extensive comment. In general, the editing of runic inscriptions has much in common with epigraphical texts, with its focus on detailed analysis, transliteration, archaeological comments, etc. Cf. article 73 (J. Knirk). The great majority of texts – in number as well as sheer volume – were written in the Latin alphabet, which was taken into use in the Nordic countries in the 11th century. A few characters lacking in Latin were supplied, such as *þ* (from the runic alphabet) and *ð* (a modification of

the ordinary Latin letter *d*), and some diacritical marks and ligatures were added for vowel qualities not found in Latin. The system of abbreviation was adopted from English and Continental practice and extended, especially in Icelandic manuscripts. In general, the writings in the vernaculars were modelled on Latin manuscripts, and the palaeographic development reflects that of England and the European continent. Editions of texts in the Latin alphabet are naturally rendered in the same alphabet, but vernacular texts are often normalised with respect to graphemic inventory and linguistic forms. Like editions of Latin texts, Nordic vernacular texts have largely been printed in Roman (“antikva”) typefaces, not Gothic (“fraktur”). The choice of typeface probably reflects the fact that the vernacular medieval texts were seen as *classical* texts, a Nordic pendant to the Latin literature, and that the contemporary Gothic typefaces were felt to be unsuitable. They were used for the modern languages, as can be seen from several synoptic editions from the 17th and 18th centuries, in which the Old Nordic texts are printed in Roman letters and the accompanying translation into Modern Danish or Swedish in Gothic type.

3. Historical development

The first books printed in the Nordic countries were of Latin texts, such as *Breviarium Ottoniense*, printed by Johan Snell from Lübeck (Odense 1482) and, shortly afterwards, *Dialogus creaturarum optime moralizatus* (Stockholm 1483). Soon vernacular literature followed suit. The very first edition of a Danish text is *Den danske rimkronike* (København 1495), printed by Gotfred of Ghemen, a Dutchman who later took Danish citizenship. In the same year, Johannes Fabri in Stockholm printed the first book in Swedish, *Aff dyäfelens frästilse* by Johannes Gerson. Iceland and especially Norway joined at a later stage. Bishop Jón Arason established a print shop in the 1530s at Hólar in Iceland, while the first Norwegian print shop was set up as late as in 1643 (until then Copenhagen had been the place of publication for Norwegian authors).

It is often difficult to draw a distinction between printers, editors and publishers in the early history of bookmaking, and the quality of the printed editions varies considerably. The title page of one of Ghemen’s editions claims that the text has been thoroughly exam-

ined and corrected, “wel offuer seeth och rættelighe corrigeret”, but this seems to be a commonplace and does not necessarily indicate editorial intervention (cf. Skautrup 1947, 137). For better or worse, the first printed edition of a text, *editio princeps*, usually defined and authorised the text for a long time.

Printed editions soon made medieval texts accessible to a wide audience, but in some cases this was a mixed blessing. On the initiative of Archbishop Erik Valkendorf (ca. 1450–1522), two important liturgical books in Norway, *Missale Nidrosiense* and *Breviarium Nidrosiense*, were published in 1519. These editions in fact led to the destruction of a large number of liturgical Latin manuscripts which were thought to be made redundant by the printed editions. A large number of fragments are a testimony to this process (cf. section 6).

In Denmark, a number of provincial laws were published in the 16th century, beginning with an edition of *Jyske lov* by Matthæus Brandis (Ribe 1504). Noteworthy editions from the following decades include *Gesta Danorum* (early 13th century) by the Danish historian Saxo, edited by Christiern Pedersen (ca. 1480–1554) under the title *Danorum Regum Heroumque Historiæ* and published in Paris in 1514. In the next century, provincial laws were edited by Johan Hadorph (*Skånske lov*, 1676) and Peder Kofod Ancher (*Jyske lov*, 1783), and historical documents in *Scriptores rerum danicarum* by Jacob Langebek (3 vols., 1772–74).

In Sweden, four medieval law texts were published anonymously in the years 1607–1609 (*Upplandslagen*, *Östgötalagen*, *Kristoffers landslag* and *Hälsingelagen*) and in 1617 a fifth text followed suit, *Magnus Erikssons stadslag*. The latter text was edited by Jonas Bure (1575–1655), while the editorship of the four previous texts is disputed; the editor may have been the same Jonas Bure or his more famous relative, the polymath Johan Bure (1568–1652). The latter definitively entered the stage in 1634 with his edition of the 14th century didactic work *Konungastyrelsen*, entitled *En nyttigh Bok om Konnunga Styrlise och Höfdinga* (photographic reprint 1964). This is the first edition of a vernacular Nordic text that can claim to be scholarly in a modern sense (cf. Wollin 1995).

A few decades later, the first Old Icelandic texts were being edited, first in Sweden, then in Denmark. Apart from the inclusion of the poems *Hofuðlausn* and *Krákumál* in Ole Worm’s *Monumenta Danica* (Copenhagen

1643), the first book-length edition is the one of *Gautreks saga*, published by Olaus Verelius (1618–1682) under the title *Gothrici et Rolfi Westergothiæ regum historia [...] (Uppsala 1664)*. In the following year, Peder H. Resen (1625–1688) published an edition of Snorri's *Edda* and the Eddic poems *Völuspá* and *Hávamál*, containing a long introduction (Cph. 1665, facsimile reprint 1977). In Iceland, three important sources of early Icelandic history were subsequently edited and published at Skálholt in 1688, *Landnámabók*, *Kristni saga* and *Íslendingabók*. Although Norwegians participated in the editing of vernacular texts, e. g. Gerhard Schøning (1722–1780) who began, but did not complete an edition of *Konungs skuggsjá*, it was not until the beginning of the 19th century that vernacular texts were edited and published in Norway.

From the edition of *Konungastyrelsen* in 1634 until well into the second half of the 18th century, Swedish scholars, often assisted by Icelanders, were the leading force in the editing of vernacular texts. A learned society, the “Antikvitetskollegium” was founded in 1667 with the aim of collecting manuscripts and preparing editions of works on Swedish history. The most important contribution in this period was the edition of *Heimskringla* (2 vols., Stockholm 1697) by Johan Peringskiöld (1654–1720). This is the first edition of *Heimskringla* in its original tongue, and it also carries a translation into Latin (by Peringskiöld himself) and into Swedish (by the Icelander Guðmundur Ólafsson).

The early history of editing is closely connected to the collection of manuscripts. In Sweden, the above-mentioned scholars Johan Bure and Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld collected many valuable manuscripts, and the latter donated his collection to Uppsala University Library and other libraries. In Iceland, Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (1605–1675) collected Icelandic manuscripts on behalf of King Fredrik III (1648–1670), who founded The Royal Library in Copenhagen. This library still has a considerable collection of medieval Nordic manuscripts. The greatest collector of them all was the Icelander Árni Magnússon (1663–1730), professor at the University of Copenhagen and felicitously married to a wealthy Danish widow. He bequeathed his extensive collection of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian manuscripts to the University, and since 1772 a committee of five members, The Arnamagnæan Commission, has supervised this indispensable collection.

The forefront of editing had now moved to Denmark. *Konungs skuggsjá*, the premier Old Norwegian work, was edited in Sorø (1768), and soon afterwards the newly founded Arnamagnæan Commission published a new edition of *Heimskringla* (3 vols., Cph. 1777–1783). The Commission also initiated a series of fine saga editions in which Danish historians cooperated with Icelanders, e. g. *Kristni saga* (Cph. 1773), *Landnámabók* (Cph. 1774), *Gunnlaugs saga* (Cph. 1775), *Orkneyinga saga* (Cph. 1780), *Viga-Glums saga* (Cph. 1786) and *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* (Cph. 1809).

From the 19th century onwards, the majority of editions have been channeled through text series in each of the Nordic countries. In this period, many Norwegian scholars became actively engaged in historical studies, and from the 1840s to the 1880s, Christiania became the leading centre for editing Old Norwegian and to some extent Old Icelandic texts. The most prolific Norwegian editor was Carl Richard Unger (1817–1897), but Rudolf Keyser (1803–1864) and Peter Andreas Munch (1810–1863) also participated energetically during the first, formative decade. In Sweden, Carl Johan Schlyter (1795–1888) made a monumental contribution with his edition of Swedish laws, *Samling af Sveriges gamla lagar* (13 vols., 1827–77), and Gustaf Edvard Klemming (1823–1893) edited an impressive number of vernacular Swedish texts from the inception of *Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet* in 1843 until his death 50 years later. In the 20th century, Icelanders like Finnur Jónsson (1858–1934) and Jón Helgason (1899–1986) have contributed greatly to the editing of Old Icelandic and Norwegian texts, Jón Helgason also by founding the series *Editiones Arnemagnæanæ* (1958–) and its accompanying series of monographs, *Bibliotheca Arnemagnæana* (1938–). All told, several hundred scholars have edited Old Nordic texts, the majority in the Nordic countries, as may be expected, but also a fair number in Germany, England and the USA.

From a quantitative point of view, the heyday of editing was the second half of the 19th century, especially with respect to vernacular texts in Norway and Sweden, but after a decline in the first half of the 20th century, there has been a rise in the second half. The recent division of the Arnemagnæan Collection between the two Arnemagnæan institutes in Copenhagen and Reykjavík has probably contributed to a renewed interest in the editing of Old Icelandic texts. The editing of medieval

Swedish texts has also continued in the 20th century, and after a hesitant start in the 19th century, many vernacular Danish texts have been published in fairly new editions, especially law texts and charters (cf. section 6).

4. Preparing an edition

In the context of early Nordic texts, an edition is basically a representation of one or more manuscripts, organized and scrutinized by the editor in order to present the text of the manuscripts in a clear, historically correct and comprehensible format. Editors differ widely in their approach to this task.

4.1. Defining the text

The very first step is to decide which manuscripts constitute the text (or “work”) that is going to be edited. For the majority of medieval texts this has already been established through catalogues and previous editions, but in some cases the material needs to be reconsidered. There are also dynamic traditions in which several versions of the text can be isolated, and it is a matter of debate whether these versions should be edited individually or brought together in a single, critical edition.

Danish editorial history offers some illuminating examples of how this problem has been handled (cf. Kousgård Sørensen 1989). When Svend Grundtvig (1824–1883) prepared his edition of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* in the 1840s, he decided to edit a broad selection of versions, rather than trying to establish a single text for each ballad. The edition thus has a modest critical apparatus for each text, but there are, on the other hand, extensive supplements (“Tillæg”) throughout the edition. Grundtvig was much criticized by his contemporaries, but his edition has in fact become a model for later ballad editions. Johs. Brøndum-Nielsen (1881–1977) chose another approach when he began the editing of Danish provincial laws a century later. The corpus was indeed daunting; there are about 240 manuscripts of *Jyske lov* (including about 80 in Low German and Latin) and 192 of *Skånske lov*. After an intense debate in the early 1930s, Brøndum-Nielsen and his collaborators opted for a “best-manuscript edition” (cf. Foulet and Speer 1979, 38), in which the text would be based on a single manuscript, but supplemented with a great number of variants. For example, Peter Skautrup’s edition of *Jyske lov, Text 1 (Danmarks gamle Land-*

skabslove vol. 2, 1933) follows NKS 295 8vo (ca. 1325) closely, but gives variant readings from as many as 75 manuscripts. As a result, the critical apparatus occupies the greater part of each page, in some cases as much as 90 per cent. Once more, the editors were criticised, this time for making the secondary manuscripts inaccessible (cf. Olrik Frederiksen 1991). Anyone who has tried to piece together the text of a manuscript from a critical apparatus knows that this is difficult and tedious work, and that the result may be full of errors. However, when there are a large number of manuscripts it is not a practical option to edit each one in full. The editor is often left with the choice between suppressing textual variation or submerging the reader in numerous versions of essentially the same work.

4.2. Analysing the manuscripts

As soon as the number of versions (if more than one) and the number of manuscripts have been established, the editor must analyse the interrelationship between them. Medieval texts were transmitted through copying, and since the original is usually lost, the editor has to rely on copies, and copies of copies. The process of analysing the filiation of manuscripts is usually called “recension”. A few medieval works survive in only one manuscript, but even then there is need for an analysis of the manuscript in question, e.g. identifying corruptions. Also, a discussion of date and provenance belong to this stage; here palaeographic, linguistic and historical data are taken into consideration. Since the beginning of the 19th century, the genealogical method, developed by Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) and other classical and Biblical scholars on the Continent, has been used in the recension of manuscript traditions. The genealogical method is based on the observation that few copies are made without some errors in the transcription, and once an error has been introduced in a manuscript it usually stays on in the copies made from that manuscript. Obvious errors may be removed, however, so the errors must be of a type that is not easily identified and corrected by later copyists. This is what Paul Maas in his *Textkritik* (1960) calls “significant errors” (Leitfehler). On the basis of shared significant errors, the critic tries to establish families of manuscripts, and furthermore to subdivide these families until all manuscripts have been analysed. The genealogical method is thus a method of error

distribution, aptly and concisely termed “Methode der Fehlergemeinschaften”.

The results of the genealogical investigation are usually presented in a stemma codicum. The stemma places the original at the top and copies on branches below, one for each new generation of copies. The very first stemma was published by Carl Johan Schlyter and Hans Samuel Collin in their edition of *Vestgötalagen* (1827), but their “schema cognationis” seems to have been an isolated occurrence, and it had no impact on contemporary editions (cf. Holm 1972). The stemma as we now have it was developed by Lachmann and his contemporaries ca. 1830 and soon made its way into classical and Biblical philology, and somewhat later into medieval philology.

Among the first Nordic scholars to use the genealogical model and present the results in a stemma were Gustav Storm in his *Monumenta historica Norvegiæ* (Kristiania 1880), a collection of Latin texts, and Kristian Kålund in his edition of *Laxdæla saga* (1889–91). Today, the genealogical method is generally accepted within Old Nordic philology. Most editions contain a recension of the manuscripts and, if possible, a stemma showing how they are related. In many textual traditions, however, the genealogical method simply does not work, or it produces contradictory results. If manuscripts have been copied from more than one exemplar (“Vorlage”), errors may travel from one family to another, and their ability to define families is lost. Such “contaminated” traditions are quite common, e.g. among law manuscripts, which were frequently based on more than one exemplar.

In the 20th century, a number of quantitative approaches have been tried in the recension of manuscripts, especially in Biblical and classical philology, but the genealogical method has not yet been replaced. For a study of recension methods on Nordic material, see e.g. Haugen (1992).

4.3. Presenting the text

The recension of manuscripts gives the editor valuable information on the history and transmission of the text, but there are no hard and fast rules as to how the text of the edition should be selected. If the textual variation is limited, the edition is usually based on a single manuscript, the codex optimus. This normally belongs to an early stage of the tradition, i.e. it is placed high in the stemma. Sometimes a

later manuscript may be chosen, especially if the earlier part of the tradition is fragmented.

Variants from other manuscripts are supplied in a critical apparatus, usually placed at the bottom of the page in the printed edition. In older editions the main text is sometimes linked to the apparatus by way of footnotes, but in newer editions the reference is done by line numbers printed in the margin of the text. The main function of the apparatus is to list variants from other manuscripts, but it may also contain comments (e.g. of a palaeographic or linguistic nature) or reference to other texts.

Most editors will make a distinction between accidental and substantial variation, i.e. between those variants which do not affect the meaning and those that do. In practice, the distinction may be difficult to draw, and many editors have been accused of overlooking important variants. Even if the editor excludes accidental variation, the number of remaining variants can be very high. In such cases the editor may print only the most important variants, thus suppressing information of possible value, or several versions of the text, thereby reducing the size of the apparatus but increasing the volume of the edition.

If the editor declines from establishing a unified text, the individual versions may be printed consecutively, or even in separate volumes. However, if the versions are fairly close or perhaps overlap in certain parts, a synoptic edition is preferable and often chosen. In this kind of edition, two or more versions are printed on each page or pair of pages. This is usually done by dividing the page horizontally, so that each text may have a separate apparatus. The most important version is usually placed at the top of each page.

4.4. Reproducing the text

Once the format of the edition has been decided, the editor is ready to reproduce the text of the manuscripts. The introduction of photographic facsimiles in the second half of the 19th century made it possible to publish a manuscript as it once appeared, and the role of the editor was that of writing an appropriate introduction, usually commenting upon palaeographic and orthographic traits in the manuscript. However, photographic facsimiles are expensive to produce, and many Old Nordic manuscripts are difficult to read, even for trained scholars. Konráð Gíslason (1808–

1891) envisaged a printed type of facsimile in which the handwritten characters, including abbreviations, were copied as closely as possible by printed characters. In his *Um frumparta íslenzkrar tungu í fornöld* (Cph. 1846), he gave several examples of this kind of edition, which in recent years has been termed facsimile print. With Verner Dahlerup's edition of *Ágrip* (1880) the project was carried out in a full-length edition. Modern computer technology has facilitated the production of facsimile prints, but it is still an edition for the specialist. It has been criticized for being a hybrid between a true facsimile and a transcription, too close to the manuscript for easy reading, but too far from the manuscript for giving palaeographic insight.

One step removed from the facsimile is the diplomatic edition. The diplomatic edition follows the manuscript closely, sometimes even to the extent of marking line divisions. Usually, the graphemic inventory is copied, with allographs such as tall *s* (ʃ), round *d* (ð), insular *f* (ƿ), etc. Expanded abbreviations are shown by italics, e.g. “*komungr*” for “kgr.”. Since many manuscripts are heavily abbreviated, especially Old Icelandic ones, this makes for a complicated typography and adds to the cost of the edition. The philological value of diplomatic editions is generally accepted, but the aesthetic qualities have been questioned – the early editors of *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (1847–) thought this kind of edition looked disagreeable, and chose to expand abbreviations without marking them in any way.

One step further removed is the lightly normalized edition. Here, allographic variation is reduced (e.g. no distinction is made between <*s*> and <*ʃ*> and <*ƿ*>, <*f*> etc.), and abbreviations are usually expanded without signalling this. Word divisions and interpunctuation may be regularized, and proper names capitalized. The great bulk of 19th century editions belong to this category, e.g. most of the editions by Carl Richard Unger. This type is also called the “interpretative diplomatic edition” (cf. Foulet and Speer 1979, 44).

Finally, many Old Norwegian and Icelandic editions are fully normalized, i.e. regularized according to the orthography of standard grammars and dictionaries. This is in fact a 19th century reconstruction of early 13th century Old Norwegian and Icelandic orthography, at which stage there was only minor dialectal variation between the two languages. In general, normalized editions are geared to-

wards the lay public (especially series like *Íslenzk fornrit*) and introductory courses. There is no comparable tradition of publishing medieval Danish or Swedish texts in regularized orthography, although the lexicographical works of Otto Kalkar, *Ordbog til det ældre danske sprog* (1881–1918), and especially Knut Fredrik Söderwall, *Ordbok öfver Svenska Medeltids-språket* (1884–1918), have laid a foundation for normalized editions also in these languages.

For linguistic studies, diplomatic editions are generally used, especially for studies of orthography, phonology and morphology. For literary and historical studies, which focus on the content rather than the form, normalized editions are often sufficient, and also for linguistic studies above word level, such as syntax and stylistics. Some editions cater for several needs. Finnur Jónsson's monumental edition of scaldic poems, *Den norsk-íslandske Skjaldedigtning* (Cph. 1912–15), is divided into two parallel editions, a diplomatic version (the A edition, “Tekst efter haandskrifterne”) and a normalized one (the B edition, “Rettet tekst”).

The question of how texts should be reproduced has caused much debate, with historians usually arguing for (slightly) normalized editions and linguists, especially those with diachronic interests, arguing for diplomatic editions. It is impossible to satisfy both parties within a single printed edition, but with the advent of modern technology, it is now possible to present a text at several levels of normalization, ranging from a strictly diplomatic transcription to a fully normalized version. In many cases there is already a standard edition which may be supplemented by a new edition at another level of representation. Such editions may present a more diplomatic text (e.g. Magnus Rindal's edition of *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*, 1981) or a more normalized version (Anne Heinrichs et al., *Olafs saga hins helga*, 1982).

5. Translations

Latin and vernacular texts were translated from the 16th century onwards. In Denmark, Anders Sørensen Vedel's translation of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* was published in 1575, and in Norway the kings' sagas were translated, first in part by Laurents Hanssøn (d. 1557/58) in the 1550s, then by Peder Claussøn Friis (1545–1614), who translated *Heimskringla* and several other sagas; the whole collection, *Snorre*

Sturlessøns Norske Kongers Chronica was published posthumously by Ole Worm (Cph. 1633). In the 17th and 18th centuries, many editions of vernacular texts contained translations, often into Danish or Swedish as well as into Latin. For example, Johan Peringskiöld's edition of *Heimskringla* (Sth. 1797) has parallel Latin and Swedish translations, and the so-called Sorø edition of *Konungs skuggsjá* (1768) has Latin and Danish translations. In the 19th and 20th centuries, translations have generally been published separately, but some examples of this type (like the well-known Loeb editions of Latin and Greek texts) are still found, e.g. the edition and translation of *Strengleikar* by Matthias Tveitane and Robert Cook (Oslo 1979).

6. Text series

The majority of Old Nordic text editions have been published under the auspices of editorial societies and channeled through series. The Arnamagnæan Commission initiated the publication of several Old Icelandic texts in the 1770s, including the Poetic *Edda* in three volumes (1787, 1818 and 1828), but did not present these editions as a series. This changed when a Royal Society for the publication of Old Nordic texts, *Det kongelige nordiske Oldskriftselskab*, was founded by Carl Christian Rafn in Copenhagen in 1825. Among other antiquarian activities, this society published a large number of Old Icelandic texts, e.g. kings' sagas in *Fornmannasögur* (12 vols., Cph. 1825–37) and *Fornaldarsögur* (3 vols., Cph. 1829–30). Another society, *Det nordiske Literatur-Samfund*, published a number of medieval texts in the period 1847–1885. In Norway, several short-lived societies were founded from the 1840s onwards, among them *Det norske Oldskriftselskab*. Their activity was ultimately taken over by *Den Norske Historiske Kildeskriftkommission* (founded in 1857), which is still active (now under the name of *Kjeldeskriftavdelinga* in the National Archive). In Sweden, *Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet* was founded by George Stephens and Gunnar Olof Hylltén-Cavallius in 1843 with the aim of editing medieval Swedish texts up to ca. 1600 and since then has published a large series of editions and studies. In Iceland, *Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag*, which was founded by Rasmus Rask as early as 1815–16 (in Copenhagen and Reykjavík) has initiated a large number of Old Icelandic text editions, especially under the leadership of Jón Sigurðsson in the 1850s

and the following decades. In Denmark, *Universitets-Jubilæets Danske Samfund*, founded in 1879, and especially *Det danske Sprog og Litteraturselskab*, founded in 1911 by Lis Jacobsen and Carl S. Petersen, have fostered an impressive number of editions, including Old Danish law texts and medieval writings in Latin.

Major series of Old Icelandic and Norwegian texts include *Samfund til Udgivelse af Gammel Nordisk Litteratur* (Cph. 1880–1956), *Íslenzk fornrit* (Reykjavík 1933–), *Norrøne tekster* (Oslo 1945–), *Editiones Arnamagnæanæ* (Cph. 1958–) and *Rit Stofnunar Arna Magnússonar á Íslandi* (Reykjavík 1972–). The latter three must be considered the leading scholarly series today. However, the *Íslenzk fornrit* series occupies a middle ground between strictly scholarly editions and popular ones; they are often referred to in scholarly publications, especially in literary studies, and some of them, e.g. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson's edition of *Heimskringla* (*Íslenzk fornrit* vol. 26–28, 1941–51) have become standard editions.

With the exception of late charters (dated after 1435), almost the whole corpus of medieval Danish texts have been edited, separately or in series. In Sweden, medieval texts have been channeled through *Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet* (Sth. 1844–). There are two series, one of vernacular texts (ser. 1, *Svenska skrifter*, 1844–), and a smaller one of Latin texts (ser. 2, *Latinska skrifter*, 1924–). So far, 262 fascicules of vernacular and 14 of Latin texts have been published by this society, which can claim the honour of having the longest consecutive published series of medieval Nordic texts.

Examples of facsimiles are to be found as early as the second half of the 18th century and in several editions from the 19th century, e.g. a beautiful colour specimen in *Norges Gamle Love* (vol 4, 1885). The first complete facsimile of a manuscript was published in 1869 with the edition of *Elucidarius* by Konráð Gíslason. A few facsimiles followed suit, but the publication of whole manuscripts in facsimile only began at the turn of the century with e.g. the edition of *Codex Regius* by Finnur Jónsson and Ludvig Wimmer (Cph. 1891). The facsimiles gathered momentum with the Munksgaard series of Old Icelandic manuscripts, *Corpus codicum Islandicorum medii aevi* (20 vols., Cph. 1930–56). In addition, facsimiles have been published in national series such as *Corpus codicum Suecicorum medii aevi*

(Cph. 1943–), *Corpus codicum Norvegorum medii aevi* (Oslo 1950–), *Íslenzk handrit* (Reykjavík 1956–), *Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile* (Cph. 1958–) and *Corpus Codicum Danicorum Medii Aevi* (10 vols., Cph. 1960–73). The majority has been published in black and white, but lately some have been in colour (e.g. the two volumes in the series *Manuscripta Islandica Medii Aevi*, 1981–1982). Since printed facsimile editions are costly and cumbersome to handle, they will probably be superseded by digitized facsimiles in the not too distant future (see section 7).

Medieval charters (in Scandinavia usually referred to as *diplomas*) are being published in four national series: *Diplomatarium Suecanum* (Sth. 1829–), *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (Christiania/Oslo 1847–), *Diplomatarium Islandicum* (Cph. 1857–), and *Diplomatarium Danicum* (Cph. 1938–). Law texts have been published in separate series as well, once more beginning in Sweden with *Samling af Sweriges gamla lagar*, (13 vols., Sth./Lund 1827–77), now supplemented with several newer editions of separate laws; *Norges Gamle Love* up to 1387 (5 vols., 1846–95) and a new series for the period 1388–1604 (1912–); the Icelandic laws by Vilhjálmur Finsen (Cph. 1852–1870); and Danish laws in *Danmarks gamle Landskabslove med Kirkelovene* (8 vols., Cph. 1933–61).

Runic inscriptions have been edited in several large series: *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer* (4 vols., Oslo 1891–1924), *Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer* (Oslo 1941–), *Sveriges runinskrifter* (Sth. 1900–), *Danmarks runeindskrifter* (2 vols., Cph. 1941–42), and *Islands runeindskrifter* (Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 2, Cph. 1942).

Many ballads (“*folkeviser*”) probably have a medieval origin, although the dating of this essentially oral literature has been a long-standing matter of debate. There are several national series of these genres, commencing with Svend Grundtvig’s pioneer work, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (12 vols., Cph. 1853–1976), and followed by *Corpus Carminum Faeroensium* (6 vols., Cph. 1941–72), *Íslenzk fornkvæði* (8 vols., Cph. 1962–81) and *Sveriges medeltida ballader* (Sth. 1983–). A modern edition of Norwegian ballads is still lacking (cf. Solberg 1996). Denmark also has a recent edition of proverbs, *Danmarks gamle Ordsprog* (Cph. 1977–); so far 6 of the 8 planned volumes have been published.

The editing of Latin texts is largely confined to Sweden and Denmark, which had a

flourishing Latin literature from the 13th century. Both countries have seen a number of editions, in Sweden most notably the writings of St. Birgitta (cf. the Latin series of *Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet*), and in Denmark – in addition to the work of Saxo – the learned writings of medieval Danish scholars in the series *Corpus philosophorum Danicorum medii aevi* (Cph. 1955–); so far 12 of the 15 planned volumes have been published. The National Archive in Oslo has a collection of about 5,000 Latin fragments, mostly of liturgical texts, but they are largely uncatalogued and unpublished.

7. Electronic editions

Modern authors are now increasingly available in electronic editions, as witnessed by the ongoing projects on Henrik Ibsen in Norway, August Strindberg in Sweden and Søren Kierkegaard in Denmark. Medieval texts lag behind, and so far efforts have been concentrated on making existing editions available.

Critical editions which refer to several manuscripts, either in full or by way of selection in a critical apparatus, are well suited for the electronic format, since the limitations of the printed page no longer apply. However, uncritical use of the new technology may lead to overloaded editions in which there is simply too much information and too little guidance from the editor.

Diplomatic editions of Old Nordic texts require special fonts, sometimes quite extensive ones, and although the principles of encoding characters (“glyphs”) are described within the framework of SGML and UNICODE, the display of these characters on screen or on paper still creates problems of compatibility across computer formats. It is, after all, easier to read a word like “þá” than its SGML equivalent “þ´”. Even more challenging is the encoding of abbreviations, since these signs are commonly placed above or through one or more ordinary characters and their meaning often varies according to the context.

A prominent feature of electronic editions is the ability to link transcriptions with digitized facsimiles of the manuscript. The idea is not new, cf. e.g. the edition of Codex Regius by Finnur Jónsson and Ludvig Wimmer (Cph. 1891), in which photographic facsimiles and their corresponding transcriptions are placed on facing pages. What is new is the possibility of versatile linking between texts

and images, and the technology of storage and distribution. In an electronic edition it is possible to link several types of transcriptions (e.g. diplomatic and normalized) to one facsimile, and instead of a selective critical apparatus, the editor may include the whole or any part of the manuscript tradition. Also, the complete edition may be stored and distributed on a number of digital media (cd-rom, dvd etc.) and accessed through the Internet.

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9. A few Internet resources

The Medieval Nordic Text Archive (Menota) is a collaboration between ten editorial departments and societies in the Nordic countries. The archive will include electronic texts in Latin as well as in Old Icelandic, Old Norwegian, Old Danish and Old Swedish: www.menota.org

The Arnamagnæan digitization project is presently in its infancy, but aims at making an electronic catalogue of the entire Arnamagnæan collection, with links to digitized images of each manuscript and, where possible, transcriptions and supplementary material: www.hum.ku.dk/ami/amproject.html

The Arnamagnæan Institute in Reykjavík has a survey of Icelandic editions and useful links to libraries containing Old Icelandic manuscripts etc.: www.am.hi.is

Project Runeberg is a fast-growing site which publishes all genres of Nordic literature on the Internet, including a few medieval texts: www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg

The project also has a very useful list of other digital libraries: www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/admin/foreign.html

Språkbanken, a text archive at the University of Göteborg, offers a number of Old Swedish texts, a large concordance, Söderwall's Dictionary etc.: <http://spraakdata.gu.se/ktext/>

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VII. Nordic as a part of Old Germanic

62. Nordic, Germanic, Indo-European and the structure of the Germanic language family

1. Introduction
2. Nordic
3. Germanic
4. Indo-European
5. A critical look at the theory of Old European hydronymy
6. The homeland and structure of Germanic with emphasis on place-names and hydronyms; relations between the Continent and the North
7. Future tasks
8. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

In recent years, the widely accepted theories about the relationship between Gmc and the related IE languages (particularly Celtic), the structuring of Gmc, the relation between the North and the Gmc Continent and the home and expansion of the Gmc tribes have been challenged, especially from the onomastic point of view. The fact that the traditional point of view which attributed the major role in this question to the Gmc North was not essentially based on linguistic facts but on archaeological criteria (Kossinna 1896) and may not have received enough attention (see Steuer 1998 for a much more moderate modern evaluation). However, the actual meaning of the term “Germanic” and what it includes can be defined much more precisely by means of the linguistic material, though striking archaeological investigations have been fascinating for their exact dating of the objects found. In addition, the onomastic evidence reveals the region where the separation of the Gmc languages from the IE substrate had taken place. There is also evidence of a hypothetical core area of ancient Gmc settlements, its early structure and indications of the presumed separation of the Gmc languages, among them the Nordic ones.

2. Nordic

The separation of the Nordic languages from the WGmc and extinct EGmc sister dialects has been dealt with in various ways. While there is some correspondence with EGmc (e.g. “Verschärfung” etc.), the separation of WGmc is more easily understandable. Recent publications have indicated that the similarities between Old High German (OHG), Old English (OE), Old Frisian (OFris.), Old Dutch (ODu.) and Old Saxon (OSx.) are so obvious that there are nearly no doubts about our grouping these languages as “West Germanic” and contrasting them almost automatically with the NGmc languages. Even today, dialects in the area of contact between LG and Du. reveal a gradual transition; however, a similar development cannot be found in the Dan.-G area of contact. Many facts, among these the onomastic material, point to a *relatively* homogeneous NGmc. Due to the late written tradition in the North, AN (apart from runic inscriptions) cannot be described precisely; so here we are mainly dependent on conjecture.

Except for EGmc which is attested sufficiently only in Go., it is just the WGmc dialects that may serve as comparative material for NGmc, with OSx. playing a more important role than OFris. From this basis, the question is how the distinct border between the WGmc and NGmc dialects in Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark developed and how this is to be understood. It cannot be interpreted as a transition line, but rather as the result of the contact of two groups of isoglosses originating in different places. This is why the thesis that Gmc developed in Jutland, Schleswig-Holstein and other places has been undermined considerably – and the place-names and hydronyms provide the clues (see 6.).

3. Germanic

Linguists define the term “Germanic” as a group of (partly extinct) languages that differ from the related IE sister languages by a number of distinct features. It is the task of historical comparative linguistics to discover these distinctions, but so far, the important field of geographical names has not been taken into account adequately. Apart from this, the following features are traditionally regarded as characteristic of a Gmc language:

- (1) the fixing of the originally free word accent to a specific syllable;
- (2) the so-called first or Gmc consonant shift;
- (3) the development of the IE sonant nasals and liquids m, n, l, r to um, un, ul, ur ;
- (4) specific further sound laws known in Gmc languages only;
- (5) the spread of the IE ablaut e. g. to strong verbs;
- (6) the development of the weak declension of nouns;
- (7) the double system of inflection of adjectives (weak vs. strong);
- (8) the formation of a weak present perfect tense.

These very typical features of the Gmc languages must have developed from an IE dialect zone, because the connections to the IE sister languages (especially to Baltic) cannot be missed. This is related to the fact that there are geographical names in this area that *cannot* be explained from Gmc but have to be attributed to an IE language stratum.

The consistency of this reorganization also indicates that this development must have taken place over quite a long period of time in a relatively restricted area. Depending on the dialects the second or OHG consonant shift was realized to varying degrees. A comparison of these different realizations shows that the development of Gmc cannot have taken place in the area ranging from southern Scandinavia to the German low mountains, because we would have expected many more differences over such a large territory (as the HG dialects prove). Similarly, those theses based on the theory of a double origin the first between the Oder and the Vistula, the second between the Vistula and the Dnjepr have also been rejected. Again, supporting arguments could be derived from the hydronymy and toponymy.

Research into the Gmc languages has only just begun. The most important parts of the

Gmc homeland which were also the largest have so far not been investigated with regard to place-names and hydronyms. Suggestive factors have come to light that will have to be verified in the near future.

4. Indo-European

Ever since the neogrammarians (“Junggrammatiker”) linguists have tried to find similarities that allow languages and dialects to be seen as coming from one underlying language, as has been done for the IE languages. In this way, most of the languages spoken in Europe (apart from Basque, Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian) were more or less convincingly allocated to the IE language family. Similarities could be observed in the areas of phonology, morphology, lexicology, and only recently, onomastics.

But various questions concerning methodology, the structure of the IE language family datings, the supposed homeland of the parent language as well as other related questions have remained controversial. Recently, there has been a revival of the old debate about a substrate. Here, the key material was provided by place-names and hydronyms.

Hydronymy and toponymy also play a major role in the debate about the relationship between the Gmc and IE languages. The development of the Gmc dialects in the IE language area can only be successfully described – even in broad terms – if research makes use of the language material which in many cases is the oldest existing written material. The great advantage of a specific place-name is its stationary character. It is not possible to exactly define the border between the Sl. and G language areas, which arose in the Middle Ages, on the basis of common nouns (appellatives). Place-names are much more suitable for this purpose. Research results in this field, though, do not always support traditional theories.

5. A critical look at the theory of Old European hydronymy

Research has often been stimulated by the antiquity and special importance of hydronyms in pre- and early history. Hans Krahe’s investigations (e.g. Krahe 1964) were greatly influenced by the work of Leibniz, Grimm, Müllenhoff, Förstemann and many others. His in-depth studies of hydronymy started a

new era of research. Until then, hydronyms that could not be interpreted from Gmc had been attributed first to Ce. and later (due to Krahe's earlier investigations) to so-called Illyrian. But it was impossible to explain Fr. and Pol. names from Illyrian. For a description of these controversial hydronyms, linguists had to revert to Baltic roots or words for the Gmc language area, to Ce. for the Sl. area, to OInd. for the Ce. area etc. This is why Krahe himself discarded this theory after World War II. He concluded that these hydronyms could not be explained from a single IE language, not even "Illyrian". This theory had thus become untenable and was replaced by the theory of the Old European (henceforth OEur.) hydronymy.

The meaning of hydronyms which according to Krahe belonged to this group can be associated with so-called "water words", i. e. words denoting "river, flow, stream, brook, run, swamp, mire" etc. Morphologically, these words form groups that are linked through different recurrent suffixes. The most simple and most frequent form consists of one root element which is followed by *-ā* and itself serves as the basis of further derivatives like **Ara-* **Arva-* **Araros-* **Arla-* **Arant(i)a-* **Arsia-*, or **Ava-* **Avia-* **Auma-* **Avena-* **Aura-* **Avanta-* **Ausa-*. From the structure and scope of these names Krahe came to the conclusion that OEur. hydronymy was rather a West IE phenomenon which could also be supported by morphological and lexical similarities.

Schmid (1968) subjected this thesis to a rigorous examination and then redefined the theoretical basis of OEur. hydronymy. Krahe's theory, which regarded OEur. hydronymy as reflecting a West IE intermediate stage, was disproved by the fact that East IE material had to be used for the etymology of hydronyms (e. g. *Nida*, *Nidda*, *Neth*, *Nidd* etc., which can only be explained from OInd. *nédati* 'flows, runs' < IE **neideti*). And the language presupposed by this stratum of names could only have been IE. There is, though, some uncertainty as to the exact area where OEur. hydronyms would be expected.

Further research into OEur. hydronyms led Schmid (1972) to another conclusion: "No matter whether you choose an ancient name from Norway, England, France, Germany, Italy, or the Balkan peninsula, there will be a more or less precise equivalent in the present or ancient Baltic area" (e. g. *Athesis*, G *Etsch*, Ital. *Adige* with an almost corresponding

name in Lith. *Atesė*, *Atesỹs*). The Baltic area was gradually revealed as a distinct center of OEur. hydronymy which according to Schmid could be interpreted most easily as the result of a mainly uninterrupted continuity from IE to more recent times. Parallel to Schmid's investigations into hydronyms, Kuhn (1978) tried to postulate a "second Old Europe". Starting from hydronyms (and also place-names), he was convinced that he had found a "Northwest block" between the developing Ce. and Gmc languages. According to Kuhn (1978), this block had at first been largely resistant to Germanization, and as the more or less "last IE" area thus showed traces of IE and even pre-IE relics. Critics pointed out that Kuhn had not paid enough attention to eastern Europe and the special relationship between B and Gmc in his studies and had failed to incorporate a consonant change from earlier Gmc times into his theory.

A final evaluation of Kuhn's ideas will have to wait until the hydronyms of the Gmc countries and adjacent areas (especially those of eastern Europe) have been investigated completely, since eastern Europe plays a major role in the evaluation of Middle European river and place-names (as well as for early Gmc ethnogenesis). This fact did not emerge from a large study of OSl. hydronyms (Udolph 1979) – which still supported Krahe's theories that research on the early beginnings of a language family has to start with looking at the hydronyms and that the oldest hydronyms are derived from so-called "water words" – but rather from a study of the PSl. hydronyms in Poland. The latter provided even more important material in support of OEur. hydronymy. Krahe himself still excluded Sl. from the relevant hydronymic stratum, though.

According to Schmid, a hydronym has to meet the following requirements in order to count as OEur.:

- (1) It cannot be explained from the language it occurs in.
- (2) It consists of lexemes with a C¹eHC²-structure and derives its meaning from words denoting 'water, flowing' or similar.
- (3) There is no ancient suffix formation.
- (4) Inflectional elements of the name may have been adapted to the particular language.
- (5) There are strict rules of correspondence between the OEur. river-names.

- (6) Lexemes and suffixes can be explained from IE roots and word formation rules.
- (7) The names reveal the structure of IE nouns, adjectives, and participles, i.e. they are always derived from the *root*, not the *word*.

The critical evaluation of OEur. hydronymy has so far primarily focused on the following issues:

- (1) The *a*-vocalism is overly represented, which cannot be explained from IE (**Ala-* **Alara-* **Alantia* etc.).
- (2) It is interspersed with non-Gmc elements.
- (3) This kind of hydronymy is not a “system” in the strict sense of the word.
- (4) This theory is weakened by individual names that are more likely to be derived from individual languages.

None of the four above-mentioned aspects is very convincing:

- (1) The *a*-vocalism is also encountered in the appellative inventory of the IE languages, e.g. Lat. (*mare, lacus, palus, salus*); nevertheless, there is no doubt that Lat. is an IE language.
- (2) The assumption about non-IE elements has to be proven definitely; both Kuhn’s (1969–1978) and Tovar’s (1977) attempts to explain this phenomenon start from a southern European point of view, which unfortunately neglects eastern Europe. The same is true of Vennemann’s (1994) hypothesis that a “Vasconic” (Basque) substrate can be found in the IE name inventory for Europe. In addition, his etymologies suffer from grave errors. To mention just one example: as long as place names like *Bischofsheim* are linked to Basque appellatives, this kind of criticism cannot affect OEur. hydronymy.
- (3) OEur. hydronymy is not a *closed* and *limited* system, but is *open* to further IE water words and their application in hydronymy.
- (4) The revision of the derivation of individual names does not upset the theory as a whole, since a theory requires continuous verification by additional material, criticism, and counter-criticism.

Apart from these issues arising from various theoretical stages, severe criticism of Krahe and Schmid came from two European regions, namely Poland and Scandinavia. Intensive studies of the hydronyms of the eastern Euro-

pean country (*Hydronymia Europea* 1985; Udolph 1990) have contributed to a weakening of the “anti-OEur.” point of view in Poland. On the other hand, criticism in Scandinavia still persists (Andersson 1972; 1977; 1988; Strandberg 1986; Kousgård Sørensen 1972; 1982). This is especially clear in a comparative study (HSK anthology *Namenforschung. Name Studies. Les noms propres. An International Handbook of Onomastics*, 1995–1996), in which leading onomastic scholars independently express their theories of the OEur. hydronymy.

The Scandinavians rejected this theory mainly because there was no evidence of a substrate among the huge number of Gmc names. According to Scandinavian researchers there were no other languages in major parts of the Scandinavian settlement area (i.e. most of Denmark, Norway and Sweden) apart from Gmc and its pre-stages, not even as a component of geographical names. This is why the OEur. theory could not, or at least not entirely, be accepted, and a refinement was requested.

A series of contributions to the above-mentioned anthology strongly contradict to this point of view. Researchers from several countries (Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Scotland, Lithuania, Bulgaria, and Poland) largely agree that difficult names – i.e. especially hydronyms – cannot be explained without studying the stratum of names preceding a particular language. In this respect, Nordic research takes quite an isolated position. It will have to be asked whether their scepticism is based on the material in exception and will lead to a new orientation for the OEur. theory, or whether it is based on a totally different thesis (see section 1) that has been established firmly for the North and applied to German conditions by Kossinna, namely that a territory of exclusively Gmc names will inevitably have to be regarded as the homeland of the Gmc language (and peoples). A substrate that could be derived from IE material would, according to Scandinavian Germanists and onomastic researchers, be in conflict with and weaken this thesis.

Again, there are striking parallels with earlier theories in Poland. The quite vehement controversy between Vasmer (1929) and Rudnicki (e.g. 1959; 1961) primarily addressed the etymology of names (largely hydronyms). Vasmer’s opinion that there were PSl. = IE relics in numerous Sl. and Pol. place-names and

hydronyms led Rudnicki and others to reject these interpretations and suggest ‘purely’ Slavic etymologies. The sense has changed in Poland, but not yet in Scandinavia.

This development is not only interesting from the point of view of the history of science, but also reveals an important issue that is decisive for the locating of the homeland and early structuring of the IE language family (regardless of whether it is Gmc, Sl., or Ce.). It is the argument that the presence of OEur. hydronyms in the oldest settlement area is *not contradictory* to this interpretation, but in itself *absolutely conclusive*. Similar to the investigations that assume a continuity from IE times of names which can be explained from Sl. (Udolph 1997) and consider it as the basis for the determination of the oldest homes of Sl. tribes. A certain continuity in naming will also have to be presupposed for determining the OGmc settlement areas. The detection of OEur. hydronyms will be part of this.

6. The homeland and structure of Germanic with emphasis on place-names and hydronyms; relations between the Continent and the North

Earlier Krahe realized that the discovery of OEur. hydronymy raised new issues about the development of the IE languages. More than once he stressed the importance of delineating the gradual splitting up of OEur. and its step-by-step evolution into individual languages more precisely.

Investigations relating to the original location and spread of names in the Gmc context as a whole are linked to this question. It proved to be essential to consider the naming of individual Gmc areas (e.g. Scandinavia, Great Britain, and the Continent) as part of a Gmc whole and to explain the place-names of the Scandinavian countries and England on the basis of the Gmc languages and vice versa, which is, however, only possible for the oldest strata of names.

In previous studies on Gmc hydronyms, the search for the oldest settlement areas of Gmc tribes aimed to discover an area where the proportion of non-Gmc relics in the name inventory was relatively small. Of course, this area would have to be the home of the Gmc tribes, as has been suggested more than once. From the point of view of pre- and early history, which was greatly influenced by Kossinna (cp.

the concise description in Hachmann 1970, 456ff.), the theory of a Nordic homeland found more and more support and finally was accepted widely. This theory fitted in with the observation that South Scandinavia and its onomastic material held a special position in Europe. Sometimes, the idea was expressed that all the onomastic material in central and southern Sweden belonged to a single language, which suggested a long and undisturbed development.

Deliberately stressing the “purely Germanic” character of Nordic hydronymy in no way supports the thesis of a Gmc homeland in the North, though. As it was often pointed out, the Gmc languages are closely linked to their IE sister languages at an older intermediate stage (yet to be reconstructed) with its distinctive characteristics, distributed equally among all Gmc languages (see sect. 3). This becomes obvious at all levels of grammar, and it may be taken for granted that this interlinkage can also be observed with place-names, which are important because of their durable and stationary character. We can expect that not only purely Gmc, but also PGmc (= OEur.-IE) hydronyms may be found that reveal the link with both the IE sister languages and the older IE naming processes. But apart from these – in a strict sense – PGmc names, we cannot expect a homogeneous stratum under a layer that may be understood as “OGmc hydronymy”. Rather, they are supposed to show distinct traces of different degrees of Germanification: here, one might think of names whose component parts (suffixes, levels of ablaut and others) disclose only minor traces of change to the individual language, whereas others reveal the Gmc influence on a broader scale. And finally, we may expect names that can be explained exclusively by the Gmc material, but at the same time (due to the term “OGmc”) consist of forms that make it difficult or even impossible for them to be attributed to an individual Gmc language or language group.

The relics which belong to the first group are especially significant in the search for the oldest Gmc settlements because they reflect a Gmc language that developed from an IE dialect group. An area with almost exclusively Gmc hydronymy and toponymy (particularly observed in Scandinavia) may of course be regarded as a territory that was settled by Gmc tribes for a long time; but due to the neighboring IE languages, it does not lend itself to answering the question of the IE homeland.

Recently, further investigations into OEur. hydronymy and the NGmc hydronyms and place-names (which is only just beginning and will require further years or even decades of studies) have provided results that are of crucial importance for the issues raised in this article.

Certain characteristics which so far have only been mentioned in passing shed a new light on the question of the homeland and early structuring of Gmc, particularly in comparison with its eastern European sister languages. And here B rather than Sl. plays the major role in hydronymy, giving rise to new ideas about the early structuring of the IE languages. The close relationship between B and Gmc was recognized as early as the 19th century. More than 125 years ago it was Förstemann's opinion (1863, 331) that amongst all languages, Lith. had the closest genealogical relation to Gmc, which is supported by modern research. It became more and more evident that the development of the typical Gmc linguistic properties must have taken place in the neighbourhood of the B and that crucial differences on the phonological and morphological level existed between the names in Scandinavia and central Europe.

These differences can be seen in the *-s-*derivatives, e. g., of the root **pel-/*pol-* 'pour' (*Vils*) and other roots (*Glems*, **Verisa*), which are found in Germany but not in Scandinavia; they appear in the *-t-*extension of the root **pel-* 'flow' found in the name *Fulda*, but not in the North, where derivatives of the IE root **ser-/*sor-* 'flow' are also missing, unlike the Continent as is proved by the names *Zorn* and *Saar*.

These examples lead to the question of what the place-names and hydronyms will have to be like in order to show a certain continuity between the IE and OEur. naming practices on the one hand and those of the individual Gmc languages on the other. Initial studies show that the following phenomena appear to be very important:

- (1) the consonant shift in the final position of the root or stem;
- (2) the similarities between B, Gmc and Sl. hydronyms and place-names;
- (3) the distribution of compounds or suffix formations of the OGmc pattern.

6.1. Consonant shift in the final position of root or stem

From the onomastic point of view, German linguists have often supported the thesis of a Scand. homeland of the Gmc tribes ("vagina gentium") because the phonetic inventory of several North German hydronyms seemed to indicate that these names had become known to the Gmc people rather late in time. Various *p,t,k* reflexes witness that these names had not been included in the first (Gmc) consonant shift, such as *Apolda*, *Lippe*, **Lupentia* (in *Lupnitz*), the numerous *apa*-names (*Ennepe*, *Honnef*, *Olpe*, *Aschaffenburg*, *Asphe*, *Hennef*, *Laasphe*, *Lennepe* etc.), *Neetze* near Lüneburg (< **Natisia*), *-wik* in place-names like *Harwich*, *Braunschweig*, *Bardowik* etc.

They were part of Kossinna's (e. g. 1896) thesis of a Scand. homeland for the Gmc tribes. Kuhn, too, used them as evidence for his idea of a late Germanification, and the interpretation that the *p,t,k*-names are unshifted has been widely supported up to the present day. Nonetheless, this is wrong.

Since the early beginnings of IE studies, we have known that there is a shift of consonants which, on the one hand, is likely to occur in final position, and on the other hand, is particularly common in Gmc. A comparison with both non-Gmc and Gmc material may help to demonstrate this phenomenon:

ON *flatr* 'flat' vs. Lith. *platus* 'wide';
 G *Nessel* < **natilon* vs. Lith. *noterė*, Latv. *nātre*, OPr. *noatis* 'nettle';
 G *weiß*, *Weizen* < Gmc **hvīta* vs. Lith. *kvietys*, OInd. *śveta-* 'white';
 G *naß* < Gmc **nata* vs. Gr. *νότιος*, *νοτερός*;
**dheup-* in OHG *tobal* 'forest gorge' vs. **dheub* in Go. *diup-s*, G *tief*;
 OInd. *vēpa-tē* 'shaking' vs. OHG *wipf* 'fast movement', G *Wippe*, *Wimpel*, *Wipfel*.

The change will have to be assigned to the time before the first or Gmc consonant shift. Place-names and hydronyms with these properties are connecting links between the IE-OEur. stratum and the OGmc naming processes. They include:

- (a) river names with the root **nat-/*not-* like *Neetze*, *Nette*, *Netze*, *Nesse*, *Nathe* etc.;
- (b) derivations of **ueid-/*ueit-* 'bend, flex' like *Wied*, *Weidnitz*, *Weida*, *Weide*, *Vida*, *Wethau*, *Wieda* etc.;
- (c) the group consisting of *Schunter*, *Schondra*, *Schutter*, *Schossen*;

- (d) word formations from the IE root double **ueib-/*ueip-* ‘bend, flex’ like *Wipper*, *Wipfra*, *Wupper*, *Wipperau*, *Wippe* etc.
- (e) In the light of this consonant shift we can also solve the often-discussed problem of the *-apa*-names *Ennepe*, *Olpe*, *Honnef*, *Aschaffenburg*, *Horpe*, *Elsphe* etc. If we start from an IE root **ab-* (evident in Ce. appellatives and names, cp. e.g. *Avon*), then *apa* is a normal development from Grimm’s Law, whereas the OPr. *ape* ‘river’, cp. *Angerapp*, pursues the root variation **ap-*. This is all the more surprising as the distribution of *-apa*-names (Dittmaier 1955) does not reach Scand. at all.
- (f) The name of the mountain range *Harz*, whose present HG form with *-z-* goes back to LG *-t-* (especially obvious in the place-name *Bad Harzburg* [found in *Hartesborg*, *Hartesborch*, *Hartesburg* only from 1071], is to be linked to – and here experts agree – with HG *hart* ‘mountain forest, woody range of hills’. But then the form *Harz* is a violation of Grimm’s Law (Förstemann 1863, 56). Of course, Kuhn (1959, 25) used this example as evidence of his “Northwestern block” (as a “half-Gmc” name). The early Gmc consonant shift is well known from appellatives and obvious in the parallel existence of Go. *fraþi* ‘intelligence, reason’, Go. *fraþjan*, *froþ* ‘understand’: Go. *us-fratwjan* ‘to make intelligent’; **kōt-* in OHG *hadu-* ‘fight, quarrel’, MHG *hader*: **kōd-* in Go. *hatis* ‘hate’, OIcel. *hatr*, OHG *haz* ‘hate’; **kent-* in OHG *heri-hunda* ‘war profit’: **kend-* in OE *hentan* ‘persecute’, *huntian* ‘hunt’, *hunta* ‘hunter’ and many more. Taking this into consideration, it is not difficult to draw a parallel between HG *hart* < Gmc **hard*: *Harz* < Gmc **hart*.
- (g) The mountain name *Süntel* which both today’s mountain range and the whole western chain of the German central mountain range from Osnabrück to the Deister (a distance of about 100 km) used to be called, presents a similar picture. The name is derived from Gmc **Sunt-ila*. The *-t-* in the final position of the root thus contrasts with the underlying word *south*, G *Süden*, which goes back to **sunþ-* and therefore to *-þ-* (OHG *sund*, MHG *sunt*, Du. *zuid*, OE *sūþ*, E *south*, OSx. *sūth*). If both forms are attributed to a Gmc (IE) form, we are able to derive Gmc **sunt-*: **sunþ-* and the older **sund-*:

**sunt-*, and thus describe this name together with the name for the Harz mountains and the already mentioned north German place-names and hydronyms in terms of the consonant shift described above.

As these examples show, consonant shift in the final position of a root or stem did take place within the Gmc languages. It has to be dated *before* the first or Gmc consonant shift and proves the relationship between IE (i.e. before the existence of individual languages) and Gmc naming practices. The centre of the relevant names is not situated in Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark, or southern Sweden, though, but north of the German central mountain range.

6.2. Similarities between Baltic, Germanic, and Slavic place-names and hydronyms

The special relationship between Gmc and the eastern languages, in particular B and Sl., has already been mentioned. We find its traces in names which can be arranged into two groups: the first one containing roots or appellatives which have left toponymic traces in all three IE language families; the second group consisting of names that are of an undoubtedly Gmc origin but whose bases positively reveal relationships with B or Sl. languages.

The first group comprises derivations of root extensions that are definitely confirmed only by an area that was inhabited by speakers of the three language families, for example, the roots **dhelbh-* ‘erode, hollow out’ in names like *Thulba* and *Delvenau*, **pers-* ‘spray, squirt’ (versus the zero grade **p̥s-* in NGmc *fors* ‘waterfall’) in names like *Veersee*, *Veerßen*, *Vers*, *Verse*, *Versia*, *Viersen*, and **pl̥t-* in *Fulda*. We are obviously dealing with extensions of common OEur. or IE roots of the type **C¹eC²-*, i.e. with a probably younger stratum of hydronyms compared to OEur. names. Names of this type, which again point to a close relation between the OEur. stratum and the Gmc name inventory, are definitely found in northern Germany.

The second group consists of place-names with a special relation to B or Sl. where it is not possible to explain these names completely from the Gmc language, so that B or Sl. words will have to be considered.

Undoubtedly, the Baltic language helps to explain such difficult names as *Bordenau* (near Hannover), *Bortfeld* (near Peine), *Bördel* (near

Göttingen), and *Border* (a deserted settlement near Nienburg). Here, Grimm's Law allows the derivation from a basic form **bhr̥dh-*. A convincing etymology, though, can only be derived from B *birdā* 'wet excrements', since Gmc does not provide any source.

The same applies to the place-name *Bründeln* (near Peine). In no way can this name be connected to the G word *Brunnen* 'well'. On the basis of old references (in *Brundelem*, 1100–1200, 1237 etc.), a Proto-form **bhr̥d̥l-* can be established, which can most likely be related to the IE root **bhrendh* 'swell, pregnant'. Again, B is a great help, with Lith. *brėstu*, *brėndau*, *brėsti* 'swell, ripe', *brīstu*, *brindau* 'soak' (e.g. of peas) and many more.

Dransfeld, situated west of Göttingen, represents a difficult name. *Trhenesfelde* (with the oldest reference from 960, which probably stands for **Threnesfelde*) is especially important for the interpretation of this name. There is no connection to Gmc, but rather to B: Lith. *trenėi* 'to rot, to decay', Latv. *trenēt* (*trēnu* or *trenu*) 'to rot, to decay'.

Sl. also shows a close relationship to Lower Saxon place-names. To name just a few: *Thüste* (near Hameln-Pyrmont), old *Tiuguste*, *Thiuguste*, and *Tuchtfeld* near Bodenwerder (8th/9th century [copy from the 12th century]) *Ducfelden* can be connected to the well-known pass name *Dukla* and Slovak. *dúčel*, *dúčela* 'tube', Sloven. *dukelj*, *duklja* 'high pot with narrow neck'. The little village *Dolgen*, east of Hannover, also belongs to this group and is not related to the Russ. word *dolgij*, Pomeranian-Polabian *dolg-* 'long', but goes back to IE **t̥l̥gh-* via Gmc **Tholg-un* (dative plural) and **thlg-*. It can best be related to **telgh-* 'to swell up, swollen', which is well established in Sl. **t̥l̥st̥b̥* 'swollen, big' in OChSl. *t̥l̥st̥b̥* 'big', Russ. *tolstyj* 'big' (*Tolstoy*). Nouns derived from this root refer to 'hill, elevation, growth'.

The place-name *Empelde* southeast of Hannover, 826–876 in *Amplithi* etc. is also important; it is an *-ithi*-name (Gmc suffix) whose basis cannot be explained from Gmc. **Ampl-ithi* is most likely rooted in IE **omb-l-*. From this, there is a Sl. appellative Polabian *wumbal* 'well', Bulg. *vumbel*, *vubel*, *vubel*, *vobel*, *ubel* etc. 'well or spring in a valley', 'spring in a low-positioned place where water is gathered like in a well'. It goes back to ASI. **qbl-*, a word which is not documented in Gmc. The suffix *-ithi* indicates that Germans have the name; thus *Empelde* is a reliable connecting link between an IE stratum and Gmc naming practices.

A whole group of place-names contains the element *-hude* (*Hude*, *Steinhude*, *Fischerhude* etc.), based on *-h̥y̥th*, *-h̥y̥ð* (e.g. in *Chelsea*, borough of London, 785 *Cealchyþ*, 801 as *Caelichyth*) in England, with an underlying meaning 'a port, ferry place, little harbor, landing place'. A satisfying etymology has not been found yet. But taking **-h̥y̥th-* as a starting point with the *-n-* missing (typical of Ing. languages), **-hunþ* is obtained, which has to be derived from IE **kunt-* and thus provides a connection to ChSl. **kŏt̥b̥*, which is still documented in the present Russ. word *kut* 'end of a river arm reaching far back into the country', in Ukrain. *kut* 'narrow inlet in the shape of an angle' and in Pol. *kąt* 'area of water lying between two shallows or reaching into the land from where you cannot steer a ship downstream; usually the remains of an old river bed or river arm'.

And finally, place-names in Lower Saxony and Thuringia like *Ilfeld*, *Ilten*, *Ilde*, *Ilse* need to be mentioned. With their Gmc basis forms **Il-tun-*, *Il-feld*, **Il-ithi*, **Ilis-ithi* they point to a root **il-*, which also cannot be explained from Gmc. Here, a brief glance at the Sl. languages is valuable: almost all of them have a word, e.g. Ukrain. *il* 'clay, dirt, silt', Beloruss. *il* 'thin dirt of organic origin in water, on the bottom of a water hole, swampy, gray, or white-colored land', Russ. *il* 'dirt' etc. The word is an old *-u*-stem probably related to Latv. *ils* 'very dark', but certainly to OGr. *ἰλύς* 'dirt, excrements', *εἰλύ · μέλαν* ('black' as mentioned by Hesych).

The above-mentioned examples (which can easily be extended) are toponymically limited to a broad stretch of land north of the German central mountain range from the river Elbe to the Rhine. They are right in the middle of a dense layer of Gmc names. Together, they show that Gmc tribes have been continuously settled in this area since the formation of the Gmc languages from an IE dialect zone.

6.3. The distribution of compounds or suffix formations of an OGmc pattern

Since the beginning of scientific research on Gmc languages, linguists have recognized that throughout history there has been a change in the word formation processes, as Jacob Grimm (1826, 403) mentioned: "At a later stage it is the unmistakable direction of language to give up derivation and replace it by composition. This proves our assumption that now extinct derivations had once been alive,

and now unintelligible or ambiguous ones had once been perceptible and clear". In other words, in more recent times compounds (made up of two nouns) are predominant, while at earlier stages it was suffixation (added to a basic element). This is also true in the field of place-names (but not personal names!). Hydronyms that are attributed to OEur. hydronymy belong to the suffixed type.

If one takes a closer look at Gmc hydronymy and toponymy from this point of view, it is surprisingly easy to find a simple pattern of distribution. On the Continent, we find both compounds with ancient base words (like *-aha*, *-mar*, *-hude*, *-lar-*, *-leben*, *-loh*, *-tun*, *-lage*, *-hlaiw*) and the older suffix forms like *-ung*, *-r*, *-s-*, *-st-*, *-str-*, *-ithi-*, some of them extending as far as England (*-aha*, *-mar*, *-hude*, *-loh*, *-tun*, *-str-*) or Scandinavia (*-a(a)*, *-lev*, *-lo*, *-tun-*, *-hlaiw*, *-ung*, *-st-*, *-str-*).

For the determination of the oldest settlements of Gmc tribes, the distribution of suffix types that are exclusively or at least almost exclusively found on the continent is crucially important. These are, e.g., the *-r-*, *-s-*, *-st-*, *-ithi-* forms.

6.4. Results

The examples of Gmc hydronyms and place-names gathered so far definitely reveal that there are numerous reflexes in northern Germany (especially on the northern edge of the central mountain range in the areas of fertile loess soil) of an old IE-OEur. stratum from which a Gmc system of place-names has developed. Therefore the evidence of PIE relics in this area is no contradiction, but is necessarily conditioned by the widely known fact that Gmc as an IE language is linked to its IE sister languages in many ways.

In pre-Christian times, there was a movement away from this central area to the west (in post-Christian times as far as England) and to the north, which is clearly proved by numerous Continental names that can only be explained by referring to Scand. words, e.g. names like *Elbe*: ON *elfr*, Swed. *älv*, Norw. *elv*; *Rhön*: ON *hraun*; *Dragen* (near Gifhorn), *Drahe* and many more: Dan. *drage*, *drag* 'small promontory connecting a peninsula to the main land'; *Engensen* near Hannover, **Engisa*: Dan. *eng*, Sw. *äng*, ON *eng* 'grassland, meadow'; *Frohse*, *Frose* (Sachsen-Anhalt): OIcel. *fræs* 'blow', Norw. *frösa* 'blow, gush, bubble'; *Ohrum* (**Ör-hēm*), *Oerie* (**Ör-ithi*) require Gmc **Aur-hēm* and **Aur-ithi*: ON *aurr*

'sandy ground, gravel', Icel. *aur* 'clay, dirt; mud; scree, rubble', *Schöningen* < *Skahaningi*: ON *skagi* 'promontory'.

Thus the situation in northern Germany is in sharp contrast to Scand. hydronymy and toponymy, which have a large number of Gmc word forms but show hardly any signs of continuous development from an OEur. substrate. Maybe this is connected to the small number of OEur. names in Scandinavia. There are several indications that the lack of continuity in the development of Scand. hydronymy is due to a turning point which may have been caused by immigration, most possibly of Gmc tribes.

7. Future tasks

The investigation of Gmc place-names and hydronyms in the Gmc settlement area is still at its beginning point. Large areas of the continent (Thuringia, Sachsen-Anhalt, Lower Saxony, Northrhine-Westfalia, Hestia) have not been examined yet, while Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark, and Scandinavia have been studied much more intensively. Hence, the lack of ancient names, e.g. in Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark, is all the more remarkable. The theory that this lack is due to a gap in settlement patterns is not very convincing. It will be the task of future comparative studies of place-names and hydronyms from the North and the Continent to look into this problem.

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63. Nordic-Gothic linguistic relations

1. The most important lines of research
2. Theory and practice: Criteria for subgrouping
3. The Goths and Scandinavia
4. Goths and prestige: on the history of Gothicism
5. Literature (a selection)

1. The most important lines of research

The primary reason to search for a possible connection between Gothic and Nordic is a non-linguistic one. Firstly we have Jordanes' statement (*Getica* 4, 25) that the Goths came from "*Scandza (insula)*" i.e. Scandinavia.

Secondly, we have evidence of the name of the South Scandinavian tribe *Gēatas* in the Old English epic *Beowulf* and of certain place-names such as *Götaland*, *Västergötland*, *Östergötland*, *Gotland* in Sweden. The Old English name for the southern Swedish tribe *Gēatas* is the exact equivalent of Old Nordic *Gautar* (Klaeber, 1950, xxxviii ff.). All these names seem to indicate that 'Goths' once lived in the aforementioned geographical areas.

On the basis of this evidence scholars such as Neckel have looked for linguistic features peculiar and common to Gothic and Nordic. Neckel proceeded from the assumption that "Der nordische Charakter des Gotischen und die nordische Herkunft der Goten" [The Nor-

dic character of the Gothic language and the Nordic origin of the Goths] (1927, 2f.) was an incontestable fact.

Schwarz undertook a reconstruction of the common Gotho-Nordic prototype, devoting about 100 pages to this subject. He argues: "Das Gotische [...] muß auf die Ausgangslandschaft zurückbezogen werden" (1951, 5). "Urheimat" and reconstruction of the original dialect are two aspects of one and the same reality.

In a review of Schwarz's book, Betz (1953, 309) particularly criticized it for its dependence upon the obsolete "Stammbaumtheorie", 'theory of the family tree'.

Kuhn disagreed both with Schwarz's method and with his results (1952, 45ff.). He revisited the same topic in his article *Zur Gliederung der germanischen Sprachen* (1955, 8–16). In this connection he coined the expression "das Sorgenkind Gotonordisch" (cf. also Penzl 1972 b, 1233). Kuhn concluded that East Germanic (Gothic) was neither a branch nor a cognate of Nordic but rather an early offshoot of Proto-Germanic (1955, 16).

Antonsen (1965) quotes Zhirmunskij and adheres to the theory of "a division of Proto-Germanic into a pre-North-Germanic and an East-Germanic dialect" (1965, 36, in a footnote).

Kufner (1970) examines the whole matter of grouping and separation of the Germanic languages. Leaving aside Maurer's view of a special relationship between Nordic and Alemannic (1943; 1952), Kufner (1972, 94) summarises the views prevailing in current scholarship under four headings:

- (1) Adherence to the traditional tripartite division. Examples: Krause 1953, ²1963, ³1968; Mossé ²1956.
- (2) Assumption of a first division into North(east) and South(west) Gmc. Examples: Karsten 1928; Schwarz 1951 and 1956; Rosenfeld 1956; Zhirmunskij 1964; Lehmann 1966. Rösel (1962) belongs to this group although he includes the precursor of OE within North(east) Gmc.
- (3) Assumption of a first division into EGmc and NWGmc. Examples: Kuhn 1952 and 1955; Adamus 1962; Antonsen 1965; Makaev 1965.
- (4) The view that our present knowledge and methods do not suffice to solve the problems of the Gmc Ausgliederung. Examples: van Coetsem 1970; Marchand 1970.

In the last twenty-five or thirty years, scholarly opinion about the Nordic-Gothic linguistic relationship has generally inclined to this fourth view. The absence in Germanic of something corresponding to Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin in relation to the Romance languages renders it impossible to trace the evolution of each Germanic language, language group or subgroup from its earliest stage of development. As Jasanoff states (1994, 253): The map of the Germanic languages is [...], from the beginning of the historical record, crisscrossed by dialect divisions whose interpretation and significance have traditionally been a source of controversy. The old view that North and East Germanic are more closely related to each other than to West Germanic is no longer widely held.

2. Theory and practice: Criteria for subgrouping

2.1. Theory

Fox (1995, 217f.) writes:

The basic question here is that of SUBGROUPING, that is, the intermediate relationships that may exist between the individual languages on the one hand and the single proto-language on the other. These intermediate relationships can be at several levels; although English, for example, is assumed to be an Indo-European language and therefore ultimately derived from Proto-Indo-European, it is customary to recognize at least Germanic as an intermediate grouping, which also includes German, Icelandic, Gothic, and so on. But it is also possible to recognize, for example, a West Germanic intermediate between English and Proto-Germanic, which includes German and Dutch but excludes the Scandinavian languages and Gothic, while some scholars have recognized an Anglo-Frisian group between English and West Germanic, consisting of English and Frisian. Similarly, there has long been a debate about the relationships between groups such as Slavic, Baltic, and so on, within the Indo-European family with the possibility of intermediate groupings such as "Balto-Slavic" and "Italo-Celtic", as well as the possibility of grouping together Indo-European, Semitic, Finno-Ugrian, and other language families into a larger "Nostratic" group. The furthest in this direction that we can go is to assume that *all* the languages of the world are ultimately related.

The methodological problem here is that of finding suitable criteria for such groupings, and the continuing disagreements in this area are indicative of the fact that such criteria are in practice often difficult to identify and to apply.

Here the model of the family tree (“Stamm-
baumtheorie”) can be applied (Hoenigswald
1966; Fox 1995, 218). If we have two
hypothetical languages A (e. g. Gothic) and B
(e. g. Nordic), we can postulate the following
relationship: A and B are sisters, with a non-
attested mother *X (Gotho-Nordic).

Such a hypothesis must be supported by a
multitude of basic correspondences between
the two sister-languages.

The major criterion for linguistic subgrouping
is SHARED INNOVATION [and not: SHARED RETEN-
TION]. In other words, we look not merely for
a feature that two languages have in common,
but for evidence that this feature is the result
of innovation in both languages simultaneously.
Provided that this feature is sufficiently distinc-
tive, and unlikely to have arisen by chance
in each language independently, we can be rea-
sonably confident that it is evidence that the
two languages were a single language at the
time of innovation, and therefore constitute an
independent branch of the family (Fox 1995,
220).

2.2. Practice

Schwarz (1951, 144ff., discussion 47ff.) pre-
sents a list of 26 items that appear to him to
demonstrate that there is a close relationship
between Gothic and Nordic (Old Norse). Only
6 statements from Schwarz’s list are accepted
by Kufner:

- (1) The most often cited innovation common to
Go. and the Nordic languages is the develop-
ment of a stop in geminate *j* and *w* clusters.
This development is variously called Holtz-
mann’s law, Gutturalisierung, velarization,
Verschärfung [...]. Examples for *-jj-*: Go.
twaddje, ON *tveggja* vs. OHG *zweiio* ‘of two’;
for *-ww-*: Go. *triggwa*, ON *tryggva* vs. OHG
triuwa ‘troth’.
- (2) A second innovation is the development of an
*-in-*suffix in Go. and the Scandinavian lan-
guages in the pres. part. fem. contrasting with
WGmc *-jō-*. Examples: Go. *gibandei(n)*, ON
gefandi vs. OHG *gebantiu*, OE *giefendu*, *giefen-
de* ‘giving’.
- (3) A further peculiarity of this group is the de-
velopment of a productive inchoative verb
class marked by a *-na-*suffix in the pres., a *-nō-*
suffix in the past. Examples: Go. *waknan*,
waknōda, ON *wakna*, *waknaþa* ‘awaken,
awakened’ (Annerholm 1956).
- (4) This group selected the ending *-t* (continuing
an IE perfect ending) for the 2 sg. pret. indic.,
while the WGmc dialects had an ending *-i* (con-
tinuing either an IE aorist or opt. ending) for
this form, with the exception of the preterite
presents. Examples: Go. *graipt*, ON *greipt* vs.

OHG *grifi*, OE *gripi*, OS *gripi* ‘you gripped’
[...].

- (5) In respect to the distribution of the athematic
verbs (contract verbs) illustrated by OHG *gān*
‘go’, *stān* ‘stand’, *tuon* ‘do’ it is difficult to
decide whether the northern group innovated
by expanding them [...] or whether the western
group innovated by contracting these forms
[...]. At any rate, contracted forms are lacking
in Go. and are significantly fewer in the Scan-
dinavian languages [...].
- (6) In the interrogative pronouns of the type
PGmc. *xwa-*, *xwe-*, Go. and the Scandinavian
languages have derivatives of the *-j-*type. Ex-
amples: Go. *hvarijs*, ON *hverr* ‘who?’ (Kufner
1970, 85f.).

In a theoretically advanced statement Jasanoff
writes: “The special points of resemblance are
either common retentions (Fox 1995, 220;
cf. 2.1.), like the ending *-t* in the 2 sg. preterite
[...] or structurally insignificant innovations
(Fox 1995, 220; cf. 2.1.), like the occlusion of
**-ww-* and **-jj-* to **-ggw-* and **-ddj* /*-/*-ggj*
[...].” (1994, 253).

3. The Goths and Scandinavia

The pertinent observation has often been
made that languages in fact do not exist as
independent entities, but only the people who
speak these languages. Changes do not origi-
nate in grammar books or dictionaries but
rather in the everyday use of a language. Our
sparse evidence stems from disparate eras. In
the second century B. C. the Goths may have
spoken a language which was very similar to
Proto-Germanic (Kuhn 1955). From a later
period, the end of the fourth century A. D.,
we have the written Gothic of Wulfila’s Bible.
Much later still, in the thirteenth century, we
have the evidence of Old Nordic. On the one
hand we cannot imagine how spoken Gothic
would have evolved had the Gothic kingdoms
in Italy or Spain survived and Gothic become
the dominant language in these countries. On
the other hand we cannot ascertain how simi-
lar Gothic and Nordic were, for example at
the beginning of the Christian era.

The impossibility of reaching unassailable
conclusions on linguistic grounds does not,
however, exclude the possibility of a connec-
tion between the Goths and Scandinavia. The
following sections will deal with the signifi-
cance of the Gothic presence for the North,
especially for Sweden.

Here it becomes appropriate to abandon the
romantic conception of a passive “origin of

the Goths” in favour of an active “expansion of the Goths” in northern Europe.

It is regrettable that, as indicated above, only scanty evidence remains.

3.1. Gēatas and Sweden

The connection of the Goths with Scandinavia is confined exclusively to Sweden. In other countries, such as Norway, it is certain that (poetic) tales about the Goths and their great achievements were widely known in medieval times (cf. the poem *Hamðismál* in the Poetic Edda, about the Ostrogothic king Ermanaric, at the end of the fourth century). But, as mentioned above (cf. 1.), only Sweden has preserved on its own territory up to the present day the remembrance of the tribal name Gauts (Greek Γαυτοί [Procopius, sixth century = a populous tribe in Thule, see Reichert 1987, 310], ON *Gautar*, OE *Gēatas*). The ablaut alternations of the Germanic strong verb **geutan* ‘pour’, **geut*, **gaut*, **gut* (see e.g. Kuhn 1954, 425) include a form which is phonologically identical with *Gaut-*. The **au* form is preserved only in place-names from central Sweden. That a relationship exists between *Gēatas*, *Götaland*, *Västergötland*, *Östergötland* and the ancient Goths can hardly be denied, but to explain it is difficult. No helpful parallel can be adduced. Perhaps the connection can be envisioned as the relationship between a colony and its motherland (Wenskus 1961, 433).

3.2. Gotland and the expansion of the Goths

The name of the island *Gutland*, *Gotland* contains in its first component the name of the ethnic group *Goths*. Hofmann (1988, 29) remarks upon the difference between names of countries which refer to a salient characteristic of the climate or geography, e.g. *Ice-land*, *Sea-land*, and those which contain the name of the inhabitants, e.g. *Fries-land* or *Ire-land*. *Gotland* belongs to the second type. Furthermore, the compound *Gut-land* ‘Gothic land’ is athematic, as is *Gut-* in *Gut-þiuda* (dat.) ‘Gothic people’ in the Gothic Calendar (Milan). There can be no doubt that the identical name for the Goths lies behind both forms. There are two possible explanations for the name of the island. Perhaps the Goths had settled there and a small tribal group emigrated, whose population later greatly increased. Conversely, the Goths could have reached the island at an early time and settled there (Wenskus, 1961,

464 ff.). In both cases these Goths were assimilated to the northern world (Hofmann 1988, 32).

4. Goths and prestige: on the history of Gothicism

This contribution on the subject of the Nordic-Gothic linguistic relationship would not be complete without a brief account of Gothicism. Nationalism (Scandinavianism) and the search for national origins was not only a prerogative of the Romantic era. The first people to evince an interest in the Goths and their kingdoms in eastern and western Europe were other Germanic tribes, namely at a very early period (by at least the fourth century A. D.) in their oral poetry.

Furthermore, authors like Augustine (354–430), Orosius (fifth century), Salvianus (fifth century), Sidonius Apollinaris (second half of the fifth century), Hydatius (395–470), Ennodius (473–521) and others increasingly revised their opinion of the Gothic “barbarians” and began to praise their virtues (Teillet, 1984, passim). The fame of the Goths reached its acme in Spain, where *godo* even today means ‘noble’ and ‘rich’ (Menéndez Pidal 1956, 31; Svennung 1966, 33).

Particularly important, on account of its resonance in the Western world, was the Council of Basle (1431–1449; Brough 1985, 23f.), at which the bishop of Växjö (Småland, Sweden) Nicolaus Ragvaldi (Nils Ragvaldsson) declared that his king “descenderit a rege Gothorum” (Svennung 1966, 37). The alleged descent from Gothic ancestors was, of course, a commonplace in Sweden, where the traces of the name of the Goths constituted incontrovertible evidence. Interest in the Gothic language was greatly stimulated in 1669 when “rikskanslern” Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie presented the *Codex argenteus* to the University of Uppsala. In modern times various scholars have consciously or unconsciously been influenced by Gothicism.

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64. Nordic-West Germanic relations

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1. Nordic and the division of the Germanic languages

In the numerous attempts made over the years at grouping the Germanic languages (cf. Nielsen 1989, 67–107), Nordic has been cast in three widely different roles. In Schleicher's tripartite family tree from 1860, the Proto-Germanic trunk branched out into what in Streitberg's terminology (1974 [1896]) were called, East Germanic (Gothic), West Germanic (OHG, OSx., OE, OFris., and ODu.) and North Germanic (Nordic). This model was clearly inspired by the geographical locations of the earliest attested Germanic dialects.

Another hypothesis, which took Gothic emigration from Sweden as its point of departure (cf. place-names like Götaland and Gotland), posited a Gotho-Nordic branch of Germanic more than 2000 years ago, contrasting with what in our first model was called West Germanic. Most fervent among the adherents of this "Gotho-Nordic theory" was Schwarz (1951), but obviously much in such a hypothesis comes to depend on the assump-

tion that the Goths really came from Scandinavia, which, in the view of present-day scholarship, can be demonstrated neither linguistically nor archaeologically.

A third model was proposed by Kuhn (1955) in reaction to Schwarz's theory. Kuhn thought that on their departure from northern Europe for the Black Sea region the Goths still spoke Proto-Germanic, and that the remaining Nordic-West Germanic area stayed linguistically uniform till the mid-fifth century A. D., after which a split between North Germanic and West Germanic occurred as a consequence of the departure of the Anglo-Saxons from their continental homelands and the sixth-century penetration by the Danes into Slesvig (Jutland). In the meantime, a Gothic idiom had evolved in southeastern Europe as a result of the ethnic isolation of the Goths. The linguistic arguments advanced have secured Kuhn's model (called the "Northwest Germanic theory") a large following.

However, the concept of West Germanic has not been accepted in all quarters. Thus Maurer (1952), by interpreting evidence provided by archaeology and the classical historians, replaced West Germanic with as many as three primary groups: North Sea Germanic (Ingveonic), the ancestor of Frisian, Saxon and English; Weser-Rhine Germanic (Istveonic), which developed into Franconian, etc.; and Elbe Germanic (Erminonic), which later became Upper German. For chiefly archaeological reasons, Maurer believed that there were particularly close links between the "Elbe Germanic" and "North Germanic"

groups (§ 4). Despite its dubious methodology (cf. Nielsen 1989, 74–77), Maurer's model has had considerable impact on the handbooks of German historical linguistics.

According to Kuhn, the immediate predecessor of both North Germanic and West Germanic was the language rendered by the older runic inscriptions of Scandinavia – an idiom which in art. 70 I define as a language (ca. A.D. 200–500) that antedates the inception of specifically Nordic features, but which nevertheless, in the present handbook, is designated by the term Ancient Nordic. If Kuhn is right, it is only to be expected that at least some of the linguistic parallels between Nordic and the West Germanic languages are shared also by Ancient Nordic (or Proto-Nordic).

2. North and West Germanic correspondences with Ancient Nordic participation

Since the Ancient Nordic consonants are probably identical to those reconstructed for Pre-Germanic, there would be no difficulty in deriving the consonant systems of all the other attested Germanic languages (including that of Gothic) from Ancient Nordic. However, certain innovations in the accented and unaccented vowel systems are shared only by Ancient Nordic and the North Germanic and West Germanic languages:

(a) While Gothic retained Gmc $*\bar{e}^1$ (< IE $*\bar{e}$) as a half-close, front vowel (\bar{e}), the vowel acquired a more open quality in the North Germanic and West Germanic languages, cf. ON *dād* 'deed', OE *dæd*, OHG *tāt* vs. Go. *gadēþs*. In Ancient Nordic, a similar opening is attested, cf. **makija** (Vimose chape, A.D. 250) 'sword', OSx. *māki* vs. Go. *mēkeis* and **-mariz** (Thorsberg chape, A.D. 200) 'famous', OSx./OHG *māri* vs. Go. *-mēreis*. It would appear that the early attestation of \bar{a} in Scandinavia is matched in Bavaria, where \bar{a} < \bar{e}^1 occurs perhaps as early as A.D. 170 (the last element of a Marcomannic leader's name is *-marios* according to the Greek author). For the fronting of \bar{a} to $\bar{e}(\bar{e})$ in OE (North Sea Gmc), see Nielsen 1998, 74, 97, 100–101.

The fact that Gmc $*\bar{e}^1$ is reflected as an open vowel in the North Germanic and West Germanic languages is probably due to the introduction of $*\bar{e}^2$, which pushed \bar{e}^1 into a half-open or open position. There are no reflexes of $*\bar{e}^2$ in AN, but the attestation of the open, long vowel \bar{a} in, e.g., **-mariz** is indirect evi-

dence of the integration of \bar{e}^2 in the accented long vowel system.

(b) The occurrence of **o** in Gallehus **holtjaz** (patronymic) and **horna** 'horn' and in **dohtriz** 'daughters' on the Tune stone (A.D. 400) is important because it shows that /o/ must have acquired phonemic status in Ancient Nordic (cf. below) just as it had in the North Germanic and West Germanic languages, cf. ON *goll* 'gold', OE/Ofris./OSx./OHG *gold* vs. Go. *gulþ* (Gmc $*gulþa-$). AN **holtjaz** and **dohtriz** both exhibit **o** /o/ on the analogy of forms with an unaccented *-a-* following the accented vowel, cf. $*holta-$ < $*hulta-$ and $*dohtar-$ < $*duhtar-$. The Ancient Nordic accented vowel is therefore no longer an allophone of /u/ ([o]) in complementary distribution (lowered, through *a*-umlaut, in front of unaccented /a/), but a phoneme (/o/) in its own right.

(c) The shift of final unaccented Gmc $*-\bar{o}$ (< IE $*-\bar{a}$) to *-u* in AN, cf. nom.sg.fem. (Darum 1 bracteate, etc.) **laþu** 'invitation, summons', (Opedal stone) **minu** 'my', **liubu** 'dear' is shared by all the North Germanic and West Germanic languages (Krahe I 1969, § 126.3), cf. nom.sg.fem. (\bar{o} -stem) *skqr* 'locks', OE *giefu* 'gift'; nom.pl.neut. (*a*-stem) ON *börn* (*u*-mutation) 'children', OE/OSx. *fatu* 'vats, jars' (in OE *bearn*, OSx./OHG *barn* 'children' *-u* had disappeared after a long syllable). In Gothic, the reflex of Gmc $*-\bar{o}$ was *-a*, cf. nom.sg.fem. *giba* 'gift', nom.pl.neut. *barna* 'children'.

(d) Unaccented Gmc $*ai$ and $*au$ were monophthongized to, respectively, \bar{e} and \bar{o} in AN, cf., e.g., dat.sg.masc. *a*-stem **woduride** (Tune stone) 'furious rider' and gen.sg. *u*-stem **magoz** (Vettelund stone) 'son'. Such monophthongizations are found in all the North Germanic and West Germanic languages, cf. dat.sg.masc. *a*-stem ON *degi* 'day', OE *dæge*, OSx. *dage*, OHG *tage* (< Gmc $*-ai$) and gen.sg. *u*-stem ON *sonar* 'son', OE *sunu*, OSx. *sunu*, OHG *fridoo* 'peace' (< Gmc $*-auz$). In Gothic, unaccented Gmc $*ai$ and $*au$ are retained, cf. 3sg.pres.subj. *baīrai* 'carries' (ON *beri*, OE/OSx./OHG *bere*) and gen.sg. *u*-stem *sunaus* 'son'.

Four additional items pertain to morphology:

(e) In comparison with nom.pl. *r*-stem AN **dohtriz** (Tune stone) 'daughters', ON *feðr* 'fathers', OE *dohtor*, OSx. *fader*, OHG *muoter* 'mothers', which regularly reflect the ending(s) inherited from Indo-European, the Go. form

dohtrjus ‘daughters’ constitutes an innovation in that the nom. pl. *u*-stem suffix (cf. *sunjus* ‘sons’) has replaced the inherited one. In view of the regular coalescence of the acc. pl. and dat. pl. *r*-stem suffixes with those pertaining to the *u*-stem (acc. pl. and dat. pl.) in Gothic, it is not surprising that the nominative plural should conform analogically to this pattern (Krahe II 1969, §23 and Brøndum-Nielsen GG, §470–71).

(f) Characteristically, the Germanic dialects possess two types of suffix in the comparison of adjectives: the vanishing grade inherited from IE **-is-* (Gmc **-izan*, **-ista-*) and the new Germanic formation with the vowel *-ō-*, cf. Go. *-ōza*, *-ōsts*. In Go., the *-iza*, *-ists* type predominates, the *ō*-comparison comprising some *a*-stem adjectives only. In Old High German both suffixes are frequent (Braune/Eggers 1975, §261, §263), but in Old Nordic and the North Sea Germanic languages, comparatives and superlatives with **-ōzan*, **-ōsta* have the upper hand (ON *hvass* ‘sharp’, *hvassari*, *hvassastr*; OE *earm* ‘poor’, *earmra*, *earmest*; OSx. *liof* ‘dear’, *liobora*, *liobost*), although a few frequently occurring adjectives still reflect the Indo-European type of comparison. In Ancient Nordic there is only one attested adjective in the comparative or superlative; it is of some interest that the adjective (superlative) in question exhibits *ō*-vocalism, viz. Tune stone **arjostez** ‘noblest’.

The association of the *ō*-suffix with the *a*-(*ō*-) stems may account for the expansion of the suffix, seeing that it is precisely these adj. stems which gradually came to prevail (Brøndum-Nielsen, GG §530–531).

(g) An independent (formal) passive is preserved by Gothic (cf. 1/3sg. pres. *haitada* ‘am/is called’, pl. pres. *haitanda* ‘are called’) but lost in the North Germanic and West Germanic languages except for a few isolated traces, cf. ON *heiti* ‘am called’ (Noreen 1970, §542 Anm. 2), OE *hätte* ‘is/was called’ (Campbell 1959, §727), MLG/MDu. *hette* ‘was called’ (Schwarz 1951, 115). Ancient Nordic exhibits similar traces, cf. Kragehul spearshaft **haite**, Järsberg stone **h(a)ite** ‘am called’.

(h) Contrary to Gothic, which retained the reduplicated weak preterite plural endings *-dēdum*, *-dēduþ*, *dēdun* (cf. the independent OHG verb pt. pl. *tātum*, *tātut*, *tātun* ‘did’), Ancient Nordic agrees with the North Germanic and West Germanic languages in exhibiting suffix shortening, cf. 3pl.pt. Tune stone **dalidun**

‘shared’ (Krause 1971, 169–70), ON *tolðu* ‘counted’, OHG *frumitun* ‘furthered’, pl.pt. OSx. *fremidun*, OE *fremedon* vs. Go. *gawandidēdun* ‘(they) turned’.

Unlike the shared phonological innovations (a–d), the four morphological items are clearly of limited significance: one Ancient Nordic/North Germanic/West Germanic parallel results from innovation in Gothic (e) and another from common loss in comparison with Gothic (g); the increasing use of *-ō-* described in (f) may be classified as an analogical innovatory development; and finally the parallel discussed in (h) is best seen as the product of suffix simplification.

3. North and West Germanic parallels not evidenced by Ancient Nordic

A considerable portion of the 55-item corpus of correspondences between North Germanic and West Germanic compiled in Nielsen 1976 and 1985, 215–20 is attributable to loss and, especially, innovation in Gothic. Since it is not our purpose here to reconstruct Proto-Germanic, “parallels” that have come about in this way have been more or less ignored below. Similarly, the large number of shared features that result from weakening, loss, simplification or analogical developments, have been included only to a very limited extent – and in principle only where Ancient Nordic evidence is available, cf. sect. 2 (f–h) – because of the chronological factors involved. I am thinking here of the late transmission of the North Germanic and West Germanic languages in comparison with Gothic. This leaves us with a restricted inventory of shared innovations, four of which were dealt with in sect. 2 (a–d). Below, the most significant of the remaining stock of innovations will be adduced:

(a) The dat. sg. fem. nominal ending inherited from Indo-European has been preserved in the Gothic strong adjectives, cf. *blindai* ‘blind’ (Lat. *bonae* ‘good’), whereas it has been replaced by the pronominal suffix in the North Germanic and West Germanic languages, cf. dat. sg. fem. ON *langri* ‘long’, OE *hwætre* ‘sharp’, OFris. *gōdre* ‘good’, OSx. *blinderu* ‘blind’, OHG *blinteru*.

(b) The Gothic 2pl. nom. personal pronoun *jus* is a regular reflex of the Indo-European form as suggested by Av. *jūš* and Lith. *jūs* (Krahe II 1969, §33). The corresponding

NGmc and WGmc forms, ON *ér*, OE *gē*, OFris. *jī*, OSx. *gī*, *gē*, OHG *ir*, presuppose **jīz*, probably a transformation of Gmc **jūz* on the analogy of 1pl. personal pronoun **wīz* 'we', cf. Go. *weis*, runic Sw. *uiz* (Peterson 1994, 11), OHG *wir*, etc.

It is noteworthy that the 2dual nominative also shows innovated forms in North Germanic and West Germanic, cf. ON *it*, OE/OSx. *git* (Lith. *jūdu*). The Gothic form is not attested, but would undoubtedly have been **jut* (Rosenfeld 1954, 386–87).

(c) In contradistinction to Gothic, the North Germanic and West Germanic languages exhibit a reinforced demonstrative pronoun based on the normal demonstrative pronoun plus the particle *-si*, cf. Go. *sai*, OHG *se* 'see' (Brøndum-Nielsen, GG § 575A). The construction is most clearly reflected in runic Danish and Swedish, cf. nom.sg.masc. *sasi*, acc.sg.masc. *þansi* (Glavendrup, Tryggevælde), dat.sg.masc. *þaimsi*, nom.sg.fem. *susi*, acc.sg.fem. *þaisi* (Tryggevælde), nom./acc.sg.neut. *þatsi*, etc. (Brøndum-Nielsen, GG § 575; Peterson 1994, 51–54). Old High German is the West Germanic language to have deviated the most from this pattern (Braune/Eggers 1975, § 288), all case forms (with the exception of nom.sg.masc. and nom./acc.sg.neut.) being based on the uniform secondary stem form **pe(s)*- followed by inflectional endings modelled on the strong adjectival declension. Old English, Old Frisian and Old Saxon show instances of both systems, Old English being the most conservative of the three in retaining internal inflection in not just nom.sg.masc., instr.sg.masc., nom./acc.sg.neut., instr.sg.neut. and nom.sg.fem., but also in acc.sg.fem. and nom./acc.pl.neut., cf. OE *þās* vs. OSx. *thesa*, *these*. With the exception of certain case forms ending in *-a* (nom.sg.masc., gen.sg.masc., nom./acc.sg.neut., cf. Krahe II 1969, § 38) instead of *-si*, classical Old Nordic (Oícel.) only has forms with secondary stems, final inflection probably being more in accordance with Germanic linguistic instincts than internal declension.

The introduction of a reinforced demonstrative pronoun was an innovation common to all the North Germanic/West Germanic languages. When it took place and whether it occurred at the same time everywhere, is difficult to say. The loss of substance and distinctiveness and subsequent reinforcement through extended or new forms are well-known phenomena in the development of pro-

nominal and deictic systems (Samuels 1972, 84). The raw material for producing new North Germanic/West Germanic forms was available everywhere and the innovation could have come about in more than one place. Contact is likely to have accelerated the expansion of the innovation. The non-occurrence of the reinforced demonstrative pronoun in Ancient Nordic is perhaps just due to the narrow section of the sociolinguistic continuum reflected in the language of the older runic inscriptions.

(d) As has often been pointed out, Gothic is the only Germanic dialect to retain reduplicated preterites, and despite the traces that can be found in other dialects, especially in Old English, we here face a loss common to North Germanic and West Germanic.

However, the uniform way in which North Germanic and West Germanic transform the reduplicated verbs is interesting. Where the Gothic reduplicating preterite has the root vowel *ai* as in the present tense, e.g. *haihait*, infinitive *haitan* 'command, call', the vowel *ē*² seems to be the common product of contraction in North Germanic and West Germanic cf. ON/OE/OFris./OSx. *hēt* (OFris. also *hīt*), OHG *hiaʒ*. Traces of reduplication are retained in Old English/Anglian poetic language, cf. *heht* 'commanded', *leolc* 'jumped' (Campbell 1959, § 746). And where Gothic has *au* (present and preterite), the resulting North Germanic/West Germanic preterite vowel is apparently *eu*, cf. ON *jók* 'increased'; OE *bēot* 'beat' (preterite); OSx. *hliop* 'ran', OHG *liof* (OFris. *hlēp* (*hlīp*)) points rather to *ē*² as the source of origin; unfortunately preterite forms of, e.g., *āka* 'to increase' are not attested in OFris. [Steller 1928, § 97]. Old High German may have retained a few reduplicated preterites, cf. *steroz*, infinitive *stōʒan* 'push', etc. (Braune/Eggers 1975, § 354 Anm. 3; Schwarz 1951, 259; Krahe II 1969, § 75). As the third and final point, the reduplicated vowel and the graded root vowel as in the type Go. *lailōt*, infinitive *lētan* 'let, allow to', are contracted into NGmc/WGmc *ē*², cf. ON/OE/OFris./OSx. *lēt* (OFris. also *līt*), OHG *liaʒ*. ON *sera* (< **se-zō*) 'sowed' and OE *leort* 'allowed to', *reord* 'advised' are reduplicated survivals (Noreen 1970, § 506, § 317.4; Brøndum-Nielsen, GG § 646; and Campbell 1959, § 746).

Although the loss of reduplication is a common North Germanic/West Germanic loss, the further development (transformation) of Germanic reduplicated verbs in North

Germanic and West Germanic thus seems to be parallel in three respects. It is significant that neither of the new preterite vowels (\bar{e}^2 , *eu*) occurs in the nominal and verbal derivational morphology of the Germanic languages (Schwarz 1951, 107; Hirt II 1932, 144; Heusler 1913, §129 Anm.; v. Coetsem 1994, 106). This suggests that the loss of reduplication and the subsequent vocalic innovations were relatively late developments. It further suggests that the systemic origin of \bar{e}^2 had nothing to do with the transformations of Germanic reduplicated preterites in North Germanic and West Germanic, but that such forms only represented lexical additions to the new phoneme (v. Coetsem 1994, 99–102).

The next four items are all phonological correspondences:

(e) The initial Gmc consonant cluster *þl-* is retained in Gothic, but becomes *fl-* in the North Germanic and West Germanic languages, cf. ON *flýja* ‘to flee’, OE *flēon*, OFris. *fliā*, OSx./OHG *flīohan* vs. Go. *þliuhan* – in other words, a shared North Germanic/West Germanic innovation (Noreen 1970, §221,2; Luick I.2 1940, §635,1; Kuhn 1955, 15–16). For a different point of view, see Prokosch 1939, 87.

(f) While Gmc *z* (< IE *z* or *s* (Verner’s Law)) is retained in Gothic as *z*, in final position as *s*, it becomes *r* in NGmc and WGmc, in NGmc generally and in WGmc medially and in final accented position (final unaccented *-z* disappeared early in WGmc, cf. Luick I.2 1940, §629 Anm. 1 & 3), cf. Go. *maiza* ‘more’, *dius* ‘wild beast, animal’; ON *meiri*, *dýr*, OE *māra*, *dēor*, OSx. *mēro*, *dior*, OHG *mēro*, *tior* < Gmc **maizan-*, **deuza-* (Krahe I 1969, §80; Hirt I 1931, 96; Luick I.2 1940, §629; Campbell 1959, §404; Brunner 1965, §181; Noreen 1970, §224, §265).

The shift from *z* to *r* is not easy to date. Although Schwarz (1951, 257) believes that he has evidence to show that the development had been completed by the fourth century A.D. in pre-Old High German, there are no early, unequivocal examples of the shift in early West Germanic. The chronological vagueness expressed by Braune/Eggers (1975, §168) concerning the transition to *r* in Old High German (“im Süden spätestens im 6. Jh.” [in the south no later than in the sixth century]) is typical of the caution with which the dating problem is treated in our handbooks.

In Ancient Nordic, Υz occurs rarely in medial position: nom. sg. masc. *a*-stem **hrāzaz** ‘the agile one’ (Rö stone, A.D. 400), **harāzaz** ‘the agile one’ (Eidsvåg stone, A.D. ca. 450); nom. sg. masc. *a*-stem **hrozaz** ‘the quick-moving one’, dat. sg. masc. *a*-stem **hroze** ‘for H.’ (Antonsen 1975, 80), cf. OE/OSx. *hrōr* ‘stirring, busy, active’; acc. sg. neut. *a*-stem **azina** ‘stone slab’ (By stone, A.D. ca. 550). The Hitsum bracteate, discovered in Friesland but believed by Düwel (1996, 29) and others to have been imported from Scandinavia, exhibits the form **fozo** ‘relative’ (Düwel 1983, 126–27 with further references, cf. also Krause 1971, 150). Assuming **fozo** to be a nom. sg. masc. *n*-stem name, Seebold (1996, 197–98) sees the form as Low Franconian (Continental West Germanic) rather than a name deriving from Friesland or Scandinavia (Jutland), where the ending would have been *-a*. See also Nielsen 1997, 10–11.

It seems safe to conclude that the change of *z* to *r* had not been implemented in Scandinavia by the end of the Ancient Nordic period. There are no inverted spellings (no confusion of the runes Υ and \mathfrak{k}) in medial position. In West Germanic territory, the shift may well have occurred earlier than in Scandinavia, but precise chronological clues are not available.

(g) The West Germanic gemination (consonant doubling) before *j* is well-known, every consonant except *r* being affected after short syllables, cf. the Class I weak infinitives, *ja-||jō*-stem nouns, etc: Go. *satjan* ‘to set’, *kuni* ‘kin’; OE *settan*, *cynn*, OFris. *setta*, *kenn*, OSx. *set-tian*, *kunni*, OHG *setzen*, *chunni*. Less familiar is the Nordic consonant gemination after a short vowel before *j*, with *g* and *k* being doubled in such cases, cf. *hyggja* ‘to think’ (Go. *hugjan*; OE *hycgan*), *leggja* ‘to lay’ (Go. *lagjan*; OE *lecgan*), *bekkr* ‘brook’ (< **bakja-*), *lykkja* ‘loop, knot’ (cf. *lúka* ‘to finish’), cf. Brøndum-Nielsen, GG §274,1; GG §344; and Noreen 1970, §279,1.

Very likely, West Germanic consonant gemination is an innovation which spread to Nordic, although on a reduced scale; there certainly seem to be no chronological objections to such a conclusion. The Weser runes from ca. A.D. 400 (Antonsen 1993, 15) exhibit the geminated form **kunni** ‘kin’, identical to its OSx. counterpart, cf. above. This does not run counter to Luick’s assessment (I.2 1940, §631 Anm. 7) that West Germanic gemination took place after the second but not later than in

the fifth century A. D., cf. also Schwarz 1951, 262. In reaction to Noreen's vague assignment of Nordic consonant doubling (1970, § 279.1) to before 900, Brøndum-Nielsen (GG § 274 Anm. 3) remarks that the consonant lengthening is undoubtedly a good deal older.

(h) As in all other positions, IE *o* preceding a single nasal in a medial unaccented syllable develops into Go. *a*, cf. dat. pl. masc. *a*-stem *dagam* 'days' and 1pl. pres. ind. *baíram* 'carry' (< IE **bheromes*), whereas the vowel is retained as *o* (> *u*) in NGmc and WGmc because of the following nasal, cf. ON *dǫgum*, OE/OSx. *dagum*, OHG *tagum* and ON *berum*, OHG *berumēs*, cf. Krahe I 1969, § 45; Luick I.1 1921, § 294.3; Brøndum-Nielsen, GG § 119 Anm. 2; and Streitberg 1974 [1896], § 54.

Ancient Nordic has no comparable forms, but the Stentofte inscription exhibits two dat. pl. masc. *a*-stem forms in **-u-**, **hAborumz** 'he-goats' and **hagestumz** 'stallions' (Santesson 1989, 226–27).

From this we may conclude that unaccented *o* remained before a nasal in Proto-Germanic, that it became *a* only in Gothic, and that *o* in this position was eventually incorporated as *u* in the unaccented systems of the North Germanic and West Germanic languages.

In the absence of Ancient Nordic and other direct or indirect evidence, the eight parallels adduced raise some very serious questions to which, at best, only tentative answers can be provided:

- When precisely were the various innovations (parallels) introduced?
- Did they come into being before, during or after the Ancient Nordic period (A. D. 200–500)?
- Did they all occur at the same time in North Germanic and West Germanic? In other words, to what extent could the shared innovations have arisen independently, and to what extent did they spread through contact?

4. Parallels between North Germanic and Old High German

Until the publication of Maurer's *Nordgermanen und Alemannen*, no attempt had been made to compile lists of features shared by Old Nordic and Old High German (Maurer 1952, 80). Our Ancient Nordic material actually exhibits one item with parallels in the

two later languages, cf. dat. sg. masc. ON *syni* 'son', early OHG *suniu* whose endings, like that of the Ancient Nordic personal name dat. sg. masc. **kunimu(n)diu** (Tjurkö bracteate), reflect the IE locative suffix **-ēu*.

Maurer himself (1952, 80–84) posits four "grammatical" correspondences between Nordic and Upper German (southern German), drawing attention at the same time to the relevance in this context of his inventory of six parallels that, in addition to Nordic and Upper German, comprises also Gothic (1952, 70–72). Both lists will be evaluated below.

Despite the title of his book and his lists of correspondences, Maurer seeks not so much to establish a primary Nordic-Upper German dialect group as to weaken the traditional theory of a West Germanic linguistic unity (1952, 84). Maurer took inspiration from the archaeological literature dealing with the period under investigation, thinking that the later speakers of Nordic and Upper German sprang from, respectively, the "North Germanic" and "Elbe Germanic" culture groups posited on the strength of material finds dated archaeologically to between the first century B. C. and ca. A. D. 300 (1952, 132). The Nordic-Upper German parallels had arisen, fully or in part, at a time of early "North-Germanic"/"Elbe Germanic" proximity in northern Europe. Here the links between the "Elbe Germanen" and the "Nord Germanen" were closer than those between the "Elbe Germanen" and the Anglo-Saxons or than the ties linking the Anglo-Saxons to the "Nord Germanen" (1952, 84).

The publication of Maurer's book in the 1940s stimulated Eduard Kolb (1957, vii, 1) to undertake an investigation of the lexical material shared solely by Alemannic and North Germanic. In the first two editions of his book (1942; 1943), Maurer had himself posited a list of such words, but in reaction to heavy criticism Maurer (1952, 6) decided not to include it in the third edition. Nevertheless, Kolb continued with his plans and was able to identify a total of 170 lexical parallels, 36 of which were treated in considerable detail (1957, 23–124). In a review of Kolb's book, Kuhn (1957–58, 145–48) offered important arguments for assuming that Kolb's lexical inventory should be reduced, while Kolb's findings met with Senn's approval (1958, 302).

Since the present article is concerned only with phonology and morphology and not with the lexicon (for the drawbacks to setting up prehistoric dialect groups by means of lexical

criteria, see Nielsen 1989, 146–47), we shall confine ourselves to considering how far Maurer's points are borne out by the two inventories (§ 4.1–2) examined below.

4.1. Maurer's Nordic-Upper German (Alemannic) correspondences

(a) The *i*-umlaut of *a* to *e* is a feature which Maurer (1952, 81–82) sees as an innovation subjected to various restrictions in both Nordic and Upper German, and which he thinks was brought to southern Germany as an inherent linguistic tendency by the “Elbe Germanen”. To adduce the *i*-mutation of *a* as a shared innovation is, in my view, not immediately comprehensible. In Upper German the shift was prevented by certain consonant groups, whereas in Nordic *i*-umlaut of back vowels was absent in short syllables, unaccented *i* disappearing without causing mutation. Chronologically, the change was recorded relatively late: in the eighth century in southern Germany (cf. Braune/Eggers 1975, § 51 Anm. 1), and slightly earlier in Nordic, cf. (pre-)ODan. *Ongendus* (ca. 700) < **-gandiz* (Brøndum-Nielsen I 1950, § 78 Anm. 1). Finally, I am hesitant about attaching too great importance to shared features which result from conditioned phonetic change (the principle of least effort). I have discussed this problem in detail elsewhere, cf. Nielsen 1985, 89–96, esp. 89–93.

(b) Another common development governed by the principle of least effort is consonant cluster simplification of the combinations *wl*- and *wr*- seen in, e.g., ON *líta* ‘to gaze, look’, OHG *antlizzi* ‘face’ vs. OE *wlitan*, *andwlita* and OIcel. *reiðr* ‘angry’, OHG *reid* ‘frizzy, curly’ vs. OE *wrāþ* ‘angry’, OSx. *wrēð*, OFris. *wrēth*. The weight carried by this parallel must be regarded as insignificant, cf. Nielsen 1985, 94–95.

(c) Maurer (1952, 82–83) sees a correspondence between Nordic and Upper German in the pronunciation of Gmc *g* < IE *gh* (and vernerized *k*) as a stop consonant in contradistinction to the fricative pronunciation prevailing in the North Sea Germanic languages. The major difference between Ancient Nordic and Old Nordic, on the one hand, and the North Sea Germanic languages on the other is that the originally palatal allophones of /*g*/ merged with /*j*/ in the latter group. Otherwise, the allophones of /*g*/ would appear to have come out as stops initially and as fricatives

intervocally. Because of the second consonant shift the situation was somewhat different in Upper German, which probably only had stop allophones, cf. Braune/Eggers 1975, § 149 and § 88 Anm. 3.

The fact that Ancient Nordic, Old Nordic and Upper German did not, like the North Sea Germanic languages, undergo a “split plus merger” process has little bearing on Germanic dialect grouping. Not only is this “parallel” a common retention, but the merger of some /*g*/ allophones with /*j*/ “shows phonemicisation at its minimum relevance” (cf. Samuels 1972, 39): allophones from one phoneme join another existing phoneme to which their distinctive features have become more similar owing to conditioned phonetic change.

(d) Finally, the open reflexes of Gmc \bar{e}^1 on ON (\acute{a}) and OHG (\bar{a}) are set apart from the mid-front vowels thought to have been preserved by OE (WSx. \bar{x}) and OFris. (\bar{e}). We believe that Gmc \bar{e}^1 must also have become \bar{a} in the North Sea Germanic languages before being fronted. See Nielsen 1994, 118–21, 124–25 and above, § 2 (a).

4.2. Maurer's Nordic-Gothic-Upper German correspondences

Four of the six parallels listed by Maurer (1952, 71) in this category echo some of Frings' “Ingveonic” (i.e. North Sea Germanic) innovations, the latter being matched by features shared by the remaining Germanic languages (Frings 1932, 32 Anm.).

Not surprisingly, the Gothic, Nordic and Upper German correspondences tend to be common retentions. This holds true of the distinction between the accusative and the dative preserved in the 1/2 sg. personal pronouns, e.g. Go. *mik*, *mis* ‘me’, ON *mik*, *mér*, OHG *mih*, *mir* (cf. also AN dat. sg. *mez* ‘me’ [Opedal stone]) vs. acc./dat. sg. OE $\bar{m}\acute{e}$, OSx./OFris. $\bar{m}\check{i}$.

The reflexive pronoun is retained in Go. (acc. *sik*, dat. *sis*), ON (*sik*, *sér*) and OHG (*sih*), but not in the North Sea Germanic languages.

Further, Go. nom. sg. fem. *si* ‘she’ is considered an inherited feature along with OHG (Bavarian) *si*, which contrasts with the “innovatory form” *sio*, *siu*. Maurer (1952, 71) brackets the latter forms as Old English, Old Saxon and “partly Old High German”. As far as Old English is concerned, Maurer is wrong: this language has no nom. sg. fem. forms of the 3 personal pronoun in *s*- (Nielsen 1985, 165,

227). For the Old High German forms, see Braune/Eggers 1975, § 283 Anm. 1f.

And finally, the pronominal declension of the strong adjective in the nominative singular neuter, cf. Go. *blindata* ‘blind’, ON *blint(t)*, OHG *blintaz*, has no counterpart in the North Sea Germanic languages, cf. OE/Ofris./OSx. *blind*. In Nielsen 1985, 108–9 it is suggested that variation between pronominal and nominal (cf. the North Sea Germanic languages) endings may have been a feature of the early Germanic adjective in the nom./acc.sg. neuter. If the Gothic, Old Nordic and Old High German forms are innovations, (independent) interparadigmatic analogy may be held responsible, pronominal models for the introduction of the endings being present everywhere.

Maurer (1952, 72) adds a fifth item borrowed from Frings, viz. the variant forms denoting the interrogative adverb “how”, cf. Go. *hwaiwa*, ON *hvé*, OHG *hwē* (< the adverb **hwaiw-* [Braune/Eggers 1975, § 291 Anm. 1]) vs. OSx. *hwō*, OE/Ofris. *hū* (< interrogative pronoun instrumental **hwō* [Nielsen 1985, 116–17]). The two groups of languages have, of course, made common selections of alternative forms. Since it has been a choice between an adverb and the instrumental case of an interrogative pronoun, the parallel is close to being a lexical one, its significance diminishing accordingly.

The only one of the six parallels adduced independently by Maurer (1952, 70–71) is the reflection of Gmc *eu* as *iu* in Gothic, Old Nordic and Upper German (Alemannic), where Old English, Old Saxon and Old Franconian show greater tendency towards introducing a more open second element (*eo*, *io*) before *a*, *e*, *o* in the following syllable. By way of illustration, I would like to offer the following examples: Go. *liufs* ‘dear’, ON *liúfr*, Upper German *liuf* vs. OE *lēof*, OFris. *liāf*, OSx. *liof*, OFranc. *liob*. In AN *eu* is retained in **-leubaz** ‘dear’ (Skärkind stone) and has become *iu* before *u* in **liubu** (Opedal stone). Limited weight should be attached to this item, seeing that it has to do partly with conditioned phonetic change and partly with diphthongs whose quality is dependent on the way in which the diphthongs are integrated in the respective vowel systems.

The linguistic “facts” compiled by Maurer to underpin the original geographical proximity of the “North Germanic” and “Elbe Germanic” culture groups in northern Europe prior to the southward expansion of the “Elbe

Germanen” have proved to be founded on extremely weak evidence. Personally, I would hesitate to label a single one of Maurer’s ten parallels (§ 4.1–2) as being of any real value.

There is one item which links Ancient Nordic to Old High German. As was pointed out in § 4, the dat.sg.masc. *u*-stem ending *-iu* occurs in the Ancient Nordic personal name **kunimu(n)diu** as well as in early OHG *suniu* ‘son’. The instances of Ancient Nordic conservatism seen in § 4.2, viz. the retention of a specific dat. sg. form in the lsg. personal pronoun, **mez**, and of the diphthong *eu* as **eu** or **iu** (before *u*), is hardly surprising in view of the age of the older runic inscriptions of Scandinavia.

5. The North-West Germanic theory: a revised model

While Maurer’s scenario for explaining the correspondences between North Germanic and West Germanic (Alemannic) must be described as a dialect-geographical cul-de-sac, the same conclusion cannot be drawn with regard to Kuhn’s theory (§ 1, cf. also § 2–3), even if, on closer inspection, the latter model would seem to require modification.

According to Kuhn, the split between Nordic and West Germanic took place close to A. D. 500. In art. 70, where I list some of the major isoglosses separating Ancient Nordic from Pre-Germanic, on the one hand, and from Old Nordic, on the other, it is pointed out that the earliest Nordic innovations were attested in the runic inscriptions of the sixth century.

However, the most spectacular West Germanic divergences from the purported North-west Germanic successor language to Pre-Germanic are likely to have come into being in the third and fourth centuries A. D., cases in point being the loss of unaccented **-z* and the gemination of consonants before *j*, which are both attested in the Weser runes from ca. A. D. 400 (Antonsen 1993, 15), cf. the personal name nom.sg.masc. **ulu:hari** (vs. AN **swabaharjaz**) and **kunni** ‘kin’ (cf. OSx. *kunni* and ON gen.pl.neut. *kynja*).

In a recent book I have posited the following tree diagram illustrating the development of the Germanic languages (1998, 57):

It will be noted that the early runic language (Ancient Nordic) is equated with Northwest Germanic, at least until the time when West Germanic branched off, an event which may

have preceded the inception of the earliest Nordic innovations by two centuries or more. The early runic language (Ancient Nordic) was gradually succeeded by North Germanic (Old Nordic).

It should not be overlooked that the interrelations illustrated by means of this Germanic family tree give a somewhat simplified picture of the linguistic developments: the diagram does not provide any information on, e. g., the linguistic parallels linking North Germanic to the North Sea Germanic languages, cf. Nielsen 1985, 187–215 and article 65. And the model does not envisage the possibility that the early runic language (Ancient Nordic) could be interpreted as the predecessor of Old Nordic and West Germanic minus Old High German (i. e. the North Sea Germanic languages), cf. Antonsen 1975, 26; Nielsen 1998a, 542–52; and article 70 in this volume.

It is outside the scope of the present article to pursue this line of enquiry any further, but the relationship between Nordic and North Sea Germanic is among the problems that have been taken up for discussion in a monograph devoted to the question of the dialect-geographical position of Ancient Nordic within Germanic (Nielsen 2000). Needless to say, much of what has been put forward here on the relation between Nordic and West Germanic is contained also in my recent monograph.

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65. Nordic and North Sea Germanic relations

1. Introduction
2. North Sea Germanic and Nordic parallels
3. Frisian loanwords in Nordic
4. Nordic loans in Frisian
5. Conclusion
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The grouping of the Northwestern Germanic dialects is still a hotly discussed topic (see article 64). Arguments have been advanced that originally there was a North-West-Germanic group which split up in the first centuries A. D. The oldest runic inscriptions from Jutland would then be relics of this early more or less uniform dialect (e. g. Antonsen 1975; Andersson 1995, 33). These dialects have common developments which separate them from East Germanic. Taking this view, West Germanic separated from North Germanic (Nielsen 1998, 56–57) by developing special features like the gemination of consonants before /j/ and less regularly before /r/ and /l/; loss of final -z, cf. OE *dæg*, OFris. *deg*, OSx. *dag*, OHG *tag* vs. ON *dagr* ‘day’; differences in the treatment of -i and -u after long and short roots; the development of *ð* to *d*; and special developments of -s-stems, cf. Nielsen 1998.

Ca. 100–450 A.D., North Sea Germanic developed as a separate group and comprised the later Old English and Old Frisian dialects, and probably also the dialects in the coastal areas of Belgium (Flanders), the Netherlands and Northern Germany. In these last areas, southern influences, Low Franconian and Old High German, partly superseded the earlier

North Sea Germanic character, so that we have only remnants of the original language in place-names and modern dialects (Schönfeld 1970, § 29).

2. North Sea Germanic and Nordic parallels

Since the speakers of the later OE dialects originated from Northern Germany and Denmark according to historical sources, it is no surprise that the Nordic languages have some features in common with North Sea Germanic. On the other hand, it also seems quite clear that there are later connections, too, e.g. in the contacts between North Frisian and the neighbouring Danish dialects. But even the commercial trade between Frisia and Scandinavia may have left some traces. Influences between Nordic and North Sea Germanic thus went both ways.

Just as the West Germanic innovations have some parallels in Nordic (art. 64), so also have a few of the specific North Sea Germanic peculiarities a parallel there.

(1) A very specific characteristic of North Sea Germanic is the disappearance of nasals before /f, þ, s/ as in OFris./OE/OSx. *fif* ‘five’, OE *tōþ* ‘tooth’, OE/Ofris. *ūs* ‘us’. The same development appears in Old Norse, but only before /s/: ON *óss, áss* ‘Ase’, cp. OFris./OE *ōs-* in personal names (< Gmc **ansu-*).

(2) The monophthongization of Germanic /ai/ in OE and OFris., e. g. OE *stān*, OFris. *stēn* < Gmc **staina-* ‘stone’, seems to have spread from the North Sea area to Northern Ger-

many and in the 10th and 11th century to Denmark and Sweden (Feitsma 1962, 99). Most striking is that OE had /a:/ but OFris. seems to have preferred /e:/. This latter form is also the one that spread to the east and to the north. In the same way, Gmc /au/ became /a:/ in OFris. and /o:/ in OSx.: OFris. *bām*, OSx. *bōm* 'tree'. It seems likely that there is a connection with the spread of the monophthongization of Gmc /au/ to /ø:/ in East Nordic since about 900 (Skautrup 1944).

(3) OE and OFris. both show palatalization of initial /k/ and /g/: OE *cirice*, OFris. *szurke* 'church'. A similar development also appears in the Nordic languages, but several centuries later. The beginnings of this phenomenon in Old English and Old Frisian lie in prehistorical times. The same development in some of the Nordic languages appears in the late Middle Ages. Here we have to assume that there is no direct connection, but more likely a common tendency between related languages.

(4) Final *-n* disappears in OFris., ON (and ME): OFris. *kāpa*, ON *kaupa* 'to buy'. An exact dating is not possible in the case of Old Frisian and Old Nordic, as the disappearance of *-n* happened in the centuries before the start of the manuscript tradition. But in view of the runic inscriptions, it seems probable that this development occurred earlier in Old Nordic than in Old Frisian. In this case we also should reckon with parallel developments, even more so when it is taken into consideration that this tendency is still going on. In Modern Dutch *-n* is written in infinitives and plural forms, but is generally not pronounced in everyday speech.

(5) In the case of nom. acc. pl. OFris. *āgen* and ODan./OSw. *oghon* 'eyes', Hammerich (1937) includes this among the Frisian-Nordic parallels. As *-n* also appears in OHG and OE, it is more probable that the West Germanic languages and ODan./OSw. retained a Germanic form, independently from each other. The younger and longer forms OFris. *āgene* and ODan. *ogh(e)næ* may be due to influence from the genitive and/or may have come into being as an ending that was clearer to perceive.

3. Frisian loanwords in Nordic

A much discussed topic is the question whether Frisian linguistic traits and loanwords spread to Scandinavia in the period from the 5th to the 11th century A.D. There is no doubt that commercial connections between Frisia and the Scandinavian countries

existed, cf. Lebecq 1994. Through these commercial ties, Old Frisian words could have spread to Scandinavia; the difficulty is that there also was strong Middle Low German influence in the later Middle Ages. The literary documents from Scandinavia begin in the 12th century, and the linguistic differences between Old Frisian and Middle Low German are normally not so very great as to be able to distinguish between loans from the one language to the other in the case of separate words. Therefore it is very difficult to say whether a specific word is a loan from Frisian or from Low German. Elis Wadstein (1932) has proposed many Frisian loans, but his ideas have not been generally accepted. Löfstedt (1963–65) mentions about 40 words that are paralleled in North Sea Germanic and ON. A part of them can be attributed to the common ancestor, NwGermanic, see also Lerchner (1965). Only a few words can be attributed to OFris. on linguistic grounds:

(1) OFris. *bāken* 'beacon' with Frisian /a:/ from Gmc /au/ (< **baukana-*). The word must be a loan from the period before the 12th century (Feitsma 1962, 108–9). Since the same word in its Frisian form also appears in Dutch and Low German, it can be assumed that it was an important and much used word in the coastal areas of the North Sea.

(2) Also *bāt* 'boat' has been mentioned as a Frisian loan into Nordic. The word, however, does not appear in Old Frisian texts, and the modern Frisian form *boat* must be a loan from Dutch or English. Relics of an OFris. form with /a/ can, however, be found in North Frisian dialects. But as Feitsma (1962, 109) points out, it is uncertain, whether the loan came from OE or OFris.

(3) *Fredag* 'Friday' is often considered a loan from Frisian, as the Norse form should be *Friggjar-dagr* 'dies Veneris' (Feitsma 1962, 110).

(4) ON *klæði* 'clothes' may also be an early loan from OFris. *klath* or *kleth*, although it is difficult to explain it (Feitsma 1962, 111–12).

A number of other words have been explained as loans from OFris., cf. Feitsma 1962, 112–20: e. g. ON *blek*, *kerra*, *penning*, *sekkr*, ODan. *mættæll*, *strætæ*, *skræde*, *skrædder*, *gældkære*, *læst*, *mærsk*, *pæl*, and *stæfn*. As some of them do not appear in Old Frisian texts, their provenance is rather uncertain. Old English and in some cases even Middle Low German could be the origin. The question should be asked

in which word-field we have to place the separate words. If the historical background is considered, it is to be expected that loans from Old Frisian should be restricted to the following areas: shipping, trade (products, money) and maybe even Christian missions. The examples mentioned above all belong to one of these fields.

4. Nordic loans in Frisian

On the other hand, it is sometimes assumed that the Vikings might have spread Nordic linguistic traits in the North Sea area. For the British Isles, there is no doubt that they did. How far they influenced the language in the Frisian area is unknown. The Vikings had occupied some territories in the Netherlands during the 9th century, where they got the task to keep their countrymen away. Some scholars have therefore assumed that there were Viking settlements in the area and as a consequence some ON influence on semantic and juridical fields (Gosses, Miedema). But according to Blok (1978) it is rather unlikely that the Vikings colonized these lands to the extent that they did in the Danelaw. And, more important, the Viking fiefdoms that are mentioned in sources from the 9th century lay in the southwestern and central parts of the Netherlands. That means that they at the closest lay at the edge of the Old Frisian area.

Until recently, archaeologists had not found any definite remnants of Viking settlements or even traces of Vikings who lived in the Frisian area. Only isolated finds show that they really had been in the Netherlands at all (Working Paper 1971). A few years ago archaeologists discovered a Viking treasure on the former island of Wieringen in the Dutch province of North Holland (Besteman 1997). Since some of the golden objects found there originated from Denmark, it is now assumed that this is proof that at least some Norsemen had settled in the northern parts of the Netherlands. This is corroborated by the mention of a Viking in Friesland in the *Annals of Fulda*. This Norse emigrant led the Frisians in their attempt to beat off a Viking attack in the year 873. The wording in these annals, however, seems to suggest that he was an exception. In general it is quite improbable that large numbers of Scandinavians settled there. So a strong Scandinavian influence on the Frisian language is not very likely, especially not when it concerns phonetic or morphological features.

Among the linguistic phenomena that have been attributed to a possible Viking influence are:

(1) the plural in *-ar*, *-er* in the masculine *a*-stems in Frisian, as in OFris. *dagar* 'days'. This plural form existed beside *daga* and *dagan*. Recent research has come to the conclusion that this plural form appears in eastern texts. Em-singo seems to have been the central area (Meijering 1989, 27). The appearance of forms like *eckerar* 'fields' as vernacular words in Latin charters suggests that it is a dialectal Old Frisian morphological element. This may be confirmed by the plural form *rutforstar* in a charter from the first half of the 9th century, i.e. before a possible Viking influence could have taken place. But the manuscript of this charter from Fulda is notorious for scribal errors, and in addition *forst* 'forest' is probably a loan from Old Low Franconian and ultimately derives from Romance.

As Feitsma and others already mentioned, it is rather unlikely that the plural form in *-ar* is a loan from ON, especially as morphological elements rarely are taken over. The neighbouring ON dialect Old Danish shows a tendency to lose *-r* in masculine *a*-stems and to keep it in feminine nouns (Skautrup 1944, 135, 267; GG §430,5). This is exactly the opposite of the Old Frisian situation. It is far more probable that the ending *-ar* is an internal Frisian development and a remnant of Gmc *-ōz* or even of a rather hypothetical *-ōziz*. This ending possibly did not develop according to the sound laws for morphological reasons (Meijering 1989). The need for clear plural endings in Old Frisian led to the spread of the ending *-(a)n* in the western areas and *-(a)r* in the eastern areas. In the latter case, the developments in Low German, where *-r* also appears in some dialects, may have influenced its use in Old Frisian. In the western parts the *-n* may be connected with the spread of the same element in Old and Middle Dutch as a plural ending.

(2) The numeral *tweer* 'two' is often seen as a loan from ON *tveir*. The difficulty is that this form does not appear in eastern manuscripts, only in western ones. This means that the form originated in areas where ON influence is rather unlikely. Therefore a connection with the genitive is far more probable.

(3) The rising character of Old Frisian diphthongs as in *biada* 'to offer', *sia* 'to see' has a parallel in ON *bjóða*, *sjá*. In this case it is rather likely to have been a parallel develop-

ment, especially as the Nordic dialects neighbouring Old Frisian do not have this feature in all cases: e.g. ODan. and OSw. *sē(a)* ‘to see’ but ON *sjá*.

(4) Breaking in OFris. *siunga* ‘to sing’, *siunka* ‘to sink’, *siugun* ‘seven’ has a parallel in Old Swedish and Old Danish: *siunga/siungæ*, *siu/syu* (GG §182). Especially in this case it must be assumed that it is a parallel development. If there was a direct connection between these breakings, then one should expect more phonetic development of this kind. But in precisely the East Nordic languages that have the same kind of breaking, the rising diphthong of Old Frisian and Old West Nordic (no. 2 above) is not a general phenomenon. Feitsma comments: “At most we can say that Frisian shows a, not very strong, tendency to *r*-breaking and that East Nordic has an *r*-breaking of another type” (1962, 103).

(5) Some traces of vowel balance have also been spotted in Old Frisian: *binna houi* and *binna hūse* ‘in the court and in the house’ and are seen as parallel to Nordic (Hammerich 1937). But as Feitsma writes (1962, 104), borrowing such an accent would be a sign of intensive contact. It is, however, unlikely that such contact existed between Scandinavia and Friesland.

5. Conclusion

There is no doubt that there are old connections between North Sea Germanic and Old Nordic, but it is also quite clear that these originated in the common ancestor of both dialect groups, NwGmc. Most of the apparently common features can be explained as younger parallel developments that possibly originated in Northwest Germanic. It is quite probable that the spread of umlaut and breaking in both North Sea Germanic and Nordic also had its origin in this common tendency. These parallel developments would have taken place in the first centuries A.D. In later centuries, there was certainly an influx of loanwords from the North Sea Germanic languages into Old Nordic in connection with the Old Frisian trade and with the missionaries who tried to convert Scandinavia to Christianity. There are hardly any indications of influence the other way around, at least as far as Old Frisian is concerned.

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66. Contact with non-Germanic languages I: Relations to the West

1. Unknown peoples in northwestern Europe
2. Partially known peoples in northwestern Europe
3. Known peoples in northwestern Europe: The Celts
4. Well-known peoples in Europe: The Romans
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Unknown peoples in northwestern Europe

The geographical areas affected by the Indo-European expansion c. 3000–1500 B.C. were not uninhabited ones. On the contrary, the development of the Indo-European family of languages, which includes most of the languages spoken in Europe and certain languages spoken in western Asia (esp. India and Persia), is the result of the commingling of a great number of peoples and languages. Details of this process are, however, unknown. The only thing we know is that the Indo-European civilization prevailed over a widespread area in the Late Stone Age and the following Bronze Age. These epochs are so named because of the prehistoric flint and bronze implements used during the respective periods. It is regrettable that in prehistoric Europe, oral tradition played the role later assumed by written records. The invention of the alphabet was in fact the greatest accomplishment of the ancient Near East. In the absence of written records it is impossible, among other

things, to observe how languages develop. Archaeologists have established that Europe has been inhabited by human beings since the Middle Pleistocene Epoch, c. 600,000 years B.C. During more than a century of research in human evolution and prehistory of man, much additional information has been gathered about the Neanderthal peoples, their distribution in space and time, their origin and disappearance and their way of life. (The name Neanderthal derives from the gorge-like Neander Valley above the Düsseldorf river, a small tributary of the Rhine, seven miles east of Düsseldorf, Germany).

Anthropologists are convinced that Stone Age man was able to speak. Under these circumstances it must be assumed that a great number of very ancient languages existed in Europe and that these overlapped with and were gradually supplanted by the Indo-European languages. Etruscan and Basque, for example, can be regarded as relics of the very early civilization of Europe.

Hachmann, Kossack and Kuhn undertook a concerted effort in 1962 to present evidence for the otherwise unknown *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten* 'peoples between the Germani and the Celts' (see Scardigli 1995, 558f.).

One must bear in mind that the climate in northern Europe impeded the rapid and easy development of civilization. Of particular relevance is obviously the division of the year

into a short, warm summer period which permitted activity and a long, cold, icy winter period of enforced inactivity.

2. Partially known peoples in northwestern Europe

The expansion of the Celtic and later of the Germanic peoples after 800 B.C. is typical of the Iron Age in western Europe. The period of about half a million years of the Stone Age and the Bronze Age, i.e. between the pre-Indo-European and the Celtic Ages, can be investigated only with the aid of archaeology and, to a certain extent, by means of linguistic reconstruction (Indo-European, Fox 1995).

The Hallstatt culture (named after Hallstatt in Salzkammergut, Austria) is associated with the Celts. It extended throughout a large area of southern Germany and included southern France and northern Spain in the West, as well as Austria and Yugoslavia in the East. The original homeland (“Urheimat”) seems to be the region of the Upper Rhine and the Upper Danube. The Celts reached the height of their migratory potential in the La Tène period (named after the site La Tène in the canton of Neuchâtel, western Switzerland), which began about 450 B.C. The archaeological map of the Celtic world at that time reveals a major trajectory of influence in the western part of Central Europe. The Celts also arrived in Italy about 400 B.C.

3. Known peoples in northwestern Europe: The Celts

According to Caesar (100–44 B.C.), who led the famous campaign in Gaul: “[...] Fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem agrisque inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mitterent” [now there was a time when the Gauls were superior in valour to the Germani and made aggressive wars upon them, and because of the number of their people and the lack of land they sent colonies across the Rhine] (*Bellum Gallicum* 6, 24, 1; echoed by Tacitus *Germania* 28).

The Celts – moving from east to west – and the Germani – moving from north to south – immediately came into direct contact with one another. For several centuries they must have coexisted peacefully in proximity to one another.

Caesar also described (and implicitly condemned) a different kind of non-contact: “Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissime circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere” [their tribes account it the highest praise by devastating their borders to have areas of wilderness as wide as possible around them] (*Bell. Gall.* 6, 23).

“There is no doubt that the relationship between Germani and Celts was often one of military antagonism, but equally that, on the basis of trade and exchange, there was in large measure a shared Celto-Germanic unity in material culture and social organisation” (Green 1998, 146). The Germani admired the Celts and emulated their way of life, especially their skill in the employment of *iron* (see 3.5.) in making utensils and weapons.

The culture of Jastorf (in the district of Uelzen, Lower Saxony, Germany), which followed the Bronze Age culture of the so-called “Nordischer Kreis” [Nordic Circle] from the fourth century B.C. onwards, has been ascribed to the Germani (Schwantes 1960). It is a civilization similar to the Celtic one (La Tène, see 2.) and immediately to the north of it.

“The cultural flow, as revealed by archaeological finds, is clearly from the Celtic South to the Germanic North” (Green 1998, 146). The Celts were more advanced than the Germani in particular with respect to settlements, household organization, implements, tools (iron, see 3.5.) and the raising and use of horses. The Celts owed their superior expertise in horse and chariot technology in part to their contact with equestrian nomadic peoples of the southern Russian steppes, namely the Scythians or the Sarmatians. The organization of Celtic communal life and rites served as a model for the Germanic tribes and thus exerted a major influence upon their rising power (Scardigli 1994 b passim).

Judging from what we know about the Continental Celts (Galli), there were, however, important differences between the Celts and the Germani in matters such as language and religion.

With regard to language, Untermann (1989, 212) points out that Celtic and Germanic, as subfamilies of the Indo-European family of languages, are the result of developments which took divergent forms in central and northern Europe respectively. No trace of Celtic *r*-endings in verbs, *-ī*-genitive, nor loss of *p* can be found in Germanic. No trace of Germanic strong verbs, adjectival inflexion, nor the Germanic First Sound Shift can be

found in Celtic. The structures of the two languages differ considerably.

The specific lexical correspondences between Celtic and Germanic are therefore highly significant as evidence of (more than) linguistic contact. An examination and evaluation of them yields illuminating results, as will emerge below.

With regard to religion, our information about this for both the Celts and the Germani derives principally from Greek and Latin (sometimes Christian) authors and occasionally from inscriptions and carved images. A major portion of the surviving relics and artefacts relates to myths.

Caesar's statement about the religious differences between the Celts and the Germani no doubt primarily represents his own point of view, but it at least permits one to raise the question of whether such differences existed: "Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt", [Germani differ much from this [Celtic] religious practice] (*Bell. Gall.* 6, 21). On the contrary, the identical statement "deum [Tac.: *deorum*] maxime Mercurium colunt, [the most worshipped god is Mercury], which Caesar makes about the Galli (*Bell. Gall.* 6, 17) and Tacitus about the Germani (*Germ.* 9), seems to indicate a close connexion between the two religions from the standpoint of the Roman observer. It must, however, be borne in mind that the information provided in classical antiquity about the "barbarians" was superficial, since these peoples were not regarded as worthy of serious attention. The silver cauldron of Gundestrup (first century B.C.?), now in Copenhagen, is a Danish archaeological find which surely comes from a southern Celtic area. Its surfaces are decorated with motifs whose background is to be sought in Celtic myths and religious belief, and this in turn awakened the interest of the Germani too (Haussig 1973, 106f.). Hachmann (1990) regards the Gundestrup cauldron as a late Celtic model for early Germanic art.

The cult of the *matres* or *matronae* in the Upper Rhine area at the time of the Roman emperors represents a form of Germano-Celtic religious syncretism. The images and the extraordinary appellations applied to these goddesses indicate their Celtic provenance and at the same time demonstrate the Germanic adoption of this cult (Kienle 1938; Landucci Gattinoni 1986; Scardigli 1989; 1994b, 163ff.).

An accurate evaluation of the contact and differences between the Celts and the Germani

in religious matters is fraught with difficulty. In establishing how they diverge (Haussig 1973), one must at the same time emphasize the great curiosity which the Germani exhibited about external aspects of the Celtic divinities and keep in mind the scarcity of the surviving Continental Celtic remains.

3.1. Personal names

In order to shed further light upon the connexions between the Celts and the Germani, it is useful to examine briefly the evidence provided by personal names. The chieftains of the Germani emerge into the light of history bearing Celtic names or names whose form and meaning were very similar to the Celtic ones. The king of the Cimbri, who invaded Italy at the end of the second century B.C., was named *Boiorix*. The Celtic tribal name *Boii* (Birkhan-Callies 1976, 205ff.), "true to the wide extent of the Celtic migrations [...] is attested from different parts of Europe and it also occurs in personal names" (Green 1998, 161). The "Germanized" (Green) form of *Boii* (see also 3.2.) appears in German *Bayern* (the change $o > a$ is a regular one).

The same phenomenon can be observed in connexion with the name *Ariovistus*, a king of the Suebi in the first century B.C. The exact etymology of this name is obscure, but the Gaulish tribe of the *Insubri* (see 3.2.) also had a chieftain called *Ariovistus* (Scardigli 1994 b, 88).

In the first century A.D. a seeress of the Bructeri, a Germanic tribe, bore a Celtic name, *Veleda* < **welet-*, cf. Old Irish *fili* 'seer, vates' from the IE root **wel-* 'see' (Scardigli 1994 a, 73ff.; 1994 b, 162).

Boiorix moreover contains the element *-rix*, which is very common among the Celtic rulers at the time of Caesar, e.g. *Adiatorix*, *Ambiorix*, *Andebrocirix*, *Bituriges* (pl.), *Cantorix*, *Caturix*, *Cingetorix*, *Docirix*, *Dumnorix*, *Elvorig*, *Eporedorix*, *Lugotorix*, *Magiatorix*, *Orgetorix*, *Togirix*, *Toutiorix*, *Vassorix* and the well-known *Vercingetorix*. The numerous Latinized *-ricus*-forms (Reichert 2, 595ff.), such as *Ermanaricus*, *Alaricus*, *Theudericus* etc., frequent for example in the Gothic family of the Amali, are probably derived from these *-rig*-forms (see the discussion on the Celtic loanword **rika-* in Gmc in 3.3.). Incidentally, note that in *Kratylos* 407 d, Plato has Socrates state that his interlocutor Hermogenes, contrary to his name, was not a son of the god Hermes at all. We should always take this as

a warning when we are dealing with proper names.

3.2. *Brācae*

The combination of linguistic evidence with that provided by archaeology and the written historical sources constitutes a fruitful approach to the question of the relations between the Celts and the Germani. To this end it is necessary to examine certain selected documents. The Romans encountered the Galli *Insubri* and *Boii* (see 3.1.) as invaders τὰς ἀναξυρίδας ἔχοντες i. e. “wearing *bracae*, breeches” as early as the battle of Telamon in Etruria in the year 225 B.C. (Polybius, *Hist.* 2, 28, 7). At this point the Germani still were living far away in their northern homelands. *Gallia bracata* ‘Gaul in breeches’ (as opposed to *Gallia comata* ‘Gaul with long hair’, which does not exclude the possibility that long hair and breeches were concomitant) was the part of Gaul subsequently called *Gallia Narbonensis* (Mela 2, 74), cf. also Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares* 9, 15, 2 “bracatis et Transalpinis nationibus”, [peoples in breeches on the other side of the Alps]. Though applied by the Romans to other “barbarians” as well, the word *bracae* ‘breeches, trousers’ seems to be of Celtic origin (Stokes/Bezzenger 1894⁴, 181). Tacitus tells us (*Historiae* 2, 20) about A. Caecina Alienus, who was present in northern Italy in 69 A. D. and who received Romans of high rank clad in togas but himself was “bracas [, barbarum tegmen,] indutus” [wearing breeches [, a barbaric garment]]. This garment of varying length had three functions: (1) decency, cf. Isidore, *Etymologies* 19, 22, 29: “bracae quod sint breves et verecunda corporis his velentur”, [*bracae* because they are short and cover the private parts of the body]; (2) protection from the cold, cf. Ovid, *Tristia* 3, 10, 19: “arcent mala frigora braxis” [they protect themselves with *bracae* from the harsh cold]; (3) last but not least as riding attire to prevent wounds from chafing when in the saddle or on horseback (Hachmann 1990, 786–803). The garment which the fine citizens of Rome regarded as an object of ridicule was of course an advantage for the Germani and they adopted it. ON *brók* fem., OE *brōc* fem., MLG *brōk*, OHG *bruoh* fem., OFris. *brōk* are all to be traced back to the reconstructed Gmc form **brōk-* ‘breeches’. This form is in turn derived regularly from Celt. **brāk-* (Celt. [IE] *ā* > Gmc *ō*, cf. also Lat. *Rōmāni* versus Go. *Rumoneis*). In view of the evidence presented

above, the hypothesis that **brāk* is a Germanic loanword in Celtic, as Green (1998, 146) and others suggest, is extremely unlikely. Furthermore, Tacitus does not mention anything about *bracae* in his account of Germanic garments (*Germania* 17). Wenskus (1961, 426) adduces this alteration in the mode of attire by the Germani, namely the adoption of the breeches, as the external manifestation of the altered relationship between leader and followers (see also 3.3.). The hypothesis that **brāk* is a Celtic loanword from a third, unknown language of the East European steppes is, conversely, a tenable one.

3.3. *-rix*

As observed above in 3.1., there was a word for ‘ruler’, current among the Celts, which was borrowed by the Germani. It corresponds to the Lat. word *rex* and OInd. *rājan* and derives from the IE root **reg-* ‘hold’, ‘keep’, ‘retain’. The Celtic forms are Gaul. *rīx*, Ir. *rí*, gen. *rig* etc. ‘ruler’ and its cognates. IE *ē* becomes *ī* in Celt., but not in Gmc, where *ē* is retained (in Go.). Therefore, the Gmc forms **rīka-*, **rīkia-* sb. ‘ruler’ and adj. ‘mighty’ must have been borrowed before the First Sound Shift from Celt. *rīg-* ‘a ruler’, nom. *rīks*, gen. *rīgos*. These borrowings are represented in Gmc by Go. *reiks* adj. ‘mighty’ and sb. ‘ruler’ (the Go. word for ‘king’ is *þiudans*), ON *ríkr* ‘mighty’, OSx. *rīki* ‘mighty’, OFris. *rīk(e)* ‘rich’, OE *rice* ‘mighty’, ‘rich’ and *rica* ‘ruler’, OHG *rīhhi* ‘mighty’, ‘rich’. A derivative also belongs to this group, namely Gmc **rīkia-* n. ‘might’, ‘kingdom’, Go. *reiki*, ON *rīki*, OSx. *rīki*, OE *rice* ‘kingdom’, OHG *rīhhi* ‘Reich’, ‘kingdom’. Verbal derivatives are Go. *reikinōn*, ON *rikja*, OE *ricsian* ‘rule’.

There may be a correlation between this loanword and the so-called “Gaulish-West Germanic revolution” and with its concomitant restoration tendency (Wenskus 1961, 409ff.). Wenskus observes and illustrates by means of a map that around the first century B.C. a relatively organic group of Celtic and Germanic tribes in the west deposed the kings who reigned over them at an earlier period, see for example Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 5, 25, 1: “cuius maiores in sua civitate regnum obtenerant” [whose ancestors reigned over his people]. Tacitus (*Agricola* 12) made the following statement about some tribes in Britannia: “olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis distrahuntur” [they once obeyed kings, now chiefs lacerate them with

factions and partisans' behaviour]. Orgetorix e.g. (Wenskus 1961, 416) found himself in the role of a failed king. Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* 1, 2, 1ff.) introduced him as follows:

Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus et ditissimus Orgetorix. Is [...] = a. 61 B.C.] regni cupiditate inductus coniurationem nobilitatis fecit [among the Helvetii the noblest man by far and the most wealthy was Orgetorix. In the year 61 B.C. his desire for kingship led him to form a conspiracy of the nobility].

But the end was tragic:

Moribus suis Orgetorigem ex vinculis causam dicere coegerunt. Damnatum sequi oportebat ut igni cremaretur. Die constituta causae ditionis Orgetorix ad iudicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum milia decem, undique coegit et omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit: per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit. Cum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis ius suum exsequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent, Orgetorix mortuus est; neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit [In accordance with their custom they compelled Orgetorix to take his trial in bonds. If he were condemned, the penalty of being burnt was the consequence. On the day appointed for his trial Orgetorix gathered from every quarter to the place of judgement all his retainers, to the number of some ten thousand men, and also assembled there all his clients and debtors, of whom he had a great number, and through their means escaped from taking his trial. The state, being incensed at this, essayed to secure its due rights by force of arms, and the magistrates were bringing together a number of men from the country parts, when Orgetorix died, not without suspicion, as the Helvetii think, of suicide].

The conclusion would seem to be that a personal name containing the element *-rix* and regal position are not dissociated from one another (cf. Socrates' statement 3.1.). In passing one can note the increasing importance of clients and retainers. The Orgetorix episode has several aspects in common with the vicissitudes of Arminius, who was also of stirps regia, of 'royal descent' (Callies 1973, 417ff.).

3.4. *ambacti*

The role of the *clientes* in Celtic society is occasionally mentioned by Caesar, e.g. in connexion with the Aedui: "magnae erant eorum clientelae" [their clients were very numerous] (*Bell. Gall.* 6, 12, 2); also in connexion with

Litavicus "cum suis clientibus" [with his dependents] (*Bell. Gall.* 7, 40, 7).

Clients and retainers in great number are explicitly attributed to the class of the *equites* 'knights', the second class after the *druides*. Caesar *Bell. Gall.* 6, 15, 2 wrote on this subject:

Eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet. Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt [according to the importance of each of them in birth and resources, so is the number of liegemen and dependents [followers] that he has about him. This is the sole form of influence and power they know].

The *ambacti* seemed to enjoy a somewhat higher position in relation to their lords than the *clientes* (Wenskus 1982, 20ff.) and this perhaps explains why they are named first in the passage quoted above. However, it is conceivable that *ambactos clientesque* is merely an example of a hendiadys whose purpose was to show the meaning of a foreign word by adding a second word which was current among the Romans.

Gaulish *amb-act-us* means 'a person who goes around', *amb(i)* being a Celt. preposition with the sense of 'around'. The only sources of information about this noun are Latin ones. The word occurs already in the *Annales* of Ennius, in the second c. B.C.

The word and its derivatives are well-represented in the Germanic languages: Go. *andbahts* often renders Gr. δῆκονος 'dean', cf. OE *ambiht*, OHG *ambaht* 'minister' and so on. In ON only the fem. form survives: *ambátt* 'woman servant', cf. also *konungsambátt* 'a royal concubine'. Another substantive and a verb designating 'office' and 'officiate' respectively also belong to this group. They are Go. *andbahti* neut. 'service' and *andbahtjan* 'serve', ON *embætti* 'service', also 'holy service', *embætta* 'attend', in the ecclesiastical sense 'celebrate', 'officiate', OSx. *ambaht* neut., OE *ambahti* neut. and *ambihtian*, OHG *ambahti* neut. 'Amt', 'office' and *ambahten* 'attend'. This group of words brings us to the institution of the *comitatus*, in German *Gefolgschaft*, the 'followers', which is well attested among the Germani. Regarding the possibility of its derivation from the Celtic institution of the *ambacti*, see Timpe 1998, 537ff. According to Caesar: "[...] clientibus, quibus more Gallorum nefas est etiam in extrema fortuna deserere patronos" [for according to Gallic custom it is a crime in dependents to desert their patrons, even in desperate cases] (Caesar,

Bell. Gall. 7, 40, 7). Tacitus asserts the same in *Germ.* 14. Certainly *andbahts* and *reiks* together represent “converse positions in a power relationship (a follower and someone in authority)” (Green 1998, 150).

3.5. *iron*

The best exposition on this subject is that of Green (1998, 153f.), which is quoted here nearly in full length:

Under metallurgy, where Celtic influence on the north made itself particularly felt in the Iron Age, pride of place belongs unsurprisingly to the word ‘iron’. Geographical access to supplies and command of the technology of iron-making such as the Celts enjoyed, constituted a revolution in warmaking and underlay their expansion, military and political, in the La Tène period as well as the reaction of the Germanic tribes to it. The result was that whereas the Germanic north had been largely independent in the Bronze Age it came increasingly under the sway of the south during the Iron Age, with perceptible Celtic influence in iron-making and its products. Chronologically the beginnings of iron-making in the Germania cannot be earlier than the fourth/third century B.C.; traces of the earliest furnaces for this purpose have been found in the north-east of the area then occupied by the Celts (Bohemia, Moravia, south-western Poland). Although Tacitus could still speak much later of a general paucity of iron amongst the Germani (it was in high demand for weapons largely monopolised by leaders) he explicitly refers to a Celtic tribe, the Cotini, dwelling in what was now Germanic territory (Moravia), mining iron and paying tribute with it. Ptolemy also knew that the neighbouring Germanic tribe of the Quadi were in possession of iron-works [...]. The secondary position of Germanic within this web of isoglosses has been stressed on purely phonological grounds by Lehmann (1987, 79ff.) who, in considering Go. *eisam* within the framework of Gothic word formation, has pointed to the extreme anomaly of a word beginning with *ei-*, the rarity of native words ending in *-m* and the suspicious variation of forms in the different Germanic languages. From all this he has concluded that the Germanic word for ‘iron’ is unlikely to be native, but rather borrowed from a non-Germanic language. The closeness of the Celtic isoglosses and the absence of any other counterparts suggest that this source was Celtic, a conclusion borne out by the significant fact of accent doublets in both Celtic and Germanic, as well as by the non-linguistic evidence for the dominance of Celtic iron-working over Germania.

3.6. Conclusions

Scholars mention many other words which illustrate in various ways the influence of the Celts on the Germani and their mutual relations over the course of five centuries, namely from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D. Thus the selection presented here provides only a general impression. For a more detailed discussion see Green 1998, 145ff. part II, “Contact with the non-Germanic world, Contact with the Celts”. Other contributions on this topic are listed in the bibliography. Incidentally, all the loanwords are examined here in accordance with the emagiological method, which requires the most accurate investigation of the borrowed words in their original milieu immediately prior to the point at which borrowing occurred (Scardigli/Breschi 1981, 469ff.).

4. Well-known peoples in Europe: The Romans

“In their gradual expansion they [i.e. the Germanic tribes] came into contact with a great variety of different peoples and cultures, ranging for example from the Celts in the west to the Romans in the south [...]. By far the most important of these contacts (not merely because it also involved an encounter with Christianity [see 4.3.]) was that with the Roman world” (Green 1998, 143).

Swedish and German scholars in particular distinguish between two periods in the prehistory of central and northern Europe immediately prior to the “barbarian invasions” (“Völkerwanderungszeit”, 374–568 A.D.): “the pre-Roman Iron Age” (“vorrömische Eisenzeit”) and “the Roman Iron Age” (“römische Eisenzeit”, often called simply “römische Kaiserzeit” i.e. “the Roman Imperial Age”). The purpose of the distinction (see Chronologie 1981, 607ff.) is clear: there was a time when the Germanic tribes lived in their (to us) relatively obscure original homelands, undisturbed or only occasionally disturbed by the Celts, and gradually expanded in a southerly direction. Thereafter followed a period when the Roman emperors decided to conquer and subjugate the Celtic and Germanic north (Wheeler 1954, 21 ff.). In any case the Romans were first present in the Germanic world in a moral way and later in a material way. The latter also involved a remarkable Germanization of the Roman world, chiefly in the military.

The imperial frontier along which the two worlds met should be seen not so much separating them as constituting a zone in which they could interact. Military encounters there may have been, but also long periods of peaceful exchange, especially in the border-zone along the Rhine and the Danube. Even the military encounters provided the means [...] for the Germani to learn from their opponents and adopt some of their ways. This also worked the other way, however, for just as the Roman army had been the main agent of Romanisation in the Empire, so did it also become the main agent of barbarisation. The Romans came more and more to depend on recruiting from Germanic tribes on or near the frontier, sometimes settling whole groups of barbarians within the confines of the Empire and even appointing Germanic leaders to posts of military commanders (*magistri militum*) within their own ranks (Green 1998, 143f.).

The fame of Rome was widespread after the end of the Third Punic War and the conquest of Corinth (146 B.C.). The honour, glory and respect won by means of the Roman achievements in vying for supremacy in the Mediterranean allow us to postulate that the great power in the south caught the attention of the Germani and exerted an attraction on them. The first information and impressions, however, were mediated by the (Romanized) Celts, and thus the Celts constituted an indispensable link to the Roman world at the very inception of the peaceful or warlike contacts of the Germani with the Romans.

4.1. *Volcae*

A fossilized survival of the encounter of Germani with Celts and Romans has been preserved up until the present day. In the memory of the Germani it assumed ever increasing weight as time progressed: viz. the Germanic word **walhōz* 'very important neighbours'. Behind the Germanic form it is easy to recognize the Celtic tribal name known by its Latinized form *Volcae*. No scholar has thus far cast doubt upon this identification (Much 1919, 423ff.). It is less easy, however, to determine why and when this contact became a relevant reality for the expanding Germanic tribes and how long it remained so. Furthermore, it is difficult to explain the ending *-ae* of the name *Volcae*, given that all the Latinized Celtic tribal names have either the ending *-i* as in *Atuatuc-i* and *Arvern-i* or *-es* as in *Suesion-es* and *Allobrog-es*. The Greek form *Οὐόλκαι* may have been influenced by the Latin one. Let us explore the material: the eth-

nic group *Volcae* is mentioned first by Cicero (106–43 B.C.) in his oration *Pro Fonteio* 12, 26, together with the Allobroges. In the same passage both groups are referred to as *Galli*. Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 21, 26, 6) mentions the *Volcae* in connexion with Hannibal, who encountered *Volcae* on both sides of the Rhône in 218 B.C. Caesar (quoting Eratosthenes) locates the *Volcae Tectosages* in the *Hercynia silva*, the 'Hercynian forest' (the Mittelgebirge?), to which they supposedly had migrated from southern France (*Bell. Gall.* 6, 24, 2). Contrary to this statement, it is likely that southern Germany was the original homeland of the *Volcae*, and in this area the Germani first encountered them (Norden 1922², 359). We are unfortunately in the dark as to the number of Celtic tribes to which the name *Volcae* was applied. In any case during Caesar's lifetime they were classified as *Volcae Tectosages* (*Bell. Gall.* 6, 24, 2) and *Volcae Arecomici* (*Bell. Gall.* 7, 7, 4; 7, 64, 6). The *Volcae Tectosages* inhabited the region from the Pyrenees to Narbo (the main stronghold was Tolosa, now Toulouse) and the *Volcae Arecomici* lived farther to the east (their chief town being Nemausus, now Nîmes). Unfortunately, analysis of the term *Volcae* from the standpoint of Celtic etymology yields no useful information. The (Lat.) proper names *Volcatus*, *Volcius*, *Catuvolcus* are plausibly related to *Volcae*. Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* 5, 24, 4; 5, 26, 1; 6, 31, 5) names *Catu-volcus* (presumably 'Volcus of battle') together with *Ambiorix* as a chieftain of the *Eburones*, a tribe of the Germani *cisrhenani* (Neumann 1986, 348ff.).

Germanic **walh-* must be a very old loanword (dating from the fourth century B.C.), since it exhibits the First Sound Shift ($k > h$) and the Proto-Gmc phonetic change $o > a$. The Gmc forms are as follows: Runic *WALHA-*, cf. 4.1.1.; OE *Wealh*, mostly in pl. *Wealas* 'the British, the Welsh (of Wales)', sometimes as opposed to 'the English'; adj. *wilisc* 'Welsh'.

The word is found in many proper names and place-names. OE *wealh*, variants *wilhe*, *wiel* also means 'a slave, servant'. The word even occasionally designates 'a Roman'. Of the many compounds the following merit mention: *wealh-hnutu* 'a foreign nut, walnut' (*Juglans regia* L., see Weisgerber 1955, 33ff.; Marzell 1972, 1052ff.); *Wealh-land* 'Normandy' (cf. ON *Val-land*); *wealh-stod* 'an interpreter'. OHG has *Walaha* 'Romans', *Walaho lant* 'Gaul', *wal(hah)isc* 'Romanic', 'welsch' (cf. *Walchensee* in Bavaria, *Walensee* in Switzerland 'the *welsch* lake'). Also note-

worthy is *walahiskiu bira* ‘Italian pear’ (cf. Polish *Wlochy* ‘Italy’). In modern German *welsch* is, except in Switzerland, a pejorative term, cf. *kauder-welsch*, *rot-welsch*.

In ON we have *Valir* ‘the Welsh esp. in France’ (cf. *Walloons*), *Valland* ‘Normandy’. In the prose text that precedes the Eddic poem *Vǫlundarkviða*, a mysterious woman is referred to as *Qlrun Kjár’s dóttir af Vallandi*. In the *Karlamagnús saga*, *Valirnir* are ‘the French’. In a kenning appearing in the Eddic poem *Hyndluljóð* (9, 2) ‘gold’ is designated as *valamálmr* ‘Welsh ore’ (cf. 4.1.1.). *Valska* fem. or *vǫlsk tunga* is ‘the Welsh tongue’, esp. ‘the French language’. The Gmc form **walh-* was also borrowed by the Slavs (cf. *vlachū*) and the Greeks. None of these words refers directly to Celts with the exception of *Wales* and *Welsh*. The supposition that the Gmc form **walh-* underwent a gradual change of meaning from ‘Celtic’ to ‘Romanic’ esp. ‘French’ is supported by the fact that the Celts were Romanized everywhere on the continent. **Walh-* thus represents a keyword for the understanding of the progress of the Germani in their acquaintance with the rest of western Europe (Weisgerber 1943, 87ff.).

4.1.1. Anwalhakurne

A runic inscription on a gold bracteate found in Tjurkö, in the district of Blekinge (Sweden) and dated to about 500 A.D. (Krause 1966, 136) has a sequence of runic signs transcribed here as follows:

[...]**jurterunoRanwalhakurne** ...
[...]**heldaRkunimundiu** ...

and translated literally as: ‘(he) wrote (the) runes on (the) Welsh corn, Held for Cuni-mund’. This is the only attestation of the form *WALHA-*, in conjunction with *KURNE* ‘corn’. What is ‘Welsh corn’? Scholars are of the opinion that it must be a kenning for the ‘Roman gold’ which of course was used to coin the bracteate. It is certain that the two words **wurte** and **walha** alliterate. In this connexion it is appropriate to mention again the Nordic *valamálmr* ‘Welsh ore’ as a kenning for ‘gold’ (cf. 4.1.). For reasons of space it is not possible to discuss here the background of this inscription (Celtic treasures, etc.).

4.2. Imperium Romanum

Virgil (70–19 B.C.; *Aeneid* 6, 851) pronounced the admonishing words: “Tu regere [cf. 3.3.

-rix] imperio populos, Romane, memento” [Roman, remember that you must subjugate all peoples to your rule].

For the Roman period in the Germanic area we must of course distinguish between expansion and migration. As Goffart (1982) shows, the Germanic peoples migrated in search of lands for settlements. The Roman political leadership, in contrast, sought new dominions to plunder. But it would be a mistake to expect a great number of Lat. loanwords in the Germanic languages, testifying to Roman power and conquest. The most frequent examples of the Roman lexical invasion of the secular sphere concern trade and traffic. “Caesar makes it clear that for the Romans trade and warfare supported one another when he sent a legion to safeguard a route across the Alps which Roman traders travelled only at great risk and cost in tolls exacted” (*B.G.* 3, 1, 2; Green 1998, 219; Scardigli 1995, 560f.).

Fields of interest to the Germanic tribes were, in addition to travel (e.g. Lat. *(via) strata*, English *street*), horticulture, esp. viticulture and viniculture (e.g. Lat. *caulis*, English *cauli* (-flower), Lat. *vinum*, English *wine*); and architecture, with special reference to the kitchen and its utensils (e.g. Lat. *tegula*, English *tile*, Lat. *cocina*, English *kitchen*, Lat. *catillus*, English *kettle*, Lat. *patina*, English *pan*). Particularly noteworthy is the adoption by Germanic speakers of the Lat. suffix *-arius*, English *-er*, since it involves the “deep structures” of the language. An example is Lat. *molinarium*: English *miller* (Lat. *molinus* from Lat. *mola* ‘mill-stone’, in pl. ‘mill’, English *mill*). (The loanword for ‘ass, donkey’, OE *esol*, OHG *esil*, NHG *esel*, from Lat. *asillus*, should be included in this context, cf. Lat. *molae asinariae* in Cato, 234–149 B.C., *De agri cultura* 10, 4 and Go. *Asiluqairnus*, in the Vulgate *mola asinaria* Matth. 18. 6; Mc. 9. 41, cf. Luke 17. 2).

Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* 4, 2) comments that the Germani allowed merchants into their territory more because they wanted to sell them their war-booty than to buy from them, but by the time of Tacitus the position was different: whilst the tribes in the interior still practised barter, those near the imperial frontier made use of Roman coins in order to buy wine (Tacitus, *Germ.* 5). The use of Roman coins points to the first transition from a coinless barter society to a monetary one under Roman influence.

That Roman trade went far beyond the wine explicitly mentioned by Tacitus is clear from other evidence. He himself refers to silver vessels as gifts to Germanic chieftains and we

should not underestimate the role of gift-giving in primitive societies and the Romans' ability to adapt it to their own political ends. Archaeological pointers include coins, silver vessels and wine sets of Roman origin used in imitation in Germania, but also vessels in bronze, glass and terra sigillata, brooches and ornaments, even weapons and statuettes. Such objects are attested far into the interior, through Germany to Scandinavia, Pomerania and northern Poland [...]. To a large extent the acquisition of Roman goods served as the status symbol of an élite, they could be used as gifts to strengthen ties between kindreds, as objects for further exchange with more distant tribes, or simply to provide raw material (Green 1998, 219f.; cf. 4.1.1.).

We may conclude that loanwords from the period of the Roman empire do not confirm the expectations of those who postulate a far-reaching Latinization of the Germani. The words reflect the actual course of historical events: the *imperium Romanum* failed to subdue the Germani, and consequently contact between the two cultures in the secular sphere remained superficial.

4.2.1. The defeat of Varus (*clades Variana*)

After the conquest of Gaul the Roman emperors planned the conquest of Germania. At first they appear to have met with success, until an unexpected disaster occurred in the year 9 A.D. P. Quinctilius Varus, commander-in-chief of the Roman army in Germany naively allowed himself to be trapped in an ambush organized by Arminius and his comrades. Three legions and some auxiliary troops were destroyed. This defeat put an end to the Roman ambitions of conquering and subduing the north as far as the river Elbe. This event explains to a great extent the failure to Romanize the Germani, in contrast to the successful Romanization of the Gauls. To be sure, thanks to the transmission through (poetic) oral tradition and transmission between the Germanic tribes, the momentous news even became known to the Scandinavians (Petrikovits 1982, 14ff.).

4.3. The Church of Rome

In his well-organized *Etymological Dictionary of Old Norse*, Jan de Vries (1962, xxxiv) lists all the loanwords from Latin in the Old Norse language he encountered. In view of the purpose of the present handbook it appears suitable to mention them here:

(1) *annáll* (2) *biflia* (3) *buzel* (4) *dalmatika* (5) *dekan* (6) *dispensera* (7) *disponera* (8) *disputera* (9) *divisera* (10) *emend(er)a* (11) *eximi* (12) *eyrir* (13) *figúra* (14) *fitonsandi* (15) *gafi* (16) *gladel* (17) *hrókr* 2 (18) *jacinctus* (19) *justa* (20) *kaldel* (21) *kantiki* (22) *kantilena* (23) *kapituli* (24) *kapp* (25) *kardinali* (26) *karina* (27) *kastr* (28) *kaupa* (29) *ketill* (30) *klausu* (31) *klúss* (32) *kolorr* (33) *kómeta* (34) *kommún* (35) *kampona* (36) *konfirmera* (37) *konkordera* (38) *koróna* (39) *kredo* (40) *krúss* (41) *kussari* (42) *kvaterni* (43) *latína* (44) *leena* (45) *legáti* (46) *lenz* (47) *lepra* (48) *linja* (49) *manna* (50) *marmari* (51) *metr* 1 (52) *mitr* (53) *momenta* (54) *muskat* (55) *múta* (56) *mútari* (57) *nátúra* (58) *nóna* (59) *notera* (60) *nóti* (61) *obláta* (62) *olifa* (63) *orða* 1 (64) *organ* (65) *pakti* (66) *palma* (67) *past* 2 (68) *pati* 1 (69) *patina* (70) *peð* (71) *pella* (72) *persóna* (73) *petallum* (74) *pikturr* (75) *planéta* (76) *portari* (77) *praefatio* (78) *prim* (79) *processia* (80) *pulkrokirkja* (81) *purpuri* (82) *regula* (83) *samvit* ? (84) *signa* 1 (85) *simfon* (86) *skapular* (87) *skript* 2 (88) *smaragdr* (89) *sóna* (90) *sómn* (91) *spá* 1 (92) *still* (93) *stóla* (94) *stóll* 3 (95) *súrna* 1 (96) *Sýrland* (97) *tabla* (98) *tesaurr* (99) *titull* (100) *trakt* (101) *traktera* (102) *traktr* (103) *turturi* (104) *unian* (105) *vínflaki* (106) *ymni* (107) *ortog* (108) *qrk*. The following items are in de Vries' opinion uncertain: (109) *bullu* (110) *karp* (111) *kjárr* (112) *kǫttr* (113) *pungr* (114) *purka* (115) *sallaðr* (116) *salselaðr* (117) *serfr* (118) *sikul-gjǫrð*.

Everyone with a smattering of Latin can identify in the lexemes quoted above which stem from the secular and which from the Christian sphere.

If we take into consideration that the conversion to Christianity of the Germanic peoples who remained in their homeland began in the south and moved northwards, reaching Iceland only in the year 1000 A. D., it cannot be expected that Latin loanwords of Christian content reached northern Europe very early or directly. Frank Fischer (1909) devoted a whole book to this subject. In his work he draws a distinction between: (1) OE-Lat. loanwords, (2) OLG-Lat. loanwords, (3) MLat. loanwords in ON, which he calls "Altwestnordisch". There are also prehistoric (pre-Viking) loanwords (i.e. those borrowed before c. 800), such as ON *ketill* and *vin* (Fischer 1909, 13ff.; see also 4.2.).

The mode of penetration of religious (Christian) loanwords into the Germanic languages is entirely different from that of the secular ones. Whilst the secular Latin loanwords are

occasional, the religious loanwords are the result of a planned and purposeful activity: the foreign mission. The history of Germanic Christianization begins with the Goths in Moesia (now northern Bulgaria) in the fourth c. and ends six centuries later with the Icelanders. Missionaries were active in Europe during the entire period, under the direction of the Church of Rome. The Irish and the Anglo-Saxon missions on the Continent with their protagonists such as Columban (543?–615) and Boniface (675–754) merit a mention in this connexion (Gschwantler-Schäferdiek 1973, 175ff.; Schottmann 1980, 557ff.).

This second wave of Roman influence upon the peoples of the North had an incomparably deeper effect on the behaviour and spiritual development of the Germani than did the orders of imperial rulers (cf. art. 45).

4.3.1. The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity

In his book *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity*, James C. Russell calls attention to some effects of the Christianization of the Germani which led paradoxically to what he calls ‘Germanization’ of Christianity. He argues:

In perceiving the centrality of divine power in Germanic religiosity, the missionaries sought to prove that the power of Christ surpassed that of the local deities, as St. Boniface sought to demonstrate when he chopped down an oak tree dedicated to Thor at Geismar in Hessen. Such emphasis on the superior intercessory power of the Christian God in earthly affairs, and particularly military conflicts, appears to have contributed toward a perception of Christianity as a powerful magico-religious cult, and thus advanced the Germanization of Christianity. Given the substantial inherent disparity between Germanic and Christian world-views, a missionary policy that encouraged the temporary accommodation of Christianity to a heroic religio-political, magico-religious, world-accepting Germanic world-view appears to have been developed as a more effective approach than straightforward preaching or coercion. Although the accommodation of the Germanic world-view was originally intended to have been a temporary measure, the general lack of post-baptismal religious instruction, complemented by the vitality of Germanic religiosity, resulted in the Germanization of Christianity (Russell 1994, 7).

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67. Contact with non-Germanic languages II: Relations to the East

1. Contact with Finno-Ugric languages
2. Contact with Baltic
3. Literature (a selection)

1. Contact with Finno-Ugric languages

1.1. Lexical loans

Loanwords constitute the most important source material when studying contact with Finno-Ugric (FU) languages. Their essential advantage is that they allow (relative) dating, i.e. classification in chronologically different layers.

In the Baltic Region and in Scandinavia, there was IE–FU contact long before the Germanic period proper – since early IE times. If we are to assess and to locate contact between Germanic (Gmc)/Proto-Nordic (PN) and Finnic (F)/Sami (S, Sami = indigenous name for Lapp), and to establish a chronological order, we are obliged to begin at the very beginning. Because of the great time depth, the etymologies of the earliest loanword layers (cf. 1.1.1.–1.1.2.) need more comment than the younger loans.

1.1.1. Contact between Northwest Indo-European and Finno-Ugric (mainly Pre-Finnic and Pre-Sami)

The contacting IE language may be called Northwest Indo-European, i.e. approximately the proto (P)-language of the later Germanic, Baltic (B) and Slavic (Sl.) branches, because this contact, with a high degree of probability, must have taken place in a rather westerly region which can be approximately equated with the Baltic Sea region.

The contacting FU language stage was largely Pre-Finnic (PreF) or, alternatively, Pre-Sami (PreS). PreF, also called Finno-Samic protolanguage (Sammallahti 1998, 2) or Early Proto-Finnic, is the reconstructed common proto-language of Finnic and Sami. PreS is phonologically the same as PreF, but applies here to lexical items (loanwords) which are attested exclusively in S.

Finnic (F) itself is a group of languages east of the Baltic Sea, which are closely related to each other (also called Baltic-Finnic), i.e. Finn(ish), Ingrian, Karel(ian) proper, Olo-nets, Lude, Veps, Vote, Est(onian), Livonian. Vote and Livonian are almost extinct today.

The IE stage of the source language or dialects is based on phonological facts. Firstly, the reconstructed source words must reflect IE phonology. Secondly, the alleged borrowings from these IE source words must represent a sufficiently early stage, i.e. they must be phonologically identified as PreF or PreS forms. This can be shown also by internal FU sound correspondences. Of course, not every word has a structure that can be judged on phonological criteria. But there are a sufficient number of features to allow us to establish the language stage on both sides.

The clearest IE features which can be seen in PreF loans are: (1) reflexes of IE laryngeals, (2) reflexes of IE palatal stops, (3) reflexes of IE vocalic resonants (differing from the reflexes of Gmc vocalization with /u/), (4) reflexes of IE /o/ as F /o/. The last feature alone does not always point to an IE stage, because Gmc /a/ sometimes also has F /o/ as its reflex. In such cases, however, there may be internal PreF criteria, i.e. FU phonology and/or distribution of the word, from which an early borrowing can be inferred (cf. ex. 3 below).

Some examples of loanwords in F or/and S which fulfill the criteria are given below. – The present S words are written according to the present North Sami orthography, except for ['] for quantity III in certain cases (according to the practice in Sammallahti 1998, see esp. 48).

(a) Words attested in Finnic and also in Sami and/or in Volga-Finnic (Mordvin, Cheremis) and/or Permic (Votyak, Zyryen):

(1) Finn. *kasa* 'sharp point, edge', Karel. *kaža*, *kadža*, South Est. *kadza*, S *geahči* 'end, point' < PreF **kaća* ← IE **h₂akyā* > Gmc **agjō* > OHG *ekka* 'point, edge' > G *Ecke* 'corner'. – A later, Gmc loan from the same IE word is F **akja* > Karel. *agja* etc. 'end, brim, edge' (Koivulehto 1991, 23–25).

(2) Finn. *kyrsä* 'unleavened, thin bread; crust; something small, insignificant', Est. *kürss* 'first cut slice of bread, crust', Mordvin *kše*, *kši* 'bread' < PreF (Finno-Volgaic) **kürsä* ← IE **krusā* > PS. **krūchā* > Russ. *kročá* 'crumb', dim. *kroška* 'crumb (of bread), tiny bit, a little one'; the full grade variant IE **krowso-* > SrCr. *krūh* 'bread', Sloven. *krūh* id., Russ. *kruch* 'slice, piece, splinter'. For semantics cf. also Modern Gr. *psomi* 'bread' < *psōmion* 'morsel, piece of bread'. Metathesis

of a liquid and an obstruent in initial position and the palatal vowel (*ü*) for a corresponding velar vowel (*u*) of the source word are not rare in loanwords. Old words with *-rs-* are normally loanwords (*-rs-* is not attested in FU; Koivulehto 1999b, 121). Finn. *leipä* ‘bread’ is a later loan from Gmc.

(3) Finn. *lansi* ‘lowland; low’ (< **lante* < **lonta/*lomta*), Votyak, Zyryen *lud* ‘field, meadow, pasture’ < PreF (Finno-Permic) **lonta/*lomta* ← IE/PreGmc **lond^ho-/*lomd^ho-* > Gmc **landa-* > Go. etc. *land* ‘land’. As to the phonetic development cf. Finno-Permic **komta* ‘lid, cover’ > Votyak, Zyryen *kud*; > F *kante* > Finn. *kansi* (Koivulehto 1994, 139).

(4) Finn. *lehti* ‘leaf (blade)’, the same in S and Cheremis < PreF (Finno-Volgaic) **lešte* ← IE **b^hl_eh₁-tó-* > Gmc **blada-* > ON *blað* ‘leaf’ (or alternatively ← IE **b^hleh₁-tó-* > Gmc **blēda-* [> OE *blæd* ‘blossom, sprout, fruit’] → S *lieddi* ‘blossom, flower; oar blade’) (Koivulehto 1995, 122–125).

(b) Words attested only in Finnic:

(5) Finn. *kalja* ‘(weak) beer’ < PreF **kale* (+ suffix *-ja*) or **kaleta* or **kaleja* ← IE **h₂al-u-* (> B/Sl. **alu-* > OPr. *alu* ‘mead’, Lith. *alūs* ‘beer’, Sl. *olū* id.) or ← IE **h₂al-u-t-* (> Gmc **alup-* > ON *ǫl* etc. ‘ale, beer’) or ← IE **h₂al-ew-yo-* (> PS. **alauja-* > ORuss. *oluj* ‘beer’). The F word was borrowed in Zyryen: *kal’ja* ‘weak beer’. As to the ending in **kale* cf. FU **mete* (> Finn. *mesi* ‘mead, honey’) ← IE **med^hu-* (Kallio 1998). Finn. *olut* ‘beer’ is a later, Gmc or B loan.

(6) Finn. *kaski* ‘burnt-over clearing’ (the seed was thrown in the ashes) < PreF **kaske* or **kaške* ← IE **h₂azgV-* > Gmc **askōn-* > ON *aska*, OHG *aska* etc. ‘ashes’; ← IE root **h₂as-* ‘to burn; to dry’; cf. Finn. *palo* ‘burnt-over clearing’: a nominal derivative of Finn. *pala-* ‘to burn’. – Scand. *aska* denotes burnt clearings in many field-names (Koivulehto 1991, 28–32).

(7) Finn. *pohta-* ‘to winnow’ etc. (*-ta-* is a normal verbal suffix) < PreF **po(w)š-ta-* ← IE **powH-eye/o-* > Gmc **fauja-* > OHG *fewen* (*fouwen*), MHG *vöuwen* ‘to screen, to sift, clean (corn)’, G (dial.) *fäen* ‘to screen; to sprinkle; to clean flour/meal by throwing it up in the air’, OInd. *pavāyati* ‘cleanses, purifies’. On the other hand:

(7.a) Mordvin *ponžavtoms* ‘to winnow’ ← IE **puneH-/*punH-* > OInd. *punāti/punānti* ‘cleans, winnows/they clean, winnow’; *u* > *o* is regular in Mordvin.

(7.b) Votyak *puž*, Zyryen *pož*, ‘sieve’, Votyak *pužni-*, Zyryen *požn-al-* ‘to sieve’ < PreF = Pre-Permic **pe(w)šenV* ‘sieve’ ← IE **pew-Heno-* > OInd. *pāvana-* ‘purification, winnowing of corn; sieve, strainer’ (Koivulehto 1991, 87–96).

(8) Finn. *rohto* (dial. also *rohtu*) ‘medicine, (medicinal) plant; weed; green herb; cattle feed’, Est. *roht*, gen. *rohu* ‘grass, herb, plant; spice, medicine’ < PreF **rošto* ← IE/PreGmc **g^hróH-to-(n)-/*g^hróH-tu-* > Gmc **grōpa(n)-/*grōpu-* > ON *grōð-r*, *grōði* ‘herb, plant; growth’/Sw. *grodd* ‘germ’; **g^hroH-ti-* > Gmc **grōði-* > MHG *gruot* ‘green growth’ etc. The words are nominal derivatives from the IE verbal root **g^hroH-* > Gmc **grō-(ja-)* ‘to grow (esp. of green growth)’ > Sw. *gro* ‘to germinate, to grow (of plants)’, E *grow* etc. (Koivulehto 1999b, 213).

(9) Finn. *tahdas*, gen. *tahtaan* ‘dough, paste’, other F languages: ‘dough’ < PreF **taštas* ← IE **tah₂i-s-to-(s)* > Celtic, OIr. *tōis*, *tāis*, Cymric *toes*, Breton *tōaz* ‘dough’, Ch Sl. *těsto*, Russ. *testo* ‘dough’ etc. To the same root belongs the Gmc *m*-derivation OHG *deismo* ‘sour dough’ (= IE **tah₂i-s-mo(n)-*). The IE root is **tah₂y-* ‘to dissolve’, nominal ‘soft mass’. In the F word the *-i-* was dropped in order to get a normal base stem of two syllables, cf. also: PreF **rišma* > Finn. *rihma* ‘thread, snare’ ~ B **rišima-* ‘binding’, Finn. *vehma-ro* ‘pole of a team of draught oxen’ ~ B **vežima-* ‘drawing; waggon’ (L. Posti). Finn. *taikina* ‘dough’ is a later, Gmc loan from a different word (cf. G *Teig* ‘dough’) (Koivulehto 1999b, 213–214).

(c) Words attested only in Sami:

(10) S *arvi* ‘rain’ (in conservative dialects *-br-*) < Proto-S (PS) **eprē* < PreS **üprä* (**iprä*) ← IE **ṃb^h-ro-* > OInd. *abhrá-* ‘cloud, rain cloud’, Av. *aβra* ‘rain, rain cloud’, Lat. *imber* ‘(heavy) rain, shower’. The PreS loss of the nasal before two consonants is regular (Koivulehto; Sammallahti 1998, 126).

(11) S *čuoŋji* (gen. *čuoŋjágá*) ‘goose’ < PS **čōñēk* < PreS **čaŋak* ← IE **g^han-/*g^hanad-/*g^hanud-* > Gmc **ganat-/*ganut-* > OHG *ganazzo*, *ganizo*, *ganezo*, *ganzo* ‘gander (= male goose)’, MLG *gante* id. etc. – Finn. *hanhi* ‘goose’ is a later, Baltic loan (Koivulehto 1983, 143–144; Sammallahti 1998, 126).

(12) S *čuorpmas* ‘hail, (also collectively)’ < PreS **čormeš* ← IE **kor-mo-/*kor-mā* (< **kor-mah₂* < **kor-meh₂*) > PB **šarma-* > Lith. *šar̃mas/šarmà* ‘white frost’. As to the se-

mantics cf. Modern Persian *zāla* ‘hail, white frost’ or Kashub. *żlodz* ‘white frost’ = Polab. *zlod* ‘hail’. – A later B loan is Finn. *härmä* ‘white frost’ (Koivulehto 2001; Sammallahti 1998, 126).

(13) S *gožu* (nom., weak grade) : *gohččo* (gen., strong grade) ‘soot, layer of soot, deposit of smoke or soot on things near a fireplace’ < PS **kočsāj* < **kučo-j* < **kušo-j* ← IE **h₁usyō-* or **h₁usyā-* > PGmc **usjō(n)-*/**uzjō(n)-* > ON *ysja* ‘fire’? (as a name for fire), Mod.Icel. *ysja* ‘quicksand; fine rain; loose fresh snow’/PGmc **uzjōn-* > ON *-yrja*, attested in the compound Gmc **aim(a)-uzjōn-* > ON *eimyrja* (f.) ‘embers’, OHG *eimuria* id., E *ember(s)* (Gmc **aima-* > ON *eimr* ‘smoke, steam’). Also belonging to the same word family is Gmc **us-ilan-* > ON *usli* ‘embers, sparks’, Mod.Norw. *usle* ‘black smoke, coal-dust, embers’; the IE verbal root is **h₁ews-* approx. ‘to burn’ > OInd. *ōṣati* ‘singes’, Lat. *ūrō* ‘to burn (trans.)’. As to the semantics cf. also Finn. dial. *nuoha* ‘soot; layer of dust; flying dust; snowstorm’. The other old S words for ‘(various kinds of) soot’ are also borrowings: *giehpa* ‘soot’ (a B loan), *ruohhti* ‘coarse soot’ (a Gmc loan), *suohtti* ‘soot’ (a Gmc loan). FU palatal *ś* > PS *ć* was substituted for IE *-sy-* = *-sī-*, because there was no FU *-sj-*. The suffix *-j* is attested in several ancient borrowings; cf. also ex. 15 (Koivulehto 2001).

(14) S *guolbba* (gen. *guolbana*) ‘heath, dry level plain with reindeer moss or heath plants, sandy plain without stones’ < PS **kōlpen* < PreS **kalpen* ← IE **h₂alb^h-(en)-* > G dial. *Alben* ‘chalky sand underneath the top soil’, ON *alfr* ‘aur, möl’ = ‘gravel’ (only in ONorw. place names, Magnússon 11), Sw. (dial.) *alv* ‘subsoil’, a derivative from this is Sw. dial. (e.g. Gotl.) *alvar* (f.) ‘useless, barren, treeless, open field, bare mountain field, level heath on a shore’ (a new etymology, Koivulehto 2001). The adjectival form is IE **h₂alb^h-o-* ‘white’ (> Gmc **albā-*, Lat. *albus* ‘white, pale’). Finn. *kalvas*, *kalpea* ‘pale’ is obviously a parallel borrowing (a new etymology, together with Petri Kallio). As to the semantics cf. Sw. *blek* ‘pale’ ~ (dial.) *bleke* (n.), *bleka* (f.) meaning the same as Gotl. *alvar*: “*Bleket eller Allvarmoen, som det här kallas, var de mästa ställen brundt*” (*mo* ‘moor, heath’) (Linné).

(15) S *guovssu* (nom., weak grade): *gukso* (gen., strong grade) ‘dawn’ < PS **kōksāj* < PreS **kawso-j* or **kaṃso-j* ← IE **h₂aws-ōs-* > Proto-Gr. **auhōs* > Lesb. *auōs* (with a secondary long *ā*: Att. *hēōs*) ‘dawn’, Iran. **aušah-* (attested in later Iranian languages) id., fur-

ther derivatives in Lat. *aurōra* id., Lith. *aušrà* id. = Gmc **aus(t)ra-* > ON *austr* ‘east’; zero grade in OInd. *uṣ-ās* ‘dawn’; verbal stem **h₂ews-*/**h₂wes-* ‘to shine, to glow’. The sequence **-ws-* was originally unknown in FU, so it was probably replaced by the existing FU *-ṃs-*: cf. S *juoksa* : *juovsa* ‘bow’ ~ Finn. *jousi* id. < **jōṃse* (a new etymology, Koivulehto 2001; Sammallahti 1998, 126).

1.1.2. Contact between Pre-Germanic and Pre-Finnic/Pre-Sami

It seems possible to discern layers of loanwords which are later than the layers of IE borrowings discussed in the preceding section (1.1.1.) but earlier than the Gmc layers proper discussed in the following sections (1.1.3.–1.1.6.). It is appropriate to call them Pre-Germanic loanwords. Pre-Germanic (PreGmc) is understood here as a language stage that followed the depalatalization of IE palatals (e.g. IE *k̑* > PreGmc *k*) but preceded the Gmc sound shift (“Lautverschiebung”, “Grimm’s Law”, e.g. *k* > PGmc *χ*). The IE movable stress still existed and caused the lenition of the unvoiced stops in unstressed position, so that they gradually merged with the reflexes of the IE aspirated voiced stops: i.e. Verner’s Law is assumed to have acted before the Gmc sound shift (cf. Koivulehto/Vennemann 1996, esp. 170–174; Ramat 1981, 38–40).

The characteristics of these Pre-Gmc loans are among others: (a) In contrast to the oldest layers, (1) there are no immediate reflexes of IE laryngeals (cf. exs. 18 and 19), (2) the depalatalization (“centumization”) of the IE palatal stops has already taken place (cf. ex. 17), (3) the lenition of the IE unvoiced stops (“Verner’s Law”) has already taken place (cf. ex. 17); (b) in contrast to the Gmc loans proper, (4) the IE vocalic (syllabic) resonants have not yet undergone the typical PGmc vocalization with *u* (*um*, *un*, *ur*, *ul*, in Gmc loans appropriately reflected by F *um*, *un*, *ur*, *ul*), but are obviously either still preserved as such, or, at least, have a phonetic shape that differs from that of PGmc; cf. exs. 18 and 19), (5) the merger of IE /o/ and /a/ in Gmc /a/ has not yet taken place (cf. ex. 17). Additionally, *per definitionem*, (6) the Gmc sound shift (“Lautverschiebung”) had not yet taken place. This criterium is, however, hardly applicable, because of the lack of a suitable corresponding distinction in the FU/PreF consonant system (cf. ex. 16).

(16) S *gahčča-* ‘to fall’ < PS **kećće-* < PreS **kićće-* (or **kećće-*) ← PreGmc **kidye/o-* (or **keydye-?*) > PGmc *χit(t)ja-/χitatja-* > PN **hittja-* > ON *hitta* ‘to hit upon, to meet with, to hit or light upon; to find, to find one’s way’, *hitta á, í* ‘to hit upon, to get into’, Mod.Icel. *hitta* ‘to meet, to hit’, Sw. *hitta* ‘to find’. Original sense *‘to fall, to light upon’: cf. Cymric *cwyddo, di-gwyddo* ‘to fall, to happen’ (‘fallen, sich ereignen’) < either (1) Pre-Proto-Celtic **kei-* + a vocalic verbal suffix, or (2) Pre-Proto-Celtic **kid-ye/o-* (according to Peter Schrijver); IE (Gmc-Celtic) **keyd-* ‘to fall’. As to the semantics cf. Gmc **falla-* ‘to fall’ ~ OPr. *au-pallai* [-l-] ‘to find’ ~ Lith. *pulti, puolu* ‘to fall’ etc., Lat. *cadere* ‘to fall; to happen; to turn out; to occur’, *in-cidere* ‘to fall into; to chance to meet or find, happen on; to happen to’. A new etymology (Koivulehto 2001; Sammallahti 1998, 242).

(17) S *doarvi* ‘so much as is needed, a sufficient amount’ (attested in every S dialect/language) < PS **tārvē* < PreS **torva* ← PreGmc **torβā* > PGmc **parbō* > ON *þorǫf* ‘need’ (*vinna þorǫf* ‘to be sufficient’), OSw. *þarf* ‘need; what is needed, necessary’, OE *þearf* ‘need’, = Go. *þarba* ‘want, need’ (formally = Lith. *tarpa* ‘thriving, growth’); IE root **terp-* approx. ‘to get satisfied’. A later, Gmc/PN loan from the same noun is S *dárbu* ‘need’; Finn. *tarve(h)* (gen. *tarpe(h)en*) ‘need, want’, pl. ‘materials, utensils’ is a parallel Gmc/PN loan, probably from the same noun, too (the ending *-eh* is frequent in loanwords and need not reflect a similar ending in the source word: cf. ex. 18). As to the phoneme substitution cf. also Finn. *arvo* ‘value, price’, an Aryan loanword: cf. OInd. *arghá-* ‘price, value’. A new etymology.

(18) Finn. *kone*, gen. *kone(h)en* ‘machine’; (older, dial.) ‘magical cure; (magical) trick, cunning; strange’, Karel. *koneh* ‘magic’; a verbal derivation: Finn. (dial.) *konehtia* ‘to conjure, to practice witchcraft’, Karel. *konehtie* ‘to conjure, to practice witchcraft; to plot’; < PreF **koneš* ← PreGmc **gñ(H)yo-* (= IE **ǵñh₃-yo-*) > PGmc **kunja-* > ON, Mod.Icel. *kyn* (n.) ‘wonder, something strange’. To this group also belong: ON *kynsl* (n., pl.) ‘wonders, strange things’, (Mod.)Icel. *kynngi* (f.) ‘magic, witchcraft’ (derived from ON *kunnr* ‘well-known, learned’), *kynnga* ‘to conjure, to practice witchcraft’; cf. Lith. *žinià* ‘news, information; knowledge; art, skill; witchcraft’ (= IE **ǵñh₃-yā-*); IE verbal root **ǵneh₃-* (in Gmc also **ǵenh₃-*) ‘to know, recognize’. Cf. also IE **ǵñh₃-mV-* (> Lith. *žymė* ‘sign, mark’) > PreF **imeš* > Finn. *ihme* ‘miracle, wonder’.

For the Germanic significance of this IE word family (‘secret knowledge’) see Seebold s.v. *König*. The basic stems ending in an *-eš* are normally loanwords. The IE laryngeal seems to have no reflex. It may already have disappeared or there was an assimilation IE **-nH-* > **-ñ-*, and the long syllabic nasal was later shortened before *j* (as for the gemination see Seebold 331, 471). The geminate was replaced by a single nasal in PreF, as a geminate nasal was still non-existent; the oldest word with it is Finn. *onni*: see the next example. A new etymology (Koivulehto 2001).

(19) Finn. *onni*, gen. *onnen* ‘happiness, bliss, delight; luck, fortune’ = (or rather >) S *vuodna* ‘good fortune, luck’ < PreF **vonne* ← PreGmc **wñ(H)-* > PGmc **wun(n)-* in: **wuna(n)-/wunōn-* > ON *Uni*, a man’s name (probably also *Unr*), *Una*, a woman’s name, and in **wunjō* > WGmc **wunnjō* > OHG *wunna*, *wunnia* ‘delight; happiness, bliss, pleasure’, OLG *wunn(i)a*, OE *wynn*, MHG *wünne* id. The corresponding verb is Gmc **wunē-* > ON *una* ‘to feel happy’, OHG *wonēn* ‘to stay, live’; the IE verbal root is **wenH-* approx. ‘to strive; to want, wish’. Initial PreF *v-* disappeared regularly before labial vowels in F and S; in S it has arisen again regularly before a PS long *ō*. The word is the only *e*-stem with a geminate dental nasal and obviously also the oldest F word with *-nn-* in a basic stem in general. The F geminate can be explained by a PreGmc geminate **-ñ-* < IE **-ñH-*, which was later shortened (cf. ex. 18). But it can not be excluded that it reflects the original sequence **-ñH-*, at a stage when the laryngeal was already hardly audible (for an analogous case see ex. 52 below). A new etymology (Koivulehto 2001). A younger word for ‘luck’ is a loan, too: S *lihkku*, Finn. *lykky* (cf. Sw. *lycka* id.); and S *oassi* ‘share; luck’ is a loan from Finn. *osa* ‘part, share’, which itself is an old Aryan loan.

1.1.3. Early contact between early Proto-Germanic/North Germanic and Pre-Finnic

Proto-Germanic (PGmc) is understood here in the traditional sense as a stage after the stress was fixed on the first syllable and after the Gmc sound shift (‘Lautverschiebung’). The term North Germanic (NGmc) applies to phonetic and lexical features which are attested (early) in the north of the Gmc speech area. Chronologically, it refers to items older than the traditional Proto-Nordic period.

Here and below it is used for forms with an early long /ā/ (< PGmc /ē/ or rather /æ/). The preceding early PGmc stage /æ/ is attested, too: see ex. 24).

Gmc loanwords that have undergone the typical phonetic changes that took place between PreF and (Late) Proto-Finnic (PF) must have been adopted during a more or less PreF period. The phonetic changes in question are numerous and shall not be enumerated here (for these see e.g. Itkonen 1983, 203–204; Hofstra 1985, 55–57). The most important ones can be inferred from the examples below, where the PreF original forms are given. Several of the loans that fulfill the criteria are attested also in S. In these cases it is theoretically possible to reckon with one and the same loan into a common proto-language (Finnic-Sami), but, more probably, the S word is a very old borrowing from PreF proper into PreS. Of course, not all early loans have a phonetic shape that could supply appropriate criteria.

(20) Finn. *apaja* ‘fishing ground; (dial.) recess of a river’ (in Vepsian, Vote, Est. ‘narrow bay’, Est. also ‘muddy ground’) = S *vuohppi* ‘deep narrow bay, recess of a river or lake’ < PreF **apa-ja* (-*ja* is a suffix denoting a place’) ← early PGmc **aban-* > Sw. (dial.) *ave* ‘shallow, narrow bay of a lake’; cf. also PGmc **abjōn-* > ON *efja* ‘bay of a river; muddy ground, mire’ (Nikkilä 1988, 145–148; LÄGLOS I, 29–30).

(21) Finn. *arpa* ‘lot, share, portion; destiny’ = S *vuorbi* ‘lot, destiny’ < PreF **arpa* ← early PGmc **arba-* (m. or n.) > OSw. *arf* (n.) ‘inheritance, landholding’, ON *arfr* ‘inheritance, portion of an inheritance’, OSw. *arver* ‘inheritance’. S *árbi* ‘inheritance’ is a later, PN loan (LÄGLOS I 37).

(22) Finn. *hauta* ‘pit, tar-burning pit, cooking pit, pit for catching wild animals (for wolves etc.), hole; grave’ (= apparently S *suovdi* ‘gill; mouth, gullet’) < PreF **šavta* (or rather ← **šavða*, which is required by the S form, dialectally showing the dental fricative) early ← PGmc **saup̥a-* > OE *sēap̥* ‘pit, hole; well, pool’, *sand-sēap̥* ‘sand-pit’, *wulf-sēap̥* ‘wolf-pit’, MLG *sōt* ‘well’; cf. Gotl. *sāide* ‘tar-burning pit’ < Gmc **saup̥ja-*; S (dial., obsol.) *saude* ‘tar-burning pit’ is a later borrowing into PS. As to PreF *š-* cf. ex. 67: Lith. *šarvas* (LÄGLOS I, 90).

(23) Finn. *kansa* ‘people’ (Karel. *kanža* ‘company; comrade’) = S *guos’si* ‘guest, stranger’ < PreF **kansa* ← early PGmc **χansā* > PGmc **hansō* > Go., OHG *hansa*, OE *hōs*

‘crowd, host’, MHG *hanse* ‘commercial company’ (LÄGLOS II, 38–39).

(24) Finn. *käve-* ‘to go, walk’ (-*v-* preserved as such in the past tense *kävin* ‘I went’ and in the derivative *käve-le-* ‘to walk around’) < PreF **käve-* ← PGmc **skæwja-* > Go. *skewjan* ‘to go, walk’, ON *skæva* ‘to go, to hasten’. Note that long open vowels did not originally exist in PreF (LÄGLOS II, 141–142).

(25) Finn. *liesi* (stem *liete-*) ‘hearth’ < PreF **lēte* (or **lēde*) ← early PGmc **slēda-* or **slēdi-* > OHG *slāt* ‘chimney hood, chimney’, G *Schlot* ‘chimney, smokestack’; as to the semantics, cf. G *Esse* ‘hearth; chimney’. Old loanwords with a heavy (long) first syllable have often become F *e-*stems (cf. LÄGLOS II, 201).

(26) Finn. *maltsa* ‘*Stellaria media* (chickweed); *Atriplex* (orache)’, Est. *malts* ‘*Atriplex*’, (adj.) ‘soft’ < PreF **malčca* (? < **maltja*) ← early PGmc **malčja-* ‘soft, tender’ > OHG *melta*, OLG *maldia*, OE *melde* ‘*Atriplex*’ (LÄGLOS II, 248–249).

(27) Finn. *paha* ‘bad, evil; difficult, hard, rough’ < PreF **paša* ← NGmc **bāga-* > ON *bág-r* ‘difficult, hard’, *bág-lundr* ‘ill-disposed, bad-tempered’; the PreF *š* is proved by S *buoš-ši* ‘ill-tempered’ (with a new S phoneme *š*), which was apparently borrowed from a late PreF form before PreF *š* > PF *h*, but after PreS *š* > PS *s*. A long *ā* was not possible (Koivulehto 1981, 339–341).

(28) Finn. *sata-ma* ‘boat-shore, harbour’ (-*ma* is a suffix) ← early PGmc **stapa-* (> OHG *stad*, *stado*, MHG *stade* ‘strand, shore’; cf. E dial. *staith[e]* ‘quay’). As to the suffix, cf. Finn. *ranta-ma* ‘bank (of a lake, river)’ from the Gmc loan Finn. *ranta* ‘shore’ (Nikkilä 1988, 153–158; also O. Nuutinen). A later borrowing would have given Finn. **tata(ma)*; cf. ex. 29.

(29) Finn. *suota* ‘(obsol.) herd of mares in heat, (dial.) horse herd, reindeer herd’ < PreF **sōta* (or **sōða*) ← early PGmc **stōda-* > OHG, MHG *stuot* ‘horse herd’, OSw. *stop* ‘herd of mares, horse herd’ etc. (Koivulehto 1997, 19).

1.1.4. Contact between Proto-Germanic/early Proto-Nordic and Finnic

The younger layers of old Gmc loanwords were borrowed into the (Late) Proto-Finnic (PF). This can be proved by the fact that they have not undergone the typical phonetic changes which transformed the PreF phonemic/phonetic system into that of (Late) PF. Because the Late PF forms do not consider-

ably differ from Modern Finnish forms phonetically, only the latter forms are given below. The equivalents from other F languages are also omitted, for the sake of brevity.

In most cases it is not possible to distinguish between PGmc and early PN loans; so the source word forms are mostly labelled as Gmc. Only the forms with NGmc long /ā/ (< PGmc /ē/) are given expressly as NGmc.

(30) Finn. *autio* ‘desert, deserted’ ← Gmc **aub(i)ja-* > OSw. *öþe* ‘desert’, OHG *ōdi* id. (LÄGLOS I, 47).

(31) Finn. *hartia* ‘shoulder’ ← Gmc **hard(i)jō* > ON (pl.) *herðar* ‘shoulders’ (LÄGLOS I, 84).

(32) Finn. *havas*, gen. *hapa(h)an* ‘depth of a fishing net, netting’ ← NGmc **hābaz* (= PGmc. **χēbaz*) > ON *háfr* ‘pochet net, hoop net’, Mod.Norw. (dial.) *haav* (= *håv*) id.; see ex. 48 (LÄGLOS I, 91–92).

(33) Finn. *laho* ‘rotten; a rotten tree’, Lude/Veps ‘rotten, lying tree’ ← NGmc **lāgō* > ON *lāg* ‘lying tree’, Sw. *låg*, *låga* ‘lying tree’, dial. ‘lying, rotten tree’; cf. Finn. *lieko*, ex. 35 (LÄGLOS II, 150–151).

(34) Finn. *lantio* ‘pelvis’, *lanne(h)*, (pl.) *lante(h)et* ‘loins’ ← Gmc **landī(n)-* > OHG *lentī(n)* ‘loin’, ON *lend* id. (LÄGLOS II, 170).

(35) Finn. *lieko* ‘a lying tree trunk in water, snag’ (only in WFin!) ← Gmc **lēgō* > ON *lāg* ‘a lying tree trunk’ (LÄGLOS II, 200).

(36) Finn. *malja* ‘bowl; cup’ ← NGmc **mālja-* (= PGmc. **mēlja-*) > OE *mæle* ‘bowl, cup, basin’, ON *mælir* ‘measure’, *qrva-mælir* ‘quiver’ (LÄGLOS II, 2469).

(37) Finn. *patja* ‘mattress, bed’ ← Gmc **baðja-* > ON *beð-r* ‘bed, bolster’, OHG *betti* ‘bed’.

(38) Finn. *ruokkia* ‘to feed, (dial.) to keep up, to care for’ ← Gmc **rōk(i)ja-* > ON *rækja* to take care of’, OHG *ruohhen* id.

(39) Finn. *ruokko* ‘upkeep, care’ ← Gmc **rōkō* > OHG *ruohha* ‘care, concern’.

(40) Finn. *sairas* ‘sick, ill’ ← Gmc **saira-z* > ON *sár-r* ‘sore, wounded’.

(41) Finn. *sakko* ‘fine, penalty’ ← Gmc **sakō* > ON *søk* ‘charge, offence, suit in court; cause’ (= Sw. *sak* ‘thing’).

(42) Finn. *tanko* ‘pole, rod’ ← Gmc **stangō* > ON *stong* ‘pole’.

1.1.5. Contact between Proto-Germanic/early North Germanic and Pre-Sami

In this group borrowings of different ages are combined. The earliest of them could theoretically go back even to a PreGmc period: cf.

exs. 43, 45, 46. S *lieddi* ‘blossom, flower’ (ex. 44) still reflects the PGmc long /ē/ (= *e*¹), but it is hardly a PreGmc loan, because of the S vowel combination *ē-a*, which is an innovation (non-existent in FU), and because of the initial *pl-* attested in a few dialects.

Perhaps the most interesting examples are 47 and 48, which show PreS /a/ (> PS /ō/ > *uo*) as a reflex of the long North Germanic /ā/ that already had developed from PGmc long /ē/, the phonetic value of which was rather [æ:] in PGmc. Since the examples must be considered most convincing (note that NGmc **hābaz*, ex. 48, was adopted in parallel in F, the meaning being exactly the same: cf. ex. 32), they show that the phonetic development [æ:] > [a:] was rather early in Scandinavia; obviously it was finished several centuries B.C., at the latest. It is not reasonable – in view of the whole (even if relative) chronology of western FU – to assume that the PreS vowel system would have lasted any longer. On the other hand, since the S word for ‘blossom, flower’ (ex. 44, with /ē/) is hardly any older, we are led to assume an early dialectal division in Gmc: in a certain NGmc dialect the phonetic change [æ:] > [a:] took place very early, while some other Gmc dialect in the north retained the front character of the same phoneme, even raising it early to a rather closed [e:], attested later in Gothic. The same division can be observed also in Gmc loanwords in F: cf. Finn. *paha* (ex. 27), *laho* (ex. 33) and *malja* (ex. 36) versus Finn. *liesi* (ex. 25) and *lieko* (ex. 35). Note also that probably the earliest Gmc value, long [æ:], is also attested in loanwords (see ex. 24 above, and Hofstra 1985, 35–37, 139–142). The etymologies 47–49 are new ones (presented in two papers read by Koivulehto), but are already listed in Sammallahti 1998.

(43) S *buoidi* ‘fat’ < PS **pōjtē* < PreS **pajta* ← early PGmc. **faita-* > ON *feit-r* ‘fat’ (Sammallahti 1998, 128).

(44) S *lieddi* ‘flower, blossom; (oar, shoulder) blade’ < PS **lēdē* = PreS **lēða* ← PGmc **blēda-/ā* (< PreGmc **b^hlē-t-* < **b^hleH-t-*) > NGmc **blād* (cf. OE *blād* (f.) ‘flower, blossom; fruit’), Old Low Franconian **blād* (→ French *blé* ‘corn’) > MDutch *blat* ‘yield (crop); return, interest’. Cf. Finn. *lehti* ‘leaf, blade’ (ex. 4) (cf. Sköld 1961, 139–140; Sammallahti 1998, 128).

(45) S *luoika-* ‘to lend, to hire out (for a single occasion)’ < PS **lōjkkē-* < PreS **lajkke-* or **lojkke-* ← early PGmc **laig^weje/a-* or **laig^wē-*

(or ← PreGmc **loiy^wéje/a-*; hardly ← IE **loik^w-éye/o-*) > ON *leigja*, *leiga* ‘to hire’, Mod.Icel. *leigja* ‘to rent, hire; to hire out’, Mod.Norw. *leie*, *leiga* ‘to rent, hire; to hire out’, OSw. *leghia* id.; IE root **leyk^w-* ‘to let’. Since PreS **-kw-* (for PGmc *-gw-*) was non-existent, the geminate *-kk-* might have been substituted for it. S *laigu* ‘hire, rent’ is a later loan from PN **laigō* > ON *leiga* ‘hire, rent’ (Koivulehto; cf. Sammallahti 1998, 128).

(46) S *ruovda* (LuleS *ruob’da*) ‘rim, side (of the bottom piece of a Sami brogue, of a boat or bed)’ < PS **rōmtę* < PreS **ramte* or **romte* ← early PGmc **ramd-* (< IE **rom-t-*) > Gmc **randa-ō* > ON *rōnd* ‘edge, rim, border’, OHG *rant* id. The S form unambiguously reflects PreS *-mt-* (cf. Sköld 1960, 64–74; Sammallahti 1998, 128).

(47) S *vuohčču* ‘narrow bog (collecting water)’ < PS **vōččō* < PreS **vaččo* ← NGmc **wātjō* (fem.) (< PGmc **wētjō*) > Gotl. (Sw. dial.) *vāt* (fem.) ‘bog, a boggy place where there is water in autumn and in spring’. Cf. also Sw. etc. *vāta* ‘moisture’ < NGmc **wātjōn-* < PGmc **wētjōn-*. As for the replacement of Gmc *-tj-* by (Pre)S *-čč-* cf. S *fiščču* ‘seal’s flipper’ ← PN **fitjō* > ON *fit* id. The same replacement has taken place in PreF proper (see ex. 26, Finn. *maltsa*). A new etymology (Koivulehto 1999c, 14; Sammallahti 1998, 128).

(48) S *vuoksa* ‘depth of a fishing net, netting’ (LuleS *vuopsa*) < PS **vōpse* < PreS **apse* < **apas(e)* ← NGmc **hābaz* (= PGmc. **χēbaz*) > ON *háfr* ‘pocket net, hoop net’. In S syncope took place early: nom. **apas(e)* : gen. **ap(a)sen* > **apse* : **apsen* (other examples: S *gáica* ‘goat’, *sávza* ‘sheep’, see exs. 53, 59). In S, there was no substitute for Gmc **h-*: cf. S *ávji* ‘hay’ ← Gmc **hauja-* and ex. 49. Finn. *havas*, gen. *hapa(h)an* ‘depth of a fishing net, netting’ is a parallel loan from the same NGmc word (ex. 32) (Koivulehto 1999a, 12–13; Sammallahti 1998, 128).

(49) S *vuopman* ‘hunting fence with two long, converging arms ending in a pit or a pen’ < PS **vōmēn-* < PreS **amene* ← Gmc **hamen-* (*n*-stem, masc.) > OHG *hamo* ‘hunting net; fish weir net’, MHG *ham(e)* ‘sack-like hunting net’, G *Hamen* ‘landing net; a long, tapering hunting net’. As for the semantics, cf. Finn. *siula* ‘side net of a seine; side fence leading reindeers to an enclosure’. (Koivulehto, a new etymology; Sammallahti 1998, 128).

1.1.6. Contact between early Proto-Nordic and Proto-Sami

There are hundreds of PN loanwords in S. As early PN does not considerably differ from PGmc, it is, in most cases, impossible to choose between the alternatives PGmc and PN by purely Germanic criteria. The difference from the earlier PGmc and PreGmc loans into PreS (1.1.2. and 1.1.5.) can, however, be established on several criteria based on the phonetic development (“Lautgeschichte”) of S itself: (1) Gmc/PN /*a/* yields S *a* (i.e. the front *a*, written *á* < PS /*ā/* < PreS /*ä/*), whereas the older PreS layers in such cases have S *uo* (< PS /*ō/* < PreS /*a/*); (2) NGmc/PN long /*ā/* likewise yields the same reflexions, respectively; (3) Gmc/PN /*e/* gives S *ie* (< PS /*ē/*), whereas in the older PreS layers we would expect the reflex of PreS /*e/* > S *ea* (also written *æ*); (4) Gmc/PN long /*ū/* normally becomes S *uv*; the oldest Gmc loans, however, have S *u* (< PS /*u/* < early PS/PreS /*ū/*): see ex. 57 ‘cow’); (5) G/PN initial /*f/* yields S *f*, a phoneme which was adopted from PN, whereas the older layers have initial S *p* (written with *b*: see ex. 43). The following examples are all (except ex. 51) listed also in Sammallahti (1998, 128–129, 243).

(50) S *biergu* ‘meat, flesh-food’ < PS **pērķō* ← PN **bergō* > ON *björg* ‘aid, rescue; food’.

(51) S *buvri* ‘storehouse, shed’ < PS **puvrē* < early PS **puvrā* ← PN **būra-* > ON *búr* ‘store house’.

(52) S *fiel’lu* ‘board’ < PS **fēllō* ← PN **felhō* > ON *fjǫl* ‘board’. The Gmc/PN sequence *-lh-* was replaced by geminate *-ll-*, because there was no *h* in PS.

(53) S *gáica* ‘goat’ < PS *kājce* ← PN **gaitiz* > ON *geit* ‘goat’. In S syncope **-ttis(e)* > **-ttse* = *-cce* took place early (cf. ex. 59).

(54) S *gárdi* ‘corral’ < PS **kārtē* (< early PS **kārtā*) ← PN **garda-* > ON *garðr* ‘fence, yard’.

(55) S *gávdna-* ‘to find, come upon, meet’ < PS **kāvne-* ← PN **gagnija-/*gaganja-* > ON *gegna* ‘to go against, meet, encounter’.

(56) S *gávdni* ‘(useful) thing; use(fulness)’ < PS **kāvnē* (< early PS **kāvnā*) ← PN **gagna-* > PN *gagn* ‘gain, use, utensils’.

(57) S *gussa* ‘cow’ < PS **kuse* < early PS **kūse* ← PGmc/early PN **kūz* > ON *kýr* ‘cow’.

(58) S *mánnu* ‘moon’ < PS **mānō* ← PN **mānan-* (or rather **mānōn-*) > ON *máni*, *mána-* ‘moon’.

(59) S *sávza* ‘sheep’ < PS **sāvce* ← PN **saudiz* > ON *sauðr* ‘sheep’. In S syncope

*-tis(e) > *-tse = -ce took place early (cf. ex. 53).

1.2. Phonetic/phonological Germanic influence on Finnic

It has been suggested that Gmc had a deep impact on F phonetic development. Most of the phonetic changes which occurred between PreF and (Late) PF can be explained by assuming a Gmc speaking superstrate in regions originally populated by speakers of F (Posti 1953). According to this theory the changes came about as phonetically incorrect F spoken by a Gmc superstrate and were subsequently carried through by the F substrate which imitated this incorrect pronunciation. The theory, in its essential core, has gradually been accepted by most linguists engaged in F language history (cf. Itkonen 1983, 203–204), but see Fromm (1958, 211–240). For a new critical evaluation see now Kallio (2000).

The explanation of the F consonant gradation (lenition of *p, t, k, s* under certain circumstances) encounters particular phonetic difficulties if attributed to a “Verner’s Law” that would have arisen only in PGmc. It has recently been shown (Koivulehto/Vennemann 1996) that these difficulties can be explained away if we start from a Verner’s Law which had operated already before the Gmc sound shift (in PreGmc or “Paläogermanisch”, see 1.1.2.).

On the other hand, since consonant gradation is found in two Samoyed languages (Selkup dialects and Nganasan) – in one of them, Nganasan, the resemblance to the F phenomenon is rather striking – it has been argued that gradation was already a Proto-Uralic phenomenon (Helimski 1995, 28). However, if that were the case, it would be a little surprising that (1) gradation became phonological only after the PF period, (2) there is also gradation in S, which has a rather different look: it is based on strengthening and all consonants and consonant clusters are involved (Sammallahti 1998, 3), and (3) this kind of gradation is, again, found in Selkup. Thus it would seem a better solution – provided that gradation was essentially an autochthonic phenomenon – to explain its Finnic, Sami, Nganasan, and Selkup manifestations as secondary convergent (parallel) developments that arose from a similar phonotactic prerequisite in Uralic (Sammallahti 1998, 3). If this is accepted, then the question of an opposite direction of phonetic influence – Pre-Finnic → Pre-Germanic – does not seem very

probable. As to F gradation, a compromise could be reached by assuming an indigenous predisposition which was enhanced by foreign influence (Verner’s Law).

1.3. Syntactic influence

An early Germanic and, more generally, Indo-European influence on F syntax is obvious, even if it is difficult to date and describe it, as well as its source language, exactly. It is, however, generally accepted that the development of subordination, i.e. of subordinate clauses, is due to IE influence; Uralic, originally, made extensive use of infinitive and participial constructions. Moreover, the coordination of words or whole sentences using the conjunction ‘and’ is apparently adopted from Gmc, since Finn. *ja* ‘and’ is also an old Gmc loan (cf. Go. *jah* ‘and’). Another syntactic feature adopted from Indo-European is the agreement of attributive adjectives in number and case; originally, the attribute had neither number nor case markers, a state that is still preserved in Hungarian.

1.4. Conclusions

At least the following conclusions can be reached from the material presented and discussed above.

(1) Contact between an Indo-European idiom which, in its later stages, we call (Proto-)Germanic and Proto-Nordic, and the Finno-Ugric language family – especially the Finnic and Sami branches – started at a time when the contacting IE language still was, in its phonetic/phonological shape, as good as identical with reconstructed Proto-Indo-European; we choose to call this language Northwest Indo-European.

(2) The contact continued, apparently without noticeable interruptions, through Pre- and Proto-Germanic stages to the Proto-Nordic period – and was to continue until the present time.

(3) This contact manifested itself most clearly, as a steady flow of lexical borrowings from Indo-European/Germanic to Finnic/Sami. Several cultural loanwords from the oldest IE period bear witness that the Pre-Finns became acquainted with a primitive type of agriculture along with some kind of cattle breeding: words for ‘burned clearing’ (the slash-and-burn method, or just burning woods to get pasture land for the livestock), ‘bread’, ‘leaf’ (leaves

as fodder!), ‘pasture’, ‘to winnow’, ‘herb, grass’, ‘dough’, ‘a kind of fermented beverage’. The list includes the names of the two oldest cereals, ‘millet’ (cf. Koivulehto 1983, 144) and ‘wheat’, which were not discussed above (but see ex. 66 below). Actually, the old names of these cereals do not necessarily indicate that they were – on a larger scale – cultivated in Finland. It is noteworthy that also Finn. *porsas* ‘(little) pig’ could belong to this western IE layer (cf. OE *feorh* ‘pig’ < IE **por-kos*; alternatively, but not very probably, it is an Aryan loan, Koivulehto 2001); Finn. *uuhi* ‘ewe’ seems to be a still older IE loan which has spread from the east (cf. Lat. *ovis*; Koivulehto 1991, 108–109).

But the later loans are by no means limited to “cultural” words only – such as Finn. *leipä* ‘bread’, *taikina* ‘dough’, *kaura* ‘oats’, *ruis* ‘rye’, *lammas* ‘sheep’, *kauris* ‘he-goat’ (which could also be an older loan): on the contrary, masses of everyday words were adopted, words for body parts, verbs carrying core meanings, adjectives etc. A deep Germanic phonetic/phonological impact on Finnic has also been suggested.

(4) Such massive influence can only be explained by assuming a close and permanent connection between the speakers of the respective languages. It is not sufficient to assume an adstrate influence only. The close connections can only be understood by assuming a stratification of linguistic communities: i.e. at least a temporary coexistence of both languages in the same geographical area, with the newcomers, i.e. the speakers of Germanic, forming a superstrate and the original population, the speakers of Finnic, forming a substrate.

(5) The Germanic superstrate people, however, were not numerous enough to maintain their language for a longer time. They gradually assimilated to the native population. So the only traces of the foreign superstrate(s) consist of its linguistic, above all lexical, impact on Pre-Finnic and Proto-Finnic.

(6) According to the evidence of lexical loans of Proto-Germanic age, an early dialectal diversification can be discerned: there was an early North Germanic dialect, where the Proto-Germanic long /*ē*/ = /*ǣ*/ had attained the phonetic value of a long *ā*, long before the onset of what is traditionally considered the Proto-Nordic period proper. In another dialect the original front vowel was retained and even raised to a closed *ē*. On the other hand, the early PGmc long *ǣ* is also attested in loanwords (see ex. 24 above).

(7) In the light of the evidence discussed above, the so-called Jastorf theory, which is currently largely adhered to by German historical linguists, is untenable. According to this theory the Proto-Germanic primary homeland would have been situated in the northern part of the present-day Germany (within the Jastorf Culture territory, approximately 600–0 B.C.) and Scandinavia would have acquired its Germanic language only by a secondary linguistic expansion from south to north (for opinions about the Jastorf theory, see Fromm 1997). The old loanwords which are exclusively attested in Sami indicate that the respective contact areas were situated in middle/south Scandinavia and/or in Finland, apparently since Proto-Indo-European times. On the other hand, loanwords of equal antiquity in Finnic – sometimes even including areas east of it – point to contact areas in Finland and/or in the Baltic. It is, therefore, in Scandinavia and Denmark that the primary Germanic homeland must be sought, within the area of the Nordic Bronze Age Culture as defined by archaeology.

2. Contact with Baltic

2.1. Lexical loans

The only evidence of the contact between Germanic and Baltic (B) are the Gmc loanwords adopted by Baltic populations. In contrast to the hundreds of loans adopted by Pre- and Proto-Finns and Pre- and Proto-Sami there seem to be just 10–20 old Gmc loans in B; and several of these are considered to have passed into B through Slavic (Sl.) mediation (see e.g. Stender-Petersen 1927, 134; Otrębski 1966). In Slavic there are, in fact, considerably more Gmc loans than in B (cf. Stender-Petersen 1927; Kiparsky 1934). The loanwords are nearly all cultural ones.

Some of the most interesting examples are discussed below.

(60) Lith. *gātvė* ‘street, lane; (obs.) cattle track’, Latv. *gatve*, dial. *gatva* ‘avenue; cattle track’ ← Go. (or older) *gatwo* (f.) ‘street’; or from a corresponding PN word: cf. ON *gata* ‘way, path, road’. There have been attempts to explain the word as a genuine B formation (Otrębski 1966, 62–63; Karulis I 294–295); the explanations, however, do not seem plausible (and Finn. *katu* ‘street’ is by no means borrowed from an alleged B **gatu-*, as Karulis claims, but from Sw. dial. *gatu* = standard Sw. *gata*!). The difference in the endings of

the Gmc and the B word does not, of course, endanger the loan etymology (Fraenkel 139–140).

(61) Latv. (dial.) *glīsis*, *glīse* ‘amber’ ← Go. **glēs* (= PGmc **glēza-* > **glāza-* > OE *glær* ‘resin, amber’, MHG *glār* ‘resin’). The Gmc word appears as *glaesum* in Tacitus. The source word is most probably an early Gothic form. Endzelin (ME I 627) explains the Latv. *ī* as a secondary development: the Gothic word was first adopted in Old Prussian (OPr), from where it passed through Courland (where *ē* > *ī*) into Latvian (ME I 627). The long *ī* could be, at least theoretically, also the original value, as the closed Go. long *ē* could have been replaced by B long *ī*: the B long *ē* was, at an earlier time, a rather open vowel (Stang 1966, 46). Cf. ex. 62.

(62) Lith. *ýla*, OPr. *ylo* (Latv. *īlens* m.) ‘awl’ (*y* = *ī*) ← apparently Go. **ēla* (= PGmc **ēlō* > OHG *āla*, OE *æl* ‘awl’). As for the vowel correspondence cf. ex. 61. The B loanword proves the long vowel of the Gmc word, which has been questioned (Fraenkel 183; Mažiulis II 24–25).

(63) OPr. *ilmis* ‘shelter for corn or hay’ < **ilmas* (see Mažiulis II 24) ← Early Go. **hilm(a)s* > (Wulfila) *hilms* ‘helmet’ (= ON *hjalmr* ‘helmet’ = Sw. [old, dial.] *hjälm* also ‘shelter for corn etc.’). In this later borrowing the Go. *h-* has no reflex any longer. An older borrowing from the same Gmc word is OPr. *kelmis* < **kelmas* (see ex. 64).

(64) OPr. *kelmis* ‘cap, hat’ < **kelmas* (see Mažiulis II 160–161) ← PGmc **χelmaz* > Go. *hilms*, ON *hjalmr*, OHG *helm* etc. ‘helmet’. The replacement of Gmc **χ* by B *k* proves an old borrowing (in contrast to OPr. *ilmis*: ex. 63).

(65) Latv. *klāips* ‘loaf, bread’ < **klaipas* ← (P)Gmc **χlaibaz* (hardly from [later] Go.) > Go. *hlaiψs* ‘bread’, ON *hleifr*, OE *hlāf*, OHG (*h*)*leib* ‘bread, loaf’ (Fraenkel 271). Lith. *kliēpas* ‘loaf’ is often considered a later Slavic loan, but Skardžius (1931, 19) sees in it an early Gmc loanword. Since it is true that a Proto-Baltic *ai* also can give a later *ie* (Stang 1966, 54–55; several B loanwords in Finnic prove this irrefutably), there is no reason why the Lith. word should not be a reflex of Gmc *ai* (see also ‘wheat’, ex. 66). The Gmc word was also borrowed to Slavic, Finnic (Finn. *leipä*, obviously < **laipa*: *ai* > *ei* is attested in several old loanwords), and Sami (*láibi*). That the Lith. word should be a later borrowing from ON *hleifr* (see Fraenkel 271) seems thus improbable. (Unacceptable root etymo-

logies in Karulis I 398: IE **k^wel-* ‘to turn, rotate’ or *(*s*)*kel-* ‘to cut’.)

(66) Lith. (pl.) *kviečiai* ‘wheat’, (sg.) *kvietys* ‘a single grain of wheat’, Latv. (pl.) *kvieši* ‘wheat’ ← PGmc **χwaitja-* > Go. *hwaiteis* ‘wheat’, ON *hveiti*, OHG (*h*)*weizi*. An early borrowing is proved by the initial *k* for Gmc *χ* and by the B development *ai* > *ie* (the latter is proved by several B borrowings into Finnic: cf. Finn. *paimen* ‘shepherd’ ~ Lith. *piemuō* ‘shepherd boy’). Thus, an alleged later borrowing from ON *hveiti* (Fraenkel 326) is improbable; cf. also ex. 65: Lith. *kliēpas*. Note that Votyak *vad’z*, *važ* ‘wheat’ can be explained as coming from Gmc **hwaitja-*, but not from ON *hveiti*. Also Finn. *vehnä* ‘wheat’ < **vešnä* (attested also in Mordvin and Cheremis) is highly suspected of being a borrowing, and the only possible source word seems to be IE **kweytnō-* ‘white’ > PGmc **χwīta(n)-* > **χwīta(n)-* > G dial. *Weißer* ‘wheat’, a substantivized form of ‘white’ (cf. Seebold s.v. *Weizen*; this ablaut grade is given also for Sw. dial. *vīte* in Hellquist II 1335; in Finnic we must reckon with a peculiar phonetic substitution for IE *-ytn-* caused by phonotactic constraints).

(67) Lith. *šarvas*, pl. *šarvai* ‘armour, weapons’, OPr. *sarwis* ‘weapon(s)’ (< **sarvas*, Mažiulis IV, 65–66) ← (early) Go. or PGmc **sarwa-* > Go. (pl., n.) *sarva* ‘weapons, armour’, OHG *saro*, gen. *sar(a)wes* (n.) ‘weapons, armour’; cf. ON *sorvi* (m.) ‘necklace; (pl.) warrior’ < *(*ga*)*sarwia-* (Magnússon 1020). The substitution of B *š* for Gmc *s* is the same as in Gmc borrowings into Pre-Finnic (see 1.2.3., ex. 22: Finn. *hauta*), and the explanation is, obviously, the same, too: Germanic had only one sibilant phoneme /s/, while Pre-Finnic and Baltic had /s/ and /š/; thus, this Gmc phoneme could have a phonetic value that was not “sharp”, i.e. it lay somewhere between the phonetic values of /s/ and /š/ of the borrowing languages, and could also be replaced by /š/ (see Koivulehto 1997, 15–18). A bold attempt to explain **šarvas* as a genuine B formation (Mažiulis IV 65–66) must be rejected, as well as a connection with Gr. *kóryς* ‘helmet’ (Fraenkel 965).

2.2. Conclusions

(1) The old Gmc lexical loans in B belong to different layers. There is a later layer, as shown by OPr. *ilmis* (ex. 63), and there is an earlier layer, as shown by OPr. *kelmis* (ex. 64), an earlier borrowing from the same Gmc word (cf. also Stender-Petersen 1927, 132).

(2) Since the later layer must be a Gothic one, it seems probable that the earlier layer also originates in an idiom that could be called early Gothic or Pre-Gothic (cf. Stender-Petersen 1927, 134: “Ur[ost]germanisch”); at least Latv. *glīsis* (ex. 61) and Lith. *ýla* (ex. 62) are clearly Gothic, even if they cannot be dated more closely. A Gothic origin is also suggested by the fact that the scanty lexical material preserved in Old Prussian, a West Baltic language, has relatively the most loanwords.

(3) The earliest direct contact with (Pre-)Goths arose, obviously, in the Baltic coastal region: a word like Latv. *glīsis* ‘amber’ can hardly have been adopted elsewhere. Clear indications of direct Scandinavian lexical influence (in the Christian Era) do not seem to exist; it is worth noting that the common Slavic word for ‘eye’, Russ. *glaz*, goes back to the same Gmc origin as Latv. dial. *glīsis*, but instead of the (Pre-)Goth *ē* it reflects the NGmc and WGmc long *ā*.

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68. Scandinavia in the light of ancient tradition

1. Ancient geography of the North
2. Ancient ethnography of Scandinavia
3. Literature (a selection)

1. Ancient geography of the North

1.1. The image of the North up to Pytheas

The Greeks not only developed geography as a systematic discipline; Greek tradition also provides us with the earliest mythical reports on the European North. As early as Homer, the long Nordic summer's day was already known, beginning and ending at the same hour: In the *Odyssey*, the poet recounts how among the race of giants known as the *Λαιστρυγόνες*, a shepherd setting out for the pasture greets the returning one (Od. 10,81–86). The Nordic winter's day also appears to have been known, since Homer mentions the "cruel" length of the night for the Cimmerians (Od. 11,19). Other myths speak of the northern mountain range *Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη* behind which the sun returns from the West to the East each night. It was allegedly here that the land of the Hyperboreans was to be found, warmed by the returning sun, unreachable by ship or on foot and inaccessible to mortals (Pindar Pyth. 10,29f.). However, it is no lon-

ger possible to identify the northern areas of the ancient world from which this semi-mythical knowledge originated. In preclassical times this strange world was said to be located immediately behind the *μεγάλη θάλασσα*, the Mediterranean Sea. But as the scope of interest expanded through trade and exploration as well as colonization, the mythical North shifted as well. The foundation of the city *Μασσαλία* (Lat. *Massilia*; ca. 600 B.C.) was of importance in several respects. First of all, it was here that the Greeks came into contact with the "northern barbarians", i.e. Celts, who subsequently lost much of their mythical status. Furthermore, the Celts served as a vehicle for new information from areas which were later referred to as *Britannia*, *Germania* and *Scadinavia*, but which were initially located beyond the geographical horizon. And finally, of major importance for the later history of discovery, the western supply center *Μασσαλία* pointed the way to the gates of Gibraltar and to the Atlantic Ocean.

Initially, the land from which amber came was thought to be located in the vicinity of the *Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη*. Some have regarded the name *Ῥιπαῖα* as Gmc and compared it with ON *rip(r)* 'rocky cliff', a highly speculative etymology which can not be proven. Accord-

ing to myth, the river Eridanos (Ἐριδανός) originates in the Rhipaeon mountains and was associated with amber as early as Hesiod (fr. 150,23f.). Phaeton, son of the sun god Helios, is said to have drowned in Eridanos, after which the Heliades, Phaeton's sisters, turned into poplars on the banks of the river and wept tears of amber into the river (Apollonios Arg. 4,595ff.). This myth is the basis for the belief in an amber river Eridanos in northern Europe. Geographic science was of course already skeptical about such traditions at an early stage. Thus Herodotus (3,115) doubts the existence of a river which the barbarians call Eridanos, since he saw the name as Greek and consequently as the invention of a poet. But he cast no doubt on the fact that amber must come from the remotest extremes of the inhabited world.

In Herodotus' times, Phoenician mariners controlled trade in the western Mediterranean and through the straits of Gibraltar. But the Greeks steadily increased their influence after the establishment of Massilia: At first this affected westerly overland trade (for example via the Rhone route), which was comparatively complicated and expensive due to the intermediate trade with Celtic tribes. In the second half of the 4th century B.C., a man named Pytheas left Massilia for the North by sea. Sources indicate that he was searching for a direct trade route to the tin and amber islands (Κασσιτερίδες, Ἐλεκτρίδες). It has even been suggested that he was searching for the northern sea route to southeastern Europe and Asia in the service of Alexander (Dion 1977, 180ff.). With his journey, the Greek horizon was suddenly extended to the North Sea and Scandinavia. Pytheas of Massilia is thus the key figure in the discovery of northern Europe. He was presumably the first Greek to travel the Atlantic to the North. But as early as the 6th century B.C., a Carthaginian explorer by the name of Himilco appears to have come as far as the British Isles and perhaps even to the North Sea. His reports have been preserved in an old Greek periplus, a description of the seacoast between Britain and the Black Sea. This periplus was translated by the Roman civil servant Rufius Festus Avienus in the 4th century A.D.; however, only the first book (Britain to Massilia) has survived. Of particular importance for later tradition is a phenomenon reported by Himilco in the northern ocean (Avienus Ora 120ff.): the "sluggish ocean" in which no wind drives the ships and where the seaweed in the shallow

water keeps the ships from preceding. This poetic text does not indicate whether or not Himilco views these two phenomena, the "sluggish ocean" and the seaweed, as being connected.

1.2. The discovery of the North after Pytheas

1.2.1. The record of Pytheas' voyage is not attested directly, either, but rather is known only as excerpted by other authors, in particular Strabo and Pliny. Nevertheless, the citations from Pytheas provided by these authors constitute not only the earliest concrete geographic descriptions, but also contain a variety of names, admittedly only a few of which are historically attested and prove to be autochthonous. Pytheas' travels took him through the straits of Gibraltar and via Tartessos, located at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, to Britain ("tin island" *Ictis*). After six days' journey to the north of Britain (the exact procession of the journey is unclear) Pytheas reports reaching a large island, *Thule* (Θούλη), in the North Sea, which subsequently played an important role in geographic literature. The short summer nights and long winter nights are mentioned in connection with Thule (e.g. Pliny Nat. 2,186f.) and the descriptions also grow more precise. When Pytheas (in Geminus and Kosmas) reports that the barbarians had shown him the resting place of the sun which is always with them in the night, he confirms the mythic idea that the sun travels back from the West to the East each night, to the north of the Rhipaeon mountains. Most of all, however, this report seems to indicate that Pytheas himself had seen the bright summer's night, perhaps even the midnight sun, and had thus traveled far to the north. It is significant that precisely this report is the only attested verbatim citation from Pytheas (cf. Mette 1952, 10).

1.2.2. Ancient authors following Pytheas mention a natural phenomenon within about a day's journey at Thule, which has been the subject of much controversy – the so-called "curdled, viscous, frozen sea" (*mare pigrum, concretum, congelatum; πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα*). Reports of the "sluggish ocean" could have been in circulation before Pytheas (cf. 1.1.). Several pieces of evidence make it unlikely that only the Arctic ocean is being referred to: Pliny for example differentiates between a *mare con-*

cretum (4,104; 37,35) and a *mare congelatum* (4,94). This needs not be significant, since multiple designations are frequent in Pliny, resulting from the incorrect interpretation of his sources. Pliny does, however, cite Pytheas when remarking that amber is the “flotsam of the viscous ocean” (cf. 1.2.3.) – an additional reason not to consider the Arctic ocean. Finally, the sources frequently mention a phenomenon which obtained its vernacular name, *lebermer* or *libersee*, in the Middle Ages, which even presume a natural explanation for this phenomenon: “. . . that the sea around the Orkneys is so viscous and thickened by salt (*circa Orchadas mare sit concretum et ita spissum a sale*), that ships would barely be able to move through it without the help of a storm; therefore this sea is also called in our tongue *libersee*” (Scholion 144 on Adam 4,34). Although *libermere* is glossed in Isidors Summarium Heinrici as *mare mortuum* ‘Dead Sea’, this could represent a later interpretation of existing evidence. Medieval literature continues the myth of the *lebermer* in which ships make no progress, for example in the OHG poem *Merigarto* (38ff.), speaking of the *mere giliberōt* in the *wentilmere westerōt*. A sea to the north of Britain (in the vicinity of the Orcades and Thule) is mentioned as early as Tacitus (Agricola 10,6), said to be sluggish and almost impossible to row through, and stirred by no wind (*mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli*). This description calls to mind again the report of Himilco in Avienus (cf. 1.1.); it would seem as if Tacitus relied here more on his own library than on eyewitness accounts. But regardless of whether his remark is taken seriously or as a learned aside, it appears necessary to differentiate in ancient tradition between a “frozen” sea and a “curdled” sea. Pliny also mentions “native” names for the northern ocean which reflect the natural phenomena described above. According to Hekataios, the ocean on the other side of the river *Parapanisus* is called *Amalcius*, “the name which means ‘frozen’ in the language of this people” (4,94). On the other hand, according to Philemon, the northern ocean from the region of the Cimbrians to the foothills of *Rubaea* bears the name *Morimarusa*, “which means ‘dead sea’”, but behind that point is called *mare Cronium* (4,95). The “name” *Amalcius* appears to represent a misunderstanding, based probably on the Greek μάλκιος ‘still, frozen’. On the other hand, *Morimarusa* is Celtic and indeed means ‘dead

sea’. It is a matter of opinion as to whether this ‘dead sea’ is to be posited in the vicinity of the Celts or whether one should assume that the name has been transmitted from afar by Celtic-speaking peoples. It is interesting that Philemon (ibid.) attributes this designation to the Cimbrians, who are usually regarded as Germanic. The name *Cronium*, finally, has been subject to some rather absurd interpretations: Thus Much (1898, 322 A. 1) compares the name as a Celtic cognate with OE *hran* ‘whale’, which he construes as ‘whale-sea’, an interpretation frequently adopted by later scholars (cf. for example Svennung 1974, 28f.). Müllenhoff (1870–1908 I, 415ff.) is correct in refusing to recognize an autochthonous name here. It will be necessary to explain *mare Cronium* in terms of classical tradition (cf. Rubekeil 1992, 105). In opposition to Müllenhoff’s attempt to discard the natural occurrence of a “dead sea” as pure fantasy, Much (1898, 322f.) presents a report from Fridtjof Nansen, who encountered so-called “dead-water” (*dodvand*) in the North Sea in which his ship could no longer move. Nansen explained the dead-water phenomenon as a result of a fresh water layer lying on top of the salt water below. It is possible that the ancient accounts are based on observations of a similar phenomenon. Pytheas again (transmitted by Polybios) is the source of an account provided by Strabo (2,4,1), according to which in the vicinity of Thule the earth and the sea combine to form a mixture resembling a “sea-lung” (πλεύμων θαλαττίω εοικός) which can be traversed neither by ship nor by foot; land and sea and all things float there. Here again the question of whether the “sea-lung” can be identified with the accounts of the “curdled ocean” must be addressed. It has been noted that jellyfish are sometimes referred to on the German North Sea coast as “Seelungen”, and in the Mediterranean other marine mollusks have names like Gr. πλεύμων (θαλάττιος) or Lat. *pulmo* (Müllenhoff 1870–1908 I, 418ff.; Mette 1952, 7; Svennung 1974, 22f.). When positing such associative explanations, one must not forget that Pytheas allegedly describes the phenomenon of the “sea-lung” based on his own eyewitness impressions. Thus we are dealing either with a very expressive description of a natural phenomenon which was foreign to Mediterranean experience of the time, e.g. a tidal mud flat (which admittedly does not exist at the latitudes in question), seaweed beds (Jordanes Get. 1; cf. also Avienus in 1.1.) or a semi-frozen con-

glomeration of ice floes and freezing water (Nansen 1911 I, 69; further explanations in Macdonald in PWRE II.11, 628). Otherwise one would have to agree with Polybios, Strabo and others in surmising that Pytheas was a “fraud”.

1.2.3. Pliny (Nat. 37,42) preserves for us the first attestation of an autochthonous name for amber which of course was also one of the main interests on Pytheas’ journey: It is referred to by the Germanic tribes as *glaesum*, later confirmed by Tacitus (Germ. 45,4 *glesum*). It is even conceivable that the Romans borrowed the word *glesum*: The name of the island *Glaesaria* attested by Pliny (ibid.; also 4,103 *Glesiae*) shows Latin morphology and was coined, as Pliny himself states, by soldiers of Germanicus. The underlying Gmc common noun is continued in Mod.E *glass*, Mod.HG *Glas* and retains in OE *glær* (with Verner’s law) the meaning ‘amber’. Pliny tells of two different transport routes for amber – and implies at the same time two distinct areas of origin: On the one hand, he reports (37, 45) on the eastward overland trading journey of a Roman nobleman to sites “600 miles distant from Carnuntum of Pannonia” (presumably the coast of Samland). On the other hand, the amber island *Glaesaria* – which the Germanic tribes referred to as *Austeravia* or ‘Eastern Island’ – is to be sought in the North Sea. Information relating to North Sea amber stems by and large from Pytheas.

In the vicinity of an oceanic bay called *Metuonis* ‘with a space of 6000 stadia’ (*aestuarium oceani Metuonidis nomine spatiorum sex milium*) Pytheas found the island *Abalus*. Here allegedly the spring ocean currents washed up the amber as the “flotsam of the viscous ocean” (Pliny Nat. 37,35: *concreti maris purgamentum*). The meaning of the puzzling words concerning “6000 stadia space” remains unclear: If this refers to the physical extent of the ocean bay *Metuonis*, then the designation would have to apply to the entire length of the Frisian North Sea coast (Gutenbrunner 1939, 69). This would support Detlefsen’s etymology (1904, 10), comparing *Metuonis* (= Gmc **mēdwan-*) with Mod.HG *Matte*, Mod.E *meadow*. It could however also be the specification of a distance from a fixed reference point not explicitly cited. Some have identified this point with the peninsula *Tastris* (Pliny Nat. 4, 97; presumably Cape Skagen) and seen *Metuonis* as the Courland Lagoon (Aly 1957, 473f.). This however makes the

localization of the island *Abalus* problematic, supposedly a day’s journey away. Stichtenoth (1959, 91) assumes this island to be in the Baltic Sea and incidentally links the *aestuarium* with the name of the *Aestii* – an opinion based purely on speculation. A much more likely possibility is that the *aestuarium Metuonis* actually refers to the mouth of the Elbe, which is indeed approximately 6000 stadia (1110 km) away from the supply settlement at Οὐξισάμμη (the Breton island of Ouessant), where Pytheas was required to pause during his journey to Britain (Wenskus 1985, 97). When referring to the island which Pytheas called *Abalus*, Timaios uses the name *Basilis*, as Pliny notes in the same paragraph. This fact has led to some confusion, since Pliny says elsewhere (4,95) that Xenophon mentions an island called *Balcia* (manuscript also *Baltia*), which is then referred to by Pytheas as *Basilis*. The relationship among these three names and their referents is still a matter of controversy today. However, the attempt made by Solinus (19,6) to conflate *Abalus* and *Balcia* to a single name *Abalcia* can not be regarded as acceptable. *Abalus* and *Basilis* must be treated as two names for the same island; there can hardly be any doubt that the island in question is Heligoland. *Balcia* should be handled separately from *Abalus-Basilis*, primarily because of two observations made by Xenophon: first its “enormous size” (*insulam esse immensae magnitudinis*), but also because of the distance to the “Scythian coast” of three days’ journey compared with a journey of only one day for *Abalus*. Since *Baltia* is nothing more than a scribal error, it can not be connected with *Belt*, the name for a strait (Svennung 1953, 13). The facts seem to indicate that *Balcia* is another name for the later *Scandinavia* (cf. 1.3.3.). The epithet *Basilis* for *Abalus*-Heligoland is of particular interest. It is not necessary to posit an underlying autochthonous Gmc name **Baswa-lajjō* ‘red cliff’ for *Basilis* (Krogmann 1963, 211 f.). The name appears in Greek tradition and must be reconstructed as Βασιλεία (vῆσος), which could be interpreted as something like ‘king-island’. Wenskus (1985, 99 ff.) has demonstrated that this name, like others in this context, originates with Pytheas; he assumes that this remarkable designation is based on the name of the Teutons, which itself can be understood *pars pro toto* as ‘kings’ (cf. Go. *þiudans* ‘king’). Greek has simply adopted the name from the Gmc in an historical framework which can be reconstructed as follows: Heligoland, which in spite of the statements

made by ancient authors never had significant amounts of native amber (cf. also Gutenbunner 1939, 71), was primarily a center of trade for amber from Jutland and presumably also was home to a Greek trading settlement since Pytheas' journey. But the amber was supplied by Teutons from northern Jutland (cf. 2.1.1.). A startling counterpart to this designation in the Gr./Gmc contact area is found in a later Gmc name for Heligoland, i.e. *Fositesland*, an island in *confinio Fresonum et Danorum* (Alkuin Vita Will. 10). The compound *Fositesland* contains the god's name *Fosite*, which has turned out to be a Gmc borrowing from the Gr. Ποσειδῶν. The short *o* in the first syllable was presumably lengthened via folk etymology (Kuhn 1978, 285); similarly, the name was reinterpreted in ON as *Forseti* 'president' (Grímnismál 15). Adam von Bremen (4,3) knew that the island *Fosite* was *Heiligland* (Heligoland). Adam also bears witness to the fact that a type of sacred peace still existed on the island in the Middle Ages; he adds that none of the islands is thus as remarkable as *Heiligland*. This special status reminds us that Apollonios (Arg. 4,504f.) had already referred to the amber island Ελέκτρις as "sacred" land, a fact that is more than likely to be due to Pytheas in one way or another. Thus since Pytheas' times, Heligoland had been the location of *Poseidon-Fosite* worship; the temples to Poseidon, the god of islands and sea travels, served primarily to invoke peaceful trading.

1.2.4. At about the time of Christ, Germanic territory became the focus of geographical and historical interest. After Pytheas' exploratory voyage, the scope of interest of Mediterranean civilization moved significantly to the north: Gaul had become a part of the Roman Empire, and Drusus, Tiberius and Germanicus were in the process of extending the Empire's borders to the Elbe. Roman excursions even reached the edge of Scandinavia to Cape Skagen in northern Jutland –, where they located the *Cimbrorum promunturium*, the "Cimbrian foothills" (Mon. Anc. 26; Pliny Nat. 2,167). The knowledge which had survived from Pytheas' times was now mixed with newer information. Pomponius Mela mentions an "enormous gulf *Codanus* above the Elbe" (3,31: *super Albim Codanus ingens sinus*) full of large and small islands, the largest of which, the island *Condannovia*, "has now been inhabited by the Teutons" (3,54). According to Pliny (Nat. 4,96), the same *sinus Codanus* starts at *mons Saevo* and runs to the *Cim-*

brorum promunturium. Pliny also mentions various islands in the *sinus Codanus*, *quarum clarissima est Scatinavia*. Scholars have sometimes equated the "bay" *Codanus* with Skagerrak or Kattegat (Noreen 1920, 23) and sometimes with the Baltic Sea (Svennung 1974, 50). However, statements with this degree of exactness become misleading as soon as they presume that Mela and Pliny operated with the modern understanding of Scandinavian geography rather than that which was typical of ancient Rome. In any case, it is evident that when Mela uses "above the Elbe" he does not mean the same North Sea bay which appears as *Metuonis* in Pliny-Pytheas (incorrect in Horst Roseman 1994, 98). Furthermore, the assertion that the gulf *Codanus* is full of large and small islands suggests a localization "on the other side of" the Cimbrian foothills, i.e. to the east. If one keeps in mind the fact that in ancient times Scandinavia was regarded as an island – regardless of what its name was – extending the coastline of Jutland, then the Baltic Sea would also have to have been seen as a gigantic ocean bay.

A number of questions are raised by the *mons Saevo*, a mountain range *nec Rhipais iugis minor*. It is assumed that Pliny and Mela obtained their information from a lost document by Varro (Kroll in PWRE I.41, 304ff.; Gisinger in PWRE I.42, 2401; Sallmann 1971, 265ff.). Here Pliny's comparison of the *mons Saevo* with the *Rhipais iugis* also suggests interference from a Greek source, since a Roman would have chosen the Alps as an object of comparison (Detlefsen 1904, 29). Furthermore, the comparison with the Rhipaeian mountains shows that Pliny or his source imagined a large mountain range, and not simply a single mountain. Here we are clearly dealing with a nebulous depiction of the Norwegian highlands, and not (as posited by Svensson 1921, 63f.) with the Baltic plateau. Pliny's comparison could well also have been partially responsible for the fact that in the Middle Ages Adam does not hesitate to refer to the Norwegian mountains as *Riphei*. The name *Codanus* is presumably Gmc, although the preciously proposed etymologies are hardly convincing (cf. Svennung 1974, 49f.). We can not accept the attempt to emend *Codanus* to †*Scodanus* (Svensson 1921, 64ff.) and thus to connect it with the name *Scadinavia*. A different question is the island name *Codannovia*, also mentioned by Mela: Müllenhoff (1870–1908 I, 490) had already recognized that Mela had adapted the name written correctly by

Pliny as *Scatinavia* to *sinus Codanus*. Subsequent attempts to refute this opinion (Kuhn 1941, 114; Neumann and Wenskus in Reall. V, 37f.) base their argumentation on Mela's localization of the Teutons on this island: Accordingly, the Teutons were not to be found to the north, but rather to the south of the Baltic Sea. *Codannovia* would then be the portion of Jutland located to the north of the Limfjord (cf. 1.3.2. on the *Alociae*). Even if this view of the Teutonic homelands is well founded (cf. 2.1.1.), it still can not serve as an argument for a separate *Codannovia*. Pomponius Mela did not engage in critical studies; what is more, he compiled a variety of sources and maps in an unstructured manner which resulted in several misconceptions on his part. Although the like may be said of Pliny, his designation *Scatinavia* is easier to justify (cf. 1.3.3.f.). The assumption of an autochthonous *Codan-ovia* (= **Kodana-aujo*, which would mean 'Codanus-island') is problematic most of all due to the form in which it is attested. In addition, if *sinus Codanus* does indeed refer to the Baltic Sea, the northern tip of Jutland would hardly be called a "Baltic Sea island", at least not from the local perspective.

1.3. Ancient names for Scandinavia

1.3.1. In the reception of Pytheas, *Thule* is seen as the northernmost of the British Isles, with the distance to the main island consistently specified as a journey of 6 days. All additional information is, however, of widely varied content. According to Pliny (Nat. 4,104), it is only a day's journey to the "curdled sea", similarly in Strabo (1,4,2) to the "still sea". Because of the difficulties in associating these names with locations, as mentioned above, such specifications can not bear great meaning. At least we do have more precise information concerning the geographic latitude: All authors concur in the description of the bright summer nights and dark winter nights. Even more exact information is provided by Strabo (2,5,8) and Pliny (4,104), according to whom Pytheas places Thule in the vicinity of the Arctic Circle. Similar information can also be found in other fragments. The journey to Thule begins at the island *Berrice*, which Pliny (4,104; cf. 1.3.2.) places in the vicinity of the *Scandiae* and which Müllenhoff (1870–1908 I, 387) takes to mean the Shetland island Mainland. Since Tacitus (Agricola 10), several authors (such as Ptolemy 2,3,14) have relocated Thule

in the Shetland and Orkney Islands, a position also adopted by some of the older scholars (Müllenhoff 1870–1908 I, 408). However, as early as the Middle Ages, Thule was considered identical with Iceland (Adam 4,35: *Thyle nunc Island appellatur*; and similarly, with reference to Beda Venerabilis, in the Prologue of the *Landnámabók*: "till þess ætla vitrir menn þat haft, at Ísland sé Thile kallat" [for that reason learned men believe that Iceland was called Thule]. Although some scholars still maintain this position today, Thule is now considered most likely to be middle or northern Norway (Nansen 1911 I, 62f.), since Thule according to Pytheas and in contrast to prehistoric Iceland was said to be inhabited. Grain was also cultivated, as was honey and fruit (Strabo 4,5,5; Solinus 22,9), meaning that neither the Shetland Islands nor Iceland can be intended. Furthermore, Mela's statement that Thule is "located off the coast of the Belcae" (3,57: "Thyle Belcarum litori adposita") remains puzzling, and it is not clear whether *Belcae* is to be associated with the controversial island name *Balcia* (cf. 1.2.3.) in Pliny. The authorship of the name *Thule* is, however, beyond all doubt: Strabo refers consistently to Pytheas, and Pliny does so in part. The dominant Greek influence in the Thule tradition is demonstrated by the fact that as late as the Middle Ages, Latin authors write mostly *Thyle* or *Tyle* and often even use Greek inflectional forms. The variant with *y* makes a Greek origin all the more apparent, since the early Greek sources – e.g. Strabo – tend to write Θούλη (with [u:]) more often than Θύλη (with [y]). Thus the literature does not indicate that an autochthonous name *Thule* was ever observed by the Romans. In later classical literature the notion of Thule does not become clearer, but rather more vague. Since Virgil (Georg. 1,30 *ultima Thule*) Thule has meant the edge of the world. The island is treated as "foreign" (Silius Italicus Pun. 3,597 *ignotam Thylen*) or even "sinister" Thule (Stattius Silv. 4,4,62 *nigrae litora Thylen*), i.e. Thule was affected by history at an early stage and became a poetic stereotype for the unknown. In the 6th century A.D. in his treatise on Scandinavia, Prokopios (Goth. 2,15) calls both the northern and southern inhabitants of the Scandinavian mainland (Γαυτοί, Σκριθίφιννοι) Thulites and their country Thule (Θουλίται, Θούλη). This means that the well-known name received new meaning in classical literature. Prokopios still associates Thule with the midnight sun: There, the longest day

and the longest night each last 40 days. Otherwise Prokopios' Θούλη is identical with that which Ptolemy still referred to as Σκανδία 'the real Scandia' (cf. 1.3.2.; 1.3.4.).

1.3.2. Pliny (Nat. 4,104) learns from older sources that there are other islands in the vicinity of Britain, *Scandias*, *Dumnam*, *Bergos* (manuscript also *Vergos*) *maximamque omnium Berricen* (manuscript also *Ver(i)gon*), *ex qua in Tylene navigetur*. *Berrice* has already been mentioned; Pliny writes that the other islands are less significant. Since *Scandiae* is written in the plural, it appears to function as a collective designation for the following names (Detlefsen 1904,63). Among these, not only the island *Berrice* – “from which one sails to Thule” – is to be assumed in the vicinity of Britain (cf. 1.2.1.), but also *Dumna*, which Ptolemy (2,3,14; 8,3,10: Δοῦμνα), too, places to the north of Albion near the Orcades. It can not be conclusively shown that the names in Pliny originate in Pytheas. In the preceding paragraphs, Pliny's text is based on Timaios. His sources for the *Scandiae* remain anonymous (“sunt qui et alias produnt”), although the form of the names suggests a Greek origin. A century after Pliny, the island group Σκανδία νῆσοι is also mentioned by Ptolemy (2,11,16), who however specifies their location as east of the “Cimbrian peninsula”, i.e. east of Jutland. In the same chapter Ptolemy mentions three unnamed “Saxon islands” near the mouth of the Elbe, and the three νῆσοι Ἀλοκία “above the Cimbrian peninsula”. The latter name is apparently autochthonous. Previous scholars (cf. Detlefsen 1904, 61f.) associated the name with *Halligen*; Gutenbrunner (1939, 16) interpreted Ἀλοκία as “Alkinseln”. Svennung (1974, 199) takes great liberty with the geographic information in Ptolemy: He reads Ἀλοκία as **Alogiae*, which reminds him of the Norwegian Hålogaland, whose fjords could create the impression of a group of islands (in fact, Adam 4,37 also describes *Halagland* as an island in the vicinity of the Cimbrian peninsula, Ἀλοκία presumably refers to the land north of the Limfjord, which Adam (4,16) still describes as an archipelago and which several scholars (e.g. Kuhn 1941, 114) have identified as Mela's *Codannovia* (cf. 1.2.4.). Ptolemy differentiates three smaller and one large island among the Σκανδία; the latter is located to the east, opposite the mouth of the Vistula and is also in the “actual sense” called *Scandia* (καλεῖται δὲ ἰδίως καὶ αὐτῇ Σκανδία). Elsewhere (8,6,4) he

speaks of this island alone, where the longest day is 18 hours long. Since Ptolemy also cites the coordinates and the names of various inhabitants (cf. 2.1.3.), there can be no doubt as to the fact that he means the Danish islands and most of all southern Sweden (Scania). After Ptolemy, *Scandiae* was no longer used to refer to any island group. Only a single island is mentioned, which apparently was based on Ptolemy's conception of the “actual Scandia” (αὐτῇ Σκανδία). Jordanes (Get. 3 with the vulgate Lat. form *Scandza*) explicitly cites Ptolemy as a source; according to him, the Goths were originally from the island *Scandza*. The usage of *Scandia-Scandza* in the Gothic emigration saga by Jordanes is primarily responsible for the frequent presence of the name as late as in medieval texts (cf. examples in Svennung 1963, 26f.).

1.3.3. Pliny was not only the first to mention the *Scandiae insulae*, but also an island called *Scatinavia* or *Scadinavia* (4,96; 8,39). Probably the island attested earlier in Mela, *Codannovia*, is identical with this island (cf. 1.2.4.). *Scadinavia* is the source of the corrupt form *Gangavia* in Solinus (20,7f.). The name *Scadinavia* together with its written variants can be seen as the predominant name for Scandinavia in the early Latin texts, taking into account the poor nature of the evidence available. Authors writing in Greek do not use the name. More precisely, in the light of ethnographic data, *Scadinavia* refers to southern Sweden. This name continued its tradition into the Germanic Middle Ages and has ultimately resulted in the modern name *Scandinavia* (cf. 1.3.4.). *Scadinavia* is the only name possessing an undeniably Gmc etymology, as a compound combining **skap-* ‘damage’ and **-aujō* ‘island’. This etymology is also frequently cited in texts from the early Middle Ages. For example, a manuscript version of the *Origo gentis Langobardorum* states that the island name *Scadan* is to be interpreted as ‘damage’ (*excidia*). The transparency and viability of the compound is further supported by the new formation of *Scedelandum* in ‘in the damage-lands’ in Beowulf (v. 19, varied 1686 on *Scedenigge*). And the unwieldy attempts in several sources to reinterpret the vernacular form as ‘Schön-Au’ confirm the “damage” etymology and the autochthonous character of the name (Rübekeil 1992, 100).

Immediately after mentioning *Scatinavia* for the first time, Pliny (4,96) mentions an

island *Aeningia* which is “not smaller”. Svennung (1974, 67 ff.) is probably correct in pointing out that the initial *A-* has to be emended to *F-*, and that **Feningia*, which due to its morphology also appears to be Gmc, should be regarded as an old name for Finland. This conception of Sweden and Finland as enormous islands is necessary in order to consider the Baltic Sea as an ocean bay lying between them (cf. 1.2.4.). The isolated attestation of the name **Feningia* also provides an additional piece of evidence for the fact that the information from Nat. 4,96 must stem from a younger source which is fully independent of the Pytheas tradition. This is probably what Pliny means with the introductory sentence to 4,96: “Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama”.

1.3.4. Three important names have been considered as old designations for Scandinavia: *Thule*, *Scandia* and *Scadinavia*. Of these apparently only *Thule* and *Scandia* are to be attributed to Pytheas; *Scadinavia* originates in a newer source and may have made its way into Latin literature through Varro. Pliny is the only ancient author to mention all three names. *Scandia* and *Scadinavia* have been treated by the great majority of scholars as variants of the same name, the former as an actual short form (Müllenhoff 1870–1908 II, 360; Kretschmer 1929, 148 f.) or adjectival formation **Skadni* (Much in Hoops 1911–1919 IV, 88). However, this sort of variation is without corroboration in the history of language (Rübekeil 1992, 102 f.). The associative resemblance of these names has once again – as so often in the past – led scholars down the wrong path. The same mistake led medieval scribes to replace the *Scadinavia* of the Pliny originals in their copies with the combination form *Scandinavia* (Müllenhoff 1970–1908 II, 359). This error manifests itself in the modern form *Scandinavia*. It is of crucial importance to note that *Scandia* is as clearly a product of the Greek tradition as *Scadinavia* is always limited to the Latin tradition. No Greek source even uses the latter name. If one turns to the earliest attestations, a new picture emerges: There the *Scandiae* appear as an island group. In Pliny, the earliest surviving attestation, they are also far away from Scandinavia; here they are placed more to the north of Britain. Ptolemy (2,11,16) also knew the group of islands, but placed them in the neighborhood of other islands near the Cimbrian peninsula. These are the anonymous Saxon islands and his Ἰαλοκίαι; both groups consist

of three islands each. In addition, the Σκανδίαι also consist of three islands, if one excludes the largest, the “actual Skandia”, whose wide variety of ethnica lends it more of a continental character. Ptolemy appears to be the first to regard *Scandia* and *Scadinavia* simply as naming variants, since his “actual Skandia” is conceptually the same as Pliny’s *Scadinavia*. Nevertheless he avoids the barbarian name. Writing in Latin, Jordanes brings this development to its conclusion: He calls the island from which he believes the Goths to have emigrated, not *Scadinavia*, but – with reference to Ptolemy – now *Scandza*. Jordanes mentions the island *Thyle* only once on the “most extreme edge of the West” (Get. 1 *in ultima plagae occidentalis*), again only as a literary reminiscence to Virgil. Ptolemy admittedly appears to be the last ancient author who consciously distinguishes *Thule* and *Scandia*. The Greek Prokopios, who wrote at almost the same time as Jordanes, not only avoids *Scadinavia*, but also *Scandia*. Instead he uses the name *Thule* (Θούλη), which for him embodies the characteristics of the Ptolemaic *Scandia* as well as Pytheas’ *Thule*, and in doing so describes Norway and Sweden as the same island. Prokopios’ reason for taking this position has not been identified. The fact that the names *Thule* and *Scandia* have no living equivalent for the Germanic peoples of the post-classical period became evident as the Barbarians learned to write: Their historical authors used the name *Scadinavia* and subjected it to written variations which can be explained as a consequence of their own linguistic competence (cf. 1.3.3.). *Thule* and *Scandia*, however, also occur as island names in the Mediterranean. We must therefore consider the possibility that these names were coined by Greeks, perhaps in analogy to the southern islands (Rübekeil 1992, 106 f.). The *Thylae* located directly off Carthage (Mela 2,105) even makes it plausible that Himilco applied the name to the northern island (cf. 1.1.).

2. Ancient ethnography of Scandinavia

2.1. Chronological outline

2.1.1. In Pliny (Nat. 37,35) we find two crucial ethnographic remarks from Pytheas: The first is that the edge of the ocean bay *Metuonis* is inhabited by a Gmc folk named the *Guiones* (dat.pl. *Guionibus*, *Germaniae genti*); the

manuscript sources also show *Gutonibus* instead of *Guionibus*. Of course, the classification as *gens Germaniae* can not originate with Pytheas, who could not yet have known of a *Germania*. The second remark, which follows immediately, states that the inhabitants of *Abalus* sell amber to the neighboring *Teutonibus*. Here the attestation of the name is unambiguous. In the context of the first remark, one must either take the *Guiones* to be *Gutones* and consequently place the *aestuarium Metuonis* in the Baltic Sea, or one must offer a plausible correction of the manuscript evidence. The eastern localization has not found much acceptance (cf. 1.2.3.); for this reason Müllenhoff (1870–1908 I, 479) conjectured that *Guionibus* was *Teutonibus*. Thus the name of the Teutons would appear in the same chapter in two different inflectional forms, namely, as *Teutonis* and as *Teutonibus*. Detlefsen (1904, 7) therefore cites *Inguionibus*, a name which Pliny has elsewhere placed in the vicinity of *mons Saevo*, *sinus Codanus* and *Scatinavia* and which he also attributes to Cimbrians and Teutons (Nat. 4,96.99: *Inguaeones*). If Detlefsen's suggestion is correct, it would no longer be possible to regard the three cultic communities *Ingaevones*, *Herminones* and *Istaevones* in Tacitus as inventions of later times. In any case, however, the Pytheas-Pliny citation proves that before the Great Migration (ca. 120 B.C.) the Teutons were indeed settled in the northwestern portion of Jutland, the location of the *Thythæsýsæl* in the Middle Ages and of the modern region of *Thy*.

2.1.2. As mentioned above, the information in Mela 3,54f. and Pliny 4,96f. originates in a younger source (cf. 1.3.3.). Both authors mention the Teutons. Mela's placement of the Teutons on the island *Codannovia-Scadinavia* must however also be regarded as a mistake (cf. 1.2.4.), as is the case for his location of the Sarmates on the Frisian tidal mud flats (3,55). It is therefore not possible to justify the proposition of Teutonic colonies in *Scadinavia* (Melin 1960, 39f.). A more interesting name appears in the same Pliny quotation: The "tribe of the Hilleviones inhabiting 500 districts" (*Hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis*), apparently a substantial people with an admittedly otherwise unknown name. Schütte (1929, I, 407) and Grienberger (1902, 152) have read here *Hillevionum gens* as **illa Suionum gens* and drawn a comparison with *Suionum civitates*, described in detail by Tacitus (Germ. 44,2). If one chooses not to recon-

struct their name in Ptolemy (cf. 2.1.3.), there is no further mention of this tribe until Jordanes. However, their significance becomes evident in the Middle Ages: The *Suehans* and *Suetidi* mentioned by Jordanes (Get. 3, the former from Go. **Sweans*) now appear as *Sviar* (*Svéar*) and *Svi-þjóð* and their name also appears in the new term for royalty *Sviaríki* (*Své-ríke*), ModSw. *Sverige*.

Stronger than the evidence for the name *Suiones* is that for the *Fenni* (Tacitus Germ. 46,1), mentioned again by Ptolemy (with the early Gmc sound change *e > i*: 2,11,16 Φίννοι; 3,5,8 Φίννοι). This ethnicon already appears to be the basis for the derivation of the "island name" **Feningia* in Pliny (cf. 1.3.3.). The name of the *Aestii* (Tacitus Germ. 45,2) is most likely continued today in the name of the modern *Estonians*; Tacitus' claim that their language was close to that of the Britons remains puzzling. Their name (and also *Fenni*) is presumably a Gmc exonym. It is therefore questionable whether the peoples bearing these names can already be identified with particular tribes in the prehistoric period. *Fenni* may have referred to all nomadic inhabitants of the North who did not speak Gmc languages; *Aestii* on the other hand could have been used to describe the Balto-Finnic or Baltic peoples.

2.1.3. Ptolemy (2,11,16; cf. 1.3.2.) mentions several new names in his αὐτῆ Σκανδία. According to him, the West is inhabited by Χαιδεῖνοι, the East by Φαύοναι and Φιραῖσοι, the North by Φίννοι, the South by Γούται and Δαυκίονες, and the middle by Λεῶνοι. The most salient comparison is that of the Φίννοι with the *Fenni* in Tacitus and of the Γούται with the Γούτοι in Prokopios (cf. 2.1.2. and 2.2.). The majority of the other names remains, however, unexplained, either because the tradition has significantly corrupted the original forms or because the names are not attested anywhere else. The *Suiones* mentioned by Tacitus have been occasionally identified as the Φαύοναι (Schütte 1926, 44: **Σουιόναι*) or the Λεῶνοι (Bremer 1900, 830: **Συεῶνοι*). The latter seem to be the most likely candidates for this association, due to their localization in the middle. The Χαιδεῖνοι are probably identical with the medieval *Heinir* (< **Heiðnir*), the inhabitants of the Norwegian Hedmark, ON *Heiðmørk* (Zeuss 1837, 159; cf. however Svensson 1919, 11f.: *Hedemora* in Dalarna, OSw. *Henamora*). The Φιραῖσοι have been linked to the *Finnaithae*

in Jordanes (cf. 2.1.4.), and it has often been suggested that the Δαυκίονες are the ancestors of the Danes (cf. however Zeuss 1837, 158f.: Σκανδιώνες). The many attempts at interpreting the Ptolemaic names really prove only one thing, namely the uncertainty of present research.

2.1.4. The Scandinavian ethnography in Jordanes is based primarily on Ptolemy's Σκανδία chapter. It faced the same problem as Ptolemy, i. e. that many of the names have been corrupted through transmission and are therefore difficult to analyze properly. In addition, his ethnography contains several artificial formations such as *Gautigoth* (cf. 2.2.). However, it also includes what appears to be a new, autochthonous source: According to Get. 3, a Scandinavian king *Rudvulf* sought refuge with Theoderich, and we can assume that his reports of "tribes surpassing the Germanic peoples in bodily size and spirit" (*gentes Germanis corpore et animo grandiores*) have come into the Getica. Names such as Fervir, Ahelmil, Taetel or Vinoviloth have received a variety of contradictory interpretations. In the case of Mixi Evagre Otingis, for example, there are even difficulties with the text segmentation. However, several of the names can be more clearly interpreted: We have already discussed the *Suehans* and *Suetidi*. We also find a name *Screrefennae*, which Prokopios (Goth. 2,15) wrote as Σκριθίφινοι, a compound consisting of the Finn-name and a verb meaning 'glide' (perhaps 'ski'). Raumaricii and Ragnaricii are also based on compounds, here based on the Gmc noun **rīkja-* 'ruling power' and referring to the inhabitants of Romerike and Ranrike. *Finnithae* could also represent a more correct form of the name for the Φιραῖσοι in Ptolemy (cf. Zeuss 1837, 159). Presumably this name can be compared with OSw. *Finnadhe*, attested in inscriptions as *Finhiþi* (Forsheda, Småland) and with the *Finnedi* in Adam (4,25). That Jordanes' *Scandza* is identical with Prokopios' Θούλη (cf. 1.3.4.) can also be seen in his ethnography: Prokopios' Θουλίται include in the North the Σκριθίφινοι and in the South the "populous tribe" (ἔθνος πολυάνθρωπον) of the Γαυτοί.

2.2. Gutones and Gautar

The *Gautar* (OE *Geatas*) are of particular importance in the study of Germanic ethnography, since common opinion holds that their

name provides linguistic evidence for the Scandinavian origin of the Goths. In the present text it is only possible to briefly outline the problems involved in this complex topic. The first reliable attestation of *Gutones* is found in Pliny (Nat. 4,99). Earlier knowledge of the name in Pytheas (cf. 2.1.1.) and Strabo (7,1,3: *Γούτωνας read as Βούτωνας) is possible, but not certain. All evidence points to the region south of the Baltic Sea. After Ptolemy (cf. 2.3.) we also hear of a tribe called OWN *Gautar*, OEN *Gotar* in the Middle Ages. Ptolemy (Γούται), Prokopios (Γαυτοί) and, indirectly, Jordanes (*Gautigoth*) place this tribe on the Scandinavian "island". The etymological kinship between the name stems **Gutan-* and **Gauta-* is as much beyond doubt as is their relation to the Gmc verb **geuta-* 'pour' (OWN *gióta*, OHG *giozan*). This relationship is supported by information in Jordanes, according to which the original ancestor of the Goths bears the name Gaut (Get. 14; manuscript *Gapt*). According to Jordanes (Get. 4) the Goths originated on the island *Scandza* as from "a workshop of the tribes or womb of the peoples (quasi officina gentium aut certe velut vagina nationum)". It has therefore been assumed that the Scandinavian *Gautar* were the original tribe and the *Gutones* split off from them, meaning that the name *Gutones* must be secondary. In the meantime, however, confidence in the origin saga in Jordanes has been shaken (cf. Hachmann 1970); furthermore, the island name *Scandza*, crux of the emigration saga, is not autochthonous (cf. 1.3.4.). The linguistic data must therefore be interpreted with some caution. **Gutan-* can not be derived from **Gauta-*. **Gutan-* is a primary (deverbal) agentive formation, probably meaning '(sperm-) pourer' = 'men'. Theoretically *Gauta-* could have the same meaning. In this case, however, we would be dealing with semantic competitors, not with lexical variants (Rübekeil 1992, 126f.; similarly Grønvik 1995, 82). Wessén (1924, 116; slightly different Andersson 1996, 13ff.) proposes that **gauta-* is the simplex form and **gutan-* its *n*-stem compositional variant (cf. for example OE *léadgota*). Not only is this assumption unprovable (Andersson *ibid.*), it conflicts most importantly with the fact that only the stem suffix alternates in such variants, and not the root ablaut. It is even debatable whether these compositional variants actually originated in composition at all. On the other hand, from a morphological point of view, the underlying relationship could be one similar to that be-

tween ON *hiti* 'heat' and its derived secondary adjective *heitr* 'hot'. **Gauta-* would then be the adjective from the noun **gutan-* and the god **Gauta-* would be 'the Gothic one' (Rübekeil 1992, 132f.). However, it is not possible to conclusively prove this solution either; **Gutan-* as a primary formation does not necessarily imply that **Gauta-* must be secondary. Since the name of the island Gotland also plays a role here, one will probably have to assume a polycentric ethnogenesis, located in the region of the Baltic Sea, whose "Traditionskern" was located in a social class. The most probable candidate here is the "merchant-warriors" (Rübekeil 1992, 153), who referred to themselves with the appellative form 'men' and so produced an ethnocentric tribal name.

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VIII. Ancient Nordic (1st–7th century)

69. The Ancient Nordic period. A historical survey

1. Departure
2. The relationship between pictures and texts
3. People and tribes
4. Migrations
5. Social organization
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Departure

What does it mean to write a “historical survey” of the period before Christianity in Scandinavia? Certainly, there are written sources that tell us about this period, but they originate from a much later period, or from individuals with a quite different cultural background and conception of the world. In the early days of archaeology, Montelius established the fact that, for the Nordic Iron Age, we are practically totally dependent on Roman sources, but that these have little or nothing to tell about the conditions in the north (Montelius 1919, 195). Nor do the rather few runic inscriptions from this time support any to wide-ranging interpretations. Consequently, a historical survey of Iron Age Scandinavia is necessarily dependent on the archaeological material, where the interplay between archaeology and history could deepen our understanding of the past. It is, however, important that one is aware of the pitfalls and dangers of arguing in circles, as for example if the archaeological evidence is used only when it can support the written texts.

One issue that is often brought up is the validity of texts written by Roman historians or authors from the Middle Ages. The Icelandic sagas are often used not only to understand the religion but also the society which existed hundreds of years earlier than the texts’ time of origin. How much did these authors know about heathen times, and how much did they alter this so that the history could serve their own purposes? Not least, one has to take into consideration the fact that they had a quite different religious world view and that they were Christians who tried to describe a pagan

society. Similar concerns surround the Romans’ narratives about the barbarians. What were their intentions with regard to these texts, and what did they really know about the conditions of life in the north?

It is essential to be aware of the fact that the approach to writing history in antiquity was fundamentally different from our own. There were stringent rules on how the text should be written: the history had to be presented aesthetically and the depicted events were above all included for a moral and rhetorical effect. To us, it also appears as a shortcoming that the realism in antiquity does not extend to a description of the history of indigenous people and changes in their social and economic structures, but instead portrays them as static societies (Auerbach 1999, 47 ff.; Wells 1999, 32).

A rhetorical device used by many writers in antiquity was to choose a subject that illustrated a high degree of depravity in Roman society and contrast this with an ideal of naturalness, purity and virtue. Sometimes the Germanic people were to embody this ideal of an unspoiled society. Thus, we find that the Germani have an ambiguous role in Roman texts: on the one hand they are uncivilized, ferocious primitives who were used as a warning to the Roman people; on the other hand, they were idealized as unspoiled people who knew nothing about luxury, secrecy, property, sensuality and slavery all of which had corrupted Rome (Schama 1995, 76f.). But even if the descriptions of the barbarians sometimes are contradictory, there is one thing that is always the same – they are essentially different from the Romans themselves (Wells 1999, 100). In this sense Tacitus’ writings, for instance, have the character of political texts and have to be used with caution (Lillehammer 1994, 151).

This is also the case with somewhat later historical writers who wrote their own peoples’ histories. Their view of a historical text differs from ours, and in our opinion they

mix facts with stories so that the result is more like a myth. Jordanes' texts about the Gothic people's past, for example, played an important part in the transformation of the Gothic identity from barbarians to a classic people (Harrison 1999, 32 f.).

Another problem is that the Roman sources depict "Germanic people" on a high and general level. But there are no reasons to believe that they had a uniform settlement practice, economy or social organization. On the contrary, what is called "Germanic" was in reality a heterogeneous mix of societies. This is evident if we compare the archaeological material with the written records. Caesar writes that the Germani did not have permanent settlements and did not practise agriculture, something which is obviously wrong if we take a closer look at the archaeological record (Hedeager/Tvornø 1991, 113).

The archaeologist Ulf Näsman is one of the scholars who raised and renewed the discussion about how to use written sources. He believes that archaeologists hesitate to make use of written sources because of the way the historical records were misused before and during the Second World War. He argues in favour of reading historical texts to find adequate analogies as a supplement to the archaeological records (Näsman 1988). Instead of using texts as historical truths, we can consider them as sources of analogies and ideas for interpretations, as we do with, for example, anthropological knowledge. But there is no doubt that the question of the reliability of the written sources, and how one is to use them, is a provocative one. The current tendency is for an increased usage of them, but the last word has not been heard yet on this issue.

In earlier archaeological research, written sources were used in a relatively uncritical way. The texts were taken as a point of departure, whereupon the archaeological material was searched for evidence that could "fit" the texts. Archaeology often became a question of finding out the names of individuals who were buried in great monuments, or discovering a tribe's or a people's origin, their *Urheimat*. One of the most famous examples is perhaps the speculation about who are supposed to be buried in the mounds at Gamla Uppsala in Sweden. From reading *Ynglingatal*, it has been suggested that the mounds should be connected with the rulers Aun, Egil and Adils (e.g. Nerman 1923 b). Such historical or "biblical" archaeology

(Brink 1999) was toned down after Weibull's methodological criticism of the sources, and when archaeologists' ambitions were to be more "scientific", this kind of speculation was put aside. But in later years it seems like there is a growing interest in "giving names" to archaeological material (Gräslund 1993; Hyenstrand 1996).

One should, however, keep in mind that many names and places in the narratives barely correspond to a reality, and despite the large amount of work which has been done, it is still uncertain how trustworthy they are. If they are to be used, it is important to be conscious that they characteristically include second-hand information and that they often have travelled a long way before they were written down. Rökstenen, a runic stone from Östergötland in Sweden, could be taken as an example of how difficult it can be to use written sources as a historical account. The person Tjodrik who is mentioned on the stone is often considered to be Teoderik, king of the Ostrogoths in the fifth century (Gustavson 2000, 26 f.), and it seems that people during the Iron Age knew that Charlemagne had transferred the statue of Teoderik from Ravenna to Aachen (Zachrisson 2000, 343). On the stone it is also mentioned that Teoderik should have been king of "the sea-warriors", something that could not be correct (Hyenstrand 1996, 46). Consequently, there can be a great deal of uncertainty about the historical value of the texts, not least because the writers refer to and are dependent on each other. However, this does not imply that they cannot tell us a great deal about their time – on the contrary, many texts certainly illustrate how important heroic deeds and myths of origin were – and there is no doubt that the texts are valued today in this respect.

It is quite clear that earlier research on sagas were often inspired by national romanticism, and therefore to a high degree concentrated on their Nordic or Germanic character. The elements representing Middle Age Christian motives, drawn from legends of saints and knights or Latin chronicles, were therefore disregarded. When these influences were recognized, they were usually thought of as stemming from decadent foreign elements which had distorted the original meaning of the text. In later years, the situation has been rather the reverse – the sagas are regarded as part of a common European tradition, and perhaps to too high a degree (Lönnroth 1993, 89).

One classical dispute is about the relationship between oral and written authorship. One side sees the written sagas as having emanated from oral tradition, principally from the Viking Age, while the other side considers them to be creations of an author, i.e. originating in the 13th century or later. The literary historian Lars Lönnroth's opinion is that we cannot find knowledge about specific political events in the sagas, but that they can tell us about beliefs, social norms and institutions which existed in the milieu where they originated. Consequently, the texts could be of more help when the interest is shifted towards social history and history of mentality. But then we will have to stop reading these texts as sources from the past which can tell us about Scandinavian history, and instead regard them as literary texts or remnants of a Middle Age mentality and culture (Lönnroth 1993). No doubt, this is also the prevalent opinion today.

Consequently, this could paradoxically mean that mythical and poetic texts can increase our knowledge more than "realistic" dynastic stories can. Aspects of heroic poems, which describe an ideal picture of e.g. the great halls, can be traced back in time by archaeological means, and it is in this way possible to reconstruct the prevailing mentality and ideals of the past (Lönnroth 1997). The "chieftain's hall" is a good example of how textual or historical archaeology have had an increasing impact on the discipline recently (Callmer/Rosengren 1997; Herschend 1997). For the elite, it was of great importance to have feasts and ceremonies with an abundance of food and drink. Different drinking vessels, both of local and Roman origin, are often found in rich burials. These finds could therefore be associated with feasts, where social relations were established and reinforced. Archaeological excavations in recent years have revealed structures which have been interpreted as halls where such ceremonies are thought to have taken place. Milieus like this are often connected with male activities, but this has not been proved at all. Drinking implements are in many cases found in female burials, and one interpretation is that women took an active part in creating alliances at feasts which were held to maintain unity within the community (Andrén 1991 b; Cassel 1998, 47f.).

2. The relationship between pictures and texts

If the texts are difficult to interpret, the combination of text and picture will perhaps provide a more fruitful basis for interpretation. Picture stones (Sw. *bildstenar*), which occur on the Swedish island of Gotland, are excellent material if we want to get closer to the mythical world (Nylén/Lamm 1987). Picture stones are dated to A.D. 400–1100, and it is mainly later stones, from about A.D. 700, which can be connected with the myths we know from written sources. Here, we can follow stories that are recognizable from the sagas. The illustrations on these stones are of two types – those with clearly demarcated pictorial motifs and compositions with motifs which run into each other – and these different compositions have been compared with different kinds of poetry (Andrén 1991 a, 24). Andrén shows that it is possible to follow a tradition from the Swedish boat burials in 6th and 7th century, through the boat motifs on the picture stones, and continuing with the Icelandic sagas from the 13th century, i.e. linking artefacts, pictures and text together (Andrén 1991 a, 27).

The picture stones have a lot to tell us about people in the past and their world view, and among other things, we can understand that the myths which we know from the written sources were familiar to the Gotlandic society in the 8th and 9th century. One example is a picture stone from Ardre parish, where among other things it is possible to identify a scene from the song of *Völund* in the poetic *Edda*. *Völund* was a famous smith who was captured on an island, where he was supposed to make precious items for the king. However, he took revenge on the king by decapitating the king's two sons and turning their skulls into gold vessels. When he left the island as a bird, he also left the king's daughter pregnant (Nylén/Lamm 1987, 52, 71). In several cases it is possible to identify such themes from the sagas on the picture stones. The picture stones of this type were located along roads or erected in public places, and we have to assume that the myths were so well known that it was possible for people to recognize them from the sequences that were depicted.

The earliest runes are known from the first century A.D., but it is not until the third century they become more common. We find these early runes principally on jewellery and weapons, for instance on the weapons in the

large deposits of war booty in Danish bogs (Lund Hansen 1998). Several studies have revealed that it is predominantly exclusive objects that are decorated with runes (Hines 1998; Lund Hansen 1998). The usage of runes could therefore be associated with the elite, and one can imagine that these strange signs must have aroused much amazement and awe (Thrane 1998, 222).

In Scandinavia, runes are first and foremost associated with rune stones, but this use of runes is secondary to placing them on objects (Zachrisson 2000, 340). It has been suggested that the runes had utilitarian function, and Hedeager connects them with the development of a central power which “encouraged a system of writing so that important reports, agreements, decisions and the like could be written down and circulated” (Hedeager 1992, 249). There is, however, no archaeological material which supports this hypothesis, and the archaeological material rather seems to suggest that runes were linked to magical concepts. Hedeager has also later considered such a relationship between runes and magical beliefs. On the gold bracteates from the Migration Period, we find both runes and motifs from the Icelandic sagas. From such illustrations it is, for instance, possible to connect runes with the shamanistic Óðinn (Hedeager 1997).

It also seems as if the runes often were for private consumption and not for display. The position of fibulas shows that the runes were turned towards the wearer’s body, and stones in burials are concealed in the ground, as was the case with the famous Eggjastone from Norway and the Kylverstone from Gotland (Zachrisson 2000). A frequent phenomenon is that the runes are difficult to interpret and that we cannot understand their message. But perhaps it was not the legibility that was of importance, and we should be cautious about interpreting these inscriptions as a sign of ignorance of the “right” way to use runes. Consequently, it is probably wrong to understand the early runes as text in our modern sense, and we have to be open to the possibility that they had meaning at quite different levels.

3. People and tribes

It is impossible to ignore the concept “Germanic” in a discussion about the Nordic Iron Age, but the term has often been used without an explicit definition, and there is every reason to question its relevance. Most scholars today

agree that it is problematic to correlate language with material culture and “people”. Despite this, it is obvious that a large number of the works on Germanic culture are based on such a supposed correspondence between language and culture (Chapman 1992, 21 f.).

Caesar is the earliest writer of whom we know who used the word *Germani*, and his usage influenced the subsequent writers, including Tacitus (Wells 1995, 169). “Germanic”, as well as “Celtic”, is a term which was coined by the Romans and not by the “barbarians” themselves, and there is no reason to believe that these people saw themselves as Germanic (Chapman 1992, 34; Wells 1995, 170). This already creates a problem: if they did not see themselves as a defined group, there is no reason at all that we should do so. There are other problems as well with the usage of the term “Germanic”. Besides the fact that the relationship between language, material culture and ethnicity is problematic, the word could be associated with the Nazis’ racial biology and the glorification of Aryans and Germans. Therefore it is also reasonable to question whether Germanic really is an appropriate category, and it is suggested that archaeologists should search for other terms to use (Näsman 1999).

It should not surprise us that earlier archaeological researchers used labels such as Germanic in a relatively uncritical way, because the term “culture” was used in an unproblematic and one-dimensional way. This could be described as an essentialist view, where one conceived of culture as a phenomenon for which some aspects can be specified, with a core made up of a number of selected elements (Bolin 1999, 25 ff., 100). In classical ethnography it was presupposed that language, material culture and ideas were interconnected, something which is not accepted today. Therefore, one usually talks about cultural identities instead of people in the current debate. But even if the focus has shifted from a picture of Germani as a people to a discussion about their identity, there are still many problems to solve. One of them is that the idea of a Germanic identity or society presupposes a similarity over great distances. There has, for example, been a discussion about a “Pan-Germanic” myth of origin common to the people in the north of Europe, where a Germanic identity was supposed to have been created after the fall of Rome (Hedeager 1993). But the fact that there are similarities in the material culture and in the symbolic world does

not imply that the organization of society was the same. Quite the contrary, we can expect to find different types of societies, which change and develop differently (cf. Hill 1995 about the supposed “Celtic” Europe).

A number of different tribes are also mentioned in the sources from antiquity, and several attempts have been made to locate them geographically. It is, however, often necessary to “adjust” part of the information to make it fit. The Roman writers themselves had seldom experienced the regions and tribes they wrote about, a fact which of course made their descriptions of the tribes and where they were located unreliable. We also have to see the Romans’ naming of the tribes in its context – to name and categorize is a way of obtaining power over something which was partly unknown and unpredictable. In many cases a tribe’s name emerges and then suddenly disappears into oblivion, and this could imply that the group really had ceased to exist or simply that the Romans had lost their interest in them. Recent research emphasizes the Romans’ role in the creation of what could be called the “ethnic discourse”, which seems to be of growing importance during the Roman Iron Age (Pohl 1998).

The classical writers divided the indigenous people into discrete, well-defined groups, a division that is referred to as “tribes” in modern literature. But the archaeological evidence shows that these tribes probably represented divisions that were formed in response to the Roman incursions, that is, the entities were creations generated by the Romans themselves (Wells 1999, 33).

One group which has received a great deal of attention is the Goths. It is above all Jordanes’ *Getica*, written in the middle of the 6th century, which is of interest. Jordanes’ work is built on Cassiodorus’ work on the history of the Goths, and the text is a mixture where it is possible to distinguish parts of different origin (Svennung 1964). The description of the Goths’ migrations from south of the Baltic Sea via the Black Sea and westward again has attracted much interest, as well as their supposed origin or *Urheimat* in Scandinavia. According to Jordanes, the Goths had left the island of Scandza under their king Berig. Down to the late 19th century this story was accepted as a historical fact, but today this is more uncertain. The story is instead a typical example of the way a myth of origin is constructed – a people’s origin is linked to a hazy past and often located on an island (Heather 1998, 28f.).

An interesting but problematic question is also what the tribes in the written sources really represent. It has been suggested that they should not be understood as a unified group of people, but that they instead consisted of war alliances of different groups which were held together and given their identity by their heroic achievements (Harrison 1999). Looked at in this light, the Gothic identity had an attractive reputation, and the “Goths” need not have had a common language or history. The important thing was to refer to a shared origin, something which is a recurrent phenomenon in ethnic discourse. We should also be aware of the fact that the constitution of the groups varied: sometimes only a minority of the population identified with the group, for instance the freemen (Heather 1998, 300) or the warriors, while in other cases the identity was shared by a majority of the society.

It is also clear that it is difficult to identify different tribes by means of archaeological methods, and this is true not only for the Scandinavian but also the continental material, which is described in written sources. The question is therefore if it is possible to go any further along this path. When it comes to the Scandinavian Iron Age, we can almost certainly be sure that people identified with different groups, but it is quite another matter to give these groups names.

4. Migrations

Closely related to the question about tribes is the matter of migrations that the written sources tell us about. What is included in the concept “tribe” is fundamental for the interpretation of the migrations. Who was actually moving over such a large area – entire peoples, men in active service, or the elite? A frequent opinion among those who study the Great Migrations is that this did not involve an entire tribe driving off another people and in this way created a chain reaction. Instead it is suggested that it was warriors or armies who were on the move. Other interpretations maintain that substantial numbers of the population were migrating. But it is probably a mistake to seek a uniform course of events behind the narratives, and most likely there are different processes that are described as migrations.

It is interesting that traces of cultivation and abandoned settlements were noticed and interpreted before modern research began. In *Gesta Danorum*, Saxo Grammaticus comments on the fact that the Danish woods show

traces of deserted cultivated fields. The reason for their abandonment was thought to be serious crop failure with emigration as a consequence, and according to Saxo this involved the Langobardi, who later settled in Italy (Skovgaard-Petersen 1977, 17). We often find such migration myths in the written sources – it seems to be archetypical in people's stories about their past – but their historical reliability is questionable.

In Scandinavian research it is also evident that most of the work describes emigrations, in contrast to, for instance, British archaeology, which tells about recurrent immigrations. The interpretation of emigrations southwards from Scandinavia builds on an ancient tradition from Jordanes. He describes Scandza as an “*officina gentium aut certe velut vagina nationum*” – [a factory of tribes and surely a womb of nations] (Wolfram 1988, 2). The few cases where immigration is thought to have occurred are described as the result of the return of an old Scandinavian people, e.g. the Heruli. According to the narratives, they were driven away from Sweden in the 3rd century, and wandered through Europe for 300 years before they returned to the north.

In the early days of archaeology, the written sources were given great credence compared to the way they are viewed today. One example is Nerman's work on Gotland. His point of departure is the *Gutasaga*, which was written down in the middle of the 14th century. Nerman admits that a large part of the saga is fiction, but he claims that the part which tells about the emigration of one third of Gotland's population corresponds to a historical reality. The question is only when this large emigration took place, and now the archaeological material is taken into consideration. It is argued that the number of graves decreases in the 5th century, and Nerman's conclusion is that this is evidence for the event which was written down almost a thousand years later (Nerman 1923 a). The method involves finding archaeological material that fits the written sources and thereby date the events. The explanation for the changes is characteristic as well – different kinds of catastrophes, e.g. war or a bad harvest and famine, which gave rise to migration.

If one, in the early days of archaeology, saw migrations as an unproblematic and natural part of the appearance and change of a culture, this was radically changed after the Second World War. As a reaction to earlier re-

search, it was argued that migrations were not a sufficient explanation for material change, and for many years migrations were more or less absent in the archaeological discourse. Today it is possible to notice a renewed interest in the question, something that most likely is related to many archaeologists' interest in ethnicity and cultural identity. No doubt, there are similarities in the archaeological material, for instance, similar types of artefacts or styles over large areas, although it is certainly more difficult to answer why there are such similarities. Are they caused by internal developments, diffusion of ideas, or does it mean that people of a different origin had moved to the place?

There are many examples in the archaeological material that can tell us about contacts from far away. The findings of horse equipment in an offering from Sösdala in Scania, for instance, resemble continental finds, because the artefacts were taken apart and deliberately destroyed. There were, however, no traces of fire, and neither were there any bones. This could be associated with the Huns and their rituals connected to funerals, and the conclusion drawn is that those who made these offerings must have had a thorough knowledge of ceremonies of the Huns (Fabech 1991). The offerings thus support the theory about the Scandinavians' great mobility during this period, with deep-level contacts in East and Central Europe.

Hines has studied the Scandinavian character of the East Anglian archaeological material. He claims that the introduction of a Scandinavian style of dress is due to immigration, but that this represented a long-term process and that the initial migration was followed by long-distance contacts. The result was not a simple imitation of Scandinavian culture but a hybridization of different traditions and heritages (Hines 1992).

There are also studies today which try to link the written and archaeological sources. Jordanes and Prokopios write about the Danes, who are supposed to have come from Sweden to Denmark around 200 A.D., where they “pushed” away the Herules. The Herules moved around on the European continent for several hundreds of years before they returned to the north. This story is connected to the archaeological material, and it is suggested that the rich grave finds in large mounds at Himlingøje in Zealand, which seem to represent a foreign element, could be traces of the Danes (Hedeager 1988, 221).

But, as mentioned before, it is hard to determine whether it is migration or contacts that result in such similarities in the material culture between different areas, and it is difficult to define what should be called a migration as well. We know that people from the northern countries went south and did military service on the continent and in the Roman army (e.g. Lund Hansen 1998). Some people perhaps settled for good, whilst others returned with foreign objects and new ideas after a couple of years. Maybe the best we can do is to recognize that encounters between different cultures did happen all the time: some of them ended in a permanent move, others in the altering of ideas and other influences or even conflicts. One thing can at least be made clear – migration is a well-known phenomenon in all human history, and there is no reason to deny that migrations took place because of criticisms of earlier research (Heather 1998, 17).

5. Social organization

Within Scandinavian Iron Age research it is possible to distinguish two main directions. One is characterized by an evolutionary view of history, which argues in favour of a general development, often thought to involve a rapid transformation from a tribal society to a state in large parts of northern Europe. The other direction argues that development varied considerably between different areas, and that more solid central powers were a relatively late phenomenon in the north.

Earlier literature often describes the Scandinavian societies as patrilineal (Sw. *ättesamhälle*). This comes from a reading of the laws from the Middle Ages, where the ownership of land follows earlier patterns when the society was supposed to have been organized around lineage (Harrison 1999, 227f.). This hypothesis has, however, been questioned (Lindkvist 1997, 22; Gaunt 1983; Murray 1983). The disagreement is not about the significance of the family, but how these relationships were organized. It is argued that there is no trace of unilineal groups involved in e.g. landholding, and that the kinship relations were bilateral. However, it is essential to acknowledge that this does not mean that the family was unimportant.

The link between the individual, the family and the farm have been recognized in various contexts. In the written sources it seems like both people and deities were closely associated

with a farm (Burström 1995), and the farm or the village could be understood almost as synonymous with the family. How settlements were structured during the Iron Age is a controversial issue, and in Sweden at least, large rescue excavations in recent years have altered the picture. It has often been assumed that the establishment of villages was a late phenomenon, but today there are indications that villages existed at least in the Early Iron Age. Here as well, there seems to have been great variation, both within and between different regions. The discussion has also concerned the definition of a village, and it is interesting that there are different ways of linking farms together in addition to them being located close to each other. On the Baltic islands of Gotland and Öland, the settlements are linked to each other through enclosures built of stones. Like the villages, this was perhaps a way of linking families together and emphasizing their kinship relations.

The description of the Iron Age in south Scandinavia is often built on an evolutionist approach, where the society is supposed to have developed from a tribal organization into a state. The organization around the family and the tribe is thought to have broken down when the retinue (where loyalty was attached to a leader rather than to a relative) became more important. A surplus was required to maintain a retinue, and this could be obtained through raids or tributes. Such an expansive system caused conflicts, and the society was transformed into an archaic state. One who has argued in favour of this model of development is Hedeager, and she dates the changes relatively early. She suggests that the retinue was established as early as the Pre-Roman and Early Roman Iron Age, and that the states were founded in Late Roman Iron Age and consolidated during the Migration Period (Hedeager 1992). Other researchers, who in fact describe a similar development, date the establishment of the state considerably later (cf. Randsborg 1994). One problem with this model is that the development is seen as more or less predestined and that it does not allow deviation from the progression tribe – retinue – state. It is, for instance, assumed that the family and tribe lost their importance for the organization of society when the retinue formed. It is probable, however, that the family was of great significance even afterwards, that different kinds of group formations existed at the same time, and that there were both vertical and horizontal systems of alliances.

It is of course easy to look at historical time as a kind of “key” to previous times. It is, however, important that such a retrospective approach is not allowed to predominate so that all we see in earlier times is a straight line with events that lead to the foundation of the state. It has been pointed out that research tends to concentrate on the successful examples of the foundation of states and that there have been several “dead ends” as well (Lindkvist 1997, 20). We must understand that what we see as a development towards the state was not perceived in this way at the time of the events.

To facilitate interpretation of the Nordic Iron Age it is also possible to draw on analogies with societies for which we have historical evidence (e.g. Näsman 1988, 1998). In the material from contemporary Europe there are above all two models that could be used and compared with Scandinavia (following Näsman 1998):

(1) The first model starts with a number of small societies that coalesce into larger communities. This is a lengthy process and it leads towards more or less well integrated societies. Such societies, which were not stable enough to be called “kingdoms”, could be labelled “tribal confederations”. After a couple of hundred years they develop into kingdoms. This process is usually dated from the Roman Iron Age to the Early Middle Ages. The model is based on material from the continent, and principally the rise of the Merovingian kingdom.

(2) The second model supposes that there are many small and unstable societies which struggle for supremacy. But after periods of conflict and instability, one of the communities wins control over the others, a process that is relatively short and a kingdom is built. This usually is thought to have happened in the Viking Age. The model is based on similarities with the foundation of England. Näsman further maintains that interpretations of archaeological material from south Scandinavia show that there was a larger number of regions in the Early Roman Iron Age than in the Migration Period. Later on the regional cultures were less numerous and distinctions became more blurred, and in the early Viking Age the different societies were integrated into a kingdom. It is also during this period that centres of regional significance were urbanized (Näsman 1998).

To use such analogies and models as a basis could be fruitful, above all if regional variation is allowed and the material is not forced into a “pan-European” or Germanic model of development. The material culture differs between areas in Scandinavia, for instance in the structure of the cultural landscape, and these variations indicate different economic and political development during the first millennium A.D. (Widgren 1988).

A study of central places and regional divisions could also give us a picture of the society’s complexity (Fabech 1997). Today, when the amount of archaeological material is increasing, there are a growing number of places which seem to have had some kind of specific function. That these are important places is perhaps obvious, but it is necessary to examine the level on which they functioned: locally, regionally or inter-regionally. It is clear that locations which are called “central places” represented quite different levels, and we can get a better picture of the Iron Age societies if we understand these places better. For instance, Gudme in Funen and on Helgö in Lake Mälaren could be characterized as central places in the region, while Slöinge in Halland and Dankirke, Denmark, could be examples of “manor houses” (Fabech 1997).

In Uppåkra, Scania, there are thick cultural layers, and recent research has made it apparent that this is not an ordinary settlement. From the first century A.D. to the 10th, there are abundant traces of handicrafts, trade and religious activities (Hårdh 2000). Uppåkra’s interpretation as a central place is also of importance for the discussion about the societies in southern Scandinavia. Several central places have been identified in Scania, which indicates that Uppåkra principally had its significance on a local level in south-west Scania. This corresponds to the interpretation of Jordanes’ *Getica* and the location of four different tribes (*gentes*) to this area (Andrén 1998). According to this, there were a number of small political units in Scania during the Migration Period, something which is radically different from the larger units in the Viking Age, when Scania is supposed to have been a part of the Danish kingdom.

The archaeological material from Gotland also support the hypothesis that a central power did not exist during the Roman Iron Age. Graves, richly furnished with gold and Roman artefacts, are dispersed over the island, and often in connection with the forts on flat ground from the Pre-Roman Iron Age.

These have probably been central places of local importance. In the Late Roman Iron Age and Migration Period, the cultural landscape altered, because houses and enclosures were built in stone. The stone enclosures not only structured the farm's land, but they also seem to link farms with each other as well as with the grave monuments – and thereby linking the living with their dead ancestors. The material evidence does not, however, support the opinion that the organization of society was changing radically – contrary to this, using stones could have been a way of preventing change (Cassel 1998). A change in society could not be seen until the late Migration Period, when wood was used as building material once again.

In southern and western Norway, it has been argued that it is possible to distinguish several economic and political units in the Late Roman and Migration Periods. This interpretation is founded on the distribution of richly furnished graves. During the early phase it seems that most of the centres existed contemporaneously, while power seems to have been centralized in the Migration Period. The earliest historical documents from the late Viking Age and the early Middle Ages show resemblances with these early units, something which could imply that the later county organization was based on the earlier units (Myhre 1987).

To sum up, it can be established that the Nordic Iron Age is a period during which there were large changes in the organization of society, with for example the emergence of a more stable centralized power. But it would be a mistake if we only saw this period as a route to the establishment of the state and Christianity. The people in the past did not know “the end of the story”, and if we want to understand their world, we must admit the possibility of variations among the regions. It is also of great importance that we recognize that sacrifices and burial rituals were not only a matter of prestige, and religion was not only an ideology, but something that people believed in.

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70. Delimitation of Ancient Nordic from Common Germanic and Old Nordic

1. Introduction
2. From Proto-Germanic to Ancient Nordic
3. The beginnings of Old Nordic
4. Periodization within Ancient Nordic
5. The dialectal position of Ancient Nordic: research history
6. Conclusion
7. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The runic inscriptions written in Ancient Nordic stem from, roughly, 200 to 500 A.D. The runic evidence occurs within a geographical area comprising Norway and Sweden as far north as, respectively, Trøndelag and Uppland, the island of Gotland and Denmark (with Scania and Slesvig), the medieval Danish territory exhibiting the largest concentration of early runic monuments. In addition to being the earliest recorded language in Scandinavia, Ancient Nordic was the first Germanic language to emerge, antedating Bishop Wulfila's Gothic translation of the Bible by about a century and a half. It is therefore pertinent to consider how far the early runic idiom differs from its reconstructed Proto-Germanic predecessor. This will be the topic of sect. 2.

The runic script employed for carving the early inscriptions was the 24-letter older futhark. The total number of older futhark inscriptions recorded is about 350, but 70 of these derive from the Continent, dating back chiefly to the sixth and seventh centuries (Neumann et al. 1995, ii). The remaining 280 are of Scandinavian provenance, but a limited number of inscriptions postdate the AN period proper by up to two centuries. In sect. 3., we shall examine the extent to which ON linguistic features began to make their presence felt in the older futhark inscriptions of the pre-Viking period in Scandinavia.

This article does not challenge the assumption that Ancient Nordic was indeed one language. But the question of the uniformity of the early runic idiom will be taken up for consideration in sect. 4, the subject of which is periodization within Ancient Nordic.

Traditionally, "urnordisk" ('Proto-Nordic') has been the term preferred by Scandinavian philologists for denoting what in this work is called Ancient Nordic. But was the language of the older runic inscriptions in fact

a specifically Nordic brand of Germanic or could it have been the ancestor of, e.g., some of the West Germanic languages as well? This problem will be surveyed from a research history perspective in sect. 5.

2. From Proto-Germanic to Ancient Nordic

Whereas the older runic language of Scandinavia retained the consonant system inherited from Proto-Germanic, significant changes occurred in the accented and unaccented vowel systems. Early runic forms like **makija** (Vimose chape, 250 A.D.) 'sword' and **mariz** (Thorsberg chape, 200 A.D.) 'famous' (cf. Go. *mēkeis* and *mēreis*) suggest that Gmc \bar{e}^1 must have been lowered to \bar{a} prior to the runic era. This development was probably due to the introduction of \bar{e}^2 , which pushed \bar{e}^1 into a half-open or open position (van Coetsem 1994, 98–113).

The occurrence of **o** in the nom.sg.masc. name **holtijaz** (Gallehus gold horn, 400 A.D.) and in the nom.pl.fem. **dohtriz** 'daughters' (Tune stone, 400 A.D.) is important because it shows that /o/ was not an allophone of /u/ as in Proto-Germanic. **holtijaz** and **dohtriz** both have **o** /o/ on the analogy of forms with an unaccented *-a-* following the accented vowel, cf. **holta* < *hulta-* and **dohtar-* < **duhtar-*. The runic accented vowel was therefore no longer an allophone of /u/ ([o]) in complementary distribution (lowered, through *a*-umlaut, in front of unaccented /a/), but a phoneme (/o/) in its own right.

Compared to Proto-Germanic, the following vowel reductions and simplifications took place in unaccented positions: **-ō* > (*-ū* >) *-u* (cf. **lapu** 'invitation, summons' (Darum 1 bracteate, etc.), **minu** 'my', **liubu** 'dear' (Opedal stone), and **-ai*, **-au* > *-ē*, *-ō* (cf. dat.sg.masc. *a*-stem **woduride** 'furious rider' (Tune stone), gen.sg. *u*-stem **magoz** 'son' (Vettelund stone)). All the vocalic changes described here were paralleled by developments in the later North and West Germanic languages (see article 64).

But how close was the idiom represented by the older runic inscriptions to Proto-Germanic in relative terms? If as our point of departure we take the legend on the famous Gallehus gold horn: **ek hlewagastiz holtijaz horna**

tawido [I, Hlewagastiz, son of Holt, made the horn], an illustration may be provided by translating this into Proto-Germanic (cf. Antonsen 1986, 322–24): **ek hlewagastiz hultijaz hurnan tawidōn*; *a*-umlaut has taken place in **holtijaz** and acc.sg.neut. **horna** ‘horn’, and in unaccented position the final nasals have disappeared in **horna** and in 1pret.sg.ind. **tawido** ‘(I) made’. But it is highly significant that the number of syllables (thirteen) in the Gallehus inscription corresponds exactly to that of Proto-Germanic, the morphological endings having been retained better in the runic idiom than in any of the other early Germanic languages including Gothic, its chronologically closest of kin. A Gothic rendering of our text: **ik hliugasts hulteis hairn tawida* has only nine syllables. The three middle words have been considerably shortened, and the final syllable of the last word has been shortened to *-a*.

The level of attrition in Gothic is comparable to that of Old Nordic (Old Icelandic), the successor language of Ancient Nordic, cf. *ek hlēgestr hyltir horn gorða* [táða]. But unlike Gothic, which has devoiced the Gmc nom.sg. masc. case-suffix *-z, ON has rhotacized the ending to *-r*. ON has *i*-mutated vowels in *-gestr* and *hyltir*. ON has no reflexes of the verb *taujan* ‘to make’.

Linguistically, the Gallehus legend comes closer to its Proto-Germanic predecessor than to its ON counterpart. In sect. 3 we shall have a closer look at the transition from Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic.

3. The beginnings of Old Nordic

The syllable reduction in the ON translation of the Gallehus legend mentioned in the preceding section was due to the syncope (loss) of unaccented *a* and *i*. The syncope of *a* must have begun by the end of the sixth century, seeing that it occurs in, e.g., **haukz** ‘hawk’ (< Gmc **habukaz*) on the Vallentuna dice, which on archaeological grounds is datable to ca. 600 A.D. (Gustavsson 1989). Another instance of *a*-loss is acc.sg.masc. **stain** on the Eggja stone from ca. 700 A.D., cf. AN acc.sg. masc. **staina** (Tune and Vettelund stones). An example of *i*-syncope is the seventh-century Björketorp form, 3pres.sg.ind. **barutz** ‘breaks’, but note that *-i-* is retained in its slightly earlier parallel, **bariutiþ** ‘breaks’, on the Stentoft stone.

Very early examples of *a*- and *u*-breaking are seen in Björketorp **haerama-** ‘rest’ and Istaby **haeru-** ‘sword’, cf. ON **hjärm-* and

hjár-. The forms show that breaking must have begun prior to the syncope of *-a-* and *-u-*.

Morphologically, the beginnings of a specifically Nordic masc. *a*-stem declension were closely linked to *a*-syncope, cf. acc.sg.masc. Eggja **stain** ‘stone’ (AN **staina**), nom.pl.masc. Räväl **stainaz**, acc.pl.masc. Gummarp **staba** ‘staves’ and ON acc.sg.masc. *stein*, nom.pl. masc. *steinar*, acc.pl.masc. *steina*. And the use of the 2pres.sg.ind. ending *-z* for the third person as in Björketorp **barutz** ‘breaks’, where *-z* has replaced *-iþ*, cf. Stentoft **bariutiþ**, was a direct consequence of *i*-syncope, which brought the fricative of the ending in direct contact with the final consonant of the verbal stem. The fricative would have been exposed to (assimilatory) changes involving manner and place of articulation as well as phonation in accordance with the consonant cluster rules applicable to the Germanic languages. Although syncope of *-i-* did not at first occur after short syllables in Nordic (cf. Rök **sitiz** ‘sits’), the uncertainty ensuing from the first wave of *i*-syncope must have created a sufficient need for a new ending to replace what had become an alveolar stop or zero ending alternating with the fricative as markers of 3pres.sg.ind. forms.

Two other innovations can be dated to roughly the same time as syncope: the loss of initial *j-* as shown by the use of the **jāra*-rune (✠) for *a* (A) in, e.g., **haukz** ‘hawk’ on the Vallentuna dice from ca. 600 A.D.; and the loss of *w-* before rounded back vowels, cf. By stone **orte** ‘(he) wrought’ vs. the Tjurkö bracteate form **wurte** with retention of *w-*.

Philologists have tended to bracket all the older-futhark inscriptions as “urnordisk” (‘Proto-Nordic’), operating mostly with an early period and a late one, cf. “Früh- und Spätturnordisch” (Krause 1971, 15), “ældre og yngre urnordisk” (Skautrup 1944, 16–80), “(eldre) urnordisk og synkopetid” (Seip 1955, 6–30), etc.

Linguistically, there is no disagreement that from the sixth century A.D. the runic inscriptions show evidence of important innovations. As Skautrup (1944, 80) puts it, “Sproget er i periodens sidste århundreder undergået ændringer i karakter og omfang som aldrig siden ...” [During the last centuries of the period the language underwent changes of a nature and on a scale without later parallel]. The logical linguistic conclusion to be drawn from such an observation would be to distinguish terminologically between the runic language prior and subsequent to, say, 500 A.D. In

accordance with our terminology, Ancient Nordic was gradually superseded by Old Nordic from the sixth century.

The question of whether it is at all warranted to label the runic language recorded before 500 A.D. as “Nordic”, will be considered in sect. 5. First, we shall discuss the linguistic homogeneity of the runic language belonging to the early period.

4. Periodization within Ancient Nordic

Throughout the time span encompassed by Ancient Nordic (ca. 200 to 500 A.D.) the language of the inscriptions stayed conservative, remaining, on the whole, closer to Proto-Germanic than to Old Nordic (or the WGmc languages). Nevertheless we must acknowledge the existence of an *early* period, with runic grave and bog finds from around or just after 200 A.D. whose most significant linguistic features were the variation between **-o** and **-a** as nom.sg.masc. *n*-stem markers in the runic material deposited at Illerup and Vimose (cf. the personal names **wagnijo**, **nijijo**; **lagubewa**, **swarta**) and the emergence of **-a** in the runic legend on the Skovgårde clasp (**talgida** ‘carved’) as a weak 3pret.sg.ind. ending along with **-ai** (Nøvling **talgidai**) and **-e** (Illerup, Garbølle **tawide** ‘made’), cf. Stoklund 1995.

Similarly, the divergent forms exhibited by runic legends inscribed on bracteates entitle us to posit a *late* period within Ancient Nordic (from 450 A.D. at the earliest). Especially important are progressive developments such as *ai* > *ā* (Halskov bracteate **fahide** ‘(he) painted’, cf. Einang stone **faihidō** ‘(I) painted’) and *ht* > *tt* (Tjurkö 1 bracteate **wurte** ‘(he) wrought’, cf. Tune stone **worahto** ‘(I) wrought’), which are portents, as it were, of the transition into Old Nordic, cf. Antonsen 1975, 17, 26; 1994, 52. But it must be stressed that the bracteate language is *Ancient* and not Old Nordic. Nor is it West Germanic, for that matter, the WGmc element in the bracteate idiom being of limited significance.

However, there is no evidence for assuming that Ancient Nordic was not a uniform language during the middle part of its attested life span, between, say, 250 and 450 A.D. Non-datable stone monuments like Möjbro, Nordhuglo, Opedal, Tune, Einang and Vetteländ would fit in here along with, e.g., the Gallehus gold horn. Despite all difficulties in dating the stone inscriptions in absolute chronological

terms (cf. Haavaldsen 1991, 89–90), we shall not hesitate to call this the *central* (or classical) period within Ancient Nordic.

5. The dialectal position of Ancient Nordic: research history

The dialectal provenance of the early runic inscriptions of Scandinavia and especially those from Jutland and Slesvig (e.g. the Gallehus inscription) became a hotly debated issue in the wake of the Dano-German conflict over Slesvig around the middle of the nineteenth century. By that time the Υ rune had not yet been identified as the nominal nom.sg.masc. marker, and it was only when Bugge (1865, 317–18) and Wimmer (1867, 50–51) began to transliterate this rune as, respectively, **-r** and **-R** that Scandinavian philologists believed that they had a strong argument for the Nordic provenance of the inscriptions, (**r** and) **R** in final position being identified with ON nom.sg.masc. *-r*. Bugge (1866–67, 223–24) and Wimmer (1867, 57–58) both followed Bredsdorff (1839, 161–62) in also regarding **ek** as evidence of the Nordic character of, e.g., the Gallehus gold horn, cf. ON *ek*. Scandinavian philologists stuck to the views advanced by Wimmer, and as late as in 1951 Bjerrum (1951, 205) used the same arguments as Wimmer, viz. the form **ek** ‘I’ and the retention of Υ **R** as the nominative suffix, to show that the Gallehus inscription was Scandinavian. The most recent scholar to argue in favour of the Nordic provenance of the early runic idiom is Grønvik (1981, ch. 3), who (probably wrongly, cf. Nielsen 1994) believes that the divergent reflexes of Gmc \bar{e}^1 in the early inscriptions of Scandinavia and in Ingveonic West Germanic can be used as criteria for positing a primary split within the Germanic of North-Western Europe.

German scholars mostly rejected the classification of the early runic inscriptions of Scandinavia as Nordic, questioning the diagnostic value of both Υ , which they preferred to transliterate as **-z** instead of **-r**, and **ek** which, in addition to *ik*, was paralleled by *e*-forms in Old Saxon and Old Low Franconian. Bremer (1900, 836), e.g., thought that owing to the late westward expansion of the Danes, at least some of the early inscriptions should be ascribed to the *West Germanen*, i.e. the Anglo-Frisians. De Boor (1928, 189) found it safest to regard the runic language of the fourth century A.D. as Proto-Germanic (“urger-

manisch”), and Arntz (1935, 187) questioned the Scandinavian character of the Jutland inscriptions, saying for instance – in the absence of an ON equivalent of **tawido** ‘(I) made’ – that the Gallehus legend could have been Anglian or Saxon. Most recently, Vennemann (1989) has assigned the Gallehus inscription to West Germanic, indeed to pre-Old English, provenance, a classification which should be seen in close connection with Vennemann’s controversial (cf. Nielsen 2001) views on early Germanic dialect grouping.

A fairly comprehensive view of the dialectal position of the runic language prior to the sixth century is taken by Antonsen, who labels it as “Northwest Germanic” (“NwGmc”):

From the phonological, morphological, and syntactic points of view, NwGmc can be considered the parent language not only of the later Scand., but also of the Ingv. WGmc dialects. There are no features attested in the inscriptions which would contradict this assumption (Antonsen 1975, 26).

The spiritual father of this model is Kuhn (1955) who, in reaction to the Gotho-Nordic macrogroup set up by Schwarz in a book from 1951, was able to demonstrate that the linguistic parallels between North and West Germanic were much more numerous and significant than those between Gothic and Nordic (NGmc). According to Kuhn, a shared Nordic-West Germanic language stage was reflected in the early runic inscriptions of Scandinavia, and the eventual split into separate North and West Germanic branches supposedly took place around 500 A.D. Kuhn’s North-West Germanic theory found many adherents (especially outside Scandinavia), among them Haugen 1970, Markey 1976 and, most recently, Penzl in a number of articles (e.g., 1989). Originally, Antonsen also came out in support of Kuhn (cf. Antonsen 1967), but as we saw above, Antonsen in his runic grammar left out Old High German from his version of “Northwest Germanic”, basing this restriction entirely on morphological points (1975, 26; 1994, 60). For arguments in support of Antonsen 1975, see Nielsen 1998, 542–52.

6. Conclusion

Traditionally, the term “urnordisk” (‘Proto-Nordic’) has been used with reference to the period during which the older runic futhork was employed (ca. 200–700 A.D.). From a strictly linguistic viewpoint, however, this period must be divided up into two: one which

antedates the inception of specifically Nordic features and which (nevertheless) in this work is called Ancient Nordic, and one which, from the sixth century, through syncope, breaking, loss of initial semi-vowels, morphological innovations, etc. inaugurates the ON era. A clear illustration of the greater resemblance of Ancient Nordic to Proto-Germanic than to Old Nordic was provided by the translations of the Gallehus legend. But it is important to note that neither the Gallehus idiom nor Ancient Nordic in general was identical to Proto-Germanic.

The research history showed the increasing tendency (outside Scandinavia) to regard the language of the older runic inscriptions (Ancient Nordic) as the ancestor of not only Old Nordic but also (some of) the West Germanic languages. Finally, Ancient Nordic was described as a fairly uniform language with variation only at the beginning and at the end of the period.

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71. A survey of ancient Nordic sources

1. Introductory remarks
2. Place- and tribe-names in the works of Greek and Latin authors
3. Loanwords in the Balto-Finnic languages
4. Runic inscriptions
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introductory remarks

The essential direct and indirect sources of Ancient Nordic (AN) are of the following three types: place-, tribe- and personal names in the work of Gr. and Lat. authors; loanwords in the Balto-Finnic (BF) languages, principally in Finn. and Lappic; and finally, and most importantly, those oldest runic inscriptions whose NGmc origin may be regarded as secure. Furthermore, certain conclusions can be drawn from mod. place-names

whose roots, in part, reach as far back as pre-Christian times (on place- and personal names cf. articles 76 and 77).

2. Place- and tribe names in the works of Greek and Latin authors

The oldest names are recorded by the Gr. Pytheas of Marseille, who travelled through Britain and parts of Scandinavia ca. 325 B.C., but Pliny's transmission of his accounts is so uncertain and corrupt that it is impossible to identify precisely the places and regions that Pytheas visited. In his work *Naturalis historia* (written before 79 A.D.), Pliny himself mentions the tribe names *Vandali*, *Gutones*, *Burgundiones*, as well as the place-names *Scattinavia*, designating the largest of the islands of

Sinus Codanus, and *Scandiae*, designating the archipelago surrounding the tin-island *Ictis*, which lies en route to *Tyle*. According to common opinion, these two names originally denoted two different referents, from which by secondary contamination the modern name *Scandinavia* has emerged. In the Gr. tradition, *Skatinavia* goes back to Gmc **skaði/an-aujō*, whose meaning ‘scathe-island’ can only be interpreted as nautical terminology. Thus the name would have been conferred externally, by visitors from outside, which possibility corresponds to the idea of an island. Undoubtedly, the generally most important source of Gmc is *Germania* (98 A.D.), written by Tacitus, who mentions the “NGmc” tribes *Suiones*, *Fenni*, *Rugii*, *Anglii* (the latter probably being WGmc, in any case belonging to the Nerthus-worshippers’ cultural group; the Rugians’ linguistic affiliation remains open, but it is presumably EGmc). In his work *Geographika* (ca. 150 A.D.), the Gr. astronomer and geographer Ptolemy provides not only several names, such as *Gutai* and *Chaideinoi*, but also their geographic arrangement. He defines *Skandia* proper as the largest of four islands located at the mouth of the Vistula. (In the later vulgar Lat. tradition *Skandia* becomes *Skandza*.) Ptolemy’s famous map, however, stems from a 13th-c. manuscript. Finally, the Archbishop of Ravenna, Jordanes, who was a Goth, wrote a history of his people called *De origine actibusque Getarum* in about 550 A.D. In essence, it is a summary of the lost history of the Goths, written by the Roman Cassiodor, a contemporary of Theodoric the Great. In his work, Jordanes names and describes the island *Scandza*. He also mentions the *Dani* for the first time, as well as the *Ostrogothæ*, *Ragnaricii* and *Raumariciae* names we can now for certain assign to AN. Like Cassiodor before him, Jordanes hands down the cliché of Scandinavia as *officina nationum* ‘workshop of nations’ and *vagina gentium* ‘womb of the tribes/peoples’. The Gr. historian Prokop describes an incident from the beginning of the 6th c. (512, according to him): after their defeat in Pannonia, the Heruleans return home, already having obtained a new king from Scandinavia to replace their previous ruler, whom they had killed. This account has led to the quite justifiable conclusion that the Heruleans were for legitimate rulers dependent on their Scand. home. The “tribe” of the Eruleans/Heruleans (H- is presumably the Lat. spelling, as in the case of *Herminones* for *Irmin-*; the original name was supposedly

**eruloz*) has always been of great interest to Scand. philologists. Bugge (1891–1903) interpreted the Eruleans not as a tribe, but as a class of Scand. rulers who formed a tribe only outside Scandinavia, in a foreign ethnic environment. In the second half of the 3rd c. they emerged from the darkness of history and attacked almost simultaneously Greece (267 A.D.) and Northern Gallia (269 A.D.) with fleets of 500 and even 2000 ships, respectively. In 286 they raided Gallia again. Hydatius reports assaults in the northwest (456) and even in the south (459) of Spain. According to Jordanes, the Eruleans were driven out of Scandinavia by the Danes, but this may rather hide the fact that “einige Heruler [sich] einem uns unbekanntem gesellschaftlich-politischen Druck entzogen haben” (Rübekeil 1992, 117). As for their phenotype, there are striking parallels between the Eruleans and the later Vikings. Both employed smaller or larger fleets, both appear seemingly at random in the east and the west, and both are groups with non-locatable homes in the north. Even the myth of the Heruleans’ expulsion is possibly paralleled by the topos of the Jarls being expelled from Norway by King Harald Finehair: “Die völkerwanderungszeitlichen Heruler sind die Vorläufer der Wikinger in linearer Filiation, und sie sind wie diese ein soziologisches, kein ethnographisches Phänomen – Letzteres werden sie nur für kurze Dauer in ihrer südöstlichen Heimat und lediglich in den Angaben der Historiographen” (Rübekeil 1992, 118). A question of particular interest to runologists as well as to historians of civilization and of the (H)Eruleans could be connected to the word *e/irilaR*, a term with which the runemasters referred to themselves, or to the ON word *jarl*, denoting ‘prince, chieftain’. The name consists of a root **er-* + a suffix, which, however, appears not to retain the so-called IE suffix-*ablaut*. The people’s name is probably identical with the lexeme *jarl* (< **erloz*), and the spellings with -u- might be cases of substitution within an independent ancient tradition (cf. Rübekeil 1992, 111). The relation to the runemasters’ self-referential *e/irilaR* remains controversial and open (svarabhakti -i- is unlikely). The root **er-* does not correspond to the homonymic IE lexemes for ‘earth’ or ‘man’, but rather to ‘to jump up, to rush off, to be moved by rage’, in which case **er(i)lo-* designates some kind of berserker. Later, this meaning developed into ‘man taking on fighting as this task’, i.e. a warrior aristocracy, from which the class of the jarls evolved. The

question of whether the Eruli in the late AN period can be said to have been the main upholders of both the runic culture and a ritualistic association strongly tied to Odin – as Höfler (1971) and Klingenberg (1973) assumed – has to remain open.

3. Loanwords in the Balto-Finnic languages

Over a period of ca. 5000 years (counted up to the present), the speakers of the so-called Uralic languages must have had sufficiently close contact with the Scand., Gmc and IE peoples so that time and again borrowing occurred, in which process Gmc/IE was the donor almost every time. Practically all aspects of life, even the most elementary ones, feature borrowings (cf. the survey of research in Hofstra 1985 and the numerous works by Koivulehto since 1971 concerning this topic). The exact time and place of particular instances of contact during the early period is hidden in the depths of history. Although it is often taken for granted that there was migration, there is no reliable archaeological evidence for the Finns' immigration to Finland, for example, or the Gmc peoples' immigration to southern Scandinavia and North Germany. Even the issue of the original homes of the Indo-Europeans (and the Uralic people) remains completely open. It is certain, however, that within the Uralic family of languages there are various layers of borrowings whose approximate age can only be determined by internal reconstruction. Various stages and intermeditate proto-languages have been distinguished, but these are „nicht immer als hierarchisch-chronologisch voneinander getrennte Ebenen, sondern auch als areal zusammenhängende Sprachgebiete aufzufassen“ (Koivulehto 1991, 13). Early PF (“Frühurfinnisch”) forms a reconstructed source language of BF = “Ostseefinnisch” (Finn., Est., Livian) and Lappish (the language of the Saami living in the north of Scandinavia). All of these stages can be proved to contain borrowings; loanwords that exist exclusively in Finn. or Lappish may date from the early PF or BF period, or may have been borrowed later by each language separately. Therefore, possible donor languages would be Pre-Gmc, NGmc, Pre-AN, “Old EGmc” or Go., AN, or later language stages. Departing from previous research, which was inclined to assume the Baltic area to be where the borrowing occur-

red, primarily Koivulehto and others now tend to work from the assumption that the borrowings came via Scandinavia. They also date the borrowings as well as the Gmc sound laws much earlier. Accordingly, the transition from /e₁/ > /a:/ would have happened as early as the Bronze Age, since early PF already has borrowings with reflections of both of these Gmc phonemes (cf. Koivulehto 1981). This theory has justifiably been criticized, because the dating of early PF to the Bronze Age is based on arbitrary assumptions about the ethnic classification of archaeological “Sachkulturen” on the southwestern coast of Finland. With the evident intention of assigning the oldest runic inscriptions to AN, Grønvik dates the change from /e₁/ > /a:/ at the 2nd c. A.D. in all of his publications, and has it begin in NGmc. If one accepts this chronology, the Finn. loanwords with reflections of Gmc */e₁/ could either have been borrowed before the sound change or originated in EGmc (“Goths” in the Vistula region) peoples, as traditional research has assumed. The often mentioned PGmc words, including *rengas* ‘ring’, *kuningas* ‘king’, *keihäs* ‘spear’ (< **gaizaz*), *juusto* ‘cheese’, *teljo* ‘ship’s beam’ (~ OIcel. *þilja* ‘rower’s seat’), *juko/jukka* ‘yoke’, and *pleto* ‘field’ (> OIcel. *þjall*), were probably borrowed in the time B.C. Presumably from the AN period, however, come words like *kulta* ‘gold’, *hartio* ‘shoulder’ (~ OIcel. *herðar*), *kaltio* ‘source’ (~ OIcel. *kelda*), *juhla* ‘feast’ (~ OIcel. *jól*), *terva* ‘tar’ (~ OIcel. *tjara*), *valta* ‘power/might’, and *havukka* ‘stroke’ (OIcel. *högg*) and many others, but the precise time of borrowing remains uncertain in individual cases; the same goes for many of the Lappic loanwords, e. g. the often mentioned *miel’ke* ‘milk’. Therefore, these sources contribute little to our understanding of the evolution of AN. The extent of borrowings in both languages during the AN period should be estimated at 100–1000 lexemes. Due to phonetic (reflections of Gmc */e¹/) or lexical arguments (one word occurs only in the Go. Bible translation), it is believed that there is a group of borrowings (around the birth of Christ or in the 1st c. A. D.) from Go. or other EGmc languages of the Wielbark culture, located south of the Baltic Sea or in the Oder-Vistula area. The most pertinent instances are the following: *paita* ‘shirt’ for Go. *paida* ‘frock coat’, *äiti* ‘mother’ for Go. *aipēi* ‘mother’, the conjunction *jah* ‘and’ (which Grønvik, reading the Stentofen stone in 1987, took for late AN as well, an interpretation he

withdrew himself in 1996), further *mitta* ‘measure’ for Go. *mitan* ‘to measure’, *miekka* ‘sword’ (for *mekeis*), *neula* ‘needle’ (for *nepla*) and others. It seems to be obvious that these words were borrowed before the Goths’ and other EGmc peoples’ migration, starting in 200 A. D. (yet even this conclusion is not really certain). The period of time cannot be specified further with certainty, but time and again (the latest in Grønvik 1998, 147ff.) the 1st or 2nd c. A. D. is cited as the most probable. Whether or not at this point of time, however, there was a dialect-geographical contrast between EGmc and AN instead of a unified NGmc, (or whether some of the other models of the splitting up of the Gmc dialects apply) depends not least on the linguistic interpretation of the oldest runic inscriptions.

4. Runic inscriptions

Provided their North Gmc origin may be regarded as certain or at least probable, the oldest runic inscriptions are our most important sources of AN, because they are the only direct ones. It is still disputed when and where the Gmc peoples adopted the runes. At present, the Latin thesis prevails among Scandinavian runologists, whereas in Germany the North Italian thesis is still popular. Morris (1988), who re-postulated the Greek thesis and presumed the adoption to have happened very early, was refuted with good arguments. The two earliest potential finds of runic material are the fibula from Meldorf with the inscription **hiwi** or **ipih** (cf. e.g. Moltke 1985), and the two possible runes **ea** on a shard from Osterrönfeld (cf. Dietz/Marold/Jöns 1996), both of which are archaeologically dated to the first half of the 1st c. A. D. These finds, however, are controversial, and their being runic is not completely assured. Therefore, the earliest definite inscriptions still date from a time between the end of the 2nd c. A. D. (spearblade from Øvre Stabu) and the beginning of the 3rd c. (weapons from the bogs of Illerup and Thorsberg, fibulae from women’s graves of the Late Roman period in present-day Denmark). Thus the adoption of the runes probably took place in the centuries bordering the birth of Christ. Each new find might challenge this view, however. Another moot point is the crucial question of which language stage these inscriptions, at least the earliest ones, represent. Numerous linguists (e.g. Kufner 1972; Antonson 1975; Haugen 1976; Penzl 1989 and others) believe the language of the oldest runic inscrip-

tions to represent a NWGmc stage (which most likely was a union of later AN and Ing. WGmc). In the north, this stage would be retained in its archaic shape, whereas WGmc would have seceded from this union through a string of innovations (e.g. loss of final *-z*), beginning in about 200 A. D. Grønvik, however, repeatedly argues “daß die Runensprache viele spezifisch nordische Züge aufweist und somit keine nordwestgermanische, sondern eine jüngere Sprachstufe vertritt” (1996, 119). He calls this language stage “Ur-nordisch” or “Nordisch I”. Putting the purely terminological question aside, we can certainly assume the existence of an AN language in Norway and Sweden in the 3rd c. and afterwards (as in the inscription on the Tune stone), but the inscriptions from Denmark before the exodus of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes and the immigration of the Danes cannot be classified as unequivocally. This reservation holds, for instance, for the fibulae from women’s graves. In the case of the finds from bogs, the attackers’ origin is relevant, as is the question of whether the inscription was made before or after the battle. According to archaeological indications, the finds from Illerup stem from the area around the Oslo Fjord: they are therefore clearly AN. The finds from Thorsberg on the other hand stem from the region of the Weser-Rhine-Teutons; thus they cannot be proclaimed AN a priori. The finds from the Nydam bog are assigned to the Baltic area possibly Gotland (hardly EGmc). Grønvik’s main criteria for a dialectal separation of WGmc and AN are the loss of the final *-z* in WGmc, which in AN evolved to *-R*, and the change from Gmc. */e₁/ > /a:/. The latter change is supposed to have occurred first in AN (in the 2nd c.), whereas in about 200 A. D. the WGmc languages divided into South Gmc, featuring the development to /a:/, and Ing. (Franconian and PAS), which retained /æ:/ (Grønvik 1998, 121). Of all forms, **niwajemariR** on Thorsberg, serves as evidence for this development, next to **makija** on the chape from Vimose, Funen. That the loss of the *-z* in WGmc occurred in any case before the birth of Christ is indicated by the two names *Chariovalda* and *Catualda* in Tacitus’ Annals (II, 11; II, 62) (we do not even know whether their bearers were actually WGmc), and the name **Harigasti** on helmet B from Negau, which is dated to around 100 B. C., and in which Grønvik (1996, 159f.) would like to recognize an appellative ‘der Heergast’ in WGmc form. Nevertheless, the previous proposal that it is

a genitive of the Latinized Gmc name *Hari-gastus* cannot be ruled out, and in addition, the reference is unique. Finally, there are runic indications in this matter. On Thorsberg, -R is preserved in **pewar** and **marir**; the Illerup mount for a shield-handle 3 (found in 1983), however, features the inscription **lagupewa** (probably for 'sea servant'), which lacks the final -R. One could think of this as a banal misspelling; otherwise, one must ad hoc imagine a WGmc writer in Funen (or at the Oslo Fjord?). In this case, though, next to anything is possible. For criticism of Grønvik's view cf. also Nielsen (1998, 551f.), who, in accordance with Antonsen, classifies the earliest inscriptions as "NWGmc". This classification, however, raises the question of whether or not a distinct space and time for AN exists at all. Perhaps Klein's (1992, 224) assessment will prove itself most convincing:

Inschriften von Sprachtypus und Entstehungszeit der Gallehus-Inschrift sind [...] nicht westgermanisch, sondern gehören eher ins Vorfeld des Nordgermanischen – nicht weil sie bereits kennzeichnend nordgermanische Züge trügen, sondern weil sie eine Sprachform bewahren, welche die westgermanischen, und hier besonders die nordseegermanischen, Dialekte längst verlassen hatten.

Since the issue of linguistic affiliation is deliberately left open here, all runic inscriptions that are not clearly EGmc or SGmc are presented as (potential) sources of AN.

4.1. Runic inscriptions from the early AN period; ca. 2nd/3rd-5th century

In the past 20 years numerous new finds, which are not taken into account in most of the older handbooks of linguistic and cultural history, have increased the corpus of AN inscriptions considerably. Nevertheless, the fundamental categories of artefacts bearing inscriptions remain practically unchanged. Runes are found on jewellery, on weapons, seldom on stone, and in a few cases on profane objects of daily use. On the basis of archaeological evidence or the shape of the *e*-rune the following inscriptions, which form a homogeneous group, can be dated to the period of time before 400 A.D.: The fibulae Himlingøje I (*hariso*), Himlingøje II (...*widuhudar*), Værløse (*alugod*), Næsbjerg (*warafnis?*), Nøvling (*bidawarijar talgidai*), Gårdlösa (*ekunwodr?*), Udby/Skovgårde (*omal/lamo talgida*, new find 1988, cf. Stoklund 1991). For

lack of a better explanation, these inscriptions are interpreted as manufacturers' inscriptions (name + 'I carved/am the carver'). Furthermore, we have weapon finds, some of which bear identical inscriptions, from the bogs of Thorsberg, Nydam, Vimose and Illerup: *wagnijo* on a lance-blade from Vimose and on two lance-blades from Illerup, in the one case carved, in the other stamped. Due to this fact, it appears justifiable to question the previous interpretation that inscriptions on lance-blades denote weapons' name (e.g. *tilarids* on Kowel, *ranja* on Dahmsdorf, *raunijar* on Øvre Stabu, among others). One would think that placing name magic on a weapon is an individual act, not a piece of manual work that can be repeated trivially by means of a stamp. There are names on other parts of weapons which strengthen this critical view: On the fitting of a shield-handle from Illerup the inscription *swarta* is found, which probably is the bearer's or the maker's name. Presumably, the wooden handle of a firesteel from Illerup names its owner (*gauþR*, with faulty omission of the thematic vowel?), as does the chape from Thorsberg (*owlþupewar niwajemariR*). The bronze fitting of a drinking horn from Illerup features two inscriptions (*fu??R fra*), the first of which might be a name. The chape from Vimose is dated to about 200 A. D., as is the buckle from Vimose. The wooden item from Vimose which is most often referred to as a plane belongs rather at the end of the AN period than at its beginning (Grønvik 1996 offers new interpretations of all three inscriptions). A new find in 1995 from the Nydam bog, the bronze scabbard, is dendrochronologically dated to ca. 300 and typologically to 250/60–310/20. The inscription runs right-to-left and reads *harkilar ahti* (perhaps 'Harkilar owned (this)', but this is justly criticized by Stoklund 1998, 63). The inscription on an axe handle from the Nydam bog is perhaps one of the most important finds from the last years (Stoklund 1998, 61). Apart from the formula-word *alu*, it appears to contain three masculine nominative forms (*wagagastiR*, *sikijar*, *aipalatar*), perhaps the 1sg.pres.ind. of 'to consecrate'. On the archaeological evaluation and classification of all these early runic finds cf. Lund Hansen 1998. Some inscriptions on wood (such as the casket of Garbølle with the rune maker's text *hagiradar (i) tawide*) can be dated to the 4th c., as can the oldest rune stones. Among these stones are certainly the Opedal stone (*birginguboro swestarmiliu-*

bumer wage) (Grønvik 1996, 81–96, even dates it to about 200 A. D.), the Einang stone (*[ekgo]dagastirrunofaihido*), the Vetteland stone (... *flagda faikinarist... magorminastaina... darfaihido*) and the Rö stone (*ek hrarar satido stain... swabaharjar ana... sxirawidar ... stainawarijar fahido*), all from Norway. Another new find from the Nydam bog is a piece of wood, provisionally dated to around 400 by means of archaeology, whose inscription seems however to make no sense whatsoever, such that a pseudo-inscription is presumed (cf. *Nytt om Runer* 12, 1997, 4f.). Two arrows from Nydam bear the inscriptions **la** and **lua**, respectively, which probably stand for *alu*. The Tune stone dates from the end of the 4th c. or the beginning of the 5th c. (Grønvik 1981). Its long text constitutes the most extensive inscription from the AN period. Due to the shapes of its runes, the inscription on the stone slab from Kylver in Gotland belongs in the second half of the 4th c. It comprises the oldest Futhark inscription we have as well as a tree-like sign and a side inscription (most likely *sueus*, a doubled ‘horse’ in the service of grave magic). The two gold horns from Gallehus, which are now lost, are dated to around 400 or shortly thereafter. The text of the shorter horn (*ek hlewagastir holtijar horna tawido*) constitutes the earliest secure example of a Gmc “Langzeile” with alliteration. The Myklebostad stone (with a svarabhakti in the name *worumalaiba/e*), the Rosseland stone bearing an eril-inscription (*ek wagigar irilar agilamudon*), the Årstad stone (*hiwigar saralu ekwinar*) and the Reistad stone (*iupingar ekwakrarunnam wraitha*), all from Norway, belong perhaps at the end of this period, namely, towards 500 (on the first three cf. the new interpretations in Grønvik 1996, 97–124; on Reistad cf. Bammesberger 1996). From their rune forms and language, two further bog finds belong clearly at the end of the AN period. The first is a collection of wood pieces from Kragehul in Funen, which are taken to be a spearshaft, bearing an eril-inscription. The second is a piece of bone referred to as an amulet from Lindholm in Scania (both newly interpreted in Grønvik 1996, 50–74; on previous interpretations cf. Krause/Jankuhn 1966 and Birkmann 1995). The oldest Sw. rune stone, the Möjbro stone (*frawaradarannahaislaginar*), stems from sometime in the AN period (the date cannot be further specified). The end of the AN period is marked by the bracteate inscriptions, which show numerous peculiarities: most of the texts

consist of so-called formula words like *laukar*, *alu*, *lapu*, *ota*, *ehwu*, *gakar*. Elaborate texts are offered by the Skodborg bracteate (*auja alawin auja alawin auja alawin j alawid*), the Zealand II bracteate (*hariuhahaitika farauisa gibu auja* + a tree-rune, as a triple invocation of the god Tyr??), the Väsby and Åskatorp bracteates, which were made with the same stamp (*uigar eerilar fahidu uuilald*, newly interpreted in Grønvik 1996, 220–229), the Åsum bracteate (*eikakarfahi*), and the Tjurkö I bracteate (*wurte runor an walhakurne heldar kunimudiu*; the traditional interpretation in Krause/Jankuhn 1966 is more convincing than the suggestion in Grønvik 1987, 150ff.). Regarding the bracteate from Ågedal in Vest-Agder, Grønvik offered various interpretations in 1987 and 1996, but none of them appears convincing. Moltke (1985) deemed the bracteate inscriptions in general to be the product of illiterate goldsmiths, devoid of any linguistic meaning whatsoever. The other extreme is represented by Seebold (1991), who assumes they are unique runes which, far from being corrupt forms, constitute intentional new creations meant to describe new phonemes. Each view might be right, depending on the particular instance. In any case, the latest bracteates may well belong at the beginning of the late AN period.

4.2. Runic inscriptions from the late AN period; ca. 6th-7th century

Meanwhile, the runic inscriptions from these two centuries convey to us a fairly precise idea of the evolution of language within this period of time. Their chronological classification is partly absolute and partly relative (on this aspect cf. article 82). It should be taken into account that, due to new finds as well as new interpretations, there have been quite a lot of changes and new perspectives since the standard works on Scand. language history based on Krause/Jankuhn (1966) or even older runological works were published. This reservation concerns particularly the following inscriptions, which can be safely assigned to the late AN period: the comb from Setre, the dice from Vallentuna, the whetstone from Strøm, the piece of bone from Ødemotland, the fibulae from Eikeland, Fonnås and Skabersjö, the Blekinge stones from Istaby, Gummarp, Sten-toften and Björketorp, and the Eggja, Järsberg and Noleby stones. The fibula from Bratsberg, the By stone, the spearshaft from Kragehul and the so-called amulet from Lindholm all date from the beginning of the transitional

period. Finally, there are new readings and a large number of new interpretations of bracteate inscriptions (above all, Grønvik 1987; 1996; Santesson 1989 and Seebold 1991 are important; Birkmann 1995 provides a survey up to 1994). All of these inscriptions provide in any case clear evidence for the transition to the period of syncope.

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72. The Ancient Nordic period: An archaeological survey

1. Overview
2. General background
3. Geographical and climatic conditions
4. Regionality
5. Subsistence and settlements
6. Defence
7. Social and political structures
8. Glimpses of the spiritual life
9. Literature (a selection)

1. Overview

The Nordic Iron Age societies were agrarian and socially stratified, and had elites with far-reaching contacts competing to consolidate or increase their power. Settlements comprised both villages and single farmsteads, with large “central places” as well as possible chieftains’ farms standing out in the general picture. The elite was able to organize substantial territories, as testified by defence structures and sacrifices of weapon. Roman influence is evident in the material culture, in the emergence of runes, and in the pictorial art.

2. General background

The present survey is intended as an archaeological outline of the first 7 centuries A. D., paying special attention to aspects important to the emergence and use of runes.

In most cases, attaching linguistic labels or historically known tribe-names to archaeological finds is most problematic. It seems, however, reasonable to interpret the agrarian Iron Age culture of Scandinavia as representing an AN speaking population, in contrast to the hunter-gatherer culture of the inland forest and mountain areas of Norway and Sweden which in historical times were populated by Sami-speaking peoples (Zachrisson et al. 1997). It must, however, be borne in mind that farmers and hunter-gatherers influenced and were dependent on each other, e. g. with regard to fur trading and iron production. It should also be mentioned that “Germanic” influences/contacts are evident in southern and southwestern Finland from the Late Roman Period onwards (Schaumann-Lönnqvist 1991).

3. Geographical and climatic conditions

The agrarian societies of Scandinavia faced varied environmental conditions. The mo-

raine deposits in Denmark and Scania were rather densely populated, with only a few kilometres between settlements. Similar conditions could be found on fertile plains like Västergötland, or Jæren in Rogaland, while the mountainous areas of Norway and Sweden were more sparsely settled along the coasts and in the valleys.

A notable natural factor is the rising land levels which has taken place since the end of the Ice Age. For the period in question, the relationship between sea and land in southern Scandinavia will have been mostly like it is today, while the gradual retreat of the sea becomes ever more marked towards the north and east. In Ångermanland/Västerbotten, the sea at the beginning of the Christian era was about 20 m higher than its present level, retreating about 10 m during the first millennium. In central Sweden the sea level during the Migration Period was 5–8 m higher than today, and the present Lake Mälaren had open access from the Baltic Sea. In Norway the land seems to have risen ca. 4 m in the Oslofjord area since the beginning of the Late Roman Period, in western Norway less than 3 m while in Trøndelag the sea level during the Vendel Period was ca. 4 m higher than today. The steady increase in the landmass would have been of great importance with regard to the area available for cultivation and grazing, both for individual farms in the coastal zone and for the society as a whole, as well as by changing the possibilities for communication by sea.

The climate during the Roman Iron Age was rather mild and dry, even a little warmer than today, and warmer than in the preceding period. Around the 5th century, however, the weather became cooler again.

4. Regionality

Basically, Iron Age Scandinavia can be regarded as one cultural area, apart from the Sami areas already mentioned. Agrarian settlement was found in Denmark, southern and central Sweden, the coastal zone of northern Sweden and some inland areas, such as Dalarna and Jämtland, the coastal zone and arable valleys of southern Norway and Trøndelag, and the coastal zone of northern Norway up to the Tromsø area. The area can be subdivided if one looks closer at the finds

Tab. 72.1 Divisions of the Scandinavian Iron Age, with approximate dates and the period names in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish. Besides the period names, the labels A–D and I–VIII are used, the latter mostly in Swedish archaeology. Each of the periods can be subdivided; both the absolute dates and the subdivisions are currently being discussed and revised. In Denmark and Sweden the transition from “Early” to “Late Iron Age” is placed at the end of the Late Roman Iron Age; in Norway, however, at the end of the Migration period.

	Viking Period	Vikingetid Vikingtid Vikingatid		VIII
A. D. 775/800	Vendel Period	Yngre germansk jernalder Merovingertid Vendeltid		VII
530/550	Migration Period	Ældre germansk jernalder Folkevandringstid Folkvandringstid	D	VI
375/400	Late Roman Iron Age	Yngre romersk jernalder Yngre romertid Yngre romersk järnålder	C	V
150/160	Early Roman Iron Age	Ældre romersk jernalder Eldre romertid Äldre romersk järnålder	B	IV
0	Pre-Roman Iron Age	Førromersk jernalder Førromersk jernalder Førromersk järnålder	A	III II I

(Näsman 1998, 5f.), but the possible subdivisions vary according to the material considered (pottery, jewellery, grave types, settlement types), and there is a general drift towards fewer and larger regions through time.

One obvious region is southern Scandinavia, i. e. the area comprising present-day Denmark, Scania, Halland, Blekinge and Schleswig, corresponding to the medieval Danish kingdom. For the Roman Iron Age this can be subdivided, on the basis of the pottery amongst other things, and Jutland in the Late Roman/Early Migration Period still can be divided roughly into three cultural areas. Another region is central eastern Sweden, with strong connections to the coastal areas of northern Sweden. During most periods the Baltic Islands – Gotland, Öland and Bornholm – display distinctive characteristics separating them from each other as well as from mainland Scandinavia. In Norway the picture is more varied, due to the natural environment, but generally southwestern Norway forms one region and eastern Norway another.

These regions are based on the archaeological material. They should not, however, be interpreted in ethnic or political terms – as tribal areas, chiefdoms or petty kingdoms – without additional evidence.

5. Subsistence and settlements

5.1. Farming

The basis of the Scandinavian societies was agriculture, and in most areas it had been so for millennia. Growing grain was combined with cattle breeding, the emphasis depending on local conditions.

In southern Scandinavia this meant that access to meadows or even heaths was important for ensuring winter fodder. Villages have been found from the Pre-Roman Iron Age onwards, but single farmsteads existed too throughout the Iron Age. Each farm consisted of a long-house with a dwelling in one end and a byre with stalls for varying numbers of cattle in the other; in addition there may have been one or more small buildings. The

buildings had two rows of posts supporting the roof and walls of wattle-and-daub between smaller posts, all set into the ground. In some parts of Jutland, buildings could have massive turf walls too. During the Late Roman Period, long-houses became elongated and were subdivided into several rooms, and sunken huts appeared. Some fences have been preserved, allowing us to determine the number of farmsteads and the structure of the village, in some cases with one farm markedly larger than the rest. A classic site is Vorbasse in central Jutland, where the evolution of the village can be followed from the first century B.C. into the Viking Age (Hvass 1983, 1988). Both here and at other settlements, the village was repeatedly moved after some generations and rebuilt a few hundred metres away. Each village seems to have been surrounded by an infield, manured with dung from the byres.

In Norway, settlements appear to have consisted mostly of single farmsteads, but a village-like conglomeration of farms relocating within a restricted area and including one larger farm has been excavated at Forsandmoen in Rogaland (Løken 1987). Here and at some other places, buildings with wattle-and-daub walls have been found (cf. Lillehammer 1994, 170f.; Skre 1998, 140–156), but the “classic” Norwegian house in the Late Roman and Migration Period otherwise had plank walls protected by outer stone walls. Each farm consisted of 1–3 long-houses and optional huts and was surrounded by a fenced, manured infield. In some cases 2–4 farms shared a common infield. The period after ca. 300 A.D. witnessed a vigorous expansion in which many new farms were founded, partly in marginal areas. Mountain pastures were also utilized in the summer (*seterdrift*), and in contrast to southern Scandinavia, hunting and fishing appears to have been of some importance. During the 6th century many farms were deserted, perhaps due to a decrease in population, but from the middle of the 7th century settlement expanded again.

Only during the last decade have traces of buildings been discovered in mainland Sweden. Long-houses, possibly with wattle-and-daub walls, and smaller huts have now been found in many parts of the country, but no villages have yet been discovered outside of Scania (e.g. Andersson (ed.) 1998; Lamm/Åqvist 1997; Ramqvist 1983). On Öland and Gotland, the picture has been dominated by the many remains of long-houses with stone foundations (*stengrunder, kämpagravar*) along

with adjacent stone field enclosures (*stensträngar, vastar*. Stenberger 1964, 454–466; Burenhult 1984, 97–112; Cassel 1998). The stone settings permit us to reconstruct farms with up to 5 houses and fenced fields. Most farms are single farms, but they may be grouped loosely together. The stone foundations all belong to the Late Roman and Migration periods, and their abandonment has led to the creation of theories about devastating attacks on the islands which now are being doubted.

Generally the agrarian settlement evidence seems to indicate a stable economic system with the potential for expansion during the Late Roman Iron Age. In spite of obvious continuity in many areas, a 6th-century “crisis” may to some degree have been real, e.g. for marginal settlements in Norway, although the evidence may also indicate a reorganization of farmlands and farming methods. Social inequalities are indicated by the varying sizes of farms, even within a single village.

5.2. Iron production and other crafts

Iron production from bog ore was carried out in Denmark from the 2nd century B.C. onwards, and large-scale production took place in western and southern Jutland ca. 100–700 A.D. (Voss in Hvass/Storgaard 1993, 206–9). In Norway and Sweden too, iron was produced from bog ore for most of the first millennium A.D. – in Småland even during the 5th century B.C. – often in mountain valleys and in quantities far beyond the local demand (Magnusson 1991; Lillehammer 1994, 143ff., 178; Stenvik 1997). Iron was traded in the form of standardized bars, and both production and distribution must have been organized by local magnates.

Within the local communities, iron smithing would have been a specialized trade (e.g. found only at 1–2 farms in the Vorbasse village). Pottery, cloth and bone combs would also have been the work of specialists, at least for the better quality grades, as would ships and objects from bronze and precious metals. We have no means of telling whether such specialists will have been full- or part-time. Migration Period clay moulds for ornamented jewellery have been found in settlements which otherwise show no “special” features (Ramqvist 1983, 177ff.), perhaps as an indication of itinerant craftsmen.

5.3. “Central places” and other specialized settlements

Some settlements, however, stand out from the ordinary farms or villages, be it through the quality of the finds made there or the size or character of the buildings, as well as through the general layout of the site.

In southern Scandinavia, the use of metal detectors has added important facets to our knowledge of the settlements (Axboe 1992; Hvass/Storgaard 1993, 195–201, 223–227). Sites like Gudme in Funen, Stentinget in northern Jutland, Neble in Zealand, Sorte Muld on Bornholm and lately Uppåkra in Scania (Hårdh 1998, Larsson 1998) have yielded thousands of finds, often of extraordinary quality. Many other settlements have been examined, too, without equalling these rich sites either in quantity or in quality. The “central places” are also larger than most other settlements, and several of them have a special, complex layout with many contemporary clusters of farmsteads (Axboe 1995, Fig. 9.5). The finds mostly begin in the Late Roman Period and continue through the Vendel Period or even longer, the stability of the occupation in Uppåkra, Sorte Muld and several smaller Bornholm sites being emphasized by substantial culture layers. The most splendid finds come from Gudme, including foreign jewellery and hoards with gold scabbard mounts, sword buttons, bracteates, and Roman gold and silver coins, mostly deposited during the Migration Period (Nielsen/Randsborg/Thrane 1994). A unique hall complex from the Late Roman Period has also been found (Østergaard Sørensen 1994), and attached to the main settlement, which is located ca. 2 km inland, is the coastal site of Lundeberg. Of the Vendel Period sites, Sorte Muld stands out on the basis of its 2300 small gold-foil figures (*guldgubber*; Watt 1999). Such figures have been found at some other sites, too, but only in much smaller numbers.

However, “rich settlements” do not represent a uniform group. Other sites have yielded unusual finds without having the size or the structure characteristic of the large “central places”. One example is Dankirke in southern Jutland (Jarl Hansen 1989). Here Roman coins, gold bullion, unusual brooches, and a large quantity of imported Frankish glass vessels in particular bear witness to far-reaching contacts and above-average wealth during the Late Roman and Migration Periods. This affluence, however, was concentrated on one

farmstead only, surrounded by common agrarian settlements (Jensen 1991, 76ff.). Dankirke is thus interpreted as having been the seat of a local chieftain who played a role in the distribution of imported goods. At Dejbjerg in western Jutland, fragments of 10–12 glass vessels were found together with other imports and weapon fragments in a Migration Period long-house. Here the glass showed traces of wear, but again the finds point to a chieftain’s site (Egeberg Hansen 1996).

In Sweden, one must mention Slöinge in Halland, where finds from ca. 400–1000 A. D. and a succession of halls from the Vendel Period have been excavated. The finds include glass vessels, jewellery and gold foil figures (Lundqvist 1996). A special place among the Swedish sites, however, is held by Helgö in Mälaren, which yielded exceptional imports and rich remains from the casting of Migration Period jewellery (Excavations at Helgö 1961 ff.; Stenberger 1964, 632–42). The nature of this site has been debated, but it seems obvious that – without being of the same type as the large “central places” – it had unusual wealth, far-reaching contacts, and a level of production of jewellery far beyond local demands.

In Norway, special settlements of quite a different kind can be found. These are the so-called court sites (*ringformede tunanlegg*; Lillehammer 1994, 154): ring-shaped or oval settlements with up to about 20 rather small buildings radiating from and opening onto a central court. Some 20 sites have been discovered along the west coast from Jæren in the southwest to Troms *fylke* in the north, those in the southwest having been used from the Early Roman Iron Age up to the beginning of the Migration Period, and those in northern Norway into the Vendel Period. These are hardly common agrarian settlements, as byres seem to be missing, and they are often placed near farms later known as chieftains’ seats. They seem to have had a function beyond their immediate vicinity, possibly as assembly and cult places as well as more or less temporary encampments for a chieftain’s levy.

6. Defence

None of the settlements mentioned so far show any defensive features. But fortified sites do occur all over Scandinavia, albeit of differing shapes and possibly various functions, ranging from mountain hill-forts to lowland

earthen ring-forts, and from small-scale sites less than 50 m across to Torsburgen on Gotland covering 1 sq. km and Hejrede Vold on Lolland (ca. 5 sq. km, Løkkegaard Poulsen 1999). Datings are rather few and cover all periods, but quite a large number can be shown to have been in use during the Late Roman and Migration Periods (Engström 1991). On Öland, Eketorp and other forts seem to have served as fortified villages with a permanent farming settlement (Näsman in Nørgård Jørgensen/Clausen 1997, 146–155); in central Sweden some hill-forts with more limited occupation are interpreted as magnates' seats (Olausson in Nørgård Jørgensen/Clausen 1997, 157–168). Some forts where no traces of occupation could be found are supposed to have been temporary refuges in time of danger, be it for the retinue of the local chieftain or for the population of a larger area (Skre 1998, 266–288; Näsman in Nørgård Jørgensen/Clausen 1997, 146–155). Finally, some “forts” with little apparent defensive value have been interpreted as having had more symbolic or ritual functions (Cassel 1998, 129–154).

In Denmark, linear earthworks and naval blockages have been dated to the Late Roman and Early Migration Periods (Axboe 1995, 222ff.; 1999, 114; Nørgård Jørgensen in Nørgård Jørgensen/Clausen 1997, 200–209). The functionality of the naval blockages is obvious, while it is disputed whether the several kilometres-long ramparts represent efficient defence measures, symbolic border markers, or, like the Roman *limes*, a combination of both.

A notable find group in southern Scandinavia are the bog deposits of weaponry with hundreds of swords, spears, arrows, shields and other equipment (Brøndsted 1963, 209–233, 287–290). These are interpreted as having been the equipment of defeated attackers, sacrificed by the victorious local population. Several bogs contain repeated sacrifices; at least 49 offerings are known, mostly dating to the Late Roman and Migration Periods and possibly representing as many battles. Detailed analyses of the equipment indicate that the attackers mostly came from outside the area: from northern Germany, western and eastern Scandinavia (Ilkjær 1990, 332–339; 1993, 374–386; Axboe 1999, 113ff.). Accordingly the runic inscriptions in these finds (Lund Hansen et al. 1995, 326–344) should also be regarded as foreign to the area where they were found.

One of the largest sacrifices is Illerup site A, dated to the decades after 200 A.D. Though only ca. 40 per cent of the bog has been excavated, the weaponry found could equip at least 350 men. Taking into account the unexcavated area and the presumption that some attackers were able to escape with their weapons, the battle may have involved a thousand men or even more on each side (cf. Engström 1991, 275; Lund Hansen et al. 1995, 416 note 5; Albrethsen in Nørgård Jørgensen/Clausen 1997, 216). Even the minimum force of ca. 350 men and the combined use of infantry with lances, archers and mounted warriors attested by the finds must imply intensive training as well as an effective command structure. A hierarchical structure is in fact indicated by the shield parts found at Illerup site A: 5 silver bosses probably belonged to commanders, 30–40 bronze bosses to middle ranks, and about 300 iron bosses to common warriors (Ilkjær 1997, 58). In southwestern Norway, one of the areas presumed to be the origin of the attackers, groups of boathouses (*naust*) large enough to accommodate ships like those found in the Nydam bog testify to the military organization of that area (Myhre in Nørgård Jørgensen/Clausen 1997, 169–183).

7. Social and political structures

In southern Scandinavia during the Roman Iron Age, wealth and status were demonstrated through sumptuous burials, while during the Migration Period the elite showed their status through sacrifices of precious jewellery (Hedeager 1992, 27ff., 70ff., 159ff.; Axboe 2001). Thus the scarcity of furnished graves after the fourth century does not indicate the impoverishment of society, only a change in social and perhaps religious rites. All over Scandinavia, imported Roman glass and metal vessels were favoured as status symbols during the Roman Iron Age, and this is mirrored in the burials. The supply did not come through commercial trade, but is thought to have involved the exchange of status gifts among the elite to create and consolidate mutual alliances and dependencies (Lund Hansen 1987). In the first half of the 3rd century A.D. the supply from the Empire seems to have been controlled by the elite of East Zealand, especially in the Himlingøje area, which was able to retain a disproportionate number of the best items and appears to have been the centre of a system of alliances with other mag-

nates (Lund Hansen et al. 1995, 371–393). But alliance systems based on the exchange of gifts were unstable, and, just like Himlingøje had superseded earlier centres, the highest supra-regional status moved to Funen, with Gudme dominating during the Migration Period.

Other indicators of status can be included in the general picture: the building of large barrows, for instance at Högom in Medelpad, Gamla Uppsala, Lejre, Raknehaugen in Romerike (Skre 1998, 314–327) and several places in western Norway; richly equipped chamber graves; gold as a status marker in itself as well as in the shape of special types of arm- and finger-rings interpreted as symbols of rank. Special status is demonstrated not only by the “central places” and other rich settlements but also by halls at Gudme, Slöinge and even at more humble sites like Vorbasse (Herschend 1998, 14–51, 167–185), and by the ability to organize the resources of large areas, both in military contexts as in the bog finds, ramparts and naval blockages, and the presumed emergence of a retinue (Hedeager 1992, 234), as well as in civilian matters like religious rituals or the exchange of goods. Myhre (1987) has demonstrated for southwestern Norway how the complex interplay between finds of gold, graves with imports, hill-forts and the distribution of internal and imported goods can point to chiefdoms in the Migration Period.

Thus a social elite figures very prominently in the find material through large farms including halls, golden jewellery, imported objects, magnificent weapons and rich graves. Also highly visible are the “common” farmers, possibly to some degree dependent on the magnates. The existence of a class of thralls can be assumed, but the evidence is very scarce before the Viking Age: a few human sacrifices in graves; the farms becoming too large to be run by a family without additional hands; and the literary evidence of Tacitus (Skre 1998, 28–51).

The question of the emergence of kingdoms in Scandinavia is a controversial one. It must be borne in mind that the development need not have been unilinear. In the open areas of southern Scandinavia, conditions were different from those in the mountain valleys of Norway and central Sweden, and it seems likely that political hegemonies could have been established earlier and covered larger areas in southern than in central Scandinavia. But even here the find material points to unstable polities during most of the Iron Age. Struc-

tures indicating control over major parts of what was to become Denmark, like Danevirke, the Kanhave canal or the foundation of Ribe, do not appear until the late 7th or early 8th century (Axboe 1999).

8. Glimpses of the spiritual life

From the first century A. D., Roman influence can be seen in the material culture of Scandinavia, possibly to some degree at least imparted by Scandinavians serving in the Roman army (Axboe 1995, 225f.). But it is also obvious that these influences were absorbed and transformed into indigenous forms of expression. Thus runes were developed instead of adapting Roman letters, and through them and the pictorial art which emerged during the Migration Period, we can catch some glimpses of an oral culture otherwise lost or transmitted only through much later sources. Naturally enough, the evidence comes from the elite which had the contacts, the economic surplus and the impetus to develop an independent ideology and iconography. Both of the latter aspects are embodied in the gold bracteates from the second half of the 5th and the first half of the 6th centuries, transforming the imperial portraits of the Roman coins into Germanic deities like Odin (Axboe/Kromann 1992; Axboe 1998; Hauck 1998; Axboe 2001). The Germanic animal art, which developed from ca. 400 A. D. onwards, was derived from Roman military belt mounts (Haseloff 1984). Its vigorous development and conscious stylization seem to indicate a symbolic content which can still only be guessed at. And though the early runic inscriptions, when comprehensible, mostly convey personal names and magic formulae, one poetic expression (*kenn- ing*) has survived on a gold bracteate, metaphorically referring to gold as “Italian grain” (IK No. 184). Thus the elite in the halls may have known scaldic poetry 300 years before the beginning of the Viking Age.

9. Literature (a selection)

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73. Runes: Origin, development of the futhark, functions, applications, and methodological considerations

1. Older runic script
2. Origin of the runes
3. Development of the futhark
4. Functions of the older runes
5. Applications of the older runes
6. Methodological considerations
7. Literature (a selection)

1. Older runic script

1.1. Alphabetic writing

The origins of alphabetic writing lie in the Near East, where ca. 2000 B.C. syllabic signs had developed from earlier forms of pictographic writing (Healey 1990, 201 ff.). Syllabic signs represent combinations of sounds, and hundreds of them are required to render a language adequately. Writing was simplified when the alphabetic principle was conceived, according to which each distinct sound of a particular language is to be represented by a single distinctive sign. The number of separate sounds is relatively limited in most languages, and the number of alphabetic writing signs needed is thus rather small. The first alphabet was devised ca. 1700 B.C. for writing a Semitic language and included only signs for consonants. An alphabet in the modern sense came into existence ca. 1000 B.C. when the Greeks began to use certain letter-forms that they had borrowed from the Phoenicians, but which were not needed for consonants in Greek, to represent the vowels. The Latin alphabet was derived indirectly from that of the Greeks, with the Etruscans as mediators, ca. 750 B.C. The notion of the alphabet and a complete set of alphabetic writing signs spread with time also to the Germanic tribes in central and northern Europe.

1.2. Older runes

1.2.1. Germanic writing system

Runes are the individual letters of the alphabetic system devised and employed by the Germanic peoples. The term “rune”, a borrowing in the 1600s into English and German from scholarly treatises in Scandinavia, applies to the letters in a number of disparate writing systems which were employed at different times and by various Germanic peoples. Their interrelation is clear, however, and the general

nature of their connections with one another was established by Ludvig Wimmer (1874, 152 ff.; 1887, 74 ff.), who demonstrated that they all went back to a single, common Germanic runic alphabet consisting of twenty-four letters. Runes in this older version are attested in inscriptions on objects which are dated archaeologically at the earliest to ca. 150–200 A.D. The runic alphabet as such must predate the earliest known inscriptions and has traditionally been assumed to have developed around the beginning of the Christian era.

1.2.2. Forms

Idealised graphic forms of the individual older runes are found in Fig. 73.1 (cf. Krause 1966, 2), where they are ordered in the distinctive runic way and grouped in three lines or “families” (cf. 1.2.4). Only one standard variant of each sign is included in the illustration. The older runes consist normally of a combination of straight lines: long “verticals”, or “staves”, and either short or long oblique “strokes”, usually called “branches”. Verticals are a characteristic feature of a majority of the runes, four of which have two. Strokes, which usually issue from the verticals, appear to avoid running horizontally, a tendency which is often assumed to indicate that runes were originally designed to be cut into wood, on which horizontal lines, running along the



Fig. 73.1: Forms of the older runes

grain, would easily disappear. Strokes never go above or below the verticals and never issue exclusively from the bottom of the verticals. Six runes, three with reduced size, lack verticals altogether, their forms consisting only of “angles”. The formal description of the graphemic system of the older runes by Elmer Antonsen (1975, 6ff.; 1979) employs the distinctive features of staffs, branches, pockets (i.e. enclosed spaces) and crooks, combined with number, placement, laterality and continuity. The older runes occur in a number of graphic varieties (cf. Arntz 1944, 65ff.; Odenstedt 1990), depending on such factors as the chronological period, the geographical area, the substance in which they are carved, and idiosyncrasies of individuals or schools of rune-carvers. Although the forms usually appear angular due to the use of straight lines meeting at sharp angles, curved lines could also be used for both strokes and angles. Some form variants may show a geographical distribution or indicate a chronological development (cf. 3.1.), e.g. **h** with a double cross-bar (**ᚨ**), found in Continental Germanic and Anglo-Frisian inscriptions, and **e** with a straight, horizontal connecting stroke (**ᚱ**), usually (probably correctly) considered to be the earliest form. (Note that runes are traditionally transliterated in boldface.) The three runes that originally did not have full height, **k**, **j**, **ŋ**, are subject to attempts to make them conform in size (cf. 3.1.). Some systematic variants of graphic forms occur: individual signs may be reversed (turned on their vertical axis), inverted (turned upside-down) or on rare occasion mirrored (doubled with their reverse). Reversed variants are most likely a consequence of the fact that the direction of writing was not fixed for the older runes and that a reversed form in an inscription written from left to right was the standard one used when writing from right to left. Inversion may at times be connected with the reinterpretation of special forms that arose when runes were combined in ligatures or bind-runes (cf. 1.2.6). Neither inversion nor reversal leads to an ambiguous shape for any rune. Several graphic forms are symmetrical or otherwise insensitive to such rotations, whereas for others (**h**, **n**, **j**, **i**, **s**) the form and its reverse are both so commonplace (e.g. **ᚨ/ᚨ**) that neither can be considered marked. The inversion of **r** (**ᚱ**) is likewise common, and the shape mirrored with the inversion (**ᚱ**) is a Continental type. This latter form may have originated as a decorative variant, as too the

h with a double cross-bar. Anomalous shapes occur, such as **b** with only the bottom pocket.

1.2.3. Sound-values

The decipherment of the older runes had not yet been accomplished in the early 1800s, and their occurrence in Scandinavia was often considered foreign. Then in 1839 J.H. Bredsdorff succeeded in establishing most of their sound-values by comparing the older runic alphabet on the Vadstena bracteate, Sweden, with the Anglo-Saxon runic alphabet, and in 1865 Sophus Bugge determined the sound-value of the **r**-rune, interpreted the runic inscription on the gold horn from Gallehus, Denmark, and identified its language as “Oldnordisk” ‘Old Nordic’. After the distinction between **j** and **ŋ** had been established in the 1920s on the basis of their use in identifiable AN words, the only rune whose sound-value was still uncertain was the thirteenth, **ᚦ**. There are few occurrences of this sign in recognizable words, but it is traditionally interpreted as a high front vowel and designated **i**; Antonsen (1975, 1ff.), however, claims that it stands for the phoneme /æ:/, whereas Ottar Grønvik (1981, 29ff.) argues for the [ç] allophone of /h/. The original phonological value of the **Y**-rune was [z] (voiced *s*); this sound developed in AN into a palatal spirant [ʒ], which in ON coalesced with /r/, and the rune is therefore traditionally designated **r**. The standard transliteration of the runes gives a rough indication of their phonological values. The runes **b**, **d** and **g** represented consonants that, even though they could be allophonic voiced stops, most often were realized as spirants ([b̥], [ð], [g̊]); **p** stood for the voiceless spirant [θ] (E *th*). If one disregards vowel length, there is a good fit (often called a “perfect fit”) between the reconstructed phonemic system of AN and the twenty-four older runes. The alphabet includes, though, a superfluous allograph, **ŋ** (and according to Grønvik also **ᚦ** **ç**).

1.2.4. Fixed order

Each rune had a fixed place in the order of the alphabet, and although the earliest alphabet inscriptions with older runes come from the 400s, the sequence was most likely original. There is little variation among the inventories of signs: **i** and **p** are switched around on the Kylver stone, Gotland, and the last two runes are usually listed in the order **od**. The final rune is **o** in the Kylver listing, however, and

an order corresponding to **do** is also found in a number of Anglo-Saxon inscriptions. In the scholarly reconstruction **o** is as a rule placed at the end of the alphabet. The order of the runes diverges completely from the order of letters in Mediterranean alphabets and is characteristic only of the runic row, which scholars usually term the “futhark” in accordance with the sound-values of the first six runes. On the Vadstena bracteate, the older runic alphabet is divided by colons into three groups of eight runes, and in ON each group is termed a “family” (“ætt”), although the original term may have meant “group of eight” (a homograph in ON). These divisions may too have been original.

1.2.5. Names of the runes

Each rune had a name that was also a meaningful word in AN. Although the rune-names are not transmitted from the older period, most of them can be reconstructed with some certainty based on learned medieval treatises in Latin on runes and manuscript lists of the Anglo-Saxon rune-names (see Derolez 1954), related letter-names in the Gothic alphabet, the doggerel *Abecedarium Nordmannicum*, and the Anglo-Saxon and various Scandinavian “Rune-Poems”, which consist to a great extent of metaphorical circumlocutions of the rune-names. The circumlocutions resemble riddles whose solution is the particular rune-name (e.g. from the Old Norwegian “Rune-Poem”: “**f** (= *fé* ‘goods, i.e. wealth’) causes family strife”, *Ƿ veldr frænda rōgi*). The rune-names were chosen according to the acrophonic principle, i.e., the first sound of the rune-name indicates the basic sound-value of the sign. Only signs for sounds that could not occur initially in Gmc, i.e. **ŋ** and **R**, depart from this principle. The AN forms of the rune-names were most likely as follows: **f** = **fehu* ‘cattle, goods’, **u** = **ūruR* ‘aurochs’, **p** = **purisaR* ‘giant’, **a** = **ansur* ‘god’, **r** = **raiðu* ‘journey, vehicle’, **k** = **kauna* ‘boil, sickness’, **g** = **geþu* ‘gift’, **w** = **wunju* ‘joy’, **h** = **hag(a)laR* ‘hail (precipitation)’, **n** = **naudīR* ‘need, difficulty’, **i** = **īsaR* ‘ice’, **j** = **jāra* ‘(good) year, harvest’, **ī** = **tīwaR* ‘yew-tree’, **p** = **perþu* ‘a fruit tree?’, **R** = **al-giR* ‘elk’, **s** = **sōwīlu* ‘sun’, **t** = **tīwaR* ‘(sky?) god; ON *Týr* (war god)’, **b** = **berkana* ‘birch twig’, **e** = **ehwaR* ‘horse’, **m** = **mannar/mannR* ‘person’, **l** = **laguR* ‘water’ (rather than *laukaR* ‘leek’), **ŋ** = **ingwaR* ‘(fertility)

god; ON **Yngr*’, **d** = **dagaR* ‘day’, **o** = **ōþila* (*ōþala*) ‘inherited property’. (For the Gmc forms, see Krause 1966, 4f.; Düwel 2001, 197ff.) Despite several attempts to derive a complex Germanic cosmological system from the specific words used as names and their distinctive order, no convincing explanation for the particular choice of rune-names has been found. The words indicate items from everyday life and concepts about the world of the gods, nature and man, but they hardly present an organized world view (cf. Polomé 1991). The rune-names had a mnemonic function and helped rune-carvers to remember the sound that the individual letters represented. A runic sign could be used to represent its rune-name, and several Old Norse manuscripts use e.g. the medieval runic sign **m** as an abbreviation for its name, *maðr*. Obvious occurrences of such ideographic usage in inscriptions are, however, seldom.

1.2.6. Characteristics of the script

Writing direction was not fixed, and lines in inscriptions with older runes are written from left to right, right to left or in a back-and-forth combination thereof (Greek *boustrophedon*, i.e. ‘as the ox ploughs’). On standing runestones they may run horizontally or vertically, and then either up or down the stone, and they may be placed on a broad face or a small side. Framing lines above and below the runes were seldom used in the older inscriptions. Words were, as a rule, not separated, but were run on into one another; punctuation marks (usually raised dots or colons) are, however, employed irregularly as word separators in inscriptions with older runes. Long consonants were designated by a single graph. Double runes were, as a rule, not written, not even at word boundaries, and thus the same rune could function as the final sound in one word and the first in the following. Runes could be written together in ligatures, termed “bind-runes”, probably in order to simplify writing and save time and space. In such ligatures, the vertical of one rune functioned also as the vertical for the following rune, e.g. *ᚦ ᚱ* (but note *ᚱ ᚦ*; bind-runes are indicated in transliteration by a bow over the runes). Only infrequently does the formation of bind-runes give rise to special forms, notably the inverted form of **R** (in the bind-rune of **a** and **R**: *ᚱ*) and the bind-rune of **g** and **a**, where one of the diagonals of the former functions as the vertical

for the latter: $\mathfrak{X} \text{g}\mathfrak{a}$. Bind-runes may even be used over word boundaries. A special characteristic of runic orthography is the non-representation of /n/ before homorganic obstruents, such that **-lad** could stand for *-land*. This spelling may be a result of linguistic analysis on the part of the rune-carver, who could have considered the nasal simply as nasalisation of the vowel (Williams 1994). The rune **ŋ** was used either as the allophone [ŋ] of /n/ occurring in combination with /g/ or /k/, or on its own to represent the entire cluster /ng/.

2. Origin of the runes

2.1. Mythological explanations

Some carvers of older runes apparently believed that the runes were “of divine origin”, as they are termed on i.a. the Noleby stone from Västergötland, Sweden (**raginakudo** (-*kundō*)). In Old Norse mythology they are connected with Óðinn and apparently considered his invention, since according to the Eddic poem *Hávamál*, he “took up the runes” (st. 139, “nam ek upp rúnar”). The attribution of alphabets to divine personalities has parallels in other cultures (cf. Senner 1989). Ideas about the origin of the runes have sometimes had an ideological or nationalistic basis, e.g. claims in Nazi Germany that runes, which supposedly derived from Germanic “pre-runic conceptual symbols” (“vorruniche Begriffszeichen”) such as those found in rock carvings from the Bronze Age, were the original alphabet, and that Greek and Latin letters were derived from them (cf. Hunger 1984, 96ff.).

2.2. Scholarly theories

The close relationship between the runes and the southern European alphabets is obvious. A scholarly basis for examination of the origin and development of the runic script was provided by Ludvig Wimmer in 1874 (rev./trans. 1887). The question of the origin of the runes has subsequently concerned three closely related questions: (1) Which alphabet was the basis for the creation of the runic alphabet? (2) Where were the runes developed and by which Germanic tribe? (3) When did the adaptation take place?

2.2.1. Latin theory

The Latin theory was championed by Wimmer (1874, 8ff.; 1887). The basis for this ex-

planation is the close resemblance between several individual runic signs and Latin letters, combined with clear correspondences in sound-value, e.g. $\mathfrak{T} \approx \uparrow \mathfrak{t}$ and $\mathfrak{B} \approx \mathfrak{b}$. In particular the derivation of the runes **f**, **r**, **b** and **m** were possible only with the Roman alphabet as the source, not with other Mediterranean scripts. Wimmer concluded that the runes derived totally and directly from the monumental alphabet of Imperial Rome (i.e. Latin capital letters) and considered the strong cultural influence from Rome 0–200 A.D. to have been decisive for their creation ca. 200 A.D. by some member of a South Germanic tribe occupying territory near the Roman border. The specific point in time for the creation of the runic adaptation has subsequently had to be revised to a slightly earlier period since a few runic inscriptions found in Scandinavia are now dated archaeologically to somewhat before 200 A.D. Later supporters of this theory of the origin of the runes have sought the immediate source in other variants of the Latin alphabet, particularly classical cursive scripts (old Roman cursive) and provincial writing in outlying parts of the Roman empire such as the Rhine area in eastern Gaul, whereas others have argued the important role played by specific Germanic tribes, e.g. the Goths in the Vistula area. Erik Moltke (1985, 38ff.; cf. Grønvik 2001, 10ff.) saw runes as a more-or-less independent creation, with as many as seven newly invented signs lacking Mediterranean models, made in present-day Denmark or southern Sweden but under strong influence of the Latin capitals of Imperial Rome. In his opinion, differences in form, changes in sound-value and divergence in the order from the sequence of letters in Mediterranean alphabets most likely indicate that the runic alphabet was not conceived in near contact with the Romans. In the various realisations of the Latin theory, several individual runes are derived in diverse ways or from different model letters; **þ**, for example, is considered an invention by some but is derived from **D** by others. Recent contributions to the Latin theory have been made by Bengt Odenstedt (1990, 145ff.) and Henrik Williams (1996; cf. Derolez 1998). The latter employs a new framework for the discussion of the derivation of the runes, rigidly allowing shape alone, not sound-value, to determine origin; he derives twenty-three “proto-runes” from Latin capitals and assumes then confusion and switching of the five forms that were based on unnecessary Roman letters and could

therefore be used to represent distinctively Germanic phonemes.

2.2.2. Greek theory

The graphic form of certain runes seems to derive more easily from Greek forms than Latin ones, e.g. runic λ **o** and Gr. *omega*, Ω . Coupling this with the fact that certain Germanic sounds corresponded to Greek and not to Latin (e.g. fricative Gmc [g], χ , and Gr. *chi* X), Sophus Bugge (1905–1913, 95 ff.) conceived that a conglomerate of influences and traditions lay behind the invention of the runes, which were partially based on Latin and partially on Greek script. He proposed that the Goths came into contact with literate peoples in south-eastern Europe, learned to write with runes and then transmitted this knowledge to the other Germanic tribes. At about the same time as Bugge, inspired by him and collaborating with him, Otto von Friesen proposed the Greek alphabet as the principal source for the runes (1904; 1933, 5 ff.). He believed that Gothic mercenaries serving in the Roman legions in the Black Sea area, who would thus have come into contact with Greeks and Romans and their scripts, were responsible for the runic adaptation. The runic alphabet was supposedly created by 250 A.D. and was based on a classical Greek cursive script, supplemented by a few Roman cursive letters (**f**, **r**, **h** and possibly **u**). The Greek theory based on a cultural-historical connection with the Goths had to be abandoned when runic inscriptions found in Scandinavia were archaeologically dated to before 200 A.D., since the invention of the runes then had to predate the arrival of the Goths in the Black Sea area. It was also disconcerting that this derivation had to assume a mixing of two model alphabets. An alternate form of this theory, which claimed creation of the runes several centuries B.C. based on an archaic Greek alphabet, had been proposed prior to the Bugge/von Friesen theory and was recently revived and modified by Richard Morris (1988). He relies mainly on typological comparisons, emphasising the general archaic nature of the runic script.

2.2.3. Etruscan/North Italic theory

There is a striking resemblance between the runic forms, particularly **u**, **a**, **k**, **h**, **R**, **s**, **t**, **l** and **o**, and Etruscan letters, and in 1928 Carl

J.S. Marstrander posited a composite Etruscan alphabet as the mother of the runes. The Etruscan writing system, an offshoot of the Greek alphabet, was in use in the western Alpine region of northern Italy from ca. 800 B.C.; the culture was first Celticised and then Romanised, and by the beginning of the Christian era, the script had been completely superseded by the Latin script. Among other peoples, the Marcomanni, whose kingdom bordered on this area in the 100s A.D., were proposed as the Germanic inventors and transmitters of the runes. Various similarities with the Celtic ogham alphabet were interpreted as supporting the Celto-Latin origin of the runes in the Etruscan area. The Etruscan theory was modified and expanded by Magnus Hammarström (1929), who found the most striking parallels to a number of runic forms in various other North Italic alphabets and in addition emphasized the general archaic nature of the script. The Etruscan/North Italic theory was refuted by Fritz Askeberg (1944, 44 ff.), who doubted that a conglomeration of alphabets could provide the background for runes and showed that the various letter models in disparate North Italic alphabets did not exist simultaneously. The theory has, however, retained its allure and was recently revived by Helmut Rix (1992), Thomas L. Markey (1998; 1999) and Bernard Mees (2000).

3. Development of the futhark

3.1. Uniformity in the older futhark

Inscriptions with the older runes reveal a striking uniformity over a large geographical area and throughout a long period of time. The linguistic consistency has been explained as reflecting a runic koiné but more likely indicates that the relatively limited epigraphic material at hand is insufficient for demonstrating dialects in AN, which as a mainly reconstructed language is typically variation free (Syrett 1994, 30 ff.). Graphematically the epigraphic material is relatively uniform. The most important shape variants which may have interest for the chronological development of individual runes are (cf. 1.2.2.): **u** with two equal lines (Λ , considered to be the earliest form), **s** with three or more angles (ξ , thought to be more original than the variant with only two) and **e** with a straight, horizontal connecting stroke (Π , considered to be the earliest form). In addition, the three runes which originally did not have full height, **k**, **j**, and **ŋ**, were sub-

ject to attempts to make them conform either by increasing their size, particularly for **j**, or by adding a vertical: **k** = **λ**, **ƿ**; **ŋ** = **†** (the so-called lantern **ŋ**, often rather signifying the bind-rune **†ŋ**). The basis for the identification of various graphic forms as early variants is, however, tenuous (cf. Williams 1992, 196f.), and the internal relative chronology of inscriptions based on the probable typological development of shapes is unsure (cf. Antonsen 1998). It is even somewhat problematic to divide the period of older runes graphematically into two major sub-periods, one with classical forms (up to ca. 450/500 A.D.) and one with innovative or post-classical forms. The shapes on bracteates, which are dated archaeologically to ca. 450–550 A.D., must be used with caution in this connection, since the inscriptions stamped on these gold pendants are often garbled and the individual runic forms corrupt (cf. Moltke 1985, 108ff.). The innovations that lent standard height to the three smaller runes are as a rule placed in the post-classical period, but similar solutions to the perceived problem of diminutive form could well have been attempted at earlier times (e.g. Nøvling clasp's full-sized **j**, dated ca. 200 A.D.; cf. Syrett 1994, 21ff.).

3.2. Transitional forms

The transition from AN to ON ca. 450/500–700/800 A.D. represented a linguistic revolution. The radical modification of the language is characterized mainly by syncope and the changes associated with this process, in particular the phonemicisation of front and labial mutation and of breaking and a radical alteration in the distribution of stops and spirants (cf. 3.3.1.). Additional phonetic changes took place, such as the loss of initial /j/ and of initial /w/ before rounded vowels. Inscriptions belonging to this period, or at least the latter part of it, are usually termed “transitional”, based on their linguistic interpretation or on their graphic forms. In order to establish a non-ambiguous delimitation of transitional inscriptions, one may define them on the basis of runic forms alone, as Michael Barnes (1998) has done; one variant of **j**, ***** (for /j/ or for /a(:)/ (see 3.3.1.)), is clearly transitional, and the use of this shape in combination with forms found otherwise only among the older runes would indicate a transitional inscription. This definition functions well for the determination of graphematic developments, but is perhaps too restrictive for other purposes.

3.3. Younger runes

The phonetic changes of the transitional or syncope period had a tremendous effect on the language, but due to the conservative nature of alphabets in general, there was a considerable delay between the linguistic changes and pursuant graphic ones. The Eggja inscription from western Norway, usually dated archaeologically and art-historically to 650–700 A.D., demonstrates that the new language stage could be written with older runes, but they were obviously less well suited for recording ON than AN. Similar linguistic changes occurred in the Anglo-Saxon and Frisian areas, and the reaction there to deterioration in the fit between the phonemic and the graphematic systems was an expansion of the alphabet such that a total of twenty-eight to some thirty runes came into use (cf. Parsons 1996; 1999). The reaction in Scandinavia to a similar disparity was different, and enigmatic; instead of the runic inventory being expanded by the creation of new or variant characters for novel sounds, it was reduced by one-third, to the sixteen signs of the “younger” futhark: **fubark:hniastbmlr**. The transliteration indicates the primary sound-value associated with each sign; **ǰ** stood for the nasal [ǰ(:)]. The families now include six, five and five runes, and although the order of the remaining runes is otherwise as in the older futhark, **R** has been moved to the end.

3.3.1. Phonetic and phonemic changes

When *i*- and *u*-umlaut vowels became phonemicised without the concurrent creation of new runes, the basic one-to-one correspondence between phonemes in reconstructed AN and graphemes in the older futhark was disturbed. Ambiguities resulted such that, e.g., /o(:)/ and its *i*-umlaut product /ø(:)/ were represented by the same sign. The realignment of allophonic relationships between stops and spirants also had a disruptive effect. For example, whereas /θ/ and /ð/ (written **þ** and **ð**) were two separate phonemes in AN, the latter with a [d] allophone, in early ON /θ/ and /d/ were the corresponding phonemes, with /θ/ now having two allophones: [θ] (initial) and [ð] (medial and final). As a consequence of linguistic changes, the initial sounds of the names of some runes were altered and the identification of their sound-value thus changed. For instance, with the loss of initial /j/ the **jāra*-rune became the **āra*-rune (ON

ár) and various forms of **j** could thereafter be used to represent /a(:)/; the rune is then transliterated A. Similarly the **ansur*-rune developed regularly into the **áss*-rune with assimilatory loss of /n/, compensatory vowel lengthening and nasalisation, and was thereafter used to express [ã(:)]. Although these linguistic changes provide the background for the development of the younger runes, the entire graphematic innovation was not an inescapable consequence of developments in the spoken language. The creation of the system of the younger runes appears at some points to have been the result of a conscious alphabet reform. This reform, made by an unknown innovator or innovators, had two obvious goals: a reduction in the number of signs and a simplification of the individual forms. There is, however, disagreement concerning the specific background and the main impetus for the invention of the younger runes (cf. Barnes 1987). There have been claims that it had to do directly with magic, with cultural isolation and decline, with the complicated forms of the runes, with the radical phonological changes of the syncope period and with the names of the runes.

3.3.2. Sixteen-character futhark

There were quite probably fewer than twenty-four older runes still in use when the conscious alphabet reform that reduced the futhark to sixteen characters took place. For example, the problematic **ǰ** **ī** and the allophonic **ŋ** were used only peripherally in inscriptions, and since /p/ was a rare phoneme in Gmc in general, its representation **p** may rather early have been replaced by **b**. Thus the number of runes could already have been reduced by attrition to twenty-one. In addition to the changes in two rune-names mentioned in 3.3.1, which led to new identifications of the sound-value of the **jāra*- and **ansur*-runes, the initial phonemes of at least two or three other rune-names must in due course have been affected by the phonetic innovations of the period: **w** **wunju* > **ynn-*, **e** **ehwar* > **jór* (> *jór*) and **o** **ōpila* > **ōðil* (if this was indeed the form of the name). These changes would have made it possible to mark one or two of the new mutation vowels, but would at the same time have caused confusion and probably made it difficult to employ the particular runes as representations of their original sound-values. The runes **w**, **e** and **o** were at any rate not among

the signs kept in the sixteen-character futhark, and the changes in their names might explain their disappearance (Liestøl 1981, 252f.; Barnes 1987, 37f.). The rune-names may thus be the key to understanding the reduction in the inventory of signs for vowels (and semi-vowels) to four: **u**, **a**, **i**, and **a**. The rune-name explanation does not, however, pertain to the last two runes that were done away with, **g** **gebu* > *gjof* and **d** **dagar* > **dagr* (> *dagr*). No adequate explanation has been proposed for their being lost from the runic alphabet in the general course of its development, and therefore it can probably be assumed that they were eliminated deliberately. This reform meant that the voiced/voiceless opposition among both stops and spirants was unmarked, since one sign was used for each of the following phonemic pairs: **k** for /k/ and /g/ ([g]/[ɣ]), **t** for /t/ and /d/ (or [d]) and **b** for /p/ and /b/ (cf. **p** for [θ] and [ð]). This system for denotation of stops and spirants characterises inscriptions in the younger futhark. Based on the archaeological dating of the earliest inscriptions with younger runes, their creation has usually been dated to 700–800 A. D., but must now be placed ca. 700 A. D. as a result of the archaeological dating of the Ribe cranium to the 720s and a reinterpretation of its inscription as clearly younger runic (Stoklund 1996). With the meagre evidence at hand, it seems impossible to locate where the younger runic alphabet originated. There were two closely related early form variants: the short-twig runes and the long-branch runes. These variants should be considered as idealised abstractions based on clear tendencies.

3.3.3. Short-twig runes

Simplicity in form is most evident in the short-twig runes (also called i. a. the short-branch runes, the Norwegian-Swedish runes and even Rök runes, based on their predominance in the longest runic inscription known). The name “short-twig” is descriptive of their shapes, since they generally have typologically shorter strokes (branches or twigs) on their verticals (staves) than the long-branch runes. There is considerable variation among the earliest shapes, but an assortment of forms on the Rök stone from Östergötland, Sweden, dated to the 800s, as in Fig. 73.2 (cf. Loman 1965, 15), can illustrate the short-twig runes. Although several forms are identical or similar to the older runes, particularly among the first



Fig. 73.2: Short-twig runes on the Rök stone (standardized, a selection)



Fig. 73.3: The Gørlev long-branch futhark (standardized and with *s* reversed to *h*)

six runes, **fupark** (with the twigs on **a** somewhat lower and with **k** like a typologically late older runic variant), the rest of the shapes, other than the uncomplicated **i** and **l**, have been simplified, often drastically. Forms with two verticals, older **h** and **m**, have been replaced, and a single stave, or in two cases a half-stave, characterises each rune. The graphematic system is based on the economic use of a small number of predominantly binary oppositions, namely height, direction, number and length of twigs (Loman 1965, esp. 15ff.). For example, the runes **† a** and **† n** contrast in direction of the twig, and each of them contrasts with **† b** and **† a** in the number of twigs and with **† t** (especially against the variant **† a**) and **† l** in height of placement of the twig; **† l** and **† u** contrast in length of the twig/branch. Placement of the twig on the right or left of the stave (as in **†** or **†** for **a**), or even centrally on the stave (**†**), was clearly redundant, although with time the placement was standardized such that e.g. **† a** became the usual short-twig form. The system of short-twig runes was clearly the result of an act of conscious reform which achieved a simplification of shapes and an economy of contrasts. The creation of the younger runes was probably connected with an increased need for written communication. Particularly the short-twig variants must have been quicker and easier to carve than their predecessors, and easier to learn as well, with, in addition to the smaller number of symbols, many contrastive pairs.

3.3.4. Long-branch runes

The long-branch runes (which have also been called i.a. the Danish runes and the normal runes) have in general not been simplified as much in form as the short-twig variants. The name “long-branch” relates to their form, since many branches are typologically longer than those on the corresponding short-twig

runes (compare **† a** and **† a**). One set of alternate names indicates the general geographical distribution of early occurrences, Denmark for the long-branch runes and Norway and Sweden for the short-twig runes, but this distribution may be misleading for their genesis and actual use. It appears rather that the two younger runic alphabets were functional variants: long-branch runes had fuller, more decorative forms and were preferred for use on stone monuments, while the simpler shapes of short-twig runes were meant to be employed as a cursive script mainly for the practical business of everyday communication (Wessén 1957, 10f.). One variant of the long-branch forms is provided by perhaps the earliest known long-branch futhark, probably from the 800s, on the Gørlev stone from Denmark, see Fig. 73.3. Only the simplification there of **h** and **m** and the replacement of **† A** by the simpler **† a** reveal any conscious reform with respect to the forms of the older runes. Several of the earliest Danish inscriptions with younger runes even include the older runic forms of **h**, **m** and **† A**. Ever since Wimmer in 1874 established the relationship between the older and the younger runes, there has been general agreement that the long-branch runes were primary and that the short-twig variants were a subsequent formal simplification. Although primacy is perhaps a matter of definition, Michael Barnes (1987, esp. 42; cf. Liestøl 1981, 263f.) has observed that the earliest long-branch inscriptions appear to be written simply in a truncated older futhark and has argued that the elimination of **d** and **g** from the futhark should be considered part of the only radical runic reform for which there is any evidence, the one that created the short-twig runes. The long-branch runes would then have arisen as a contamination of the short-twig runes with what remained of the older futhark. It is i.a. easier to accept that the few novel long-branch shapes were made under the influence of short-twig forms than the other way around (see Barnes 1987, 41f.);

in addition, **†** can only have become available as a symbol for /h/ after it had been replaced as a symbol for /a/ by **‡**, but **‡** is a member of the contrasting pair **‡** : **‡** of a variant of the short-twig futhark.

3.3.5. Variation and mixtures

There was form variation in the early short-twig inscriptions (cf. 3.3.3.) and various mixtures of shapes in early long-branch inscriptions (cf. 3.3.4.). In time minor adjustments were made to a few younger runic forms: the branches on **ǫ** were lowered (as in the Rök inscription) and their length and lateral placement regularized (short-twig **ǫ**, long-branch **ǫ**), and long-branch **m** was opened at the top, giving **ŷ** (which contrasted with **ǫ** **R**). Gradually the two form variants coalesced into several regional and chronological versions, and in these mixtures the short-twig shapes of **h**, **b**, **m** and **r** were with time superseded by the long-branch forms. Phonological changes in the 900s and 1000s were reflected in two new sound-value identifications. The palatal [ʒ] represented by **R** coalesced with /r/, first in Norway and later in Denmark and Sweden, and **r** was used for the product. Thus the sign **ǫ** became available, and since its name in the younger runes was *ýr* ‘yew-tree’ (taken from the older **ī**-rune, **īwaz* > **ýR*), it was used for /y(:)/ in accordance with the acrophonic principle. In some Danish and Swedish inscriptions from this time, the symbol was used instead for /e(:)/, /æ(:)/ or /i(:)/, perhaps in accordance with other possible rune-name developments (**algīR* > **ælgR* (*elgr*) and EN non-mutated **īR* ‘yew-tree’, but cf. Nielsen 1994, who in this connection casts doubt on the original names of **ī** and **R**). The name of the **áss*-rune developed regularly to *óss* by the early 1000s, and the sign was thereafter used for /o(:)/ and is transliterated **o**.

3.3.6. Later developments

Although the carver’s task was made easier with the creation of the sixteen-character futhark, especially in the short-twig variety (cf. 3.3.3), the reader’s task became more difficult since the paucity of signs led to ambiguity of representation. For example, among the consonants, **k** could stand for /k/, /g/ ([g]) / [ɣ]) or /ng/, whereas among the vowels **u** could stand for /u/ (and [w]), /o/, /y/ or /ø/. Spelling ambiguity led to experimentation in the late

900s and 1000s consisting of the sporadic addition of diacritical signs to runes, whereby e.g. a dot on **k** could indicate that it stood for /g/. Although dotted **i** for /e(:)/ or /æ(:)/, transliterated **e**, rather quickly became a standard expansion of the runic inventory, the introduction of a fuller system of dotted runes appears to date to the 1100s.

4. Functions of the older runes

4.1. Cultic

The etymology of the word *rune* is debated (cf. Morris 1985). In addition to reference to runic letters, it occurs in older Germanic languages with the basic meaning ‘secret, private consultation’, and was used to translate ‘(religious) mystery’ in the Gothic Bible. Based partially on a possible connection with secrets and mystery, runes have often during the past century been considered to be a writing system for an initiated, elite Germanic caste, the ‘runic magician’ or ‘rune-master’ (as the title *erilar* in older runic inscriptions has been translated), who has frequently been equated with a Germanic priest. As such the runes were considered to be cultic or religious (often incorrectly termed ‘magical’), intended primarily for communication with higher powers. The word **erilar** (**irilar**), which occurs in ten older runic inscriptions as a title or epithet for the rune-carver in the first person, is apparently related to ON *jarl* ‘earl’ and also the Germanic tribal name *Heruli*, although there are linguistic problems with equating the three of them. (The Herulians have frequently been given credit for inventing and spreading the runes.) It does seem that the *erilar* inscriptions (and ones with functional equivalents like *gudija* ‘priest’), particularly the three which in addition contain *haiteka* (‘I am called’), have at least a cultic formulaic background; nonetheless, only a few of the actual manifestations in older runes appear to have a cultic function (Hultgård 1998, 716ff.). Some epithets that rune-carvers applied to themselves, e.g. **ungandir** ‘not susceptible (?) to sorcery’, have been construed as indicating that Germanic priests were shamans. Although in fact very little is known about Germanic priests, shamanism seems far-fetched.

4.2. Magic

In Old Norse literary sources, runes are often presented as being used for magical purposes

(cf. Dillmann 1996; Düwel 2001, 203 ff.). For example, in *Egils saga Skalla-Grimssonar* (ch. 72) a tale is told about runes carved by a boy and placed in a girl's bed to cause her to fall in love with him, but which due to carving mistakes caused her to fall ill. Similarly in the Eddic poem *Sigrdrífumál* (st. 6 ff.) knowledge is dispensed about runic spells and various types of runes, i. a. "victory runes" (*sigrrúnar*), which were to be carved on the hilt of one's sword if one wanted victory. Literary evidence emphasising the magical use of runes is difficult to evaluate since there is little obvious epigraphic evidence to corroborate it. There are, however, variants of a runic curse on two stones from Blekinge in southern Sweden with transitional inscriptions, and several clearly magical texts are preserved in younger runic inscriptions. Stephen E. Flowers (1986) views most of the older runic material as encompassing magical formulaic elements. Concerning particularly futhark inscriptions, alphabet magic has been claimed (cf. Bæksted 1952, 118 ff.), as well as letter magic for bracteate inscriptions (cf. Düwel 1988).

4.3. Number-magic

In the late 1800s it was noticed that there were twenty-four runes in the magic inscription on the Lindholmen amulet (side B: **aaaaaaa RRRnnn?bmuttt:alu:**) and just as many in several lines of the Rök inscription, i. e. the same number as there were runes in the older futhark. Magnus Olsen became the major proponent of numerical magic based on the number of runes in inscriptions, finding "intentional numerical relationships" concerning 8, 16, 24 and multiples of these, as well as 10 and even 18. He found in addition that numerous skaldic half-stanzas could be transcribed with seventy-two runes, i. e. three times twenty-four. Other scholars assigned numerical values to each rune (**f** = 1, **u** = 2 etc.) and sought more occult numerical relationships. Since i. a. the good-luck number three did not fit the third rune (**þ**, 'giant'), Sigurd Agrell proposed the *uþark* theory, whereby **f** was moved to the end of the futhark before values were assigned. Anders Bæksted's study of runic magic (1952, 173 ff.) put an end to much of this random numerical speculation. Numerical values are, as far as can be seen, never associated with runes in genuine tradition, and numbers are spelt out when they occur in texts (e. g. Tune stone: **prijor** 'three'). The order of signs does play a role in ciphered runes (cf.

Düwel 2001, 182 ff.), a system of coding known only from younger inscriptions in which runes are designate by their family and their order within that family, e. g. the "branch-rune" $\frac{1}{2} = \frac{2}{3}$ = second family (**hnias**), third rune = **i**. Judging from their actual epigraphic use, however, ciphered runes were not usually cryptic, but appear often to be used rather to demonstrate real mastery of the script.

4.4. Symbolic

The Roman historian Tacitus relates in his *Germania* (98 A.D.; ch. 10) that priests or family-heads in Germanic tribes put "signs" (*notae*) on sticks which were used as sooth-saying devices, and, although it is uncertain, these signs are often considered to have been runes. Thus, for example, the **fehu*-rune, in accordance with its rune-name, could stand for wealth itself and foretell prosperity. This is the basis for most of the occult use of runes, e. g. as a New Age phenomenon. Little is known, however, of any genuine symbolic use of runes. The ideographic function is represented by runic abbreviations in medieval manuscripts (cf. 1.2.5.), but few epigraphic occurrences with older runes can be identified. The Gummarp inscription from Blekinge, interpreted "Hapuwulf(a)r set three staves, **fff** [wealth?]", is probably an example.

4.5. Everyday communication

The north-Italian Venantius Fortunatus, later bishop of Poitiers, writing in the late 500s to a friend in Latin and encouraging him to write back, mentions barbaric runes that were painted on ash-wood tablets or sticks, a reference which apparently indicates the use of runes as an everyday script. Pragmatic scholars such as Erik Moltke have claimed the primacy of runes as everyday communicative writing signs, invented by practical men for practical needs, not by priests or sorcerers to be used mainly for their purposes. This understanding would still allow their occasional use for cultic or magic utterances (cf. Nedoma 1998). The corpus of older runic inscriptions (see 5.2., 5.3.) does not, however, include any longer, everyday texts packed with meaning. Apparently Germanic society, although not without a writing system, was functionally illiterate; thus the Germanic tribes could imitate the act of writing known to them from the highly literate culture whence they had borrowed their letters, but their culture as such

remained oral, not literate, for hundreds of years after the invention of the runes (Williams 1997, 186f.). The older runes were apparently the writing signs of an only semi-literate elite, used sporadically and for limited purposes. The younger runes, in contrast, seem to bear witness to an increased need for written communication (see 3.3.3., cf. 3.3.4.) and a more literate society.

5. Applications of the older runes

5.1. Corpus of inscriptions

Well over 300 inscriptions written with the older runes and dated to the period ca. 150/200–800 A.D. are known. Found on weapons, jewellery, memorial stones and a few artefacts of everyday life, the messages are generally short, sometimes comprising just a few runes. Only two contain over 100 signs, and fewer than twenty encompass two or more sentences. Many runic objects are preserved fragmentarily, and several inscriptions contain breaks. Since the inscribed surfaces are often weathered or have otherwise deteriorated, readings are frequently disputed, and even when readings are certain, interpretations can be controversial. A corpus with 169 numbered entries but with discussion of 221 inscriptions, i. e. most of those known at the time, was published by Wolfgang Krause in 1966. His presentation of interpretations is eclectic, and he often attempts to reconcile contrasting views. Only a portion of the occurrences of runes on bracteates were included in his corpus, namely thirty-six texts with probable linguistic meaning. The runes stamped on these mass-produced gold pendants with apparent amuletic function seem often to be more decorative and symbolic than linguistically communicative. Over 100 bracteate stamps with runes, some of which are closely related, are represented in the material, and multiple exemplars are known from several of them. In the years since Krause's corpus appeared, more than sixty new inscriptions with older runes have been found, particularly in Denmark, but also in Germany (cf. yearly reports of new finds since 1985 in the periodical *Nytt om runer*). The Illerup finds from the Jutland peninsula are among the most important (see Stoklund 1995). In addition, new interpretations have appeared of numerous inscriptions in Krause's corpus, particularly in works by Elmer Antonsen, Ottar Grønvik and (for bracteates) Elmar Seebold. The new interpreta-

tions must, however, be considered critically, since they frequently are more speculative and inspire less confidence than those preferred by Krause. In spite of the numerous new finds and attempted reinterpretations, the general character of the corpus and the fundamental categories of inscription types and inscription bearers remain unchanged. Thus Krause's corpus is still illustrative of the epigraphic material.

5.2. Grouping by inscription bearer

Krause's corpus was grouped mainly according to the object bearing the runes, although on occasion the inscription itself was given precedence (cf., with slight modifications, Düwel 2001, 23 ff.). (1) The entire futhark or larger parts thereof are found in eight inscriptions (on a stone slab, a marble column and three clasps or fibulae, and as three bracteate texts). (2) Twelve elaborate clasps from female graves, the oldest five from Denmark and southern Sweden and archaeologically dated to ca. 200 A.D., have inscriptions placed often on the back side or on the needle holder, probably owner's or giver's names or epithets (Himlingøje I: **hariso**) or a manufacturer's or carver's signature (Nøvling: **bidawarijar-talgidai**, 'Bidawarijar inscribed'). (3) Twelve weapons or other warrior's accoutrements that had been sacrificed ritually (in several instances ca. 200–300 A.D.) were found in bogs in Denmark, namely Nydam (arrow-shafts), Thorsberg/Torsbjerg (chape, shield-boss), Vimose (chape, sheath-plate, buckle, wood-plane, comb) and Kragehul (spear-shaft, knife-shaft); in addition a bone amulet was found at Lindholmen and a wooden box at Garbølle. The runic texts include good-luck words (Nydam: **lua** as a distorted **alu** 'ale (?)' (or 'I protect'; see Elmevik 1999)), probable owner's names (Vimose comb: **harja**) and manufacturer's signatures (Garbølle: **hagiradar:tawide:**, 'Hagiradar made'), and two longer, seemingly magic or cultic-ritual statements (Lindholmen, side A: **ekerilar-sawilagarhateka:**, 'I, *erilar*, am called the cunning (?)'). (4) Five spear-blades from the period 150–300 A.D. bear possible weapon names (Øvre Stabu: **raunijar**, 'tester'), although they may be manufacturer's epithets or guarantees. (5) A miscellaneous group of seventeen small objects encompasses a wooden staff; three scrapers and a comb of bone; bronze and gold rings, a gold diadem and a gold cultic horn, bronze statuettes, a

gold medaillon and a bronze fitting; a stone sinker, a whetstone, a stone amulet and a small slab. The readable and interpretable inscriptions include a possible ownership statement, a manufacturer's signature (Gallehus shorter gold horn: **ekhlewagastir:holtijar:horna:tawido:**, 'I, Hlewagastir, forest-dweller (?; from Holt/of the Holt family), made the horn'), a few names, some good-luck words (Fløksand scraper: **linalaukarf**, 'Linen/flax, leek, f'), a chant (Strøm whetstone: **watehalihinoharna/hahaskapihapuligi**, 'May the horn wet this stone, / may the second mowing (?) be harmed, may that which has been mown down (?) lie!') and a short statement. (6) Four cliff carvings, two in close proximity to older rock-carvings, contain names or epithets (Kårstad, top line: **ekaljamark[i]r**, 'I Aljamarkir (foreigner?)') and cultic statements or expressions of social relationships (Valsfjord, the readable right line: **ekhagustaldarþewargodagas**, 'I, Hagustaldar, am Godagar's servant/follower'). (7) Forty-two erected runestones or hewn slabs bear inscriptions encompassing (a) six with good-luck words (Elgesem: **alu**) or perhaps magical utterances, sometimes in connection with memorial statements, (b) eight with statements by or about the rune-carving or the rune-carver, or giving the rune-carver's name (Einang: **...daga[s]tiRrunofaihido**, '[I, Go]dagastir drew/painted the rune (message)'), (c) twenty-four seemingly memorial inscriptions ranging from several probable individual names of people commemorated (Belland: **kepan**) and simple utterances (Bø: **hnabudashlaiwa**, 'Hnabudar's grave') to a number of longer statements sometimes indicating familial and social relationships or retelling events in addition to making commemorative utterances (Tune, side A: **ekwiwarafter.woduridewitadahalaiban:worahto:?....**, 'I, Wiwar, in memory of Woduridar, provider of bread, made the (runes/monument)'; side B mentions Woduridar again, the stone and three daughters who seemingly participated in the wake and were among the heirs), and (d) four in a transitional group from Blekinge in southern Sweden, with inscriptions making memorial statements, recounting events and providing two versions of the same runic curse. (8) Four pictorial stones with runic inscriptions, partially of memorial nature, but also retelling events (Möjbro, with a warrior on a horse and two dogs: **frawaradar/anahahaislaginar**, 'Frawaradar on the (race)horse killed' or

'Frawaradar; Ana One-Eyed is killed') and perhaps uttering a curse. (9) Thirty-six individual bracteates or groups of bracteates, usually with good-luck words and formulas (**alu, auja** 'luck', **ehw-** 'horse', **laukar, lapu** 'invitation'), with statements about writing runes or the rune-carver (Femø: **ekfakarf**, 'I, Fakar, w(rote)') or with other narrative or cultic contents (Sjælland II: **hariuhahaitika:farauisa:gibuauja:?**, 'Hari-Uha I am called, travel-/danger-wise; I give good-luck'). The twenty-nine South Germanic finds in Krause's corpus, mainly Alemannic and Bavarian, are not sources for AN.

5.3. Grouping by formal contents

The types of inscriptions within various categories of runic objects were indicated and some examples given in the review of Krause's corpus in 5.2. An overview of the inscriptions based on the formal textual contents can also be illustrative. Bengt Odenstedt (1990, 171 f.) has made a coarse grouping in this way based on Krause's corpus: (1) futhark inscriptions (eight, as in 5.2), (2) a single personal name (twenty-six) or a nomen agentis (five), (3) two personal names (three), (4) *ek* 'I' plus a personal name or a noun; *ek* plus an adjective, *ek* plus the title *erilar* plus perhaps a personal name (eight), (5) simple manufacturer's formulas ("X [or: I] manufactured (this object)/inscribed the runes", "I raised the stone"; ten), (6) simple memorial inscriptions on stones ("X's stone(s)"; eight), (7) inscriptions containing good wishes (seven), (8) other short inscriptions (eight), (9) longer, more complicated inscriptions, all more or less disputed (six), (10) magical inscriptions containing good-luck words (twenty-one) or other magical texts (seventeen), (11) obscure, disputed or uninterpretable inscriptions (forty). Thus about one quarter consist of only a single word, one quarter (most of the longer inscriptions) are obscure or uninterpretable, one quarter are in some way perhaps magical (mainly good-luck words on bracteates) and one quarter are mostly memorial inscriptions, manufacturer's formulas and a wide range of *ek* formulas.

6. Methodological considerations

Runology is the linguistic or text-philological study of runes and runic inscriptions. The primary task of the field runologist is to examine inscriptions by autopsy and arrive at the most

certain readings possible (cf. Düwel 2001, 15 ff.), for only then can the text be determined. Linguistic insight is a prerequisite for establishing the text of an inscription, as is enough imagination to formulate suggestions and adequate self-criticism to dismiss idle speculation. The specialist is obliged to work in an interdisciplinary way or to have close contacts with other disciplines such that, e.g., archaeological and art-historical information concerning the finding of runic artefacts and their date can be brought to bear. Broad cultural-historical knowledge can contribute to a contextual understanding. Method became an issue in runology in 1931 when Lis Jacobsen challenged Magnus Olsen's interpretation from 1919 of the Eggja inscription by publishing her own interpretation. She criticized Olsen's "external method" (Jacobsen 1931, 13 f.), whereby the assumed cultural-historical context of an inscription provided a prefabricated framework into which the interpretation was to be fitted, often at the expense of the linguistic message of the text itself, and advocated instead the "internal method", whereby the text was allowed to speak for itself (cf. Peterson 1996, 42). Although neither of these methods should be used exclusively, the danger for misinterpretation is greater with the external method. In the wake of Jacobsen's criticism of Olsen, runology was termed a "playground of guessing", an evaluation which still often rings true as ad hoc arguments are marshalled to explain away discrepancies and justify unbelievable interpretations. Michael Barnes in his criticism of the types of argumentation found in numerous runic studies recommends i. a. that runologists freely admit the limits of their knowledge and that their theories and ideas should be recognized as such and never referred to as though they were facts (Barnes 1994, 26 f.). Methodological problems in runology from a linguistic point of view are discussed further by Kurt Braunmüller (1998). Inscriptions with older runes are rather amorphous: word divisions are as a rule not indicated, long and short vowels and geminated consonants are not marked, any rune can be read double and /n/ can be inserted before most consonants; in addition, the language itself is largely reconstructed and relatively little is really known about it. The ambiguities are only increased when powerful methodological tools are taken into use, particularly emendation by adding a rune, removing a rune, changing a rune or switching runes around (cf., however, Peter-

son's criticism (1996, 44) of Braunmüller's extensive use of emendation for interpreting a new runic inscription). Two facts should urge caution concerning interpretations of older runic inscriptions (cf. Syrett 1994, 18 ff.): (1) Virtually any series of letters containing some consonants and some vowels can be forced into sense. (2) Since the older runic inscriptions are the major direct source for AN, circularity of argument is an inherent danger in their interpretation.

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74. The Ancient-Nordic linguistic system from a typological point of view: Phonology, graphemics, morphology, syntax and word order

1. Terminological problems (Ancient Nordic vs. Proto-Nordic/Ur nordisch)
2. Phonology
3. Graphemics
4. Morphology (nominal and verbal inflection)
5. Syntax and word order
6. Typological classification
7. Literature (a selection)

1. Terminological problems (*Ancient Nordic vs. Proto-Nordic/Ur nordisch*)

1.1. While the authors of this handbook use the terms Ancient Nordic and Proto-Nordic more or less interchangeably, and most follow the well-established tradition of preferring Proto-Nordic, in this article we distinguish between Ancient Nordic as a quite well-documented language, written in the so-called older futhark (24 runes), and Proto-Nordic as a linguistic construct comparable to Proto-Germanic or Proto-Indo-European. The popular G term *Ur nordisch* (Scand. *urnordisk*) ‘Proto-Nordic’ obscures this distinction because *ur-* can, by definition, only refer to a reconstructed language form and should therefore not be used in connection with directly accessible historical data, (here) runic inscriptions. (This dictum is also valid for the term *Proto-Scandinavian*; K.M. Nielsen 1975). It goes without saying that also other current terms such as Gmc or NWGmc can only be considered to be (theoretical) linguistic constructs which have a certain internal structuring function within a family tree model (cf. e.g. Grønvik 1998, 135). Going against *opinio communis* (e.g. Antonsen 1975), Grønvik dates NWGmc from 500–200 B.C. and NGmc from 200 B.C.–200 A.D. (pp. 145–147, cf. also art. 70.5.). In contrast, our concern here is to present a typological outline of AN and not to give an outline or account of those constructs such as Proto-Nordic or NWGmc.

1.2. AN primarily covers the period between 150/200 and 450/500 A.D. In the course of the 5th century, the beginnings of a fundamental restructuring of both the phonological and graphemic system can be observed (Grønvik 1998, 16–35 and Schulte 1998, 76–158), ending up in the late 8th century with a typolog-

ically completely restructured language, written in partly diverging runes (the so-called younger futhark of the Viking Age [16 runes]) and related to a totally revised writing system, based on a different relationship between phonemes and graphemes (predominantly without 1:1 correspondences; see 3.3.).

1.3. Genetic aspects are, however, of less importance for typological investigations but should nevertheless be mentioned in this context, at least briefly. With the exception of the (probably) EGmc inscription on the Negau B helmet (about 200 B.C. [?]) containing two (?) PN *harigasti* and *teiva*, AN represents the earliest attested Gmc language and can further be considered a direct descendant of a (reconstructed) language form called NWGmc, whereas Antonsen (1975, 26) and Makaev ([1965]/1996, 63) consider most of the runic inscriptions written in the older futhark to be documents of an attested language called NWGmc (cf. also the corresponding term *Runengermanisch* ‘Runic Gmc’, introduced by Penzl 1995). H.F. Nielsen (1989, 11) agrees with the NWGmc hypothesis in so far as OHG is excluded.

The role and position of Ingveonic/North Sea Gmc within the Gmc language family is still not very clear. But it can be assumed (a) that Ing. represents a separate branch within WGmc and (b) that Ing. may have genetically not very much in common with AN. More or less intense language contact may, however, have influenced the typological shape of AN, especially in Jutland.

1.4. The main drawback to all these approaches is that no clear answers have ever been reached about the question of whether these uncertainties are due to internal problems when reconstructing an ancient language as an abstract linguistic system or whether they are due to local, social or stylistic variations which occur in descriptions of any real language. The main reason for this obvious methodological problem is that most of the research done in this field heavily depends on principles which can be traced back to the era of the neogrammarians and which is characterized by an overemphasis on a (linear) genetic approach, sound laws and, if necessary, analogy. This means: (1) principles of internal

reconstruction and linguistic theory, including linguistic universals, have never been taken seriously enough to treat proto-languages as (virtual) constructs on the basis of their internal systematic functions (cf. the controversy about Vennemann's reinterpretation of Grimm's Law and the Second Sound Shift [1994]); (2) principles of diasystematic variation and language contact are either totally neglected or will, at most, be recalled quite unsystematically in order to eliminate divergent forms in those cases where reconstructions otherwise will have failed or run into serious difficulties.

2. Phonology

2.1. The phonological system of AN differs not very much from the one current assumed for Common Gmc or even PGmc:

(a) Five vowels are attested which can occur as (1) both short and long in (2) stressed or unstressed syllables: /i, u, e, o, a/ [\pm long] (cf. Syrett 1994, §9, esp. 266). From a typological point of view this kind of vowel system represents not only an ideal, but also a very symmetrical type of phoneme system where all five cardinal vowels occur. Compared to Proto-/Common Gmc, these systems are obviously more regular (cf. Proto-/Common Gmc: /i, u, e, a/ vs. /i:, u:, æ:, o:/ [Antonsen 1975, 2f.] vs. AN /i, u, e, o, a/ [\pm long]; cf. also van Coetsem 1994, 78 and §5 in general).

(b) Both Proto-/Common Gmc and AN have four diphthongs: /ei, eu, ai, au/. Their phonemic status is, however, not quite clear (genuine [bi- or monophemic] diphthongs or just a combination of two vowels). They are, like the vowels given in (a), not restricted to stressed syllables.

(c) The consonantal system has 18 (17) phonemes: /p, t, k; b, d, g; f, θ, h; s, z; m, n, (ŋ); l, r; w, j/, which nearly perfectly coincide with those assumed for the Proto-/Common Gmc system (though the phonemic status of /ŋ/ is very uncertain). Frequent or 'natural' phonemic oppositions are represented in this system, such as [\pm voice] or [\pm sonorant], and no position shows incomplete columns with reference to current structural diagrams of consonant systems. Only the phoneme /θ/ can be considered typical Gmc (as an innovation due to Grimm's Law).

2.2. The ratio between vowels/diphthongs and consonants in AN is 10 V/4 D: 18 (17) C. A contemporary Gmc language like German has

quite a different ratio as far as the vowels are concerned: 16 V/3 D: 19 (or 21) C (depending on the phonemic status of the affricates /pf, ts/). The higher number of vowels in German is due to phonemic split (*i/j*-umlaut). According to recent research, the corresponding *i/j*-umlaut processes must have occurred quite early in AN, namely as early as at the beginning of the transitional period. Thus, the phonematization of these umlauts took place shortly after the middle of the 5th century and must have been completed by the end of the 6th century (Schulte 1998, 257).

2.3. Let us now review some phonological features which are of relevance for a typological characterization of AN:

(a) The feature *length* occurs only in connection with vowels.

(b) All vowels can be considered to be *oral*, at least in respect to their phonemic status. Nasal vowel phonemes are obviously unknown (but cf. the phonemic analyses in *The First Grammatical Treatise* of the Snorra Edda, written in the middle of the 12th century, where 9 short and 9 long nasal vowels are mentioned, together with an equivalent number of oral counterparts: 18; cf. Benediktsson 1972, 128–137).

(c) There is probably no opposition between short and long diphthongs, as this is the case e.g. in Mod.Icel. and, partly, in Mod.Far., too.

(d) There seems, by and large, to be no significant (quantitative or qualitative) difference between accented or unaccented vowels/diphthongs (Syrett 1994).

(e) All consonants are phonematically short (like in Mod.Dan. but in contrast to all other modern Nordic languages, where consonants can be short or long, depending on syllable structure conditions).

(f) The feature *voice* is, as mentioned in 2.1., distinctive in the AN consonantal system, but not aspiration.

(g) Nasals and laterals occur only voiced (but cf. the opposition between voiced and voiceless nasals and laterals in Mod. Icel.).

2.4. Not much research has been done on phonotactics in AN. Since syncope and apocope do not occur before the transitional period, the interplay of occurrences of vowels (including diphthongs) and consonants is quite balanced. Typical words are: *laþu* 'citation', *fa(i)hido* 'I painted' and *hlewa|gastir* '(compounded PN)'. Otherwise, not more

than two consonants occur in the onset or in the interlude and coda. The only two AN words with a three-consonant-cluster in the coda, *fiskR* ‘fish’ and *hAriwulfs* ‘(gen.masc. of a personal name)’, are, however, not attested before the end of the AN period (Eggjum, about 700 A.D., and Rävsaal, about 750 A.D., respectively). Thus, they do not contradict the postulated two-consonant-principle. Further, it is difficult to imagine a realization of the consonant clusters in question without svara-bhakti: [fiskor].

With the exception of few *s*-clusters, one of the two consonants in these clusters is typically voiced (a semi-vowel or a voiced obstruent) or it is a (sonorant) lateral:

onset: *br-*, *fl-*, *fr-*, *gl-*, *hl-*, *hw-*, *sk-*, *sl-*, *st-*,
sw-, *wr-*, *þr-*,
interlude: *-fl-*, *-fs-*, *-ft-*, *-kl-*, *-kr-*, *-ks-*, *-kt-*, *-ld-*,
-lt-, *-nd-*, *-rb-*, *-rg-*, *-rk-*, *-rm-*, *-rn-*,
-rt-, *-sl-*, *-sn-*, *-st-*, *-tn-*, *-tr-*, *-þr-*,
coda: *-fR*, (*-lfs*), *-kl*, *-ld*, *-tR*, *-mR*, *-nR*,
(*-skR*), *-sR*,

To sum up, AN seems to be a very balanced Gmc language without complex consonant clusters (but cf. Mod. G *streichen* /ʃtr-/ ‘to paint; to cancel/delete’ and *Herbsts* /-rpsts/ ‘gen.sg. of autumn’, with up to three consonants in the onset and maximally five consonants in the coda). Thus, it is not surprising that Finn. has been able to borrow Gmc/NGmc/AN words without any problems regarding to phonology and phonotactics (cf. PGmc and Finn. *kuningas* vs. ON *konungr* ‘king’).

3. Graphemics

3.1. The strongest argument in favour of the reconstruction of the AN phonological systems presented in 2.1. is based on their graphemic representations. *Opinio communis* is the (nearly) “perfect fit” (Derolez 1998, Antonsen 1975, 2) of the older 24-rune futhark with the phonological reconstructions suggested (in 2.1.). The only troublesome grapheme/rune is the ʃ, the exact phonemic value of which is still unclear (/ei [Krause 1970, 15], eu, ē, e, i [Düwel 1983, 2, 7], ē², æ̃/). Antonsen (1975, 8) favours /æ̃/, but seen from a typological point of view, this assumption leads to a mismatched relationship between the short and the long vowel system on the one hand (/i, u, e, o, a/ [± long]) and their graphemic representations on the other (l, ʌ, ʃ, ʒ, f [± long]).

3.2. A main difference between the mappings of the runic and the Latin script is that the Romans treated the semi-vowels /j/ and /w/ as allophones of /i/ <i> and /u/ <v>, respectively, whereas AN clearly has two distinct graphemes as well as phonemes <ʃ, ʒ>: /j, w/ (Derolez 1998, 112f.). These very exact mappings between graphemes and phonemes in AN can furthermore be considered to provide some of the most convincing proofs for the correctness of the traditional models for the reconstruction and the splitting up of the Gmc language family according to Grimm’s (plus Verner’s) Law and the Second/OHG Sound Shift (vs. a very early division into High and Low Gmc suggested by Vennemann 1994). Otherwise one would have to show that the runes for the unvoiced obstruents /p, t, k/ <ƿ, ʰ, < actually represent affricates and fricatives (or at least phonemically distinctive aspirates). Furthermore, we lack runic (or other written) evidence for High Gmc: the overwhelming majority of the runic inscriptions in the older futhark represent AN (and some of them EGmc/Gothic), a language which undoubtedly can, from an internal linguistic point of view, be considered a direct precursor of ON (i.e. the language of the Viking Age) but definitely not of High Gmc/OHG.

3.3. The end of the classical AN period or the beginning of the so-called transitional period of AN is characterized by the occurrence of a new rune ʒ, interpreted either as /a/ or /j/. All further restructurings of the older futhark can be interpreted as typological simplifications, probably along with a considerable change in the communicative purposes of the runic script which was used to produce longer inscriptions (mostly in stone) with narrative/historical messages:

(a) High and middle vowels including *i/j*-umlauted vowels are now represented by not more than 3 runes (l, ʃ, ʰ) marking the essential cardinal vowels. Thus ʃ stands now for no less than 4 phonemes (/u, w], y; o, ø/).
(b) In the new runic writing system, mapping the late AN/ON consonant system, the opposition [± voice] is given up. ʒ can now take the values /p, b/, ʰ the values /t, d, nd, nt/, and ʰ even the values /k, g, ʒ, ŋ, nk/ (cf. also ʒ, i.e. /θ/, and its complementary distributed allophones [θ, ð]).

The semi-vowel /w/ is now, in accordance with many other scripts, an allophone of ʃ and has thus no longer a separate graphemic representation.

(c) The runes for AN /r/: ᚱ (translit. as **r**) and /z/: ᚷ/ᚸ (translit. as **z**, following its supposed allophonic realization, a kind of [r]) merge now definitely into /r/, but their graphemic distribution still remains in accordance with their historical descent (NWGmc */r/: ᚱ vs. */z/: ᚷ/ᚸ).

3.4. To sum up, both the classical runic system as well as the transitional systems show a remarkably high amount of linguistic insight into the complex relationship between graphemics and phonology. Whereas the classical AN runic system has a nearly 1 : 1 correspondence between phonemes and graphemes, the transitional systems and, to a much higher extent, the 16-runes system can be considered a kind of ‘minimalist solution’ in mapping extended and thus more complicated phonological systems onto a graphemic representation which still puts the reader in a position to retrieve the corresponding phonological structures. Furthermore, linguistic redundancy and contextual factors certainly play an active part in decoding these (graphemically) ‘minimalist’ inscriptions.

4. Morphology (nominal and verbal inflection)

4.1. The grammatical morphology of AN can be characterized as inflectional or fusional, which is predominantly also the case for other ancient IE languages like Latin, Ancient Greek or Sanskrit.

(a) Inflectional or fusional means that several grammatical features, such as number, case, and class [in nominal inflection] or tense, mood, person, number, and class [in verbal inflectional paradigms], are represented all together by one morpheme each. Those suffixes may occur in different classes or paradigms; an interparadigmatic uniform symbolization is, however, not mandatory but may occasionally occur anyway (cf. gen.pl. *-ō* and dat. pl. *-mR*). Furthermore, the ending *-u* may represent a dat.sg. of a fem. noun of the *ō*-class (*runu* ‘rune [dat.]’) or the 1sg.pres. of a verb (*gibu* ‘I give’).

(b) These grammatical features cannot be isolated nor split up into single, distinct grammatical markers containing not more than one feature, as is typical for agglutinating languages such as Turkish, Hungarian or Japanese.

(c) The principle of stem inflection (according to Wurzel 1996, 499) can furthermore be regarded as typical not only e.g. for OHG but also for AN inflectional/fusional morphology. Stem inflection means that the stem of a noun, adjective or verb is preserved in the whole paradigm and is not affected by morphophonological processes caused by the following grammatical morpheme. Umlaut, syncope and other restructurings, e.g. of final syllables by a vocalization of semi-vowels (*samprāsaraṇa*), do not occur before the beginning of the so-called transitional period (500–700 A.D.).

4.2. AN has the well-known IE categories of gender (masc., fem., and neut.), but it has neither a definite nor an indefinite article (cf. also other IE languages without article(s) such as Latin, Russian or even Mod.Icel., which has not developed an indefinite article yet). Since the evolution of article systems often goes along with literacy or elaborated literary production with more need for explicit referential markers in texts, it is not surprising that AN had not established such morpho-syntactic devices. The early beginnings of this development can, however, be detected in the inscription on the whet-stone of Strøm (dated about 600 A.D.): *hali hino* ‘[flat] stone *this*’ which has a postponed demonstrative pronoun. In addition, its position in the NP correlates with SVO basic word order, which is the prevailing word order pattern in most of the older as well as in modern Germanic languages (cf. 5.1.).

4.3. Fusions which result in clitics are not untypical for AN. Enclitic processes can even be observed quite frequently in graphemics (cf. the so-called bindrunes, e.g. ᚱᚰ *ek* ‘I’). In late AN morphology, encliticized personal pronouns (1sg.; Krause 1971, 87) are documented in no less than 5 inscriptions, e.g. in Noleby (about 600 A.D.): *tojeka* ‘made-I’ and in Sealand II (a bracteate; about 500 A.D.): *haitika* ‘am called-I’ ([–] *ek* [*a*] ‘I’; *-ika* indicates an early phonological change, a weakening in the scope of the final syllables; Schulte 1998, 106–108). This means, seen from a typological point of view, that the encliticized definite article which is very characteristic for all modern Nordic languages (cf. Mainland Scand. *huset* ‘house-*the*’) and the occurrence of clitics in general (cf. also the development of the medio-passive forms *-mk/-sk* in early ON) can be traced back to stress patterns and morphological devices which were already part of the AN grammatical system.

4.4. A typological evaluation of the complexity of the nominal inflectional system in AN and a comparison of these patterns with other older Gmc languages (such as Gothic, OHG, OSx. or ON) shows clearly that AN definitely does not have the most complex NP/3rd.pers. inflectional system of all the ancient Gmc languages. Following Hawkins' method (1998, 62ff.) in counting how many grammatical distinctions occur in the paradigms of masc., fem. and neut. nouns and 3rd pers. prons. in Gmc languages with respect to nom., acc. and dat. (both sg. and pl.), it can be demonstrated that AN has an 11-item system like e.g. OHG, OSx. or OE (AN shows, however, a syncretism in nom./dat.fem.sg. but no homophony in nom./acc.masc.pl., as is the case for the WGmc languages just mentioned.) Gothic lies at the top of this typological scale with a 14-item system, whereas Mod.Engl. and North Frisian are situated at the bottom of it. Their nominal/pronominal systems distinguish between not more than 7 items. The data for AN are, however, based on nouns only, due to the scarcity of attested pronouns, and can therefore not be compared in all details with the ON system, which can typologically be characterized as a 13-item language.

As is also known from other ancient Gmc languages, AN had a certain tendency gradually to reduce case marking distinctions: Not only were the neut. inflections (nom./acc.; sg./pl.) neutralized but also the (nominal) fem. endings for (nom./acc.) pl. as well as dat.pl. endings (interparadigmatically *-mr*). As far as the nominal inflections are concerned, these reduction processes came more or less to a (temporary) stop in ON and did not continue in Mainland Scandinavia before the end of the classical ON period. This typological drift started first in the southeast of Scandinavia (Denmark, southern Sweden) but has not affected Icel. at all.

4.5. The paradigms of the verbal inflection show no significant differences from the ON data. In other words, ON has preserved all AN distinctions concerning person, tense and mood (as far as this can be seen from the few data available). Reduction processes do not occur before the end of the ON period either.

4.6. To summarize briefly, AN typifies an inflectional/fusional language not very much different from (the well-documented literary language) ON. In contrast to Gothic, there are, however, more syncretisms, but they affected only minor parts of some paradigms

and did not take place in e.g. all nom./acc. endings or in all the plural verbal inflections, as is the case in the further development of the (Mainland) Scand. languages.

5. Syntax and word order

5.1. (a) The basic word order type can probably be regarded as the most important typological feature when dealing with the syntax of a language. As far as AN is concerned, it had a strong tendency towards SVO order (subject-verb-object) in declarative sentences. The inscription of Rø I (about 400 AD: *ek* (name) *satido [s]tain* 'I (...) erected [this/the] stone') can be taken as a typical AN sentence with SVO order.

(b) No independent evidence is, however, available to decide whether AN can also be considered a strict V2 language which has the finite verb always in the second position in declarative sentences. But if one agrees that SVO is the unmarked or predominant basic word order in AN, a sentence like that taken from the inscription of Björketorp (transitional period, about 650–700 A.D.) may be used as rather strong evidence in favour of AN as a strict V2 language: *hAidr|runo ronu falAhAk* 'bright|runes [gen.] row [acc.] conceal-*I*: OV-*S*).

(c) Since there are many instances which support or at least do not contradict free word order in AN, EN and ON (Faarlund 1990, 85–110) on the level of the sentence/VP as well as for the NP (see 5.4./5.7.), non-configurationality can be considered another important typological feature of AN. The main argument for non-configurationality is, however, that the subject does not play a predominant role in the syntactic structure of this type of language. Sentences with no overt subject or with objects in topic position (see 5.1. (b)) may be taken as good arguments in favour of this typological criterion.

5.2. As I have shown elsewhere (Braunmüller 1982, 125ff.), about 68% of all recoverable AN sentences show SVO order. (53 inscriptions represent clear instances, and an additional 10 are more or less uncertain with respect to their basic word order.) Further, about 28% of inscriptions reflect SOV order and even ca. 4% VSO order (Braunmüller 1982, 138). Eythórsson (1998 and, to a certain extent, 2001) by and large agrees with this analysis, but Antonsen's (1975, 24) approach diverges fundamentally. He suggests, how-

ever, many quite deviant readings and bases his view of AN – in his opinion NWGmc! – on a somewhat different sample of data (e.g. without the transitional inscription of Eggjum) which now evidently seems to support SOV order (71% of his data have SOV order as the unmarked [?] basic syntactic pattern).

5.3. The conclusions to be drawn from our observations are that either the preceding (reconstructed languages) NGmc or NWGmc or even PGmc might or even must have been languages of the SOV type, such as e.g. Classical Latin. This ancient IE word-order pattern is still to be found in several marked sentences (here with alliteration, in the Gallehus inscription [about 425 AD]: *ek hlewa|gastir holtijar horna tawido* ‘I, H. (compounded PN), from H./[or a patronymicon] H.’s son [this/the] horn made’: SOV).

5.4. Other features, like the position of the nominal genitives, the attributive adjectives or the adpositions do not correlate very typically with the principles of an ideal SVO type where all NP modifiers, such as genitives, adjectives, determiners, appositions (and patronymic expressions) as well as relative clauses, occur to the right of the category to be modified: SV-O; N-gen./-adj./-det./-app./-rel. and not SO-V; gen-/adj./-det./app./-rel.-N. Only appositions and relative clauses reflect ideal SVO order patterns in AN. Along with Greenberg’s typology (1966, 109), AN can be regarded as a language of the same type (# 11) as the mod. Mainland Scand. languages: “II/Pr/GN/AN”, i.e. SVO order together with prepositions, preposed nominal genitives and preposed adjectives.

5.5. Determiners in the NP such as poss. pron. as well as dem.pron. are normally to be found in a postposition, as is typically the case in the West Nordic languages: N-det., N-poss. (Braunmüller 1994, 30f.). These categories are, however, not part of Greenberg’s typology and can therefore not be used for any further subcategorization of his type II (# 11) described above. Anyway, these NP patterns clearly harmonize with an ideal SVO language, where the object(s) and all other NP modifiers follow (not precede) the category to be modified (V and N, respectively).

5.6. Since only four instances of numerals are attested, two with a preposed [Tune 400 A.D.; Stentoft 650 A.D., reading due to Santesson (1989, 227): twice ‘nine’] and two with a postposed numeral [Gummarp 600 A.D.; Istaby

600–650 A.D.], it is impossible to decide which was the normal place for numerals in AN. On the basis of the observations made in 5.5. and with reference to the runic inscriptions mentioned here, it can be said that the SVO-conforming postposition (N-num.) became the unmarked position at the latest at the end of the transitional period.

5.7. Discontinuous phrases are by no means unusual in Old Gmc dialects (esp. in poetry) and must therefore not be forgotten when evaluating AN word order. We find instances of this in the inscriptions of Sealand II (about 500 A.D.) *hariuha haitika : farauisa : ... ‘H. (PN) am called-I|[the man] knowing dangerous things] ...’* as well as of Noleby (600 A.D.) *runo fahi raginaku(n)do ... ‘[a] rune [acc.] I painted [which] descends from the advisers/gods ...’*. Patterns like these strongly support the non-configurationality hypothesis of AN. Furthermore, they may be due to Latin influence (hyperbaton construction), as is argued in Braunmüller (2000, 8f.).

5.8. To sum up, AN represents an early stage of a newly developed, non-configurational SVO language with some marked (and/or residual) SVO patterns reflecting a previous typological stage (SOV in N/NWGmc or PGmc). This type of an SVO language is typologically not too much different from Mod.Icel., and it is definitely more consistent with an (ideal) SVO language than is the case with the Mainland Scand. languages of today.

6. Typological classification

6.1. (a) There can be no doubt that linguistic typologies neither represent theories nor have any explanatory force in their own right (Vennemann 1985, 872), but they are very useful tools for classifying and comparing languages of different origin with one another. Though the number of parameters involved is always limited, the selection of features is by no means accidental: All structures used for evaluation will always include crucial parts of any (structural) grammatical analysis (cf. Vennemann 1982).

(b) An important empirical anchor-point for linguistic typologies is provided by linguistic universals, based on a typological analysis of a representative sample of genetically different languages of the world (e.g. Greenberg 1966). Using these, no typological analysis can be seriously blamed for being totally arbitrary or lacking an empirical basis.

6.2. Seen from this point of view, AN represents a language with very normal (i.e. frequently found) phonological systems, with very balanced phonotactic structures (almost all clusters ≤ 2) and with typical (stem) inflectional patterns. But it tends towards fusion/cliticalization, both in graphemics as well as in morpho-syntax and word formation (cf. 6.3.(c)). On the syntactic level, AN represents a nearly ideal, non-configurational SVO language where most of the modifying elements are located to the right of the constituents to be modified.

6.3. Some typologically relevant questions cannot be answered yet:

- (a) Why does AN – as well as all other Gmc languages – only have two tenses (present, past)?
- (b) Why was reduplication in the system of the irregular verbs given up in AN/NWGmc?
- (c) Why did AN and Gmc. in general develop regular verbs formed by a fusional/clitical suffix *-þ/ða* (< IE **dhē-/dhō-* ‘to do’)?
- (d) Why did AN/Gmc acquire a new class of so-called weak adjectives with an individualizing/determining function? (These new inflectional paradigms coincide with the *n*-noun class.)
- (e) Why did a considerable case reduction take place? (No ablatives or locatives, only some residual vocative forms.)
- (f) Why were dual forms disappearing in AN and all older Gmc languages in general?

6.4. (a) For some of these questions an explanation may be given based on inner drift (Sapir 1921, 155) or on general typological (i.e. empirical) evidence (6.3. e,f). But why should a whole language family develop totally new grammatical devices (6.3. c, d)? And why were other parts of the grammar, esp. the verbal system, reduced so drastically (6.3. a, b, [e, f])?

(b) A possible answer may be found when we take processes like creolization into consideration: It does not seem implausible to characterize AN/(NW)Gmc as an IE language in a multilingual context which first became pidginized and thus underwent admixture, reduction and simplification in grammatical structure (Trudgill 1992, 59) but which later became, through creolization, i.e. expansion of the grammar, a new language, an IE creol, in its own right (cf. now Vennemann 2000, 260ff. who argues with various forms of language contact, too).

This would, furthermore, neatly explain the fact that about one third of the Gmc lexical stock cannot be traced back to any other IE language, a fact which always has caused serious problems for traditional historical-comparative philology (see Vennemann 2000, 241ff.). When making use of variational theories and sociolinguistics in connection with language typology, we may be able to find new and better answers for the questions presented in 6.3.

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75. The development of Proto-Nordic lexicon

1. The syntactic component of semantics: different types of runic inscriptions
2. The lexical field of runic production
3. Touching on word history and etymology: prehistory and continuation of AN lexemes
4. Conclusion
5. Literature (a selection).

1. The syntactic component of semantics: different types of runic inscriptions

Semantic representation depends heavily upon the presupposed syntactic analysis, and valency is part of the meaning of words. Hence, there is a syntactic component involved in semantics. The older runic inscriptions differ considerably in length and content. With regard to length, at least three different sentence types can be discerned: first, the minimal form (e.g. KJ 31 Øvre Stabu); second, the full form (e.g. KJ 43 Gallehus, or KJ 50 Strøm); and third, the maximal form, including more complex sentence structures and co-texts (e.g. KJ 72 Tune, KJ 96/97 Björketorp/Stentofte). Of course, this is only a preliminary categorization, and there are many subtypes and possible variations. One short form type amongst the oldest runic inscriptions consists of isolated agent nouns: KJ 31 Øvre Stabu spearhead **raunijaR**, KJ 32 Dahmsdorf spearhead **ranja**, and KJ 33 Kowel spearhead **tilarids**. These inscriptions on weapons can be interpreted as reduced sentence forms or ellipses with a complete message conveyed by one word.

KJ 31 **raunijaR** corresponds directly to ON *reynir*. It belongs to the denominal verb AN **raunijan* (> ON *reyna*, Norw. *royne*) and is generally rendered as ‘tester, prober’. This is a typical North Germanic etymon, with no corresponding representation in the other Germanic languages. Outside the sphere of Germanic, the same IE root *reu-* with *n*-extension appears in Gr. *ereunáō* ‘trace, look for’. KJ 32 **ranja** again is an agent noun belonging to the causative verb AN **rannijan* ‘cause to run’; cf. ON *renna*, OHG *rennen*, and Go. **(ur-)rannjan*. Finally, KJ 33 **tilarids** has been taken to be an East Germanic form and is etymologically more obscure. Its meaning is supposed to be ‘goal-rider’ or ‘attacker’, hence containing the same verbal root as ON *riða* ‘ride’, or less probably *tilræði* n. ‘attack, as-

sault’ (cf. Lehmann 1986, 345). As has been indicated, these short nominal inscriptions have no co-text, but a context. Their primary context is the object on which they have been written. Evidently, they were all placed on weapons and hence constitute one functional class, consisting of agent nouns in the semantic field of ‘attacking’ or ‘testing oneself (on the battlefield)’. These minimal syntactic forms can easily be transformed into full form sentences: (1) **raunijaR** = ‘I am the one that tests himself (in battle)’. The underlying verbal concept is directly reflected by ON *reyna sik* and Norw. *royne seg* ‘test oneself’. (2) **ranja** = ‘I am the one that attacks (the enemies)’; cf. ON *renna at e-m* ‘attack someone’, or ‘I am the one that makes (them) run, routs (them);’ cf. the causative ON verb *renna*. (3) **tilarids** = ‘I am the one that rides to the goal’, or ‘the one that attacks the enemies’; cf. ON *riða til e-s* ‘ride towards someone’, or less probably *ráðask til e-s* ‘undertake something’ and *tilræði* n. ‘attack’. A similar designation with the second element *-riðr* (IE root *reidh-*) is ON *Atriðr* ‘he who rides to battle’ (one of Odin’s names). The function of these nouns is clear enough: they guarantee the success of the weapon on which they are inscribed. It is worth noting that the spear is not just a material instrument – like E *cooker*, *boiler* – but a personalized agent *who* acts on *his* own. Seen in a more theoretical vein, these nominalizations are quite interesting. Of particular importance is their lexical status in Ancient Nordic: Are they still productive at this stage of Germanic, and, if so, do they result from syntactic transformations, or do they constitute independent lexical units – being already fossilized in earlier times? No final answer will be given here (for the theoretical background, cf. Ehrich 1991, 441). To conclude, suffice it to say that word semantics is intimately bound up with syntax in various ways.

2. The lexical field of runic production

The German scholar Jost Trier and his followers dealt with words in their lexical fields and developed a comprehensive field theory. In Trier’s view, language is an arrangement of fields and architectures:

„Sprache haben, an einer Sprache teilhaben heißt daher: in einem Sprachraum existieren und dessen architektonische Ordnungen, dessen Innenglie-

derungen, dessen ganzes Gefüge als ein verbindliches Gefüge anerkennen.“ (Trier 1973, 93)

Indeed, the primary focus upon lexical networks is common to all modern schools of structural semantics, whatever their other underlying premises might be. An approach along these lines should also be profitable with regard to the Ancient Nordic lexicon. The verbs AN **taujan*, **wurkijan*, **dālijan*, **faihi-*jan**, **talgijan*, and **wrītan*, for instance, are semantically interconnected and make up a verbal group pertaining to the lexical field of runic production and techniques (cf. Ebel 1963, 14ff.). Unless we deal with this group as an interrelated semantic set, explanations for the subsequent shifts and restructurings of its members in Nordic will remain vague.

2.1. AN **taujan*/*tawōn*

There are at least four runic attestations of AN **taujan*/*tawōn*; cf. KJ 30 Garbølle wooden box **tawide**, KJ 43 Gallehus horn **tawido**, KJ 130 Trollhättan bracteate **tawo**, and possibly KJ 103 no. 2 Selvik bracteate **tau** (on this etymon, see Lehmann 1986, 342). In addition, there is the recently discovered Illerup silver shield-mount 2 with its inscription **nīþijo tawide** (cf. Stoklund 1985, 12f.). AN **taujan*, which is said to belong to an old lexical stratum, is generally rendered as ‘make, prepare, manufacture’. While this verbal root is attested in Go. (*taujan*, pret. *tawida*), in OHG (*zouwen*, pret. *zouuita*), and in OE (*tawian*, pret. *tawode*), it has obviously not survived within Nordic: an ON verb **teyja*, pret. **táða* does not occur. This is an example of word death: the total displacement of an AN lexeme. The latest fairly certain attestation of **taujan* is **tojeka** in the Noleby inscription from the 500s. This has usually been interpreted as a monophthongized form of East Scandinavia, stemming from older **tauju* plus affixed *-eka* (cf. Krause 1966, 150). In NGmc, **taujan* was replaced by **garw(i)an*, which originally meant ‘make ready’; cf. NHG *garen* ‘cook well’ and *gar* ‘(sufficiently) cooked’. This verb is not attested in the older runic inscriptions. However, cf. the 8th century Rök form **karur**, which corresponds perfectly to the verbal adjective ON *gqrr* ‘prepared, ready’ (a frequent word in the Eddaic lays). AN **taujan* is usually complemented by an accusative object, but this can be elided (as in KJ 30 Garbølle wooden box and Illerup silver shield-mount 2). It may be noted that Krause

(1971, 148) reads **hagiradar i tawide**, yielding a composite expression of verb plus adverb **taujan t̄*, just like **wrītan t̄* ‘incise, inscribe [the runes]’ (cf. 2.6.). But in the light of Illerup 2 **nīþijo tawide**, this syntactic interpretation now seems to be less convincing (cf. Stoklund 1985, 13; 1991, 98).

The process of AN **taujan* can result in a material object, e.g. a wooden box (KJ 30 Garbølle), a golden horn (**horna**; KJ 43 Gallehus), a silver shield-mount (Illerup 2), or in an abstract object, e.g. ‘enjoyment’ (**unaþou**; KJ 67 Noleby). Both the Trollhättan bracteate and the Noleby stone show that the end of **taujan* can be abstract: the accusative forms **laþodu**, **unaþou** correspond both formally and semantically to ON *lǫðuð(r)* ‘invitation, summons’ (NHG *Ladung*) and *unað(r)* ‘enjoyment, satisfaction’, respectively. Most probably the inscription itself was meant to be included in the production (cf. Ebel 1963, 50). AN **taujan* is a true verb of doing (*verbum faciendi*) with a low level of semantic markedness. It refers to all kinds of processes, where both material and abstract results are involved. In cases such as **nīþijo tawide**, the inscription functions simply as a *håndværker-signatur* ‘craftsman’s signature’: ‘Nīþijō made it’ (Stoklund 1985, 13). Incidentally, KJ 130 Trollhättan bracteate **tawo laþodu** is paralleled by KJ 130 Halskov bracteate **fahide laþoþ**. This partial interchangeability indicates that **tau/taw-* and **faih/fāh-* were immediate neighbours in one semantic field and near-synonyms at least in late Ancient Nordic, i. e. the bracteate period (cf. 2.5.).

2.2. AN **wurkijan*

The verb AN **wurkijan* is attested in the runic corpus several times; cf. KJ 136 Tjurkö bracteate 1 **wurte**, KJ 72 Tune stone **worahto**, KJ 14 Etelhem clasp **w(o)rta**, and possibly KJ 71 By stone **orte**. Again, this is some kind of *verbum faciendi*. It is paralleled by Go. *waurkjan*, OE *wyrcian* ‘make, do; work’ (pret. *worhte* > *wrought* with metathesis), OHG *wurchen* ‘make, do; work’, NHG *wirken* ‘produce; work; weave’; outside the Germanic area, Gr. *érgon* ‘work’ and Av. *varəz-* ‘make; work’ can be directly compared (cf. Lehmann 1986, 396f.). In the runic corpus **wurkijan* usually collocates with **runo(r)**. Thus, KJ 136 Tjurkö 1 reads **wurte runoR an walhakurne ... heldaR kunimu(n)diu** ‘Heldaz wrought the runes on foreign-grain [i. e. the bracteate] for Kunimunduz’. This yields a basic lexical entry **wurkijan*

rūnōz (*ana* + dat.) ‘producing runes (on an object)’. Mention should also be made of the first part of KJ 72 Tune: **ek wiwaR after woduride wita(n)dahalaiban worahto r(...)** ‘I, Wiwaz wrought r(...) after [in commemoration of] Woduridaz, the bread-ward’. Krause (1971, 169) adds **runo(R)**, but does not entirely exclude the emendation [*mē*]r ‘for me’ either (cf. also Antonsen 1975, 44; Grønvik 1998, 38f.). The reading KJ 71 By **orte** can be defended, although the subsequent part of the inscription remains highly obscure. To sum up, there are two fairly certain occurrences of runic **wurkijan* combined with *rūnō(z)*. The form KJ 14 Etelhem **w(orta)** no doubt refers both to the clasp and to the inscription as part of it (for the use of **taujan*, cf. 2.1.).

Even though **taujan*, **wurkijan*, and **dālijan* (see 2.3.) tend to be *verba faciendi* with a low level of semantic markedness, this does not imply absolute synonymy, since they do not necessarily meet the criterion of interchangeability in *all* contexts. It has to be noted that certain contextual restrictions do exist and that the collocational range of these lexemes is different. For instance, while **wurkijan rūnōz*, **faihijan rūnōz*, and **wrītan (ī) rūnōz* are all well attested, there seems to be no parallel phrase **taujan (ī) rūnōz*. Conversely, there are no phrases **wurkijan unaþu*, or **wurkijan laþōðu* (with an abstract object), whereas **taujan unaþu* and **taujan laþōðu* have combinatorial status and indeed occur (see 3.1.). In the absence of any indication to the contrary, **wurkijan unaþu* might be assumed to be collocationally unacceptable. Therefore, it is not absolute synonymy, but near-synonymy that is involved in such cases (cf. Lyons 1995, 60–65). It follows that AN **wurkijan* presupposes concrete, i.e. non-abstract objects, whereas AN **taujan* is more process-neutral and hence does not do so (cf. 2.1.). In this regard, AN **wurkijan* corresponds with the Norw. verb *yrkje*.

AN **wurkijan* underwent far-reaching lexical change later; cf. ON *yrkja* ‘compose (verses)’ and Sw. *yrka* (*på*) *ngt* ‘insist on something’. Icel. *yrkja* (pret. *orta* and *yrkta*) has a fairly broad semantic range: ‘make poetry; formulate, say; cultivate, plant’ (cf. Magnússon 1989, 1168). Arguably, lexical enrichment of this kind is at least partially due to the Nordic loss or different prefixes **ga-*, **umbi-*, **fura-* etc., which functioned as semantic modifiers. On the other hand, the historical processes of meaning differentiation and lexical split cannot be excluded either. All these

developments are part of Nordic word history. But taking a critical stance on Grønvik’s proposal (1981, 161), it is highly improbable that **wurkijan* had already developed the ON meaning ‘compose (verses)’ in the language of the Tune inscription (see now Grønvik 1998, 38f.). In all probability, AN **wurkijan* still had the basic semantic range of NWGmc, so that a general lexical entry **wurkijan rūnōz* ‘make, produce runes’ (as well as other non-abstract objects) will suffice. This type of phrasal expression is paralleled by **faihijan rūnōz* and **wrītan (ī) rūnōz* (see 2.5.–2.6.).

2.3. AN **dālijan*

There is only one alleged occurrence of this verb, namely KJ 72 Tune **dalidun**. Nowadays it is taken for granted that **dalidun** is related to OSl. *dēlati* ‘treat, work’ and the corresponding noun *dēlo* ‘work’ (cf. Krause 1966, 165; Antonsen 1975, 45). Thus, it should belong to an IE root **dhē* plus *l*-extension, where OInd. *dadhāti* ‘he puts, holds’ also belongs (Pokorny 1959, 238). One of its cognates is the *ti*-formation seen in ON *dáð*, OHG *tāt* ‘deed’. The fact that this etymon occurs only once in the older runic inscriptions might indicate that it was infrequent during this period. It has only survived in the verbal adjective ON *dæll* ‘adaptable, affable’ (< **dālijaz*), its formation corresponding to ON *fórr* ‘passable; fit for travelling’ and *tókr* ‘admissible, acceptable’ (cf. Magnússon 1989, 142). Obviously, ON *dæll* is a relic, preserving the IE root **dhēl-*.

AN **dālijan* provides a good example for the replacement of a lexeme as a consequence of its synonymy relationship to some contiguous field members, especially **taujan* and **wurkijan*. (Later on **garw(ij)an* also played an important role, but this has not been attested in the early runic period.). With regard to meaning, **dālijan* can generally be rendered as ‘make, do, prepare’. Its object in the Tune inscription is either **staina** = ON *stein* ‘stone’ (Antonsen 1975, 45), or **arbija** = ON *erfi* ‘inheritance feast, drink’ (Krause 1966, 166; Grønvik 1981, 180). However, Grønvik’s (1981, 180 ff.) suggestion that **dalidun arbija** means “de lagde til et hyggelig gravøl” [‘they prepared an enjoyable funeral drink’] can be reasonably excluded. The semantic development of the verbal adjective *dæll* in ON furnishes no evidence of a semantic shift in the underlying verb **dālijan* itself.

2.4. AN **talgijan*

AN **talgijan* occurs at least twice in the older runic corpus, namely on KJ 13a Nøvling clasp **talgidai** and on the recently discovered Udby clasp **talgida** – both being interpreted as 3rd pers.sg.pret. forms. Cf. also KJ 25 Vimose woodplane **taliþo**, which has frequently been analysed as an agent noun **tal(g)ijō* f. ‘plane’ (cf. Krause 1966, 62; on the above-mentioned Nøvling and Udby inscriptions, see Stoklund 1985, 9; 1991, 88ff.). The elliptical sentence type **bidawariþar talgidai**, or **lamo talgida** refers to the object on which it is inscribed, and hence it belongs to the same class as **nipþio tawide** and **hagiradar (i) tawide** (see 2.1.). The Scandinavian reflexes of AN **talgijan* refer to the standard process of carving, their use being restricted to wood (but possibly also including stone); cf. the verbs ON *telgja*, Norw. *telgie*, Sw. *tälja*, the noun ON *telgja* ‘axe’ and compounds such as OSw. *trætælgþia* ‘wood-plane’, ON *talguknifr*, Sw. *täljkniv*, Norw. *teljekniv* ‘wood-carving tool’. A non-Germanic parallel is furnished by OIr. *dlongid* ‘he cleaves’, as it shows the same root extension (IE *del-gh-*, *dl-egh-*).

The crucial question remains whether the basic lexical entry for AN **talgijan* should be extended to include metal work, since the above-mentioned Udby inscription is incised in metal (a silver clasp). Consequently, it has been argued that AN **talgijan* might refer to two different kinds of processes: first, the production of the object (clasp), and second, the production of the inscription itself (cf. Stoklund 1991, 96). However, this is unnecessary. It has already been mentioned in connection with **tauþan* that the runic inscription was meant to be included in the production process (see 2.1.). To sum up, it can reasonably be argued that **talgijan* enters a relationship of near-synonymy with **tauþan* and **wurkijan*, even though it is no *verbum faciendi* in the strict sense of the word.

2.5. AN **faiþijan*

AN **faiþijan* is generally regarded as one of the most significant technical terms in runic production. It is frequently represented in the older inscriptions throughout the period. The important attestations are as follows: KJ 60 Vetteland stone ... **dar faiþido**, KJ 73 Rö stone **stainawariþar faiþido**, KJ 63 Einang stone **(go)dagaþþir runo faiþido**, KJ 67 Noleby stone **runo faiþi raginaku(n)do**, KJ 131 Åsum bracteate **ik akar faiþi**, and possibly KJ 132

Femø bracteate **ek fakar f(ahi)**, also KJ 130 n. Halskov bracteate **faiþide lapoþ** and KJ 122 Väsby bracteate **f(a)hidu uuilald**. One standard collocation – seen in KJ 63 Einang and KJ 67 Noleby – is **faiþijan rünō(z)*. This corresponds directly to ON *fá rúnar* (cf. Hávamál stanza 80). In other cases like KJ 60 Vetteland, KJ 73 Rö and KJ 131 Åsum, the object is missing. It is hard to determine whether these elliptical constructions refer to **rünō(z)*, or to the whole object, i.e. the stone or the bracteate, respectively. How-ever, this problem is fairly theoretical. As has already been demonstrated, ellipses of this kind do also occur in connection with **tauþan* (2.1.) and **talgijan* (2.4.).

It has often been said that **faiþijan* underwent semantic generalization within AN, its meaning shifting from ‘colouring (the runes with red dye)’ to ‘writing’ (cf., e.g., Krause/Jankuhn 1966, 138). However, this assumption is not imperative. It was Kuhn (1938, 57, 66) who first pointed out correspondences within the East Indo-European languages, confirming the use of related root formations in connection with both ‘colouring’ and ‘writing’. In support of this view, cf. especially OSl. *pisati* ‘he writes’ and OInd. *piṁsati* (root *piś-*) ‘he hews out, carves; decorates; forms; fashions’, as well as *piṅktiṅ* (root *piṅj-*) ‘he tinges, paints’, and OInd. *peśas* (root *piś-*) ‘form, colour; artificial form’. Incidentally, the semantic component of form was also included in ON *fá* (pret. *fáða*); cf. *kistill gulli fáðr* ‘gold-mounted box’. Thus, it might be questionable whether AN **faiþijan* was used strictly in the sense of ‘colouring’ at the outset. On the contrary, it can be argued that it held a relationship of partial synonymy with **talgijan* and **writan* on the one hand and **tauþan* and **wurkijan* on the other. Obviously, the semantic borderlines between these lexemes are indeterminate and fuzzy. Again, we might invoke the criterion of interchangeability. In the absence of any counter-evidence, **faiþijan* includes the whole lexical range of ‘painting-incising-writing’, thereby tending to function as a weakly marked verb of doing in some contexts just like **tauþan* or **wurkijan*. In view of this, **faiþijan lapōðu* ‘painting, writing a summons’ is interchangeable with **tauþan lapōðu* ‘making, preparing a summons’, and **faiþijan rünōz* ‘painting, writing runes’ is semantically equal to **wurkijan rünōz* ‘work, produce runes’ or **writan (i) rünōz* ‘write (in) runes’ – all these collocations being attested (cf. 2.1. 2.2. and 2.6.).

2.6. AN **wrītan*

The verb par excellence for runic writing is **wrītan*. It is extremely frequent in AN; cf. KJ 98 Istaby stone **WARAIT RUNAR ÞAIAR**, KJ 70 Järsberg stone **runOR waritu**, KJ 17a Eikeland clasp **writu i runoarsni** (with a bind-rune **ar**), possibly also KJ 134 Sievern bracteate **r(unOR) wrilu** (= *writu*?), and KJ 74 Reistad stone **unnam wraita**. The standard collocation is **wrītan rúnōz* ‘write runes’, and, as Eikeland indicates, combined with the preposition *ī* also **wrītan ī rúnōz* ‘write in runes’. Contrary to Krause (1971, 144), there is no need to reckon with an adverb *ī* (cf. Stoklund 1991, 98). Neither does KJ 30 Garbølle furnish any parallel evidence for this construction (see 2.1.). The AN phrase **wrītan (ī) rúnōz* is echoed by Icel. *rista (i) rúnar*. On the near-synonymy relationship of AN **wrītan* to some of its competing lexical items, see 2.1.–2.5.

3. Touching on word history and etymology: prehistory and continuation of AN lexemes

Although the older runic inscriptions tend to be both meagre and short, they provide valuable insights into the lexicon, if not a glimpse of the breadth of the lexical stock and its internal structures. Leaving all function words aside, the remaining stock contains about 200 different content words, a good deal of which are supposed to be proper names. In his famous history of the Danish language, Skautrup (1944, 75) suggested that more than 2000 roots within modern Danish were directly inherited from Germanic, and that another 1200 uncompounded nouns arose from within Nordic (Danish). Indeed, comparative evidence indicates that many Ancient Nordic lexemes have a Germanic or even Indo-European background. Amongst them are KJ 76 Opedal stone **swestar** and KJ 72 Tune stone **dohtrir**. The first term can be equated with ON *systir* ‘sister’, a cognate of OE *sweostor* and NHG *Schwester*. Its precursor is IE **sues-ōr* (= OInd. *svásār-*). The second form’s direct descendant is ON *dótr*, the plural of *dóttir* ‘daughter’. Again, this relationship term can surely be traced back to Indo-European because of its cognates OInd. *duhitár-*, Gr. *thygátēr* etc. Another AN relationship term is represented by AN **maguz*, the precursor of ON *mogr* ‘son’; it occurs in the shape of KJ 60 Vetteland stone **magOR** and KJ 75 Kjøllevik stone **magu**. This word is closely related to

OSx. *magu*, OE *mago* and Go. *magus* ‘young boy; servant’. Its etymology is highly disputed, and it is sometimes said to be a non-IE term for ‘son of maternal lineage’ as opposed to **sunuz* ‘son of paternal inheritance’ (cf. Lehmann 1986, 240). In support of this lexical division, cf. especially ON *mágr*, Icel. *mágur*, Sw. *måg* ‘son-in-law’. But AN **maguz* scarcely follows in a direct line from IE **mak^wk^wo-* (> OIr. *mac(c)* ‘son’), or **mak^wo-* (> Cymr. *map, mab* ‘son’), although equating them might be tempting on semantic grounds.

The concept of ‘woods’ is reflected by different etyma which can be traced to Proto-Germanic (or even further back). One of them is AN **marku*, the forerunner of ON *mork*, Norw. *mark*. It is mirrored in KJ 53 Kårstad cliff inscription **aljamarkir** ‘foreigner’, lit. ‘one stemming from another march’ (a *bahuvrihi* compound; cf. Schol. Juvenal. 8, 234 on the corresponding Celtic tribal name *Allo-brogos*: “quia ex alio loco fuerant translati”). It should be noted that the *i*-stem formation is solely due to exocentric compounding. AN **marku* is etymologically connected with Lat. *margo* ‘border’ and E *margin*. A second etymon for ‘woods’ is represented by AN **holta-* with *a*-mutation from Gmc **hulta-* < IE *k₁do-*, *d*-extension of IE *kel-* (alleged meaning ‘cut off’). It occurs as an *ija*-derivation in KJ 43 Gallehus **holtijar**. German has the corresponding terms *Holz* ‘wood’ and *Gehölz* ‘woods’. These forms are closely related to Gr. *kládos* ‘twig’ and OIr. *caill* ‘words’ < **kel(ə)d-* lit. ‘what is cut down or cleft asunder’. A word for ‘water’ is AN **laguz*. It is represented as the first element of the personal name **lagu-þewar** on the recently found Illerup shield-mount 3 (cf. Stoklund 1985, 9–11). Incidentally, this is also the name of the 21st rune in the older Fuþark. The *u*-stem **laguz* turns directly into the unlauded form ON *lqgr* ‘water; sea’ (cf. OE *lagu*). One lexeme for ‘stone’ is seen in KJ 50 Strøm whetstone **hali** = *halli* and KJ 81 Stenstad **halar** = *hallaz*. The divergent theme vowels might indicate a dialectal differentiation within the runic language of the 400/500s. The doublet AN *hallaz* ~ *halliz* turns into the *a*-stem ON *hallr* without a significant meaning shift but with replacement of the old *i*-declension. A further inventory of forms is furnished by ON *hella* ‘flat stone’ (loanword Finn. *kallio*) and Go. *hallus*. However, the etymology is somewhat opaque (cf. Magnússon 1989, 301). In all probability, Lith. *kálnas* ‘mountain’ and Lat. *collis* belong here; cf. also OInd. *śilā* ‘stone, rock’, attested in the Old

Indian Atharva Veda. Another term for ‘stone’ is AN *stainaz*, seen in KJ 60 Vetteland stone **staina**. This etymon is widely represented within Germanic; cf. ON *steinn*, Go. *stains*, E *stone*, and G *Stein*. Historically, this is an old *no*-formation of IE *steiā* = Gr. *stía*, *stīon* ‘small stone, silica’ (on the underlying verbal root, cf. OInd. *styāyate* ‘grow dense, stiffen’).

The etymon *horn* is attested as **horna** in KJ 43 Gallehus and KJ 50 Strøm. AN *horna* goes back to Gmc **hurnan* (< IE **k₁rnom*). Its direct descendants are ON and OHG *horn* as well as Go. *haur̥n*. Parallel evidence outside Germanic is furnished, e.g., by OIr. *corn* ‘drinking horn’. Note that OInd. *śṛṅ-ga-* ‘horn of an animal’ and Lat. *corn-ū* exhibit the same root, but make use of different stem formations. AN **korna-* (with *a*-umlaut) is attested in KJ 136 Tjurkö bracteate 1 **walha-kurne** ‘foreign-grain’. It can easily be identified with ON *korn*, E *corn*, OHG *korn*, Go. *kaur̥n*. Further cognates are OPr. *syrne*, OIr. *grán*, and Lat. *grānum* (cf. Magnússon 1989, 496). Thus, the alleged proto-form is *ǵ₁ṛno-* (< **ǵ₁hno-*, with laryngeal *h*). The underlying root is IE *ǵer(ə)-* ‘grow’. The obvious lack of *a*-mutation in **-kurne** has to be accounted for. Since *kurnē* is perfect from a phonological point of view, the easiest way of explaining the non-mutated vowel is a stage with no paradigmatic leveling: nom.sg. **korna* with *a*-umlaut < **kurnan*, but dat.sg. *kurnē* without *a*-umlaut < **kurnai*. Other explanations might invoke a dialectal split or different levels of the AN language (cf. KJ 43 Gallehus **holtijar** with mutated stem vowel < *o* > instead of phonologically expected ***holtijar** = ON *hyltir*, *hyltíng* ‘man from Holt’).

With regard to weapons, KJ 22 Vimose chape **makija** is central. It has numerous Germanic cognates; cf. ON *mækir* and Go. *mēkeis* ‘sword’ (also the loanword Finn. *miekka*). The prehistory of Gmc **mēkijas* (with *ē*¹) has long been disputed. Nowadays it is generally believed to be a migratory term, a “mot voyageur” of eastern origin. This etymon can be traced back to Old Iranian *maḍyaka* > Pers. *mēdf* lit. ‘something attached to the middle, or to the belt’ (see Szemerényi 1979, 110–117). Hence, AN **mākijaz* turns out to be borrowed from Indo-Iranian; it is etymologically in line with OInd. *mādhya-*, Lat. *medius*, Go. *midjis*, ON *miðr* (Icel. *mið-punktur*) and E *mid* (in *mid-land*, *mid-night* etc.). The concept ‘brightness of the sky’ shines forth in the compound elements KJ 96 Stentofte **hider-** and KJ 97 Björketorp **haidr-**, both

probably stemming from an old neuter *s*-stem **haidiz*. Descendants are the noun ON *heiðr* ‘bright sky’ and the adjective ON *heiðr* ‘clear, cloudless’ (cf. also OE *hādor* ~ *hædor* ‘clearness’). The underlying root is IE (*s*)*kejt-* = OInd. *cet/cit-* (on **hider-/haidr-**, see Schulte 1998, 113–117). Amongst the adjectives is KJ 76 Opedal stone **liubu** (but **leubu** according to Antonsen 1975, 40). This is etymologically related to ON *ljúfr*, OHG *liub* (modern *lieb*), Go. *liuba*. Cf. also OSl. *ljubū* and OInd. *lōbhayati* ‘he entices, excites’. Interestingly, the first element of KJ 136 Tjurkö bracteate 1 **walha-kurne** is directly related to Icel. *valhnot* ‘walnut’ and Icel. Norw. *val-bygg* ‘two-rowed barley’, its original meaning being ‘foreign’. Gmc **walha-* is believed to stem from the Celtic tribal name *Volcae*. Hence, the proper noun ON *Valir* means ‘foreigners’ as does OE *Wealh* (cf. Magnússon 1989, 1100). Incidentally, the compound **walha-kurne** ‘foreign-grain’ can be regarded as a metaphor denoting the gold bracteate. The compound element AN **gin(n)u-* occurs in three different shapes, namely as KJ 27 Kragehul spear shaft **ginu-**, as KJ 96 Stentofte stone **gino-**, and as KJ 97 Björketorp stone **gina-** (on the differing representations of the connecting vowel, see Schulte 1998, 126–129). Its basic semantic range seems to involve spatial extension, as does OE *ginn(e)* ‘vast’. Hence, it is easy to account for a meaning intensifier in compounds such as ON *ginn-heilagr* ‘extremely holy’. The underlying root is IE *ǵhēi-*, *ǵhī-* plus *n*-extension (cf. Pokorny 1959, 419f.; for the well-represented group of *gin*-formations in Nordic, see Schulte 1998, 124). In the verbal sphere there is AN *felhan*. It occurs as KJ 96 Stentofte **felah-eka** and KJ 97 Björketorp **falah-ak** (both with an affixed enclitic **eka*). The preterite form *falh* might also occur in the Tune inscription (cf. Grønvik 1998, 36ff.). In Germanic this verb combines with different prefixes such as *af-*, *ana-*, *bi-*, *ga-*, *us-*, thus modifying its semantic content. The meaning of AN **felhan* seems to be preserved in ON *fela* ‘conceal, hide’; cf. also Go. *-filhan* ‘hide; bury’ (with further lexical enrichment by prefixes). This root **felh-* can be traced back to IE **pelk-*, seen for instance in OPr. *pelkis* ‘cloak’ (for divergent semantic interpretations, see Lehmann 1986, 115). Another attested AN verb is **briutan*. It occurs in two shapes, namely as KJ 96 Stentofte **bariutiþ** and KJ 97 Björketorp **barutr**, thus reflecting Gmc **breutedi* ‘he breaks’. AN **briutan* has convincing parallels outside Germanic; cf.

Lat. *frustum* ‘fragment’, lit. ‘something broken’ and OPr. *brūsnąti* ‘he scrapes’ (cf. Pokorny 1959, 169).

This sketch, though far from being comprehensive, is intended to provide a glimpse of the lexical stock of Ancient Nordic in its broader genetic context. It is obvious that comparative investigations have not yet proved exhaustive. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that pinpointing the ultimate source of words all too often exceeds the possibilities of linguistic methods.

4. Conclusion

In this article, three different approaches have been used to shed light on the AN lexicon. The first is basically concerned with syntactic transformation. Some of the minimal form inscriptions are envisaged as reduced sentences, e.g. KJ 31 Øvre Stabu **raunijar**: ‘I am testing myself in battle’ (cf. ON *reyna sik*). The second approach focuses on lexical field theory in the wake of Trier’s research. This methodological approach is exemplified by the sphere of runic production. Different roots such as **tau/taw-*, **faih/fāh-* and **wurk-* were contrasted in terms of their use and collocational range. Third and finally, AN vocabulary is interpreted in a comparative perspective both inside and outside Germanic. It can be shown that some AN lexemes are typically North Germanic (e.g. *raun-*), others are widely represented within Germanic (e.g. *stain-*), or even further beyond (e.g. **korn-*, *horn-*). Relationship terms such as **swestar** and **dohtrir** also belong here. Thus, many AN words refer directly back to Proto-Germanic or even to Proto-Indo-European, since their root formations are shared by other Germanic and IE languages. Some AN (and Germanic) lexemes, however, seem to have been borrowed from far away in a distant past (e.g. **makija**). The exclusion of AN lexemes (e.g. **tau/taw-*) and the fate of Germanic unstressed prefixes in Nordic have been touched upon briefly. Unfortunately, the attested material is far too scarce to signal processes such as language differentiation and dialectal splits in a systematic way. However, variations like *halliz* ~ *hallaz*, or *-kurnē* (instead of *-kornē*) might indicate such differentiation. In addition, the late AN form KJ 67 Noleby **tojeka** (< **tau-j-eka*) might be due to East Scandinavian monophthongization, since Noleby itself stems from Västergötland in Sweden (cf. Krause 1966, 150).

On the whole, the AN lexicon has to be seen as a highly developed and internally structured system. It shows the significant imprint of the technical language of its time with an extant inventory of technical terms. This holds true especially for the lexical field of runic production, where a complex network of concatenated lexemes existed.

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76. The development of Proto-Nordic personal names

1. Sources
2. The question of the provenance of Proto-Nordic personal names
3. Typology
4. Inflection
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Sources

Of the three kinds of sources available for personal names from this period, only runic inscriptions and place-names in *-lev/-löv* will be considered here. Literary sources, both classical and legendary history, entail too many problems involving text criticism and tradition to be considered here (see Kousgård Sørensen 1993, 15).

1.1. Runic inscriptions

The only original sources are the runic inscriptions written in the older, 24-type futhark, from ca. 160 A.D. onward (on the oldest inscriptions, see Stoklund 1995, 317f.). The inscriptions, on portable artefacts like weapons, brooches and bracteates, or on commemorative rune-stones, range geographically from Trøndelag in the north to southern Jutland and the Danish islands in the south, and from Gotland in the east to the western coastal counties of Norway. The majority are located in southern Denmark (see map in Jansson

1987, 186). In these inscriptions, there are 80 different personal names attested with some certainty (see the namelist in Peterson 1994, 162–67; six names in this list should be excluded as occurring on stones and artefacts later than ca. 600: the Gummarp, Istaby, Stentofte, Tveito and Vatn stones and the Setre comb; see Krause 1966, 317f.; Antonsen 1975, 27). Recent finds (Stoklund 1998, 60–63) yield another 3–4 names. (On the difficulty in discerning personal names from other personal designations, see Peterson 1994, 135f. and 3.2.2. below.)

1.2. Place-names

Another very important source are the place-names in (Dan. and Sw.) *-lev, -löv* (< **laiþō*) ‘inheritance’ or ‘enfeoffment’ (see art. 77). They are located in Denmark (incl. southern Schleswig), southern Sweden and southern Norway (Søndergaard 1972, 12; 189–91). It has long been acknowledged that these place-names must have been created before the Viking Age (Pamp 1988, 27); at the latest, the element *-lev/-löv* ceased to be productive around 1000 A.D. (Søndergaard 1972, 11, 156f.). Some 360 names are considered to contain an original **laiþō* (Søndergaard 1972, 35–132). From an earlier opinion that the *-lev/-löv* names almost exclusively contain personal names, modern research has arrived

at the conclusion that the specifics also can be appellatives, adjectives, adverbs and numerals (Søndergaard 1972, 146f.; Søndergaard mentions also gods' names, a much discussed matter; for brief accounts, see, e.g., Kousgård Sørensen 1989, 6f., 14; Andersson 1993, 43, 59f.; for numerals, cf. Elmevik 1979, 68 note 3). All in all, Søndergaard (1972, 154) reckons with a maximum of 181 different personal names in the *-lev/-löv* place-names (for criticism of some of these, see Elmevik 1979, 71 ff.). Place-names in *-staðir*, which often contain personal names, may to a certain extent belong to the period before ca. 600 A.D. (see art. 85, 1.2.), but since they are difficult to stratify chronologically, they will not be considered in the following (cf. Janzén 1954, 87ff.).

2. The question of the provenance of Proto-Nordic personal names

There has been lively discussion regarding the provenance of the personal names found in PN runic inscriptions and in place-names in *-lev/-löv* (as well as in place-names in *-staðir*). In his major work from 1924, Otto von Friesen – following hints made by Sophus Bugge (1891–1903, 12, 201) – concluded that the majority of the personal names found in PN runic inscriptions were of Continental origin, i.e., they were loan-names mainly from the areas around the lower Rhine. Von Friesen's theory has encountered severe criticism (Janzén 1954; Hald 1971, 111; Peterson 1994; Andersson 1995b, 24ff.). In the following account of the personal names in the PN runic inscriptions as well as in Nordic place-names in *-lev/-löv*, the names will be regarded as belonging to a common Germanic heritage.

3. Typology

In the Gmc languages there have been mainly three ways of creating a personal name: (a) by compounding two elements from a stock of first elements and second elements, which could be combined rather freely according to the variation system, an ancient name-giving system inherited from IE times (dithematic names; for a discussion of the definition of the term "dithematic", see Peterson 1988, 121 ff.; see also art. 85, 4.1.); (b) by using a noun or an adjective (which, in fact, can be a com-

pound in itself; see, e.g., Peterson 1986, 45; 1988, 122) as a personal name (monothematic names); (c) by making a derivation from, e.g., a noun, adjective or verb and using it as a personal name (derivational names); these are also to be regarded as monothematic (Hald 1971, 68; Peterson 1988, 121f.; Andersson 1995a, 797). In the latter category, hypocorisms of dithematic or monothematic names constitute a subgroup, e.g. *Harja* on the Vimose comb and the Skåäng stone (K nos. 26 and 85; cf. ON *Heri*), an *-an*-stem formation of names in **Harja-* (cf. ON *herr* masc. 'army') or **-harjar* ('warrior'; Janzén 1947, 77f., 100; 1954, 179; Hald 1971, 82). (How to render the nom. form of *-an*-stems in normalized PN in cases where it is written with the **a** rune – ending *-a* or *-ǣ?* – is a disputed matter due to different opinions of the IE etymon; see Andersson 1995b, 30ff.; 1995c, 169f.; Peterson 1996, 145ff. For the sake of simplicity, the form *-a* is used in this article.) To distinguish between (a) and (b) is often difficult. Is, for example, *Hlewagastir* on the Gallehus horn (K no. 43) a dithematic name formed according to the variation principle (cf. other names in *-gastir*; see 3.1.), or is it to be regarded as formed from a meaningful compound appellative meaning 'protected/famous guest' (cf. ON *hlé* 'lee, protection' and Gr. *kléos* 'repute') or (as a bahuvrihi formation) 'the one who has famous guests'? (Hald 1971, 20ff.; Andersson 1998, 22; see also Peterson 1994, 149f.). In a couple of cases we even find a direct counterpart of a seemingly dithematic name in the inscriptions appearing as an appellative or adjective in later traditions: *Hagustaldar* (Valsfjord cliff and Kjølevik stone; K nos. 55 and 75) is formally the same word as OHG *hagustalt* 'young warrior', and *Hagirādar* (Garbølle wooden box; K no. 39) the same as ON *hagráðr* 'giving good advice'; in terms of the process of their formation, these two names ought to be regarded as monothematic. Likewise, there are difficulties in distinguishing between (b) and (c); for example, in the case of *Þirbijar* on the Barmen stone (K no. 64), it has been suggested that this could be either an original agent noun meaning 'the one who makes weak' (cf. e.g. OHG *derb* 'unleavened') (for another interpretation, cf. Antonsen 1975, 48) or a derivative (a patronymic or a designation of descent) of a name **Þerbar* (ON **Þiarfr*; cf. the Runic Swedish name *Þerfr*) (Krause 1966, 145; 1971, 46; Brylla 1993, 32; cf. Kousgård Sørensen 1984, 34f.).

3.1. Dithematic names

Taking into consideration the reservations made in 3., it seems as if there is only one name in the runic corpus that can safely be characterized as belonging to type (a), i.e. a dithematic name formed according to the variation principle: *Agila-mundō* (Rosseland stone, K no. 69; for the first element cf. ON *agi* ‘anxiety, fright’ and *egg* ‘edge’; *-mund-* ‘protector’, here in the fem.). As Krause (1971, 115) observes: “Hier scheinen doch die beiden Glieder willkürlich und ohne gegenseitigen Sinn zusammengestellt” [Here the two elements seem to be compounded arbitrarily and without any mutual meaning]. (Cf., however, Antonsen 1975, 51: “protectress of the blade?”.) There are six names in *-gastir* ‘guest’ recorded in the runic corpus: *Ansu-* ‘heathen god’ (Myklebostad stone, K no. 77): ...*da-* (first element damaged and cannot be determined; Einang stone, K no. 63); *Hlewa-* ‘repute’ or ‘protection’ (see 3.; Gallehus horn, K no. 43); *Salihall* (Berga stone, K no. 86); *Widu-* ‘wood’ (Sunde stone, K no. 90); *Wāga-* or *Wāga-*, cognate to either ON *vāgr* ‘sea, wave’ or ON *vagn* ‘wagon’, cf. Go. *wagjan* ‘to move’ (Nydham axe-shaft; Stoklund 1995, 341 ff.; 1998, 61 f.). Whether these names in *-gastir* are meaningful compositions (for example, *Ansugastir* has been interpreted as ‘guest of the Æsir [i.e. gods]’; Antonsen 1975, 46) or merely the result of the variation system, is nearly impossible to determine; the question has been characterized as a notorious dilemma (Andersson 1998, 22). Another name element occurring more than once in the runic corpus is *-þewar* (cf. e.g. OHG *deo* ‘servant’). We meet it in *Wulþuþewar* (Torsbjerg chape, K no. 20; see further 3.1.1.) and *Laguþewa* (Illerup shield handle 3; Stoklund 1985, 9 f.; *Lagu-*, cf. ON *logr* ‘water’; on the [seemingly?] missing nom. ending, see e.g. Nielsen 1993, 86, 93). It has been observed (e.g. by Janzén 1954, 99; Hald 1971, 25), that many place-names in *-lev/-löv* contain as specifics personal names ending in **-harjar* ‘warrior’. According to Søndergaard (1972, 148–54), there are no less than 31 personal names in (ON) *-arr* in the *-lev/-löv* names, of which some may originate in **-gairar* (cf. ON *geirr* ‘spear’) or **-warjar* ‘defender’ (cf. ON *verja* ‘to defend’; see the references in Søndergaard loc. cit.), an astonishingly high proportion of a maximum of 181 (17%; see 1.2.). In (fairly) contemporary runic inscriptions we have *Swābaharjar* (Rö stone; K no. 73; *Swāba-* ‘Swabian’), which is also

found in *Svogerslev*, Zealand (Hald 1971, 25; Søndergaard 1972, 107), *Landawarjar* (Tørvika A stone; K no. 91; *Landa-* ‘land’), *Stainawarjar* (Rö stone; K no. 73; *Staina-* ‘stone’ or here, rather, ‘fortification’; Andersson forthcoming), and *Bīda-/Bīda-/Bindawarjar* (Nøvling fibula; K no. 13a; first element ambiguous; see e.g. Seebold 1994, 62; Stoklund 1995, 323), a total of four out of ca. 84 (4%; see 1.1.). The unbalance between the *-lev/-löv* names and the runic inscriptions must not, however, be exaggerated; the material is scarce, etymologizing place-names is difficult because of their being attested only in late sources, and we have to be content with asserting that personal names ending in ON *-arr*, whatever their origins, seem to have been common during the Migration Age in the Nordic countries. Another personal name element occurring in both the runic corpus and the *-lev/-löv* names is *-mārir* ‘famous’ (cf. ON *mærr*). It is found in *Sigimārar* on the Ällerstad stone (K no. 59; for the unexpected thematic vowel and the dating of the inscription, see Antonsen 1975, 81 f.; 1978, 283 f.), and in the specifics of the place-names *Remmarlöv* (Søndergaard 1972, 96; cf. Runic Sw., ON *Hróðmarr*, ODan. *Rothmar*), *Vemmelev*, *Vemmerlöv* (Hald 1971, 29; Søndergaard 1972, 118; cf. Runic Sw. *Vigmarr*), and *Vismarlöv* (Hald 1971, 29; Søndergaard 1972, 122; cf. OHG *Wisamar*). At least one of these names in *-mārir*, **Hrōþimārir* (*Hróðmarr*), ought to be regarded as a proper dithematic name; both elements express the meaning ‘rumour, fame’ (Andersson forthcoming). The totals of the “dithematic” names in the two corpora are, respectively, 27 (32%) for the runic inscriptions and 88 (48%) for the *-lev/-löv* names (Søndergaard 1972, 154).

3.1.1. Theophoric names

Among the dithematic names, a special group has attracted interest, i.e. the names containing as a first element a word for ‘heathen god’ or a name of a heathen god, i.e. theophoric names. In the runic corpus they are – or have been alleged to be the following: *Ansugastir* (Myklebostad stone, K no. 77), *Ansugisalar* (Kragehul spear shaft, K no. 27), *Frawarādar* (?) (Möjbro stone, K no. 99), *Wōdurīdar* (?) (Tune stone, K no. 72), and *Wulþuþewar* (?) (Torsbjerg chape, K no. 20). Personal names in *Ansu-* (ON *As-*, *Ós-* ‘heathen god’) are common in the Gmc languages (Reichert 1990,

462f.). It is only in the Nordic languages that we find gods' names as first elements (such as *Pórr-* and *Freyr-*), and they seem to have been taken into use at the earliest in the Viking Age (see art. 85, 3.1.). For this reason, among others, doubt has been cast on the theophoric content of some of the aforementioned names. *Frawarādar* is most probably to be interpreted as containing the ON adj. *frár* 'quick' (i.e., the name might mean 'the one who gives quick advice'), and not **frauja-* 'lord' (the word that constitutes the ON god's name *Freyr*; Peterson 1994, 152f.). Krause (1966, 165; 1971, 169), among others, connected *Wōdurīdar* with the ON god *Óðinn*, but this interpretation has been criticized as being untenable (Wulf 1994, 36); rather, Antonsen (1975, 45) interprets it as meaning 'the furious rider'. *Wulþubewar* has commonly been connected with the ON god's name *Ullr* (i.e. the name would mean 'servant of the god Ullr'), but, as Andersson (1993, 46ff.) has demonstrated, the name should rather be considered as a variation name made up of a counterpart to Go. *wulþus* 'glory, splendour' and PN *þewar* 'servant', two elements that are well represented in the Gmc personal nomenclature. Among the *-lev/-löv* names there are six *Torslev* (*Tørslev*). Most certainly, none of these contains the ON god's name *Pórr* (cf. Søndergaard 1972, 110, 147), but rather the personal name ON *Þórir*. However, instead of a personal name, a designation for Þórr's priest could lurk here (< **Þunra-wīthar*; Hald 1971, 46f., 50; Kousgård Sørensen 1989, 6ff.; Andersson 1993, 43f.; on the expected but missing gen. ending in **Þunra-*, see Andersson 1993, 41, 52).

3.2. Monothematic names

As was pointed out in 3., both formation types (b) and (c) are to be regarded as monothematic names. Thus, in the following, type (c) will be treated as a subgroup under (b). In the runic corpus there are several names belonging to group (b), a noun or an adjective used as a personal name (*Hagustaldar* and *Hagirādar* disregarded; see 3.): *Bera* (K no. 28; cf. OHG *bero* 'bear'), *Fākar* (K no. 132; cf. ON *fákr* 'horse'), *Hrabnar* (K no. 70; cf. ON *hrafn* 'raven'), *Mūha* (K no. 27; cf. OE *mūha*, *mūga* 'heap', ON *mūgi* 'mass, heap'; for another interpretation, cf. Grønvik 1996, 60ff.), *Winnar* (K no. 58; see Høst 1987, 155ff.; cf. ON *vinnr* 'one who works, one who performs something'); *Braidō* (K no. 54; weak form in the fem. of the ON adj. *breiðr* 'broad'; the reading

of the runes has been disputed but has recently been achieved with the help of a laser gauge probe; Swantesson 1998, 121f.), *Hrarar* (K nos. 73 and 92; cf. the ON vb. *hróra* 'to stir, to move quickly', OHG PN *Hraspod*, *Chrasmar*; i.e. 'the agile one'), *Hrōrar* (K 71; cf. OE *hrōr* 'quick'; an ablaut variant of *Hrarar*), *Lamō* (Udby brooch; Stoklund 1991, 88ff.; weak form in the fem. of the ON adj. *lamr* 'crippled'), *Leubar* (K no. 87; cf. ON *ljúfr* 'dear'; for a discussion of this name, see Peterson 1994, 136f.), *Swarta* (Illerup shield handle 1; Stoklund 1987, 284; weak form in the masc. of the ON adj. *svartr* 'black'), *Wakrar* (K no. 74; cf. ON *vakr* 'awake, fresh, brave'). (For a recent summing up of the discussion of the problematic *Hōrar/Hauhar* on the Fyn bracteate I, K no. 119, see Hauck 1998, 317f.) These twelve out of ca. 84 constitute 14%. Søndergaard (1972, 154), taking into consideration the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and appellatives in the specifics of place-names, such as ODan. *Diūr/diūr*, *Fughl/fughl* in *Djurslev*, *Dyrlev* and *Fuglslev* (1972, 50, 63), arrives at a maximum number of 44 (24.3%), and a minimum of 32 (18.9%) in the *-lev/-löv* names. On this type of monothematic names, see further 3.2.2.

3.2.1. Hypocorisms

The term "hypocorism" is defined here as a derivative from a personal name or a personal name element, expressing a familiar or friendly attitude. The suffixes concerned are **-an-* (fem. **-ōn-*), **-ia-* (see Hald 1971, 93; Søndergaard 1972, 148), **-ilan-*, **-kan-* (fem. **-kōn-*) and **-san-* (fem. **-sōn-*). The **-an-* suffix is very common in names in Viking Age sources (not always, however, does it express a hypocorism; for a discussion of different types of names formed with the **-an-* suffix, see Peterson 1986, 44). It occurs, alongside fem. **-ōn-*, in the runic corpus ca. 160–ca. 600 A.D. in the following cases: *Al(l)a* (Vimose chape, K no. 22; cf. OHG personal name *Allo* and Gmc names in *Al(a)-* 'all'; Reichert 1990, 456f.), *Ehō* (Donzdorf brooch, found in 1964; from names in **Ehwa-* 'horse'; cf. ON names in *Jó-*; see the discussion in Peterson 1994, 144f.; Düwel 2001, 60), *Harja* (see 3.), *Ingijō* or *Igjō* (Stenstad stone, K no. 81; either from names in *Ing-* or *Ig-*; see the account in Peterson 1994, 146), *Waiga* (Körlin bracteate, K no. 137; cf. OHG personal name *Weiko* and ON women's names in *-veig*; cognate to ON *veig* fem. 'power'). These interpretations are not, how-

ever, wholly undisputed. For example, Antonsen regards *Alla* as coming from the adjective in the weak form (1981, 54), and he interprets *Waiga* as ‘obstinate, bold one’ (1975, 64), while, on the other hand, Seebold (1994, 68) and Grønvik (1996, 12f.) do not on the whole regard the runic sequence interpreted as *Al(l)a* as a name (their interpretations differing). Hypocorisms formed with the **-ia-* suffix seem to be lacking in the runic inscriptions, but according to Søndergaard (1972, 148–54) there are several of them in the *-lev/-löv* names. Together with the **-an-* formations (examples are ODan. *Øthi* and *Øthir* from names in ON *Auð-*; *ibid.* 153f.) they constitute a group of no less than 49 names, i.e. 27.1% of the whole corpus (Søndergaard 1972, 154). The **-ilan-* suffix occurs in the runic corpus in *Frōhila* (Darum I bracteate, K no. 117), *Niuwila* (Darum V bracteate, K no. 104), *Niuwila* (Skonager bracteate, K no. 118), and *Wīwila* (*Wiwila*; Veblungsnes cliff, K no. 56; see Peterson 1994, 147–49; 167). (The alleged *Mēwila* on the Etelhem brooch, K no. 14, is disregarded here; see Peterson 1998, 565). Whether the **-ilan-* suffix is to be regarded here as a hypocoristic suffix added to a personal name or a personal name element (such as names in ON *Frey-*, *-ny*, PN *Wīwar/Wiwar* on the Tune stone, K no. 72), or as an appellative diminutive formation and as such used as a name, is difficult to determine (e.g. *Frōhila* ‘young little master’; see the account in Peterson 1994, 156f.). The **-kan-* and **-san-* suffixes are represented only by *Alukō* (here in the fem.; Førde fishing weight, K no. 49) and *Harisō* (also in the fem.; Himlingøje brooch 1, K no. 9; for a discussion of its gender, see Nielsen 1998, 545 with note 13). The two names might be hypocorisms of names in *Alu-* (cf. *Alugōd* on the Værløse brooch, K no. 11, and several names in ON *Ql-*) and *Harja-* (see 3.), respectively (see the account in Peterson 1994, 155ff.).

3.2.2. Bynames

As has been markedly demonstrated this far, interpretation of personal names in the PN runic inscriptions is often far from straightforward. Even more difficult is the interpretation of what looks like bynames (nicknames), regardless of their being a sole designation of a person or being added appositionally to a main name. (For a different definition of the term “byname”, see art. 85, 3.3. with references.) The problem is whether a runic se-

quence represents a name on the whole or just an appellative personal designation; e.g., in the case of *ek Aljamarkir* (or *aljamarkir*) on the Kårstad cliff (K no. 53; cf. Gmc **alja-* ‘other, foreign’ and **mark-* ‘boundary, district’), the “name” can be interpreted simply as ‘stranger, foreigner’, i.e. a non-name (cf. Krause 1966, 119: “kaum ein Personennamen” [hardly a personal name]; Antonsen 1975, 52: “I Aljamarkiz”; Brylla 1993, 32, who includes it among bynames; cf. also Peterson 1994, 136; 163). Brylla (1993, 30ff.) discusses in an interesting experiment whether it is possible to discern ‘bynames used absolutely’, i.e. as a person’s given name, in the PN runic material by comparing them with later, medieval bynames used appositionally. She observes correspondences in the semantic contents, e.g. designations of descent (such as *Pirbijar*; see 3.), animal designations (such as *Hrabnar*; see 3.2.), and characterizing names (such as *Swarta*; see 3.2.), as well as morphological correspondences, e.g. adjectives in both the indefinite and definite form, and various kinds of derivational suffixes. It has, however, been remarked that names of this kind, ‘bynames used absolutely’, which sometimes have a derogatory content, might be founded on ancient magic concepts, e.g. given as apotropaic names (Otterbjörk 1983, 119f.) or as names expressing expectations (Andersson 1995a, 797). Also, in the few cases when an apposition is added to a personal name, one can be in doubt whether this is to be regarded as a byname or as an occasional adjectival or appellative designation (cf. art. 85, 3.3.2.; 3.3.3.). Examples of such appositions in the runic corpus include only *fārawīsa* (or *fāra-*; Sjælland bracteate II, K no. 127; either ‘wise of dangers’, cf. ON *fār* neut. ‘damage’ etc., or ‘travel-wise’, cf. ON vb. *fara* ‘to travel’), *holtijar* (Gallehus horn, K no. 43; probably ‘dweller in the wood’; cf. ON *holt*, OSw. *hult*; Kousgård Sørensen 1984, 33ff.), *sikijar* (Nydham axe shaft; Stoklund 1995, 341ff.; 1998, 61f.; probably ‘dweller in the fenland’; cf. ON *sik*, *siki* ‘still or slowly running water’; the syntactic connection to the preceding name *Wāga-/Wāgagastir* is, however, unclear; Stoklund loc. cit.), *aipalātar* (Nydham axe shaft; ‘oath-utterer’, cf. ON *eiðr* ‘oath’ and *lāta* ‘to speak’; Stoklund loc. cit.). (The alleged patronymic (*Hrōrar*) *Hrōrer* on the By stone, K no. 71, has to be excluded as being too uncertain as regards both reading and interpretation; see Antonsen 1975, 80f.; Kousgård Sørensen 1984, 34; Grønvik 1996, 126ff. For

an account of the problematic *ni-waje-mārik* on the Torsbjerg chape, K no. 20, see Stoklund 1995, 327f.)

Morphologically, the bynames discussed in this section are of various kinds. A suffix denoting relationship or extraction (geographically or personally), Gmc **-ja-*, occurs in *holtijar*, maybe also in *Pirbijar*. Another suffix with the same meaning is **-ing-*. It is represented in *Iuþingar* (Reistad stone, K no. 74; derivation base **euþa-*, cf. ON *jóð* neut. 'child'; Förstemann 1900, 982; Krause 1971, 46; Magnússon 1989, 432) and *Māringu* (fem.; Tanem stone, K no. 89; derivation base masc. personal name **Māri-la*; Krause 1971, 46; Antonsen 1975, 69). An adjectival suffix **-aga-/*-iga-* forming personal names occurs in e.g. *Gōdagar* (Valsfjord cliff, K no. 55; cf. ON *góðr* 'good'), *Hīwigar* (or *Hīw-*; Årstad stone, K no. 58; either from a word cognate to Go. *heiwa-* 'house, family' or to Go. *hīwi* 'appearance', ON *hý* 'thin hair, down'), *Laiþigar* (Møgedal stone, K no. 88; cf. ON adj. *leiðr* 'unpleasant', OHG, G *leidig* 'id'). (More examples of this suffix are given in Krause 1971, 108f.; some interpretations are, however, insecure.) For other types of derivatives forming personal names, see Peterson 1994, 168 and cf. the namelist pp. 162–67.

4. Inflection

The majority of the personal names in the PN runic inscriptions follow inflectional patterns expected for the period in question and the language group affiliation. However, two phenomena appearing in the runic corpus have attracted attention. The lack of an expected nom. ending in strongly inflected male names (*Alawin* three times, *Alawid* (-wīd?)) on the Skodborg bracteate, K no. 105; cf. Seebold 1995, 177; *Alugōd* on the Værløse brooch, K no. 11; female?; see the account in Stoklund 1995, 320f.) has caused controversy as to whether a vocative case has survived from earlier stages or the forms are to be regarded as WGmc suffixless nominatives (see e.g. Nielsen 1998, 542). Recent finds of a couple of early instances exhibiting a masc. nom. ending *-ō* of **-an-* stem formations (*Wagnijō* three times on the Illerup and Vimose lance heads; Stoklund 1987, 283ff.; *Nīþijō* (or *Nīþjō*) on the Illerup shield handle 2; Stoklund 1987, 288ff.) have led to the conclusion that the *-ō* ending here, occurring alongside with the more common *-a* ending (see 3.), must be regarded as an archaism from a stage prior to the PN dif-

ferentiation of gender of the *-n-* stems (see e.g. Andersson 1995b, 31f.; Nielsen 1998, 544f.).

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77. The development of Proto-Nordic place-names

1. The oldest place-names
2. Hydronyms
3. Island names
4. Settlement names
5. Literature (a selection)

1. The oldest place-names

The oldest Nordic place-names still used are natural feature names, above all hydronyms (river names, lake names and bay names) and island names. They are to some extent Pre-Germanic, dating back to the Bronze Age (up to 500 B.C.). Such toponyms exist in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. It is a disputed and problematic question whether there are place-names of PGmc origin in Finland. Many old natural feature names are preserved only

in settlement names. (Andersson 1972, 5ff.; Naert 1988, 155ff.; Huldén 1990, 111ff.; Andersson 1995a, 792 f.; 1995b, 3ff.; Nes 1985, 7ff.; Bandle 1994, 24ff.; Naert 1995, 14ff.; Kousgård Sørensen 1996, 440ff.; Helleland 1997, 49ff.)

2. Hydronyms

In Denmark almost all the prehistoric hydronyms have disappeared, but it is possible to reconstruct much of the lost structure out of settlement names containing old hydronyms. In Norway and Sweden reconstruction of old names also is necessary to a great extent, but numerous old hydronyms are still in use in these countries. It is difficult to determine whether Finland has any hydronyms

of PGmc or PN origin or not (Naert 1988, 166ff.; Huldén 1990, 112ff.).

When dealing with old hydronyms, one has to distinguish between primary name formation (by derivation or composition) and secondary name formation (using an already existing word as a name). The oldest hydronyms are derivations or secondary name formations. Compound names are younger as a type of formation. Uncompounded names seem to have been the dominant category during the PGmc period. Most of the old suffixes had ceased to be productive before the Viking Age, when composition had become the most common way of forming new hydronyms. The situation in Iceland, colonized during the Viking Age, is informative in this connection (Bandle 1977, 46, 49ff.; Stemshaug 1997a, 39). The development from derivation to composition is very important during the period 0–800 A.D.: „Die durchgreifendste Strukturveränderung in der Ortsnamenbildung ist eben das allmähliche Absterben der Ableitung zugunsten der Zusammensetzung“ (Andersson 1995a, 793. Cf. Bandle 1984, 26f.; Greule 1996, 1534f.). Categories of compound original natural feature names which in many cases may go back to the period 0–600 A.D. are lake names containing OSw. **unde(r)* masc. ‘water, lake’ or the common ODan. *sio*, *s(i)ø*, *sæ*, OSw. *sio(r)*, OWN *sjór*, *sjár*, *sær* ‘lake’ and bay names containing OWN *-angr*, OSw. *-anger* ‘creek, bay, fjord’ (Nyman 2000, 124ff., 145ff.; Holm 1991, 662ff.; Bandle 1997, 40, 42).

Prehistoric uncompounded river names that are primary name formations are feminine. (Names of streams and rapids and sometimes names of small watercourses have masculine gender.) Old uncompounded but suffix-derived lake names (primary name formations referring to fairly big bodies of water) and fjord names are, as a rule, masculine; in Norway, however, there are several interesting examples of feminine hydronyms denoting lakes, among those *Mjøsa*, the largest lake in the country.

Many hydronymic secondary name formations contain words denoting water. One such hydronym is the lake name *Vättern* (OSw. *Vætur* ‘the water, the lake’). Other secondary name formations contain adjectives, e.g. the Swedish lake name *Bolmen* (*bolm* ‘big’).

Even very old hydronyms may be formally secondary, i.e. formed on the basis of another toponym. In many cases a river name and a lake name are genetically connected with each

other. The lake name Sw. *Värmeln* (< PN **Wermilax*) means ‘the lake connected with the river **Værma* < **Wermōn*’, the river name OSw. **Længia* (preserved in the parish name *Långbro*) means ‘the river connected with the lake *Lången* < **Langer* or **Langsior*’ and the basis of the river name Norw. *Orkla* is the river name **Ork* or a dehydronymic lake name **Orkull* or **Orkill* ‘the lake connected with the river *Ork*’.

A rare and very old phenomenon is the relationship between hydronyms expressed by ablaut. It is difficult to prove the existence of such relationships, but the Norwegian lake name *Mjær* and the river name ONorw. **Mors* (preserved in the town name *Moss*) are probably connected with each other by ablaut. Another supposed Norwegian instance is the relationship between the river name ONorw. **Ver* (in Verdal) and the lake name ONorw. **Værir*. Such name relations may date back to the PIE period.

The productivity periods for different suffixes are of great importance for the dating of old uncompounded natural feature names. Some suffixes already went out of use before the PN period, others were productive during this period and certain suffixes were still in use in the Viking Age (see e.g. Christensen/Koussgård Sørensen 1972, 177ff., and cf. below). The existence of secondary name formations complicates the dating process based on suffixes, because derivations containing an ancient suffix may have survived as appellatives long after the time when the suffix fell into disuse. The Norwegian fjord name *Sogn* illustrates this complication. It may be a very old hydronymic derivation with an *-n-* suffix from the verb *suga* ‘suck’, but it may also contain an appellative ONorw. *sogn* corresponding to the Sw. dialect word *sugn* ‘part of a river where the current becomes stronger near the rapids’. In the latter case it is difficult to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the coining of the fjord name *Sogn*.

One complication connected with the dating of hydronyms is the fact that an epexegetic second element in many cases has been added (or may have been added) to an originally uncompounded hydronym. The Danish river name *Gudenå*, for instance, has replaced an *-n-*derived older *Guthen*, and the Norwegian fjord name *Kvinesfjorden* (*Hviniisfjorðr*) is a younger form than ONorw. *Hvinir* (cf. e.g. Greule 1996, 1535). Another problem is the possibility of ellipsis. At least in Sweden, numerous hydronyms have been changed by re-

duction or ellipsis (reduction of elements). A *Bjuren* of today may for example be an elliptic form, having replaced an OSw. **Biurasior* 'the beaver lake'. It is often very difficult to decide whether a lake name in *-en*, *-aren* or *-ern* is an original compound or is instead a very old un-compounded derivation containing *-an-*, *-ia-* or another suffix. In Norway ellipsis has also been taken into account. Kousgård Sørensen, however, has not found much evidence of ellipsis (of the type **Biurasior* > *Bjuren*) in Danish lake names and river names. Cf. for example Greule 1996, 1535.

(Indrebø 1924, 225ff.; Olsen 1939, 32ff.; Andersson 1972, 8ff.; Bandle 1984, 19ff.; Kousgård Sørensen 1985, 25ff.; Andersson 1995a, 793 f., 1995b, 4 f.; Kousgård Sørensen 1996, 454ff.; Strandberg 1991, 160ff., 190ff., 225ff.; 1996, 59ff.; Nes 1997a, 43ff.; Stemshaug 1997a, 37ff.; 1997b, 41ff.; cf. Bandle 1994, 24ff.)

The semantic contents of hydronyms vary. One group consists of un-compounded names that are identical with designations for water-courses, lakes, bays, pools etc. (see above). River names and lake names may refer to the water itself (sound, colour, currents, location, form, size, depth, length, sand, stones, clay and so on), to natural features or animals in the water or in the surroundings, to agriculture, stock rearing or communications, to fields, mills, buildings and settlements etc., and they may express the resemblance of the body of water to different things. Compound names of small bodies of water may contain personal names.

In old times lakes and watercourses were conspicuous features in the landscape, and they were given formally primary names very early. When settlements had been established and become important, they attracted much attention, and over the course of time the original hydronyms often disappeared and were replaced by younger formally secondary names referring to settlements (for example Dan. *Esrum Sø*, after the settlement name *Esrum*, instead of the hydronym ODan. **Æsi*). Developments of that kind are particularly typical of Denmark but are very frequent also in Norway and Sweden.

Names which are results of eponymization have a special semantic background. Such names are as a rule relatively young, but there seem to be ancient hydronyms that have taken their names through very early eponymization or are conditioned by the pattern of a very old name.

(Hellquist 1903–06 3, 49ff.; Indrebø 1924, 269ff.; Olsen 1939, 32f.; Pamp 1988, 95ff.; Kousgård Sørensen 1996, 274ff.; Strandberg 1996, 59ff.; Stemshaug 1997a, 39f.; 1997b, 42.)

The old hydronymic suffixes in Scandinavia are largely the same as in other Germanic areas. In many cases Nordic hydronyms correspond to or are related to river names on the European continent or in Great Britain, sometimes to names that are supposed to belong to Hans Krahe's *alteuropäische Hydronymie*. There are, e.g., several Nordic river names (Nes 1985, 9f., 15f.; Strandberg 1988, 18) belonging to the PIE root **eis-/ois/**is- 'move fast' (Krahe 1964, 55ff.), and two originally hydronymic Sw. *Ammer* names (Andersson 1972, 18f.; Strandberg 1988, 22f., with reference to Bertil Flemström) seem to contain PIE **ombh-* 'water; vapour, mist' (Krahe 1964, 90f.). Krahe's important theories have in some respects been criticized by Nordic scholars. The possibility of secondary name formation makes the suffix-based chronology of the old hydronyms less convincing. Names connected with PIE roots with the meaning 'water', 'river', 'stream' or the like may have a more specific meaning and be due to more individual features of the rivers in question. Outside Scandinavia, *Alster* and *Elster* in Germany and other European hydronyms in *Al-* have been connected to PIE **el-/ol-* 'flow', but in Nordic research hydronyms in *Al-* are supposed to contain Gmc **al-* 'grow'. (Andersson 1972, 11ff.; Kousgård Sørensen 1982, 47ff.; Bandle 1984, 18ff.; Andersson 1988, 59ff.; Strandberg 1988, 17ff.; Andersson 1995b, 6; Kousgård Sørensen 1996, 444ff. Cf. Schmid 1995, 756ff.; Greule 1996, 1537.)

Hydronyms on the Continent and in Great Britain have been divided into different groups according to their ages (see e.g. Ekwall 1928, xlviff.; Greule 1973, 225ff.; 1996, 1536f.). The productivity periods for the suffixes are very important in this connection. In Scandinavia much research work remains to be done in this field, but efforts have been made to establish different chronological layers (Kousgård Sørensen 1996, 454ff.: PIE names, PGmc names and PN names. Cf. Bandle 1984, 26f.). Comparisons between Scandinavia and other parts of Europe are important in this connection: the Nordic hydronym *Åtran* for example – containing the adjective **aitra-* 'swelling' with corresponding hydronyms outside Scandinavia – probably belongs to the PGmc layer (Andersson 1972, 14; Strandberg 1988, 27).

Comparisons of the same kind are also important when studying hydronyms with the suffix *-und* in primary and secondary name formations. This suffix was productive over a very long time, probably from PIE times up to and including the PN period. (Nyman 2000, 139ff. with references to i. a. Hans Krahe and Oddvar Nes). Some suffixes ceased being productive earlier than others. According to Kousgård Sørensen (1996, 456), the river name ODan. **Imbra* (*-r-* suffix) and the lake name Dan. **Als* (*-s-* suffix) probably date back to Pre-Germanic times. *-m-* and *-str-* have been regarded as PGmc toponymic suffixes (Kousgård Sørensen 1996, 457; Andersson 1974, 310 respectively). The suffixes *-an-* and *-ön-* were productive also in the PN period.

An important question is to what extent there were special “place-name suffixes”, i.e. suffixes that have lost their original character (in the formation of appellatives) and are used only as morphological instruments, deprived of their original meaning, when new toponymic derivations are made, or suffixes that have ceased to be used for making new appellatives but still function as exclusively toponymic suffixes. In Scandinavia the *-n-* suffix has had a special toponymic function and it was used remarkably late. (Andersson 1980, 17ff.; 1995b, 5.)

3. Island names

There are very old island names in Scandinavia. The oldest layer probably goes back to the PIE period. Morphologically, island names have much in common with the old river names. When dating island names, the difference between primary and secondary name formations is also very important. The Norwegian island name *Mjømna*, for example, is a secondary name formation with its starting point in PGmc or PN **međuma-* ‘middle’ (Nes 1985, 8 with references to Lennart Moberg and Thorsten Andersson); the name is probably very old, perhaps of PGmc origin, but the *-m-* suffix cannot be used as a dating criterion in this case. Original natural feature names containing a very old appellative **borgund*, PGmc **burgund-* ‘elevation’ (originally a PIE adjective with the meaning ‘high’) constitute a group of secondary name formations that has attracted much attention. Among these names are the Norwegian parish name *Borgund* and the Swedish parish name *Borgunda*, but also Nordic island names; the old

name of the Danish island Bornholm (OWN *Borgundarholmr*) is considered to have been ODan. **Burghund* (Nes 1985, 8f.; Nyman 2000, 215ff.). Suffixes like *-iō-*, *-n-*, *-str-*, *-und-* and others occur both in hydronyms and island names. The suffix *-iō-*, for example, is supposed to be contained in an ODan. island name **Hæls* (< **Halsiō*) ‘the island with the neck’ (Hald 1971, 79f.) as well as in the Swedish river name *Nissan* (ODan. *Niz*) (Sahlgren 1959, 22ff.; Bandle 1984, 21). The possibilities of dividing island names into different groups according to their ages are fundamentally the same as for hydronyms. During the Viking Age, composition (or secondary name formation) had become the normal way – instead of derivation – of coining new island names. It is probable that the *-n-* suffix took on the function of a special “place-name suffix” and was used remarkably late in island names as well as in hydronyms (Bandle 1994, 25ff.). In some cases the elevation of the land gives a *terminus ante quem* of the origin of an island name.

(Hald 1965, 237ff.; 1971, 71ff.; Andersson 1980, 9ff.; Bandle 1994, 24ff.; Nes 1997b, 46ff.)

4. Settlement names

Primary settlement names denoted settlements which were already established when the names in question originated. Secondary settlement names once denoted something else before they were attached to settlements.

In Denmark, Norway and Sweden there are types of settlement names that originated during the Early Iron Age (500 B.C.–400 A.D.) (see Naert 1995, 14ff. about the situation in Finland). At least names containing the second elements *-by/-bø*, *-heim/-hem*, *-ingi/-ungi*, *-land(a)*, *-staðir*, *-tun(a)* and *-vin(i)* constitute such settlement name types (see below). Uncompounded secondary settlement names like *Näs* ‘the foreland’, *Vik* ‘the bay’, *Åker* ‘the field’ and the plural forms *Berga* (*berg* ‘mountain’) and *Lunda* (*lund* ‘grove’) may be as old as these compound types, and secondary settlement names may contain natural feature names or field names that are much older than the settlements in question. It still remains to be discovered whether or to what extent Nordic settlement names of today may have originated during the Bronze Age.

(Hald 1965, 29ff.; Brink 1984, 18ff.; Stemshaug 1985, 90f.; Strid 1986, 187ff.;

Pamp 1988, 20ff.; Widgren 1990, 33ff.; Sandnes 1997a, 32ff.; Strid 1999, 33f., 78ff.; Særheim 2001, 300ff., 318ff.)

4.1. Ancient types of settlement names

-by/-bø

Danish and Swedish settlement names in *-by* and Norwegian names in *-by* or *-bø* constitute a very large category. In Sweden there are about 3400 *-by* names and in Norway about 1100 names in *-by/-bø* or *-boen* (many uncompounded names). Such names occur throughout Scandinavia and in the Danelaw and Normandy. In Norway the distribution of *-by* and *-bø* is complementary: Austlandet (with some exceptions) and Trøndelag have forms in *-by*. (Hald 1965, 102; Hellberg 1967, 245f.; Ståhl 1976, 71; Stemshaug 1985, 109f.)

The place-name type in question has been productive over a very long period. According to an earlier opinion, *-by/-bø* names is a younger place-name type than the *-staðir* names. The oldest Nordic layer of *-by/-bø* names, however, belongs (like the *-staðir* names) to the Early Iron Age, but the names to a great extent were coined after the period 0–600 A.D. The results of an investigation of selected material from the Mälaren region indicate that there are *-by* settlements that are older than *-staðir* settlements (Larsson 1997, 166ff.). At least many of the *-by* settlements are secondary, emanating from older settlements. (Ståhle 1946, 588; Hald 1965, 103ff.; Hellberg 1967, 238f., 246ff., 372f.; Stemshaug 1985, 110f.; Schmidt 2000, 563.)

The word EN *by*, OWN *býr* ‘farm; village’ and its parallel form OWN *bór*, Norw. *bø*, are derivations of the verb EN *bo*, OSw. *boa*, Norw. *bu*, Icel. *búa*, OWN *búa* ‘live, reside; prepare, get ready’. It is controversial whether the place-name element *-by/-bø* originally had the meaning ‘cultivation, tillage, plantation, reclaimed land; meadow’ or ‘dwelling, residence’. A traditional interpretation of *-by/-bø* in old settlement names has been ‘farm’ or ‘village’, but it is possible that the two words at an early stage denoted cultivated land of some kind (Hellberg 1967, 417f.: ‘cultivation, cultivated land’ → ‘meadow, cultivated meadow in grove’). In Dan. *-by* names ‘village’ has been regarded as an older and more frequent meaning than ‘farm’ (cf., however, Hellberg 1967, 371). (Hald 1965, 102f.; Hellberg 1967, 369ff., 417ff.; Ståhl 1976, 71; Stemshaug 1985, 109; Pamp 1988, 38ff.; Jørgensen 1994, 50; Schmidt 2000, 50ff.)

Only a few very old *-by* names in Sweden are considered to contain personal names, but anthroponyms can be found in younger instances. In Denmark *-by* names with anthroponymic first elements occur in certain areas. Many Norw. *-by/-bø* names are compounds with personal names. Nordic names in *-by/-bø* often refer to vegetation and other features in the landscape. Many names contain words for cardinal points and other words that indicate the situation of the *-by/-bø* localities in question. (Hald 1965, 103ff.; Hellberg 1967, 246f., 407ff.; Ståhl 1976, 72f.; Stemshaug 1985, 110; Schmidt 2000, 525ff.)

-heim/-hem

The prehistoric layer of the numerous toponyms in EN *-hem(-um)*, WN *-heim* belong (like *-inge* names and *-vin(i)* names) to the oldest types of Nordic settlement names. The number of old *-hem/-heim* names is approximately 1000 in Norway and, according to Stefan Brink (1991, 67), about 200 in Denmark and about 300 in Sweden. Iceland has rather few settlement names in *-heimur*, stereotyped formations which apparently are comparatively young. (There are also young Nordic names containing *hem* or *heim* as a second element; only prehistoric names are considered in the following.) The *-heim* names of Norway are widely spread over the country. Most Sw. *-hem* names occur in western provinces, above all in Västergötland, but this type of settlement name is also represented in Uppland, Ångermanland, Östergötland, on Gotland and in other parts of the country. The Danish core area of this name type is northern Jutland, where *-hem* names are particularly frequent in Himmerland and Ommersyssel. The *-hem* names in Jutland and in Halland and Västergötland to the east of Jutland have been looked upon as evidence of ancient cultural contacts straight across the Kattegat. (Hald 1942, 26ff.; Lundahl 1948, 49ff.; Hald 1965, 60ff.; Ståhl 1976, 75; Stemshaug 1985, 97f.; Pamp 1988, 31; Brink 1991, 66ff.; Bandle 1997, 40f.) The Nordic names are probably connected with continental settlement names in *-heim* (Andersson 1995b, 9f., 13, 16f.; cf. Hald 1942, 33f.; 1965, 62ff.).

Settlement names in *-heim/-hem* < **haima-* had their initial stage of productivity during the Early Iron Age. As far as Norway is concerned, particular stress has been laid on the productivity period 0–600 A.D. An attempt has also been made to date the oldest Swedish names back to the time around the birth of

Christ. In Västergötland, a province with very early settlements, the *-hem* names have become parish names in more than half of all cases. Over the course of time, the form of old names in *-hem* has often changed considerably, as, for instance, in *Viad* (< OSw. *Vihem*) and *Årja* (< OSw. *Arhem*). For the many *-hem* names in Himmerland, the time around the year 300 has been suggested as a *terminus post quem*; in that connection archaeological results and the chronology of the corresponding West Germanic names have been taken into consideration. The Icelandic names in *-heimur* are, of course, younger than the period 0–600 A.D. (Hald 1942, 30ff.; Hovda 1961, 294; Hald 1965, 62ff.; Ståhl 1976, 76; Stemshaug 1985, 99; Pamp 1988, 31f.; Brink 1991, 68ff.; Sandnes 1997b, 203f.)

The Nordic place-name element *-heim/-hem* has the meaning ‘farm, settlement’ but also ‘(large) settlement area, settlement district’ or the like. Both meanings may go back to a more original one: ‘home, place of residence’. Kristian Hald proposes a semantic development from ‘(large) settlement area (district)’ to ‘farm, settlement’. *Trondheim* in Norway means ‘the settlement district (province) of the *trønder*’. In most cases *-heim/-hem* is supposed to have the sense ‘farm, (separate) settlement’. An old meaning of ‘resource area’ or the like is worth pondering. (Sahlgren 1938, 70ff.; Hald 1942, 38ff.; 1965, 58; Hovda 1961, 294f.; Ståhl 1976, 73f.; Pamp 1988, 31; Brink 1991, 75ff.; Jørgensen 1994, 117; Sandnes 1997b, 203.)

The old *-hem* names in Denmark and Sweden do not contain personal names in their first elements, and anthroponymic first elements are very rare (only one indubitable instance) in Norw. *-heim* names. In this respect Nordic names are very different from the corresponding West Germanic names in *-heim*. The Nordic first elements often refer to things in the landscape: animals, vegetation, water, depressions, elevations, soil, fences or enclosures, etc. A number of names are compounded with adjectives. Old hydronyms are contained in *-hem* names like Sw. *Alster* (< *Alstrem*) and *Visnum*. A secondary name formation (containing a compounded appellative) is *Gudhem* / *Gudum* ‘home of the gods’, which in various forms occurs in several places. (Hald 1942, 35ff.; 1965, 58ff.; Ståhl 1976, 75f.; Stemshaug 1985, 98f.; Brink 1991, 71ff.; Sandnes 1997b, 203.)

-ingi/-ungi

The East Nordic settlement names in *-ingi* and *-ungi* (now *-ing(e)*, *-unge*) give evidence of old prehistoric connections between Scandinavia and the Germanic part of the European continent. Investigations carried out by Carl Ivar Ståhle (1946, 155ff.) have resulted in the opinion that there is an old continuous distribution area of settlement names in a singular *-ingi* (< PN *-ingia* neut.), including large parts of Sweden and all Denmark as well as Schleswig-Holstein, the North Sea coast, Nieder-Sachsen and Thüringen (Andersson 1995b, 10ff. with references to Rob Rentenaar and other scholars; cf. Bandle 1997, 46 as to the Swedish names). In Sweden there are *-inge/-unge* names in the provinces around Lake Mälaren, where they are particularly frequent, and in Närke and Götaland. An original *-unge* has often been replaced by *-inge*. The modern Danish ending is *-ing* in Jutland and *-inge* on the islands. Several toponyms originally ending in *-ing/-ung* (< PN *-ingar*, *-ungar*) have over the course of time been transformed into *-inge/-unge* names. (Hald 1965, 41ff.; Ståhl 1976, 61ff.; Pamp 1988, 34; Jørgensen 1994, 142f.)

The *-ingi/-ungi* names to a great extent originated during the Early Iron Age and the Migration Age. Some of them may date back to the Viking Age. (Ståhle 1946, 569ff.; Hald 1965, 54f.; Ståhl 1976, 63; Pamp 1988, 35.)

At least in the beginning, the *-ingi/-ungi* names as derivations were collective nouns or expressions of possession formed with the suffix *-ia-* on the basis of inhabitant designations in (pl.) *-ingar*, *-ungar* (PN *-ingōr*, *-ungōr*). This kind of inhabitant designation is very well documented in the Nordic languages and still exists there (e.g. *öläanning* ‘inhabitant of Öland’); there are place-name forms in *-unga* in Sweden which are supposed to contain the genitive plural of inhabitant designations. A toponym like *Sköldinge* (< PN **Skeldungia* neut.) then means ‘the sköldungar, i.e., the people living in a place called Sköld (PN **Skeldur*) or near an elevation with the shape of a shield’, ‘the area of the sköldungar’ or the like, and the meaning of the town name *Skänninge* then is ‘(the area of) the people living by the river Skenaån (< PN **Skain-*)’. At a later stage *-ingia/-ungia-* may have been used analogically for coining place-names directly from nouns denoting natural features, without the mediation of an inhabitant designation. (Ståhle 1946, 9ff., 100ff., 135ff., 495ff.; Hald 1965, 44f.; Ståhl 1976, 61ff.; Pamp 1988, 34f.; Jørgensen 1994, 142f.; Andersson 1995b,

10f.) The Nordic *-ingi/-ungi* names differ from the related or corresponding continental Germanic toponyms in so far as they – at least as a rule – do not have anthroponymic starting-points or bases (Stähle 1946, 558ff.; Hald 1965, 45ff.; Andersson 1995b, 13.)

-land(a)

Land is the second element in different kinds of Nordic toponyms, for example names of realms, provinces or districts (e.g. *Djursland* and *Jylland* in Denmark, *Helgeland* and *Rogaland* in Norway, *Halland* and *Värmland* in Sweden and *Finland* and *Island*), names of pre-historic settlements (villages and farms) and field names (Særheim 2001, 26ff.). It has been considered uncertain whether *land* has the meaning ‘island’ or ‘province; territory’ in island names like *Gotland* in Sweden and *Langeland* and *Lolland* in Denmark (Ståhl 1976, 143; Særheim 1997, 279f.; 2001, 32; cf. Jørgensen 1994, 172f., 183). The Swedish province name *Öland* contains an appellative, OSw. *öland*, OWN *eyland* ‘island’.

Sweden and above all Norway have numerous old settlement names with *-land* or *-landa* as the second element. The common Norwegian form is *-land*. In Sweden you find both *-landa* and *-land*. Norway has about 2000 farm names in *-land* spread over the country; they are particularly numerous in the southwestern part of Norway (Agder, Hordaland, Rogaland and Telemark). OSw. farm names and village names in *-land(a)* (roughly 300) occur most frequently in some western provinces (Bohuslän, Dalsland, Västergötland in Götaland and Värmland in Svealand). There are several *-land* names in Iceland, the Orkneys and Shetland. (Særheim 1997, 280; 2001, 36ff.)

The *-land(a)* class of settlement names has been productive over a long period. Norw. *-land* names as a rule originated before the end of the Viking Age. The archaeological material seems to indicate that many *-land* names were coined around 200–550 A.D. Another productive period began in the middle of the 7th century. There are settlement names containing *land* that probably are older than the year 200 A.D. Some uncompounded plural names, ONorw. (*)*Landir*, may go back to the Bronze Age. (Stemshaug 1985, 101; Særheim 1997, 281f.; 2001, 294ff.) The oldest *-land(a)* names in Sweden are presumed to date from the Migration Age, but they are possibly older and chronologically comparable with the settlement names in *-vini* (Ståhl 1976, 82f.; Karlsson 1991, 36f.).

The old settlement names in *-land(a)* are closely connected with farming. It is probable that to a great extent they are original field names. The basic meaning of the element *land* in the settlement names may be ‘piece of land’, ‘land as property’ or ‘land suitable for farming’. An interpretation of that kind is likely also for *-land(a)* in the old Swedish names. (Stemshaug 1985, 100f.; Karlsson 1991, 37; Bandle 1997, 40; Særheim 1997, 280; 2001, 259ff.) In Sweden, however, several scholars have proposed the meaning ‘land as opposed to water, riverside, lakeside’ for *-landa* names in the southwestern part of the country. This interpretation, upheld by Hjalmar Lindroth (1923, 123), has played an important role for a long time (see for instance Lundahl 1948, 62; 1972, 22; Ståhl 1976, 81f.) and it is mentioned as a possibility also in works from the end of the twentieth century. The agrarian connection is, however, more probable.

The *-land* names in Norway often have a first element describing the topography in some way: *Fotland* (OWN *fors* ‘rapid; stream’), *Rivjaland* (OWN *rif* ‘bank, reef’), *Røysland* (OWN *hreysar* ‘mounds of stones’ or *hreysi* ‘mound of stone’) etc. Many of them contain denotations for plants or trees, e.g. *Birkeland* (OWN *birki* ‘clump of birches, birch grove’) and *Eskeland* (OWN *eski* ‘ash grove’). Of great interest with regard to the possible meaning ‘land suitable for farming’, ‘cultivated land’ or the like for *-land* are first elements denoting cultivated plants, e.g., *Rug-rye* in *Rugland*, and domestic animals, e.g., *Ross-* ‘horse’ in *Rossland* and names containing words like OWN *eng* ‘meadow’ and *hagi* ‘enclosed pasture’ (Særheim 2001, 276ff.). In Sweden we find names like *Getlanda* (OSw. *get* ‘goat’), *Råglanda* (an appellative OSw. **rughland*, **roghland* ‘field where rye is cultivated’) and *Vetlanda* (OSw. *hvet* ‘wheat’) (Lundahl 1948, 62, 1972, 22; Ståhl 1976, 82).

Numerous Norw. *-land* names are assumed to contain names of pagan gods (Særheim 2001, 283). Swedish examples of that kind are *Odenslanda* (*Oden* ‘Woden’) and *Torslanda* (*Tor* ‘Thor’) (Ståhl 1976, 81f.). First elements consisting of personal names are not common among the Norw. *-land* names (Særheim 2001, 283) and the Swedish names in *-land(a)* (Karlsson 1991, 36).

-lev/-löv

The place-name element Dan. *-lev*/ Sw. *-löv* is a distinctive trait of Denmark and southern Sweden. Their distribution in Denmark is un-

even. They occur most frequently in Zealand and the northern part of Funen; there are *-lev* names in eastern Jutland, but with one exception the name type is missing in western Jutland. Most Swedish names in *-löv* are to be found in Scania; there are also toponyms in *-löv* in the adjacent provinces to the north of Scania. The northernmost certain instance of a Sw. *-löv* name is the parish name *Häggesled* (OSw. *-lef*) not far from Lake Vänern in Västergötland. *Jale* in southern Norway has also been classified among the names of this category. Søndergaard estimates 350–360 *-lev/-löv* names in Scandinavia. (Søndergaard 1972, 10ff., 86, 179; Ståhl 1976, 63; Pamp 1988, 26f.; Jørgensen 1994, 176f.; Bandle 1997, 50f.)

The German place-name element *-leben* corresponds to the Nordic *-lev/-löv*. There are toponyms in *-leben* in Thuringia and adjacent areas. A much discussed question is whether those names were brought to Germany by tribes from Denmark. According to another opinion the German *-leben* names are genetically independent of the Nordic equivalents. It is also possible that the *-leben* names indicate a prehistoric area of distribution including both southern Scandinavia and Thuringia. (Hald 1965, 82; Søndergaard 1972, 158ff.; Andersson 1995b, 14ff.)

Most *-lev/-löv* names have anthroponymic first elements. The personal names in question are never Christian ones, which indicates that the toponyms were coined before Denmark was Christianized. No names in *-lev* are observed in the Danelaw and Normandy; the productivity of this place-name type in Denmark had probably come to an end or become rather insignificant before the Viking Age. The oldest layer of the *-lev/-löv* names is assumed to date from the Migration Age (perhaps with some still older exceptions). The year 1000 is a likely *terminus ante quem* for their productivity, but it is possible that some names originated during the Viking Age. (Hald 1965, 77ff.; Søndergaard 1972, 155ff.; Ståhl 1976, 64f.; Pamp 1988, 27; Jørgensen 1994, 177.)

The place-name element *-lev/-löv* goes back to an Old Nordic word represented by OSw. *lef* ‘survival, remnant’ and OWN *-leif* ‘inheritance; (pl.) remnants’ (< PN **laibō*), corresponding to Go. *laiba*, OSx. *leba* ‘remainder, rest’ and OE *laf* ‘rest; inheritance’. According to one opinion, *lef* as a place-name element has the meaning ‘something transferred, conveyed’ and refers to estates given as enfeoffments. It is more likely, however, that *-lev* means ‘something left, inheritance’ or ‘prop-

erty which a man can leave to his heirs’; the numerous personal names in the first elements then probably refer to the men who left the estates in question. (Hald 1965, 75ff.; Søndergaard 1972, 133ff.; Ståhl 1976, 63f.; Pamp 1988, 27; Jørgensen 1994, 176f.)

When dating the place-name type, one has to consider that the anthroponyms in the *-lev/-löv* names to a great extent are dithematic ones; several of them contain (ON) *-arr* (< **-harjar* ‘warrior’, *-gairar* ‘spear’ or *-warjar* ‘defender’) or *-marr* (< *-mārik* ‘famous’) (see art. 76). Dan. *Gørslev* and Sw. *Görslöv* e.g. contain the male name *Gotar* (< **Gautaharjar*), and Dan. *Sigerslev* and *Sejerslev* contain *Sighar*. There are also first elements which contain words other than anthroponyms. (Hald 1965, 77ff.; Søndergaard 1972, 146ff.; Ståhl 1976, 64f.)

-lösa/-løse

When dealing with *-lösa/-løse* names, one has to distinguish between two entirely different categories: on the one hand very old settlement names containing AN **lösa* (probably original natural feature names or field names), and on the other hand names compounded with *-lösa* ‘lack (of something)’, e.g. *Mjölsered* (OSw. *Miollösa*) ‘place where meal (flour) is missing’. In Norway there are many toponyms of the last-mentioned kind. The names expressing lack of something are considered to be younger than the other category; Ivar Lundahl, however, has maintained that “lack-names” may also be very old. (See Elmevik 1971, 15ff.; Ståhl 1976, 77f., in both cases with references.)

Attention will be focused here on the so-called “real *-lösa* names”, i.e. prehistoric settlement names in Dan. *-løse*, Sw. *-lösa* which do not refer to the lack of something. They constitute an exclusively Nordic place-name type, represented on the Danish islands and in the southern part of Sweden. They are particularly frequent in Zealand; there are no unquestionable examples in Jutland. The region around Lake Mälaren is the northernmost area where many such names are to be found. There are more *-lösa* names in the eastern provinces of Götaland and Svealand than in western ones. It is very possible that this place-name type originated in ancient Denmark and expanded northward in Sweden. It has been pointed out that these names and the western Nordic names in *-vin(i)* to a great extent occur in complementary distribution. There are no uncompounded **Lösa/*Løse-*

names. (Hald 1965, 69, 71; Elmevik 1971, 15f.; Ståhl 1976, 78; Pamp 1988, 27f.; Jørgensen 1994, 189; Andersson 1995b, 16f.; Bandle 1997, 46f.)

Danish villages with names in ODan. *-lösa* are very large settlements. The names in Denmark and Scania seem to be older than the *-lösa* names in the region around Lake Mälaren. The oldest layer of the Nordic *-lösa/-löse* names originated before the Viking Age and probably dates back to the Migration Age at least. (Hald 1965, 70f.; Ståhl 1976, 78; Pamp 1988, 28; Jørgensen 1994, 189.)

The “real” *-lösa/-löse* names contain an ancient noun, OEN **lösa*, which is not recorded as an appellative. The meaning and origin of this **lösa* has been much debated. It probably denoted natural features or fields (meadows or pastures) of some kind. A traditional interpretation of **lösa* is ‘meadow, pasture’. An interpretation that has been well established in recent time is ‘open place, glade’. The word **lösa* then goes back to a PGmc, PN **lauhsōn* related to the adjective Dan. *lys*, Sw. *ljus*, OWN *ljōss* ‘light, bright’ (<**leuhs-*); the element *-laus-* in toponyms in Gotland indicates that the PN form was **lauhsōn* and not **lauhsjōn*. (Elmevik 1980, 86f.; 2000, 82f.) The meaning ‘open place, glade’ probably developed into ‘meadow, pasture’ or the like. According to another suggestion, put forward long ago but quite recently motivated in detail by Gun Widmark (1999, 25ff.; cf. Elmevik 2000, 82ff.), the toponymic element has to do with the adjective Dan. *lös*, Sw. *lös*, OWN *lauss* ‘loose, free’. (See about the derivation Hald 1965, 67f.; Elmevik 1971, 15ff.; Ståhl 1976, 77; Pamp 1988, 27; Jørgensen 1994, 189; Widmark 1999, 25ff.; Elmevik 2000, 82ff.)

It is often difficult to interpret the first element in a *-lösa/-löse* name. Many of the first elements denote features in the landscape., e.g. *Ramlösa* in Scania (probably *ramm* ‘boggy meadow’; Ståhl 1976, 78), *Slagelse* in Zealand (**slagh* ‘depression, hollow’; Jørgensen 1994, 260) and *Vättilösa* in Västergötland (**vætur* ‘water; river’; Ståhl 1976, 78). The Danish names do not contain personal names, but in Sweden there are *-lösa* names compounded with anthroponyms, e.g. *Gumlösa* in Uppland (the male name *Gudmund*). The personal names which have been considered are never Christian. (Hald 1965, 69; Elmevik 1971, 32ff.; Ståhl 1976, 78; Pamp 1988, 28; Jørgensen 1994, 189.)

-staðir (> *-sta(d)/-sted*)

A characteristic of the so-called “real” *-sta(d)/-sted* names is their plural form (ON *-staðir*); in the following they will be called *-staðir* names. The approximate number of Nordic settlement names in ON *-staðir* (Norw. *-stad*, Sw. *-sta(d)*, *-städe*, Dan. *-sted*) has been estimated at 220 in Denmark, 1160 in Iceland, 2500 in Norway and 2000 in Sweden. Their distribution in these countries is widespread. They occur very frequently in Austlandet and Trøndelag and the Mälaren region and Östergötland. There are toponyms in *-sta(d)/-sted* with a different background, among them names containing *stad* ‘landing place’. (Kousgård Sørensen 1958, 27ff.; Hald 1965, 84, 86f.; Hellberg 1967, 243ff.; Ståhl 1976, 69; Stemshaug 1985, 102ff.; Jørgensen 1994, 270f.; Sandnes 1997c, 421f.) With PGmc **staði-* ‘place’ (ODan. *stath*, OSw. *stadher*, OWN *staðr* masc.) as a starting-point, the Nordic *-staðir* names have been connected with English names in *-stead* and German names in *-statt/-stedt*, *-stätten/-stetten*; the character of this relationship between names in Scandinavia on the one hand and on the Germanic continent and in England on the other hand has been interpreted in different ways; according to Thorsten Andersson and other scholars these Germanic groups did not originate independently of each other (Kousgård Sørensen 1958, 295ff.; Sandred 1963, 15ff.; Hellberg 1967, 243; Holm 1967, 9ff.; 1993, 33ff.; Andersson 1995b, 13f., 17).

The oldest layer of the Nordic *-staðir* names (in Denmark, Norway and Sweden) belongs to the period 0–600 A.D., but the place-name type was productive as late as during the Viking Age (Kousgård Sørensen 1958, 239ff.; Hald 1965, 84ff.; Hellberg 1967, 238f., 248ff., 369; Holm 1967, 94ff.; Ståhl 1976, 70f.; Stemshaug 1985, 104f.; Jørgensen 1994, 270f.; Sandnes 1997c, 421f.).

The origin and meaning of the *-staðir* names have been controversial topics for a long time and the literature dealing with this complicated place-name type is extensive. One important question is whether Nordic *-staðir* names originally were settlement names or field names; the most probable answer is that there were both settlement names and field names in *-staðir* at an early stage. Another question is whether as a second element *-staðir* is the result of the reduction of different compounded words, e.g. PN **būastaðir* ‘dwelling, farm’, **haimastaðir* ‘home(stead)’ and **hūsōnstaðir* ‘place with houses’, which is a

suggestion put forward by Gösta Holm (1967, 41 f.). The plural form of the “real” *-sta(d)/-sted* names is also to be explained; one possible answer is that the plural form is due to a plurality of fields or parts of fields. When interpreting *-staðir* etymologically, a common starting point has been the meaning ‘place’ of PN **staðir*, but there are important exceptions. Lars Hellberg has proposed the meaning ‘contraption, saddle; fence’ of *-staði-*, and Lennart Elmevik maintains that Sw. *-staðir* contains another word, PN **staða* neut. ‘edge’ and supposes that the toponyms in question referred to outlying settlements (in the outskirts). The way of interpreting the first elements of the *-staðir* names has changed over time. For a long time the common opinion was that a great majority of these first elements consist of personal names. Later investigations have shown that the number of anthroponymic first elements is considerably smaller than earlier supposed. (Linde 1951, 152 ff.; Kousgård Sørensen 1958, 151 ff.; Hald 1965, 83 ff.; Hellberg 1967, 257 ff., 358 ff.; Holm 1967, 41 ff., 104 ff.; Ståhl 1976, 67 ff.; Akselberg 1984, 51 ff.; Stemshaug 1985, 102 ff.; Holm 1993, 33 ff.; Elmevik 1994, 113 ff.; Jørgensen 1994, 270 f.; Sandnes 1997c, 421 f.; Elmevik 2000, 69 ff.)

-tun(a)

Settlement names in *-tun(a)* or *-tune(r)* occur in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. There are also toponyms containing *tún* in the Faroes and Iceland and some *-tuna* names in Finland. In this account of the period 0–600 A.D., attention will be paid to the old prehistoric names in Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

In Denmark there are some probably old village names with *tun* as the second element in Jutland, e.g. *Galten* and *Orten*, and an un-compounded plural *Tune* in Zealand (Hald 1965, 72 f.; Jørgensen 1994, 307). Norway has at least 120–130 farm names in *-tun(er)* and several un-compounded names (*Tun/Ton, Tune/Tone, Tuner/Toner*), among them the well-known plural *Tune* in Østfold. More than half of the compound Norwegian names are to be found in Hordaland and Sogn og Fjordane in western Norway (Sandnes 1997d, 226). The Swedish names have plural form as a rule. They are to a remarkably great extent un-compounded (*Tuna*), a fact of importance in the discussion of their historical background. In more ancient times there was an even higher number of un-compounded *Tuna* names. The town name *Eskilstuna* (*St. Eskil*),

for instance, has replaced an early OSw. *Tuna*. The word *tun* (*tún*) is the first element of many Norwegian and Swedish settlement names, among them several ancient names in *-heim/-hem* and the very old town name *Tønsberg* (ONorw. *Túnsberg*). The great majority of the (nearly 120) Swedish old settlement names in *-tuna* (plural) belong to the central region of the ancient Swedes (*sviones*), i.e. the provinces of Södermanland, Uppland and Västmanland around Lake Mälaren. In Uppland alone there are nearly 50 *-tuna* names. The rest of the Swedish names are widely spread. (Holmberg 1969, passim; Ståhl 1975, 45 f.; 1976, 78 f.; Sandnes 1997d, 225 ff.) When dividing Sweden into three different culture areas, the Danish-Swedish, the Norwegian-Swedish and the Eastern Swedish areas, Jöran Sahlgren regarded *-tuna* as one of the typical place-name elements of the last-mentioned culture area (see Ståhl 1976, 57; cf. Bandle 1997, 52 ff.).

The oldest *-tuna* names in Sweden probably originated in the Early Iron Age, before 400 A.D. (Hellberg 1985, 24); the village of Nántuna in Uppland, for instance, has a graveyard from this period. Most of them, however, seem to date from the Late Iron Age (Holmberg 1969, 264 ff.; Andersson 1968, 91 ff., 103 ff.; Pamp 1988, 34). The Norw. *-tun* names have been assumed to be younger than the Sw. *-tuna* names. In western Norway names in *-tun* were given during the Middle Ages. According to Jørn Sandnes (1997d, 226 ff.), however, most pre-medieval Norw. *-tun* names originated before 600 A.D.; he takes it that the oldest stratum dates back to the Early Iron Age.

Swedish places with *-tuna* names are often remarkable from a historical point of view. The towns of Eskilstuna and Sigtuna were important religious centres in the Middle Ages. Numerous names in *-tuna* have become parish names. Some Swedish *hundare* (‘hundred’) districts bear names in *-tuna*, e.g. *Simtuna* and *Torstuna* in Uppland. *Sollentuna* and *Vallentuna* have been assumed to be ancient centres of *hundare* districts (Andersson 1991, 197 f.; cf. Elmevik 1996, 51 f.), and a number of *-tuna* names have been connected with names of pagan gods (Andersson 1991, 201 f.; however, cf. Elmevik 1996, 47 ff.). In certain cases, notable prehistoric graveyards or gold hoards have been found at *-tuna* places.

There is general agreement about the basic meaning of the word *tun* (*tún*) in the Nordic *-tun(a)/-tune* names: originally ‘fence’ and early on also ‘enclosure’. Etymologically ON *tún* ‘enclosed piece of land; enclosure within

which a farm house is built, farm house with its buildings' and the Swedish dialect word *tun* 'fence, enclosure' correspond to G *Zaun* 'fence' and E *town*; it is also related to the Gallic place-name element *-dunon* 'castle' (Latinized *-dunum*). As to the character of the denoted Swedish localities, however, very different suggestions have been put forward: enclosures (for cattle), farms (par préférence), enclosed cult places, trading centres, court ('thing') locations, fortifications, administrative centres. According to Ivar Lundahl (1972, 30f.) *tuna* has the sense 'farm' (cf. Elmevik 1996, 51 ff.). Karl Axel Holmberg (1969, 279 f.) is inclined to interpret *tun* in the element *-tuna* as simply 'fence' or 'enclosure'; cf. the Danish hundred name *Galten* (< **Galtatun* 'enclosure for boars') (Andersson 1991, 201; Jørgensen 1994, 89). The fact that *-tuna* names so often are un-compounded (*Tuna*) does not, however, speak in favour of the alternative 'fence; enclosure (for domestic animals)' (Olsson 1976, 74). Sahlgren (1963, 39 ff.) has connected the *-tuna* names with the ancient maritime war organization of the Swedes (cf. Tacitus, *Germania* 98 A.D.): *Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano, praeter viros armaque classibus valent*). He points out that such toponyms in Uppland (the original home of the prehistoric Swedes, *sviones*) are connected to the most important waterways and takes it that names of fortifications for the protection of the waterways were coined by means of *tuna* in the sense of 'stronghold'. Worth mentioning here is that the Norwegian town name *Tønsberg* is assumed to contain a **Tūn* referring to an ancient stronghold on a mountain in the town (Sandnes 1997d, 228 f.). Continental Germanic material is said to testify that *tun* was also used for fortifications (Andersson 1991, 199).

Lars Hellberg (1985, 20 ff.) maintains that *-tuna* settlements were administrative centres within the territory of the prehistoric Swedes. They may be predecessors of the important *Husaby* settlements (*husaby* is an old *terminus technicus* for (royal) administrative centres), which occur most frequently in the old core region of the *sviones*. Combining *-tuna* names with certain other place-names, Hellberg reconstructs toponymic "environments" that indicate Swedish administration and influence in the Iron Age. A prehistoric centre is, for example, to be found in Husby-Långhundra parish. In the Middle Ages the church village was named *Husaby Ærnavi*. A *Tuna* settlement is situated not far from the church. At Tuna

a gold find dating from the period 0–400 A.D. has been made. A big burial mound at the church village has been excavated. It contained a chieftain's or great man's grave from the sixth century with precious articles of gold, silver, ivory and glass. *Ærnavi*, the second element of which is OSw. **vi* 'holy place, sanctuary', is probably a theophoric name (see Vikstrand 2001, 304 ff. with reference to Lenart Elmevik). Another interesting *Tuna* "environment", situated in the neighbourhood of Västerås, comprises a medieval 'thing' (court) location, a very rich grave with gold finds (around 300 A.D.) at the Tuna settlement and a remarkable and famous complex of ancient monuments with Anundshögen, a very big burial mound, and a field with so-called boat-graves. Here Hellberg (1985, 20) reconstructs a large ancient settlement including Tuna and the now independent villages Långby, Närke and Sörby. *Närlunda* is a theophoric toponym, containing *Njörd*, the name of a pagan deity, and *lund* '(sacred) grove'. It is very likely that this Tuna was an important centre in prehistoric society. In the parish of Tun in Västergötland there is a big burial mound near the church and a huge mound of stones (60 × 7 metres); this is also presumed to have been a prehistoric center (Brink 1997, 69 f.).

The truth is probably that the *-tuna* names do not constitute a uniform group: in ancient societies there were *-tuna* places with different backgrounds and functions (Ståhl 1975, 48; Andersson 1991, 201 ff.). Kristian Hald (1965, 73) and Bent Jørgensen (1994, 307) reckon with the meaning 'enclosure' in the old Danish names.

There are topographic denotations among the first elements of the Sw. *-tuna* names, but they do not dominate. *Sä-*, an archaic composition form of *sjö* 'lake', occurs in *Sätuna* in some places. Inhabitant designations connected to areas or districts are contained in *Färentuna*, *Sollentuna* and *Vallentuna* in Uppland. Anthroponymic first elements are missing completely (*Eskilstuna* seems to be an exception, but did not contain the man's name *Eskil* originally) (Ståhl 1975, 45 ff.; 1976, 80). In Norway you can find *-tun* names compounded with personal names; such place-names probably are rather young. Sometimes the first element refers to a natural feature. (Hovda 1975, 50.) The Dan. *-tun* name *Vitten* may contain ODan. **wi* 'holy place, sanctuary' (Hald 1965, 73; Jørgensen 1994, 336).

The possibility of Celtic influence on the Nordic *-tun(a)* names has been pondered:

-tuna has been explained as a popular etymological transformation of Ce. *-dunon* ‘castle’ or of *-dunum*, a Latinized form of *-dunon*, used in names of fortified towns in Celtic provinces subdued by the Romans. A name of particular interest is the much discussed *Sigtuna*, denoting a very old town in Uppland, and other *Sigtuna* names in Scandinavia. According to a suggestion put forward by Magnus Olsen, a Gallic **segodunon* ‘strong castle’ was taken over by the Germanic peoples and transformed under the influence from PGmc **segi(z)-*, OWN *sigr* ‘victory’, resulting in the place-name *Sigtuna* (see Holmberg 1969, 13 f.; Andersson 1991, 199 ff.). The hypothesis about Celtic influence on the *-tuna* names has never been abandoned, but one must give priority to a vernacular Nordic morphological and semantic origin for this place-name type.

-vin(i)

Numbering approximately 1000, the settlement names in *-vin(i)* are characteristic of Norway, where the name type is widespread; most of the names belong to the southern part of the country. In Sweden the *-vin(i)* names occur in Västergötland, where they are numerous, and in adjacent western provinces; Jämtland, Medelpad and Ångermanland are also to be mentioned. There may be a few Danish instances. The *-vin(i)* names are probably as a rule secondary settlement names. Natural feature names or field names containing *vin* are recorded in Shetland and the Orkneys. In Norway there are many uncompounded *-vin(i)* names, for example *Vinje* in Telemark and Trøndelag; a Swedish instance is probably the hundred name *Väne* in Västergötland. (Lundahl 1948, 83 f.; Jansson 1951, 29 ff.; Hald 1965, 73 f.; Hovda 1976, 77 ff.; Ståhl 1976, 65 f.; Stemshaug 1985, 92; Pamp 1988, 29 f.; Jørgensen 1994, 333; Andersson 1995b, 7 ff.)

The *-vin(i)* names have had a long period of productivity and belong to the oldest place-name types in Scandinavia. The oldest settlement names may date back to the time around the birth of Christ and the youngest instances were perhaps coined in the eleventh century. The names are largely *i*-mutated. In Norway a considerable number of them have become parish names. (Jansson 1951, 385 ff.; Ståhl 1976, 66 f.; Stemshaug 1985, 96 f.; Pamp 1988, 29 f.; Jørgensen 1994, 333.)

The common ON ending *-ini* / *-ene* (< *-vini*) in the place-names was originally the singular dative form of the *jō*-stem ON *vin* in the position as second element. This word corre-

sponds to Go. *winja*, OHG *winne* ‘pasture’, and the meaning of the Nordic place-name element is ‘pasture, meadow’. It is difficult to ascertain whether the *-vin(i)* localities were small or large pastures or meadows. (Lundahl 1948, 84 f.; Jansson 1951, 259 ff.; Hald 1965, 73; Ståhl 1976, 65 f.; Pamp 1988, 29.)

The first elements are of various kinds, but there is no known example of an anthroponymic first element in Norway or Sweden. Many of them refer to features in the landscape, e.g. the town name *Bergen* (OWN *berg* or *bjørg* ‘mountain’) and *Bryne* (OWN *brún* ‘edge’) in Norway, others to animals, e.g. *Fygle* (OWN *fugl* ‘bird’) in Norway, *Gäsene* (OSw. *gas* ‘goose’) and *Kälvene* (OSw. *kalver* ‘calf’) in Sweden. In Norway there are *-vin(i)* names with names of pagan gods as first element, e.g. *Ullern* (OWN *Ullr*). (Jansson 1951, 45 ff.; Hovda 1976, 81 ff.; Ståhl 1976, 65 f.; Stemshaug 1985, 94 ff.)

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78. Sociolinguistic perspectives and language contact in Proto-Nordic

1. Scandinavia and contact with the Celtic and the Roman realms
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3. Loanwords from Old-Celtic
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1. Scandinavia and contact with the Celtic and the Roman realms

During the centuries around the birth of Christ, we can trace a contact between Scandinavia and the Continent, especially in the form of imported commodities. In the Celtic period (ca. 500 B.C.–0), the most widespread objects of Continental background in Scandinavia are metal objects, first in bronze, later in iron. The iron culture is successively sipping into Scandinavia during this period, introduced by the Celts in the La Tène and Hall-

statt cultures. In the Roman period (ca. 0–400 A.D.), contacts between Scandinavia and the Continent became more intensive (see e.g. Lund Hansen 1987; 1988; Hedeager 1992; Lund Hansen et al. 1995; Andersson/Herschend 1997). Now luxury goods, such as bronze vessels, glass, silver objects, statues, weapons and silver and gold coins, as well as more humble commodities, were coming into Scandinavia in large quantities. Some were traded, obviously with fur and leather, others were brought home by Germans who had served as soldiers in the Roman army. There is also a possible exchange between Roman and Germanic aristocrats. It is self-evident that the society in Scandinavia changed due to this intensive contact. We may see this in the way of trade and market (Ekholm 1934; Hagberg 1967–77; Rausing 1987), in the measure and weight system (Herschend 1980; 1991; Fønnesbech-Sandberg 1988), in the agrarian structure and maybe also in the religious cult activities. Naturally also the language was part of this infiltrational process.

2. The runes

The perhaps most important phenomenon in this field was the emergence of runic writing in Scandinavia some 2000 years ago. In this case we may not isolate the runes to a Scandinavian problem, while it is a Pan-Germanic phenomenon. It is obvious that the runes are made on the basis of an existing alphabet, most probably the Latin alphabet, and the area of invention is, again, most probably north of the *Limes*, thus in northwestern Germany or Denmark. The invention is to be seen in a context with the intensive contacts between the Roman world and the Germanic area in the Roman Iron Age. Due to the contacts north of *Limes* we had a Germanic culture very much infiltrated with Roman culture. This gave way for many Roman loanwords sipping into the Germanic languages (see sect. 4), and obviously also the emergence of runes. I have extensively discussed the origins and development of the Germanic runes in art. 37.

3. Loanwords from Old-Celtic

As is well known, languages are in a steady drift, in a constant change. New words are borrowed from other languages, very often in a context where a new artefact, phenomenon or tool is introduced; the word for it is brought with it, old words become obsolete. In the middle of the first millennium B.C. and the centuries thereafter, when Celtic people had a dominating position in the west and north part of the Continent, several Celtic words were borrowed into Germanic. It is natural that words, related to the new iron culture, that was flourishing among the Celts, such as OSw. *iærn*, ON *jarn* 'iron', cf. OIr. *íarn*, *íærn*, were introduced. Also words related to the political realm were borrowed, such as ON *riki* n. 'power, dominion' < **ríkia-* from OCe. **rígjon*, cf. OIr. *rige* n. A third important loan from the Celts is the word Sw. *ämbete*, Dan. *embede*, Norw. *embete*, ON *embætti* from Gall. *ambactus* 'servant', which also is to be found behind the ON *ambótt* f. (< **ambahtō-*) 'femal slave, servant'. From the Celtic loanwords in Scandinavian it is evident that the Celtic society was on a higher technological and societal level than the Scandinavian culture. That is the background for the import of a new iron technology, together with the terminology, a new kind of "polity", a hierarchical structure of power, reflected in the

words for "kings" and leaders, and new social structures, for example the introduction of *ambactus* > *ambótt* 'slave, servant'. The interesting question is, if slavery was introduced into Scandinavia with this Celtic contact, as this latter word may be an indication of, or if slavery already was existing within the Scandinavian Bronze Age society, or if it is a later Roman import?

4. Loanwords from Latin

When the Roman empire later on became the dominating factor on the continent, many new words were borrowed from Latin; again, very often the word was introduced together with the new artefact or tool. There are many examples to be found: ON *ketill* (< **katila-*) 'cauldron' from Lat. *catillus*, a diminutive to *catinus* 'plate, bowl', Sw. *källare* 'cellar' from Lat. *cellarium* (an early loan, before the time when Lat. *c* before *e* changed from *k* > *s*), Sw. *port* 'doorway' from Lat. *porta* (also an early loan, before the High-German sound shift), the verb OSw. *kopa* (< **kaupian*) and ON *kaupa* < **kaupōn* 'buy', probably formed on Lat. *caupo* 'merchant (especially in wine)', and Sw. *mångla* 'hawk' from Lat. *mango* 'slave trader'. From the latter two examples, both important words in the trading and market sphere, Elof Hellquist (1948, 551) draws the conclusion that the trading with wine and slaves were the basis in the barter between the Roman empire and the Germanic people to the north. In this context it is only natural that also the word Sw. *marknad*, Dan. *marked*, ON *mark(n)aðr* is a Latin loan, from *mercatus* 'trade, market' and that ON *eyrir*, OSw. *øre* is formed on the Lat. gold coin *aureus*. In this trade with the Romans many new merchandises were introduced into the Germanic area, and normally with them also the Roman word for the commodity, such as Lat. *vīnum* > ON *vín* 'wine', Lat. *piper* > ON *piparr*, OSw. *pipar* 'pepper', etc. (See etymological lexica, Hellquist 1929–32, 912ff. and P. Scardigli in Reall. 9, 552ff.)

5. Proto-Nordic loanwords in Finnish and Sami

In this early period, Scandinavia was not only a borrowing part. It is very interesting that many Proto-Germanic and Proto-Nordic words found their way into the Sami and the Finnish languages (see *Lexikon der älteren*

germanischen Lehnwörter in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen 1991 ff.; Hofstra 1985; Thomsen 1890; 1967; Qvigstad 1893; Noreen 1923, 4f.; Karsten 1943; Fromm 1958; K. B. Wiklund in *IF* 38; J. Koivulehto 1971; 1973; 1981a; 1981b; 1995; Ritter 1993; Green 1999; cf. Larsson 1995; Korhonen 1997). This must indicate that we had fairly intensive contacts between Scandinavians and these people in this period. A well known example is Finn. *kuningas* from PGmc **kuningaz* ‘king’ (R. Ekblom in *St Neoph.* 17, 1944, 1–24), others are Finn. *ruthinas* ‘lord’ < PGmc **druhtinaz*, ON *dróttinn*, Finn. *valta* ‘power’ < PGmc **walðan*, Finn. *rengas* < PGmc **hrengaz*, ON *hringr* ‘ring’, Finn. *nauta* < PGmc **nauta-*, ON *naut* n. ‘cattle’. Some of these may be very old borrowings, pre-dating a separate Proto-Nordic language (see Fromm 1958; de Vries 1961, 256, 406; Penzl 1972, 16).

Recently Jorma Koivulehto (1986) has demonstrated that some loanwords in Finnish must have been borrowed in a very early phase, before the time of the Law of Sievers, and he can furthermore show that the North-west-Germanic sound change $\bar{e}^1 > \bar{a}$ must have been earlier than generally assumed, completed perhaps already by 300–200 B. C. at the latest. Thus, according to Koivulehto, the contacts between the Germanic and the Finnish languages, that resulted in the first Germanic loanwords in Finnish, are to be dated to an Early Proto-Finnish period, when we had a common proto-language of Lapp and Baltic-Finnic, and which may be as early as ca. 1500–500 B. C., thus the Nordic Bronze Age.

6. Loanwords from Iranian languages

Scandinavian, and Germanic, languages have also adopted some words that presumably have their origin in Iranian languages (Benveniste 1963; Green 1999). That words for horses and fermented milk may have such an origin seems of course plausible for a nomadic culture focused around the horse. Another word may be *pad* ‘path’ etc., found in some rare dialect words and place-names in Scandinavia, the most well-known perhaps being the province name of *Medelpad* in northern Sweden, OSw. *Mæþalpaþ*. Germanic words and names with initial *p-* are extremely rare and often loanwords (Green 1999, 28). The most intriguing word of this probable origin is, however, the word ON *mækir*, Go. *mēki*

‘sword’ (Szemerényi 1979; Green 1999, 26f.). It has been believed that the word has found its way from Iranian languages into Germanic, Slavonic and Finnish probably when the Goths had reached contact with the Iranian people after the move to the Black Sea area and with the Goths as intermediators the word finally reached the area around the Baltic and the North Sea. However, the word is evidenced already in one of the oldest runic inscriptions we have, namely on the Vimose sword-chape, dated to ca. A. D. 250, as **makija** (acc.sg.) (Moltke 1985, 100). As D. H. Green (1999, 26f.) has pointed out, this makes “an improbably short timespan for the Goths to have adopted the word in the south, passing it back to the north, and for North Germanic to have adopted it in turn.” Instead Green argues quite convincingly that the word reached the Goths when they still were in Poland and he also identifies the Go. *mēki* with the short *gladii breves* sword, mentioned by Tacitus as characteristic of the East Germanic tribes. In this way, a single word may write history. This fact is important in showing the potential of philology for pre-historical periods, when we lack written evidence.

7. The problem with the Goths

A huge and intensively discussed topic is the question regarding the origin of the *Goths*. This question is linked with the problem of the splitting up of the Proto-Germanic language into East-, West- and North-Germanic (cf. e.g. Schwarz 1951; Markey 1976), and it is very much linked with historical and archaeological evidence regarding the Goths (see “Goten” in Reall. 12, 1998, 402ff. for a Stand der Forschung and for references, and also Wagner 1967; Hachmann 1970; Czarnecki 1975; Wolfram 1990; Bierbrauer 1994; Heather 1996; Green 1999). The waves of discussion have been high, and still are. From a stance, where Scandinavia was believed to be the *Urheimat* of the Goths (e.g. Kossinna 1897; 1920; Weibull 1958), we had a later position where instead Germany was focused (e.g. Hachmann 1970). In the last decades, discussion has very much stressed the Continental background for the Goths. In this light it is interesting to notice a recent and important contribution by the Scandinavian philologist Thorsten Andersson (1995; 1996; 1998), which – again – highlights the Scandinavian connection, and presents linguistic arguments that

are worth considering in the future discussion.

When the Goths first are mentioned by the Classical authors, they are located at the estuary of the river Wisla/Weichsel in today's Poland. Right across the Baltic lived the *gutar* on Gotland, and further on the *gautar* in Götaland. It seems too much of a coincidence to find three people around the Baltic with linguistically related names, and not to consider some kind of affinity or relationship between them, especially when we know that water does not separate but connects people. As Andersson argues, the evidenced form *gutoni* on the Pietroassa runerung most probably reflects a pl.gen. Go. *gutonê*, corresponding to pl.nom. Go. *gutans* (PGmc **gutani-z*), which is identical with the name of the *Gutar* on Gotland. Between the *Gutar*/*Goths* and the *Gotar* (< *Gautar*), we find a relationship with different ablaut. What is imbued in this ablaut shift has been discussed and is a very intricate question, but an argument that related people could manifest the relationship by choosing or be manifested by given different ablaut forms of the same basis seems plausible, and may have a parallel in the place-name material, while it is believed that really ancient names of lakes and rivers, that are geographically related, to show topographical affinity are formed on the same base but with different ablaut forms, e.g. *Moss(-elven)* < *Mors-*: *Mjar* < **Merz-* (Olsen 1939, 39, 52; cf. Andersson 1972, 9ff.). Another linguistic link, that Andersson focuses on, is the fact that the progenitor, the *heros eponymos*, of the Goths was **Gaut* (an emendation from *Gapt*, that must be a misspelling). It seems obvious, after Andersson's analysis, that Scandinavia may not be excluded when we are looking for the original homeland of the Goths. There are several arguments, e.g. linguistic, that connects them to Scandinavia (cf. Hermodsson 1993, 26, et passim).

A totally different view is presented by Ottar Grønvik (1995), who argues for the existence of two homophonic names **gautaz*/**gautar* during the Roman time (ca. 300–400), one West- and East-Germanic name for a god (Jordanes' *Gapt* > *Gaut*) and one inhabitant name in North-Germanic (*Götar* in Sweden). Later on, in context with the prevalent euhemeristic theory of the time, the Gothic royal line, the Amals, with its *heros eponymos* *Gaut* was (wrongly) identified with the Swedish inhabitants, which gave way for the tale of the origin of the Goths. Grønvik's

theory has several problematic aspects in need of discussion, such as the role of the *Gutar* on Gotland and the linguistic identity between *Gutar* and *Goths*.

8. Toponymy in the Germanic time

That the Germanic area in this period is still one "language community" is indicated by the occurrence of place-names. Very often the study of place-names has been conducted within the boundaries of the present states, so that scholars analyse place-names and place-name elements just in Sweden, Norway, Germany, England etc. This may be relevant for younger place-names, from ca. 1100 and later, but already place-names from A. D. 800–1100 must be studied over a wider area to make them understandable. When going back to the middle of the first millennium and in the Early Iron Age (ca. 0– A. D. 500), we seem to have, more or less, a common place-name repertoire in the Germanic area. Thus the *-inge*/*-inga*/*-ingen*-names cannot be analysed separately, but must be seen in this Germanic context, the same is the case for the *-hem*/*-heim*/*-haim*-names, the *-stad*/*-stead*/*-statt*-names, the *-löv*/*-lev*/*-leben*-names etc.

It is notable that many of these presumably oldest place-names denote a people or something areal, e.g. *-heim* and *-inga*. This may be linked with the fact that when the classical authors in this period (ca. 0– A. D. 500) are relating to the Scandinavian area, they never use place-names, but instead names of people (e.g. *theutes*, *hallin*, *bergio*, *finnaitthae*, *feruir*, *raumarici*, *ragnarici*, *heruli*, *suetidi*, *granii* etc.). It is extremely difficult to speculate on the naming strategies for this distant period of time, but one has the impression that what differs in naming practice between the Early Iron Age (ca. 0– A. D. 500) and the Late Iron Age (ca. A. D. 500–1100) in Scandinavia (and probably in the wider Germanic area) is the focusing of people and groups of people during the former period, and a more punctual – habitational or relating to the agrarian landscape – focusing during the latter. The ancient *-inge*-names go back to an inhabitant name *-ingar*, formed normally on some topographical word as the base (Stähle 1946), never containing a man's name as is the case in England and Germany. The old *-heim*-names, obviously denoting something areal (Brink 1991), normally a settlement district (where a group of people, *X-heimar* or *X-ingar*, lived), actually also have inhabitant names as the first element

in some cases, the most well-known is *Trondheim* (Sandnes 1990, 322). In the Late Iron Age we find place-names with single persons designated in the first element, the first owner of the farm (?), in compounds with e. g. *-stad*, *-torp* etc. This opposition may reflect different attitudes to landscape or to ownership of land between Early and Late Iron Age. Especially the important question regarding ownership to land and district, of which we know nothing, in principle, for the prehistoric time in Scandinavia, is something that ought to be focused on and discussed much more in the future (cf. Skre 1998; 1999; Brink 1999, 432f.). Such a discussion is absolutely vital for understanding the semantics behind our prehistoric place-names.

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IX. From Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic (from the 6th Century until 1100)

79. From Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic: Definition and delimitation of the period

1. Late Ancient Nordic and the Viking Age
2. Beginning and end of the transitional period
3. Change in the runic writing system
4. Language change
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Late Ancient Nordic and the Viking Age

As attested by the runic inscriptions, the Scand. languages began to change fundamentally towards the end of the 5th c. This change allows for the assumption of a period of transition between Ancient Nordic (AN) and the Old Nordic (ON) period following it. The duration and further subdivision of this transition period is disputed, depending on the criteria for its end point, the beginning of ON. Traditionally, the transitional period is divided into two phases. The first phase, denoting the period of time from ca. 500/600 to ca. 700/800 A.D., is called late AN (e.g. Krause 1971, 15). Grønvik (1998, 15), applying a linguistic criterion, nevertheless speaks of “Nachurnordisch” and “nachurnordische Sprache”, which he believes to have ended in the 9th c. with the loss of *i/u* after short root syllables. Haugen (1976, 132 ff.), on the other hand, due to cultural-historical criteria, suggests a single epoch reaching from the end of the Migration Age to the end of the Viking Age (that is, from 550 to 1050). During this epoch, which he calls the “Common Scand.”, the earliest differentiations of the Scand. languages (into EN and WN) are proposed to have taken place. In the Scand. tradition, the earlier part of the transitional period is called “Yngre urnordisk” (cf. Skautrup 1944, 39) or sometimes “Synkopezeit” (Seip/Saltveit 1971, 18). In the handbooks, the naming of the era following late AN varies widely, too. The German tradition often applies “Altnordisch” to that stage of language

which, apart from minor dialectal variation, remains relatively uniform and precedes the earliest hand-written records (which start ca. 1180). On the other hand, the terms “Old-dansk” and “Runedansk”, proposed by Skautrup (1944, 81 ff.), and “Runenschwedisch” (“Runsvenskan” in the Sw. original), proposed by Wessén (1970, 27 ff.), suggest that the texts and the language stage possess national characteristics, which probably does not apply at this early point of time. Likewise, the attempt to deduce a chronological division from runic texts appears questionable. Concerning Norw., Seip/Saltveit (1971, 34) speak of the “Viking Age” (“Vikingtiden” in the Norw. original), which in view of its more neutral designation of the historical era may be regarded as an alternative for “ON”. At any rate, late AN and ON constitute a transitional period of utmost significance to language and culture, during the course of which the Scand. languages began to divide. With regard to cultural aspects, the following key ideas are important: new structures of organization and trade succeeding the termination of Roman dominance; establishment of supra-regional centres of power and commerce in the Scand. countries; adoption and remodeling of the Gmc animal styles; (language) contact and settlements in the Gmc, Celtic, Slavic and Romance spheres; earliest Eddic and scaldic poems; settlements e.g. on Iceland and Greenland; adoption of Christianity and its dissemination over the whole of Scandinavia; and establishment of states and royal houses following Cont. examples.

2. Beginning and end of the transitional period

Today, the dating of the period as put forward in the older literature has to be modified in the light of new runic finds and a more precise

archaeological framework based on bracteate chronology. Nowadays, there is general agreement on an early estimate: late AN may have begun ca. 500, if not before. Important changes such as the great alphabet reform, the transition from the 24-character to the 16-character Futhark, and the further reshaping of the Futhark in Sweden and Denmark fall within the range of this period. The reform is preceded by significant changes in the language system through syncopation, loss of consonants and umlaut/breaking. The question of whether important morphological innovations such as the emergence of the suffixed article and the formation of the mediopassive might have occurred already in late AN, during the Viking Age or towards the beginning of ON is a matter of conjecture at best, but it cannot be answered with any certainty. There are several possible criteria for determining the end of late AN and the beginning of the Viking Age. Grønvik (e.g. 1998, 22) suggests the syncopation of *-i-*, *-u-* after short root syllables, which is carried out during the 9th c. Others cite the first tendencies to monophthongization in the East Nordic area, or simply the Vikings' appearance (indicated by the raid on the Lindisfarne monastery) and the earliest mentions and accounts of Scand. events by Latin sources on the Continent. The older handbooks are inclined to draw a boundary at around 800 in order to be able to correlate the language change, the reduction of the runic inventory and the onset of Scand. recorded history with the Vikings. From new finds like the Ribe cranium, however, it has become clear that the script reform must have taken place distinctly earlier, i.e. around 700; also, by this time the principal language changes in late AN were probably already complete in most parts of Scandinavia. Furthermore, Scand. and German archaeologists are currently inclined to fix an early beginning for the period. Based on dendrochronological data, which has considerably increased during the past years, it appears certain that important cultural changes such as the founding of towns and the building of a trade network were not effects of the Scandinavians' raids in terms of being prompted by examples on the Continent and the British Isles, but that they rather commenced long before, in the early 8th c. Denmark's oldest city, Ribe, was founded in about 700 (and the establishment of a city presupposes a supportive environment!); the oldest sections of the Danewerk were built sometime before 700;

cities like Wollin and Birka have a distinct pre-Viking Age phase; and the trees used in the oldest of the wooden houses erected in Staraja Ladoga were felled around 760. The dating of the foundation of Haithabu to about 800, however, seems to remain unchanged.

Diese Grabungsergebnisse zeigen, daß die bislang um 800 datierten Gegenstände wahrscheinlich 50 Jahre älter sein dürften und somit der Anfang der wikingerzeitlichen Kultur auf die Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts festgesetzt werden muß, mit einer Übergangszeit von einigen Jahrzehnten nach beiden Seiten hin. Tatsächlich gibt es keine sicheren absoluten Datierungen für den früher angenommenen Beginn der Wikingerzeit. Das Jahr 800 wurde wegen seiner Griffbarkeit als glatte Zahl definiert, zumal die aus schriftlichen Quellen bekannten Wikingerraubzüge unmittelbar davor begonnen hatten. In Wirklichkeit hatte sich aber die Herausbildung der wikingschen Gesellschaft in mancher Hinsicht schon vor dem Einsetzen der Kriegszüge vollzogen. Deshalb sollte künftig die Wikingerzeit auf den Zeitraum zwischen 750 bis 1100 festgesetzt werden. (Ambrosiani 1995, 38; likewise Steuer 1998)

Historians and philologists, on the other hand, rather tend to keep to the year 800 as the established onset of the period. They employ the beginning of the raids and of written records concerning Scandinavia as a delimiting criterion.

In Scandinavia this is what makes the Viking Age the transition period between prehistoric and historic times, and it is hardly a coincidence that written sources start at the same time as information on raids. They probably signal serious changes in relationships between western Europe and Scandinavia. (Roesdahl 1994, 113)

Therefore, the cultural-historical caesura around 800 is retained here as the indicator of the beginning of the Viking Age. It should be mentioned, though, that an earlier dating has the benefit of more closely implicating important linguistic changes with cultural ones. As for the end of the Viking Age and accordingly the beginning of ON, there also are various possible approaches and criteria. This historical era ends in 1066 with the Norman conquest of England, which puts the phase of Scand. expansion to an end. Also, Christianization and the establishment of nation-states may be regarded as being largely completed by this time. In order to arrive at a round number, Haugen proposes the year 1050 (as do Seip/Saltveit, e.g.); others, such as Skautrup, choose 1100 just as arbitrarily. One gets

even further into the High Middle Ages by applying the earliest existence of indigenous texts written on parchment in the national language as a criterion. This step would lead to the dates 1180 for Iceland and ca. 1225 for Sweden – accordingly, Wessén sees the latter date as a dividing line between Runic Sw. (“runsvenska”) and OSw. (“Äldre fornsvenska”). Here, in agreement with Haugen, the time around 1050 is supposed to mark the transition. From a philological point of view, in any case, late AN and the Viking Age constitute periods of radical alteration manifesting itself in changes in the language, the runic writing system, and the function of the runic texts.

3. Change in the runic writing system

Even though it has since become clear from new runic finds – above all from the bogs of Illerup and Vi – that during the AN period runic script culture and the script system were not nearly as uniform as was asserted in older handbooks due to the state of knowledge of the time, this diversity does not compare to the rapid changes the script system underwent during the late AN period. The development started with the modification of single runes, which at first did not affect the system, but soon enough (some of) the language changes were reflected in some of the spellings, and the script, with some delay, reacted. Towards the end of late AN (ca. 700 if not earlier), the 24-character Futhark was drastically reshaped into the prototype of the 16-character Younger Futhark, which in turn split up into the so-called (Sw.) short-twig runes and the so-called (Dan.) normal runes. In the opinion of many runologists, the phonetic changes in the rune names, which had an important mnemonic function for the learning of the runic alphabet, played a decisive role in the first step, the reduction. A classic (and certainly convincing) example is the name of the 12th rune, *jara*, which developed into *ara*, owing to the general loss of initial /j/. As an immediate consequence, this rune can henceforth stand for the phoneme /a/ instead of the previous /j/, in which case it is transliterated A in order to make it distinguishable from the old a. Among others, the Blekinge inscriptions (Gummarp, Istaby, Stentofen, Björketorp) from the second half of the 6th c. document the completed change. Apart from the alteration of the rune names (which principally affected the vowel graphemes), the reduction of the Futhark

from 24 to 16 characters may have been motivated by a desire for a more economic script due to an increase in writing. This desire is evident in subsequent reforms. At any rate, the very fact that the change in the script coincided with the earliest foundations of Scand. (trading) towns is striking. Although this argument can definitely be applied to the further simplification of the runic letters into the short-twig runes, some questions concerning the reform proper around 700 remain open in spite of numerous suggestions. Moreover, the exact dates of the further changes within the Younger Futhark remain unknown. The short-twig runes with their outstanding writing economy were probably created around 800 or in the second half of the 8th c., the time from which the Sparlösa stone dates, featuring both older and newer rune forms in different parts of its inscription. The copper plate from Ulvsunda establishes the time around 800 or shortly thereafter as a secure terminus ante quem. From the mid-9th c. there are instances of short-twig runes from Haithabu, and the copper kettle from Gokstad provides an instance from Norway somewhat later. The 9th c. witnessed the reshaping of some runes in Denmark as well, which there, too, resulted in a script that was more economic than before (each rune has only one staff), and which, due to its greater graphical clarity, was distinctly easier to read than the often ambiguous short-twig rune-row. Previously, there was an inclination to assume that this change occurred at the end of the 9th c. However, since the new runes were already mentioned in the *Abece-darium Nordmannicum* of the St. Gallen Codex, and as this manuscript was linked to Walahfrid Strabo, the Dan. normal runes must be accorded to the first half or the beginning of the 9th c. – therefore, they are probably at best slightly younger than the short-twig runes. During the entire 10th c. they served as a standard for the Dan. inscriptions, and are thus characteristic of the so-called Jelling period. It is not until towards the end of the Viking Age in the 11th c. that there were further structural changes in the runic script system. These changes (if one may disregard the special case of the staveless so-called Hälsinge runes, which occur merely in a few inscriptions after 1000) were no longer meant to facilitate writing; rather, they aimed at differentiating among the numerous homographs within the Younger Futhark: for /e/, /g/ and /y/, dotted runes were formed (in Denmark first). Owing to a phonetic change in its

name (**ansur* > *os*), the previous *ã*-rune could henceforth represent the phoneme /o/ (first in Sw. inscriptions); after the coalescence of the two (approximate) allophones /r/ and /R/ towards the end of the 10th c., the *yr*-rune also stood for /y/ in the 11th c. Digraphic spellings such as <au> and <ai> for /ɔ:/ and /æ/ anticipated the later usage of ligatures in the Latin script of the (Icelandic) manuscripts. In summary, and in simplified terms, the following sequence and motives may be presumed for the change in script during the transitional period: language changes motivated the reduction of characters around 700; a considerable extension of the employment of writing motivated the graphical simplification of the characters around 800; and the influence of and the growing familiarity with the Latin alphabet prompted various attempts at differentiating the homographs (for the 11th c., this is a mere hypothesis).

4. Language change

4.1. Language stages within late AN

Grønvik (1987, 167–189 and 1998, 16–26) develops several consecutive language stages for Late AN, “each of which can be described as a clearly definable and coherent morphological system” (1998, 16). The main criterion for the definition of the stages is the probably gradual reduction of unstressed final syllables (syncope), which can be observed in Late AN inscriptions. As far as these inscriptions are datable, the language stages are, too. Before the bracteate inscriptions with elaborate texts dating from ca. 500 A. D. would come a stage I featuring fully maintained final syllables and representing AN, according to Grønvik. Concerning the nom. sg. and pl. of the *a*-stems (type *armaR*: *ōR*), for example, one must necessarily assume a stage in which *-a-* in the sg. is apocopated while *-ō-* in the pl. is temporarily sustained until, in a succeeding stage III (“Altnordisch”), it develops into *-a-*, which is preserved from then on. Analogously, these three stages might be applied to the long syllabic *-i-* and *-u-* stems. The apocopation of *-i-*/*-u-* after short root syllables is widely held to have taken place only considerably later (Wessén 1970, 8; Heusler 1962, 36). Inextricably linked to the loss of *-i-*/*-u-* is the phonemicization of the mutated vowels in root syllables (such as in the type *gastiR* > *gæstiR*). According to Grønvik (1998, 18), the allophone phase (in which the vowels of the root syllables are

realized as [æ] or [æⁱ]) most likely falls in the last stage of (Early) AN, from 450 to 480/500, approximately. This classification corresponds perfectly with the thesis developed by Seebold (1991): he accounts for several unique rune-forms and orthographical irregularities in Dan. bracteate inscriptions from that very time by suggesting that they could have been created more or less ad hoc in order to denote umlaut allophones. (Those unique rune-forms, however, could not prevail in the further development of the runic script; the opposite occurred instead, with the reduction of the original 24 to the 16 characters of the Younger Futhark.) With all due scepticism towards Seebold’s interpretation of these inscriptions, the possibility of their featuring orthographic experiments cannot be denied, even though it also cannot yet be proved. Taking all types of endings and morphological contrasts into account, Grønvik (1998, 22f.) postulates the following sequence of language stages from AN to Viking-Age ON:

- (i): all vowels in final syllables are maintained; “Urnordisch”;
- (iia): loss of /a, i/ after long and /a/ after short syllables;
- (iib): loss of /u/ after long root syllables;
- (iii): long /o:/ in final syllables becomes /ō/ or /a/;
- (iv): loss of /i, u/ after short syllables; ON.

On theoretical grounds, Grønvik’s language stages are convincing; (more) problematic, however, is the exact specification of the time and duration of the respective stages. Regarding this matter, we have very little direct evidence and not much more indirect. Stone-cut inscriptions such as the one from Eggja, frequently presented in the handbooks as evidence for language change, cannot be dated securely (as the discussion about the horse figure on Eggja has shown, stylistic-historical criteria are not very helpful, either), and their interpretation is often disputed. This is true for the Blekinge inscriptions, for example, although there are good reasons for their being placed in the second half of the 6th c. Even if the inscription artifacts can be dated archaeologically, the general problem of dating the inscriptions arises nonetheless, because the artifacts are for the most part jewellery, which may very well have been in circulation within a family for a longer or shorter time before the inscriptions were made (cf. Steuer 1998; for a general criticism of Grønvik’s cf. Schulte 1998). In spite of all objections, the assump-

tion that stage i “Urnordisch” ended around 500 is generally plausible, given the faint evidence on the bracteates and the indirect evidence of the abundant svarabhaktis in the erlinscriptions (type **harabanaR** for *hrabnar* on Järsberg) and in the Blekinge inscriptions. Certainly these svarabhaktis do not document any additional vowels; rather, they express the writers’ uncertainty in the face of the progressive reduction of the vowels in final syllables. Stage iia is represented on the fibula from Eikeland found in 1965 in a richly equipped grave for a woman. In 1976 Grønvik presented an interpretation that he himself later modified slightly (1987, 53 ff.); it has met with general approval. Typologically, the fibula dates from Migration Age iv (to use the terms of Egil Bakka’s framework), that is, from 525–575. It features the same bind-rune **aR** as the Bratsberg fibula and the Järsberg stone; the **k**-rune is typologically somewhat older than the one on Järsberg. Bakka himself had dated the fibula at ca. 550, granting some leeway on either side. In the inscription, the masc. name **wiR** (for older *WiwaR*) shows the loss of the final-syllabic *a*, the vb. form **writu** retains the *-u* after the long root syllable, and **runoR** displays the original AN form. Finally, the word **asni** ‘beloved one’ exhibits syncope as well. To assign the language of the Eikeland fibula to stage iia is thus certainly acceptable; unfortunately its dating is also unsure. In particular, the inscription might have been made contemporaneously with the fibula, i.e. in about 540; on the other hand, it might just as well have been added to the (then old) piece of jewellery on the occasion of the burial, thus approaching the year 600. With this reservation, assigning stage iia to the first half of the 6th c. seems nevertheless tenable. Grønvik cites the bracteate from Ågedal as direct evidence for stage iib, and the clasp from Fonnås and the piece of bone from Ødemotland as evidence for stage iii. This view, however, only becomes justifiable if one accepts Grønvik’s interpretations of these texts, which are usually deemed uninterpretable; but his suggestions are hardly convincing. An object that does facilitate a secure dating, though, is the fragment of a dice retrieved from a cremation grave in Vallentuna in 1980. Given the transience of the artifact (a utensil, not a piece of jewellery as in most other cases), the inscription may be dated to the last decade of the 6th c. In this fragmentary inscription, **-hAukR** (< *haukaz*) shows the syncope of *-a-* after a long syllable. Furthermore, the shape of the

runes necessarily leads to the conclusion that the inscriptions mentioned above as well as the Blekinge inscriptions have to be assigned to an earlier point in time, namely to the second half of the 6th c. Accordingly, stage iii is manifest by 600 at the latest. It is hardly conceivable that further development, i.e. syncope after short syllables, should not have set in until more than 200 years later, but that is exactly the case according to common opinion. The conclusion that this development did not occur until the 9th c. is based on several unscopated forms in runic inscriptions from that time (or rather, these inscriptions are dated to the 9th c. *because* they contain such forms). The forms in question comprise 4–5 instances from Dan. territory (among them one misspelling, one unambiguous secondary svarabhakti, and two instances of *sunu*) and 11–12 instances from Sweden (the best-known of which are found on the Rök stone). The Sw. instances include: two probably phantom forms; two svarabhaktis; six instances of *sunu(R)* as well as *sitiR* and *karuR* from the Theodoric stanza on the Rök stone, which stanza may be many decades older than the remainder of the text; **stikuR** on the Kälvesten stone; and **sakiR** on the Oklunda stone). Therefore, challenging the validity of this evidence seems appropriate, and doing so allows for the possibility of stages iii and iv following one another at a considerably shorter (and more realistic) time span. Moreover, some inscriptions such as the Ribe cranium, which is archaeologically dated at 720, virtually show an opposite tendency, embodied in secondary svarabhaktis (type *ulfar* > *ulfr* > *ulfur*, as in Modern Icel.). This may indicate that there was indeed a weakening of vowels, at least of their lento-forms, but not necessarily a resulting reduction of the number of syllables. An earlier reduction of final syllables after long root syllables (or better, “Sprechsilben”, cf. Grønvik 1998, 40 ff., Birkmann 1995, 182 f.) certainly makes sense in terms of phonetics; the dating of the end of the syncope period, however, depends on the assessment of the runic forms from the (8th and) 9th c. discussed above: if we are dealing with morphological variants (e.g. *sunu* along with standard *sun*) or particular lento-forms, the period of syncope may well have ended in the 7th c./around 700; if one takes these forms to be the standard ones, on the other hand, one must indeed assume two phases of syncope, one for the 6th and another for the 9th c. – in which case the period of syncope would reach considerably

into the Viking Age. Current research seems to agree on the earlier variant since syncope as well as mutation are naturally continuous processes: “Our view (as opposed to Kock and his followers) is that the *i*-Umlaut is one ongoing process, just like syncope” (Riad 1988, 17). In Schulte’s (1997, 199) view, umlaut is a phenomenon of the 6th c., which, moreover, points to a homogeneous common Scand. continuum of language:

Die entscheidenden Vorgänge spielen sich insgesamt früher ab, als gemeinhin angenommen. Sie sind in der 2. Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts weitgehend abgeschlossen. Der *i/j*-Umlaut erstreckt sich also keineswegs über mehrere Jahrhunderte, wie Kocks Modell glauben macht. Vielmehr kommt dieser Prozeß innerhalb einer geschlossenen Phase zur Durchführung, die insgesamt nur einige Jahrzehnte, kaum aber mehr als ein Jahrhundert andauert.

An interesting theory of syncope on the basis of Sprechsilben is presented by Grønvik (1998, 39 ff.); he, too, presumes the *i*-mutation to have been active for a limited time only, and that the inscription from Eggja documents the end of its effectiveness (1998, 56). There is nothing to be said against assigning this inscription to the 7th c., even if the date cannot be further specified. „Somit dürfte jetzt feststehen, daß die aktive Periode des *i*-Umlautes spätestens mit der Sprachstufe *iiia* kurz nach 600 zu Ende war“ (Grønvik 1998, 56). Nevertheless, Grønvik adheres to the view that the period of syncope ended in the 9th c., owing to the instances of the *sunu* type.

Hence, many facts indicate that the important linguistic as well as graphemic changes of late AN began towards the end of the 5th c. and concluded by the end of the 7th c. with the emergence of the Younger Futhark and the (near) completion of syncope. Consequently, all assumptions in the older handbooks, according to which the linguistic developments within NGmc show a distinct phase displacement with regard to WGmc, have to be revised. The view presented by Wessén (1970, 7) may be regarded as typical. According to this, the impetus towards syncope and umlaut originated in the south, i. e. in WGmc, and became effective in NGmc “relatively late” and “much later”, respectively. As far as we know today, syncope and umlaut run almost completely parallel in both language groups: SGmc inscriptions show that we can link the earliest reduction processes in WGmc, too, to the time around 500 at the latest (cf. Birkmann 1991). Furthermore, we can assume

these processes to have (temporarily) ceased around 700.

4.2. Language change during the Viking Age

During the Viking Age distinct dialectal differences arise within Nordic for the first time, thus establishing a WN area and an EN area comprising Denmark and Sweden. The changes did not result in the immediate formation of national languages, but rather in a continuum within which independent languages only much later emerged, due to the normative force of writing and the influence of politics. The main characteristic of the early differentiation is the so-called East Nordic monophthongization (*ai* > *e*; *au*, *ey* > *ø*), which occasionally shines through the phonetically so inaccurate runic script: spellings such as **stin** instead of older **stain** may be evidence for the change, but on the other hand may simply result from the omission of a rune. The furnishing of proof is further complicated by the not uncommon custom on the part of rune writers of using **ai** and **au** for monophthongs of middle tongue position (apparent e. g. in **aiftiR** instead of “normal” **iftiR** ‘for, after’). Thus a precise dating of the change is at present not possible. The handbooks vacillate between the 11th c. (Wessén on the Middle Sw. inscriptions) and ca. 900; the earliest instance might be present on the Gørlev I stone from Zealand. The Gotlandic picture stone from Tjängvide may be the one piece of evidence from the Viking Age for the emergence of the suffixed article; it dates possibly from the 10th c. Its fragmentary text contains the sequence **stainin**, which, granted, may merely be due to an incorrect double writing or the conjunction *en*. One can only conjecture about the implementation of nasal assimilation, as runic orthography in principle avoids double writings, and as nasals before homorganic Cs are generally not written. From the end of the 10th c., though, the inscriptions document a gradual coalescence of palatal and velar /r/, which occurs first after dentals: in this position, already on Harald’s Jelling stone **r** stands for **R**. The *yr*-rune can then represent the phoneme /y/. Finally, definite pieces of evidence for the loss of initial /h/ are found in the region around Lake Mälär, in spellings like **hut** instead of *and/önd* in the soul-formula, for example. On several further phonological changes cf. Elmevik (1998). Thus, towards the

end of the Viking Age, the first signs of independent languages/dialects are present, and this tendency increased during the ON period.

4.3. Changes in the use of runic script

Under influences from the South and the West during the Viking Age, the character of the runic inscriptions underwent a distinct change, away from predominantly magical inscriptions (which of course did not suddenly cease) towards more or less profane grave inscriptions (which also occurred before). On the one hand, the early Viking Age still profers more or less inscrutable stone inscriptions, such as the ones on Rök, Sparlösa, and Ingelstad in Sweden, Bjørneby in Norway, Hoga and Skee from Bohuslän, and Snoldelev in Denmark, which possess apparent magical components; furthermore, the Gørlev stone juxtaposes a “normal” stone-raising formula beside the magical *þistil-mistil-kistil* formula and the similarly puzzling phrase ‘I set the runes right’. On the other hand, however, the number of profane memorial stones for the dead increased significantly in Denmark during the 10th c. Initially, these memorial stones are linked to the newly established royal house and the nobility close to it. Towards the end of the 10th c., the Jelling stone ordered by King Harald Gormsson indicates, apart from its political (and religious) purpose, considerably increased literacy within society. After Jelling, towards the end of the Viking Age, the fashion of the bereaved commissioning rune stones as memorial stones (which presumably served to document the right of inheritance, too) spread rapidly, the results of which can still be observed in the open countryside and the churches today. From Sweden alone we know of well over 2,000 rune stones. Generally, the script is fitted into an ornamental frame which represents an important part of the art history of the Viking Age. (Some significant examples of additional ornamentation are found on the Norw. stones from Alstad, Dynna, and Vang, among others.) Additions subsequent to the stone-raising formula offer poetic elements, information on the life and death of the deceased, and – continually increasing towards the mid-11th c. – Christian symbols and wishes for the spiritual salvation of the dead. Then, as before and also as in the following period, mysterious, hardly interpretable, and magical inscriptions appear on loose objects; there is correspondence, obscenities, poetry: in short, the runic

script evolves into a script for everyday use. It was, in principle, capable of all functions, which were increasingly taken over by the Latin script during the ON era. This change – like numerous others – is rooted in the Viking Age.

5. Literature (a selection)

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80. The sources of the transitional period between Ancient Nordic and Old Nordic

1. Preliminary remarks
2. Place-names
3. Runic inscriptions
4. Texts in foreign languages
5. Literary documents
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Preliminary remarks

More diverse and greater linguistic sources are available for the time span between the Migration Period and the end of the Viking Age than for the previous period. These varied sources, however, cannot give us a complete synchronic and diachronic picture of the language because they are weighted with uncertainties regarding both their date and interpretation. Runic inscriptions are the most important and substantial evidence for the transitional period from Ancient Nordic to

Old Nordic. In addition, place-names, personal names and words used in texts written in foreign languages as well as vernacular literary texts provide information about the development of the language during the period from the 5th to the 11th century. Of these diverse groups of sources, only a few runic inscriptions and the vernacular literary documents themselves provide extensive passages of continuous text. Furthermore, one must often take into consideration substantial interference from other languages in the remaining sources.

2. Place-names

The oldest linguistic evidence from the Germanic area are place- and personal names. Names are often derived from appellatives,

but in some instances continue to denote objects that no longer correspond to this appellative meaning (cf. Schütte 1976, 40). Toponymic studies have been conducted extensively in Scandinavia since the 19th century and have been, above all, historically oriented, i.e. with regard to the development of settlements. However, place-names also play a significant role in linguistics as conservative substantiations, because one can acquire information from them about linguistic development. Since place-names are geographically fixed, they can supply evidence for the distribution of certain linguistic characteristics. Scandinavian place-names have been used primarily in studies of historical phonology and inflection (Jansson 1951; Tjäder 1967; Brylla 1987). Place-names can be combined into groups of names that are formed with the same ending and which are found not only individually, due to a correspondence in terminology, but are also distributed to a varying extent over larger and smaller areas. The analysis of place-name types is thereby significant for the highly debated question of a common Northwest Germanic language area. The difficulty in chronological stratification, especially with the oldest names, is a vexing problem (Andersson 1995b). For the transitional period from AN to ON, the place-names formed with the aid of suffixes are interesting because the same suffix inventory is attestable during the first five hundred years A. D. in Scandinavia as well as on the Continent (Andersson 1995b, 4). Place-names of the *-ingi*-type play a key role in the assessment of this question, for they make clear a toponymic connection between Scandinavia and the Continent (Andersson 1995c, 10). The distribution of this place-name type does indeed confirm a close NWGmc unity, but other place-names also reveal clearly that there were already early signs of the separation of W/NGmc. This finding is confirmed from the perspective of the place-names in the British Isles (Nicolaisen 1995). There, place-name types entering not only from the Continent but also from Scandinavia were productive and thereby attest the existence of a common NWGmc toponymy from which place-name types can be traced to the individual dialects (cf. Beck 1987). There are also a considerable number of place-names of Scandinavian origin in Norman and French (Gorog 1958). However, despite their use for historical linguistics, the limits of toponymy are clear: although the distribution of a type of name can show linguistic relations within

the area of occurrence, relationships can also extend beyond this area, as the distribution of *-vin*-names, which cover only a part of the Nordic area, suggests (Jansson 1951; Andersson 1995c, 9).

3. Runic inscriptions

Runic inscriptions form the most extensive and important group of sources for the transition period between AN and ON. The inscriptions are original documents which record in linguistic form the events of the period in which they originated. Contrary to the earliest period of runic inscriptions, not only does the number of inscriptions increase over time, but the texts also become more extensive and reveal linguistic changes more clearly.

3.1. Dating of inscriptions

Although the number and length of the inscriptions increases, the dating of the texts remains uncertain because only a small part of the inscriptions are found on somewhat reliably datable surfaces (on the problem of dating, see Birkmann 1995, 5f.). Linguistic changes can indeed be seen in inscriptions from the period between the end of the 5th and the end of the 9th centuries, but often a relative chronology for the individual changes can be established only with difficulty, and an absolute dating is next to impossible. Inscriptions can be dated by means of archeological, runological (i.e. in respect to the form of the runes) and historical-linguistic criteria. Even archeological datings, independent of the other criteria, often do not offer any absolute dates; instead they are usually based on a framework of relative chronology so that often different chronological systems must be reconciled. Only a few portable objects can be dated by means of archeological criteria, although runologists and philologists do not always accept this dating, even for inscriptions which may have originated much later. Because during the transition period from AN to ON runic inscriptions were carved more and more on stones, which archeologists can rarely date, at best a relative chronology using runological or linguistic criteria is often the only one possible. Since these criteria can only be used after reading and interpretation have occurred, there is a great danger of circular reasoning. The question of the time and place of a linguistic change remains, however, in a close relationship with the dating of the

source, so that problematic dating has far-reaching consequences for linguistic research. There are only nine archeologically datable inscriptions available for 550–750 A. D., usually called the period of syncopation (Birkmann 1995, 6). During the transition period from AN to ON not only did the language change, but also the form of the runic inscriptions because the elder futhark, consisting of 24 letters, was reduced to the younger futhark, consisting of only 16 letters used in different versions. Whether the reduction of the letters is to be seen as a consequence of phonological change or whether it is the result of other causes, e.g. developments in the alphabet, number magic or changes in the names of runes, is answered by researchers with the same lack of definitiveness as the questions of when and where this reduction occurred (Odenstedt 1992).

3.2. Distribution of the inscriptions

Chronologically and geographically, runic inscriptions are distributed very unevenly. While from the period from ca. 600 to 800 exclusively Norw. and Sw. inscriptions survive, the number of Dan. inscriptions grows rapidly from ca. 800, thus making Denmark as the epigraphical center of Scandinavia during the early Viking Period. Also, Denmark is usually considered the home of the younger futhark, for it appeared there for the first time in its complete form. Inscriptions found in Denmark in the younger futhark total 419, of which the Jelling inscriptions are probably the most famous. There are relatively few inscriptions from the early Viking Period preserved in Sweden. One of their number, the Rök stone, has caused most problems for scholars (see the report of reserach in Birkmann 1995, 290ff.). For the later Viking Period, Sweden becomes the new center of runic inscriptions. The inscriptions in the elder futhark are almost exclusively found on loose objects like weapons (e.g. spear blades, swords), jewelry (e.g. claps, buckles), utensils (e.g. combs, planes, knives) and bracteates. From ca. 350 A. D. the inscription of the stones, which then become the major writing surface for inscriptions using the younger futhark, begins in Norway and Sweden. From the first half of the 8th century the runes of the younger futhark were used more and more often in Denmark and Sweden, though the older signs remained in use. Since not all of the runes changed, it is not always clear, especially with

short inscriptions, whether the younger futhark was used. In Sweden this reduced runic alphabet was simplified yet again to the so-called short-twig runes, which are also called Norwegian-Swedish runes or Rök-runes because of the area of their distribution. In practice however, there was no clear differentiation between the normal runes in the younger futhark and short-twig and often mixtures of the two appear. The beginning of the 11th century brought about a still more extreme reduction of the runes: staveless runes. They were most likely used only in a small area, which is also referred to in their alternative name, Hälsing runes. In Denmark, the short-twig runes were first used in the 9th century, but did not gain general acceptance here. Around 900 A. D. a runic alphabet was established which then remained valid over a long period of time. It has simpler forms than the normal futhark but shows clearer distinctions than short-twig runes. On the Gørlev and Malt stones, one can find this runic alphabet in full length.

3.3. The problematic nature of the inscriptions

It is not only because of the difficulties in dating that runic inscriptions are a problematic group of sources (cf. Düwel 1975, 181). Often the condition of the inscriptions is so poor that at times it is not certain if one is looking at runes or accidental scratches. Since word dividers came into use relatively late, the continuous text of an inscription can be structured only with difficulty and therefore often offers many possibilities for interpretation. Furthermore, interpretation is dependent upon information from later stages of the language, above all with respect to inscriptions in the elder futhark which often consist of a single word and therefore have neither an internal nor an external context. Although inscriptions in the younger futhark contain word dividers more often and thereby allow at least suggestions of syntactic units, a new problem arises due to the reduced number of characters, because grapheme and phoneme no longer have a one-to-one correspondence. In later inscriptions there was an attempt to remedy this situation with a system of punctuation, but it was not consistently used.

4. Texts in foreign languages

Latin and Old English texts which deal with Scandinavian persons or topics often contain Nordic loanwords or place- and personal names. These works cover a time period from about the 7th century to the end of the Viking Age. The comments are sparse, especially in such Lat. works as the *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Sevilla, *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours or *Historia Langobardorum* by Paulus Diaconus. The Nordic material contained therein is essentially restricted to names which normally have been latinized and therefore can offer only limited information about the stage of the Nordic language. Due to intense contact between Scandinavia and the British Isles during the Viking Age, one expects to find numerous comments in OE literature.

Scandinavian topics are dealt with above all in *Beowulf* and *Widsith*. But Anglo-Saxon chronicles, laws, charters, deeds etc. also contain, again and again, Nordic loanwords (Hofmann 1955). A whole series of these documents are datable to the early Viking Age (up to ca. 980), but they contain only sparse references to the Nordic language. Only in the later Viking Age, when Scandinavian people and lands are directly concerned in the contacts, does the number of Nordic loanwords used in English sources increase. Titles, deeds, charters and laws contain Scandinavian place-names and personal names in anglicized form, as well as terms from jurisprudence which now and then appear even in sources valid outside of Danelaw. The annals and chronicles are especially valuable for linguistic analysis because they cover the Viking Age rather completely and, above all, chronologically.

Unfortunately, the better part of the entries exist only in later copies so that it is not always clear at which state of the language the borrowing occurred. Although a large part of *Beowulf* deals with especially Scand. themes, the AN words in this work are limited almost exclusively to names which are used in anglicized form. In addition, *Beowulf* makes abundantly clear the problems that arise in the evaluation of loanwords in sources written in foreign languages. It is not always clear whether or not borrowing has occurred, especially when dealing with two closely related languages like OE and the Nordic languages, and if so, in which direction it occurred. While the editor of the standard edition of *Beowulf* postulated a clear Nordic influence (Klaeber 1922, CXX), more recent scholarship empha-

sizes the absence of Nordic loanwords in *Beowulf* as one of its characteristics (Frank 1981, 123; Bjork/Obermeier, 27). *Beowulf* survives in only a single manuscript, which can be dated, on paleographic grounds, to the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. When the work itself originated, however, remains an unanswered question. Datings vary between the 7th and the 11th centuries (cf. Bjork/Obermeier 1997; Andersson 1983; Fulk 1982). For this reason it is debatable whether the Scandinavian names have been anglicized or adopted in their authentic, i.e. Nordic, form of the 6th or 7th century (Fulk 1982, 343f.). The OE and Nordic languages were so close even during the Viking Age that many loanwords could have been borrowed without much phonetic difficulty and unusual sounds could have easily been adapted to the languages' own phonetic systems. Nordic words usually assimilated with OE declensions, and only in a few instances of borrowed names were foreign endings kept (Hofmann 1955, 253ff.).

5. Literary documents

Some Viking Age native literary texts from Scandinavia have also survived. The oldest Eddaic poems and scaldic poetry are datable to the 9th century. Because these texts are much more extensive than the average runic inscription, they contain a much broader and varied vocabulary and also much more differentiated morphology and syntax. In contrast to Eddaic poetry, the dating of which in many cases is highly controversial, scaldic poetry can normally be dated rather exactly, insofar as the author is known and the authenticity of the poem or stanza is certain. The oldest remaining scaldic poem is assumed to be the *Ragnarsdrápa* by Bragi Boddason, in which a valuable painted shield is described. Three poems about mythical and heroic prehistoric times also belong to the oldest stage of scaldic poetry: the *Haustlög* by Þjóðólfr ór Hvini, the *Húsdrápa* by Úlfr Uggason and the *Þórsdrápa* by Eilífr Goðrúnarson. In addition there are quite a few individual stanzas, the so-called *lausavísur*, which were usually composed as occasional verse and the authors of which are often unknown, so that their dating is not always certain.

Although a wealth of literary texts can supplement the mostly rather short runic inscriptions, their ability to provide evidence for linguists is limited. Not one of the poems sur-

vives in a manuscript from the Viking Age. The oldest records of scaldic and Eddaic verse date from the 12th century, excepting the few runic inscriptions which contain parts or the whole of Eddaic or scaldic stanzas. While one assumes that scaldic poetry underwent few changes in the process of oral transmission due to the complex metrics, it is possible that works of Eddaic poetry, which uses much simpler metrics, have undergone linguistic change before coming down to us. Despite all of the problems in dating individual poems and stanzas, it is certain with regard to both scaldic and Eddaic poetry that all surviving stanzas could only have been composed after the extensive and radical linguistic changes of the period of syncope and that their value for linguists is limited to the final centuries of the transitional period.

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81. Phonological and graphematic developments from Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic

1. General background
2. The vowel system
3. Prosodic phenomena
4. The consonant system
5. Graphematic changes
6. Literature (a selection)

1. General background

The different North Germanic languages emerge in written form with Roman letters over the course of the 12th and 13th c., grad-

ually establishing what could be called national written standards. For a long time, the written material shows much variation, reflecting spoken dialects more than norms for writing, although, all along, some special writing conventions characterize the various Nordic power centres. Before the Latin alphabet was adopted, Nordic dialects had long been rendered in runic script, which, however, shows tendencies toward standardization to an even lesser extent. In accordance with the overall disposition of this handbook, this article aims

at elucidating the “transitional” phase of ca. 600–1100 A.D., during which the Nordic languages in their earliest literary form developed from the preceding language stage usually referred to as Proto-Nordic or Ancient Nordic.

When the transition from Proto-Nordic to Old Nordic is discussed, it has to be kept in mind that what is described is primarily a theoretical construct. To be sure, it can be argued that Proto-Nordic is not a reconstructed language system at all, since there are indeed actual (runic) texts available, representing the language stage in question. On the other hand, any description of a language system is a highly abstract generalization – even more so when earlier language stages are described, most often on the grounds of rather poor evidence. Strictly speaking, then, Proto-Nordic is in fact a reconstructed language stage, and so are the Old Nordic languages, although in the latter case there is much more written material left to build on. What little there is of contemporary Proto-Nordic data is mostly concise and sometimes formulaic, so that a very limited selection of linguistic structures is displayed. Many of the texts have uncertain readings or are otherwise hard to interpret; they seldom lend themselves to analyses of finer detail. Even when they do, all conclusions about the underlying phonology remain risky. The runic evidence and its nature is discussed on a principle level elsewhere in this volume (art. 73f.).

There is a strong scholarly tradition telling a rather fixed story about Proto-Nordic and the following transitional period. It has to be emphasized once more, however, that much of what is considered to be the fundamental structure of Proto-Nordic is reconstructed, ultimately, on the basis of theoretical assumptions. The reconstruction largely relies on comparison between languages that are taken to be “genetically related”, in the sense “having evolved from a common language source”, in itself a very strong claim indeed. The relevant period here has often been referred to as “Common Scandinavian” or the like, i.e. a stage in itself assumed to be more or less homogeneous. The adequacy of the notion of Common Scandinavian has recently been questioned by Barnes (1997).

Another corner-stone in the reconstructive work is the language-internal evidence, i.e. various phenomena observable at later stages of the language that can be suspected to reflect certain changes at an earlier stage. A third important type of evidence consists

of borrowings from Proto-Nordic into other languages, where earlier forms may have been fossilized in an alien linguistic environment, still revealing their original structural characteristics. It goes without saying that a description of a language system based on such sporadic and inconclusive evidence as has just been exemplified, on the one hand, and hypothetical assumptions, on the other, leaves much room for uncertainty.

In face of such problems, it is easy to adopt a completely negative attitude and maintain that the whole issue is impossible to deal with. Such nihilism would be pointless here. A total revision of the field is, on the other hand, also out of the question. Rather, it seems more suitable to adopt a fairly traditional view, but more because an elaborated alternative is still lacking than because the traditional version is quite convincing in itself. The reader can refer to well-known handbooks, such as Noreen (1913), Skautrup (1944), Wessén (1962), Krause (1971), Bandle (1973), Haugen (1976), for more details.

In many existing diachronic studies, a given language stage tends to be presented as a fairly stable system, being followed by a “transitional period” leading into another rather self-contained language stage. It is well-known that language change seldom follows such a course in the real world; it is the analytical and descriptive models traditionally used which conjure this picture. However, what we call Proto-Nordic spans several hundred years, and Old Nordic another five hundred or so. Obviously, a description of such language stages is idealized to an extremely high degree, and the transition between two stages of that sort is even more of a construct, the description of which merely summarizes observed differences between the idealized stages involved. Therefore, it would be more accurate to speak about “differences between diachronic correspondences” than to imagine “phonological changes” (cf. Andersen 1973), but, again, the traditional terminology is retained here for practical reasons.

With these reservations, it can nevertheless be claimed that there is a set of important changes transforming the phonological (and graphematic) system of Proto-Nordic into that of Old Nordic. They do not, however, take place exclusively during some transitional period but occur gradually from the earliest to more recent times. Nor do they apply in exactly the same form all over the language area. The exact chronology is usually difficult

to decide (it may also vary between different parts of the language area), but in some cases changes interact in a structurally critical way, so that a relative chronological chain of events can be assumed. If the gradualness of phonological changes is borne in mind and variation is acknowledged to be fundamental to older language stages even more than to modern, more standardized ones, we stand a better chance of dealing with some of the remaining puzzling questions in a reasonable way. Gradualness, then, may imply an ever more generalized application of rules, the implementation of these from one linguistic environment to another for individuals and groups of speakers, as well as diffusion of rules in a geographic sense over a language area and among speakers within a language community, usually in accordance with social patterns.

Here a distinction is made between the terms “change” and “rule” (in contrast to, e.g., many neogrammarian studies, in which a change or a set of changes may be called a rule or a law). A synchronic phonological system is taken to be describable as a set of rules governing the observed regularities of that system. The diachronically significant fact about such systems largely consists of the presence or absence of a certain rule, or the modification of the formulation of a given rule. A change does not usually take place suddenly once and for all, but a new regularity can emerge in a language, for which a new rule has to be formulated. The diachronically significant change, then, can be defined as the introduction of the new rule. In a similar way, a regularity may cease to exist, and so the rule which was earlier in operation (or had to be formulated within a description of the language system in question to capture the observed generalization) can be said to have been lost. Still another type of change may be described as a modification of the conditions for a rule to apply. Every new language-learner takes a fresh look at the facts. Rules that are no longer well motivated by the observable regularities cannot be postulated. The constant reanalysis and restructuring of the rule

system and the lexical inventory that has to be assumed to be taking place at the individual level may also be diachronically significant in a collective perspective.

2. The vowel system

The most dramatic phonological changes during the transitional period between Proto-Nordic and Old Nordic as defined in this survey apply to the vowel system. They include the development of a more comprehensive inventory of stressed vowels, on the one hand, and a radical reduction or total deletion of vowels in syllables not carrying main stress, on the other. By the end of the period, new vowel phonemes, without corresponding counterparts in the older system, had arisen. A quite different word structure had become predominant, whereby the preconditions for the modern distinctions in the tonal system in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish had also been created. (In accordance with Scandinavian tradition, /y/ is used here to denote the high front rounded vowel; the front glide is transcribed as /j/; and /R/ denotes so-called palatal *r*, as discussed in 4.1.5.).

2.1. Stressed vowels

Towards the transition period, the Proto-Nordic vowel system contained five monophthongs, long and short, as shown in Fig. 81.1.

In addition, there were three falling diphthongs: /ai/, /au/, /eu/. It has been assumed, on the basis of comparative evidence, that a long /ε:/ was also part of the older Proto-Nordic system, but already in the earliest runic inscriptions it seems to have been turned into /a:/; thus <makia> (Vimose) ‘sword’ (cf. *Go. mekeis*). In principle, all the vowels could be either oral or nasal, depending on the phonological environment; some Viking Age inscriptions written with the younger runes still make a systematic distinction between nasalized and oral *a* (see 5.). The diphthong /eu/ was changed into /iu:/ before *i*-umlaut took place (see 2.1.3.).

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
<i>High vowels</i>	/i/ /i:/		/u/ /u:/
<i>Mid-high vowels</i>	/e/ /e:/		/o/ /o:/
<i>Low vowels</i>		/a/ /a:/	

Fig. 81.1: Monophthongal phonemes in Proto-Nordic.

2.1.1. Umlaut

Umlaut typically means the influence on stressed vowels by vowels in unstressed syllables, to the effect that the stressed vowel is qualitatively affected by the basic characteristic feature of the unstressed vowel. Traditionally, the main tendencies of umlaut have been associated with the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* occurring in endings. So, *a*-umlaut is supposed to have induced lowering, *i*-umlaut fronting and *u*-umlaut a rounding effect. Sometimes, the respective *i*-umlauts have been fit into a wider context, also including other environments among the triggering factors. Widmark (1991) has more clearly – and more convincingly – than most others committed herself to a view on umlaut which implies that the different umlaut phenomena must be understood as special cases of an overriding principle leading to a transfer of grammatical information from endings to stems, a “code shift” as Sigurd (1961) puts it. Thus, Widmark uses the terms “lowering”, “palatal”, and “labial umlaut”. To Widmark it is also obvious that breaking (2.1.2.) is only another aspect of umlaut. She also emphasizes the intricacy of the phenomenon, involving all sorts of variables, the theoretical and methodological importance of distinguishing between the phonetic and the phonemic perspectives etc., which all contribute to making a perfect account of the process almost impossible. A critical survey of the research on umlaut between 1950 and 1980 is given by Benediktsson (1982, with further references).

2.1.1.1. *A*-umlaut means the lowering of the short stressed high vowels /i/ and /u/ to [e] and [o], respectively, under the influence of an unstressed /a/ in a following syllable (Fig. 81.2). It can be argued, as does Widmark (1991), that all low vowels may have the same lowering effect on high vowels, hence the term “lowering umlaut”. The least ambiguous cases, however, have the form of *a*-umlaut. Thus, Old Icelandic *neðan*, Old Swedish *næþan* ‘from under’

	Front	Central	Back
High vowels	/i/		/u/
	↓		↓
Mid-high vowels	[e]		[o]
Low vowels		(/a/)	

Fig. 81.2: The effect of *a*-umlaut.

are derived from the stem *niðr*, Old Swedish *nifer* ‘down’, and Old Norse *vega* and Old Norse *vægha* ‘strike’ can be compared to Old Norse *vig*, Old Norse *vigh* ‘blow (of death)’. The alternation is also manifested by allomorphs in Old Norse inflexional paradigms: Old Norse *sonar* gen. sg., but nom. sg. *sunr* ‘son’; Old Swedish nom. sg. *kona* ‘woman’, but gen. sg. *kunu*. However, such morphological variation within inflexional paradigms has often been subsequently reduced by “analogical levelling”.

Obviously, *a*-umlaut operating on /i/ was restricted to light syllables (cf. Old Norse *finna* with Gothic *finþan*); likewise a preceding velar consonant or a following /j/ blocked the lowering of /i/, and /u/ failed to be lowered when immediately followed by a nasal or velar consonant cluster or by a glide (/j/, /w/) in the next syllable, i.e. environments that usually have a raising effect.

It is a general contention that *a*-umlaut is old in origin, strictly speaking older than the transitional period focused on here (cf. runic <horn> ‘horn’ on the Gallehus horn, dated to the 5th c.). Especially the change /u/ > [o] had repercussions on the system, since by this change a short /o/ was reintroduced into the phoneme inventory, giving rise to the symmetric vowel system shown in Fig. 81.1. The asymmetric implementation of *a*-umlaut over the Nordic language area has traditionally been taken as testifying to a fundamental split between West and East Nordic, the dialect boundary dividing Sweden and Denmark in the south, falling between Jutland and the Danish islands, leaving variants like Old West Danish *brot* ‘break’, *bogi* ‘bow’, *golf* ‘floor’, as opposed to Old East Danish *brut*, *bughi*, *gulf*, respectively (Skautrup 1944, 36–37; cf. Westén 1962, 15).

The dialect material, if taken into account, adds even more to the heterogeneous picture. Furthermore, other changes have similar effects. So the Proto-Nordic diphthong /iu:/ is turned into /jo:/ before dental consonants in Old West Nordic: *bjóða* as opposed to Old Norse *biudha*. Long /u:/ in the western part of the area often corresponds to /o:/ in the east: Norwegian *bru* ‘bridge’, *ku* ‘cow’ but Swedish *bro*, *ko*. Sometimes this distinction has been referred to as one of the oldest dialect differences in the Nordic language area (Erlandsson 1972).

2.1.1.2. Palatal umlaut, in particular *i*-umlaut proper, is by far the most debated type of umlaut in the Nordic languages. In its prototypical form it adds the phonological feature

	<i>Front</i> [–round]	<i>vowels</i> [+round]		<i>Back</i> [–round]	<i>vowels</i> [+round]
<i>High</i>	(/i/)	[y]	←		/u/
<i>Mid</i>	(/e/)	[ø]	←		/o/
<i>Low</i>	[ɛ]		←	/a/	

Fig. 81.3: The effect of *i*-umlaut.

Period 1 (= Umlaut period 1)	Acc. sg. <i>gest</i> < * <i>gasti</i> Pret. <i>dæmda</i> < * <i>dōmiðō</i>
Period 2 (= Umlaut-free period)	Acc. sg. <i>stað</i> < * <i>staði</i> Pret. <i>talða</i> < * <i>taliðō</i>
Period 3 (= Umlaut period 2)	Nom. pl. <i>gestir</i> < * <i>gastiz</i> Nom. pl. <i>synir</i> < * <i>suniuz</i> Nom. sg. <i>fráði</i> < * <i>frōðī(n)</i> Nom. sg. <i>bendill</i> < * <i>bandilaz</i> Nom. sg. <i>ketill</i> < * <i>katilaz</i> Nom. sg. <i>kerling</i> < * <i>karling-</i> Nom. sg. <i>letingi</i> < * <i>lating-</i> Inf. <i>velja</i> < * <i>waljan</i>

Fig. 81.4: Kock's 3 period theory for *i*-umlaut (after Schulte 1998).

[+ front] to what is a [-front] vowel (or component of a diphthong) at the outset, as illustrated in the schematic view in Fig. 81.3. Both long and short vowels and diphthongs are affected.

The evidence suggesting the change contains examples such as the following: /a/ > [ɛ] (OWN *ketill* 'kettle'; cf. Go. *katils*); /a:/ > [ɛ:] (OWN *mæla* 'speak'; cf. *mál*); /o/ > [ø] (OWN *norðri* 'more northern'; cf. *norðr*); /o:/ > [ø:] (OWN *dæma* 'judge'; cf. Go. *domjan*); /u/ > [y] (OWN *fylla* 'fill'; cf. Go. *fulljan*); /u:/ > [y:] (OWN *lýkr* 2sg. pres. 'shut'; cf. Go. *-lūkis*); /iu:/ > [y:] (OWN *sýki* 'illness'; cf. *siúkr* 'ill'); /au/ > [ɛy] (OWN *deyfi* 'deafness'; cf. *daufn* 'deaf'). Other processes with similar effects, obviously triggered by palatal environments (such as a following *gi/ki*, *-iR*, or *-R*) can be considered as other aspects of a general tendency towards palatal assimilation, most evident in Old West Nordic: e.g. *dreki* 'dragon', *gler* 'glass'.

It is readily seen that, in comparison with the earlier vowel inventory, *i*-umlaut gives rise to new vowels, to begin with at a subphonemic level exclusively. Thus, the back vowels /a/, /o/, /u/ develop positional variants: [ɛ], [ø], [y], respectively. When this was initiated is im-

possible to tell, but the new allophones acquire phonemic status when the triggering factor has been discarded and morphemes have been relexicalized with the new phonemes. The most common approach has presupposed close interaction between *i*-umlaut and syncope, two of the most celebrated diachronic processes in early Nordic language history. To account for the somewhat confusing data, Kock launched a theory in 1893–94 (later elaborated in Kock 1911–16), built on the assumption that *i*-umlaut had passed through three different periods, during which the range of the process differed considerably (Fig. 81.4). This is an attempt at accounting for the data on purely phonological grounds. The set of data constituting the real problem contains forms with light syllables in which *i*-umlaut has failed to apply: **staði* > *stað*, **taliðō* > *talða* (Period 2 in Fig. 81.4). Kock's solution consists of conflating *i*-umlaut and syncope into one single rule:

Period 1. A syncopated unstressed *i* triggers *i*-umlaut in heavy syllables.

Period 2. A syncopated unstressed *i* does not cause umlaut in light syllables.

Period 3. An unsyncopated *i* always triggers *i*-umlaut.

	<i>Front vowels</i> [–round][+round]	<i>Back vowels</i> [–round][+round]
<i>High</i>	/i/ ⇒ [y]	(/u/)
<i>Mid</i>	/e/ ⇒ [ø]	(/o/)
<i>Low</i>		/a/ ⇒ [ɔ]

Fig. 81.5: The effect of *u*-umlaut.

However, apart from the phonetically-phonologically abnormal nature of the proposed rule, Kock's formulation does not even account for the observed data in a satisfactory manner. Thus, e. g., *ketill* has undergone umlaut while *vaðill* has not, although they are derived from historically underlying structures that are completely equivalent to each other. Many commentators have built on Kock's ideas, trying to come to grips with the problems that he left unresolved. E. g., Hesselman (1945) and others after him proposed that there was a general change of stressed back vowels in accordance with the *i*-mutation rule, some of them arguing in structuralist terms that the variation stayed at an allophonic level, the original segment being reinserted when the triggering factor vanished (in forms with a light syllable, e. g. **staði*, **taliðō*).

Different approaches to *i*-umlaut have been reviewed by Benediktsson (1982), Widmark (1991), and Schulte (1998) and will not be repeated here. It should be mentioned, however, that among the solutions presented we find reference to prosodic circumstances, phonological (segmental) structure, morphological levelling etc. No single treatment has so far provided the final clue in all respects. The latest attempt on a larger scale has been made by Schulte (1998). He takes a partly new look at the basic data and suggests that (1) the time scope for the change should be narrowed and that (2) the umlaut process should be evaluated as one single process with different aspects, which could be summarized as "primary palatal umlaut": *ī-/i-/j-*umlaut; the role of "secondary palatal umlaut" (i. e. *gi/ki*-umlaut, *iR-* and *R-*umlaut) and its relation to the initial process is not considered to the same extent. Schulte claims that since the umlauting effect of the series *ī-/i-/j-* describes a scale of palatalizing power, there are a number of factors hitherto but vaguely realized as pertinent to a correct understanding of the phenomenon. Like, e. g., Skomedal (1980), he emphasizes the necessity of scrutinizing the whole process

anew, reconstructing the entire complex of changes step by step, with constant reference to the system gradually evolving through the changes.

Since /i/ occurred so frequently in Proto-Nordic endings, *i*-umlaut has manifested itself in great masses of forms derived by inflexional and derivational suffixes. Furthermore, *i*-umlaut has contributed considerably to giving the Nordic languages their basic and characteristic phonological structure. For instance, *i*-umlaut has created a great deal of morphophonemic alternation in most word-classes, and a number of derivational affixes containing an /i/ have given rise to strong derivational patterns.

2.1.1.3. *U*-umlaut, unlike *a-* and *i*-umlaut, is a change which is by and large restricted to the North Germanic languages. Its effects are distinguishable over the Nordic language area to a varying degree. It seems to have been applied differently, but extensive restructuring through analogical levelling has, in addition to that, contributed to a very confusing picture. It is customary to reckon with an "older" and a "younger" *u*-umlaut (Widmark 1959). The effect of the change is quite clear: unround vowels get rounded (Fig. 81.5). There are far more instances bearing witness of the process in West Nordic than in East Nordic. Among the numerous examples in Old West Nordic we find /a/ > [ɔ] (OWN *mōgr* 'son', cf. Go. *magus*; *gōrr* 'ready', cf. runic (Rök) <karuR>, i. e. **garuR*); /a:/ > [ɔ:] (*ōtum* 'ate' 1pl. pret. from *át*); /e/ > [ø] (*rōru* 'rowed' 3pl. pret. from *rera*); /i/ > [y] (*tryggr*, cf. Go. *triggws*); /i:/ > [y:] (*slý* 'slime', cf. OE *slīw*); /ε/ > [ø] (*ōx* 'axe', ONorw. (sometimes) *ax*; cf. Go. *aqizi*), etc. In Old Norwegian the change has been carried out in stressed syllables, in Old Icelandic in stressed and unstressed syllables alike: ONorw. pl. forms *herað* 'district', *skilnaðr* 'separation', *skipan* 'arrangement', but Olcel. pl. *heruð*, *skilnuðr*, *skipun*. As for Old Danish and Old Swedish, there are indica-

tions of the older *u*-umlaut too, e.g. in runic forms like <tanmaurk> (Jelling; cf. OIcel. *Dannqrk* ‘Denmark’, <aunt> ‘spirit, soul’ (cf. OIcel. *qnd*) on several Swedish runestones, and in sporadic forms, such as Sw. *hon* ‘she’. Danish displays some reflexes of *u*-umlaut which are lacking in Swedish (Dan. *lov* ‘law’, *børn* ‘children’ vs. Sw. *lag*, *barn*), but there are some cases in Old Swedish texts indicating that non-umlauted forms have later been reintroduced in Modern Swedish; there may have been much levelling in Old Swedish.

U-umlaut has remained a productive rule in West Nordic well into the Old Nordic period, creating a significant distinction between West and East Nordic. In West Nordic, *u*-umlaut has given rise to extensive morphophonemic alternation, e.g. in plural forms of verbs (e.g. OIcel. *kǫllum* ‘(we) call’) and in the dat. pl. of the nominal and pronominal inflection (*mǫnnum* ‘men’, *ǫllum* ‘all’), where Old East Nordic, including Old Norwegian, have forms without umlaut (*kallum*, *mannum*, *allum*, respectively). In East Nordic, where fewer reflexes of *u*-umlaut are to be found, some additional phonetic conditions seem to have favoured the change, e.g. a labialized phonetic environment: Sw. *huru* (< **hwāru*) ‘how’, *huvud* ‘head’. The effect of the process has varied within the East Nordic language area as well: cf. Sw. *honom* ‘him’ to Dan. *ham* (< **hānum*).

The morphophonemic alternation *a* – *ö* (to a varying degree morphologized eventually) still plays an important role in the synchronic morphological system of Modern Icelandic. In Modern Faroese, morphological levelling has taken place extensively. In these cases the original oblique forms exhibiting the effect of *u*-umlaut have often carried the day, having been generalized throughout the paradigm: nom. sg. *gota* ‘street’, *søga* ‘story’; oblique forms: *gotu*, *søgu*. On the whole, however, *u*-umlaut does not play any role in the synchronic system of Modern Faroese.

2.1.2. Breaking

A short PN /e/ in stressed position has been “broken” into /ja/ or /jə/ in a great many cases all over the Nordic language area, as in OWN *hjarta* ‘heart’, *jørð* ‘earth’ (cf. *G Herz, Erde*). Breaking phenomena of this kind, just like the vowel changes mentioned above, are well known from other Germanic dialects as well. Old English not least, which is still borne out by the equivalents in English just given.

Nevertheless, the relative consistency of the change lends a characteristic trait to the Nordic languages in particular.

Nordic breaking is presented in half a dozen handbooks on Swedish language history published from the 1940s until the middle of the 1990s. Exactly the same story is repeated time and again: PN short /e/ is broken into a diphthong [ja] under the influence of a following unstressed /a/ and into a diphthong [jə] when followed by an unstressed /u/, the outcome written <ia> and <io>, respectively, in medieval manuscripts: OSw. *hialpa* ‘help’, *hiarta* ‘heart’; *biorn* ‘bear’, *iordh* ‘earth’. In *hialpa* and *hiarta*, /ja/ has later evolved into /jɛ/, and /jə/ has often been turned into /jø/ (as in OSw. *biörn*, but cf. Mod. Sw. *jord*) by so-called “progressive *i*-umlaut”, mainly taken to apply after the period examined here. This description goes back to Kock (1911–16), with modifications by Hesselman (1945). The well-established national scholarly tradition effectively conceals the fact that internationally there has been very little consensus about breaking among scholars. Their different views can be briefly summarized as follows.

The term “breaking” was coined by Grimm (1840) and was originally related to his particular vowel theory, which is now obsolete. The essence is that *e* was “broken” into *ia* in the Germanic dialects basically under the influence of surrounding consonants. In a review of Grimm (1840) in *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur* 1841, Holzmann was the first commentator who characterized breaking as a kind of *a*- or *u*-umlaut (according to Svenson 1944). Theories of breaking as a result of consonantal influence remained, however, dominant during the second half of the 19th c. Among the Nordic commentators we find Munch/Unger (1847) and Gíslason (1858); Rydqvist (1868) leans heavily on Grimm. Holzmann’s breaking theory based on vowel influence was further developed by Wahlenberg (1855). Referring to Avestian phonology for a parallel, he explains Germanic breaking as a vowel epenthesis rule, whereby a copy of the unstressed vowel is introduced immediately after the stressed vowel, resulting in a /ea/ or /eu/ diphthong, later changed into /ia/ or /io/, respectively.

The theory of vowel-governed breaking was introduced into Nordic linguistics by Blomberg (1865) and was supported by others. With Noreen (1884 and later editions), the tradition was set. From the 1880s onwards, Nordic scholars have largely concentrated on specifying

ing the details connected with the implementation of the rule over the Nordic language area. Söderberg (1890) and Kock (1890; more developed in Kock 1911–16) argued that breaking had taken place during two different periods. Hesselman (1912) related breaking to syncope in order to account for the non-application of breaking to short syllables. Kock's and Hesselman's ideas (in simplified form) still underlie the handbook information.

Quite another type of argumentation was advanced by Svensson (1944), who reckoned with spontaneous diphthongization irrespective of consonantal and vocalic environment. His proposal has not attracted much support, especially not after the critical treatment by Nielsen (1957), who, in turn, reopened the case of a general diphthongization of /e/ into [ja] when followed by /a/ or /u/, [ja] later regularly undergoing *u*-umlaut whereby it was changed into [jə] in specific environments. Steblin-Kamenskij (1957) stressed the umlaut nature of breaking, suggesting two different stages, one pertaining to the phonetic level, the other to the phonemic. In more recent years, two new theories have been suggested by Norwegian scholars. Dyvik (1978) returned to the issue of consonants being the triggering factor in Nordic breaking as in Old English. His ideas have been scrutinized and rejected by Benediktsson (1982), who also gives a general survey of the state of the art. Skomedal (1980) distinguished two different steps leading to what is called breaking: (1) a backing of /e/ by means of *a*-umlaut, followed by (2) segmentation of backed /ë/ into /ia/; in addition, *u*-umlaut may later apply to /ia/.

The earliest treatments aimed at a general Germanic perspective, which is also Dyvik's purpose. On the other hand, Benediktsson seems to deny the existence of an organic relationship between, e. g., Nordic breaking and similar processes in Old English. It is obvious that although handbooks keep repeating essentially the same information about breaking, many of the problems connected with this phenomenon remain largely unsolved. A warning by King (1975) about the "simple causation fallacy" comes readily to mind. By this he meant that sometimes a diachronic problem cannot be solved through one simple formula – language change may be too complex for that. It cannot be denied that Old English breaking is hard to reconcile with Nordic breaking, as it stands. On the other hand, there are indeed a number of breaking phenomena in the Old Germanic dialects with a striking

resemblance to each other, generally speaking. Although the changes in question cannot be captured by the same formulation, it seems unlikely that they should have emerged quite independently of each other (cf. Schirmunski 1966).

Widmark's re-examination of umlaut leads her to a consistent treatment of breaking as an aspect of umlaut. In spite of this, however, Nordic breaking is still an open case and a suitable target for future research.

2.1.3. Modification of diphthongs

Stressed diphthongs may undergo various changes in addition to those alluded to above. The diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ were contracted to [a:] and [o:], respectively, at an early date, on the condition that /h/ followed, or, in the case of /ai/, /r/; cf. Einang <faihido> with Rö <fahido>, Go. *þauh* with OWN *þó* (< */þo:h/). Towards the end of the period, the first component of the three falling diphthongs /ai/, /au/, and /eu/ had been partly assimilated by the second, so as to conform phonetically more closely: /ai/ > [ei], /au/ > [əu], /eu/ > [iu:]. The modification of /eu/ is considerably older than that of the other diphthongs, pre-dating *i*-umlaut. It also implies a stress shift (from falling to rising diphthong): */leuβ-/ > */liu:β-/ (cf. Opedal <liubu> > OWN *ljúf* fem. sg. 'dear'). A similar development may have been an aspect of breaking as well (/ea/ > /ia/ etc.). The adaptation of /ai/ and /au/, on the other hand, marks the first step towards East Nordic monophthongization, which takes place during the Viking Age: Pre-ON *stainaR*, *laukaR* > OWN *steinn*, *laukr*, OEN *stēn* 'stone', *lōk* 'lek'.

2.1.4. Vowel nasalization

Vowels were nasalized before nasals in Proto-Nordic. When nasals disappeared (4.2.1.), nasality may have become intrinsic to the vowel itself: OWN *áss* [ã:s] < */ãnsuR/ 'pagan god'. This phenomenon is likely to have applied throughout the vowel system, but in writing it is only reflected for /a/ (see 5.).

2.2. Unstressed vowels

Syrett (1994) has posited an unaccented monophthongal system for late Proto-Nordic containing the members */a/, */æ/, */o/, */i, i:/, */u, u:/. According to the general view, the

corresponding system in Old Nordic relies on the extreme members of the vowel triangle: /i, a, u/. As Syrett points out, however, there is much phonetic fluctuation in unstressed syllables and, phonologically, the vowel phonemes occurring in unstressed syllables tend to be underspecified. Furthermore, the evidence left by written material is often ambiguous. No absolutely clear-cut picture of the development in unstressed syllables is available so far.

It is likely that a number of phenomena observable in the system of unstressed vowels as reflected in the medieval texts have their history in the period considered here (see, e.g., Widmark 1991). This is true for so-called vowel harmony in Old East Norwegian and Old Swedish, perhaps also for vowel balance. Since these processes, however, are mainly productive in another period, they are not treated here.

2.2.1. Monophthongization

The Proto-Nordic diphthongs could originally occur in unstressed syllables, e.g. *-ai* and *-iu* marking masc. dat. sg. of different noun classes, *-au* originally in OWN *átta* (< **axtau*; cf. Go. *ahtau*) etc. These diphthongs have been monophthongized rather early, <-e> being the normal pre-Viking Age runic form for earlier <-ai> as the masc. dat. sg. marker (Krause 1971, 89); also cf. ON *megi* (but still Stentofte <magiu>) masc. dat. sg. of *mōgr* 'son' and Proto-Nordic runic <fahi> (< **fahiu*) 'I write' or 'I paint'. Both /ai/ and /iu/ have finally ended up as /i/ through the intermediate stage /e:/ and /i:/, respectively, /au/ usually through /o:/ as /a/.

2.2.2. Vowel shortening

All sorts of unstressed vowel reductions have often been related to syncope in one way or other (2.2.3.). Certainly, vowel shortening takes place in endings at about the same time as syncope is productive, and it may be natural to consider shortening of long vowels and deletion of short vowels as two aspects of the same principle. In a wider descriptive perspective, they certainly are (e.g. Sigurd 1961; Riad 1992). It has to be kept in mind, however, that the effects are far from equivalent. A celebrated example of vowel shortening is the Old Nordic masc. and neut. dat. sg. ending *-i*, which does not normally trigger *i*-umlaut, since it had an earlier /-e:/ value (developed

from */-ai/). It is readily seen that the long unstressed vowels in endings are usually the product of earlier diphthongs having been monophthongized (2.2.1.).

2.2.3. Syncope

"Syncope" is the traditional term for the deletion of short unstressed vowels, one of the most sweeping phonological changes in the history of the Nordic languages. It contributes to a rather radical modification of the overall phonological structure of the Nordic languages in the period following Proto-Nordic. However, the course of the change must have been rather intricate and probably spanned a rather long period of time, especially if its implementation throughout the language area is taken into account.

It will be remembered that all the Germanic languages have undergone syncope, at different points in time and under varying circumstances. Gothic bears witness of an early syncope of unstressed /a/ and /i/ (Go. *dags*, *gasts* from **dagaz*, **gastiz*), while /u/ is left unaffected (Go. *footus* 'foot', *handus* 'hand', *magus* 'son', *skildus* 'shield'). In Old English and Old High German, there is likewise a deletion of unstressed /a/ (OE *dæg*, OHG *tag*), but in the case of /i/ and /u/ in endings, the structure of the preceding syllable is decisive to the fate of the unstressed vowel: OE *giest*, *scield*; OHG *gast*, *scilt* (with a heavy stressed syllable), but OE *wine*, *sunu*; OHG *wini*, *sunu* (with a light one). Thus, variables like the quality of the unstressed vowel itself and the word structure may govern the change.

Syncope in Proto-Nordic has been assumed to have been sensitive to the same kinds of restrictions as were just mentioned. Syncope seems to apply to /a/, /i/ and /u/ in that order, or at least /a/ is subjected to deletion first. Indeed, the Rök stone provides three remaining unscopated forms, none of them containing an /a/ in the ending: <sitiR>, <karuR>, <sunu> (cf. OWN *sitr*, *gqrr*, *sun/son*).

As far as word structure is concerned, different types may have been disposed to syncope at different points in time. On the Bohuslän Rök stone we find two verb forms in the 1sg. pret.: <fahido> 'I painted' and <satido> 'I placed'. The main stress is on the first syllable in both cases, but the stressed syllable is heavy in the first form, light in the second; the medial syllable is light and the final vowel is long in both cases, /fa:hido:/, /satido:/. Syncope applied early, i.e. in the 7th c. or before,

to such structures, and probably earlier to the first type (with long stressed syllable) than to the second (with short stressed syllable). The effect in both cases implied that the medial vowel was lost: OWN *fáði*, *setti*.

If, on the other hand, the last vowel was short in trisyllabic words, the syncope rule would delete this vowel instead. On another old runic stone from Bohuslän, Kalleby, the past participle <haitinaR> ‘called’ is found. In such words, the last /a/ has been lost, as testified by OWN *heitinn*. In fact, equivalent forms occur in (other) runic inscriptions, some even written in the older futhark (e.g. <skorin> ‘cut’ (past part.) on the Eggjum stone; cf. OWN *skorinn* (from *skera*).

Syncope applying to originally disyllabic words has resulted in great masses of monosyllabic words in Old Nordic. Some famous runic inscriptions have been argued to represent a stage when syncope was not yet fully completed. The Istaby stone (Blekinge) is one such case. Here, two compounded personal names containing the Nordic word for ‘wolf’ as their second part occur in the forms <-wulAfR> and <-wulAfA>, respectively. The <A> rune in <-wulAfR> and the first <A> rune in <-wulAfA> are presumed to have been epenthesized, with no historical significance, while the final <A> in <-wulAfA> may indeed reflect an *-a* ending, the real forms being *-wulfR* and *-wulfa*. On this assumption, the case may suggest that syncope was also sensitive to the distinction between open and closed syllables (a suggestion which has not played any important role in the discussion), or it may have been delayed in syllables where the unstressed vowel alone carried important morphological information (here signalling acc. sg.; cf. Kiparsky 1972). But, again, the runic evidence is far from unequivocal.

Medial syncope operated after heavy and light syllables, and final syncope after heavy syllables or in tri- and multisyllabic words during the first syncope period. It is generally agreed that final syncope in disyllabic words with short stressed syllables postdates the first period significantly, constituting a second period of syncope. As has already been pointed out, there are forms on the Swedish Rök stone like <karuR> (i. e. *garuR*, OWN *gǫrr*), <sitiR> (OWN *sitr*), <sunu> (also e. g., on the stones from Sölvesborg and Helnæs; OWN *sun/son*). Again, there is seemingly contradictory evidence, e. g. on the Sparlösa stone: <makuR> (OWN *mǫgr*) alongside <sunR> (OWN *sunr/sonr*), both being derived from *u*-stems.

3. Prosodic phenomena

The fixation of main stress, which leads, e. g., to the cessation of Verner’s Law as a productive rule, is carried out much earlier than the period under review here. Main stress in Proto-Nordic lay regularly on the stem syllable in simple words, and in compounds on the first stem syllable. Secondary stress was, e. g., assigned to the second component of compounds. The idea often advanced that the fixed initial stress was also particularly strong is not supported by any clear evidence (Riad 2000). Various new stress patterns arose as a consequence of the sweeping structural changes during the Pre-Old Nordic period (see Riad 1992). Quantity, as such, was not much different in Proto-Nordic than in Old Nordic. Both vowels and consonants could either be long or short and, in principle, there were light, heavy, and overlong syllables all along. Full-scale vowel deletion by syncope, however, gave rise to quite new relative strengths among the word categories characterized by the different types of syllable structure.

The modern Scandinavian languages display some very particular tonal properties whose development has long been a matter of dispute. Some scholars (e. g. Kock 1878–85) have argued that the history of accent 1 and 2 in Norwegian and Swedish and *stød* and non-*stød* in Danish goes far back, at least to Proto-Nordic, perhaps to Common Germanic, some say even further. As usual, it is important to distinguish between phonetic manifestations and lexicalized properties on this point. There is a marked tendency among modern scholars (e. g. Ringgaard 1980; Liberman 1982; Riad 1992) to associate the lexicalization of the typical Scandinavian tonal features with early Old Nordic. A fuller treatment of this development is found in art. 74 of this volume.

At any rate, the distinction between accent 1 and 2 and *stød* and non-*stød*, respectively, is obviously due to a reanalysis of the significance of tonal contours characterizing different sets of lexical items. The existence of these contours as such may well go far back in time, largely with the period of productive syncope as a crucial turning-point. Scholars differ in their opinions about whether *stød* is a late phenomenon, having evolved from tonal accent (e. g. Riad in art. 124), or a phenomenon of long standing, in fact providing the basis for tonal accent (e. g. Liberman 1982).

4. The consonant system

The consonant system was considerably modified over the course of the period from Proto-Nordic to Old Nordic, both the consonant inventory as such and the distribution and manifestation of its components. Deletion of consonants in certain positions and assimilatory processes are common. Large-scale reduction and loss of unstressed vowels give rise to new combinations of segments, in turn stimulating further modifications, among the consonants not least.

There were five categories of consonants in Proto-Nordic: stops, fricatives, nasals, liquids, and glides (semivowels). They were primarily produced in the labial, alveo-dental, and palato-velar regions of the articulatory apparatus (Fig. 81.6). Both the phonemic status and the exact phonetic properties of some of the segments are a matter of dispute.

4.1. Obstruents (stops and fricatives)

A majority of the consonant phonemes are voiceless or voiced non-nasal stops or fricatives. In early Proto-Nordic, there was no phonemic distinction between the voiced fricatives /β/, /ð/, /ɣ/ and the corresponding voiced stops, but word-initially, in geminates (i.e. when long), after a homorganic nasal and, for the dental, after /l/, they were preferably manifested as voiced stops, i.e. as [b-, d-, g-] and [-bb-, -dd-, -gg-], [mb, nd, ŋg], [ld], respectively. Words containing these segments have later been relexicalised with stops in the respective positions, at different points in time in different dialects.

On the whole, there seems to have been much allophonic alternation among the fricatives. This is indicated in Fig. 83.6, where putative allophonic alternants appear within brackets. For instance, it is impossible to know whether /f/ was a labiodental or a bilabial fricative; the velar fricative /x/ has prob-

ably been pronounced with a varying degree of stricture, sometimes rather tending towards a laryngeal [h]; and the sound corresponding to runic <R> is a notorious problem (see 5.). The realization of many phonemes can be assumed to have been context-sensitive, i.e. to have alternated systematically for some time, e.g. [x] ~ [h] and [h] ~ [0] in the history of a word like OWN *slá* ‘to strike’ (cf. Go. *slahan*; see 4.1.1.).

4.1.1. Fricative voicing

In Proto-Nordic there are both voiced and voiceless fricatives, contrasting with each other positionally after first-syllable word stress became fixed (e.g. inter-vocally or otherwise in a voiced environment: By <alaifu> (dat. sg. of OWN *Áleifr*) – <gibu> 1 sg. pres. ‘I give’, *[slaxan] – *[slo:ɣum], *[finθan] – *[funðum], etc.). Later, /f/ and /θ/ gradually became voiced in an ever-increasing number of voiced surroundings, so that OWN *hefja* ‘to raise’, *úlfr* ‘wolf’, *bróðir* ‘brother’, *verða* ‘to become’ (cf. Go. *hafjan*, *wulfs*, *broþar*, *wairþan*) all exhibit a voiced fricative, thus losing an earlier distinction (e.g. /f/ and /β/ in OWN *úlfr* and *kalf* ‘calf’; cf. Go. *wulfs*, *kalbo*). In Old West Nordic, /f/ and /θ/ have two allophonic variants, [f] ~ [v] and [θ] ~ [ð], respectively, the voiceless variant occurring word-initially, the voiced word-medially (if it is not long) and word-finally, provided that voicing assimilation does not create other patterns (see 4.1.3. and Fig. 81.6).

In the case of /x/, however, it was weakened to /h/ in many positions and was later largely lost in all positions except word-initially: */slaxan/ > */slahan/ > /sla:/ ‘to strike’, pret. */slo:x/ > */slo:h/ > /slo:/. This development holds for original /x/ and devoiced /ɣ/ alike: */lauɣ/ pret. of OWN *ljúga* ‘to lie’, later */laux/ > */lauh/ > OWN *ló* and */θaux/ > */θauh/ > OWN *þó* ‘though’ (cf. Go. *þauh*). In Old West Nordic, /x/ can

	Labial	Alveo-dental	Palato-velar	Laryngeal
Voiceless stops	/p/	/t/	/k/	
Voiced stops	/b/ ~ [β]	/d/ ~ [ð]	/g/ ~ [ɣ]	
Voiceless fricatives	/f/ ~ [ɸ]	/θ/ /s/	/x/ ~ [h]	[h]
Voiced fricatives	[β]	[ð] /z/ [= R?]	[ɣ]	
Nasal stops	/m/	/n/	[ŋ]	
Liquids		/l/ /r/		
Glides	/w/		/j/	

Fig. 81.6: The consonant system of (late) Proto-Nordic.

be argued to have remained unchanged word-initially before /r/, /l/, /n/ (in words such as *hringr* ‘ring’, *hlaupa* ‘to run’, *hníga* ‘to sink down’). Otherwise, the velar fricative has become a laryngeal fricative [h].

4.1.2. Final devoicing

Proto-Nordic obstruents were liable to devoicing in word-final position in a similar fashion as can now be observed in Modern Standard German. As long as the voiced obstruents lost their voicing in an easily definable environment, thereby giving rise to morphophonemic alternation, word-final devoicing was simply part of the phonological system as a synchronic rule. The rule ceased to function as a consequence of syncope, i.e. when a great number of new instances of voiced obstruents emerged at the end of words and made the devoicing rule opaque. Word-final devoicing is thus chronologically prior to syncope. Its earlier existence can be deduced from a set of relic forms, e.g. OWN *batt*, *hélt*, *gékkt*, *dró* (< */dro:x/) , *sté* (< */steix/) from *binda* ‘to bind’, *halda* ‘to hold’, *ganga* ‘to go’, *draga* ‘to pull’, *stíga* ‘to rise’, respectively.

The chronology of final devoicing is somewhat obscure. It cannot have been an integral part of the phonological system as long as /z/ remained a voiced fricative obstruent. Otherwise, in a great number of word-final occurrences this sound would have failed to develop into /r/, through a putative intermediate stage usually referred to as “palatal *r*” (4.1.5.). Final devoicing in the Proto-Nordic dialects seems to have been a process which operated during a rather limited period, much in the same way as it did in some other medieval language systems, where the phenomenon was obviously due to temporary influence from a neighbouring language (Ralph 1980).

4.1.3. Obstruent assimilation

Voiced obstruents are devoiced in voiceless environments, a very natural co-occurrence phenomenon. Much morphophonemic alternation is created in stems through influence from inflectional and derivational endings and their value regarding voicing and from the phonological structure in compounds.

Voiced segments have lost their voicing in the position next to a voiceless sound in, e.g., OWN *ljúft* [f] (neut. of *ljúfr* [β] ‘delightful’), *systkin* ‘sisters and brothers’ (as compared to

feðgin ‘parents’), *lanz* (<z> for [ts]; gen. sg. of *land* ‘land’), *konunx* (<x> for [ks]; gen. sg. of *konungr* ‘king’). The devoicing effect usually wins out both progressively and regressively; thus, /tt/ is the result of /t + ð/, /ð + t/, /d + t/, and /dd + t/ combinations: OWN *bætta* pret. of *bæta* ‘to improve’, *gott* neut. sg. of *góðr* ‘good’, *blint* neut. sg. of *blindr* ‘blind’, *fótt* neut. sg. of *fóddr* ‘born’. Voicing/voicelessness may also be mediated by an intervening /l/ or /n/: cf. forms like OWN *siglda*, *girnda* (pret. of *sigla* ‘to sail’, *girna* ‘to desire’) to *vixlta*, *væpnia* (pret. of *vixla* ‘to exchange’, *væpna* ‘to arm’). In some cases, the etymology of the word is reflected by its inflexional ending in Old West Nordic, in so far as the earlier presence of a voiceless segment is testified by the form of the ending: *mælda* pret. of *mæla* ‘to measure’ but *mæltá* (< **mabliðō*) pret. of *mæla* ‘to speak’ (Go. *mabljan*).

Allomorphic variants of inflexional endings originally starting in a voiced sound may come about in this way; e.g., the pret. ending *-ðō of the weak verbs turns up as *-þa* in early Old West Nordic documents: *dreyppþa*, *reisþa*, *vakþa* (pret. of *dreyppa* ‘to let fall in drops’, *reisa* ‘to raise’, *vaka* ‘to (be) awake’). In that position, /θ/ has later been changed into /t/ (see 4.1.4.). The same ending has ultimately given *-da* in most voiced environments, including *eydda* (from *eyða* ‘to make empty’) and *talda* (from *telja* ‘to count’).

Probably in rather late Proto-Nordic times (albeit before the completion of syncope), /θ/ is assimilated by a preceding /l/ or /n/: OWN *gull* ‘gold’, *hollr* ‘faithful’, *ellri* ‘older’; *annarr* ‘other’, *finna* ‘to find’, *nenna* ‘to be willing’ (cf. Go. *gulþ*, *hulþs*, *alþiza*; *anþar*, *finþan*, *nanþjan*, respectively).

The voiced dental fricative /z/ (or perhaps rather the palatal *r* later developed from this sound; see 4.1.5.) is assimilated by a following voiced dental stop /d/ and the dental nasal /n/, respectively. The result is long /d:/, /n:/. Examples are OWN *gaddr* ‘string’, *rōdd* ‘voice’, *broddr* ‘point’; *hrōnn* ‘wave’, *rann* ‘house’ (cf. Go. *gazds*, *razda*, OHG *brort*; OE *hærn*, Go. *razn*, respectively). The dating of this change is uncertain.

In /ht/ (perhaps /xt/) combinations, /h/ (/x/) is assimilated and a preceding vowel lengthened: OWN *átta* ‘eight’ (G *acht*). In *sótta* (pret. sg. of *sækja* ‘to search’), *mátta* (pret. sg. of *mega* ‘to be able’) etc., the same rule has applied to secondary /h/ (/x/), derived from stem-final /k/ and /g/.

4.1.4. Shift of continuancy

Within the obstruent system there are several cases where fricatives become stops and vice versa. Thus /f/ in front of /t/, /s/ and after /s/ is often realised as /p/: OSw. *opta* ‘often’, *næpsa* ‘to rebuke’, OWN *húspreyja* ‘wife’. There has probably been a certain amount of variation in such words, as suggested by written compromise forms in medieval texts like OSw. *gífptia* ‘to marry’, *þurfpti* pret. of *þurfa* ‘to need’.

There are many instances of an earlier fricative having been transformed into a stop in the preterite of weak verbs (see 4.1.3.). Furthermore, nouns derived by the *-iðō suffix end in /-t/ in Old West Nordic when following a voiceless sound: *dýpt* ‘depth’, *tylft* ‘a number of twelve’; and in /-d/ after voiced sounds: *hvild* ‘rest’.

After a short vowel (and occasionally a following short consonant) /x/ (or /h/) has been dissimilated into /k/ before /s/: OWN *uxi* (with ⟨x⟩ for [ks]) ‘ox’, *fylxni* ‘hiding-place’ (Go. *aihsna*, *fulhsni*). When the vowel is long, /x/ is deleted: OWN *þisl* ‘cart-pole’ (G *Deichsel*).

In unstressed position /k/ and /t/ have, by the reverse process, become fricatives: e. g. adjectives ending in OWN *-ligr* (cf. Go. *-leiks*), unstressed words such as *að*, *við*, *mikið* (from *at* ‘to’, *vit* ‘we two’, *mikit* ‘much’). These tendencies are reinforced in Old West Nordic.

4.1.5. “Palatal r”

It is generally contended that during the Proto-Nordic period a /z/ that had arisen from /s/ by Verner’s Law developed into a more *r*-like sound, which later, after full sonorization, merged with original /r/. The exact nature of this change as well as its full chronological course is not established with certainty. The presence of a particular sign for this sound in the runic script, distinct from both ⟨s⟩ and ⟨r⟩, bears witness to its existence, but to what extent phonetic details are brought to light by runic script is notoriously difficult to evaluate. The use of the ⟨r⟩ rune seems to end up as an orthographic convention exclusively (see 5.). By tradition, the presumed sound has been referred to as “palatal *r*”, and it has been transcribed as *R* (Tjäder 1961; Peterson 1983). This usage has been adopted here too. It is probable that “palatal *r*” had a phonetic value of fricative [ʃ] or [ʝ].

Palatal *r* has been assimilated to neighbouring dental consonants in combinations arising

from syncope: OWN *stóll* ‘chair’, *ketill* ‘cauldron’, *steinn* ‘stone’, *aptann* ‘evening’, *aurr* ‘gravel’, *hamarr* ‘hammer’, *iss* ‘ice’, *ýmiss* ‘mutual’. The assimilation takes place after a heavy accented and a light unaccented syllable, usually being blocked after light accented syllables ending in /l/, /n/ and in syllables ending in long /ll/, /nn/: OWN *selr* ‘seal’, *svanr* ‘swan’, *fullr* ‘full’, *linr* ‘mild’ (but cf. e. g. *minni* ‘smaller’ as opposed to Go. *minniza*). A palatal *r* was assimilated to an /m/ in inflexional endings, e. g. OSw. *hæstum* dat. pl. of *hæster* ‘horse, stallion’ (cf. ⟨hagestumR⟩ on the Stentofte stone), but obviously not in stressed syllables: OWN *tveimr* dat. ‘two’, *þrimr* dat. ‘three’. As far as the assimilation of palatal *r* involves inflexional endings, the result may vary considerably over the Nordic language area. Endings may later have been reinserted analogically.

4.2. Nasals

Among the nasals, /m/ and /n/ had phonemic status, while [ŋ] was a positional variant only. Nevertheless, there was a special runic sign for [ŋg], in the older Futhark, although it was sometimes used for just [ŋ] (see 5.; Krause 1971, 35).

4.2.1. Nasal assimilation

When followed by a voiceless homorganic stop (i. e. in /mp/, /nt/, /ŋk/ combinations), the nasals are assimilated, leaving long stops: /pp/, /tt/, /kk/ (or /p:/, /t:/, /k:/), respectively. In some forms assimilation applies all over the Nordic language area: in sporadic words such as Icel. *drekka*, Dan. *drikke* (cf. E *drink*); in neuter forms of (usually unstressed) articles or pronouns, e. g. Sw. *ett*, *mitt* (from *en* ‘a, one’, *min* ‘my’); in pret. forms of strong verbs like Dan. *fik* ‘received’, *gik* ‘went’ etc. Assimilation may be observed more often in Old East Nordic than in Modern Danish and Swedish: e. g. OSw. *gak* (= *gakk* < **gan̄k* < **ganḡ*), *stat* (= *statt* < **stant* < **stand*), imperative forms of *ganga*, *standa*; Mod. Sw. *gå*, *stå* (inf. and imp.).

The change has thus left traces in all parts of the Nordic language area, particularly when it has applied early, e. g. in the pret. part. *bundit* (< **bundint*, and in the neuter form of adjectives ending in *-inn*, e. g. OIcel. *loðit*, *mikit*, with degemination of /tt/ in unstressed position). It has not been preserved as a pro-

ductive morphophonemic rule in East Nordic to the same extent as in the western dialects: Icel. *binda* – *batt* ‘bind’, *hanga* – *hékk* ‘hang’ etc., but Sw. *binda* – *band*, *hänga* – *hängde* etc. In the more easterly dialects, there has been much morphological levelling, whereby the original alternation has been obscured. E. g., the OSw. paradigms *springa* – *sprak(k)*, *stinga* – *stak(k)*, where the preterite forms derived by word-final devoicing followed by nasal assimilation have given rise to new lexical units, Mod. Sw. *spricka* ‘to burst’ and *sticka* ‘to prick’, distinct from *springa*, *stinga*, from which, in turn, new preterite forms have later been derived (*sprang*, *stang*).

Nasal assimilation has generally affected Icelandic, Faroese, West Norwegian, partly West Swedish dialects (in fact also some Danish), but Modern Standard Danish and Swedish do not reflect the effect of the rule to the same extent. These changes give rise to a West – East Nordic opposition in many cases: OWN *kroppin* ‘crippled’, *sqppr* ‘mushroom’; *brattr* ‘steep’, *stuttr* ‘short’; *ekkia* ‘widow’, *sökkva* ‘sink’ vs. OEN (OSw.) *krumpin*, *svamper*; *branter*, *stunter*; *ænkia*, *siunka*.

These assimilations have been investigated by Moberg (1944), who has also suggested a dating: 650–850. An earlier version of nasal assimilation – or rather loss of a nasal leading to compensatory lengthening of vowels in tonic syllables – took place in certain environments, e. g. before /s/ in OWN *gás* ‘goose’ (cf. G *Gans*), before /f/ in OWN *ffl* ‘fool’ (< **fimfla*-), before /n/ in OWN *Pórr* ‘Thor’ (cf. OHG *Donar*); the exact conditions are not quite clear. This change should probably be kept together with the loss of nasals word-finally: OWN *á* ‘on’ (cf. runic <an>, Tjurkō), *i* ‘in’ (G *in*); all infinitive forms have lost an earlier /-n/, e. g. OWN *binda* ‘to bind’ (Go. *bindan*).

4.2.2. Nasal dissimilation

In the sequence /mn/, the nasal /m/ has, in Old West Nordic, undergone dissimilation into /f/ (<β) in words like *nafn* ‘name’, *safn* ‘collection’, *hifni* dat. sg. of *himinn* ‘heaven’. Very confusingly, the equivalent of OWN /fn/ is sometimes /mn/ in East Nordic, although /fn/ reflects the original state more faithfully: Sw. *hamn* for Icel. *höfn* ‘harbor’, *jämn* for *jafn* ‘even’, *sömn* for *svefn* ‘sleep’ (cf. G *Hafen*, *eben*, OE *swefn*).

4.3. Glides

The Proto-Nordic glides are involved in two types of processes with quite different results. First of all, glides are lost under various circumstances. Word-initial /j/ is dropped generally at the very beginning of the transitional stage: OWN *ár* ‘year’, *ok* ‘yoke’, *ungr* ‘young’ (cf. G *Jahr*, *Joch*, *jung*). Word-initial /w/ is later lost before rounded vowels: OWN *orð*, *óðr*, *úlfr*, *æpa*, *yrkja* (cf. G *Wort*, Go. *wods*, G *Wolle*, *Wolf*, Go. *wopjan*, G *wirken*, respectively). These changes are characteristic of the Nordic languages. A /w/ also drops before /r/ followed by the same vowels: OWN *róg* ‘slander’, *rægja* (cf. OE *wrógian*). Deletion of word-initial /w/ before /r/ continues to apply in early Old West Nordic (but not in Old East Nordic): OIcel. *reiðr*, *reka*, *rangr*, *rist*, *riða*, *rô* (cf. OSw. *vreþer*, *vræka*, *vranger*, *vrist*, *vriþa*, *vra*). Occasionally, /w/ has also been eliminated before /l/: OWN *litr* (cf. Go. *wlits*).

One phonological trait which discriminates the Nordic languages and Gothic from the other Germanic languages is the sharpening of long glides: /ww/, /jj/ have become /ggw/, /ggi/ (OWN *tryggr* ‘trusty’, nom. sg. acc. *tryggvan* – Go. *triggws*; OWN *tveggja* gen. of *tveir* two’ – Go. *twaddje*; cf. OHG *gitriuwi*, *zweio*). This change is usually considered to be early, because it is shared by both Nordic and Gothic, but it is in fact difficult to find other, more decisive, arguments for this. A similar process later occurs in Faroese: *siggja* [søʝ:a] ‘to see’, *gjógv* [jɛgv] ‘ravine’; cf. OWN *sjá*, *gjá*. The lengthening of the stop /k/ followed by /j/ or /w/ and /g/ followed by /j/ seems, at least superficially, also to be related: OWN *hyggja* ‘to think’ (Go. *hugjan*), *rökkva* ‘to darken’ (Go. *riqis*), *knekkja* ‘to crack’ (derived from *knaka* ‘to creak’).

Towards the end of the period considered here, all remaining instances of bilabial /w/ in word-initial and postvocalic position are eventually changed into labiodental [v]: OWN *var* ‘was’, *æfi* ‘age’ (cf. runic *was* Kalleby, OHG *ewi* ‘eternity’). The original pronunciation has been maintained in various dialects. By contrast, /j/ seems to remain a semivowel much longer.

Word-final /w/ has always been deleted: OWN *ey* ‘always’ (Go. *aivw*), *song* 1 sg. pret. ‘sang’ (Go. *saggw*).

4.4. Reanalysis phenomena

A peculiar synchronic rule is observable in the oldest forms of Old West Nordic (e. g. the scaladic language; Jónsson 1921, 285–287), where-

by a /ð/ is generated from /nn/ before /r/. It is common in, e. g. pres. forms of verbs: *breðr* (= *brennr* from *brenna* ‘burn’), nom. sg. forms of masc. nouns: *bruðr* (= *brunnr* ‘well’), nom. pl. *teðr* (= *tennr* ‘teeth’), *iðri* comp. ‘inner’ (cf. *inn(i)* ‘in’), the most consistent forms probably being *maðr* ‘man’, *aðrir*, and other inflexional forms of *annarr* ‘other’. In many cases, the “regular” forms are later reinserted by analogical levelling (*brennr*, *brunnr* etc.). Non-inflecting forms are subsequently relexicalised with /θ/: OWN *suðr* ‘south’ (cf. *sumn-an* ‘from the south’). The process seems to be due to a reanalysis based on the cumulative results of a number of historical phenomena (Ralph 1975, 75–98), a type of process too often neglected in analyses following the Neo-grammarians tradition.

Restructuring is also a natural consequence of the so-called “three consonant law”, which implies that clusters containing three or more consonants tend to be reduced with the effect that the middle consonant is dropped: OWN *norræn* ‘Nordic’ (cf. OHG *nordroni*), *enskr* (= *engskr*) ‘English’. These modifications probably occurred late during the transition period, gaining input from syncope.

5. Graphematic changes

During the period in question, the only script used in the Nordic area is the one referred to as runic writing. Runology is treated in its own right elsewhere in this volume. Here, some brief comments on the graphematic system will be made.

The runic script in its oldest form is obviously patterned after the classical (Greek or Roman) alphabet or some variety of it. The number of runes, 24, bears this out quite clearly, and a majority of the signs themselves show much graphic resemblance to the letters of the alphabet, in particular if well-known variants are taken into consideration. The only disturbing fact about the runes in this connexion is the unparalleled fixed order in which they are presented, from which the term “Futhark” is derived. Towards the end of the period during which runes are used in Northern Europe, i. e. in the Middle Ages, the systematic correspondence between the runes and the letters becomes even more exact, the Futhark being gradually filled in with new signs for the missing letters. So the Futhark eventually ends up as a true “runic alphabet”.

Between these end-points, however, the Futhark developed as an autonomous graphematic

system (one version is discussed by Loman 1965), although never acquiring such strict rules of application (e. g. orthography) as can be noted for alphabetic writing. Furthermore, there is a partial disruption in the continuity of runic usage, as the older Common Germanic Futhark is replaced – in the Nordic countries and the areas which they controlled – by the younger Viking Age Futhark (in two basic versions). The older Futhark was fairly well matched with the Proto-Nordic phonemic system, but the later development implied a significant reduction of runes. (For a survey of the different theories presented, dealing with this development, see Birkmann 1995). The remaining vowel signs were ⟨i⟩, ⟨u⟩, ⟨a⟩ – represented by the original ⟨a⟩ rune – and ⟨A⟩, represented by a sign taken to be developed from the original ⟨j⟩ rune. In due course, much confusion arose between ⟨a⟩ and ⟨A⟩, and ⟨a⟩ gradually adopted the function of ⟨o⟩, especially in Norway and its Atlantic colonies, where a new vocalic function ⟨y⟩ was also assigned to the earlier ⟨R⟩ rune. The shift from the older Futhark to the younger ones was gradual in so far as some runes from the older system tended to linger on considerably, but there is much orthographic confusion (e. g. in the use of digraphs or of just one sign for the diphthongs). The system of the Viking Age Futharks was subsequently filled in by so-called dotted runes to distinguish between phonologically related variants.

The reduction of 24 runes to 16 also affected the consonant system. In particular, voicing is given up as a distinctive feature with ⟨b⟩, ⟨t⟩, ⟨k⟩ representing [p, b], [t, d], [k, g], respectively. Furthermore, nasals are sometimes suppressed before homorganic obstruents so that, e. g., ⟨k⟩ may designate [k, g, kk, gg, ŋk, ŋg] (no consonant length distinction is made in runic writing; see Braunmüller 1998 for the methodological implications of such conditions). The earlier rune for [ŋg] is dropped altogether. The function of ⟨w⟩ is taken over by ⟨u⟩, and that of ⟨j⟩ by ⟨i⟩. In the older Futhark, ⟨j⟩ already played a confusing role. It is generally agreed that the earliest ⟨j⟩ rune was later modified and used for [a], probably as a consequence of word-initial ⟨j⟩ being lost generally. It will be remembered that the runes were memorized by means of their individual names: ⟨j⟩ was PN *jāra*, OWN *ár*. A parallel is ⟨R⟩ being used with the function of ⟨y⟩ after the coalescence of [r] and [R] (see 4.1.5.); the Old Nordic name of the ⟨R⟩ rune was *ýr*.

It is easy to realize that, after this reduction, the runic evidence is even more unreliable with respect to phonetic detail. It is a matter of dispute what caused the change from the older to the younger Futhark, but it has often been maintained that it is exactly the disruptive changes that have been outlined in this article which had the triggering effect.

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82. Morphological developments from Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic

1. Introduction
2. Nominal morphology
3. Pronominal morphology
4. Verbal morphology
5. Word-formation
6. Conclusion
7. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

Assessing *morphological change* between Ancient Nordic (AN) and Old Nordic (ON) brings problems of definition immediately to light. Whether the language of the runic inscriptions in the elder futhark should be regarded as particularly ‘Nordic’, or whether a common ‘Nordic’ should be reconstructed for Viking-age Scandinavia, are still vexed questions. The paucity of direct linguistic evi-

dence renders it unavoidable that many morphological developments within the ON dialects can only be identified against reconstructed systems of Proto-Germanic (PGmc) or its various macrostructures. It seems clear that many such developments seem to follow the same trends evident elsewhere in the Germanic group. The development of an initial accent and the resultant tendency to transfer linguistic information from inflectional to root syllables brought about similar processes of weakening or loss of desinences, which in turn led to mergers of distinct morphological classes. On the other hand this impoverishment of the morphological system was countered by a renewal of resources through various innovations, many of which are again likely to have been common to PGmc (Werner 1984). A further consequence, particularly in ON, was

a trend for root syllables to carry morphological information previously held by inflectional ones through the operation of various phonological phenomena, as in Old Icelandic (OIcel.) neut. nom./acc.sg. *land* vs. pl. *lǫnd*, or 3rd pers. sg. pret.ind. *taldi* vs. subj. *teldi*. Such processes also introduced a fair amount of allomorphy, as with the OIcel. weak preterites *taldi* vs. *gerði* vs. *mælti*. This interaction between morphology and phonology often makes it difficult to establish which factors were behind a given development, and a complex interplay can be identified in fields such as the remodelling of the ON nominal paradigms.

2. Nominal morphology

This reorganization was partially prompted by the loss of stem-vowels at syncope. Of the competing pressures on the nominal system two perhaps stand out; a drift towards differentiating grammatical gender opposed by one towards more transparent equations between single morph and single function. A clear example of the latter can be seen in the history of the dat. pl. ending, where the Nordic and Ingvaemonic dialects reveal a uniform morpheme in *-um* extended across all nominal paradigms, which may already be attested in the sixth-century Stentoften inscription.

2.1. Nominal reorganization

The masc./neut. *a*-stems were relatively undisturbed during the transition to ON (Noreen 1923, §§ 356–72). The only significant innovation seems to be the intrusion of the gen. sg. form in *-ar* alongside the historical reflex in *-s*, which may be explained by influence from other paradigms facilitated perhaps by phonotactic considerations. The same trend is also visible in the *ja*-stem subgroup, but this group also exhibits confusion with original *i*-stems, possibly due to the collapse of certain desinences or via the medium of a large cluster of nouns ending in a velar with intrusive semi-vowel, such as ON *hryggr* ‘back’, dat. pl. *hryggjum*. This merger worked in different directions in the various dialects, with the *i*-stem nom. pl. *-ir* winning out in WN, in EN however the *ja*-stem nom. pl. *-jar*. In the ON dialects the most consistent distinctions between the masc. nominal classes largely turned on the choice of nom./acc. pl. endings, and the frequent levelling of *-i* in place of *-u* in the *u*-stem acc. pl. shows that even this system was breaking down.

2.1.1. The feminine nominal classes

Tensions between these endings also played a role in the striking reorganization of the ON fem. nominal classes (Noreen 1923, §§ 373–92), which reveal heavy confusion between the *ō*- and *i*-stems. While a sg. paradigm developed that seems to reflect *ō*-stem endings, a contrary trend involved the growing productivity of the nom./acc. pl. *-ir* proper to the *i*-stems. A limited number of originally thematic nouns also drifted towards the athematic paradigm with gen. sg. and nom./acc. pl. *-r*. Studies of the mechanisms behind these developments have focused on phonological coalescences between the various paradigms (Wessén 1927) or drives towards *gender* disambiguation (Bjorvand 1972). Both seem to have played a role, and a further cause might also have been the presence of word-formational suffixes that could fluctuate between the nominal classes with the same morphological function (Syrett 1994, 98–102), which also ultimately helped to prompt widespread confusion between *i*- and *u*-stems of all genders. The regular survival of original *ō*-stem desinences, such as the dat. sg. *-u*, only in nouns formed with the *-ing/-ung* suffixes (Syrett 1994, 113–18) could then be explained by the fact that they stood outside such morphological confusion.

2.1.2. Athematic nouns

The athematic monosyllabic “root” nouns seem to have represented a small group of nouns already in PGmc, and the low number of ON masc. nouns were heavily reformed according to thematic paradigms (Noreen 1923, §§ 413–14), a drift that may well be ancient. Although various forms in the elder futhark inscriptions have been seen as athematic, the examples are uncertain (Syrett 1994, 66). Other traces of the athematic paradigm were obliterated with the identification of the formative stem-syllables of the “consonant stems”, particularly the *r*- and *n*-stems, as desinences leading to the development of new paradigms (Werner 1984, 193–96). An AN athematic ending is still attested in the form **dothrikr** ‘daughters’ on the Tune stone, but the ON paradigms seem to be the combined result of unclear phonological developments and the generalization of allomorphs across distinct categories. The ON dialects share with Ingvaemonic, for example, the levelling of the **-an-* stem throughout the masc./neut. paradigms, and runic evidence confirms

this already for AN (Syrett 1994, § 7.11). The *r*- and *n*-stem paradigms in ON also show a tripartite distribution of load differentiating the nom.sg., oblique sg., and nom./acc.pl. forms (Noreen 1923, §§ 399–409; §§ 419–21). The development of this pattern is again uncertain, and approaches towards the problem involve an uneasy mixture of morphological pressures, phonological developments, and inherited allomorphs. Tensions between these methodologies are particularly well exemplified by the debate over the origins of the ON weak masc. nom.sg. *-i* and its relation to the AN runic forms in *-a* or *-o* (Syrett 1994, 134–52), which now seems generally interpreted as reflecting two different analogical impulses working at different periods. Firstly the nom.sg. was levelled before the AN period to **-a* to conform with the vowel grade of the oblique cases and to differentiate it from the fem. nom.sg. in **-ō*; then, once this desinence was lost at syncope, the **-i* proper to the *jan*-stems was borrowed to distinguish the nom.sg. from the oblique forms (Nielsen 1995, 118–21). Another example of gender disambiguation appears in the pl. endings, where the strong nominal paradigms were responsible for the reinforcement with *-r* in the fem. nom./acc.pl. but only in the nom.pl. ending in the masc. paradigm. A similar innovation within eastern dialects of AN might also account for the split between the neut. nom./acc.pl. in WN *-u* vs. EN *-un*, if this does not simply reflect different sound-laws.

2.2. The adjective

A common PGmc innovation was the adaptation of the *n*-stem paradigm to create the ‘weak’ adjective with an individualizing or definite function, and the two distinct but parallel paradigms were maintained in ON (Noreen 1923, §§ 432–35). Strikingly, these paradigms failed to distinguish grammatical gender within the pl., which seems to be a specifically Nordic innovation. This may have been partially prompted by the collapse of the fem./neut. nom./acc.pl. endings in *-u*, but also facilitated by the need to resolve clashes when adjectives agreed with nouns of different genders. Within the strong adjectives levelling worked across nominal classes rather than gender, and it is apparent that ON developed the common Germanic trend towards a single paradigm based upon the *a/ō*-stems particularly fully, leaving only the *j*- and *w*-stems as relics of divergent stem-formations (Noreen

1923, §§ 424–31). Inscriptions in the elder futhark attest to different stem-classes in forms such as **wajemariR** on the Thorsberg chape, suggesting that this adjectival levelling took place within the transition from AN to ON. It is however difficult to identify any formal split between substantival and adjectival paradigms for AN, and this distinction was gradually reinforced by the adoption of pronominal endings by a good part of the adjectival declension. This contamination is again a PGmc development, but its precise results vary between the various branches depending upon the selection of available morphs. Two endings emerge as innovations possibly specific to ON; the addition of the morpheme **-z* to the masc. nom.pl. **-ai* (Grønvik 1981, 67–68), and the baffling neut. dat.sg. *-u* (Boutkan 1995, 302–03).

2.3. Loss of categories

Alongside reorganization of the nominal stem-system it is also probable that the transition from AN to ON entailed the loss of certain morphological categories. For example, from a comparative perspective the ON dative must ultimately be viewed as a conflation of several IE cases such as the dative, locative, and instrumental, some of which still appear as separate categories in other Germanic branches. Phonological collapse of the relevant desinences is at least partially to blame for this reduction of the morphological system, and it is tempting to suspect that AN maintained some of these categories to some extent, although this is not visible in the elder futhark runic inscriptions.

A better case can be argued for the existence of a *vocative* in AN, a category which was replaced by the nom.sg. by the ON period. A number of attempts have been made to identify endless voc. sg. forms in the older runic inscriptions, but some seem corrupt and other interpretations are also available (Syrett 1994, 62–67). Stiles (1984) also argued that **swestar** on the Opedal stone represented a voc. (cf. Syrett 1994, 222–31), but despite his valid observation that positing a formally distinct vocative for AN is perfectly reasonable on comparative grounds, it is still uncertain whether it is actually attested anywhere. Less certain again is another putative example of loss of category in the history of the Nordic languages, in the form of the dual number. The IE nominal *dual* left only faint relic traces in PGmc, which in itself tends to cast doubt on

Vennemann's identification (1989) of **horna** on the Gallehus horn as an acc. dual rather than sg. form. The criticisms levelled by Strunk (1992) and Klein (1992) rightly dismiss this as very unlikely.

3. Pronominal morphology

In some respects pronominal morphology seems more archaic in such terms as category loss. The origins of the ON dative are illustrated by the conflict between the masc. dat.sg. *þeim* and the neut. *þ(v)í*, the latter apparently reflecting an older locative, and this also comes out with the dual.

3.1. Genderless personal pronouns

Dual pronouns in Germanic are only attested in the genderless 1st/2nd person, but it can only be guessed whether AN maintained dual verbal endings for these categories as did Gothic. Although dual pronouns fell out of use in many EN dialects they were more successful in WN, where their development is linked by Guðmundsson (1972) to the growth of 'honorific' plural pronouns. While the sg. pronoun system maintained three numbers, four cases and a reflexive, the pl. forms show a range of reformations which are likely to reflect a mixture of common Northwest Germanic (NWgmc) analogical trends and phonological developments (cf. Seebold 1984a, 37–39, 44–57).

3.2. Third person pronouns

The 3rd person pronouns in ON reveal an even greater array of innovations, perhaps reflecting the lack of any coherent system in IE (Szemerényi 1990, 215–24). The IE 'anaphoric' pronoun reflected in Gothic *is* was adapted in the various branches of Germanic (Prokosch 1939, 274–75) and a fossilized masc. nom.sg. form seems to have supplied the ON relative particle *es/er*. The interrogative pronoun **hwaz* was also reformed and largely replaced by an extended stem in **hwarj-* (Noreen 1923, §474). However, the arising of a 3rd person pronoun in **hān-*, ON *hann/hon*, is the most significant feature. The fact that it only appears in the masc./fem. sg. might suggest that it was a Nordic innovation designed to reinforce the distinction between 'real' and 'grammatical' gender. Etymological links have been proposed with Gothic *jains* (Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–73, §566), and dia-

lect geography suggests that the reinforcement of pronominal roots with initial 'deictic' **h-* was an Ingvaemonic impulse that petered out in Nordic and Old Saxon (Nielsen 1975, 10). Overall **hān-* shows such parallels with the other demonstrative root in **hin-* that the two seem inextricably interlinked (see 3.3.).

3.2.1. Demonstratives and other compounded pronouns

The fate of the IE demonstrative **so, *to* in PGmc and AN is difficult to reconstruct as the various Germanic branches show much variation. In ON a tendency emerges for the pronoun to be reinforced by the addition of nominal markers, yielding by-forms such as masc. nom.sg. *sá(r)* or neut. nom./acc.pl. *þau, þaun* (Noreen 1904, §508). The EN dialects in particular show greater levelling of the root through features such as the replacement of the masc./fem. nom.sg. forms *sá, sú* with *þan/þæn* or *þē* respectively. Another common theme seems to be the re-identification of the root as **þa(i)-* with the addition of (pro-) nominal endings, reflected as early as the Istaby stone in the form *þaiar* which seems an unsuccessful rival to the AN **þār* seen in Olcel. *þær*. Inscriptions also make it clear that the demonstrative contained a 1st person deictic function 'this' as well as a 3rd person 'that' (Sprenger 1977, 31–68). As a result the NWGmc languages all exhibit an extended demonstrative to carry the deictic function 'this' more strongly, formed by the addition of a particle in **s-* of uncertain origin (Noreen 1904, §509). The variation within the paradigm reveals a shift from internal to final inflection, which is ultimately reflected in the gradual levelling of a pronominal root in *þess-* with affixed endings. Divergences between forms like the Olcel. masc. acc.sg. *þemma* and runic forms in *þansi* are often ascribed to competing enclitic particles, but it also seems possible that the extension of forms like *þenna* reflects the secondary adoption of weak nominal endings to reinforce the distinction against equivalent simple demonstratives such as *þann*. Other compounded pronouns developed in the ON dialects also show a drift from internal to final inflection. As with the demonstratives disruption of this pattern only persisted in a few categories, most notably forms of the neut. nom./acc.sg. (Noreen 1923, §§475–79) as with *engi, ekki* 'none, no-one'. The fusion of different roots, as in the indefi-

nite *nokkurr* ‘some’, is even more striking, and confirms the strong Nordic trend towards the univerbation of enclitics (cf. 6.).

3.3. The “definite article”

The most innovative example of this is the ON postposed “definite article” *-inn* and its relationship to preposed *hinn*. The origin of these forms, and the nature of their relationship to one another, is disputed (Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–71, § 576), but it is commonly held that *inn* reflects an IE demonstrative **eno-* while *hinn* is a reinforced version of this root with the initial deictic **h-* also visible in the 3rd pers. pronoun *hann* (Prokosch 1939, 273–74). Since neither pronominal root in **hin-* nor **hān-* has any immediate parallels elsewhere in Germanic, it is possible to argue that they are both innovations that arose together in the AN period; in addition, the appearance of two forms in *inn* and *hinn* might suggest in turn that it is unlikely that both of them could be distinct inherited forms, neither of which has left a clear trace elsewhere. While the two pronouns form minimal contrasts when preposed, with *inn* ‘the’ contrasted against *hinn* ‘that, the other’, this opposition is only reflected in WN. In EN, on the other hand, the form *hinn* is dominant and the evidence of Viking-age inscriptions confirms that this might have been the original state (Jacobsen/Moltke 1942, 667). It is possible therefore that the WN functional opposition before adjectives might be secondary. However, studies of the development of the ON postposed article have tended to try to account for both origins and usage under a single argument. Johnsen argued that *inn* was postposed in ON “because no emphasis of its specific meaning was possible” (1976, 126–27), although the etymology and original functions of such a colourless particle are not explained. An etymological approach is also reflected in Seebold’s idea (1984b) that the article represents a legacy of an IE trend to place deictic particles after nouns while demonstratives preceded them. However, Braunmüller (1982, 222–38) pertinently notes that all Germanic languages develop article-like pronouns from older demonstratives, which were originally generally postposed after nouns.

It is possible to identify several stages of innovation which gave rise to the postposed article: the origins of the pronominal roots in **(h)in-*; the weakening of any deictic or demonstrative function; its distribution before

adjectives but after nouns; and its univerbation in *enclitic* position. The form **hino** on the Strøm whetstone seems readily interpreted as such a deictic demonstrative pronoun already in AN, but examples are rare in Viking-age inscriptions in postposed position. Phrases such as **harats hins kuþa** on the Sønder Vissing stone formed the basis for views developed by scholars such as Delbrück (1916) that the ON postposed article originated in false segmentation of sequences like *konungr(-)inn góði* ‘the good king’. However, the essentially preposited usage of the pronoun remains transparent, and it seems likely that such usage played a role in the gradual loss of deictic function when demonstratives appeared before definite adjectives to support their individualizing function (Kovari 1984, 13–26). If ON *(h)inn* is taken as a weakened deictic demonstrative, then its infrequency in runic inscriptions could be attributed to its loss of deictic power, which rendered it unsuitable for use in the formulaic texts (Birkmann 1995, 238). A progressive development is also suggested by the fact that an ‘article’ is still facultative rather than obligatory in the earliest ON manuscripts (Sprenger 1977). The most significant specifically Nordic innovation is the univerbation of this article with preceding nouns, a trend paralleled elsewhere in the history of the Nordic languages (cf. 4.3.2.; Braunmüller 1982, 229–31). Here the variation between the dat. pl. in WN *-unum*, EN *-umin* suggests that this was a fairly late and partially dialect-specific development. Although much obscurity still surrounds the development of this particularly Nordic phenomenon, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was the end product of an unrelated series of morphological and syntactical developments within the progression from AN to ON.

4. Verbal morphology

Within verbal morphology many of the same trends can be identified as in the nominal system; tensions between competing stem-classes, inter-paradigmatic levelling, and loss of some morphological markers or categories.

4.1. Loss of categories or markers

A number of such features are plausibly interpreted as common NWGmc developments; these include the loss of the putative dual number category and formally distinct 3rd person imperative forms. The same also

applies to divergences in development of the *weak preterite*, where the 3rd pers. pl. form **dalidun** on the Tune stone agrees with WGmc rather than with Gothic disyllabic forms *-dedun*. The interpretation of pret. sg. endings can also be viewed in this light (Syrett 1994, 242–55; Grønvik 1998, 132–34), although the idea that forms like **talgidai** on the Nøvling clasp reflect traces of the IE *middle voice* seems implausible given the distinct traces of the middle preserved in Germanic.

Outside Gothic relics of the middle only appear in forms of the verb **haitan* in the sense ‘to be called’ rather than ‘to call, order’. The marginalization of this category to one verb may well have taken place already in AN, and attested runic 1st pers. sg. forms in **-e** agree with ON *heiti* suggesting preservation of the original desinence (Syrett 1994, 238–40). Unless the ON 2nd/3rd pers. sg. *heitir* is remodelled from this *heiti* on the analogy of the active, it too looks to represent a more archaic theme-vowel than Gothic *haitaza*, but also with apparent levelling from the 2nd to the 3rd pers. sg. mirrored in the present active (see 4.2.1.).

A further example similar in terms of dialect geography is provided by the loss of *reduplication* as a preterite marker of those strong verbs traditionally grouped together as class 7. While Gothic maintains this feature in verbs like *haitan*, *haihait*, the NWGmc languages tend to replace it with forms of ablaut that are largely innovatory, yielding ON *heita*, *hét*. Numerous approaches have been posited for this problem, ranging from a levelling of the reduplicating syllable to a single morph such as **-ez-* (Bech 1969) or its re-interpretation as a vocalic infix (cf. d’Alquen 1997). It is difficult to find secure traces of reduplication in AN (but cf. Grønvik 1987, 122–24), and relics only appear in ON with *verba pura* such as *sá*, *seri* (Noreen 1923, § 506). However, although the tendency to abandon reduplication is common to NWGmc, this does not apply consistently to its results and Mottausch (1998, 47–52) argues that a dialect-specific development yielded different results in EN and WN. If so, then it seems perhaps reasonable to argue that morphological re-analysis of reduplication was a common NWGmc feature, but that the precise phonological and analogical ramifications were only fully worked out on a dialectal basis.

4.2. Verbal reorganization

The reorganization of the verbal system of ON is complicated by uncertainties surrounding the precise stem-formation of the weak classes and the choice of allomorphs open for selection within them. However, one interesting aspect turns on the functional load ascribed to certain morphemes leading to levelling or re-analysis of some personal endings.

4.2.1. Personal endings

A striking example is the collapse of the PGmc 2nd/3rd pers. sg. pres. ind. endings in **-z*, **-þ/-ð* in ON *-r*; this is reflected in early inscriptions, where the archaic form **bariutiþ** on the Stentofte stone parallels **barutr** on Björketorp, equivalent to ON *brýtr*. However, the idea that the 2nd pers. sg. ending was simply extended into the 3rd pers. has rightly seemed dubious to most commentators. Both Kock (1898, 230–32) and following him Holland (1980) argued for influence from the enclitic pronoun **eR* (cf. 3.2.), but neither Kock’s assimilation nor Holland’s appeal to endingless verbal forms seem particularly convincing. Bech’s notion (1970) that the 2nd pers. sg. was levelled due to the coalescence in the new middle voice also runs up against chronological problems (cf. 4.3.3.), while the presence of competing endings in *-sk*, *-zk* provides no clear analogical model for such a reformation. However, the observations that **-R* was both less amenable to opaque assimilations after consonants than **-ð* and also was far more consistently a 2nd pers. sg. marker than the latter was a 3rd pers. marker are significant and may well have played a role, especially if combined with the apparent sporadic confusion of /r/ and /ð/ in certain environments.

The replacement within Old Norwegian of 2nd pers. pl. forms in *-ið* with *-ir* has also been ascribed either to the influence of a following enclitic pronoun or analogical extension of *-r* from other forms of the paradigm (Seip 1954, 75–82; Hagen 1984), and similar approaches have also been mooted for the further striking contrast with the EN ending *-in* (Noreen 1904, § 561.3; Kock 1898, 234–40). That the 2nd pers. pl. seems so open to reformations suggests that it occupied a marginal position within the ON verbal system, and this is perhaps also reflected in the levelling of a single morpheme across all verbal classes, a trend evident in all ON pl. verbal forms.

4.2.2. Levelling within verbal classes

The ON dialects maintain the distinctions between the various Germanic weak verbal classes fairly well (Noreen 1923, §§ 507–20), and class III may even show moves to differentiate itself further from other stem-formations (Dishington 1978). The scarcity of securely identified verbal forms in the older runic inscriptions, however, makes a precise evaluation of the AN system difficult. For example, it seems that the subgroup of class I weak verbs which formed their weak preterite without a connecting vowel were to some extent marginalized in Nordic; yet attempts to harmonize the anomalous ON preterites *seldi*, *setti* with both this group and recorded AN forms like *satido* have proved awkward (Grønvik 1998, 62–64). Overall it might be said that AN inherited a greater coherence within the verbal classes than in the nominal, and so there was less scope for large-scale reorganization.

4.3. Innovations in the verbal system

The history of the ON verbal system also reveals a number of areas of innovation, including the development of new verbal categories, which were to some degree fuelled by a tendency to fuse verbal endings with a following enclitic pronoun.

4.3.1. New infinitives

One striking aspect is the development of new infinitive forms, which can be linked to the growth of the acc. plus infinitive construction (Kuhn 1939). On the analogy of the phonological collapse between the 3rd pers. pl. and the infinitive in *-a* new infinitives were formed in *-u* for modals such as *skulu* that originally lacked infinite forms (Sćur 1963), although alternatives like *mega* attest to the more Germanic trend to form new infinitives on the model of other verbal groups. More interestingly ON also developed secondary infinitives of preterite form (Sćur 1962). While genuine preterite infinitives such as *föru* ‘to have gone’ as opposed to *fara* ‘to go’ were mostly restricted to verse and ultimately unsuccessful, prose shows extensive use of modal forms like *myndu* or *skyldu*; these however reflect the essentially timeless nature of the Germanic infinitive and indicate not tense but conditionality (Kuhn 1939, 127–28).

4.3.2. Enclitic pronouns

The Nordic dialects exhibit a striking trend for enclitic pronouns appearing after finite verbal forms to become unverbated by loss of word-juncture (cf. 3.3.). This might be linked to the destructive rhythmical operation of ON syncope also attested in the loss of pretonic syllables (see 5.1.), although enclitic 1st pers. sg. forms are already attested in the elder futhark inscriptions (Krause 1971, §100.1). The effects on the pronominal system include “weakening” of enclitic pronouns as in *-g* for *ek* and also the arisal of forms like 2nd pl. *þér* through false segmentation (Noreen 1923, §465), but the most striking aspect was the fusion of the reflexive *sik*, *sér* with verbal endings to form a new verbal category, the “middle” voice.

4.3.3. The ON “middle” voice

On semantic and syntactic grounds it seems that the middle voice was still evolving in the ON period, although the fluctuation in the form of the endings shows that much levelling of the system had already occurred (Noreen 1923, §§ 543–44). While the earliest WN forms appear to reflect an enclitic acc. form *sik*, the more standard EN reflex in *-s* is normally related to the dat. *sér*. However, runic forms indicate that the acc. also played a role in Danish (Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–73, §§ 912–13), and frequent WN byforms in *-z* or *-s* may perhaps be taken back to a competing dat. origin. It seems likely that in all the ON dialects phonological simplification took place once the final sequences had been re-identified as inflections. A loss of contrast seems a more likely root of the WN forms in *-st* than influence of enclitic 2nd pers. pronouns, while it may be argued that *-z* came to be used in almost ideographic fashion as a middle marker.

This steady evolution can also be identified in the functions of the middle. When first attested in Viking-age runic inscriptions its origins are betrayed by its reflexive sense in verbs like *berjask* ‘to fight’, but frequent forms of *andask* ‘to die’ reveal a shift to something more akin to a middle (cf. Nygaard 1905, 154–74; Braunmüller 1982, 242–47). The growth of the passive in verbs like *fæðask* ‘to be born or raised’ is traditionally held to have been hastened, if not necessarily caused, by the use of the middle to gloss Latin passive formations in mediaeval translations (cf. Ureland 1988). Overall the new middle voice

is possibly the most striking instance of the Nordic tendency towards loss of word-juncture and grammaticalization of enclitic forms.

5. Word-formation

Although perhaps less spectacular, the history of word-formation in the Nordic languages also reveals a number of innovations and developments.

5.1. Loss of prefixes

Perhaps the most striking is the loss of pretonic syllables, including all verbal prefixes along with others such as **ga-* which lacked the accent in PGmc. This must to some extent be ascribed to phonological loss, perhaps facilitated by the drift towards loss of morpheme-juncture manifested elsewhere in Old Nordic morphology and revealed in relics of **ga-* in forms such as (*g*)*likr* ‘like’. It seems certain that unaccented prefixes were still current in AN, even though examples are rare; the prefix **ga-* may be attested with a sociative function on the Kragehul spear-shaft (Grønvik 1996, 55) but does not appear before past participial formations (Krause 1971, §103). The only moderately clear example of a verbal prefix occurs in the Reistad inscription, where the form **unnam** seems to reflect a compound of the prefix **unð-*, **unþ-* and the ancestor of Old Nordic *nema* (Grønvik 1996, 112–24).

It was established by Kuhn and Dal that these prefixes had however left a partial legacy in the “Füllwort” or “expletive particle” *of* or *um* attested in skaldic verse. The precise mechanisms of the loss are however still disputed. While Kuhn assumed morphological levelling of certain prefixes such as **of-* at the expense of others (1929, 94–99), Dal argued for a phonetic collapse of pretonic syllables in a ‘Murmelvokal’ that was re-analysed as *of* or *um* in certain phonological environments (1930, 63–85). It is certainly likely that the largely redundant nature of many verbal prefixes helped to allow for their disappearance, since their functions were disparate and vague and could be supplanted by adverbs, often prepositional (Christiansen 1960). However, nominal prefixes, which normally bore the accent, were moderately well maintained into ON elements such as *ør-*, and it seems likely that the particle *of* before nouns largely reflects only older **ga-* (Hinderling 1967,

93–102); during the ON period, these nominal prefixes could then re-enter the verbal system.

5.2. Compounding

Aspects of compounding also reveal several stages of innovation from AN to ON, but they seem to mirror other Germanic dialects and so have ancient roots. The AN runic inscriptions reveal a picture similar to that proposed for PGmc, that the *a-*, *i-* and *u-* stems at least still employed their stem-vowel as a compositional syllable (Syrett 1994, 69–82). The subsequent transition to root- rather than stem-compounding, already present before word-formational suffixes (cf. 5.3.), was largely the result of the loss of stem-vowels at syncope. It is however uncertain what form fem. *ō-* stems appeared in as the first elements of compounds, and Widmark (1991, 78–88) argues that the presence of *u-*umlaut, particularly in short-rooted forms, demands assuming a phonological raising of the compositional syllable **-ō-* to **-u-* as in final syllables. It might alternatively be suggested that already within late AN there was a drift away from stem-formation such that a nom./acc.sg. **faru* was employed in place of **farō-*.

The Nordic languages also shared in the growth of secondary compounds, largely containing a genitival first element. However, no clear semantic distinction can be discerned between stem- and genitival formations (Meid 1967, 17–19), and the picture is obscured by frequent phonetic atrophy of compositional syllables such as the gen.sg. *-ar*, along with the subsequent growth of compounds with weak adjectival first elements (Jóhannesson 1929, 22–25). Such compound-types can be interpreted as a fusion of original syntactic phrases, and so a shift away from the most common compounding types of PGmc.

These seem to have been primarily determinative or exocentric, the latter largely in the form of *bahuvrihi*-compounds (Meid 1967, 23–35), and such types are attested for AN in elder futhark runic inscriptions (Krause 1971, §26). The Nordic languages participated in the general drift towards differentiating such *bahuvrihi*-formations from their simplex by the addition of certain formative suffixes such as the past participial *-ð-* (Carr 1939, 252–65). A further tendency which appears to have common Germanic roots but which again only developed fully within the individual branches was to utilize verbal roots as the first element of nominal compounds,

as in ON *sendimaðr* ‘emissary’ (Carr 1939, 193–95). Although it is sometimes difficult to reconstruct any specific PGmc or AN formations exemplifying these tendencies, it seems likely that the original impulses were inherited and employed by the Nordic languages to give a high degree of flexibility in compounding.

5.3. Word-formational suffixes

The growth of the root rather than stem as the favoured ‘base’ for word-formation is a further feature that developed in the same way (Meid 1967, 49–51). Indeed, the notion that many formative suffixes ever employed the stem-vowel of the base is often more theoretical than demonstrable, and attempts to explain the “suffix ablaut” in cases like the *-ug-/-ig-/-ag-* formatives show a tension between morphological and phonological factors (Syrett 1994, 172–76). Phonological atrophy of unaccented syllables certainly seems to have played a major role in the loss of certain formational suffixes and the transfer of their functional load onto others. An example is the growth of **-inga-* at the expense of **-ija-* to form patronymics and other derivatives denoting origin; the latter appears still in forms such as **holtjjar** on the Gallehus horn, but Old Nordic *-ir* is only well maintained in agentive formations largely confined to verse (Torp 1909, § 13). A trend is also visible showing the development of new formative suffixes by the use of certain nominal elements such as *-dómr* for abstracts or the *bahuvrihi*-type *-likr* for adjectives. Most of these are largely common to NWGmc at least, but some ON innovations can also be identified such as *-lár* (Torp 1909, § 53).

6. Conclusion

Many of the innovations undertaken by the Nordic morphological system can therefore be seen to reflect trends common to the Germanic, and to some extent the IE, group of languages; this applies, for example, to the abandonment of certain marginal morphological classes, formal differentiation of gender, or the tendency to harmonize desinences of equivalent function across different “classes” of various origins. While many such moves correspond to the classic definition of “analogy” as restoring system parity in the face of destructive phonological impulses, the ON dialects, especially WN, show a strong willingness to adapt irregularities into new

morphological patterns. The most striking area of distinct innovation within North Germanic remains, however, the capacity to innovate by univerbation leading to the two new departures of the post-positd “definite article” (3.3.) and the middle voice (4.3.3.), and although difficult to quantify it is hard not to have some sympathy with suggestions that this in turn is at least partially a result of language contact with eastern European dialects which show parallel phenomena (Ureland 1988).

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83. Syntactic developments from Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic

1. Introduction
2. The noun phrase
3. The subject
4. Word order change
5. The reflexive verb form
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

A description of the syntactic development from AN to ON of course presupposes a knowledge of AN syntax. Among the inscriptions in the older runic alphabet whose deciphering and interpretation is sufficiently certain and non-controversial, it is possible to identify some 50 combinations of words that can be considered syntactic constructions.

It goes without saying that it is impossible to present anything even remotely reminiscent of a full syntactic description of the language on the basis of this small corpus. (For a partial description, see Faarlund 2002.) Much of our knowledge of the syntax before the ON period must therefore be based on comparative evidence and reconstruction.

From the evidence that we have, it seems that AN was a typical IE language of its time. In comparison, ON exhibits quite a few “modern” features, not only phonologically, but also syntactically. The examples from AN used in this article are all attested in inscriptions in the older *futhark*, but they have of course been transliterated. The data are mostly based on the interpretations given by Antonsen (1975). An AN inscription is traditionally identified by the name of the place where it is found. This name is given in parenthesis after each cited form.

2. The noun phrase

2.1. Order of elements

In the AN material there are about 40 complex noun phrases. The dominant ordering pattern is head-dependent. This is the case in all the examples with an adjective: *Hlewagastiz Holtijaz* ‘Hlewagast Holtian (= (son) of Holt)’ (Gallehus), *Swabaharjaz sairawidaz* ‘Swabahar wound-wide (= with gaping wounds)’ (Rö), *SigimARAZ AfsAKA* ‘Sigimar off-guilt (= free of guilt)’ (Ellestad).

Possessive and demonstrative determiners also follow the head noun: *magoz minas* ‘son mine’ (Vettelund), *swestar minu* ‘sister mine’ (Opedal), *hali hino* ‘stone this’ (Strøm), *runAZ þAIAZ* ‘runes these’ (Istaby). There is one exception: *þat azina* ‘that (hearth)stone’ (By).

Dependent genitives as well mostly follow their head: *erilaz Asugisalas* (Kragehul), *þewaz Godagas* ‘servant of G.’ (Valsfjord), *gudija Ungandiz* ‘priest of U.’ (Nordhuglo). In three instances, where the head noun denotes the monument with the inscription and the genitive the person commemorated, the genitive precedes the noun: *Ingijon hallaz* ‘Ingio’s stone’ (Stenstad). All the attested examples with genitive nouns or possessive determiners are consistent with an observation by Smith (1971) that animate heads require a following genitive and inanimate ones a preceding genitive (see also Antonsen 1975, 24). Numerals may precede or follow their head: *þrijoz dohtriz* ‘three daughters’ (Tune), *staba þria* ‘staves three’ (Gummarp).

In ON, the word order within the noun phrase is very variable. The adjective may precede or follow the noun: *eldar stórir* ‘fires

great', *mikinn her* 'big army'. Demonstrative and possessive determiners may precede or follow the noun: *sá hinn helgi maðr* 'that the holy man', *minir góðu vinir* 'my good friends', *maðr þessi* 'man this', *móðir mín* 'mother mine'. A genitive phrase usually follows the head noun: *þræll konungs* 'slave king's'. Statistically, it seems that the order within the NP is freer in ON than in AN. The absence of examples with an adjective preceding the noun seems to indicate that the unmarked order was noun + adjective. ON may therefore have been at a transitional stage between AN and modern Scand., where the adjective always precedes the noun.

2.2. The definite article

In one instance the order noun + determiner has been fixed in ON. In AN the demonstrative *hin-* could follow the noun, as in *hali hino* 'stone this' (Strøm). Through a process of grammaticalization, the demonstrative was cliticized to the noun, and semantically bleached into a definite article. The definite article remained a clitic rather than an inflectional suffix for a long time, and it was still a clitic when the tonal system was introduced. Therefore monosyllabic roots with a definite article were treated as monosyllables by the tone assignment rules.

3. The subject

Many IE languages are so-called "pro-drop" languages, in the sense that the subject may be omitted and represented through the number and person inflection on the verb. This is still the case in e.g. Spanish and Italian. And it was the case in Latin and other ancient IE languages. However, ON, like all the contemporary Gmc languages, has to express the subject if it has a specific reference:

- (1) *Ek geri þér skjótan kost, þú skalt reka heim
fimm tög úsauðar*
'I make you a quick deal, you shall drive home fifty ewes'

Since this is different from what seems to have been the rule in PIE, the expression of a specific subject must have been made obligatory at some point in the history of Gmc. But on the basis of the kind of data we have from AN, it is impossible to determine for certain whether the language was a "pro-drop" language or not. The evidence is as follows.

All finite verbs in the material are either first or third person. The first-person verbs have either a subject consisting of a pronoun and an apposition, as in (2), or a clitic pronoun, as in (3):

- (2) *ek erílaz runoz waritu*
'I erila runes wrote' (Järsberg)
(3) *Hariuha haitika farauisa*
Hariuha am-called-I travel-wise
'I am called Hariuha, the travel-wise'
(Zealand)

There is no example of an independent pronoun by itself. There are, however, several examples of verbs without a subject, as in:

- (4) *wurte runoz an wallhakurne*
'wrought runes on Celtic-grain' (Tjurkö)

The third-person verbs either have a NP (mostly a proper name) as the subject, as in (5), or the subject is missing, as in (6). There is no certain occurrence of a third-person pronoun.

- (5) *bidawarijaz talgidai*
'Bidawari carved-3sg.' (Nøvling)
(6) *flagdafaikinaz ist*
'deceitfully-attacked is' (Vettelund)

The sentence types exemplified in (4) and (6) are quite common in the AN corpus. Since most of the examples of missing subjects are sentences that appear together with other material (decipherable or not) in the same inscription or on the same stone, it is not possible to determine whether they are instances of pro-drop or just subject deletion under recoverability, as is very common in ON:

- (7) *þá lét Óðinn bera inn í höllina sverð, ok
váru svá björt ...*
'then let Odin bring into hall-def swords-acc and [-] were so bright ...'

(cf. article 105). For example, the sentence in (4) occurs together with the two names *Heldaz Kunimundiu*, in the nominative and dative, respectively, on the same stone (Grønvik 1987, 151). The subject is therefore recoverable from the word *Heldaz*. There is in fact only one short inscription where the subject is missing and where there is no possible linguistic context that it could be inferred from.

- (8) *tawo laþodu*
'make-1sg. invitation' (Trollhättan)

Since our material is mainly of an epigraphic nature, we certainly have no evidence to conclude that AN belonged to the type of lan-

guage where subject pronouns could be freely omitted. On the other hand, there is no clear evidence that AN was not a pro-drop language, either.

4. Word order change

4.1. VO and V2 in Old Nordic

ON is a verb-second language, like all the modern Gmc languages (except E). Whenever the verb occurs in first position in a main sentence, the pre-verbal topic position can be considered empty (cf. article 108).

- (9) a. *jarl för i dal djupan*
 ‘earl went in valley-acc. deep’
 b. *átti hann margt fê*
 ‘owned he-nom. much money-acc.’

This is a specifically Gmc feature among the IE languages. And again, the question is whether this feature already existed in AN or whether it came into being with the transition to ON.

ON is also a VO language, which means that objects and predicate adverbials regularly follow the non-finite verb:

- (10) *þá skal ek sjalfr veita þeim lið*
 ‘then shall I myself give them-dat help-acc.’

4.2. OV and V2 in Ancient Nordic

In the AN material it is possible to identify some 30 sentences with verbs, whose interpretation is more or less certain and uncontroversial. When these are analyzed carefully, two distinct patterns emerge. The oldest inscriptions are verb final, as in (2) above. They represent an OV structure without verb movement to the second position. Consistent with an OV grammar, the auxiliary follows the main verb, as in *haitinaz was* ‘called was’ (Kalleby), see also (6) above. But during the fifth century a different pattern emerged, so that the verb tended to precede its complement:

- (11) *hAþuwoLafa sate stAbA þria*
 ‘Hathuwolf set staves three’ (Gummarp, 7th c.)

(cf. also (4) and (8)). This may look like a transition from OV to VO. But it is worth noting that all the verbs which precede their object are finite, and they are all in first or second position. They may therefore be analyzed as having undergone verb movement from their

final position. There is not one single inscription in the entire corpus that contradicts an OV structure, since there is no non-finite verb which precedes its complement.

What happened in the fifth century may have been the introduction of verb-second order. If Grønvik’s (1987) interpretation of the Setre inscription (from the last part of the sixth century) is correct, it clearly shows an OV language with verb movement:

- (12) *hAl mAZ mA unA Alu nA Alu nANA*
 ‘leaning girl may be-happy all obtain all accept, i. e. A girl who is lying down may feel happy, obtain everything and accept everything’ (Setre)

It is true that this is a very unclear inscription which has received many different interpretations, but if Grønvik is right, we have here a sentence with a finite auxiliary, *mA* in second position, and two infinitives, *nA*, *nANA* which follow their objects.

The only two (almost identical) subordinate sentences in the material (from the first half of the seventh century) are also verb final:

- (13) *sAZ þAt barutz*
 ‘he-who that breaks’ (Björketorp)

This example dates from after the introduction of the verb-second rule, but since this is a subordinate sentence, verb movement does not apply, and the verb remains in final position, preceded by its object. (This may also, however, be an instance of “stylistic fronting” (cf. article 105) whereby a constituent moves into an empty subject slot in subordinate sentences.)

4.3. The origin of the verb-second rule

The verb-second rule may have started as a movement of auxiliary verbs to the second position of the sentence, where it is cliticized to the first element (Hock 1986, 330). A process of cliticization of particles and pronouns to the first autonomous word in the sentence, known as “Wackernagel’s Law” is well documented and described for several IE languages. As a result of such a process, certain elements would regularly appear in second position. The implication is that auxiliary verbs belonged to the class of elements that could cliticize in this way. Hock cites as evidence the fact that auxiliary verbs in many languages would undergo phonological changes that otherwise occur only in unstressed syllables: Latin *habet* ‘has’ became *ha* in Italian and

Spanish, etc. In Nordic the 3rd-person singular of the copula and auxiliary 'be' lost its final consonant. Compare the form *ist* in (6), where the auxiliary is still in final position, to reduced forms found in second position in later inscriptions, as in (14), and the rhotacized form *er* in ON and later.

- (14) *sikli s nAhli*
 'clasp is death-shelter, i.e. The clasp is protection against death' (Strand, ca. 700)

The next step was then presumably an extension of the movement rule to all finite verb forms.

4.4. The change from OV to VO

The change from object-verb (OV) to verb-object (VO) as a basic word order pattern has been reported or at least reconstructed in many languages (cf. Lehmann 1974 for PIE; Braumüller 1982 and Faarlund 1990a for Gmc). The change can be understood as a result of focusing, that is a movement process whereby an element is brought into a position where it is interpreted as being the focus of the sentence. The focus of the sentence is that part of the sentence which carries new information, or which is least predictable from the context. Focusing is thus connected with pragmatic and communicative factors. Every declarative main sentence has a focus, and typically in many languages, the focus is not the subject of the sentence. It seems to be a universal tendency of human modes of expression and perhaps of thinking to begin with something known and then add something new to it. That is why in most languages where there is any systematic correlation at all between information structure and word order, focus elements tend to follow non-focus elements in the sentence. In transitive sentences the object is typically the focus. Not only is it less predictable and less known than the subject, but it also usually carries more new information than the verb. For one thing, many transitive verbs express more or less abstract relations, such as 'have', 'own', 'receive', 'know', 'remember' etc. Even when the verb is semantically very specific, the object is still usually the focus of the sentence. From the point of view of information structure, therefore, the OV order would sometimes be felt as less natural. One way to remedy that would be to move the object to the right of the verb. Thus, if a language has a movement process

that is sensitive to the focus, that rule will move constituents to the right.

As it becomes common to move a focused element to the end of the sentence, the language develops two possible utterance forms, OV and VO. The choice between these two then depends on whether the object is focused or not. From an underlying OV order, it gradually becomes more and more common to move the object to the right. Since the object is the most frequently focused sentence element, the VO order will soon be perceived as the unmarked form, and by subsequent reanalysis it also becomes the underlying form. This leads to the disappearance of the OV order. If the underlying form is VO, a movement rule would be needed to get OV. If there is no functional motivation for such a movement, e.g. if the OV order is not required by some principle of information structure, then such a movement process will disappear from the grammar, and the OV order will disappear from the language, as happened in Nordic with the transition from AN to ON (cf. also Faarlund 1985).

Another factor that may have favored this reanalysis, is the introduction of the verb-second rule (cf. 4.2.). In transitive sentences with just one verb, this created a VO order on the surface, as in e.g. (11) above.

5. The reflexive verb form

The ON verb has a form in *-sk* with a reflexive or medial sense: *leggja* 'lay' -*leggjask* 'lay oneself, lie down, go to bed'. The suffix *-sk* is a clitic form of the reflexive third-person pronoun *sik*. There is no reflexive verb form attested in AN, nor is there a reflexive pronoun attested. We therefore do not know when the cliticization process started, but it must have been after the change from OV to VO, since the clitic, being a complement to the verb, was added as a suffix, even on non-finite forms. Another piece of evidence that the clitic form was quite recent in ON is that it remained a productive synchronic rule throughout the ON period. We find the reflexive both as a clitic and as an independent pronoun:

- (15) a. *Flosi bjó sik austan*
 'Flosi-nom. prepared himself-acc. from-east, i.e. Flosi got ready to go west'
 b. *hann lagðisk í rekkju*
 'he laid-refl. in bed, i.e. He went to bed'

On the other hand, by the time the reflexive form appeared in ON texts, it had already undergone a certain degree of morphologization and become independent of the full form. The suffix *-sk*, which is the contracted form of the accusative third-person pronoun, was from the beginning of its attested history also used for other oblique cases. Thus the verb *bjarga* ‘help, save’ normally takes an object in the dative, but in (16) it has the suffix *-sk*:

- (16) *verðið þér nú at bjargask við slíkt sem til er*
 ‘become-2pl. you–nom.pl. now to help.refl. with such as is, i.e. You will have to help yourselves with whatever there is’

The suffix was also used in the second person, as in (17a). Only the first person had a separate form, *-mk* (17b), which was also eventually replaced by *-sk* (17c).

- (17) a. *sakask eigi þú*
 ‘blame-refl. not you-nom., i.e. You do not blame yourself’
 b. *hétumk Grímr*
 ‘called-1sg.refl. Grímr, i.e. I called myself Grímr’
 c. *ek skal giptask bónda einum*
 ‘I shall marry-refl. farmer one, i.e. I shall get married to a farmer’

6. Literature (a selection)

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84. Lexical developments from Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic

1. Introduction
2. Changes in word formation
3. Composition
4. Nominal derivation
5. Verbal derivation
6. Changes in the composition of the lexicon
7. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The lexical changes that took place during the transitional period from Proto-Nordic to Old Nordic are difficult to describe with any high degree of precision. The main reason for this is the fact that our source material is rather limited, and that it is often far from repre-

sentative for the language actually spoken at the time in question.

1.1. Sources

Contemporary sources in the proper meaning of the word only consist of runic inscriptions written in the elder 24-character alphabet (elder futhark) or, later in the Viking age, in the 16-character alphabet (younger futhark). The runic inscriptions provide a basis for direct comparison between the beginning and the end of the period. Without this material, the following discussion would be completely speculative. Besides the runic inscriptions, Old Icelandic poetry as it appears in Eddaic and

scaldic poetry is the only source that to a certain extent can elucidate contemporary speech habits.

In addition, direct and indirect conclusions can be drawn through etymological and semantic analyses of the lexicon that has been handed down to us. However, the possibility of stratifying the material chronologically is limited. Personal names – to the extent they are recorded in runic inscriptions – and place-names – if their age can be determined – are also of interest.

1.1.1. Runic inscriptions

The runic inscriptions of Scandinavia present rich material which moreover can be pinpointed geographically and even chronologically (to a lower degree of precision). It is worth noticing that the transition from the elder to the younger runic alphabet took place in the transitional period between the Proto-Nordic period and the Viking Age – the earliest Viking Age rune row being the one documented by the Ribe skull inscription, dating from about 725 (Stoklund 1994, 109f.). The language of the oldest runic inscriptions has been discussed intensely for a long time, and by now even the division of Germanic dialects and the relationship of Proto-Nordic and Gothic have become topics in this discussion. Today most scholars agree that East Germanic (Gothic) split from the North Germanic branch at a relatively early period (before the first c. A.D.?) and that there was a subsequent period of relative linguistic unity comprising the whole North West Germanic area, including the Germanic speaking parts of Scandinavia. Opinions differ, however, as to when Proto-Nordic appeared as a more independent dialect. According to some researchers, North West Germanic split up as late as in the 5th c. (e.g. Haugen 1976, 92, 107ff.).

The runic inscriptions have come to occupy a prominent place in this discussion. Kuhn's opinion that the language of the Proto-Nordic runic inscriptions could represent the early stage of any West Germanic dialect is well-known (1969, 173; for the discussion as a whole see the references in Grønvik 1981, 35ff. and H. F. Nielsen in Düwel 2000, 25ff.).

Even if one agrees to the independent status of Proto-Nordic, the question remains whether runic inscriptions can provide authentic evidence for the language that was actually spoken in Scandinavia at this time. They might just as well be sources of written lan-

guage only, perhaps of a sort of koine, which was used all over the North West Germanic area. The present author shares the view that the language of the older inscriptions found in Scandinavia is to be considered as Proto-Nordic (Grønvik 1981, 69; for a schematic chronological overview of the Proto-Nordic runic inscriptions, see Krause 1966, 312ff. and Krause 1970 §§ 42–44; for a critical discussion on dating, see Haavaldsen 1991).

1.1.2. Eddaic and scaldic poetry

Generally, it is a problem that written sources are hardly ever older than from the 13th c. A.D. The oldest scaldic poems date from the 9th c. A.D. and by the 13th c., the whole genre had fallen out of use. As the bulk of the material is found in the period between ca. 900 A.D. and 1100 A.D., most scaldic poetry does not fit within the period investigated here, if seen from a strictly chronological viewpoint. The Edda poems probably originate from the relevant period to some extent, yet they are generally hard to date precisely. The fact that scaldic poetry is strongly dependent on form and tradition makes it plausible to consider the language forms found there as representative of the later stages of the transitional period.

Seen as source material, Old West Nordic poetry is problematic in various ways. The poetic language contains a great number of words that cannot be found in other Germanic and Indo-European languages. It is rich in both archaisms and innovations and it is often difficult to determine which is which.

The heroic ideals of the court and the *hirð* 'the retinue of the king' have certainly influenced the lexicon of scaldic poetry. The scalds indulge in elaborate descriptions of weapons and battles, abounding in the use of intricate metaphors (*heiti* and *kemningar*).

However limited and pattern-dependent scaldic poetry may be, it offers possibilities for observing lexical changes. The lack of a certain word in a kenning can indicate that the kenning is of more recent origin, the substitution of a certain word for an other one can in a similar way indicate a change in the use of language (cf. Lindow 1975, 6).

Eddaic poetry contains many archaic features and, what is more, characteristics that point to an origin outside Iceland. In other words: the colonization of Iceland in the 9th century cannot be regarded as an indisputable time-limit (for a critical survey of the often

animated discussion on the origin and age of Eddaic poetry, see Einar Ólafur Sveinsson 1962, 203 ff.). Following Lindow (1975, 6), we may say in summary that, although there are problems of dating, Eddic poetry can still serve as a valuable source for lexical analysis, as it is generally archaic in nature and shows various affinities to PGmc poetry.

1.1.3. Place-names and personal names

Place-names present a huge amount of material, which, too, is often difficult to handle from a source-critical viewpoint. Place-names of prehistoric origin are often hard to classify chronologically. This is also the problem with personal names (cf. Hellquist 1929–30, 289 ff.; Skautrup 1944, 55 ff.; Christensen/Kousgård Sørensen 1972, 176 ff.). Personal names cannot be considered primary source material to the extent that place-names can; still, they can provide important evidence in lexical investigations.

1.1.4. Other sources

Even other old Germanic languages, e.g. Gothic as it is recorded in Bishop Wulfila's translation of the Bible (Codex Argenteus), are important for the reconstruction of the Proto-Nordic lexicon. Scandinavian loanwords in Finnish and Sami are also of interest (Haugen 1976, 113; with references).

2. Changes in word formation

In the transitional period, several changes in word-formation patterns can be observed. First, a number of words formed with inherited suffixes lack equivalents in other Germanic dialects. Such words can be seen as representing Proto-Nordic innovations, especially if they are found both in Old West Nordic and Old East Nordic. Secondly, some suffixes occur in words that have equivalents in other Germanic languages. Such suffixes are likely to have ceased being productive before the beginning of the transitional period. It is necessary to be cautious here though, since the source material does not reflect the whole range of the lexicon.

3. Composition

Germanic preserved the two modes of forming new words found in Indo-European: derivation and composition. It is hardly possible,

however, to determine a chronological order in the sense of one possibility having been more frequent than the other at a particular period of time.

3.1. Nominal composition

In Germanic, there were two types of composition: juxtaposition (“genuine compounds”) and case composition (“artificial compounds”).

3.1.1. Juxtaposition

In compounds of this type, the first element is a pure nominal stem (i.e. a stem without inflection), as in e.g. Go. *fotu-baird* ‘foot-stool’: *fotus*, *u*-stem; Go. *mati-balgs* ‘provisions’: *mats* m., PGmc *mati-*, *i*-stem; Go. *himina-kunds* ‘heavenly’: *himins* m., PGmc **hemina-*, *a*-stem.

As a means of word formation, juxtaposition probably originated before case composition (Wessén 1965, 76). In Proto-Germanic, this was the dominating type of composition, as can be shown in Germanic loanwords found in Finnish, Slavic languages and names of Germanic origin in the works of the classical authors, which are all of this type without exception. The same is true for Gothic: *weinagards* ‘vineyard’, *lustusams* ‘long-desired’, *sigislaun* (*s*-stem) ‘reward for a victory’ (Wessén 1965, Krahe/Meid 1967 § 18).

Examples from Proto-Nordic runic inscriptions are *fara-wisa* ‘the one wise (i.e. who is experienced) in danger’ (cf. *far* n. ‘danger’), *alja-markir* ‘foreigner’, *Sali-gastir* ‘stranger in the hall’ (Krause 1966 nr. 127, 53, 86).

3.1.2. Case compounds

Case compounds originate from syntactic collocations and are therefore usually considered younger and more accidental in their nature. A characteristic feature of these compounds is that the elements keep the inflected form they had in the original collocation. The constituent parts are often easily separated from one another: *διόσκουροι*, gen. *διός* + *κουροι* ‘Zeus’ sons’; *Νέα πόλις*, *Νεάπολις*; Sw. *lands lag* > *landslag* etc. Case composition is likely to have been productive in the transitional period. Go. *bairgswaddjus* ‘city wall’ is usually quoted as the earliest occurrence in Germanic (see e.g. Wessén 1965, 76). However, the names of the days of the week, formed after

the Latin model, also provide relatively old examples: OE *wodnesdæg* ‘Wednesday’, OHG *Donarstag*, cf. Lat. *dies Mercurii* > Fr. *mercredi* (Hellquist 1948; Krahe/Meid 1967, 18).

In Old Nordic, the stem vowel in the linking morpheme has disappeared as a result of syncope. However, it is still possible to distinguish between juxtapositions and case compounds, cf. e.g. *landbúi – landslög*, *friðbrot – friðargerð*, *sólhvarf – sólarhiti*. The material handed down in literature shows an increasing number of case compounds.

3.2. Verbal composition

3.2.1. General

Like in other Indo-European languages, verbal composition, i.e. the combination of noun and verb with the noun as the determining word, is not common in Germanic (Krahe/Meid 1967, 35. Concerning compositions that are only apparent, like *staðfesta*: adj. *staðfastr*, see Wessén 1965, 105ff.). The composition of verb and verbal stem can occur in the imperfect of weak verbs, namely in the case of verbs forming their imperfect by periphrasis with IE **dhē/dhō* (cf. E *do*, G *tun*), as in Go. *salbō-da*, 1. pl. *salbō-dēdun*; cf. **tawide** 3. sg. ‘made’, **satido**, **fahido** 1. sg. ‘set up’, ‘painted’ (Garbølle, Rö, Krause 1966 nr. 30, 73). Cf. Krahe/Meid 1967, 35f.; Skautrup 1944, 55.

3.2.2. Prefixation

On the other hand, prefixation is very common. Here, a striking development can be observed. Proto-Nordic, at an early stage, was obviously rich in verbs with prefixes of the same kind as in other Germanic dialects, e.g. Go. *of-*, *ana-*, *anda-*, *in-*, *uz-*, *at-* and especially *ga-*. The Proto-Nordic runic inscriptions seem to reflect a period when such prefixes had disappeared, with only a few exceptions remaining. Such exceptions are *ór-* (cf. Go. *uz-*, *us-*), *um(b)-* (*umhverfis*), pejorative *fra-* as well as the particles *of* and *um*. The latter two have preserved their perfective meaning even in runic Swedish and Old West Nordic (Wessén 1965, 111 with references in note 11; on the difficulties of reconstructing Proto-Nordic verbal prefixes, see the overview in Harding 1951, 6f. with references).

A more precise account of the disappearance of prefixes is hard to give, but doubtlessly its major cause was syncope in Proto-Nordic.

The fact that the main accent lay on the stem syllable resulted in a weak accent or lack of accent on the prefix, which thus finally disappeared. As to nouns, conditions were exactly the other way round, with the result that the prefixes were lost in verbs, the particles were often preserved in the corresponding deverbal nouns. Besides the OWN verb *svara* ‘to answer’, we have the noun *andsvar* ‘answer’ showing that the original verb had a prefix: **and-swarōn*. Evidence for the occurrence of prefixed verbs in an older period, is most often found in this way. For OWN *ágætr*, we posit PN **an-getan* (‘to mention, to talk about’) and for OWN *íprótt*, a PN verb **in-driugan* ‘to execute’ (Johannisson 1939 passim; cf. also Wessén 1965, 112 with further references).

The prefix *ga-* is particularly interesting in this connection, as it was unstressed even in nominal compositions but still has left behind some traces. A reason for this is the fact that its consonant usually has been preserved before *r*, *l*, *n* in e.g. OWN *greiða* (Norw. *greie*) < **ga-raiðian* ‘to prepare for riding’, OWN *glíkr* ‘equal, similar’ (Go. *galeiks*), *gnógr* ‘enough’ (Go. *ganohs*), *granni* ‘neighbour’ (Go. *garazna*). Obviously, however, the reduced prefix lost its productivity.

The ON prefix *fra-*, cf. Go. *frawardjan* ‘to corrupt’, *frawaúrkan* ‘to sin’, is quoted by Wessén (1965, 111) as an illustration of how a particle could resist the “destructive tendency” because it possessed a strong emotional connotation. In its weakened form, *fra-* was associated with the preposition *for*, and both came in turn to be replaced by OWN *fyrir*, OSw. *firi* (cf. *konä firigär manni* ‘woman puts man to death (by poison or magic)’, *Västgötalagen*). The latter is the only unstressed verbal prefix that has been preserved into historical times (Johannisson 1939, 6).

When the unstressed verbal prefixes had disappeared, a new verb type with a stressed prefix began to emerge, probably originating in the formation of denominal verbs like *afsvara* ‘to deny, to decline’: *afsvör* ‘refusal’ (Johannisson, 62ff., with further references).

4. Nominal derivation

There is no general chronological relation between composition and derivation as principles of word formation. Still, it can be noted that most of the inherited derivational suffixes disappear and that composition becomes a more and more common type of word formation. Sometimes a derivation is replaced by

a compound with the same meaning. In the Viking Age, *stýrimaðr* was the usual term for 'navigator, skipper' (cf. Sö 161, U 922, 1011, 1016, DR 1), but in the poetic Edda, the same meaning is carried by the derivation *stýrir*, which is moreover found in Swedish place-names: *Stýrsö*, OSw. *Stýrisö* etc. (Hellberg 1978, 71; cf. 4.1.3).

4.1. Changes in suffix function

Many suffixes that played a prominent role in Proto-Germanic/Proto-Nordic word formation disappear or have already disappeared in the transitional period. The reason for this is the fact that their morphological structure had disintegrated or become obscure because of sound changes, the most important of which was the syncope of unstressed vowels in word endings.

4.1.1. Suffix *-a*

In Proto-Germanic, the *a*-suffix was used to form denominations for living creatures, first in the form of nomina agentis with ablaut from the present stem of verbs: Go. *wraks* 'pursuer': *wrekan*; ON *vargr*: PGmc **wergan*. In a later period, this suffix became productive even for derivations from the present without ablaut, as is evidenced by a large number of formations occurring particularly in OWN poetry: *bjóðr* 'giver' (cf. *bjóða*), *þrjótr* 'one who does not fulfill his duties' (cf. *þrjóta* 'to desert'). This type is particularly frequent in compounds: *kolbíttr*, *blóðdrekktr*, *hringbrjótr*, *folkvaldr*.

When the *a*-suffix lost its characteristic feature, the vowel *a*, because of syncope, its functions were taken over by other suffixes (Olson 1916, 127) – a frequently occurring process (cf. e.g. Skautrup 1944, 57). There is no doubt that the loss of transparent morphological features in important derivational suffixes, which was caused by syncope, and the resulting functional changes present the most prominent changes in word formation in the transitional period.

4.1.2. Suffix *-an*, *-ōn*

IE *-ēn*, *-ōn* is believed to have been used for deriving nomina agentis from verbal stems even in ancient times; cf. OInd. *rajan* 'ruler': *raj* 'to rule', Gr. *πευθήν* 'one who asks': *πεύθομαι*. In Germanic, this function became

very common. Originally, when the accent lay on the suffix, the *-an*-stems were derived from the weak root stage, e.g. OWN *liði* 'retainer, follower': Gmc **liþan*. In this way, a pattern was established which soon came to allow for *-an*-formations even from other ablaut stages and from weak verbs (Olson 1916, 10). In Scandinavia, agents formed by the *-an*-suffix became common in compounds: *gialdkeri* 'tax claimer', *dróttseti* 'steward at the king's table', *oformaghi* 'minor, immature' and particularly in OWN poetry: *hringbroti* 'giver of rings (= lord, prince)', *sæfari* 'seafarer' etc. In formations of this type, *-an* came to be replaced by *-ari* over the course of time, a process which may have already started in the later stages of the transitional period (Wessén 1965, 44f., 120ff.).

In Proto-Nordic times, the suffix was very much used for producing weak equivalents to strong nouns: OSw. *haghi*: *hagh*, OGotl. *luti*: *lutr*, OWN *gluggi*, OSw. *glugga*: *gluggr* etc. According to Olson (1916, 214), compounds in which *-an* had some kind of modifying function (cf. Go. *mannleika*: *leik* n.) may have led to the establishment of a model here. Probably, a reason for the popularity of this suffix is the fact that one more syllable strengthened the word morphologically. A similar tendency can be observed in short-stemmed formations with the suffix *-ia* (of the type *meginbyri*: *byrr*, see 4.1.3.).

4.1.3. Suffix *-ia*

Originally a denominal suffix producing adjectives, *-ia* became productive most of all as a deverbal suffix. This can be observed in Old Nordic terms for persons, which are partly denominal (cf. *hilmir* m. 'chief', i.e. 'helmet-bearer') and partly deverbal. The reason for this seems to have been the fact that the *-ia*-formations were associated with verbs derived from the basic noun in question, rather than from the noun itself. In this way, e.g. *hirðir* m. 'shepherd', derived from *hiþrð* f., could be understood as a derivation from the verb *hirða* 'to guard', and *fylkir* m. (from *folk* in the sense of 'troop') as a derivation from the verb *fylka* (Torp 1909, 35; Wessén 1965, 38). When this pattern became common, *-ia*-derivations denoting persons could even be formed from weak verbs: *stýrir*: *stýra*, *stillir*: *stilla* (**stillir flutna** on the Rök stone: 'leader of the sea-warriors'), *lagabötir* 'law-improver', *basatömír* 'one who empties the stall', in other words: 'robs people of their cattle' (cf. Olson 1916,

7f.; Torp 1909; Wessén 1965, 38). OWN scaldic poetry is rich in derivations of this type.

The pattern does not seem to have spread beyond the frame of denominations for persons. Olson, however, points to the fact that in OWN poetry, such derivations are used for personified animals: *hiðbyggvir* ‘the one who builds (or lives in) a lair’ = ‘bear’ and even objects: *fellir* ‘the one who fells’ = ‘sword’ (1916, 91).

Denoting coherence, the suffix was abundantly used in forming collectives in Proto-Nordic. It is believed that the North Germanic derivations of this type (*smiði*, *fylki*, *minni* ‘memory’ etc.) were originally prefixed (cf. 3.2.2.) like Go. *gaskôhi* ‘pair of shoes’, OSx. *giwâpni* ‘weapons’ (cf. also G *Gebirge*, *Gelände* etc.). However this may be, the suffix continued to be productive in this particular function even after syncope (Olson 1916, 177).

Frequently, the meaning of the derivations of this type appears to be identical with that of the basic word: *virki* n. ‘work, stronghold’: *verk* n. In OWN, this is particularly frequent in compounds (of the type *ungmenni* n.: *ungir menn*), which however often lack the collective meaning: *biarndýri* n. ‘bear’. This latter phenomenon is of ancient origin, cf. Lat. *adverbium*: *verbum*, *plenilunium* ‘full moon’: *plena luna*, Gr. εὐαγγέλιον ‘good message’: ἄγγελος ‘messenger’, μεσονύκτιον ‘(at) midnight’: νύξ ‘night’. Among Scandinavian derivations, the so-called tree-name collectives are particularly interesting: *birki*: **biþrk*, Sw. *hässle*: *hassel*, *eke*: *ek* (‘birch-, hazel-, oak-grove’ or ‘-wood’). Finally, it is worth mentioning that collective meaning is also found in many short-stemmed neuters like Sw. *gräs* ‘grass’, ON *net* ‘net’, *ber* ‘berry’ (Wessén 1965, 39ff.; Olson 1916, 177f.; Torp 1909, §13,3a).

Krahe/Meid (1967, 56) emphasizes the fact that only the suffixes containing one or more consonants resistant to the sound changes were really productive in Germanic. Neither the *-an-* nor the *-ia-* suffix contained such resistant consonants and both were consequently replaced by the suffix *-ari* (3.1.5). Once more, the reason was the fact that too much of the morphological structure had been lost over the course of sound developments (PN *-ia-* > ON *-i-*), which implied too weak a manifestation of the agent function. In this connection, it is interesting that short-stemmed *ja-* stems (of the type *gräs*) take a disyllabic form in compounds which is identical to the two-syllableform of long-stemmed *ia-*

stems: *illgræse* ‘ill weeds’, *meginbyri* ‘strong wind’, *hádegi* ‘noon’, *snórviði* ‘undergrowth’ (Modéer in NoB 37, 1949, 171ff.). Cf. above 4.1.2. on the *an-* suffix in composition.

The role the suffix *-ia* played in the derivation of inhabitant names is still subject to discussion. The word *holtijar* on the Gallehus horn is thought to be an early example of such a derivation (cf. Lindquist 1947, 17 and Modéer 1948, 186f. with references). According to a hypothesis by Torp, proposed as early as 1909 and by now commonly accepted in Scandinavia (cf. Wessén 1965, 39), *-ia-* derivations appear in a number of old Norwegian inhabitant names like *egðir*: *Agder*, *háleygir*: *Hálogaland*, *rygir* (older *rygiar*): *Rogaland*, *sygnir*: *Sogn* (Torp 1909, 36). It is striking, however, that the same material has been considered to be *i-* stem-derivations by scholars approaching the problem from a West Germanic perspective (see Krahe/Meid 1967, 67 and, for an overview, Melefors 1983, 20ff.). Indeed, the derivations in question are declined as *i-* stems in the 13th and 14th c. (According to Torp, they belong only secondarily to this declension.)

The existence of Proto-Nordic *-ia-* derivations of this kind has, however, been questioned (Melefors 1983, 21ff.). First of all, it can be noticed that Gothic declines the names of foreign peoples as *i-* stems. Wulfila even uses *i-* stem inhabitant names where Greek uses place-names (dat. pl. *Twrim jah Seidōnim* for Τύρρι καὶ Σιδῶνι).

Moreover, Proto-Nordic runic inscriptions show that *i-* derivations were used in Scandinavia to denote persons: *un-gandir*, Nordhuglo ca. 425 (Krause nr. 65), *alja-markir*, Kårstad ca. 450 (Krause 1996, nr. 53). As regards *Ek Hlewagastir Holtijar...* on the Gallehus horn, *Holtijar* has been interpreted in two different ways: as an inhabitant name derived from a place-name *Holt* (cf. *Holstein*, OWN *Holtsetaland*) or as a patronymic beginning with **Holt-* (according to Antonsen 1975, 41 from **Holtagastiz*). Considering the uncertainties concerning the *-ia-* suffix’s role in the formation of Scandinavian inhabitant names from place-names, it is perhaps the second alternative which should be preferred.

4.1.4. Suffix *-ian*, *iōn*

This suffix has its origin in *n-* derivations from *i-* or *-ia/-iō-* stems and has been functionally confused with the *-an/-ōn-* suffix. In Gothic and West Germanic, it was very productive in

the derivation of nomina agentis (Wessén 1965, 46). In Scandinavia, it is less frequent, but present e.g. in *foringi*, Runic Sw. *forungi* (< **fora-gangian*) ‘the one walking before’ = ‘chieftain, leader’, *hofðingi* (< **haufuð-gangian*) ‘the one walking at the head; leader’, *valkyrja* ‘the one who chooses the future casualties’, *bryti*, *skyti*, *hamingja*, *fylgja*, *ekkjja*, *gyðja*, *ketta* (cf. *kottr*), *gänta* (cf. *gantr*) (Olson 1916, 230; Krahe/Meid 1967, 96 ff., 70).

Chronologically, the *-ian*-suffix can be situated between *-ia* and *-ari*. Once more, the reason why the suffix gradually lost its productivity is Scandinavian syncope. Indeed the morphological difference between the suffixes *-ian*, *-ia* and *-an* became smaller and smaller; cf. PN **brutian* > OWN *bryti*; *granni* < PN **garaznan*; *hirðir* < PN **herðiar* = Sw. *bryte*, *granne*, *herde*.

Kluge 1926, 8 points out how *-jan* and *-an*-derivations can alternate in one and the same word, cf. Go. *arbja* (*jan*-stem): ON *arfi* (*an*-stem) ‘heir’. Such cases do not necessarily involve two different suffixes, as sometimes the *ij*-component of the *-jan*-suffix has been lost because of regularization in the paradigm: „Man [möchte] dem Nordischen eine Neigung zur Durchführung der j-losen Form zuschreiben.“ An interesting example in this connection is ON *goði*, *guði*:Go. *gudja*. The existence of a corresponding feminine form, the OWN *jōn*-stem *gyðja*, possibly indicates that *goði*, *guði* was originally a *jan*-stem just like Go. *gudja*.

4.1.5. Suffix *-ari*

The suffix *-ari*, Gmc *-āria*, *-aria*, is originally derived from Lat. *-arius*, which is common in terms for professions and occupations and the like, e.g. *monetarius*, *molinaris*, *mansionarius* (Krahe/Meid 1967, 81 ff.). The great number of Latin loanwords with this suffix in Germanic led to an indigenous production of corresponding formations. In Gothic, derivations of the same kind as the ones quoted from Latin can be found: *laisareis* ‘teacher’ (cf. *laisjan* ‘teach’), *bōkareis* ‘literate person’ (cf. *bōka* ‘letter, book’); *daimônāreis* ‘exorcist’ etc. Both Gothic and West Germanic show an original form *-aria*, which is inflected as an *ia*-stem, while in Old Nordic, *-ari*-formations are treated as *an*-stems (Olson 1916, 41; Wessén 1965, 120). In this connection, there is also reason to mention the existence of a Nordic variant *-eri*, where the initial vowel of the

suffix has been changed because of *i*-umlaut, as in OWN/OGotl. *dōmeri*, OWN *skaperi*, OGotl. *rauferi* (Wessén, loc. cit., note 1).

Originally a denominal suffix, *-ari* came to be productive even in derivations from verbs. Indeed, this function became dominant, with *-ari* becoming the primary instrument to construct nomina agentis of the type ‘the one who does (or has done) this or that’ (see e.g. Olson 1916, 39 with further references).

The *-ari*-suffix may have reached Scandinavia towards the end of the transitional period or a little later. Krahe/Meid (1967, 82) observes that it seems to have spread more slowly the more removed an area was from the influence of Roman culture. In the OSx. *Heliand*, we only find a few examples like *fiscari* ‘fisherman’ and *gardari* ‘gardener’, in *Beowulf* only *scēawere* ‘spy’. In the poetic Edda we encounter *tjúgari* ‘robber’ (*Völuspá*; of etymologically obscure origin), and *mútari* ‘bird of prey’ (in compounds only). Olson 1916, 110 considers among others OWN *gangari* ‘ambler’ to be an old derivation; according to de Vries, we have to do with a loan translation from Latin (*ambularius* or *gradarius*), which was mediated by Old English. In addition, the suffix is only occasionally found in the oldest testimonies of Old West Nordic (Jóhannesson 1927, 22).

The borrowed suffix obviously was first used in the same way as in Latin (above), cf. *skipari* ‘sailor’ which occurs in several runic inscriptions (DR 82, 218, 275, 363, 379, Sö171, 335, Sm 42). In this function it quickly superseded the agentive suffixes which had lost their morphological characteristics due to syncope: *-ja/ia*, *-jan/ian*, *-an*, *-ila* (cf. Krahe/Meid 1967, 82 f.).

4.1.6. Suffix *-ila*, *-ala*, *-ula*

Derivations with the *-l*-suffix inherited from Indo-European, but without a middle vowel (*-la*), probably belong to the common Germanic period (Krahe/Meid 1967, § 86). When the suffix later appears with a middle vowel, this is most often *-i(-ila)* in nouns), in Scandinavia also *-u(-ula)*. The forms *-ala*, *-ula* were used to form adjectives meaning ‘tending to’: e.g. *sögull* ‘talkative’, *svikall* ‘treacherous’.

As they were productive in the transitional period, their agentive, instrumental and diminutive functions are of interest. Derivations were made both from strong and weak verbs, and also from nouns. *Attila*, the Germanic name of the ruthless ruler of the Huns, is an example

of the last category, expressing a diminutive sense ‘little father’ (Go. *atta* ‘father’).

Proto-Nordic derivations with agentive-instrumental meaning are probably *lykill* ‘key’: *lúka* ‘to lock’, *støkull*, *stökkvill*, OSw. *stænkill* ‘sprinkler’: *stökkva*, OSw. *stænkia*, as well as *værpil*: *værpa* ‘throw’, which is only found in the plural *værplar* in the special meaning of ‘leather straps tied to a falcon’s feet, used to “throw” the bird towards game’ (Olson 1916, 238 ff.; Wessén 1965, 57 f.).

5. Verbal derivation

New verbs can be formed by derivation from nominal or verbal stems and roots. The strong verbs inherited from Indo-European are seldom used as a pattern for new creations (Krahe/Meid 1967, § 176). Primary weak verbs, i.e. verbs which are not derived from a basic word, are derived with the suffixes *-ē* and *-ō*. Such verbs (e.g. ODN *lifa*, *hafa*, *kaupa*, *þora*, *þola*) are often Germanic or Proto-Nordic innovations (Torp 1909, 63 f.; Wessén 1965, 89). In Old Nordic as well as generally in other Germanic languages, the bulk of new verbs is derived from the four categories of weak verbs. Particularly often, new verbs are derived from the first category of weak verbs ending in PN *-ō* and containing denominals (Go. *fisk-ōn* ‘to fish’: *fisks* m.) as well as deverbals (Krahe/Meid 1967, 240 ff.). The suffix IE *-io*, PN *-ia* is also very productive. When the initial vowel of the suffix came to be realized as a consonant after short root syllables, the originally homogeneous group of *-ia*-derivations split up into two groups developing differently. This is evident when we compare the verb *gleðja* (*-ja*-verb) < PN **gladjan* with *fasta* (*-ia*-verb) < PN **fastian*. As a result of syncope the latter category loses its morphological mark. Although the *-ja*-verbs on the other hand preserve their *i*-element, even the derivation with the *-ja*-suffix seems to stop when the umlaut ceases to appear. In this way, the *-ō*-verbs with their morphologically prominent past tense ending in *-aði* remain as the only productive category.

As an inheritance from Germanic, a number of suffixes which were productive in the formation of weak verbs from verbal stems and nouns are still present in Proto-Nordic (see Wessén 1965, 103 ff. with references, and Krahe/Meid 1967, §§ 175–197).

Apart from the ones mentioned, no dramatic changes took place in the transitional

period. The suffixes which retain their distinctive feature in the form of a consonantal element (e.g. *-k-*, *-l-*, *-s-*, *-sk-*) even after syncope also preserve their productivity at least into Old Nordic times.

Among deverbal *-ō*-formations, a group of derivations from adjectives ending in *-ugr(-igr)* is noticeable, cf. e.g. *staðga*: *støðugr*. In Scandinavia this even became a pattern for new formations lacking the basic adjective: e.g. *blómga* ‘to make bloom’, *lifga* ‘to enliven’: *lif* (Torp 1909, 64).

The verbal suffix *-nō* (Krahe/Meid 1967, 252 ff.), which is possibly derived from a little group of Indo-European nasal presentia, is of great interest. In the Nordic languages as well as in Gothic, its meaning is inchoative and medial: ODN *brotna* ‘to be broken’ (: *brjóta*), *drukna* ‘to be drowned’ (: *drekka*), *þrotna* ‘to become tired’ (: *þrjóta* ‘to lack’). Verbs derived by means of the *-nō*-suffix are particularly frequent in ODN poetry. The root syllable often shows weak ablaut. Therefore, this type has become associated with the past participle of strong verbs and has, as a consequence, been interpreted as derived from those (Wessén 1965, 48, 95, 98). Yet the development proceeded even further. The suffix became productive from adjective stems and gradually also from nouns, even without changing the quality of the root syllable: Go. *gahailnan* ‘to recover’, *mikilnan* ‘to become big’, ODN *harðna*, *hvitna*, *kvikna* (op.cit., 99). An example of the verb *þiðna* ‘to thaw’ corresponding to Icel. *þiðr* ‘not frozen’ found in the Edda poem *Guðrúnarhvot*: (*þiðni sorgir* ‘may the sorrows melt’) indicates that this widening of function must have taken place early.

6. Changes in the composition of the lexicon

6.1. Aspects of linguistic origin

Most lexical elements in Proto-Nordic are of native (i.e. Indo-European or Germanic) origin. In the runic inscriptions, we find only one supposed non-Germanic loanword: *walha* ‘Celtic, Welsh’ on the Tjurkō bracteate (cf. Jansson 1987, 16) and only one borrowed suffix (*-ari*). To sum up, we can therefore establish three main categories of words:

- (1) words inherited from Indo-European
- (2) Proto-Germanic innovations
- (3) Proto-Nordic innovations.

In the Proto-Nordic period, the few words that were borrowed mainly originate from other Germanic dialects. Loans from non-Indo-European languages are likely to be very rare. Cultural contacts with Celts, Romans, Greeks, different Slavic, Fenno-Ugric and Baltic peoples form the theoretical basis for linguistic loans, but traces of such are – with some exceptions – very rare.

The search for possible loanwords should preferably be directed towards areas where we can expect them to occur as a result of cultural and sociohistorical changes. Such areas are religion, social/military organization and trade.

6.2. Loss of words and new formations

6.2.1. Social and military organization, comitatus system

Scandinavian comitatus-terminology is partly of common Germanic origin and partly consists of innovations. (For an overview of the discussion of the notion of the comitatus see Kristensen 1983, ch. 1). The subject can only be touched upon briefly in this section which is based on Lindow (1975).

One of the oldest lexical fields consists of a group of words derived from the verb known from Gothic as *driugan* ‘to do military service, to make war’ = OWN *drjúga* (Lindow 1975, 84ff.). Lindow stresses the fact that the verb must have existed in North Germanic. Indeed there is solid evidence in the inscription on the Fagerlöt runic boulder (Södermanland, Sö 126): *Hann draug orrostu* ‘he did battle’ (Jansson 1987, 140). The group of words in question contains terms for:

- (1) the single retainer, in the form of a nomen agentis derived by means of an *-a*-suffix: OWN *draugr* m.
- (2) the retinue itself as a collective: **druhtiz*, OWN *drótt* f., and finally
- (3) its leader, the chieftain or the king: **druhtinaz*, *dróttinn* m.

Most interestingly, the only evidence for a Germanic *a*-stem **draugaz* comes from OWN. It occurs in the kennings *draugr dólga þrúðar* ‘executor, performer of the goddess of battle; executor of battle’ on the Karlevi stone (Öl 1; Jansson 1987, 36; Lindow 1975, 89 with slightly different translation) and *orlygis draugr*, with the same meaning, in Bragi’s *Ragnarsdrápa*, considered to be one of the earliest examples of scaldic poetry.

Even in Scandinavia, the word fell out of use relatively early. Lindow (94ff.) is probably right in explaining this as a result of competition with the homonymic OWN *draugr* ‘ghost, undead person’, which is of etymologically different origin (cf. IE **dhreugh-* ‘to deceive, injure’). As **draugaz* ‘retainer’ is unknown from West Germanic sources, Lindow assumes that the word had already gone out of use before 600, while it lived on in Old Nordic for a few centuries more. Alternatively, there is a possibility that the word is Scandinavian only, even if the formation of the word as an agentive *a*-stem with ablaut (cf. 4.1.1.) indicates Proto-Germanic origin. An additional cause for the early disappearance of the word is probably the increasing belief in revenants in the Viking Age. This in turn may have been caused by the changes in funeral customs that occurred in connection with the advance of Christianity.

According to Lindow, the word *draugr* came to be replaced by *rekkr*, PGmc **rinkaz*, OE/OSx. *rinc*, OHG *rinch* (1975, 106). This latter term only means ‘warrior’ in West Germanic but is nevertheless considered by Kuhn (1944) to be the oldest designation of rank in the retinue system. According to Lindow, *rekkr/rinc(h)* is likely to have been a common term for the single retainer up till the end of the Viking Age, when the lexical system changed in connection with the replacement of the term *drótt* by the OE loanword *hirð* (cf. 6.3.).

Two other terms, *þegn* and *drengr*, are often mentioned in connection with the comitatus system, but according to Lindow, none of them actually belongs there: “Instead, they seem to have been moral terms [...] or perhaps ethnic terms” (Lindow 1975, 110, with references). He is convinced that, while the first term denominates an older, married man, the second was used for a young, unmarried man. Thus, both were used for representatives of “the large, free middle class of farmers who made up the backbone of old Scandinavian society” (op. cit., 111). For several reasons this view has to be reconsidered, however (cf. e. g. Strid 1987).

It is obvious that *þegn* as an appellative had a more common meaning, but when Lindow refers to the existence of place-names of the type *Rinkaby*, *Tägneby* in Sweden, he seems unaware of the fact that place-names indeed present weighty counterevidence to his removing of *þegn* from comitatus terminology. The villages bearing those names, OSw. **RinkabyR*

and **Pægnabyr*, occur in the same toponymic milieu, and it must be concluded that both first morphemes, gen. pl. of *rinkr* and *þegn*, indicate the presence of professional warriors of high rank in the service of kings or chieftains (Strid 1987, 306 with references in note 10). The terms are thus probably equivalents. Moreover, the testimonies of the runic inscriptions are interesting (cf. Moltke 1985, 286ff. concerning the interpretation of *þegna* on the Rydsgård stone (DR 277); cf. also Strid, 301 ff.). Possibly *rinkr* and *þegn* are distributed complementarily in an either chronological or geographical order (Strid 1987, 305 with note 9).

In neighbouring fields, interesting examples of lexical changes may be found. Hellberg has examined the terms *hersir/hersir* and *stýrimaðr/stýri(r)*, the first of which is a denomination for local chieftains, who according to the Icelandic sagas played an important role in the resistance against Harald Hárfagri and his desire to subdue Norway. In OWN poetry, kenningar with an aristocratic ring like *hersa dróttinn*, *hersa valdr* are frequent, but *hersar* are mentioned neither in the Old Nordic law codes, nor in any other historical document. While, from a source-critical viewpoint, their very existence could be questioned, place-names like Sw. *Hersby* still indicate that the Old Icelandic *hersar* did have a number of equivalents in Eastern Scandinavia (Hellberg 1978, 69f.).

6.3. Loan of meanings and words

An example of an appellative borrowed into comitatus terminology is the word *hirð*, OE *hīreð*, which came to replace *drótt* in the later Viking Age (6.2.1.). This loanword, a proof of the close cultural contacts with England since the migration period (Lund Hansen 1987, 253), is perhaps connected with the change in the retinue's function when a stronger, more centralized royal power arose (Lindow 1975, 56ff.).

There has been a tendency to underestimate the possibility of linguistic influence from Slavic areas, although there were fairly close contacts between Scandinavia and the Slavic-speaking peoples across the Baltic. Not only did the Svear found the principalities of Novgorod and Kiev, but intermarriage between the royal dynasties was also common. It is seldom acknowledged that Sigrid Storråda, the wife of Erik Segersäll, was a Polish princess (daughter of Mieszko I), or that their son,

Olov Skötkonung, had a daughter who married Prince Jaroslaw of Kiev (cf. Holm 1974, 64). Among supposedly Slavic loanwords, Sw. *piga*, *träsk* and *silke* should be noted. As Gösta Holm has shown, the name *Gustav* probably belongs here too (1974).

6.3.1. Loanwords from Latin and Greek

Trade terminology of Roman and Greek origin is commonly believed to have entered Scandinavia, like imported goods, by mediation of other Germanic people along the trading routes (Hellquist 1929–30, 562; compare also Gustavson in Düwel 2000, 179ff., particularly 185, and Lund Hansen 1987, 165ff., particularly 192f.). Linguistic influence from Latin is first noticeable in words denoting cultural products, but also in terms connected with the mercantile transactions themselves (cf. what has been said on the suffix *-ari* in 4.1.5.). The OWN verb *kaupa* and the corresponding names for the trading place, OWN *kaupangr*, Sw., Dan. *köping*, *köbing*, Finn. *kaupunki* 'town', are all derived from Latin *caupo* 'merchant'. As to the verb, it is worth noting that its past tense, *keypta*, seems to presuppose the existence of a parallel verb formed with the *-ia*-suffix. The noun on the other hand changes between the *-ing*, *-ang* and *-ung* suffix-variants (de Vries 1962; Holm 1996, 500ff.; cf. on the verb Hellquist 1929–30, 920 with note 1).

Among other often quoted examples one could mention OWN *vin* 'wine' (< *vinum*); *qrk* 'case' (< *arca*, borrowed before the *u*-umlaut, cf. Finn. *arkku*), *ketill* 'bowl' (*catillus*), *mylla* 'mill' (*molina*; according to Hellquist 1929–30, 918 possibly mediated via OE), *kerra* 'cart' (Lat. *carrus*, Gallic Lat. *carra*; according to Hellquist 1929–30, 918 coined on Scandinavian soil, PN **karrion*; otherwise see de Vries s. v. *kerra* with references), *mottull* 'cloak', Sw. *mantel* (*mantellum*), *kápa* 'coat' (Late Lat. *cāpa*), *belti* 'belt' (*balteus*; possibly borrowed via OE).

Greek words have often entered the Nordic languages via Latin and other Germanic languages. An interesting exception to this is perhaps ON *piparr* 'pepper'. When in the 8th c. (due to Islamic expansion) the ancient trading routes from the Orient through the Mediterranean were closed, the trade in silk and spices found new routes through Russia and over the Baltic Sea. The Greek *πέπερι* is likely to have entered Scandinavia through this route (Hellquist 1929–30, 620 note). In the same way and from the same route the word

silke ‘silk’ was imported from Russian or the Baltic languages. A possible Slavic loan is *kōsungr*, *kasungr* ‘fur coat’. The word, which in this case is identical with Russ. *kazuch* (*kozuch*), could according to Holm (1996, 42 ff.) have been brought home with the Varangians or other Scandinavians travelling the Eastern route.

6.3.2. The influence of Christianity

Terms for the Christian church, its priests, members and teachings as well as for its central rituals and ritual objects must have been known in Scandinavia before the Viking Age and before the transitional period discussed here. The etymologically obscure word, *goð*, *guð* is probably of common Germanic origin. It came to denote the Christian God all over the Germanic world, while at the same time displacing all other terms for higher god-beings (OWN *týr*, pl. *tívar*, *hopt*, *regin*, *bōnd* etc.). The word is morphologically, phonologically and semantically interesting, and there are reasons to dwell upon some of those features here. In pre-Christian times, *goð*, *guð*, an *a*-stem with neutral gender, is likely to have been used most of all in the plural for gods in a collective sense: ‘the powers’, just like the other terms mentioned above. The fact that *goð*, *guð*, in contrast to the other terms, could denote a single god has been pointed out as a reason why this word came to be used for the Christian God (Cahen, 1921). The term which was most frequently used in the singular, *áss* ‘As’, would have been impossible to use because of its heathen undertones.

Interestingly enough, however, *guð*, *goð* is still found in the plural in medieval sources. The prohibition against invocations of *hult eþa hauga*, *eþa haþin guþ* (‘groves or burial mounds or heathen gods’) in the *Gutalag* and the oath formula of the *Västgötalag*: *Sva se mār gud hull ok uattum minum* (freely: ‘so help me the gods and my witnesses’), are well known examples. Indeed, the older opinion that the oath formula is a heathen relic has now been rejected (Thors 1957, 408, with references). However, an obvious parallel can be found in the phrase *Guð hialpin* ‘may God help’ in the runic inscriptions (Sö 138, U 41, 56, 272, 971, G 134, 188). The proper sense would be ‘may the gods help’, since the verb is in the subjunctive plural (cf. also U 41: **kristr hialbin**).

Christianization implied replacing the neuter gender with the masculine. While the word

kept its neuter gender in the meaning of ‘heathen god’ in Old West Nordic, *guþ* is always masculine in Old Swedish. In West Germanic, the word underwent *a*-umlaut. In Eastern Scandinavia, *guð* is normally found without umlaut, as could be expected, but on some rune stones we find instances of *goð*. Old West Nordic has both forms *guð* and *goð*, but the latter seems originally to have been the most common one.

Concerning the term for the Christian community, Germanic did not take over the New Testament’s ἐκκλησία (cf. Fr. *église*). The word *kirkia* (in its supposedly oldest common Nordic form) is derived from the Greek adjective κυριακός ‘belonging to the lord (κύριος)’. According to Frings (1932), who later was supported by Thors (1957, 29 ff.), the Scandinavian languages most probably borrowed the word from Old English, which in turn imported it from the Franks. He assumes that it first entered the Germanic world in the episcopal sees of Lyon or Trier, like many other cultural terms from Greek. Formerly it was believed that the word, which is also found in ChSl. *cruky*, was borrowed by the Goths and then spread to England via West Gothic church language in southern France (Thors 1957, 21 with references).

Instead of Gr. βαπτίζειν, Old English most often used *fulwian*, *fullian*, while Gothic preferred *daupjan*. Like βαπτίζειν, Go. (*uf*)*daupjan* has the basic meaning ‘to immerse’, which led to the conclusion that it received its particular Christian connotation among the Goths in the Balkans, where the basic meaning of the Greek verb was known. In Scandinavia the equivalent to *daupjan* is *deypa*, but this verb takes the dative, which shows that it is an indigenous word with a borrowed meaning (Thors 157, 188 f. with references). *Skíra* ‘to clean’ is another ON verb used in this special sense (cf. the baptismal formula of the Borgarthing’s law: *ek skíri þik í nafni foður ok sonar ok andans helga*). The verb *kristna* ‘to christen’ (cf. “Um huru bonde skal olia älla barn kristna”, *Östgötalagen*), on the other hand, is either borrowed or formed after WGmc pattern (p. 190).

The word *húsl* (*húnsl*) ‘eucharist’ is a noteworthy testimony to the Anglo-Saxon mission in Scandinavia. The OE equivalent usually carries the same meaning, but also occurs in the sense of ‘sacrifice’ (θύσια), known from Gothic. There is uncertainty as to the origin of ON *húsl*. If it is an Anglo-Saxon loanword, the fact that it occurs on the Rökstone, which

dates back to the 9th c. and is located in a part of Scandinavia where Christianity was probably not adopted until more than a century later, indeed raises questions of interest.

The conversion to Christianity is by far the most radical change that has taken place in Nordic society. The linguistic consequences are immense, but they do not appear on a larger scale until after the transitional period.

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85. Developments of personal names from Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic

1. Sources
2. Typology
3. Names and name elements in use: the Germanic heritage
4. Name-giving systems
5. Foreign names
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Sources

1.1. Runic inscriptions

The richest sources for this period are the runic inscriptions in the younger futhark, although it is not until the 10th and 11th centuries that they really become abundant. There are very few runic inscriptions from the 7th and 8th centuries (written in the older futhark or a mixture between older and younger rune-forms) containing personal names (see the inscriptions in Birkmann 1995, 89–142, 227–259). The most spectacular ones are the so-called Blekinge stones, where the names *Hariwulfr*, *Haþuwulfr* and *Heruwulfr* occur (see 4.1.). Sweden has about 3,000 runic inscriptions from this period, Denmark about 320, Norway about 125, and the Faroes two only, while Great Britain and Ireland together have about 60 inscriptions. (There are no Viking Age runic inscriptions in Iceland or Greenland.) Altogether they contain more than 7,000 instances of personal names; the number of separate name lemmas can be estimated at about 1,300 (Scandinavian runic-text data base). In contrast to the sources mentioned below (1.2., 1.3.), the runic inscriptions are the only original documents.

1.2. Place-names

Important sources for the knowledge of personal names from this period are place-names, above all those ending in *-staðir*. There are nearly 6,000 names in *-staðir* in the Nordic countries; the bulk of them seem to have been created ca. 400–ca. 1000 (Brink 1984, 20ff.; Pamp 1988, 38; Sandnes/Stemshaug 1997, 421f.). Earlier opinion was that most of the specifics of *-staðir* names are personal names, above all bynames (i. e. nicknames; see 3.3.) (Olsen 1934, 86ff.; Janzén 1947b, 25ff.; 1947a, 244ff.), which at that time generated all too many reconstructed, otherwise unknown personal names; however, modern researchers are more critical, recognizing that a great number of the specifics in *-staðir* names are, e.g., adjectives or appellatives (Dalberg/Kousgård Sørensen 1979, 156; Strandberg 1993, 7 with references). Thus, for example, Kousgård Sørensen (1958, 279) concludes that 18 per cent of the Danish *-staðir* names have a personal name as a specific, and Brink (1986) considers that we can only be certain that 14 per cent of more than 800 North Scandinavian *-staðir* names contain a personal name. Nevertheless, the *-staðir* names no doubt conceal several personal names not attested otherwise. Place-names in *-býr* (whose age can vary considerably; Hald 1957, 381f.) do not contain personal names to any great extent; those which do so are regarded as post-Viking (Hald 1957, 384; Hellberg 1967, 247, 370, 374; Pamp 1988, 40). Two exceptions are the *-býr* names in southern Schleswig and the southern parts of the Danish islands on the one hand and in

the Danelaw on the other (Hjorth Pedersen 1960, 10ff.; Fellows Jensen 1968, XXXIIff.; for criticism of the dating of the names in Schleswig, see Laur 1984, 94ff.). Place-names in *-þorp* (in Scandinavia there are about 10,000; Eriksson 1974, 492) very often have a personal name as a specific; however, the age of the place-names can vary considerably in these cases as well (Hellberg 1954, 106ff.; Eriksson 1974, 493ff.; Pamp 1988, 43). Lerche Nielsen's study (1997a, 109ff., 149ff.) shows that the main proportion of the *-þorp* names in Denmark, which is the region where the oldest Nordic *-þorp* names generally are assumed to appear (Eriksson op. cit., 493; Pamp loc. cit.; cf. Hellberg op. cit.), must have been created after ca. 1100.

1.3. Literary sources

Among literary sources, *Landnámabók* [Book of Settlements], describing the settlement of Iceland by about 400 men and women during the decades around 900, has long been held as one of the most reliable sources for the Viking Age personal nomenclature of Norway and Iceland. However, doubt has been cast on the authenticity of the *Landnáma* names; the oral tradition before *Landnámabók* was written down (some time in the 12th century) may have led to the addition of both persons and personal names to the story; moreover, the first elements of place-names which look like personal names may have been transformed (Stemshaug 1983, 7ff.). Stemshaug (1983, 18) concludes that *Landnáma* still can be considered representative of the *types* of names during the Settlement Age. The *Íslendinga sögur* [Sagas of Icelanders] also contain rich information about people's names among the first generations of Icelanders. But even here one has to be cautious as to the historical truth (Halvorsen 1968, 199f.; Kristjánsson 1988, 203f.).

1.4. Sources outside Scandinavia (except runic inscriptions)

The name stock from this period is reflected in the many Nordic personal names in various sources from the Viking settlements in the Danelaw and Normandy. Comprehensive works on this subject are Fellows Jensen 1968, Insley 1994, and Adigard des Gautries 1954.

2. Typology

Like the personal names during the earlier period (see art. 76), the personal names during the period from the 7th century to 1100 are formed in three ways: compound names (dithematic names), original appellatives or adjectives (monothematic names), and derivational names (strictly speaking these are also monothematic; see Peterson 1988, 121f.). It is hard to evaluate the proportion of names falling into these categories. This is due partly to the difficulty in defining the three groups (see discussions in Peterson 1986, 44f.; 1988, 121ff.; Lerche Nielsen 1997a, 47ff.), and partly to the fact that all the material has not yet been analysed. An attempt at categorizing the names in Danish Viking Age runic inscriptions has been made by Lerche Nielsen (1997a, 47ff.; 1997b, 9ff.). The proportions he arrives at are as follows (the corpus comprises about 290 different names borne by 531 persons): 125 dithematic names (246 persons), 115 monothematic names (167 persons), 27 hypocorisms (93 persons; only male names in *-i* and female names in *-a*, the derivational basis being dithematic names); the rest consists of names of supposedly foreign origin and uninterpreted names (Lerche Nielsen 1997a, 54). The fact that the hypocoristic (and monothematic) names increased in use during the Viking Age has long been acknowledged (see, for example, Kousgård Sørensen 1958, 223; Søndergaard 1972, 154ff.). The typological difference between the Migration Age and the Viking Age personal names has been used in order to date certain place-name types (Kousgård Sørensen loc. cit.; 260f.; Søndergaard loc. cit.; see the criticism in Peterson 1986, 37ff.).

3. Names and name elements in use: the Germanic heritage

For the most part, the personal nomenclature of the period is of Germanic origin (cf. 5.1. and 5.3.). There are name elements in the Ancient Nordic runic inscriptions that have totally disappeared or are very uncommon during the Viking Age, such as *-gestr* < *-gastir*, *-riðr* < *-riðar*, *-þér* < *-þewar*. Also, complete names like *Landawarjar* (Tørvika stone A) and *Hagustaldar* (Valsfjord cliff inscription and Kjølevik stone) lack counterparts in later times, contrary to, e.g., *Stainawarjar* (Rö stone), which survived as *Steinarr* (see art. 76). On the other hand, new names and name elements appear in Viking Age Scandinavia, such

as *Ketill* (Wessén 1927, 70 ff.; Hald 1971, 63 ff.) and *Þór-* (see 3.1.).

3.1. Theophoric personal name elements

Names in *Þór-* were extremely popular during this period; there are between 400 and 500 instances in the runic inscriptions, spread over the whole area from east to west. At least 30 different combinations are attested, of which 10 are women's names. Names in *Frey-* occur less often; the runic inscriptions contain about 65 instances, all from the East Nordic areas (cf. Wessén 1927, 75; Janzén 1947a, 259). There are 4 different men's names and 4 different women's names attested. The first elements *Þór-* and *Frey-* are newcomers in the personal nomenclature in Scandinavia, if they are regarded as sacral elements (see below). While Nordic personal names in *Ás-* and *Guð-* fit into an Old Germanic nomenclature, the gods' names *Þórr* and *Freyr* as personal name elements are exclusively Nordic (Andersson 1993, 42 with references). However, these two name elements seem to have been secondarily connected with the two gods through a re-interpretation of their original meanings, 'thunder' and 'lord' respectively (Andersson 1993, 42 ff. with reference especially to Wessén 1927, 76 f.). Beside the gods' names *Þórr* and *Freyr*, the names *Óðinn* and *Týr* also seem to appear as first personal name elements. *Óðindisa*, a woman's name in a Swedish runic inscription, is exceptional and has been explained as *Dísa* with a byname prefix giving expression to the bearer's pagan faith (Otterbjörk 1983, 117). The name *Óðinkárr*, borne by several persons in Viking Age Denmark and later (Hald 1971, 38) and seemingly containing the god's name *Óðinn*, has convincingly been explained as 'the one inclined to rage' (Kousgård Sørensen 1974, 108 ff.). There are some personal names in *Tý-*, *Ti-* in the Nordic medieval sources, which are regarded as containing the god's name *Týr* (or an appellative in the singular of ON *tívar*; Hald 1971, 41); they occur especially in the northern Swedish province of Jämtland (Wessén 1927, 99 fn. 1; Andersson 1992, 512 with references.). They have, however, been questioned. Williams (1996b, 140 f.), actually following Wessén (loc. cit.), asks whether they should not rather be connected with *Tið-* as in *Tiðkumi* and *Tiðfriðr*, known from Swedish runic inscriptions. Thus, the "theophoric" personal name elements would seem to be devoid of religious content in Viking Age Scandinavia. On the other hand, Christian name

elements like *Krist-* (in OSw. *Kristmoþer*, ON *Kristrún*), introduced during or after the Christianization period, bear witness to the contrary: personal names reflect the society in which they are used (Andersson 1992, 517).

3.2. Frequencies and geographical distribution

Being original sources, only the runic inscriptions have been employed in the following calculations. (For example, for a list of the most popular names in *Landnámabók*, see Wessén 1927, 70 with fn. 2; Janzén 1947b, 28; and for a list of the personal names in the Danish *-þorp* names, see Lerche Nielsen 1997b, 29 ff.; cf., however, 1.2. and 1.3. above.) What must be borne in mind is that the spread of Viking Age runic inscriptions is very uneven (see 1.1.), and the picture they present of which names and name elements were actually in use during those times may be misleading. (An attempt at supplementing the distribution picture in two Swedish provinces, Västergötland and Södermanland, with the help of place-names has been made by Strandberg 1994, 141 ff.; cf. also Janzén 1947a, 243 ff.) The twenty most common male names in the whole corpus are *Sveinn* (ca. 150 persons), *Björn* (ca. 125), *Þorsteinn* (ca. 90), *Ulfr* (ca. 80), *Eysteinn*, *Gunnarr*, *Ólafr*/*-leifr*, *Þorbjörn*, *Þórir*, *Qnundr* (between 50 and 60 each), *Ás*/*Æsbjörn*, *Freysteinn*, *Halfdan*, *Holmsteinn*, *Ingífastr*, *Karl*, *Ketill*, *Ófeigr*, *Porketill*/*-kell*, *Qzurr*/*Andsvarr* (between 30 and 50 each). The twelve most common female names are *Ása*, *Ásfríðr*/*Ás*/*Æstriðr*, *Gimm*/*Gillaug*, *Guðfríðr*/*Gyriðr*, *Guð*/*Gullaug*, *Helga*, *Holmfríðr*, *Inga*, *Ingigerðr*, *Sigriðr*, *Póra* and *Þorgerðr*/*-gerða* (between 12 and 25 each). On the frequencies of names in *Þór-* and *Frey-*, see 3.1. Because of the overrepresentation of Swedish inscriptions in the material, among them the Upplandic ones (more than 1,200), these lists can be said to reflect the Viking Age Swedish nomenclature rather than the Nordic. Dividing the material into smaller groupings reveals geographical differences.

3.2.1. East Nordic (esp. Swedish)

Wessén (1927, 97 ff.) noticed that there are name elements typical of the East Nordic (notably Swedish) runic inscriptions: the first elements *Fast-*, *Folk-*, *Heðin-*, *Holm-*, *Ígul-*, *Jofur-*, *Ketil-*, and the second elements *-djarfr*, *-fastr*, *-njótr*, *-reifr* (male names), *-vé* and *-elfr* (female names). On the whole, Wessén was

right, though his observations were founded on editions now obsolete. Just a few cases will be given here to shed light on what was found later (esp. thanks to the Scandinavian runic-text data base). There are more than 300 instances of names in *Fast-/-fastr* in the Swedish inscriptions, but only three in the Danish (*Fastulfr* once, *Porfastr* twice). Most favoured among compounds with *Fast-* are *-björn*, *-geirr*, *-ulfr* and the female *-laug* and *-vé*. Compounds with *-fastr* are (in declining order of frequency) *Ingi-*, *Holm-*, *Sig-*, *Guð-*, *Vé-*, *Por-*, *Ígul-*, *Ern-*, *Ketil-*, *Ragn-*, *Geir-*, *Arn-*, *Borg-*, *Heðin-*, *Rún-*, *Stein-*, *Þing-*, *Á-*, *Ás-*, *Ginn-*, *Hjalm-*, *Styr-*, *Vig-*. Women's names in *-fast* (*-fōst*) seem to be confined to the Upplandic inscriptions (Peterson 1981, 27f.): they are *Heðin-*, *Ingi-*, *Jó-* and *Jōfur-*. About 20 instances of the hypocorism *Fasti* are recorded; there does not seem to be any feminine counterpart (Peterson 1981, 112 fn. 84). *Holm-* only occurs as first element in compound names, although the simplex name *Holmr* is found once in an inscription in Södermanland. Nearly 130 persons bear names in *Holm-*, among them about 30 women. Most popular are compounds with *-steinn*, *-fastr*, *-geirr* and the female *-friðr*. Both *Holmi* and *Holma* are well attested, although they are not very frequent. While names in *Fast-*, *Folk-*, *Heðin-*, *Holm-*, *Ígul-* and *Ketil-* are fairly well spread in Sweden (on *Heðin-* see Peterson 1998, 5ff.), it is only in Uppland that names in *Jōfur-* occur (with an uncertain exception in Södermanland). Beside the common simplex *Jōfurr* (10 persons), there are two women's names, *Jōfurfast* (*-fōst*) and *Jōfurfriðr* (8 and 2 persons respectively), and one man's name, *Jōfurbjörn* (1). (On the contracted form *Jór-* in, e.g., *Jórunnr*, attested in Swedish and Norwegian inscriptions, see Janzén 1947a, 261; 1947b, 84.)

An East Nordic innovation is names in *Sas-/Ses-*, such as *Sassurr/Sōssurr* (6 times in Danish Viking Age inscriptions, twice in Upplandic) and *Sasgerðr* (once in Danish inscriptions), in later sources also *Sestriðr*. Obviously, they are to be connected with the name element *Ás-/Æs-*, but the element's origin is disputed (Dunås 1957, 21ff.). An interesting pattern of distribution for the exclusively Swedish man's name *Pegn* (Wessén 1927, 98) has been observed by Strid (1987, 301ff.): while the appellative *þegn* is known from ON sources, Danish and Swedish Viking Age runic inscriptions, the name *Pegn* (*Þiagn*) is confined to the Central Swedish provinces Södermanland and Uppland.

3.2.2. Denmark

The ten most common male names in the Danish inscriptions are *Tóki* (22 persons), *Sveinn* (14), *Ás-/Æsbjörn* (10), *Tófi* (10), *Assurr/Qssurr* (8), *Bróðir* (8), *Ásgotr* (7), *Tosti* (7), *Þorgisl/-gils* (7) and *Tómi* (6); female names borne by more than one person are *Ása*, *Guðfriðr*, *Gunnhildr*, *Tófa*, *Tonna*, *Þorgunnr* and *Þorvé* (between 2 and 6 persons each). (The numbers are compiled from the name lists in Lerche Nielsen 1997b, 1ff.) What is striking in the Danish lists are the hypocorisms of names in *Por-*. Hald (1971, 86f.) has observed that six men's names, *Tobbi*, *Tófi*, *Tóki*, *Tóli*, *Tómi*, *Tosti*, and four women's names, *Tófa*, *Tóka*, *Tóla*, *Tonna* together are borne by about 58 persons in the Danish runic inscriptions. *Tobbi*, *Tófi*, *Tóki*, *Tosti*, and *Tófa*, *Tóka*, *Tóla*, *Tonna* are known also from the Swedish inscriptions, but, with the exception of *Tóki* and *Tosti* (19 persons each), their positions in the ranking lists are low. Neither in the Norwegian nor the British or Irish Viking Age runic inscriptions are there any hypocorisms in *T-*. The island of Gotland also lacks them (see 3.2.3.).

3.2.3. Gotland

The runic inscriptions on Gotland belonging to this period (about 80) exhibit quite an extraordinary personal nomenclature: there are no hypocorisms of names in *Por-* at all, but rather a rich variety of dithematic names compounded with elements, some of which are typically or even exclusively Gutnish. The most common first element is *Bót-* (for the most recent discussion of its origin, see Ryman 1996, 131ff.); it occurs in otherwise non-attested composites such as *-björn*, *-hvatr*, *-reifr*, and the female *-heiðr*. Also favoured are *Geir-* and *Hróð-*; otherwise unattested are *Hróðfúss*, *-gautr*, *-hvatr*, and the female *-þjóð*. Typical of Gotland are names in *Likn-* and *-líkn* (see Ryman 1996, 136ff.), the latter exclusively Gutnish. Not attested elsewhere are *Liknhvatr*, *-reifr*, and the female *Liknvé* and *Eilíkn*. (For a survey of first and second elements of old personal names in farm names on Gotland, see Olsson 1994, 70f.)

3.2.4. West Nordic

The Viking Age runic material is sparse in Norway, the Faroes, Great Britain and Ireland (see 1.1.) and cannot be regarded as representative of the personal nomenclature in

these areas. What can be said to be characteristic is that names in *Pór-* are common (30 instances) (cf. 3.1.) and that hypocorisms of the *n*-stem declension are rare. The impression one gets tallies rather well with the lists of names in *Landnámabók* given by Wessén (1927, 70 with fn. 2) and Janzén (1947b, 28) (cf. 1.3., 3.2.).

3.3. Bynames

The term *byname* here means an appositional element after a person's main name (see discussions in Andersson 1983, 16ff.; Peterson 1983, 123ff.; Brylla 1993, 27f.; Lerche Nielsen 1997a, 50ff.). With the help of such an apposition, which can be a patronymic, an adjective, or a noun of some sort (whose motivation very often is obscure), it was possible to distinguish between persons bearing the same forename. The custom of bynames kept pace with the increasing use of naming after another person (see 4.3.), which entails a smaller stock of forenames.

3.3.1. Patronymics

Perhaps an early example of patronymics during this period is *Haþuwulfr Heruwulfr* on the Istaby stone, dated to the 7th century. It has been questioned, however, whether *Heruwulfr* (a derivative with the *-ia-* suffix) might not rather be a designation of ancestry (Kousgård Sørensen 1984, 46ff.; cf. Peterson 1985, 141). Patronymics formed from the father's name in the genitive + *son/daughter* and placed immediately after the main name – i. e., the prototype of later, “real” patronymics (Kousgård Sørensen 1984, 10, 68, 80, 209f.) – occur only about 40 times in the Viking Age runic inscriptions (for Denmark, see Kousgård Sørensen 1984, 68f.; for Norway and the British Isles, see Johannessen 1993, 124ff.). Only twice (maybe three times) do metronymic designations occur.

3.3.2. Adjectives

It is often difficult to distinguish between adjectives used as occasional epithets and more permanent additions to a person's forename (Ekbo 1947, 270ff.; Lerche Nielsen 1997a, 50f.). Formal types found in the runic inscriptions are (1) strong forms (*Tómi Spár* ‘able to tell fortunes’), (2) weak forms (*Fastulfr Mjúki* ‘the soft, limp, gentle one’), (3) weak forms

with the definite article (*Rúnulfr hinn Ráðspaki* ‘the wise one who gives good advice’). How many such adjectival bynames the entire runic corpus comprises is difficult to estimate at present. For the Danish inscriptions, see Lerche Nielsen 1997b, 15. For examples from Old Nordic literary sources, see Ekbo 1947, 271f. Mention should be made of the type where the adjective is prefixed to the forename: e. g., a Swedish rune-carver calls himself *Balli hinn Rauði* and *Rauð-Balli* alternately.

3.3.3. Nouns

Appositions such as *bryti, jarl, skáld, stýrimaðr, vikingr*, even *englandsfari* and *grikkfari*, all occurring in the runic material (no less than four persons, three in Sweden and one in Norway, have names with the addition of *skáld*), are difficult to demarcate from the class of bynames; they might be classified as titles of professions (see discussion in Lerche Nielsen 1997a, 51f. with reference to Ekbo 1947, 269). There are about 20 instances in the runic material where the apposition must be regarded as a byname (nickname). Noticeably common are those that refer to parts of the body: *Hnakki* (‘neck’, 2 persons), *Hqnd* (‘hand’), *Kanpr* (‘moustache’), *Lippi* (‘lip’), *Nef* (‘nose’). Another category is designations of animals or part of an animal: *Elgr, Gedda, Selshofuð*. All these are words taken from the common stock of nouns; one can only speculate on the motivations for using them. Other formation types occur, e. g., *Kópu-Sveinn* (a prefixed byname), *Rauðumskjaldi* and *Sviðbalki* (for their etymologies, see Jacobsen/Moltke 1942, 437f.; 675; Knudsen/Kristensen/Hornby 1949–64, 920; Kousgård Sørensen 1994, 193ff. respectively). For further types of byname formations found in Old Nordic literary sources and their varying motivations, see Ekbo 1947, 273ff.

4. Name-giving systems

The “variation” name-giving system was used in practically all the Indo-European languages (see examples in Peterson 1988, 124); it was still flourishing in Viking Age Scandinavia (see 4.1.). Because of the Germanic shift of accent, alliteration came to be a characteristic trait of Germanic name-giving; however, not many unequivocal examples can be found in Viking Age Scandinavia (see 4.2.). The custom of naming a child after another person, which is

thought to have very ancient roots (Janzén 1947b, 35f.), is manifested in several examples (see 4.3.).

4.1. Variation

The period's oldest (and best known) example of variation within a family can be seen in the three names on the so-called Blekinge runestones: *Heruwulfr*, *Haþuwulfr*, *Hariwulfr* (for an account of possible relationships between the three (or four?) men, see Birkmann 1995, 137ff.; cf. 3.3.1. above). In the later Viking Age runic inscriptions there is an overabundance of examples of the variation system practised then (see Wessén 1927, 10f.; Janzén 1947a, 236f.; Peterson 1999, 19). For several examples from *Landnámabók*, see Wessén 1927, 7ff.; Janzén 1947b, 33f. When children share name elements with their parents or earlier ancestors (e.g., two sons of *Eybjörn* are called *Eygeirr* and *Ketilbjörn*), it is possible to speak of them being named after, or “partially” named after someone (Janzén 1947b, 36f.; cf. 4.3.).

4.2. Alliteration

Often cited are the alliterating names of the kings in the genealogical *Ynglingatal* and the later Swedish kings Emund, Erik, Olov, Anund and Emund (e.g., Janzén 1947a, 237f.). The alliteration system does not seem, however, to have been practised to any great extent in Scandinavia during this period (Wessén 1927, 18; Janzén 1947a, 237f.; 1947b, 35). The best known example from the runic inscriptions comes, again, from the names on the Blekinge stones (see 4.1.). An example from Viking Age inscriptions that resembles this one is *Pormundr* son of *Þjóðmundr* (Uppland). Whether the alliteration is accidental or was intended in a case like *Helga* and *Holmfriðr* daughters of *Holmfastr* (Uppland) cannot be determined.

4.3. Naming after

From ON literary sources it is evident that the custom of naming a child after a dead relative was very common in Scandinavia (Wessén 1927, 18ff.; Janzén 1947b, 35ff.). Probably it was not until after Christianization that it became possible to name a child after a living relative (Janzén 1947a, 238). The runic inscriptions offer few examples of naming children after relatives because they seldom give infor-

mation about more than two generations. A couple of instances occur where both father and son have the same name, e.g., *Tóki* son of *Tóki* (Bregninge, Lolland), or *Bjarnhqfði* son of *Bjarnhqfði* (Björklinge, Uppland). The runic inscriptions give evidence of the new fashion of naming after famous persons who are not related. The name *Knútr* is borne by seven persons in the Swedish inscriptions; probably they were named after Canute the Great (died 1035). (Canute himself is mentioned in three inscriptions.) The most renowned example from Viking Age Scandinavia of naming children after a famous person is *Magnus* (King Magnus the Good, born ca. 1024), son of Olav Haraldsson (St. Olav), who, according to Snorri Sturluson gave his son the name *Magnus* after the Franconian king (Lat.) *Carolus Magnus*; the name *Magnus* was, however, borne by Scandinavians earlier than this (Knudsen/Kristensen/Hornby 1936–48, 886f.; Kruken/Stemshaug 1995, 189).

5. Foreign names

5.1. Celtic

Several names of Celtic origin, introduced by immigrants, are attested from 9th and 10th century Iceland and Norway; a few of them became popular later, e.g. *Njáll*, *Kjartan* and *Koðran* (Janzén 1947b, 139ff.; Halvorsen 1968, 203). In Swedish runic inscriptions the name *Kiulakr*/*Giulakr* appears four times, apparently referring to different persons. Probably this is a Swedish variant of ON *Kjallákr* (from Old Irish *Cealleach*, *Cellach*; Janzén 1947a, 250; 1947b, 139).

5.2. West Germanic

Whether persons in Scandinavia during this period bearing German or English names were immigrants or natives is often difficult to determine. (For lists of such names in ON literary sources, see Janzén 1947b, 133ff.) Two Norwegian rune stones commemorate, respectively, a woman named *Magnhildr* (a name of supposedly German origin) and a man named *Vilhjálmr* (English) (for the latter, see Hagland 1994, 34ff.). Similarly, a runestone in Sigtuna, Sweden, was erected *eptir Albóð fēlaga Slóða* (‘in memory of Albóðr, Slóði’s partner’). In this case, it is expressly stated that *Frisa gildar* (‘Frisian guild-brothers’) erected the stone. (The name is not Frisian but rather Old Low German; Ahlsson

1988, 11f.) Several English minters' names occur, written in runes or Latin capitals, on coins stamped in 11th century Denmark. Two of them, *Eadwine* and *Godwine*, appear as specifics in Danish place-names in *-þorp* (Lerche Nielsen 1997a, 74f.).

5.3. Christian

The Biblical name *Johannes*, in the Old Nordic form *Jón/Jóan/Jóhan*, is attested no less than 13 times in Swedish 11th century runic inscriptions (Eldblad 1994, 56ff.). Saints' names borne by persons in Swedish inscriptions are *Klemet*, *Nikulas* (twice), *Kristin* (female), and *Vinaman* (after a local martyr) (Williams 1996a, 70f.). Maybe *Petar*, found on a Swedish rune-stone, also belongs to the 11th century (Stille 1999, 87f.). (On the elements *Bót-* and *Líkn-/líkn*, formerly regarded as Christian, see Ryman 1996, 139ff.; Williams 1996a, 71ff.) The Viking Age Danish runic inscriptions do not offer any Christian personal names. According to the 11th century cleric Adam of Bremen, members of the first generations of the Danish royal family after King Gorm were given names of Christian personages: Sven Forkbeard was also called *Otto*, two of his children, Knut and Estrid, were also baptized *Lambertus* and *Margareta* respectively. According to later sources, two younger sons of Sven Estridsson were called *Benedictus/Bændikt* and *Nicolaus* respectively. It has been noted that these first names of Christian origin in Denmark were given by the kings to daughters and younger sons, while the eldest sons, the potential heirs to the throne, received names of Nordic origin (Meldgaard 1994, 203ff.). Nor do the Norwegian, British or Irish Viking Age runic inscriptions exhibit any personal names of Christian origin. According to later West Nordic sources, *Jóan/Jón*, *Markús*, *Nikolás*, *Páll*, *Pétr*, *Símon*, *Brigit*, *Cecilia*, *Elín*, and *Margrét* are attested in 10th and 11th century Norway and Iceland (Janzen 1947b, 141ff.). The Icelandic *Jónsstaðir* is the only place-name in *-staðir* containing a personal name of Christian origin (Sandnes/Stemshaug 1997, 421).

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86. The development of place-names from Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic

1. Settlement names in Scandinavia
2. Central places
3. Scandinavian pagan religion and place-names
4. District names
5. Place-names in the Viking colonies
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Settlement names in Scandinavia

1.1. Dating

The most important and reliable method of dating a Scandinavian place-name type to the Viking Age is to proceed from those name types that were in productive use to form names in the western Viking colonies (the isles in the Atlantic, northernmost Scotland, England and Normandy). These types must have been productive also in the Scandinavian

homelands at the time of the colonization. One can include here names in *-bolstaðr*, *-by*, *-holt*, *-setr*, *-staðir*, *-toft*, *-þorp* and *-þveit*. On the other hand, it is more doubtful whether one can conclude the opposite: that older name types which are absent in the colonies had ceased to be productive in Scandinavia. The reason for this could instead be that the name types in question, due to social, historical or economic reasons, were not suited for the new settlements in the colonies. Thus, with reservations, we can say that the mainly pre-Viking types in *-hem/-heim*, *-inge*, *-land(a)*, *-losa*, *-lef* and *-vin* (on which see art. 77) to a certain degree may have continued their productivity during the Viking Age in Scandinavia, although they can not or only to a limited extent be found in the western colonies. In addition, some younger name types such as *-rydh* and

-rum, with their main period of productivity during the Middle Ages, undoubtedly were already productive in parts of Scandinavia during the Viking Age, despite the fact that they are not found in the western colonies. We can draw this conclusion from other methods of place-name dating, mainly archaeological dating, vocabulary dating and comparison of village sizes.

1.2. Frequent Viking Age place-name elements

1.2.1. *-staðir* and *-by/-bø*

Names in *-staðir* and *-by/-bø* (for more detail on both, see art. 77) have had a long period of productivity, before as well as after the Viking Age. Furthermore, they are both very frequent and can be found generally in the same regions. For that reason researchers have tried in several ways to differentiate between them in regard to age or meaning. So far the most common theory has been to regard the names in *-staðir* as older on average; but the opposite view has also been proposed recently for central Sweden (Larsson 1997, 175). Whatever the original meaning of the two name elements was, it is likely that their significations during the Viking Age generally were ‘farm’ for *-staðir* and ‘farm’ or ‘village’ for *-by/-bø*.

1.2.2. *-bolstaðr*

Viking Age place-names in *-bolstaðr* in Scandinavia can be found partly in eastern Sweden, partly in Norway. The primary meaning of the word is ‘land of a farm or village’, from which has developed the sense ‘separated part of a village’ (Hellberg 1987, 142ff.). As a place-name element it has, at least in the West Nordic countries, come to be used about out-parcelled farms, i.e. secondary settlement units detached from an older, larger farm or village (Gammeltoft 2001, 271). In Sweden there are some names in *-bolstaðr* with the name of a pagan god as the first element, e.g. *Ullarbolstaðr* and *Frøyiubolstaðr*, from *Ull* and *Frøya* respectively. Semantically these should be grouped together with a quite large number of *Helgabólstaðr* in Norway, Sweden and the western colonies, where the first element has been supposed to be a weak form of the adjective *heilagr* ‘holy’ or a noun formed from the same adjective **helgi* ‘the holy one’, an

assumed word for a pagan priest. How the connection between the sacral first elements and *-bolstaðr* should be explained is an unsolved problem. It has been suggested that the theophoric names are elliptic forms (reductions) of reconstructed names like **Ullarguðabolstaðr* with **ullarguði* ‘Ull’s priest’ as the first element and, accordingly, refer to a kind of detached pagan “rectory” (Hellberg 1986, 63f.; 1987, 145; Elmevik 1990, 501ff.). It is, however, methodologically questionable to assume ellipsis throughout a whole, semantically defined group of names. Another common first element is *mikill* ‘big, large’ in *Miklibólstaðr*.

1.2.3. *Nybyli*

There are quite a lot of place-names in Denmark and southern Sweden which superficially seem to be compounded of the first element *ny* ‘new’ and the second element *-bole* (on which see art. 108). As Lars Hellberg (1985, 62ff.; cf. Højgaard Jørgensen 1986, 147ff.) has pointed out, these names refer to considerably larger and older settlement units than other place-names in *-bole* and are instead formed from an appellative compound **nybyli* ‘new settlement’. The name type in question seems to be mainly from the Viking Age. There is also one example of *Nybyli* from the Danelaw.

1.2.4. *-toft(a)* and *-tompt(a)*

Place-names in *-toft(a)* (e.g. *Bøketofta* with *bøke* ‘beech (forest)’ and *Slagtofta* with *slag* ‘hollow’) in Scandinavia can be found in Denmark, southern Sweden and southern Norway (Holmberg 1946, map 14). The more unusual variant form *-tompt(a)* (e.g. *Avatompta* with *ave* ‘shallow creek’ and *Forntompta* with *for* ‘old’) is limited to central Sweden and southeastern Norway. The meaning of the place-name element is debated. According to one view it is plainly ‘farm site’ (Holmberg 1946, 333ff.). Other scholars hold the opinion that the meaning is ‘deserted farm site’ (Hellberg 1967, 200ff.). A third proposal is ‘enclosure, fold’, thus primarily referring to fields (Andersson 1984, 300ff.). The age of the names in *-toft(a)/-tompt(a)* probably varies a great deal regionally. In certain areas there are solely or mainly Viking Age names of this type, in other areas evidently also younger names.

1.2.5. *-setr* and *-sæter*

In the middle of Sweden there are settlement names in *-sæter*, e.g. *Biornasæter* ‘the forest meadow where bears have been seen’, which can be dated to the Viking Age and the Middle Ages and where the primary meaning of the name element is ‘outlying meadow, forest meadow’. They correspond formally to the Norwegian names in *-set*, for which, however, as a rule the meaning ‘dwelling place, habitation’ has been assumed as well as a somewhat earlier dating (the Viking Age and just before). The West Nordic place-names in *-sæter* ‘summer pasture farm’, which is related by ablaut, also occur in Norway and neighbouring parts of Sweden. They are also to a considerable extent medieval. The semantic relationship between the three name groups is, in spite of many notable research efforts, still obscure (Hedblom 1945, 223ff.; Beito 1949, 11ff.; Brink 1987, 79ff.; Helleland 1989, 59ff.).

1.2.6. *-þveit*

Place-names in *-thvet* (*-þveit*), e.g. *Rúgþveit* ‘the clearing where rye is grown’, *Grimsthvet* ‘Grim’s clearing’, are relatively common in southern Norway and Denmark, but also occur sporadically in southern Sweden. The meaning is ‘clearing, cutting’ and indicates new settlements in forest areas (Markey 1978, 70). The name type is mainly from the Viking Age, but continued to be productive also in the early Middle Ages.

1.2.7. *-þorp*

Names in *-þorp*, e.g. *Svensthorp* ‘Sven’s settlement’, *Sioarthorp* ‘the settlement by the lake’, are very frequent in Denmark and southern Sweden and can also be found in south-eastern Norway. The name type was productive over a very long time span before, during and after the Viking Age. According to a theory put forward by Lars Hellberg (1954, 106ff.), we are dealing here with two different age strata of names in *-þorp*: on the one hand (at least in Sweden and Norway), an older, pre-Viking layer (mainly names in the simplex *þorp*); on the other hand, a younger layer, which during the Viking Age spread from the European continent through Denmark to Sweden. Chronologically, Hellberg’s hypothesis is convincing, but the idea of an import from the Continent (which has been taken from Jöran Sahlgren; see further art. 108) is doubtful. Rather,

it is a question of two different types of place-name formation: the word *þorp* has existed in the Scandinavian languages all the time, although before the Viking Age it only occasionally had come to be part of place-names, while from the Viking Age onwards it became productive as a type-forming place-name element in the sense that it could be used in analogical naming. The motivation for this may in itself very well have come to Scandinavia from the European continent.

The place-name element *-þorp* during the Viking Age undoubtedly denoted secondary settlements separated from older, larger settlement units.

1.2.8. *-rum*

The place-names in *-rum*, e.g. *Algutsrum* ‘Algut’s open ground’, *Yxnarum* ‘the open ground where oxen graze’, are on the whole concentrated in eastern Götaland in Sweden (Lindroth 1916, map). A few names occur in Denmark. The meaning is most likely ‘open ground (in a forest)’. A considerable portion of the names probably originally denoted meadowlands (Strid 1986, 187ff.; Strid 1987, 297ff.). The name type was productive both during and after the Viking Age.

1.2.9. *-riudǫ(r)*

This place-name element is *-rjóðr* in Old West Nordic, *-riudh* > *-rydh* in Old East Nordic. The greatest number of such names exists in south-western Sweden, e.g. *Tranurydh* ‘the clearing where cranes stay’, *Horydh* ‘the open land where hay is harvested’. There are some further occurrences in Norway. The meaning is ‘clearing’, on the one hand, but more generally ‘open ground (in a forest)’. As was the case for *-rum*, many such names primarily denoted meadowlands, but new settlements in forests were also given names in *-rydh* (Fridell 1992, 243ff.). A considerable share of the names were formed in the Viking Age, but the majority nevertheless are medieval (Ejder 1979, 362ff.; Fridell 1992, 203ff.).

1.2.10. *-hult*

Place-names in *-hult* (*-holt*), e.g. *Ælmihult* ‘elm forest’, *Haraldshult* ‘Harald’s [farm] in the forest’, are common in most parts of the Nordic countries, with the exception of northern Sweden. The basic meaning of the place-name element *hult* most likely is ‘forest’, a sense

which is clearly documented in many old names of large forest areas. Also suggested for it is a more specialized meaning 'coppice', i.e. a kind of cultivated deciduous forest (Hellberg 1967, 100ff.; Strid 1996, 19ff.), but the arguments are uncertain and not very convincing. The great number of medieval place-names in *-hult* in older forest districts indicates rather that the names on the whole have denoted new settlements in forests (Benson 1972, 35f.). In the West Nordic countries a secondary meaning '(rocky) hill' has evolved, which usually is assumed in the Icelandic place-names in *-holt*. The oldest layer of the Nordic *-hult*-names certainly is as old as the Viking Age, but most names are medieval.

2. Central places

Certain types of place-names in Scandinavia, especially in Sweden, can function as indicators of ancient central places (Hellberg 1979, 128, 150ff.; Hellberg 1984b, 135ff.; Hellberg 1987, 289ff.; Brink 1990, 58ff.; Brink 1996, 235ff.; Vikstrand 2000, 213ff.). This relationship, however, is not simple and clear-cut, i.e. not all central places have special, characteristic names.

Some place-name elements are in themselves designations for administrative central places. In order of age, that is the case for *Tuna*, *Husa* and *Husaby* which, particularly in the early state organization of the *Svear*, have been used for places from which the economic, military and political power and influence of the kingdom was organized. The names in *-tuna* (often the simplex *Tuna*) are pre-Viking; the names in *-husa* (often the simplex *Husa*) belong to the early Viking Age and the period before that; while *Husaby* (always a simplex) probably originated in the late Viking Age. All three designations have evidently during their periods of productivity also functioned as appellative nouns and in many cases replaced other, older names of settlements, which became royal estates and acquired the role of administrative central places. Whilst the origin of the plural denomination *Husa* still is obscure, it is likely that the word *husaby* derives from *Husa* with the addition of *-by*.

A smaller group of place-names in Sweden with the first element *Inge-* probably contains a denomination for the king of the *Svear* and thus marks the position as royal estate. *Bo* and *Bosgarðr* also have a Viking Age connection to royal farms and designate the residence of the royal bailiff.

As a place-name element *-sal(a)* surely also can be used to denote important places, where large buildings, *hallar* 'halls', have existed. This interpretation has been proposed e.g. for *Skiringssalr* in Norway and for *Uppsala* in Sweden. In the latter case the interpretation is certainly tempting but not without problems.

Besides these types of place-names, there are others which taken together often form a place-name environment that is typical for central places: on the one hand, theophoric and other pagan sacred place-names (see 3); on the other hand names with first elements that signify different kinds of warriors or soldiers: *rinkar*, *þægnar*, *svæinar*, *drængiar*, *karlar*.

One further piece of evidence of military organization and defence in Viking Age and medieval Scandinavia comes from the names of sites for beacons that existed around the Scandinavian coasts which were lit to warn against invaders. These place-names can be used to reconstruct extensive systems of beacons. The most common of such place-name elements, each with a specific regional distribution, are *böte*, *varðr* and *viti*.

3. Scandinavian pagan religion and place-names

Place-names are an important source of our knowledge about the Scandinavian pagan religion (Vikstrand 2001, 17ff.). There are a large number of pagan sacred place-names in Scandinavia, although uncertainty concerning the interpretation of individual names makes the delimitation of the name group difficult. The names are also hard to date more precisely, and in general one cannot say for certain if such a name is from the Viking Age or older.

A central category is the theophoric place-names, i.e. those having a denomination or name of a pagan god as their first element. The gods most often occurring in place-names are *Froyr*, *Froyia*, *Niærðr/Niorðr*, *Oðinn*, *Þorr* and *Ullr*. Recently (Elmevik 1997, 107ff.) it has been suggested that the name of the goddess *Froyia* does not exist at all as a first element in Scandinavian place-names, but this is clearly an untenable thesis. There is regional variation in the occurrence and frequency of the names of gods. *Froyr*, *Froyia* and *Niærðr/Niorðr* are more common in Sweden and Norway, but quite rare in Denmark. *Oðinn*, on the other hand, is more frequent in Denmark

and Sweden than in Norway. *Ullr* does not appear at all in place-names in Denmark, whereas *Tyr/Tir* occurs only there; *Ullinn* can only be found in Norway and *Frigg* probably only in *Friggeråker* (< *Friggiarakr*) in Sweden (differently but not convincingly interpreted by Elmevik 1995, 73ff.).

The words for 'pagan god' existing in place-names are *guð*, *tyr/tir* and probably also *as*, e.g. in several Scandinavian *Guðhæim* (formed from a homonymous appellative noun; cf. Kousgård Sørensen 1992, 233), *Tiveden* < *Tiviðr* and *Ásum* < *As(a)hæim*.

Second elements in pagan sacred place-names may to some extent tell us something about the place where the pagan cult existed. The only second element that we are certain always means 'cult site' is *vi/væ*, originally an adjective meaning 'holy' converted into a noun. It can be found both as a simplex, first and second element, e.g. *Oðinsvi*, *Frøyiuví*. Theophoric names with *-vi/-væ* as a second element exist in Denmark and are especially numerous in Sweden. *Harg* and *hof* (as a simplex or in compounds) certainly can also denote cult sites, e.g. *Porsharg*, *Ullinshof*, although the words in themselves do not always have that meaning. As a second element in theophoric compounded place-names, *-hof* occurs almost exclusively in Norway. Other second elements that probably can refer to constructed cult sites are *-al*, *-hille* and *-salr*, as in e.g. *Frøyiuval*, *Oðinshille* and *Oðinssalr*.

In addition, natural features designating second elements occur remarkably often together with theophoric first elements, from which follows the obvious conclusion that the words denote cultic sites in the open. To this group belong names in *-lund(a)* 'grove', *-eke* 'oak grove', *-vangr* 'field', *-akr* 'tilled field', e.g. *Frøslunda*, *Þorseke*, *Oðinsvangr*, *Friggiarakr*. We know from other sources and traditions that groves, especially oak groves, have been considered holy and the scene of cultic acts. It is probably true that in principle every pre-Christian place-name in *Lund-* or *-lund(a)* has a sacred reference, i.e. denotes a grove with a cultic function. How to understand the many theophoric place-names in *-akr* is an open question. The great number of names favours in itself an interpretation of the place as cultic sites.

Theophoric place-names with second elements designating other types of natural features such as *-as*, *-biærg*, *-næs*, *-sior*, *-viðr*, *-øy* can, of course, also have denoted cult sites, but they may perhaps rather have been holy

places, localities or areas which had been sanctified to a divinity.

Still another category consists of theophoric place-names with second elements denoting a field. This type is particularly common in Norway, where one can find such names in *-land*, *-set*, *-þveit* and *-vin*. In Sweden there is mainly a small group of names in *-riudh* > *-rydh* which belongs here. The background in terms of history of religion to this kind of place-name is obscure. Perhaps they refer to cultivated land that was sanctified to a god in the hope of a richer harvest?

Furthermore we can mention the theophoric place-names with a second element denoting a habitation or settlement (e.g. *Þorsstaðir*, *Frøyubolstaðir*), which offer even more problems of interpretation. Maybe they should be understood in analogy with *Guðhæim*, i.e. as habitations where the gods actually were believed to be present, or maybe instead as settlements sanctified to and under the protection of a divinity?

Finally we must mention the few, but clear cases of theophoric place-names with a second element denoting a district (e.g. *Frøyshærð*, *Frøystolpt*).

4. District names

Sweden and Denmark have, at least since the beginning of the Viking Age or just before that, been divided into administrative districts for jurisdiction and, at the earliest, probably also for military organization (Andersson 1965, 7ff.; Andersson 1982, 52ff.). For these districts the word *hærað* was used in Denmark and Götaland (southern Sweden). The term, which originally presumably meant 'power over an army', has existed all over Scandinavia in a more general sense as 'settlement district' (Swedish *bygd*, i.e. a group of settlements, normally in a geographically delimited area, forming a community), but in Denmark has developed the special meaning 'administrative district', a sense that later was spread to Götaland (southern Sweden). A corresponding subdivision into *hundare* has existed in the east of Svealand, in the old nucleus area of the *Svear* in eastern central Sweden around lake Mälaren. It was preceded by an earlier subdivision into *hund*, which can be deduced on the one hand from some original names of *hundare* preserved as names of *hundare*, such as *Haghund* and *Oppund*, and on the other hand from the names of the three lands in Uppland – *Attundaland*, *Fiæðrundaland* and *Tiundaland*

– meaning ‘the land consisting of eight, four and ten *hund* respectively’. *Hund* originally means ‘a hundred men’ and *hundare* ‘army of a hundred men’. The etymology of the words indicate that the *hund* division arose from the *ledhunger*, i. e. the naval military organization. The term *hundare* later replaced *hund*. In the year 1350, the word *hærað* was used as a term in the first national Swedish law and from then on thereby gradually displaced *hundare*.

Names of *hærað* as well as *hundare* can be classified by the way they are formed into primary names, i. e. such names that were originally formed as names of *hærað* or *hundare*, and secondary names, i. e. old names of settlement districts (Swedish *bygder*), which in turn came to be used as district names.

5. Place-names in the Viking colonies

The most predominant characteristic of the place-name inventory of Iceland generally speaking is the great number of names in *-staðir*, a place-name element which here, in contrast to the other Nordic countries, to a certain extent continued to be productive after the Viking Age in the formation of names of small farms. The meaning in Iceland is probably simply ‘farm’ (another opinion is presented by Sigmundsson 1990, 61 ff.). The elements *-bær*, *-bolstaðr*, *-bu*, *-bæli* and *-land* were also used to a minor extent for the formation of settlement names. Another typical trait of the old structure of settlement names in Iceland is the very large proportion of primary natural feature names used.

Primary natural feature names dominate the Faroese settlement names even more heavily. The most important of the other type of place-names are *-bøur* ‘farm; cultivated land’, *-garður* or *-gerði* ‘enclosure’ and *-toftir* ‘site of farm’ (Matras 1939, 53 ff.; Thorsteinsson 1996, 183 ff.). There is no established chronology for Faroese place-names, but it is likely that the elements mentioned above were productive during the Viking Age as well as the Middle Ages.

On Shetland, the Orkneys and the Hebrides, as in northernmost Scotland (Caithness), a relatively larger number of Scandinavian place-name elements have been used. Most frequent is *-bolstaðr*, but *-bær*, *-setr*, *-toft(ir)*, *-staðir* and *-þveit* can also be found.

The larger Scandinavian colonized areas in England (the Danelaw) and Normandy show interesting differences in their place-name inventories. Thus names in *-by* (often with a per-

sonal name as the first element) are very frequent in England, but seem to be entirely absent in Normandy. The element *-þorp*, which is very common in the east of the Danelaw, is quite rare in Normandy. On the other hand, *-toft* is particularly frequent in Normandy, but rather unusual in England. Place-names in *-þveit*, however, are to be found relatively generally in both areas. It is also noteworthy that Scandinavian place-names in *-staðir* are totally absent both in England and Normandy.

The variation in place-name structure that can be found in the different western colonized areas can partly be explained through heterogeneous conditions for settlement and cultivation in the colonies, partly because the colonizers emanated from different areas – Denmark and Norway – with partially different place-name inventories existing in both homelands.

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87. Sociolinguistic perspectives in the transitional period between Proto-Nordic and Old-Nordic

1. The emergence of the Old Nordic language
2. The societal context
3. The Old Nordic poetry – a special skaldic language?
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1. The emergence of the Old Nordic language

Already in the 6th century, according to some runic inscriptions, a Proto-Nordic (Sw. *urnordisk*) language was emerging from the Proto-Germanic (Haugen 1976, 150). This happened during a time which saw a lot of changes in Germanic language, with several new dialects beside Proto-Nordic, such as Old English etc. During the following centuries, in the so-called syncope period, several sound changes and innovations took place, especially the umlaut and the breaking, so that in the Viking period the Proto-Nordic was split up in an East- and a West-Scandinavian language. During the 8th century also the indigenous writing system, the runes, underwent a drastic change, with a reduction in the alphabet from 24 to 16.

This process, we can see from historical and archaeological evidence (Näsman 1991; Hines 1998, 291), was taking place at a time – ca. A.D. 600 to A.D. 800 – when we also had intensive contacts in the North Germanic area, which may seem rather odd. Normally these kinds of evolutions and developments have been explained within a strict linguistic

framework, as internal sound changes over time. Today it seems obvious that purely linguistic explanations cannot answer all questions. New sociolinguistic evidence has shown us that it is important also to establish firmly the linguistic evidence in a socio-historical context, to find arguments for changes and developments (Thelander 1979; Widmark 1994 a). The bottom line is that today it seems impossible to put up an isolation hypothesis as a background for these dialectal split-ups. Some other factors have been at work. Already in 1964 Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt argued that an important background for the splitting up of a language into dialects was the strife and desire to differ. Language is often used for social and territorial demarcation, something that Amund B. Larsen coined as *naboopposition*. Later William Labov (1972) gave us a classical and illustrative example of this phenomenon, with his study of the language in Martha's Vineyard in New York state, where dialectal or sociolectal variations in the language were used in a deliberate way by the inhabitants to demarcate against neighbours.

Important in this process is, however, also the role of the uppermost social stratum in society. There is during this period an emergence of a new social aristocracy and we find royal power within stable kingdoms. These changes are used as an explicatory background when John Hines (1994; 1998) is trying to explain the emergence of the English language. Instead of seeing the occurrence of an English language in a linear evolutionary context, he uses sociolinguistic theories. Language is used by individuals and groups for identification and for demarcation. Language varieties are created and spread by admired and coveted prototypes. In this context, the emer-

gence of languages may not be seen as a linear successive split up of proto-languages, such as Old Swedish, Old Norse and Old Danish < Old West Nordic and Old East Nordic < Proto-Nordic, but instead as a result of new socio-political situations, with new groupings (kingdoms) that are using the language for identificational purposes. In line with this one can see that there are evidences of a political cultivation of distinctive scripts and textual characteristics in this period, often out from a centralized scriptorium (Keynes 1980; Dumville 1993; Hines 1998, 293). Of course, also this written language may have an impact on the homogenization of a language and to put it in a direction to make it distinctive and as a tool for demarcation towards neighbours.

2. The societal context

During the transitional era between Proto-Nordic and Old Nordic time there has also been assumed a fundamental change in society, with an ideological change and a hierarchization in the upper social stratum. A new kind of aristocracy evolved (see e.g. Mortensen/Rasmussen (eds.) 1991; Herschend 1998). This process has been linked to a theory of a change in religion. According to Charlotte Fabech (1991; 1994) the cult in the pagan religion, in general terms, moved its focus from lakes and bogs into the chieftain's hall. The new aristocracy got hold of the cultic performance, with religious feasts and cultic activities, conducted in their halls. Thus the king's and chieftain's hall building becomes important (Evans 1997, 88ff.); it constituted the focus in the landscape of power during the Late Iron Age in Scandinavia (Lönnroth 1997; Meulengracht Sørensen ms), in the same way as the castle was for the feudal Middle Ages.

The importance of the hall in early Scandinavia has been known to scholars for a very long time. The first "historian" to focus on the hall was Snorri Sturluson, for example in his narrative of the grand hall in Gamla Uppsala, the *Uppsälir*, in Svithjod. But during the 19th and a large part of the 20th century, the artistocratic society was toned down very much, in the context of the view of an egalitarian Germanic peasant society, which was on the agenda in that time. Archaeology has revolutionized our knowledge in this field during the last decades. Suddenly we are starting to find grand hall buildings, not everywhere, but on the most prestigious sites in early society. In archaeological excavations we have

found a "king's" hall at Lejre, at Gudme, at Dankirke and at Gamla Uppsala, and probably chieftains', if not kings' halls, in Tissø on Zealand, Högom in Medelpad, Slöinge in Halland, Borg in Troms etc. (Herschend 1993; Brink 1996 b). These new findings, along with a new theoretical framework, in which a hierarchical society is much more pronounced and the egalitarian peasant society is toned down, has forced us to rewrite the social history of early Scandinavia. Society was obviously hierarchical, with several social layers, from the thralls at the bottom to the aristocracy and the royal families at the top.

3. The Old Nordic poetry – a special skaldic language?

In our few written sources that reflect this period, we can see that these chieftains could be called – or had around themselves some specialists called – *þulr*, *skáld*, *lytir*, *goði*, *vifill*, *erilar* etc. (cf. Sundqvist 1998). From the context or out from etymology we may assume that these were cult leaders or cultic specialists in some way in Late Iron Age society in Scandinavia. This observation linked with the evidence of the Eddaic and skaldic poetry makes it fairly obvious that poetry and the performance of these poems was a constituent and important part of life, at least for the nobility, during this period. And the social arena and geographical focus was the hall of the king or chieftain. Around the leaders assembled skalds. In Norway very often the skald was an Icelander, taking a seat at some king's or chieftain's hall (Clunies Ross 1999). This is in a way remarkable, since coming from an environment in Iceland with barely no courtly life, they in Norway and elsewhere became specialists of the courtly and elitist art of skaldic poetry.

The skald must have had a central position – at least "ideologically" – in early Scandinavia (cf. Bloomfield/Dunn 1992). The finest gift you could receive in the "gift-based" early Scandinavian society was a poem, a praise poem to the one sitting in the high seat or someone just deceased (such as *Eiríksmál*, *Hákonarmál*, *Höfuðlausn*, *Glymdrápa*, *Vellekla* etc.). Since all gifts were reciprocal, normally the king or chieftain paid back with a precious object, such as a gold ring, a *baugr*, or by offering the gift-bestower, the skald, to become a member of the hird and an advisor to the leader. A remarkable example of this

is the story of *Sigvatr skáld*, used both by Bjarne Fidjestøl (1975) and Margaret Clunies Ross (1999) for exemplifying the Icelandic skald at the Norwegian king's court. The Icelander Sigvatr lived in the first part of the 11th century and was active as a skald during the time of Canute the Great (*Knútr*) and Olafur Haraldsson, also known as Saint Olafur. Although the author of an *erfidrápa* over Canute the Great, Sigvatr was primarily Olaf's skald as well as his friend and *stallari*, i. e. a member of the king's *hirð*. In the time when Olafur was king, Canute laid claim to Norway, and sent agents into the country to bribe chieftains with gold to win them over to Canute's side. In this time, Sigvatr came home from a journey to Normandy and England, where he had spent time with Canute and the latter had tried to persuade him to stay as a skald with his *hirð* in England (*Vestrfaravísur*). Thus, Sigvatr was a guest and member in both *hirðs* of the two enemies Knútr and Olafur. This may indicate the role and status of a skald in Viking society.

In several cultures around the world the execution of power has been formalized and ritualized regarding the communication, or rather the way leaders spoke to their subordinates. For example in Madagascar, Maurice Bloch (1989, 19ff.) has demonstrated that such a ritual language, with a special syntax and intonation, was used. This formalized communication, called "speaking the words of the ancestors", appeared at political assemblies in Madagascar, for expressing power. Also in Polynesia, a for commoners unintelligible, archaic language was used for such occasions. It has been assumed that we may count on some kind of similar, archaic, poetic language, used by skalds in their handicraft and different to what commoners used in everyday communication (Jónsson 1901; Kristensen 1907; Ohlmarks 1944; Schneider 1962; Holtsmark 1970; Turville-Petre 1976; Fidjestøl 1982; Klingenberg 1984; Fidjestøl 1993; Smirnit-skaia 1994; Fidjestøl 1997; Liberman 1998; Gurevich 1998, Sundqvist ms), a language characterized by many obsolete and ancient words (Liberman 1998, 10ff.). This archaic language should be reflected in the Eddaic and skaldic poems, where the *heitis* and often unintelligible *kennings* were constitutional. Poetical words, archaic and charged with certain connotations, were used in halls throughout northern Europe, this due to the close contacts between the aristocracy in the Germanic area. This fact may explain the existence of precisely the word *hall*, *holl* in Eddaic and skaldic

poems, a word never reflected in old, genuine dialects in Scandinavia or in old place-names, and very seldom in written texts and documents. The most probable way to explain this rare occurrence is to assume that *hall* was a word used in the poetic language that did not find its way into the common language; the indigenous word for a "hall" was *salr*. Perhaps it is a "loan" in the poetic language from Anglo-Saxon or some other West-Germanic language (Brink 1996 b, 251 ff.; 1999, 21 ff.). There are other rare words found in the Edda as in Beowulf. In the same way we find the same or similar myths or motifs in Germanic poetry (Heusler 1941; Schneider 1962; Arent 1969; Liberman 1986; for a short but good historiography, see Ólason 1993; cf. Fjalldal 1998; however see Liberman 1999), basically reflecting a common aristocratic ideology and eschatology all over the area.

From these facts it is most likely that the poetry performed in the halls in the Germanic area during ca. A. D. 600–1000 was very much the same or at least similar. This goes well with the often stated fact that the Eddaic poems are to be seen in a wider Pan-Germanic context. It was in a later period that Scandinavian poetry introduced innovations, different from the rest of the Germanic language area (Noreen 1926, 143; Turville-Petre 1974). One has also to take into account the possibility that Scandinavian poetry saw great impact from Irish poetry, something that has been assumed by several scholars (Turville-Petre 1976; cf. Noreen 1926, 144ff.; Foote 1984, 239).

4. Travelling, trade and linguistic interactions

During the transitional period between Proto-Nordic and Old Nordic another important economic, political and societal phenomenon is introduced into Scandinavia, namely the town (preceded by the proto-town). In contrast to the older central places, the towns were primarily mercantile. The background to the north European towns was that the *emporia* functioning in the Roman realm more or less disappeared with the collapse of the Roman empire during the 5th century (Hodges 1989; Hodges/Hobley 1988). In the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries new towns emerged, such as Canterbury, London, Hamwich (predecessor to Southampton), York, Ipswich, Domburg, Dorestad, Quentovic, Wollin, Truso, Grobin.

In Latin these towns were called *vicus*, an element found in town-names such as *Hamwich*, *Ipswich*, *Quentovic* etc.

The first town we know of in Scandinavia seems to have been Ribe in Denmark, that recent archaeological excavations reveal was founded ca. A. D. 705 (Jensen 1991). On the south border of the Danish realm Hedeby was founded in the middle of the 8th century and was in function as an important port of trade to the end of the Viking Age (Clarke/Ambrosiani 1993, 60). Åhus, in northeastern Scania, is another old market place/town, that was established in the beginning of the 8th century (Callmer 1982). Kaupang in Vestfold, Norway must have been an important port of trade for Norway and may be dated to especially the 9th and 10th centuries (Blindheim et al. 1981). In Sweden we know of early Viking Age towns or market places in Köpingsvik on Öland, Paviken on Gotland, but the most well known is of course Birka in Lake Mälaren. The town was in function similar to Kaupang, from ca. 800 to ca. 1000 (Clarke/Ambrosiani 1993, 71). When Birka is abandoned, its role is obviously taken over by Sigtuna (Tesch 1992).

These early towns functioned as a kind of cultural melting pots, where people from many places met and lived. In Sigtuna, for example, we know from runic evidence of Frisian inhabitants in the town. Dorestad surely must have played some role in introducing the Frisian customs and language into the Scandinavian culture and language. It has been argued that many Frisian and West Germanic words, such as navigational terms as *kugg*, *kogg* ‘cargo ship’, OSw. *ankare*, OWN *akkeri* ‘anchor’, OWN *bákn* ‘beacon’, trading terms as OSw. *klæpe*, OWN *klæði* ‘cloth’, OSw. *mantel*, OWN *mottull* ‘mantle’ etc., came into the Scandinavian language with Dorestad as the channel (Wadstein 1920; 1929; 1933; Haugen 1976, 164). The most cosmopolitan place in Scandinavia has been considered to be Hedeby, and this is probably correct. A marked Swedish element during the Viking Age has been noticed and discussed, out from archaeological, runic and toponymic evidences (Jacobsen 1929; Askeberg 1944; Lund 1982; Moltke 1985). Bengt Hesselman (1936) argued that these linguistic “melting pots”, such as Hedeby and Birka, created innovations that got access into the language. During the Viking Age therefore in Sweden, along the Baltic, a language he called Birka-Swedish (*birkasvenska*) was spoken. The inno-

vations that constituted this “new” language should have been minted or formed in Hedeby, that was Hesselman’s idea, under a perhaps reciprocal impact from Frisian. Seldom scholars have commented on this hypothesis by Hesselman, but recently Gun Widmark (1994 b) picked up the thread and gave further arguments for a possible existence of a “Hedeby-Nordic” (*hedebynordiska*), a term she prefers (p. 198). This language, or rather certain characteristics in this language, may easily have spread to other towns, such as Birka and Kaupang. The characteristic traces to discuss are, according to Widmark: *e > je/jä*, *au > o*, *w*-breaking, metathesis of *wr*, loss of *h*- etc. Again she uses a sociolinguistic argument for understanding the spread of this innovation, namely that the Hedeby-Nordic was a prestigious dialect or sociolect.

Since Widmark (1994 b) stresses trade as an overall important factor during the Viking Age, it more or less becomes natural for her to argue for the old idea that the word *Viking* should be seen in context with Lat. *vicus*, OSx. *wik*, OE *wic*, and hence a *vikigr* would mean someone who visits the ports of trade, the *vici*. This is in line with the recent trend in stressing the point that the Vikings were not so much pirates and warriors as peaceful merchants (Sawyer 1978). The discussion of the etymology of this problematic word will probably go on (for a good summary of hypotheses, see Askeberg 1944, 114ff.; for recent contributions, see e.g. Hellberg 1980; Daggfeldt 1983; Hødnebo 1987; Holm 1988 a; 1988 b; 1992; Widmark 1994 b, 205ff.), but seeing the word in context with Lat. *vicus* is probably the most acceptable interpretation at our present state of knowledge. However, the playing down of the Vikings’ conduct abroad as not fierce and horrifying, with manslaughter, raping and stealing on the agenda, but instead as peaceful tradesmen must not be overexaggerated – unfortunately.

5. The linguistic impact of the new Christian culture

The age of the Vikings and the transitional period in the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th centuries is also a period of language contacts and blending. When Christendom began sipping into Scandinavia and somewhat later, when the Continental and Insular Church were starting to penetrate and organize in Scandinavia, the Nordic lexicon received a large bulk

of new words concerning the Christian religious life and church, especially from England, such as *kyrka* 'church', *kristendom* 'Christendom', *ärkebiskop* 'archbishop', *munk* 'monk', all of AS origins (Taranger 1890; Jørgensen 1908; Thors 1957), but also other new words were imported via OE: *hirð* f. 'court' (< OE *hîrêd*), *stallari* m. 'king's marshal' (< OE *steallere*), *mynt* f. 'money' (< OE *mynet* < Lat. *moneta*), *penningr* m. 'money', 'penny' (< OE *penning*) etc. (Haugen 1976, 164). The Christianization was an elongated process that stretched over several centuries and that was part of a grand Europeanization of Scandinavia, with several new phenomena beside the new religion, such as towns, coins in a monetary society, a "state formation" into kingdoms, a new agrarian system, followed by the organization of the church, the introduction of a new written language, a Continental judicial system, a taxation etc. The religious change, in context with all these other changes, has been studied in a recent project, summarized in Nilsson 1996.

6. The imprints of the Danes in the Danelaw and Norsemen in Ireland

On the other hand we had an opposite direction in the Danelaw, where many words of Scandinavian origin found their way into the English language, such as *law* (< *lagh*), *wapentake* (< *vápntak*), *both* (< ODan. *bathæ*), *window* (< ODan. *windughæ*) (Geipel 1971; Page 1971; Kisbye 1988). A central judicial as well as ecclesiastical word was ON *sókn*, OE *sôcn*, with different meanings in both time and place. It is very difficult to establish if the word ON *sókn* 'parish' is a loan from AS or the other way around (see Brink 1990, 68ff.; 1991; 1998). The most notable effect of this contact were however the numerous Scandinavian place-names in the British Isles, mostly found in the Danelaw, parts of Scotland and on the isles (Fellows-Jensen 1972; 1975; 1978; 1985; Sandred 1979; Crawford 1995). An excellent discussion on the language contact problem between Nordic and Anglo-Saxon is Barnes 1993.

Another contact was between Irish and Scandinavians. Also here some Scandinavian words were borrowed into Irish, such as *erell*, *iarla* < *jarl* 'earl', *bád* < *bátr* 'boat', *laideng* < *leiðangr* 'naval force', *traill* < *þræll* 'slave' (Craigie 1894; Marstrand 1915; O'Corráin 1997, 103ff.). The other way around borrow-

ings are somewhat more seldom but occur (Sigurðsson 1988); however, some personal names found their way into Scandinavia, the most famous is perhaps *Njáll*. An interesting phenomenon in this language contact is borrowing of not words into the lexicon, but names into the onomasticon. Such an example is the place-name *Dimun*, found in the North Atlantic, in the Faroes, Iceland and even in Greenland. It is believed that the background for these names is some well known Irish/Gaelic place-name, a compound of Ir. *di* 'two' and *muinn* 'top', 'neck', that has served as a kind of prototype. In Scandinavia *Dimun* has become an eponymized littoral toponym, used for islands or mountains with two peaks (Brink 1996 a, 67f.). The etymology of the lexical elements has most certainly been obscure, *di* and *muinn* never found their way into the lexicon, but the name *Dimun* 'a land feature with two peaks' found its way into the onomasticon in western Scandinavia. Finally it has been proposed that the verse metre *dróttkvætt* is a loan from Irish poetry (Turville-Petre 1954; 1976; Árnason 1981; cf. von Sydow 1920; Foote 1984, 239; 249; 299f.). In this context it is also interesting that Irish language had impact on Old Norse poetry, which is well stated in Rígsþula (Young 1933).

7. Linguistic exchange due to Viking expansion to the east

Hitherto we have dealt with Scandinavians in contact in the west, but a similar contact and exchange was taking place in the east. Especially Fredrik Tamm has discussed Scandinavian loanwords in Slavic, such as *buda* < *bodh* 'simple house', 'cott', *jakor* 'anchor', *saida* 'haddock', *stod* 'idol, god', *snekkja* 'a kind of ship' (Tamm 1882; see also Thörnqvist 1948; Forssman 1967). A reverse borrowing took also place, with Slavic loanwords in Scandinavian, such as *bulvan* 'decoy', *torg* 'market square', *piska* 'whip', *steglitsa* 'goldfinch', *tolk* 'interpreter' (Tamm 1881). However, the most famous Scandinavian word or element in Slavic must be *rus*, that already early was assumed to be derived from the people coming from *Roslagen* in central eastern Sweden, first presented by V. Thomsen (1877) and elaborated by R. Ekblom (1915) and Stender-Petersen (1954). The origin of the word *rus* has been debated intensively, sometimes with political overtones, and is still under vivid discussion. Today Thomsens hypo-

thesis seems to have got a broad acceptance (e.g. Ekbo 1958; 1981; Falk 1981; Lågreid 1984; Melnikova/Petrukhin 1991; Holm 1993; cf. Franklin/Shepard 1996), even in Russia, in the aftermath of the communist era (see Melnikova/Petrukhin 1991; Melnikova 1996 for references), but there are still new interpretations popping up (e.g. Söderlind 1978; 1984; however see Ekbo 1981, 144; Thulin 1981, 175).

There are many aspects of the transition in language and society during the dramatic centuries ca. 600–1000, some are focused upon above. An excellent, however slightly outdated, overview regarding historical as well as philological problems, is Askeberg (1944). Normally the Viking period has been highlighted, for obvious reasons, and here the literature is huge. A recent work to recommend is Sawyer 1997. Many aspects are also covered in Nilsson 1996, with extensive references.

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88. Language contact in the period between Ancient Nordic and Old Nordic

1. Introductory remarks
2. Zones of language contact
3. Conclusion
4. Literature (a selection)

1. Introductory remarks

While much research has been devoted to language contact during Old Nordic and later Nordic times, the investigation of earlier periods barely illuminates the situation in the Dark Ages. This might be due both to the scarcity of sources and to methodological problems. Among the existing standard works, mention should first of all be made of Fischer's (1909) and Höfler's (1931–32) studies, which investigated the entire stock of loanwords in ON. In addition, Marius Kristensen's *Fremmedordene i det ældste danske skriftsprog* of 1906 investigated loanwords in the oldest Danish documents.

The perspective of this survey is a pre-ON one, where early language contact will be described from a Scandinavian point of view (on foreign language interference in early ON, see arts. 115f.). At present, research methodology

still rests mainly on loanword studies. Although this focus on lexical items might be a good starting point, it remains extremely one-dimensional (cf. art. 24). More central are interrelations between the structures of languages: their lexical, phonological, morphological and notably their syntactic components (on the theoretical aspects of language contact, cf. Bechert/Wildgen 1991). However, this will have to be worked on by a later generation of scholars. The present outline confines itself to the presentation of existing research work.

In keeping with the aim of this article, the material, which is far too varied and extensive to be presented here in detail, can be examined fully in the literature; hence the abundant references to be found in the bibliography (see 4.). For the basic distinction between language contact and dialect contact, see art. 24.

2. Zones of language contact

The Nordic sphere of influence was much more extensive in the past than it is now. During the Viking Age, the Scandinavian in-

vaders, traders and settlers had reached many parts of Europe. About 1000 A.D., the extent of the Nordic language area reached its maximum: it included Greenland in the north-west, Normandy in the south-west, Russia in the east, and Slesvig in the south.

The following historical core zones for Nordic contact need to be mentioned. In the west were the Celtic and the Insular Germanic (Anglo-Saxon) domains, while in the south there was the Continental West Germanic area; Normandy will be discussed separately. In the north of Scandinavia was the Sami population (Lapps), and to the east lay the spheres of the Finno-Ugric and Slavic languages. The following discussion focuses on contact from a linguistic perspective (on the sociolinguistic aspects, see art. 78).

2.1. North and West Germanic in the British Isles

The zone with the most intense contact between North Germanic and the West Germanic languages was in the British Isles. In June 793, the monastery of Lindisfarne was plundered by northern Vikings. This is generally said to be the beginning of the Viking raids. The Viking incursions from the 9th until the 11th centuries led to intense contact. The Nordic settlement in England, the so-called *Danelag* (Danelaw), provided a basis for highly fruitful and frequent contact between the Danes (as the main representatives of Scandinavia) and the Anglo-Saxons. This historical situation gave rise to bilingualism. Not only did this interaction have a strong impact on the two language groups in question, but it also led to the integration of their cultures and literature.

In a systematic philological study, Hofmann (1955) investigated the Nordic-English loans from the Viking Age. One of his conclusions was that Nordic poets living in the *Danelag* were strongly influenced by the Anglo-Saxons in various ways. For instance, the famous *Hofuðlausn* and the *Eiríksmál* by Egill Skallagrímsson apparently show Anglo-Saxon influence (Hofmann 1955, 50f.). Even the first Eddaic poem *Vǫluspá* and the lays of Helgi (*Helgakviða Hundingsbana I*, *Helgakviða Hjörvarzsonar*, *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II*) are believed by some scholars to show Anglo-Saxon influence and to have been composed in the British Isles during the Viking Age (cf. Kuhn 1943, 58f.; Hofmann 1955, 114ff.).

Going further back in history, the precursors to English speakers – the Anglo-Saxon tribes and the Jutish people – immigrated into England from the south and the south-west. Their original homelands were the German and the Danish coastlines of the North Sea region. These Anglo-Saxon immigrants gradually drove back the British (Celtic) people, or forced their assimilation. As archeological evidence indicates, settlers from southern and western Norway moved to the English east coast as early as the beginning of the last quarter of the 5th c. (cf. Hines 1990, 29). These early Scandinavian migrants had already initiated North Germanic-Anglian contact in the 6th c. throughout the area which Bede referred to as Anglian England. This intensive contact, which continued for centuries and culminated in the *Danelag*, explains parallel developments between early Anglian English and Scandinavian. Linguistic parallels pertain to the lexicon as well as to the morphological and phonological systems.

In his comparative study *Old English and the Continental Germanic Languages*, Nielsen (1985, 252) takes a fairly critical stance towards this view and denies “a special relationship between Angl[ian] and N[orth] G[ermanic]”. This is particularly exemplified with regard to the apparently similar processes of Old English back mutation and Nordic breaking (Nielsen 1985, 239–243). However, following Hines (1990, 29), the existence of “common or similar suprasegmental or sub-phonemic aspects” such as stress features and the rise of new allophonic patterns has to be emphasized. With regard to *i*-mutation (fronting), it can even be shown that the phonological process in Anglian occurred simultaneously with that in North Germanic in the early 500s. These parallel (though separate) developments could have reinforced each other during close on-going contact (cf. art. 24).

In the 6th c., the linguistic situation in the British Isles was indicative of a dialect continuum in the process of differentiation. For example, the runic inscriptions of Scandinavia and Anglia, first and foremost the bracteates, already exhibited significant linguistic divergence at that time. Hines (1990, 31) views the establishment of a single language system in Britain as a normative process which entailed the loss of differences between the northern and western ends of a postulated North-West Germanic continuum – North Germanic becoming characterized by stasis, and West Germanic by innovation.

The history of place-names in the British Isles points to different historical layers, including Scandinavian and Celtic ones. Basic research in the field of English place-names was done by the Swede Eilert Ekwall (e.g. 1924). With regard to the Isle of Man, Marstrander (1932, 338) mentioned four strata:

a prehistoric stratum, as it seems of no great importance, a Celtic stratum, beginning with the rise of the Irish church, a Norwegian stratum which sets in with the early 9th century, to a great extent overlapping but never entirely supplanting the Gaelic, and finally an English stratum, which, however, does not seriously assert itself before the days of the Stanleys in the 15th century.

As to the provenance of this Scandinavian language, Marstrander is convinced “that the Norse material on Man, just as that in Ireland, points to a south-western Norwegian idiom closely akin to the Norwegian dialects of Agder, Jæren, the Faroe Islands and the isles north and west of Scotland” (ibid., 340).

It is worth noting that the Nordic (Norwegian) language in Caithness, the Hebrides and the Isle of Man was ousted by Gaelic in the 15th and 16th centuries, respectively. In the Orkneys and Shetlands, where the Nordic language was known as *Norn* (< ON *norróna*), it survived even longer (cf. art. 126).

2.2. North Germanic in Normandy

In Normandy, the Vikings were probably assimilated swiftly. *Rollo*, the leader of the Normans (i.e. the Vikings in France), successfully invaded Normandy – the geographical name being linked to the Normans. *Rollo*, baptized as *Robert*, was supposed to be a Dane. The Vikings went further south to Brittany and to Spain, but these excursions did not result in new settlements.

Nordic loanwords in French are very infrequent. As well as other seafaring terms, the ON term *biti* ‘cross-plank in a boat’ was transferred into Fr. as *bitte*, and into Russ. as *bet*. The Scand. legal term *lagu* (either n.pl. or f.sg.) was borrowed as Celtic *lagh*, Old Norman *lage* and E *law*. ON *rannsaka* ‘search, investigate’ appeared as Celtic *rannsachadh*, Norman (Fr.) *rannsaquer* and E *ransack*. Place-names were also taken over from Scandinavian (cf. Hansen 1999). An example is the frequent village designation *La Houlgate* in Normandy, originally meaning ‘narrow pass’ (G *Hohlgasse*) and appearing in different shapes. A frequent

place-name element is Norman (Fr.) *-tot* from ON *-topt* (Norw. *toft*, *tomt*). The name of the community *Biéville-Quétiéville* involves a *dvandva* compound containing the personal name *Ketill* as the second element. Nordic-Norman contact is also evident in personal names such as *Turstin* (ON *Porsteinn*). However, these Nordic forms left few traces in Norman nomenclature, since they were quickly displaced by Franconian names.

2.3. North and Continental West Germanic

Contact between North Germanic and the Continental Germanic languages has been proven in later times, with Low German as an important intermediary (cf. art. 24). Another central influence was the early relationship between the Frisians and the Scandinavians which started in the 8th or 9th c. *Birka*, the name of the oldest commercial town in Sweden (having been visited by the missionary Ansgar around 829), is believed to be of Frisian origin. On the place-name *Birka* and the stock of Frisian loanwords in Nordic, see Wadstein (1922). Other early trading centres in Scandinavia functioning as major contact zones were *Haithabu* and *Helgö*.

The German influence on the Nordic languages (excluding Icelandic and Faroese) has been enormous. It began long before the Germans made their way northwards to the Baltic Sea. In the 12th c., they ruled over the entire southern coastline of the Baltic Sea (cf. art. 115). But already in the period between 825 and 1100 A.D., the Germans – besides the Frisian and Anglo-Saxon peoples – played an eminent role in the Christianization of Danes, Norwegians and Swedes. Admittedly, the details of this conversion are unknown to us, and pinpointing the origin of the oldest loanwords of church terminology in Eastern Scandinavian is a difficult task. On the other hand, loanwords in Western Scandinavian in general are linked to Old English/Anglian (cf. 2.1.).

In earlier times, that is in Ancient Nordic, contact between Scandinavian and Continental Germanic (West Germanic) is difficult to prove. In this sphere of contact, the question of name loans (i.e. of personal names) is central and has been debated for decades. It has long been observed that personal names in the runic inscriptions of Scandinavia correspond to a high degree with the West Germanic inventory of names. But the crucial question remains whether these parallels are mainly due to a common heritage, a North-West Ger-

manic nomenclature, or due to massive loans from the Continent.

Von Friesen (1924) argued in favour of extensive North Germanic name-borrowing from the south:

En fullt tillräcklig förklaringsgrund är kulturblandningen utefter en livligt trafikerad handelsväg. Helt naturligt är att herulerna som förmedlare av den livliga transitohandeln mellan Rhen och Östersjön trädde i synnerligen nära förbindelser, även äktenskapliga, med sina affärsvänner väster om Sønderjylland. Också är det rimligt att västgermaner tagit direkt del i handeln inom Norden och bosatt sig här. Bågge omständigheterna ha medfört att västgermanska namn blevo kända och använda här först och främst i handelskretsar. [A fully valid explanation is to be seen in the cultural blend that one finds along a frequented trade route. It is quite natural that the Herulians as middlemen participating in the lively transit trade between the Rhine and the Baltic Sea had especially close contacts, even to the extent of intermarrying, with their business friends west of South Jutland. It is also plausible that West Germanic people took a direct part in the trade in Scandinavia and settled there. Both circumstances led to West Germanic names becoming known and being used there, first and foremost amongst the traders; von Friesen 1924, 114f.]; my transl.

In recent times, Insley (1991) followed this line of reasoning in researching the relationship between Old English and Older Runic personal names. Although this debate might not be over, Peterson's article *On the relationship between Proto-Scandinavian and Continental Germanic personal names* (1994) marks a turning point. Taking a critical stance on von Friesen's view, she argued against the possibility of extensive name loans. In addition, Peterson stressed the point "that personal names hold an exceptional position in the vocabulary of a language. ... We have to accept that the chosen subject of study is not a very suitable one for establishing the true nature of the relationship between Scandinavia and the Continent during the Migrations" (Peterson 1994, 159).

2.4. Nordic contact with the Celtic languages

As a starting point, it can safely be stated that "the Germano-Celtic vocabulary [indicates] a close cultural contact throughout a considerable period of time" (Lane 1933, 263). This contact pre-dates all our sources (including

early AN ones), since it is supposed to have ended approximately in the middle or the second half of the first millennium B.C. With regard to the AN period, the time of the older runic inscriptions (ca. 150–600 A.D.), direct language contact between Celts and Scandinavians is apparently not traceable. By consensus, the earliest contact between Celts and Scandinavians is assumed to have been around 600 A.D.

Around the year 840, the Vikings had subdued nearly the whole of Ireland and had made a marked impact on the Irish language. In the Irish sources, the Scandinavian invaders were identified as Danes (*Danair*) and as Norwegians – the geographical designations *Hiruaith* and *Lochlann* probably refer to the Norwegian districts of *Hordaland* (ON *Hǫrðar*) and *Rogaland*. A classic work on this is Marstrander's *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland*, which appeared as early as 1915. This research, which is based on the lexicon (including place-names and personal names), is mainly concerned with phonological questions. As mentioned in 2.1., Marstrander identified the Nordic language of Ireland with south-western Norwegian dialects (especially from Agder and Jæren) and the language of the Faeroe Islands and the Scottish Isles (the Hebrides and the Orkneys). Celtic languages other than Irish (Goidelic) might also have been influenced by the Vikings' language. Thus the question of ON loanwords in Cymric is dealt with by Schulze-Thulin (1993).

Another fairly recent study by Sigurðsson (1988) is devoted to the *Gaelic influence in Iceland*, and provides copious bibliographical references. As is well known, the Norwegian settlers of 7th and 8th c. Iceland met up with a population of Celtic inhabitants who had sailed for Iceland earlier. The Sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendinga sögur*) contain names of Celtic origin such as *Njáll* (OIr. *Niall*), *Kjartan* (OIr. *Cerd(d)án*) and *Melkorka* (OIr. *Mael-Curcaigh*). The famous *Laxdæla saga*, for instance, provides its main figure *Kjartan* with royal Irish kin. An example of literary interrelations between Nordic, Anglo-Saxon and Irish is provided by the half-skaldic *Darraðarljóð* (cf. Hofmann 1955, 112ff.). This poem, which is included in *Njáls saga*, probably refers to the battle at Clontarf in Ireland in 1014. Undoubtedly, there are Irish motifs and topoi in *Darraðarljóð*. This is particularly obvious in connection with the opaque term *vefr darraðar* 'web of *Dǫrruðr*', which also occurs in Egill's *Hofuðlausn* (cf. 2.1.).

2.5. North Germanic-Finnish contact

Within Finno-Ugric research, numerous works deal with loanwords in the Finnish language. A presentation of research to date is provided by Kylstra (1961) and Hofstra (1985), where the latter work complements the former; cf. furthermore Koivulehto's article on the Finnish language and its contacts in Reall. (s.v. *Finnland*; cf. also arts. 24 and 67). Since Thomsen wrote *Den gotiske sprogklassens indflydelse på den finske* in 1869, methods in this field of research have been considerably refined. A central problem concerns strata of Germanic (and Nordic) on which the Finnish loanwords are based. Of special interest is the age of the oldest Germanic loanwords in Finnish and Lappish (e.g. Wiklund 1917–29; Sköld 1979; Ritter 1993). Typical for the presyncope period (PGmc and early AN) are loanwords such as Finn. *kaltio* (ON *kelda*) 'spring, fountain', Finn. *kulta* (ON *gull*) 'gold', or Finn. *juhla* (also *joulu*) 'festival' (ON *jól*, OSw. *jul* 'Christmas'). Many of these lexical borrowings can be traced back to AN or even to PGmc on linguistic grounds. The main criterion is that linguistic developments such as the transition of $/\bar{e}^1/$ (\bar{a}) $>$ $/\bar{a}/$, or $/ai/ > /ā/$ (before *h*) have already taken place. Hence it is argued that loanwords predate certain sound changes and therefore refer to the AN period or even further back.

In this context the works of Koivulehto are pioneering, if not epoch-making. Koivulehto distinguishes between different layers of loanwords, especially on the basis of consonantal criteria. An old stratum of loanwords is provided by the so-called *ts*-layer, where the sequence of dental (*d*, *d*, *b*, *t*) plus semivowel (*i*) is supposed to develop through $/\acute{c}\acute{c}/$ and $/cc/$ to Finn. $/ts/$ (Koivulehto 1986; Hofstra 1985, 418f.). The sound change in question can be illustrated as follows: Finn. *katsoa* (stem *katso-*) 'guard, tend (cattle)' $<$ early PF $*ka\acute{c}\acute{c}V-$ \leftarrow AN $*g\bar{a}t(i)ja-$ (PGmc $*g\bar{e}t(i)ja-$) $>$ ON *gáeta*, OFris. *gēta*, also *gāta* (Koivulehto 1986, 268–272; Schulte 2001b). Note that Finn. *katsoa* presumably falls into the early AN period, since its root vowel is based on AN $/\bar{a}/ <$ Gmc $*\bar{e}^1/$. On the other hand, Finn. *miekka* 'sword' does not do so, coming either from a pre-AN source, or an EGmc one (Gmc $*m\bar{e}kijaz$, or Go. *mēkeis* respectively). Therefore, Finn. *miekka* is not a candidate for the AN stratum. On the runic evidence for the shift $/\bar{e}^1/ > /\bar{a}/$, cf. the attested forms on the Thorsberg chape *waje-mariz* ($<$ Gmc $*waja-$

mēriz), and the Vimose chape *makija* ($<$ Gmc $*m\bar{e}kija-$ acc.sg.). Incidentally, Gmc $*m\bar{e}kijaz$ (AN $*m\bar{a}kijaz$) is supposed to be a migratory term, a "mot voyageur" of Indo-Iranian origin (see art. 75).

To sum up, early AN (and PGmc) loanwords can be traced in Finnish. Linguistic evidence includes the establishment of a *terminus ante quem* (signalled by the retention of medial and final vowels, the lack of Nordic breaking $e > ja, j\acute{o}$ etc.) and a *terminus post quem* (signalled by the transition $/\bar{e}^1/ > /\bar{a}/$ etc.). However, it has to be noted that the lowering of Gmc $/u/ > /o/$ and the raising of Gmc $/e/ > /i/$ occur only sporadically in Finnish loanwords; cf. Finn. *porras* 'path, staircase' as opposed to Estonian *purre(s)* 'path'; also Carelian *ruohtina* (in *sündü-ruohtina* 'Saviour') as opposed to Finn. *ruhtinas* 'sovereign' \leftarrow Gmc $*druhtinaz$ (ON *dróttinn*). As to the runic inscriptions, *a*-umlaut of $/u/ > /o/$ is attested in the Gallehus forms *horna* and *holtijaz* from the early 400s. Leaving these vertical umlauts aside, we conclude on the basis of examples such as Finn. *katsoa* that it is possible to uncover a specific stratum of AN loanwords in Finnish. But in general, it is hard to determine how far back in time these loans go. Borrowings probably continued later on, taking new shapes due to Nordic sound changes and dialectal differentiation. Incidentally, Finn. *juhla* 'festival' (dialectally also meaning 'Christmas') is borrowed from the same Germanic-Nordic source as Finn. *joulu*; however, they belong to different strata of loanwords.

2.6. North Germanic-Sami contact

From early on, Scandinavia has represented a contact zone between the Nordic and the Sami (Lappish) languages, and several studies have been devoted to the contact and interaction between them. Scholars have paid due attention to the old contact between AN and Lappish (e.g. Wiklund 1892; Qvigstad 1893; Sköld 1961). Attempts have been made to pinpoint the exact area where this contact occurred; it would seem that the coastal region of northern Norway is of primary importance (cf. Sköld 1961, 38f.; Jahr 1997, 942ff.). On linguistic grounds, it has been maintained "that the forebears of the Lapps and the Scandinavians met in Northern Norway about the time of the birth of Christ, and it is possible that the Lapps were there when the Scandinavians arrived" (Sköld 1979, 111). Basic histori-

cal research on the extent of the Lappish regions carried out by Collinder (1953, 12) points to a large district including not only northern Norway, but also huge parts of northern Sweden and Finland. Obviously the domain of the Lapps has diminished since AN times, and the historical situation must have been more complex than Collinder suggested (cf. Larsson 1992, 98 ff.).

As the Sami language is less conservative than Finnish, studying Nordic-Germanic loanwords in this language is a difficult task. Furthermore, some Sami loanwords were borrowed through Finnish. Modern research in this field has been carried out, among others, by Koivulehto (1992); a classical study is Qvigstad (1893). It has been roughly estimated that more than 3,000 loanwords from Nordic have entered the Sami dialects of northern Scandinavia. As in Finnish, different layers of loanwords can be discerned on linguistic grounds (cf. Sköld 1979, 106). The oldest strata can be traced back to early AN or even further.

The following list, which is based on Ureland (1987, 58), gives a glimpse of different lexical domains of borrowing into the Sami language (different dialects are not marked):

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| (1) <i>Sailing</i> | Lp <i>pârte</i> 'upper plank of a boat' (ON <i>borð</i>)
Lp <i>kielas</i> 'keel' (AN * <i>keluz</i>) |
| (2) <i>Sea</i> | Lp <i>áhpe</i> 'sea' (ON <i>haf</i> < IE * <i>kapo-</i>)
Lp <i>viertas, fierta</i> 'fjord' (AN * <i>ferðúz</i>) |
| (3) <i>Agriculture</i> | Lp <i>gussa</i> 'cow' (ON <i>kussa</i>)
Lp <i>mielhke</i> 'milk' (ON <i>mjolk</i> < AN * <i>meluk-</i>) |
| (4) <i>Fishing</i> | Lp <i>társke</i> 'cod' (Finn. <i>turska</i> ← AN * <i>þurska-</i>)
Lp <i>fáles</i> 'whale' (ON <i>hvalr</i> < AN * <i>hwalaz</i>) |
| (5) <i>Reindeer</i> | Lp <i>ráito</i> 'string of pack reindeer' (ON <i>reið</i>)
Lp <i>támes</i> 'tame' (ON <i>tamr</i> < AN * <i>tamaz</i>) |

From a linguistic point of view, these loanwords must be old. Most of them belong to the pre-syncope period, and they often pre-date Nordic sound changes such as breaking (*e* > *ja*, *jǫ*, e.g. ON *kjǫlr*, *fjǫrðr*), rhotacism (*-s#* > *-z#* > *-R#* (> *-r#*), and EN monophthongization (cf. arts. 100 ff.).

2.7. North Germanic-Slavic contact

The Vikings left many traces in eastern Europe from the 8th to the mid-eleventh century (cf. art. 68). There are, for instance, Nordic narratives in Russia: the so-called *Nestor Chronicle* contains a stock of legendary events from the Varangians (cf. Hofmann 1955, 271 f.). However, the main sources of evidence are Skaldic verses and the runic inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries. Melnikova emphasizes the importance of the runic inscriptions as sources of north-eastern relations and divides them into two groups:

The first comprises inscriptions on the Viking Age memorial stones in Scandinavian countries which mention voyages to the east, i.e. the eastern Baltic region, Rus', Byzantium. The second group consists of inscriptions on diverse objects found mostly during archaeological excavations in different places of eastern Europe. These objects were brought from the north or produced on the spot by Scandinavians who traded, settled, or served as mercenaries in Rus' (Melnikova 1998, 648).

In the runic inscriptions, about 20 place- and ethnic names of eastern Europe are found, a very frequent term being *austrvegr* 'eastern route'. Names of eastern Baltic peoples and the corresponding country names such as *Eisttir*, *Eystland*, *Finnir*, *Fin(n)land*, and *Tafeistaland* occur. The prominent term for Ancient Rus' in ON is *Garðariki*. Interestingly, the compounds ending in *-garðr* typically occur in eastern Europe, marking the major routes to *Byzantium* (= *Garðariki*): *Novgorod/Holmgarðr* – *Kiev/Kænugarðr* – *Constantinople/Mikligarðr* (Melnikova 1998, 653). The runic inscriptions found in eastern Europe also stress the linguistic and cultural contact between Scandinavians and the local population. Intense contact existed between the North-East and Gotland, the Mälaren region and probably also Östergötland.

On the whole, runic inscriptions document extensive interaction between Scandinavians and Slavic people in the east. Historically, it seems appropriate to reckon with a general process of Nordic assimilation. However, some isolated communities with a Scandinavian cultural background might have coexisted with the local cultural traditions for centuries (cf. Melnikova 1998, 658 f.). On a linguistic evaluation of the Vikings' contacts with the East, see art. 67.

3. Conclusion

As has been shown, the study of early Nordic language and dialect contacts is a vastly complex topic. Different phases and zones of contact existed. On the whole, continuous contact in the north and in the east are more easily discerned than in the south and in the west. This is at least partially due to the fact that the contacting idioms in the north-east belonged to different (i.e. outer-Germanic) groups. Therefore it is clear why research on Germanic-Finnish (Finno-Ugric) interrelations is so fruitful, while inner-Germanic studies are not. Language and dialect contact within Germanic is far more difficult to interpret. This is most strikingly shown by the ongoing controversy on name loans between North and West Germanic, where a critical attitude in the wake of Peterson (1994) might be appropriate (see 2.3.). The same is true, at least partially, for Celtic-Germanic relations. On the basis of lexical evidence given by Lane (1933) and others, it is argued that close cultural contact existed for centuries during Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Germanic times (until around 500 B.C. or even later). Hence, linguistic correspondences used as direct evidence for language contact in literary times must be evaluated carefully.

The earliest discernible contact with Germanic outside the Indo-European sphere was within the Finno-Ugric domain. This contact seemed to continue through the ages; it extended over different language periods from early Proto-Germanic via Ancient Nordic down to Old Nordic, Old Swedish and Old Gutnish (cf. Sköld 1979, 110). However, the delimitation of an AN stratum of loanwords in Finno-Ugric remains a problem, since the borderline between Ancient Nordic and Proto-Germanic is difficult to draw. For instance, the above-mentioned change of /ē¹/ > /ā/ which is attested in early Ancient Nordic (e.g. in the shapes of Old Runic **wajemariz** and **makija**), might be traced further back (see 2.5.).

It has reasonably been argued that the earliest Scandinavian contact within the Germanic sphere might have been in the British Isles with the Anglians from the 6th c. onwards. Especially within the *Danelag*, this ongoing close contact must have led partially to bilingualism. As for the church terminology, particular attention must be paid to the existence of interlinear translations added to the Northumbrian gospels in the 10th c. (Lin-

disfarne and Rushworth). These interlinear versions connected the vocabularies of the Nordic and the Old English languages via Latin and led to all kinds of interference (Hofmann 1955, 167ff.). Celtic-Nordic language contact is perceptible at approximately the same time as for Anglo-Nordic.

At the end of this survey, the author's opinion is that much of the past and present research in the field of early Nordic language and dialect contact seems to be one-dimensional. This is equally true of Finno-Ugric contact research in two ways. First, the main stream of research reduces language contact to the transfer of words, hence the focus on borrowings into the Baltic languages from Ancient Nordic and its preliminary stages. Second, a certain directionality of this loan process is assumed, namely from south-west to north-east. Though this is in line with common sense, it is far from proven. In order to provide a broader interpretational basis, other more integral models of mutual language interaction between Finno-Ugric and (North) Germanic have been put forward, e.g. Wiik 1997; Künnap 1997; 1998a and 1998b.

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X. Old Nordic (from 1100 to the mid-14th century) I: General survey, tradition

89. Nordic history in the Middle Ages and the extension of Nordic: Cultural and historical preconditions of language

1. Introduction
2. Population, material culture and general structures of society
3. Towns
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1. Introduction

The development of the state and Europeanization are major features of the Scandinavian High Middle Ages, together with the Church as the main cause behind. Through these the Scandinavian countries grew more differentiated and more similar to each other at the same time. Each kingdom experienced its own internal developments, but at the same time they all became more European. They went through more or less the same stages, but at a different pace. The states received the same influences from European educational centres, but were affected differently according to their geography: Denmark was closer to central Europe, especially Germany, Norway had close connections with England, and Sweden was more oriented to the east than the others.

As the new religion gained a foothold in society, it developed its organization into a powerful institution, with enormous influence over most areas of life and subjects. The kingdoms acquired organizing abilities by looking at the Church, depending on its skilled people during an early phase of developing internal matters of the state. The Church was introduced and established with necessary help from the kings, but it soon became a considerable power in its own right. Nevertheless, the king and upper class continued to maintain their power by handing over huge assets, mainly estates. It was also the Church which

brought Scandinavia closer to Europe, by channelling new thoughts within religion and philosophy straight to the main centres of culture and power. To summarize the Scandinavian High Middle Ages therefore means looking closer at the Church as one of the main institutions behind further development.

Over the last decades, a new direction within historical research has been conspicuous. This is the field of the history of mentalities, which has initiated new ways of looking at development and structures. The concept implies a focus on the collective understandings, attitudes and values of earlier individuals (Rygg 1999, 88f.). The basis for this theme stands on the assumption that people living at different times have different mentalities, and that collective mentalities do exist (Bagge 1998, 13f.). Within the history of mentalities, social and cultural aspects of development and earlier institutions are considered equally as important as, for instance, economic impact, the great men of history and their lust for power. This trend in historical research has greatly influenced the way longterm effects of the development of the state have been seen. Over the centuries from the Early Middle Ages to the nation states of the modern world, increasing control, legislation and a monopoly on punishment formed society and people's way of thinking. This has been called the process of civilization, viewed as a change from nature to culture. The arguments were that as wild and unrestrained behaviour disappeared, arbitrary violence decreased; instead early modern humans arose, individuals, able to control their emotions and affections and take well calculated actions. The arrogance in this theory is the reduction of earlier people's ability to make choices, claiming they had no rational sense. Further it is a reduction of culture and intellectual level in medieval society. What this theory also does not take into ac-

count enough is the enormous impact the Church had on forming people's mind, meaning their beliefs and ideas, using the same means as the state. The Church had a clear ideology, there were set arguments behind its actions, and it threatened sinners with the eternal flame. It is useful to have this theory in mind when looking into cultural and historical preconditions of language change. Institutions and major developments led to more changes than deeply altered systems of administration and government, and advanced culture and art inspired from abroad. Even if the process was slow, it did mean the start of a profound change in thinking, of a more regulated and predictable life, including the common man and woman.

2. Population, material culture and general structure of society

Scandinavia followed the general pattern of western and central Europe regarding an increase in population, but it was small in comparison. Numbers cannot be accurate due to the lack of reliable sources, so only a general picture can be drawn. Around 1300 there were about two million people in the whole of Scandinavia (Sawyer/Sawyer 1993, 42). Denmark, including Scania, had a population about one million (Ulsig 1989, 41), Norway, with the Atlantic islands, had about half a million people (Sigurðsson 1999, 196) and Sweden the same (Derry 1979, 55). These numbers are seen as the peak, for a decrease started in the early 14th c. By then most arable land was in use, so there was less room for new expansion. New settlements in the 12th and 13th c. were often on marginal land which was hard to cultivate. Climatic changes that occurred before the mid-14th c. weakened the population, especially in marginal areas. When the bubonic plague hit Scandinavia around 1350, it accelerated the decrease in the population that had already started. Known as the Black Death, it reduced the population by as much as up to two thirds in the worst affected areas, such as Norway. In other places reductions of one third were usual. During the following decades and centuries, numbers stayed low, as similar plagues kept the later coming increase on hold.

The creation of the three Scandinavian states was largely completed by 1100, with only Sweden being divided into landscapes until about 1250. The main division was between

Svear in the east, with Uppsala as its centre, and Götar in the south. Borders between the Scandinavian neighbours were not completely set, and they all held areas outside their mainland, especially in the 13th c. Around 1260, Norway included Iceland, Greenland, and the Western isles: the Orkneys, the Faroes, Shetland, the Hebrides and the Isle of Man. The latter two were sold to the Scottish king a little later (Sawyer/Sawyer 1993, 64; Helle 1993a, 436), but the Orkneys and Shetland were kept for another two centuries (Paludan in Historien, ed. Rudi Thomsen, København 1970, 795). Still Norway held major areas west of the North Sea, partly due to expansion dating from the Viking Age. To the south, Norway had supremacy in Bohuslän, along the coast of today's Sweden, down to Götaälv. Further down the coastline, the area of Halland and the adjacent southern area of Scania were under Denmark, which expanded further to the east. Holstein, Vendland and Rügen came under Danish control, as well as eastern Baltic areas such as Estonia. This occupation was temporary and for most areas came to an end towards the middle of the 14th c. Medieval Sweden included today's mainland of Finland, extending as far as Viborg. To the north and far east, Sweden bordered on Russia, a growing empire. Sweden tried to conquer the important and powerful city of Novgorod towards the middle of the 13th c., but was unsuccessful. To the west, Sweden bordered on Norway, Jämtland and Härjedalen being under Norwegian control.

The medieval borders point to the sea as a means of communication. Seas between the isles and conquered areas kept the realm together, rather than dividing it. Denmark controlled all the traffic from the North Sea to the Baltic Sea and eastern regions, Sweden naturally oriented itself towards Finland as the main coastline faced east while Norway's coastline faced west. Still, this is claimed to be primarily a time of internal consolidation, as governmental matters show signs of firmer routines and control. Disputes about borderlines were usual, but the picture above shows the main extent of the Scandinavian realms.

The differentiation of society that went on during the High Middle Ages, was strengthened by urbanization. New social classes appeared and some disappeared. The clergy was an important and powerful group, and the lowest class, slaves, disappeared. The specialization of professions began in the towns, some of which started to fill the functions of

a capital. Legislation for each country became more uniformed from the end of the 13th c. and onwards. Nevertheless, society was strongly hierarchical, with division among working people, the lay aristocracy and the clergy. Medieval society had no official place for women either in politics or in religion except for heads of convents and some female regents; the rest depended on personal abilities to achieve influence. The division between social layers is especially visible in the study of primary sources. To a great extent they were produced both by and for the upper class, and the earlier they are the more this applies. Secular leaders demanded the history of their life and reign to be told, and aimed for a glorious and honourable tale, to secure their posthumous reputation. The writers were often clergymen or others who had received their education from the Church or a monastery. Such an interaction was typical during this entire period, and the secular and clerical powers both benefited from demanding each other's services. This also brought them into conflict, as they both grew strong and claimed supremacy during these centuries. The organization of the Church was far ahead of that of the state, as it had woven a net of parishes and people serving it, secured its income and achieved a fixed structure. The development of both institutions meant a change for the increasing populations, who had to meet the demands of these two forces. From the time when it became more usual to put transactions and agreements into writing for the more common man and woman, we know more about the lower social classes. Such documents and diplomas provide an opportunity to trace information leading up to settlements and trade.

The societies were based on agriculture, so holding land was valued. In Norway the typical farmer combined raising livestock and farming with other economic activities, such as fishing and hunting (Sigurðsson 1999, 210). Most farmers in Denmark were villagers, the farm being part of a village. The system in central parts of Sweden was quite similar to the Danish one. In the northern regions of Sweden and Norway, with mainly Sami settlements, hunting and fishing provided a living.

A basic issue is whether the farmers owned their land themselves or were tenants under a landlord. For Denmark, historians have described the century before the Black Death as involving a change from owning to renting land (Fenger 1989, 30). For Norway, earlier historians thought this transformation came

about during the High Middle Ages due to higher taxes levied by the king, but recent historians have questioned this connection and pointed out other ones. Along with the increasing population, new land was cleared. By then all land was owned by someone, preferably the king. Newly established farms were therefore under a landlord from the very outset. At the same time, slaves were scarce and therefore expensive, so free workers became more economic to use than slaves (Sigurðsson 1999, 202). The social group of slaves slowly disappeared, and they gradually became tenant farmers instead. In Sweden this development came later, and slaves were used up to 1300. The main issue for historians today revolves more around the right to use the land and keep the harvest, while the question of owning or renting is of less importance (Fenger 1989, 31). For the farmers it did not make any great difference whether the land belonged to themselves or to a distant landlord (Ulsig 1989, 44f.). Tenant farmers had a quite safe position, and signed contracts which often secured their rights for their lifetime, and sometimes even for their heirs.

3. Towns

The first traces of urbanization in Scandinavia came during the Viking Age. The population and production had by then reached a level which made urban centres possible. They were mainly based on trade, and were of a seasonal character (Helle 1993 b, 647). During the High Middle Ages, towns grew in number and size, took over constantly more functions and established permanent bases. Trade was still one of the basic functions of the town, both domestic and international. Towns served as depots for goods brought in for landlords, such as the Church, a monastery or the king. Many of these goods were sold on the local market, which also attracted farmers and peasants from nearby. Coastal towns were often visited by ships carrying valuable goods. From the 13th c. the Hansa league became a growing factor in foreign trade. It consisted of a chain of towns from which merchants traded with other towns around the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. One of its four main offices was in Bergen, Norway, but from several other important trading points the Hansa covered the Scandinavian market.

The landlords, including the ecclesiastical ones, played another important part; besides

bringing in goods and thereby inspiring economic growth, they initiated major building activities. By enhancing their institutions with churches, cathedrals, and royal estates, they increased their importance further. This also meant firmer control and administration. With set tasks and permanent officials, it was easier to have a more efficient form of administration, and offices for issuing documents became more accessible to common people as well.

In Norway, the kings became active in promoting the growth of towns during the 11th c. This was seen as an important task for political unification (Helle 1993 b, 647). During the following century they continued to strengthen these centres, especially as episcopal residences. By establishing this power there, the towns were guaranteed further growth and had a well-organized institution to lean on for the organization of domestic matters. In Denmark, this development occurred even earlier than in Norway. Towns became important centres for administration and minting, and where the religious institutions also had a foothold, there were major centres. For Sweden, urbanization came somewhat later, due to the later development of ecclesiastical institutions and political unification. Two of the main factors promoting urbanization were not present to the same extent in Denmark and Norway until the late 12th c. and the start of the 13th c. and onwards (Helle 1993b, 647). Denmark had by far the most towns; it was also the state with the biggest population. Around 1300, there were approximately 100 towns in Denmark, 40 in Sweden and only 16 in Norway (Sigurðsson 1999, 159).

For a city to be a capital it needs to fulfill major functions for its surrounding area, on a permanent basis, and it must be the seat of the government (Poppe 1997, 191 ff.). Roskilde in Denmark and Nidaros in Norway seem to have been close to fulfilling these demands; they were major sees and of great importance. Between the 12th and 13th c. this changed. In Norway, Bergen became more important, and later Oslo, in Denmark, Copenhagen increased in strength. To begin with, Copenhagen was under the bishop of Roskilde, but in 1416 changed to the king. In Sweden there was no city with a similar profile. Stockholm was founded in the middle of the 13th c., and did not become strong until a century later. What seems to have disrupted the early development of the main cities were in-

ternal disputes. The powerful leaders could not rest long enough in neither of the cities to develop it as a more permanent base. Life in the towns differed from life in the villages or countryside. First of all, production was specialized. Craftsmen became masters of their profession and employed trainees, building up workshops. Merchants built up their business in much the same way. Both could gather together in guilds or fraternities which were exclusively for skilled men in their respective professions. From the 12th c. guilds were founded in Denmark, which had the largest number, but these organizations were also represented in Norway and Sweden (Jacobsen 1993, 249). In later centuries their influence increased, and women were occasionally accepted, but mainly as daughters or widows of a deceased master, if they carried on his trade.

4. The Church

The change in religion from paganism to Christianity represented a change of cult and practice more than a change of belief (Aarflot 1978, 11). The way was prepared by the contact Scandinavia already had had with Christianized countries, by way of trade, travel and visiting missionaries. Some Christian ideas are seen by some to already exist in pagan mythology (Aarflot 1978, 9). For the kings this new religion was a handy tool for use in their attempts to unify countries under their crown. Compared to Europe, the kings were strengthened when Christianity was introduced and accepted. The king stood as the supreme protector of the Church, with the right to choose its vicars and bishops. Local powerful leaders had to accept this superiority of the king together with accepting the new religion. Scandinavian kings must have realized the benefit of this, and so the early Church in Scandinavia is seen by modern historians as the king's church, not so much the peoples' (Sigurðsson 1999, 102). By the start of the 12th c. Christianity was accepted, with a varied amount of resistance in different areas (Sawyer/Sawyer 1993, 101). Where there was a strong local figure of power there also was much resistance to this change, but through use of pressure and force, resistance was quelled.

The Church extended its organization to cover the whole area. People were divided into parishes belonging to a church and under the control of a bishop who had an increasing number of ombudsmen to assist him with ad-

ministration, legal matters, pastoral visits and education within the bishopric (Norseng/Nedkvitne 1991, 107). Through this system the Church could gain control and make sure that all its rights and privileges were respected. One of these was the tithe, an annual tax every household had to contribute for the services the Church offered (Liebgott 1984, 34). The earlier system involved paying for each service, a practice strongly condemned by the central Church and the Pope, as they claimed this amounted to simony – the sale of ecclesiastical services and positions within the Church (Norseng/Nedkvitne 1991, 68). The new tax, the tithe, was divided into three parts in Denmark and Sweden, and into four parts in Norway: one part for the upkeep of the church, one for the vicar, one for the bishop and, if split into four, the fourth part was for the poor. Thus a steady income was secured, but in many places the patron of the church kept part of it (Sawyer/Sawyer 1993, 110). It is most likely that tithing was introduced at the beginning of the High Middle Ages, and by 1130 it was well established in Norway and Denmark. In Sweden tithing was established somewhat later, around 1160. For all the states it is linked to the founding of archbishoprics. If not earlier, the tithe then became part of a well-organized system. This set contribution, together with the canonization of saints and most of all the establishment of monasteries, was important for the founding of further archbishoprics in each of the states. Each country had a royal saint: in Norway the Viking King Olav, Denmark had King Knud, and Sweden chose King Erik. Not all of them were immediately enshrined or declared saints by the Pope, but by having their own sanctified king as a central holy figure, the countries were recognized as politically separate states (Fenger 1993a, 97).

Up to 1103/04, Scandinavia came under the archbishop of Hamburg/Bremen, but due to a conflict between the Pope and the German Emperor, Lund in Scania was established as a see for the archbishop of Scandinavia. In short the Emperor did not accept the supreme power of the Pope, and he was supported in this by the archbishop of Hamburg/Bremen, who therefore was dismissed by the Pope. The foundation of the see in Lund was a political move by the Pope, to put the Scandinavian Church directly under his control. Half a century later, the Pope sent one of his cardinals to Norway in order to establish a separate archbishopric. It was founded in Nidaros in

1152/53, now the city of Trondheim. This was made possible through carefully prepared groundwork. The cardinal went on to Sweden for the same purpose. Due to a conflict about where to place the see, Linköping or Uppsala, the attempt was not successful. A decade later the archbishopric of Sweden was founded at Uppsala in 1163/64. Through this the Church became a strong power in each of the countries, the division from Lund meaning that each state had a complete ecclesiastical organization within its borders.

The influence of the Church reached far, even into marriage. From being an agreement between two families, it became a sacrament of the Church at the beginning of the 12th c. (Holtan 1996, 66). The Church claimed that the bride and the groom must both give their consent for the marriage to be valid, but in reality the woman had no way of refusing the advice of her father or her legal guardian in spite of her own wishes (Sawyer 1994, 22). As marriage became a holy agreement, divorce was no longer an option unless the marriage was proved to be based on false assumptions (Sigurðsson 1999, 220). The Church focused on marriage as a sacrament along with demanding its own clergy to observe celibacy. The main goal of marriage was to secure lawful heirs, but the property and economic power of the Church was not to be split up through inheritance. So few priests got married, instead they lived together with their concubine outside the law and the intentions of the Church, but with the general acceptance of secular society. Towards the end of the 13th c. the Pope gave permission to use banishment from the Church as a punishment for its men still living in sin, showing that the doctrine of celibacy was by then well established.

5. The monastic movement

One important political precondition for the see in Nidaros was that monasticism already had gained a foothold in the country (Helle 1995, 26). Monasticism had a great impact on cultural life in all Scandinavia, starting ca. 1100. In the whole area it is estimated that there were about 200 monasteries and convents at the same time that the population reached its peak, giving one religious house per approximately 10,000 inhabitants (Gunnes 1987a, 34). Most, about 125, were in Denmark, there were about 50 in the Swedish area, and the rest were in Norway

and Iceland. Benedictine houses were established first, representing a practice with hundreds of years of tradition behind it, based on the rule of St. Benedict of Nursia. This rule was originally made for a male order, but was used by women as well. Soon to follow were the reformed Cistercian monasteries, as well as the more pastorally oriented Augustine houses. In Scandinavia, the monasteries have been seen as isolated cells interacting poorly with society around. They were foreign by origin, and in the Scandinavian kind of society they could not fit in well. But the number of houses shows that they were not a marginal phenomenon, and being situated near or within growing towns, they were both visible and audible to a lot of people. The monasteries had more contact with the nearby community than estimated earlier, and by being holders of great estates, they had indirect contact also in less densely populated areas (Inntjore 2000, 104, 176). For the monks and nuns, time was divided between prayer and labour: praying for their souls and for Christendom, working for self-preservation. The latter was meant to reduce contact with the outside world to a minimum, idealistically according to the original tradition (Gunnes 1987a, 36). The houses were mainly for religious specialists. Monks and nuns were seen as such because they lived a holy life and therefore had greater influence. The prayers they read benefited the rest of society, securing the salvation of Christian souls and being a counterweight to the consequences of sin. Laymen who gave these enclaves economic support received special benefits by being included in the prayers. For donations of a certain size one could become brother or sister in a monastic house, the closest one could come to membership without actually joining the order. This is called the economy of salvation: holy people performing vicarious merits in exchange for maintenance of their institution (Lawrence 1989, 69). Both sides were givers and receivers of necessities, creating a system of functional reciprocity (Burton 1994, 210, 211).

Founding religious houses was an action of the upper classes, and both ecclesiastical and secular powers stood behind this (Liebgott 1984, 58; Gunnes 1987b, 66; Nyberg 1993, 416). Together they had economic means, basically land, and they were also the promoters of the new religion. Bishops and kings had connections abroad, and could invite foreign monks to go north and start a new tradition. The founders often became special patrons of

the institutions. They gained prestige through their religious activity, and gave prestige to these institutions by belonging to the upper class. Both men and women were founders; in Sweden the first monastic house was a nunnery founded about 1110 by the queen and her king (Sawyer 1994, 15). In Norway, it was English monks who first constituted the earliest communities, which were gradually taken over by natives. The same was partly true in Denmark, but with closer contacts with central Europe. In Sweden, it was mainly French monks who were the first (Lindqvist 1992, 243). It has often been pointed out that there were far more monasteries for men than convents for women, and that houses for monks were larger and richer than those for nuns. In England, most convents were small and poor, more than half of them with fewer than ten members (Power 1975, 89). In comparison, the Scandinavian convents were larger and richer, but also here monastic houses for men outnumbered those for women. Denmark had about thirty convents, Sweden fewer than ten and Norway only five (Andersson 1996, 1; Gunnes 1987a, 34; Langkilde 1973, 13). One reason given for this lack of balance was that women could not read mass themselves, and because of this people preferred to give money and land to monks who could organize a full service and mass. But priests were attached to convents and carried out the sacraments there, clergymen from a nearby church could easily provide the services needed, and nuns could say the daily prayers under the leadership of the abbess or prioress. In some male orders there was massive opposition to their nuns, especially by the Premonstratensians and Cistercians in the 12th and 13th c. The Pope helped out, issuing a declaration which prohibited new female orders to be founded. This must have held back establishment of convents also in Scandinavia, as is shown by the fact that most convents were Benedictine houses both in Norway and Denmark. Only in Sweden were most of them established as, or turned into, Cistercian convents.

A change came with the two new orders founded at the beginning of the 13th c., Franciscans and Dominicans. These, the mendicant orders, had a different ideology from the traditional monasteries. They valued poverty and moved among the people, situated their houses in towns, and preached directly to the people. Their houses and churches were open to everyone, and they achieved great success. They became rivals to the established clergy

and older monasteries, as people supported these new orders and so decreased their support for the older ones. The mendicants directed criticism towards the greed within the main Church, an accusation most people could agree with. Annual confession was compulsory from 1215, and this meant a new potential income for the Church. Many people preferred going to the barefooted brothers, as they also were known, and economic issues like this triggered many a dispute with the main Church (Ullern 1997, 23, 24). Another great change came with the Brigettines, a new order founded in the last decades of the 14th c. after years of planning. The founder was Birgitta of Vadstena, named after the main monastic house of her order. It was the only original contribution to monasticism from Scandinavia, and it was special in having men and women within the same institution. This was usual in the early monastic phase in Europe, but was later prohibited for the sake of moral standards. In the Swedish order the abbess was to be leader of the entire house, meaning the monks were under her supervision. There were to be no fewer than 60 nuns, but only 12 monks plus their leader. The brothers had the functions of hearing confessions and performing the sacraments, and so the whole community had the required expertise within their walls. The movement grew stronger during the Late Middle Ages, spreading throughout Scandinavia and Europe. Its high cultural and educational level was one of the main assets of the order; it held among other things well-equipped libraries.

6. Education and literary centres

Teaching was seen as an ecclesiastical function, and the Church was the main educator (Le Goff 1993, 66). It introduced scholarly studies into Scandinavia, based on European tradition. The first monks to establish houses in Scandinavia were foreign, with education from abroad. This tradition was continued; even if the monks were recruited at home, they still received their main education in central Europe, primarily in Paris and Bologna (Bagge 1981, 141). Besides studying religious literature and liturgy, canon law was the most common and almost a compulsory subject. All the Scandinavian countries had a large number of students abroad, and some special scholarships for Scandinavians, covering housing costs. From Sweden alone about 900

students went to Paris during the 13th and 14th c. (Lindqvist 1992, 244). For Norway, it is estimated that about half of the canons had a university education, in Denmark even more (Bagge 1993, 153). At first it was the great monasteries, such as St. Victor in Paris, which provided this education and gained an enormous reputation for its scholars. St. Victor was an Augustine monastery, and the Scandinavian clergy who were educated there became well acquainted with Augustinian traditions and organization. Scandinavian bishops often wanted to organize both their diocese and canons according to Augustinian practice. Members of the order had to be ordained as priests, so a high level of education was needed. It also meant that they could teach new priests, and skilled recruits were always needed for the growing Church. Around the sees, important educational, literary and cultural centres arose, and cathedral schools were founded. This change was again based on a European trend. During the 13th c. secular universities gained new ground in providing education at the expense of the monastic houses (Bagge 1986, 224, 225). For the clergy, a secular education involved the same subjects and level of knowledge, but for women the change was dramatic. Universities and cathedral schools were closed to women, who were normally not allowed to attend these public places (Bagge 1986, 178, 179). Apart from aristocrat homes, convents represented the only possibility for women to be educated, but being excluded from the most important places of learning, it became difficult for women to remain within the learned elite.

It is clear that the Church in all the states was important for education, both initiating it and demanding it. Religion was based on the written word. Literary activities grew at the same pace as the Church and urbanization developed, but neither of these factors was sufficient to create a literary centre (Mundal 1994, 71). The secular and the pagan kings already made use of writing for legislation, and Iceland had no urban centres, but still had well-developed educational and literary activities. The main factor behind the development of literary centres was social differentiation. With a growing elite, time and the means were available to engage in such activity. Books and parchment for letters and diplomas were expensive to buy or copy, and the work took a great deal of time. With an expanding upper class containing educated clergymen, the means became available.

7. Finances and succession

The initiating and economic force behind the Church and the religious institutions was, as already mentioned, the upper class. The lower classes gave to these institutions as well, but of course less, although more frequently in the later Middle Ages. The habits of the leading elite diffused down to the lower social levels, but as the ideology of the Church tightened its grip on people's souls, this also resulted in economic benefits. Maintenance of churches was to some extent voluntary, in contrast to the obligatory taxes to support the king and growing state. Farmers, peasants and townspeople contributed to maintaining the upper class and the king through the whole of the High Middle Ages. The king's main tasks were to secure peace and administer justice. This applied both within the realm and in order to secure its borders. From the time of itinerant kings, he had the right to visit his subjects and to receive lodging and food for himself, his horses and the companions who travelled with him. Through inheritance and confiscation the kings built up a system of estates or larger farms which became special residences and local administrative centres. The king could then direct his subjects to bring their tributes to these places. Maintaining the roads, conveying goods, and working on the estate were among the duties of his subjects.

Of great importance were the military services, especially at sea, as travelling by water was the most common means of transport. The usual system was to divide people into groups which were responsible for a ship; they took turns at being the crew and securing supplies for three months (Hørby 1993, 538). On land, a change in the military service came in the middle of the 13th c. During the 12th c. the armies had met increasing resistance from European cavalry (Malmros 1993, 389). This made it clear that the earlier horde of armed peasants was too ineffective and old-fashioned. It became necessary for the Scandinavian kings to keep a trained elite of soldiers. The kings also fortified the borders on some strategic points. Castles and fortresses were built on royal ground, but with civil support. In Denmark, the building of castles began about 1150 (Hørby 1993, 538), the same time as for Norway (Roesdahl 1993, 215). In Sweden it started somewhat later, in the 13th c. (Fritz 1993, 541). To build and maintain these strongholds, more money was needed. The fleet was not sent out every year, so in-

stead the king started to demand a fixed amount of money for each year it was inactive. This came to be an annual contribution, along with taxation for military service ashore. In the courts, the king had another means of gaining income. More uniform legislation and prosecutors working on his behalf secured an increasing source of income from fines. But even with a more predictable income, the Crown was almost constantly short of funds. In all the three countries there were longer periods of civil war, connected with struggle for the crown. The general pattern was that two families or political fractions both claimed the right to the throne. In Denmark and Sweden the kings gradually pledged larger parts of their countries to foreign lords, mainly German ones, in exchange for military aid or loans to cover the cost of this warfare.

A candidate for the Crown had to meet two opposite demands: he had to be related to a previous or the present king, and to be elected by leaders at the regional assemblies (Jochens 1993, 621). Every son of a former king could claim hereditary rights, and so there could be many potential successors. During the 12th c. the principle of legitimacy acquired the same level of importance that the Church put on marriage. The system moved towards one of primogeniture, meaning that the oldest legitimate son was automatically the legal heir. Even so, he still had to be elected – the assemblies had the option of either finding him suitable and accepting him, or not. Accordingly there were decades of joint rule by brothers or competitors, but the focus on primogeniture ended horizontal succession and led to one-man rule. In the early 14th c. Norway and Sweden came together in a personal union under the same king. Previous alliances through marriage led to one candidate being entitled to both crowns. Repeated decades of civil wars, with several assassinations, had reduced the number of direct successors, and finally the economic crisis made it preferable to have only one king to maintain. Shifting relations finally led to a union of the three Scandinavian countries at the end of the century.

8. Legislation

The general view has been that the oldest laws were transmitted orally for centuries before they were written down, and that this custom provided proof that they were of native origin. Recent scholars have questioned this, as it has

been shown that the West-European laws are quite similar, and as well as Germanic law, they are based upon Mosaic law in the Bible (Sjöholm 1993, 387). It is now estimated that most preserved laws or fragments contain both native elements and foreign influences, and that these two elements in some cases cannot be separated and distinguished (Sawyer/Sawyer 1993, 19f.). By 1100 Norwegian laws were influenced by the Church, which exerted further influence on Scandinavian laws by providing scribes when they were codified and written down. As the clergy received a European education, especially in canon law, they were the leading elite in pursuing legislation. The archiepiscopal see in Lund held special sway over Danish and Swedish laws, while the see established later in Nidaros had a similar influence on Norwegian laws. In spite of uniform influences, laws and legislation differed within the states (Sawyer/Sawyer 1993, 17ff.). For Norway and Sweden, we know of early provincial laws, covering a region known as a "landscape". They were compiled by the assemblies in these regions, often initiated by local aristocrats. In Norway, the laws were accepted as such, while in Sweden it seems that laws were understood more as recommendations than as actual regulations. For Denmark, the earlier laws (before 1241) covered selected issues rather than a region, and were to some extent perceived as agreements (Fenger 1993b, 384). In Norway, the earliest codification of regional laws began at the end of the 11th c. (Rindal 1993, 385). During the following century these lawbooks were copied, and the canon parts were revised on the initiative of the archbishop. Further revision occurred in the 13th c., now with the king as the force behind it. A general law for the entire state was established, followed by a special law for towns. A similar development took place in Sweden, but recording of the regional laws started somewhat later, and the revised versions were not accepted as general law until the middle of the 14th c. For Denmark, no general law was established throughout the Middle Ages. The king tried to promulgate regulations as general laws during the 13th c., but was defeated by a strong aristocracy which limited the king's possibilities as a legislator (Fenger 1993b, 384).

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90. Old Nordic: A definition and delimitation of the period

1. Introduction
2. Delimitation in time
3. Delimitation in space: the language area
4. Internal composition of the area
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

In this handbook, the term “Old Nordic” is used for all the North Germanic languages from around 1100 to the mid-14th century: Old Norwegian-Icelandic, Old Danish, Old Swedish, and Old Gutnish. The language of the Icelandic sagas plays a special role in this connection, as it has in various ways set the standard against which the language of the oldest manuscripts in the other Scandinavian languages has been measured. This period lies between the pre-manuscript Common Nordic period and the subsequent radical simplification in all the other languages, of a morphological system quite similar to the Icelandic one. Old Danish fits poorly into this mould, because the earliest manuscripts in that language already show an advanced stage of morphological simplification.

A term commonly used for Old Nordic is “Old Norse”, with a distinction between West Norse and East Norse. An alternative, narrow use, as e.g. in Haugen (1976), restricts Old Norse to the West Nordic languages. This variation in meaning is to some extent veiled by the widespread use of Old Icelandic as a representative of all the Old Nordic languages, e.g. in comparative Germanic studies. This practice underlies the common use of *Altnordisch* in the German research literature since Grimm, who was influenced by Rask’s equating “det gamle Nordiske Sprog” with Icelandic. In Danish, a commonly used term has been *oldnordisk*, where *old-* means something older than *gammel-*. The Dan. usage has been largely motivated by the view that Old Icelandic was a faithful enough representative of the common Nordic language which was also the ancestor of the language of the oldest Dan. manuscripts. In Icelandic and Swedish works, there is a marked tendency to call the old language Icelandic (with or without further specification of the language stage), even sometimes when Old Norwegian is included. In the

Norwegian literature, it was common to label WN generally as “Old Norwegian” (*oldnorsk*, *gamalnorsk*), and in accordance with the usage of the OIcel. sources, *norrønt* (meaning Norwegian – see 4.) has gained wide currency for WN more recently, especially in Norway.

2. Delimitation in time

In delimiting the Old Nordic period, various criteria can be applied having to do with the language itself, its use and its (cultural) environment, and also with the primary sources available. These criteria are not equally applicable to all the languages, they do not give precise results when applied to the individual languages, and results for the individual languages call for varying approximate dates. As for the earlier time limit, around 1100, the individual criteria applied to the various languages would thus call for a time limit anywhere from around 1000 to the mid-13th c. A purely linguistic criterion (e.g. Haugen 1976) which applies equally to all the languages is the split of Common Nordic into East and West Nordic as separate entities, which in turn requires deciding what counts as separate entities. It is a common assumption that the first significant differences between the Nordic languages emerge in the 11th c. (e.g. Noreen 1913, 17f.; Skautrup 1944, 133f., 180; cf. Haugen 1976). Another criterion has to do with the emergence of manuscripts in the vernacular, which is an important factor in the external conditions for language development, and at the same time leads to an explosive growth in preserved primary sources for the languages concerned. With regard to Dan. and Sw., this aspect has commonly been used to set apart the preceding period by the use of the labels *runedansk* and *runsvenska*, as the rather numerous Runic inscriptions are the only vernacular texts in that period. Both Brøndum-Nielsen (1928–1973) and Skautrup (1944) use the term *runedansk* for the period up to around 1100. Runic inscriptions in Denmark stop for the most part around 1050 (except in Bornholm, where they continue for a couple of centuries). Then there is something of a gap in the vernacular writing tradition, as the first Dan. laws were committed to writing in 1171–74, and the oldest preserved manuscripts are from the mid-13th c. As for Sw., the commonly accepted limit for *runsvenska* is that given by Noreen (1904), around 1225. This is the time when the Swedes are assumed to have started committing their

vernacular laws to writing, and the oldest preserved fragment is assumed to be not younger than the mid-13th c. There are relatively few Sw. Runic inscriptions from after the early 1100s. In Iceland, the earliest securely datable cases of manuscripts being written in the vernacular are from the early 12th century: the law book *Grágás* in 1117–18, and the historical work *Íslendingabók* in 1122–1133. The earliest Icel. manuscript fragment is from the mid-12th c. A very old and respectable tradition has it that Norwegian laws were first written down in the 11th c., but the earliest preserved Norw. manuscript fragments are from the second half of the 12th c. A different criterion for periodisation, cultural in nature, is the end of the Viking Age, commonly put at 1066. This may be taken to mark the end of the expansion of the language area, with concomitant influence on other languages.

The later limit of the Old Nordic period is even harder to determine. It has been usual to draw a line for all of the individual languages somewhere in the period 1350–1375, but the criteria for doing so have varied, and so have the labels of the periods. A criterion specific to Sw. is the emergence of a unifying written norm. For Norw., the breakdown of the old scribal norms as a result of the Great Plague in 1349–50 has been used, as well as the onset of large-scale Sw. and Dan. influence on the language. Also specific sound changes, or a combination of them, have been important criteria, not least for Icel. The only criteria which are not too language-specific have to do with systematic language properties, primarily the radical simplification of the old morphological system, but also the strong Low German influence on the vocabulary. These criteria, however, are not applicable to Icel., which kept its morphological system essentially intact and never experienced LG influence in a degree comparable to the mainland languages. The case of Old Danish is special, in that morphological simplification was already at a rather advanced stage at the time of the oldest manuscripts in that language, and this process must have been well on its way early in this period. This is probably one of the main reasons why both Brøndum-Nielsen (1928–73) and Skautrup (1944) call the period from around 1100 *middeldansk*. They use *olddansk* interchangeably with *runedansk* for the period preceding 1100, while *gammeldansk* is used as a cover term for the whole period from the Viking Age to the Re-

formation. Within *middeldansk*, these scholars put the limit between *ældre* and *yngre middeldansk* at 1350, which is the approximate time indicated by the other criterion cited above, LG lexical influence, although that development emerges earlier especially in Jutland. Wessén (1968, 70) sees *yngre fornsvenska*, from 1375, as characterised by both morphological simplification and LG influence on the vocabulary. Indrebø (1951, 214–216) sees systematic morphological simplification as an essential characteristic of Middle Norwegian (from 1350) and dates the onset of that process to around 1375. The year 1350 is used as a convenient round number.

3. Delimitation in space: the language area

At the beginning of this period, much of the Viking Age expansion of the language area had already been reversed, but the period was marked by some expansion closer to home, especially in the northern Baltic area. The Åland Islands had a Sw.-speaking population in the early Middle Ages and then again from the 12th century onward (Hellberg 1987), and from the 13th c. onward, the southern and midwestern coast of present-day Finland were colonised, and the northwestern coast of Estonia around the same time. In the south, there was already pure Danish settlement down to Slien (G Schlei) and Dannevirke (except for Frisians on the west coast), and the uninhabited zone down to the Eider river became colonised partly by Danes during this period. Turning to the British Isles, Norw. is commonly assumed to have survived in some Irish towns until the early 13th c. or so (Barnes 1993, 75). On the Isle of Man and in the Hebrides the language probably died out towards or around the end of this period (Barnes 1993, 76–78). The Orkneys and Shetland, as well as Caithness at the northern tip of the Scottish mainland, had pure Norw. language communities throughout this period (Barnes 1993, 78–80). In addition to the Faroe Islands and Iceland, a mostly Icel. colony also remained in Greenland throughout the period.

4. The internal composition of the area

The Old Nordic language area constituted a dialect continuum. Given this, its division into languages must be somewhat arbitrary and

will be biased further by the restricted manuscript sources, in particular the lateness of the East Nordic manuscripts. One may assume that there were four Nordic languages around 1300: Old Norwegian-Icelandic, Old Gutnish, Old Danish, and Old Swedish, with the Old Scanian dialect at least as close to Swedish as it was to the other dialects in Denmark. In the 12th c., it may be more reasonable to posit only three languages, counting Danish and Swedish as one.

The views of the speakers to some extent confirm the picture one sees in the sources. Only some of the clearest evidence will be discussed here (Melberg 1952; Karker 1977). There is evidence, mostly from Icel. sources, suggesting that all the varieties of Nordic were seen by their speakers as one and the same language at the beginning of the period. At this stage, *dǫnsk tunga* ‘the Danish tongue’ is the only known language name and was used for all the Nordic languages. This use is documented in a scaldic poem by the Icelander Sigvatr Þórðarson as early as 1014–15, and the Icelandic law code *Grágás*, revised while being written down in 1117–18, often uses *dǫnsk tunga* in this way. It states that anyone who didn’t learn to speak *á danska tungu* ‘in the Danish tongue’ as a child must live in Iceland for three years before he can be a judge. *Grágás* also talks about the three kingdoms of Norway, Sweden and Denmark where *ór tunga* ‘our tongue’ is used. The First Grammatical Treatise from the mid-12th c. includes the phrase *lesa danska tungu* ‘read the Danish tongue’. *Dǫnsk tunga* (or *danska*) remained in use in Iceland for the native tongue throughout the Middle Ages, and the term seems also to have been used in that way in Norway, and was certainly used about the Norw. language in the Orkneys. It must be kept in mind that this use of the term *dǫnsk tunga*, although robustly documented in the 12th century, reflects an old tradition, which perhaps was reproduced without too much consideration for its appropriateness at the time. This tradition is challenged by the use of a separate name for Norwegian-Icelandic in the late 12th century, namely *norrónt mál* (and similar phrases), i. e. ‘the Norwegian language’. The new usage reflects a conscious choice at the time, confirming the perceived distinctness of West Nordic from East Nordic (or at least Danish), and of the perceived unity of the language in Iceland and Norway on behalf of the Icelanders. The earliest reliable evidence for this new view is found in a manuscript from around 1192 of

the Icel. calendar treatise *Rímbeḡla*, where the native tongue is called *norrónt mál*. There are a number of examples of the use of *norrónn* in Icelandic sources from the first half of the 13th c.; e.g. Snorri Sturluson (d. 1241) uses *norrónt mál* and *norrón tunga* a number of times in his Norwegian kings' sagas. Examples abound from the second half of the 13th c. and later, from Norw. as well as Icel. sources. Óláfr Þórðarson, in his *Third Grammatical Treatise* from the mid-13th c., mentions that the Danes use *v* before *r* (as in *vreiðr* 'angry') in cases where it is not used any more "in *norrónt mál*". The adjective *norrónn*, when referring to other things, usually means Norwegian, although in some cases the Norw. colonies may be included, and sporadically the word may refer to the whole of Scandinavia. When used about the language, it almost always refers to the language in Iceland and/or Norway rather than all the Nordic languages, and never to the language in Norway in contrast to Iceland. The more recent adj. *nornskr*, later *norskr*, 'Norwegian' does not appear to have been used about the Norw. language until the mid-15th c. There is no evidence that the Icelanders used the adj. *islenzkr* 'Icelandic' for their own language until the Reformation age. As for distinguishing Swedish from Danish, the term Swedish isn't mentioned specifically in sources from that country until the first half of the 14th c., but then examples abound, in poetry, Bible translations and laws. However, because earlier sources are so sparse, this cannot be taken as a suggestion that up to that time the Swedes saw their language as being the same as Danish.

Certain dialect differences may be assumed to have existed within the Nordic language area as early as the Proto-Nordic period. Additional differences emerged during the syncope period and in its aftermath, as umlaut and breaking did not result in the same changes in all of the Nordic language varieties. These early differences mostly separate the East and West dialects, and so do most of the other innovations up to the period under discussion. Although many of the changes during the ON period follow that same East-West distributional pattern, there is an increase in southern innovations during that period, in other words changes originating in Denmark, which distinguish Dan. from the northern bulk of the Nordic language area. The following overview of language differences, with an emphasis on the differences most conspicuous in the primary sources of this period, is based

on Noreen (1913, 1904) and Brøndum-Nielsen (1928–1973), unless otherwise stated. OIcel. is as a rule taken as a representative of WN, and OSw. of EN. Because of its special status with regard to the East-West dichotomy, OGu. is left out of consideration in the following general overview but will be treated separately towards the end of the article. Some apparent differences in the examples are purely orthographic: long vowels are marked with an accent in Icel. (*á*), a macron in EN (*ā*), and non-syllabic /i/ is written <j> in Icel. (*ja*) but not EN (*ia*). Furthermore, a double consonant is written as a single letter word-finally in EN (*mit*) but not in Icel. (*mitt*); for Icel. <þ/ð>, Sw. uses <þ>, and Dan. <th>, and EN but not Icel. denotes fricative *g* with <gh>.

Starting with differences which were present at the beginning of the ON period, one difference involves the so-called *a*-umlaut of /u/ > /o/. WN shows much more of this change, e.g. Icel. *brot* – Sw. *brutt* 'fragment', Icel. *boð* – Sw. *bub* 'offer', but Jutland often follows WN. *I*-umlaut is more widespread in WN than in EN and is most conspicuous in the verb morphology. Thus, in the past subjunctive, strong verbs and *ja*-verbs have *i*-umlaut in WN only, e.g. Icel. *væri* vs. Sw. *vāre* from *vera* 'be'. *I*-umlaut is also generally absent in EN in the pres. ind. sg., e.g. Icel. *heldr* – Sw. *halder* 'holds', Icel. *skýtr* – Sw. *skiüter* 'shoots', but Sw. and especially Jutland Dan. show a number of residual forms with umlaut. There is also much less *u*-umlaut in EN, e.g. Icel. *lqnd*, *lqndum* – Sw. *land*, *landum*, nom./dat. pl. of *land* 'country', Icel. *sok* – Sw. *sak* 'charge'. There is somewhat more breaking in the East, e.g. Icel. *ek* – Sw. *jak* 'I', Icel. *stela* – Sw. *stjala* 'steal', with Jutland often following the West. Restricted to the East is so-called *w*-breaking, the change /i/ > /iu/ before *ngw*, *nkw*, *ggw*, where WN has /y/ or /ø/, e.g. Icel. *syngva* – Sw. *siunga* 'sing', Icel. *sokkva* – Sw. *siunka* 'sink', Icel. *bygg* – Sw. *biug* 'barley'. WN has *ú* word-finally and before a vowel where EN has *ō*, e.g. Icel. *brú* – Sw. *brō* 'bridge', Icel. *trúa* – Sw. *trō(a)* 'believe'. EN has the opening of *é* > *ā*, except before another vowel, e.g. Icel. *fé* – Sw. *fā* 'property', Icel. *réttr* – Sw. *rātter* 'right'. It also has the general opening of short *e* > *æ*, e.g. Icel. *drepa* – Sw. *dræpa* 'kill', Icel. *svelta* – Sw. *svæltā* 'starve' (intransitive), Icel. *með* – Sw. *mæþ* 'with'. Most WN also has the pre-literary merger of short *e* and *æ*, but the result is *e* in most dialects. The eastern monophthongisation of diphthongs is relatively late, e.g. Icel.

steinn – Sw. *stēn* ‘stone’, Icel. *reykr* – Sw. *röker* ‘smoke’, Icel. *auga* – Sw. *ōgha* ‘eye’. Turning now from vowels to consonants, the assimilation of *mp*, *nk*, *nt* to *pp*, *kk*, *tt* is more widespread in the West: Icel. *svoppr* – Sw. *svamper* ‘mushroom’, Icel. *ekkjja* – Sw. *ænkia* ‘widow’, Icel. *brattr* – Sw. *branter* ‘steep’. The change *vr* > *r* wordinitially is western: Icel. *reiðr* – Sw. *vrēþer* ‘angry’, Icel. *riða* – Sw. *vrīþa* ‘twist’. The loss of initial *h* before *l*, *n*, *r*, on the other hand, is eastern, although it includes Norway, e. g. Icel. *hlaupa* – Sw. *lōpa* ‘jump’, Icel. *hnakki* – Sw. *nakke* ‘back of the head’, Icel. *hringr* – Sw. *ringer* ‘ring’. Around the beginning of the ON period, *d* emerged between *nm* and *r* in all varieties of EN, while the West changed *nmr* > *ðr*; the parallel development *llr* > *ldr* was confined to Scanian and Sw. Examples are **annrir* > Icel. *aðrir* – Sw. *andrir* (Dan. *andræ*) ‘others’, Icel. *breðr* – Sw. *brinder* ‘burns’, Icel. *allr* – Sw. and Scanian *alder* ‘all’, Icel. *fellr* – Sw. *falder* ‘falls’. Morphological differences, in addition to those connected to *i*-umlaut, are seen e. g. in the mediopassive endings *-sk* vs. *-s*, e. g. Icel. *kallask* – Sw. *kallas* ‘be called’.

After 1100, additional East-West differences include the following. In WN, from around 1200 there was a tendency to contract the front vowels *é* and *i* in hiatus before the back vowels *a*, *o*, *u* to yield rising diphthongs, whereas EN tended to keep the hiatus: Icel. *sjá* – Sw. *sēa* ‘see’, Icel. *fjándi* – Sw. *fīande* ‘enemy’ (Hesselman 1948–53, 57–67; Bandle 1973, 42). Between a consonant and an *r*, word-finally or before a third consonant, a svarabhakti vowel became common in Dan. from around 1200, in Sw. from around the mid-13th c. (Skautrup 1944, 250f.), and thus almost universal from the time of the earliest manuscripts. The svarabhakti vowel is mostly *æ* in Dan., in Sw. mostly *e* or *æ*, e. g. *akær* ‘field’, *hæster* ‘horse’, *skiüter/skiütær* ‘shoots’, *böker/bøkær* ‘books’. In Norw. the svarabhakti vowel only becomes common after 1300, in the form of *e/æ*, *a*, or *u*, depending on the dialect, and only after this period in Icel., in the form of *u*. After postconsonantal *r*, *jū* > *ȳ* in EN early in this period: Icel. *brjóta* – Sw. *brȳta* ‘break’. After postconsonantal *l*, this change also occurs early in Dan., but not until around 1300 in Sw.: Icel. *fljúga* – Sw. *flȳgha* ‘fly’. From the earliest Sw. manuscripts onward, final *r* (or perhaps the voiced sibilant *ʀ*) disappears in most cases after *a*, in the minority of cases after *i*, *u*: *hæsta* ‘horses’, *kasta* ‘throws’, but *gōþi(r)* ‘good’ (pl.), *syndi(r)* ‘sins’, *dōmi(r)*

‘judges’, *gatu(r)* ‘roads’ (Wessén 1968, 48f.; Noreen 1904, 248–253; Noreen 1913, 158ff.). This *r*-drop is the strongest in southeastern Sweden (i. a. Östergötland). The Dan. manuscripts have preserved a somewhat similar distribution of *r*-drop even after the wholesale merger of unstressed vowels discussed below, albeit with a clearer influence of morphological analogy (Brøndum-Nielsen 1932, 354–364).

During the ON period, various changes occurred in Dan. which led to a marked difference between Dan. and Sw. at the end of the period. These changes are connected to the concentration of word stress in Dan. (“Dänische Akzentballung”, Bandle 1973, 67–76) which led to “stød”. One of these changes is the wholesale merger of unstressed vowels. In Dan. from the 1100s onward, all unstressed vowels presumably merged to schwa, most often written *æ* in the oldest preserved manuscripts. However, *i* is frequently preserved after *g*, *k*, e. g. *riki* ‘realm’, *ængi* ‘no one’, and *u* often before *m*, e. g. *hanum* ‘him’ (dat.). Full vowels are often retained in Scanian. Consonants were also affected, not least by the “weakening” of strong stops between and after vowels, first to the weak stops *b*, *d*, *g*, then to fricatives, e. g. *diyb* ‘deep’, *wadn* ‘water’, *iartægn* ‘sign’, *taghar* ‘takes’. The earliest examples of this change are from Zealand around 1200, and they are rather common in Dan. manuscripts around 1300 (Brøndum-Nielsen 1932, 76–96; Skautrup 1944, 228–231). Another connected change from around the same time is the weakening of fricative *g* to *w* after back vowels, e. g. *thawær* < *thaghar* ‘when’, *daugh* ‘day’, actually part of a complex of changes (Brøndum-Nielsen 1932, 149–166; Skautrup 1944, 232–235). Connected to the merger of unstressed vowels in Dan. is a simplification of the inflectional system. For noun inflections, even the oldest preserved manuscripts almost consistently have a two-case system, with gen. sg. in *-s* or *-æ*, generally following the old distribution of *-s* and *-ar*, e. g. masc. *daghs* ‘day’, fem. *iorthæ* ‘earth’. This contrasts with the stable four-case system in Sw. Nouns, adjectives and pronouns in Sw. have four cases, e. g. *staver* ‘staff’, gen. *stafs*, dat. *stavi*, acc. *staf*, pl. nom. *stava(r)*, gen. *stava*, dat. *stavum*, acc. *stava*. Scanian, however, only merges nom. and acc. for nouns, and retains all four cases for adjectives and pronouns. For verb inflections, all person forms in the indicative singular tend to merge early in both Dan. and Sw., e. g. *kallar* ‘calls’, *kallaþi* ‘called’, al-

though the 2nd sg. *-t* in the strong preterite remains, e.g. *vēkt* ‘yielded’. In the plural indicative, Sw. retains person inflection: 1st *vikum*, 2nd *vikin*, 3rd *vika*. Dan. merges the persons in the plural and thus mostly shows a number distinction only: *han hauæ*, *thē hauæ* ‘he has/they have’. The subjunctive is not even inflected for number in Danish: *kōpe* ‘buy’, whereas Sw. (and Scanian residually) shows person distinction in the pl. but not sg.: sg. *kōpe*, 1. pl. *kōpom*, 2. pl. *kōpin*, 3. pl. *kōpe*.

The characteristics of ODan. emerge from the preceding discussion. In addition to the features common to EN, it had morphological simplification, merger of unstressed vowels and consonantal changes connected to *stød* distinguishing it from OSw. Of the four Nordic languages at this time, Dan. has the most marked dialect differences (Noreen 1913, 62–64). Jutland is the most progressive in morphological simplification and reduction of unstressed vowels, but at the same time shows some old western traits (e.g. *a*-umlaut and breaking). Scanian stays closer to Sw. as it does not participate fully in the changes connected to the Danish stress concentration, e.g. in keeping three distinct unstressed vowels and retaining more of its morphology. OSw. was characterized by eastern features, including phonological ones such as monophthongisation, but also a limited degree of morphological simplification (esp. in the verb). Dialect differences are not very marked in the OSw. sources. The most distinct dialect is that of Västergötland, which shares some features with ONorw., such as more extensive *a*-umlaut and assimilation of *mp*, *nk*, *nt* (Noreen 1913, 48f.). This dialect also has vowel harmony similar to Norw., with unstressed *e*, *o* following (long or short) *e*, *o*, *ø*. Old Gutnish is characterised in some respects by an extreme position on a West-East scale, but it also shares some properties with WN in contrast to Sw. and Dan. In addition, OGu. shows some conspicuous special developments shared by neither WN or EN. Many of the special properties of Gu. are inherited from Proto-Nordic and the umlaut period. On balance, Gu. was more different from Sw. around 1100 than Sw. was from Dan. and must probably be seen as a language of its own by that time. Thus, in Gu., the so-called *a*-umlaut of *u > o* is absent in almost all environments: *skut*, *fulc*, Sw. *skot* ‘shot’, *folk* ‘people’, as is *u*-umlaut, e.g. *hagguin* – Sw. *huggin/hoggin* ‘cut’. *I*-umlaut, on the other hand, extends to environments (short syllables) where it is

found neither in Sw. nor WN: Gu. *slegr* – Icel. *slagr* ‘blow’, Gu. *steþ* (acc.) – Icel. *stað* ‘place’, Gu. *legþi* – Icel. *lagði* ‘laid’. Instead of *iū* (or *y* originating from it), Gu. has the triphthong *iau*: Gu. *niauta* – Sw. *niūta* ‘enjoy’, Gu. *briauta* – Sw. *brȳta* ‘break’. Unlike in Sw. and Dan., diphthongs are not generally contracted: *auga* ‘eye’, *droyma* ‘dream’, *stain* ‘stone’. Gu. has the change *vr > r* as in WN: *raiþi* ‘anger’. Long and short *æ* and *ø* are raised, *æ > e*, *ø > y*: *lengr* ‘longer’, *mēla* ‘say’, *yx* ‘axe’, *dȳma* ‘judge’.

West Nordic is characterized by stability in its morphological system during this period. The differences within WN remain minor compared to EN. There are differences inherited from the pre-literary period. Thus, Icel. is the only variety of Nordic to retain initial *h* before *l*, *n*, *r*. Norw., on the other hand, shows a clear form of vowel harmony, except in the southwest, where matters are less clear. This vowel harmony, roughly speaking, calls for the high unstressed vowels *i*, *u* after high stressed vowels in the preceding syllable, whereas the mid and low stressed vowels are followed by unstressed *e*, *o*. Later, during the 13th c., Icel. shows some conspicuous vowel mergers which do not occur in Norw., namely the merger of short *o*, as in *lōnd* ‘countries’, with *ø*, as in *gōra* ‘do’, and the merger of *ó*, as in *dóma* ‘judge’, with (long) *æ*, as in *mæla* ‘say’.

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91. The history of Old Nordic manuscripts I: Old Icelandic

1. Introduction
2. The first period
3. The second period
4. From parchment to paper
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1. Introduction

In his *Book of the Icelanders* (*Íslendingabók*), composed in the 3rd decade of the 12th c., Ari Þorgilsson (d. 1133) tells us that during the winter 1117–18 the Icelanders started to record their law in writing at Hafliði Másson's residence in Breiðabólstaður in Northwest Iceland (Ísl. Fornr. I, 1968, 23). This date has generally been considered to mark the beginning of secular writing in Iceland.

The *Book of the Icelanders* also informs us that Iceland adopted Christianity in the year 1000 (Ísl. Fornr. I, 1968, 17). With the legitimation of the new religion Christian literature must have followed; Christian learning was supported by written books in Latin. There exists no evidence of the use of Christian books in the first century of the new religion. They must, however, have been used. Without them Christianity could not have survived. Probably the first Latin books were brought to the country by the so-called Papar, probably Irish monks; however, they are said to have left the country when the heathen Norsemen arrived, and there is no evidence of Irish influence in the Icelandic church. The first missionary bishops, such as Bjarnharðr (Bernard) Vilráðsson the Book-wise are likely to

have had a more significant impact (Ísl. Fornr. I, 1968, 18; Bysk. I, 80; cf. Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 37–38; Gjerløw 1980 I, 17; Ólafur Halldórsson 1989, 62). Ísleifr Gizurarson (1006–1080) was the first Icelander to be ordained as a bishop at the newly established see at Skálholt (1056). At the cathedral he taught young men to be priests. We can therefore be sure that in the 11th c. both liturgical books and schoolbooks existed at Skálholt. Of those books no remains exist, but fragments of liturgical books from the 12th c. (Lbs fragm 58) and from the beginning of the 13th c. (AM 98 I–II 8vo) have survived (Gjerløw I 1980, 27–31). Latin letters were probably already known in Iceland at the beginning of the 11th c., but scholars do not agree on whether runes were used for writing books (cf. Björn M. Ólsen 1883, passim; Hagland 1993, 166–169; Sverrir Tómasson 1993, 237).

1.1. The first Icelandic bishops, Ísleifr Gizurarson and his son Gizurr Ísleifsson (ca. 1042–1118), were educated on the Continent (Bysk. I, 75, 83; Bisk. I, 151, 153; Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 37–39; Sverrir Tómasson 1988a, 20–21). Until 1103 the see at Skálholt was part of the archdiocese of Bremen; with the establishment of the archdiocese of Lund in 1103, Skálholt and then Hólar (established as the diocese of northern Iceland in 1106) belonged to a Scandinavian ecclesiastical province. They were part of the archdiocese of Niðaróss (Trondheim) from its foundation in 1152 until 1550. It is probable that Icelandic book production was initially modelled on

northern European writing habits. Later it was influenced by Danish and Norwegian schools of writing (Foote 1975, 58; Köhne 1972, 13–16). It should, however, be kept in mind that some of the nation's most learned men, e.g. Sæmundr the Wise Sigfússon (1056–1133), St. Þorlákr Þórhallsson (d. 1193) and Bishop Páll Jónsson (d. 1211) had been educated in France and England, so literary influence from those countries may be expected (Magnús Már Lárusson 1967, 358; 1969, 80; Foote 1975, 68–71; Helgi Guðmundsson 1997, 331; Sverrir Tómasson 1988a, 19–24; 1988b, 73).

1.1.1. The Life of St. Jón of Hólar, originally composed at the beginning of the 13th c., tells us that a school was founded at Hólar by St. Jón during his first years as bishop (1106–1121). There young clerics must have been educated in the fundamental clerical studies, in the arts of grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic and music (Sverrir Tómasson 1988a, 16). References to the writings of learned men in the lives of the Icelandic bishops from the 13th and 14th centuries point to the composition of religious books in Latin in the country already in the 12th c. (*Bysk.* I, 96, *Bisk.* I, 240; *Guðmundar sögur biskups* 1983, 61; *Bysk.* II, 409; cf. Ólafur Halldórsson 1989, 63). There must also have been some sort of a secular school for the native elite in Oddi, in Rangárvellir, southern Iceland, at the end of the 12th c. (Sverrir Tómasson 1988b, 78; 1997, 201).

1.2. The Latin alphabet alone was not sufficient for writing Old Norse texts. We can find indications in some manuscripts that scribes tried to do so. However, already in the 12th c. attempts were made to adapt Latin letters to the Icelandic phonemic system and to create an orthography more suitable for Icelandic (Holtmark 1936, 18–44; Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 56). *The First Grammatical Treatise*, generally thought to be composed in the mid-12th c. but only preserved in a ms. of *Snorra Edda*, Codex Wormianus (AM 242 fol.) from the 14th c. is the oldest evidence of those attempts. However, the preface to all four of the grammatical treatises in Wormianus mentions the first mode of writing “hinn fyrsti letsháttur” which must allude to the orthography of Icelandic mss. before the rules of *The First Grammatical Treatise* were composed (Sverrir Tómasson 1993, 237). *The First Grammatical Treatise* also mentions the literary genres which were practised in the country

when the author was composing his work; he speaks (1972: 208) of “lög ok áttvísi eða þýðingar helgar eða svá þau hin spakligu fróði er Ari Þorgilsson hefir á bókr sett af skynsamligu viti” [laws and genealogies or sacred interpretations or also that wise lore that Ari Þorgilsson has put in writing with intelligent reason]. It is clear what the author means by laws and genealogies, but the meaning of *fræði* ‘lore’ in this connection is disputable. Scholars have considered *þýðingar helgar* ‘sacred interpretations’ to be some sort of interpretations of sacred texts similar to those in homilies or sermons. Of those genres mentioned by the First grammarian, there exist fragments of mss. of religious writings from the mid-12th c., such as AM 237a fol., and fragments of law codes from the latter half of the 12th c. (AM 315d fol.). However, no traces of mss. from this period containing genealogical material are now to be found, and the writings of Ari Þorgilsson are known only from late copies. If the word *fræði* is interpreted as meaning historical lore then, the oldest mss. of that genre are the fragments of *Veraldar saga* in the mss. AM 655 VII and VIII 4to, both from the beginning of the 13th c. (Morgenstern 1893, 52; Jakob Benediktsson 1944, XXVI–XXVIII, XXXIII–XXXV).

1.2.1. The oldest Icelandic ms. is an Easter table, AM 732a VII 4to, preserved on one leaf. It is a palimpsest and is considered to be from the first half of the 12th c. (Beckman/Kålund 1908–18 II, XII–XIV). It contains only Latin letters and is only of palaeographic and computational interest.

1.3. Few Icelandic mss. can be dated with absolute certainty. Only rarely do we find scribal names and dates such as those of Óláfr Ormsson, who tells us that he wrote AM 194 8vo (*Alfræði* I, 54) in the year 1387 in the small room at Geirröðareyri (now Narfeyri) in Snæfellsnes, West Iceland, or of Jón Þorláksson, who wrote his name and the date 1473 on one leaf of a missal (AM 80b 8vo) (*Smástykker* 1884, 128; cf. Ólafur Halldórsson 1966, 44). Only a couple of other mss. can be dated with such accuracy. For example, on one leaf in *Skarðsbók* of the law code *Jónsbók* (AM 350 fol.) it is stated that the ms. was written in 1363 (Jón Helgason 1958, 15; Ólafur Halldórsson 1981, 19).

It is, however, possible to date some mss. using other criteria. When the scribes are known by name and we know when they lived,

the dating seems to be an easy task; for example, the scribes of *Flateyjarbók* (GKS 1005 fol.), Jón Þórðarson and Magnús Þórhallsson, wrote their names in the preface of the manuscript. In some codices it is stated that the works they contain have been written at the request of famous chieftains. From such statements it is possible to find out when the works in questions were originally composed; however, the manuscripts themselves may be later copies, as is the case with the exegetical translations of the Old Testament in *Stjórn* I (AM 226 fol., AM 227 fol.). Originally this work seems to have been written during the reign of King Hákon Magnússon (d. 1319), but the main mss. are from the middle of the 14th c. Other mss. can be dated with some certainty if the same or similar handwriting can be found in a dated original charter or a letter. Unfortunately, very few original letters and documents older than the 14th c. have been preserved. Most Icelandic mss. can therefore only be dated by circumstantial evidence, whether palaeographic (Latin *f*/insular β), orthographic (*þ* at the front and end of words, *d* for δ) or morpho-phonological (the umlaut sign \acute{o} , later *ú*, the merger of *æ/ǣ*, the middle voice ending *sc/z*, *vó/vo* for older *vá*). Such evidence is then compared with materials whose provenance is secure (for example historical writings, documents and archeological findings), which can give some indication how the ms. in question should be dated. Owners' or readers' names or even place-names where the scribe stayed written in the margins of the mss. can also be of help in this respect.

1.4. It is difficult to divide the history of Icelandic ms. culture into periods. The first period is here considered to be from 1150 to 1250. The second is dated from the latter part of the 13th c. to the last decade of the 14th c. when *Flateyjarbók* was completed (1394). In Iceland the writing of vellum codices continued until the 17th c.

1.5. In a collection of translated exempla (*Geiring* 1882, 100) there is a mention of *ritklefi* 'writing closet', a translation of *scriptorium*. This translation indicated that working places of that kind must have existed. In one version of the Life of Guðmundr Arason by Arngrímur Brandsson, the word *ritstofa* is used with the same meaning. It is, however, uncertain whether that word occurred in the original version of that saga. *Skrifstofa* 'scriptorium' is also mentioned twice in sources from the

15th c. (Ólafur Halldórsson 1989, 86). It is not known for sure where the Icelandic scriptoria were or where most of Icelandic mss. were made. Scholars have thought it likely that most of them were written in cloisters or on estates in the neighbourhood of the ecclesiastic centers. A considerable number of mss. have been connected to those cultural centers by scholars (see 3.1.–3.2.2.).

As already mentioned, some scribes are known by name. Most of them were priests or monks; there were only a few laymen among them. It is, however, likely that Icelandic written culture also existed outside the religious houses and episcopal sees even though the main bulk of Icelandic mss. were certainly written at ecclesiastic institutions.

Icelandic mss. are for the most part written on vellum; sheepskin, but not goatskin, was also used for this purpose. The preparation of the Icelandic vellum is similar to the methods used elsewhere in Europe, and the techniques of binding are also similar. The gatherings were first sewn together on one or more leather strings which were fastened to wooden splints; these were put into small holes in wooden boards often made from driftwood, and sometimes afterwards covered with leather or sealskin. A simpler form of bookbinding was to sew all the gatherings or quires into a cover of leather or sealskin. Sources also mention writing on *rotulae* 'scrolls' (*Laurentius saga* 1969, 16). The formula used for Icelandic ink is not known (Ólafur Halldórsson 1989, 78). Drafts were sometimes written on wax tablets (*Laurentius saga* 1969, 101; cf. Margrét Hallgrímsdóttir 1991, 102–132).

2. The first period

Traces of Carolingian palaeography are very visible early in the first period of Icelandic ms. history, but later on Gothic features appear in the script. Under the influence from insular and/or Norwegian handwriting new letters like δ and β appear. Only a few codices from this period have come down to us, but some of the preserved mss. and fragments show good examples of Icelandic scribal culture at the end of the 12th c. and the beginning of the 13th c. In this connection the *Icelandic Homily Book* (Stock Perg nr 15 4to), the miracles of St. Þorlákr and other saints' lives in the older part of AM 645 4to, various fragments of religious matter in AM 655 4to, the fragments of the sagas of the Norwegian kings in AM 325 IV α (*Saga of St. Óláfr*) and AM

325 II 4to (*Ágrip*, a short saga of the Norwegian kings) should be mentioned.

2.1. It is a rather difficult task to find out how comprehensive the oldest vellum codices were because preserved mss. from this period are mostly fragments. For example, the ms. fragment AM 655 III 4to contains the end of the *Life of St. Nicholas* followed by some miracles which are known from Latin versions composed at the end of the 11th c. The text itself is not divided into columns and the size of the written surface on each leaf is approx. 23.7 × 16.4 cm., suggesting that it was part of a large ms. It is impossible now to find out whether the *Life of St. Nicholas* was the only text in this ms. or whether it originally contained other saints' lives as well.

The situation is different for the *Icelandic Homily Book* (Stock Perg nr 15 4to). This ms. now consists of 13 gatherings, not all of the same size, and it is unclear how many leaves some of them contained originally or how they were arranged (van Weenen 1993, 22–25). The codex has been sewn with strings of leather and bound in a sealskin cover. There are some signs (runes and letters) carved in the cover, some of them into the leather itself, others cut into remains of the hair. The codex has only one column and there are no illuminations or rubrication. The *Icelandic Homily Book* not only contains sermons but also theological material which could be of use to clerics, e.g. a small chapter on music and fragments from the rule of St. Benedict. The sermons are not arranged according to the church year. To judge from the greeting *góð systkin* 'good sisters and brothers' at the beginning of some of the sermons, the intended audience included laymen as well as monks belonging to the rule of St. Benedict. Scholars concur that the *Icelandic Homily Book* was a single codex, even though they do not agree either on the extent to which its contents were translated from Latin sources or on the number of hands it represents (i.e. whether it was written by a single scribe over a long period of time or by a number of scribes).

2.2. It is remarkable that some of the oldest ms. fragments contain subject matter which was used in both cathedral schools and other educational centers, e.g. *Elucidarius* (AM 674a 4to) and *Physiologus* (AM 673a I 4to). Among these early mss. are also interlinear glosses, Latin words translated by Icelandic ones. They are preserved in a compilation of

early and late texts, GKS 1812 4to, where maps of the T-O type can also be found (Gering 1878, 385–394; Scardigli/Raschellà 1988, 299–315). Of other educational hagiographical literature from that period, the *Dialogues of St. Gregory* in AM 677 4to can also be mentioned. Few secular writings from this period have come down to us; among mss. containing secular literature are the fragments AM 325 II 4to (*Ágrip*), AM 162 A fol 0 with the *Saga of Egill Skallagrímsson*, and AM 162 D 2 fol. containing *Laxdæla saga* (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, xxxix).

2.2.1. We do not know of any scribal schools from this first period. However, certain palaeographic similarities between the oldest existing Icelandic ms. fragments in AM 237a fol. and the oldest part of *Reykjaholtsmáldagi* 'the inventory of Reykjaholt' (Pskj1) have been pointed out. (Stefán Karlsson personal communication, cf. Ólafur Halldórsson 1989, 67.)

3. The second period

As with the first period, the time limits of the second one are far from clear. The most noteworthy works of Icelandic literature, such as the Eddic lays and the sagas of the Norwegian kings in *Morkinskinna*, have been preserved in mss. from the second half of the 13th c. (*Konungsbók*, *Codex Regius*, GKS 2365 4to, and GKS 1009 fol. respectively). Other important mss. from the latter part of the 13th c. are those of the Icelandic law code *Grágás* (*Staðarhólsbók*, AM 334 fol., and *Konungsbók*, GKS 1157 fol.) and *Alexanders saga* (AM 519a 4to). From the first half of the 14th c. we have *Konungsbók* of Snorri's *Edda* (GKS 2367 4to) and *Jónsbók* (AM 343 fol.). From the middle of the century are *Kálfalækjarbók* with *Njáls saga* (AM 133 fol.), *Möðruvallabók* (AM 132 fol.) and a collection of saints' lives (AM 234 fol.). *Króksfjarðarbók* (AM 122a fol.) containing *Sturlunga saga*, *Skarðsbók* of *Jónsbók* (AM 350 fol.) and *Flateyjarbók* (GKS 1005 fol.) are from the second half of the 14th c.; *Bergsbók* (Stock Perg nr 1 fol.) containing the saga of the two Olafs (Óláfr Tryggvason and Óláfr Haraldsson) is considered to be from the early part of the 15th c. During the 14th century the export of mss. from Iceland to Norway began. It ended around 1400, when the difference in language between Icelanders and Norwegians had become too great for easy comprehension (Ólafur Halldórsson 1990, 339–47; Stefán Karlsson 1979, 1–17.).

3.1. The Life of Jón of Hólar mentions a priest at Hólar named Þorgeirr, and describes a seizure he had when he sat writing. That event must have taken place around 1200. Þorgeirr's handwriting is unknown. *Laurentius saga biskups* mentions one Þórarinn kaggi Egilsson (d. 1283) who lived and ran a school at Svarfaðardalur. He was “hinn mesti nytsemðamaðr til leturs ok bókaþjórða sem enn mega auðsýnaz margar bækr sem hann hefir skrifat í Hólakirkju ok svá Vallastað”, [extremely productive in writing and book-making, as the many books which he wrote at the churches of Hólar and Vellir still bear witness] (*Laurentius saga* 1969, 2–3; cf. Hermann Pálsson 1959, 18–24; Ólafur Halldórsson 1989, 86). Stefán Karlsson has suggested that Þórarinn was the scribe of the Kringla ms. of Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, of which only a single leaf, preserved in the National Library of Iceland/Landsbókasafn Íslands (Lbs. fragm. 82) survives (Stefán Karlsson 1976, 22). The handwriting of Kringla is also found in the main part of the Konungsbók ms. of *Grágás* (GKS 1157 fol.), where it is called the B hand, as well as in the Staðarhólsbók ms. of *Grágás*, the A hand (Stefán Karlsson 1976, 21–22). Sources from the 14th c. name the scribes Þórarinn pentr Eiríksson and the farmer Dálkr [Einars-son] who is said to have made a “graduale, samsetta með sequentiur ok þar með kyrjáll” [gradual, including sequences, and a kyriale with it] (DI III, 175–76; cf. Ólafur Halldórsson 1989, 86). No writings by these men are now known.

3.1.1. The works of several 14th c. scribes have survived. One is the lawman Haukr Erlendsson (d. 1334). A comparison with his autograph letters from Jan. 28, 1302 and Oct. 14, 1310 shows that he wrote part of the manuscript named after him, Hauksbók (Finnur Jónsson 1896, v–vii; Jón Helgason 1960, v–vii; Stefán Karlsson 1964, 114–121). The contents of this ms. range widely, including *Landnámabók*, *Vqluspá*, *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*. Haukr also had scribes in his service, and parts of the ms. were written by them. The compilation Hauksbók is now thought to have included the mss. AM 371 4to, AM 544 4to, and AM 675 4to. However, it is not clear whether all these mss. were originally part of a single codex.

3.1.2. With the exception of charters, *Lögmannsannáll* (AM 420b 4to) is the only auto-

graph ms. to be preserved from the Middle Ages. It was composed by Einarr Hafliðason (1307–1393), priest and *officialis* at Breiðabólstaður in northwest Iceland.

3.1.3. Magnús Þórhallsson and Jón Þórðarson wrote Flateyjarbók in the years around 1390; it was probably completed in 1394 (Ólafur Halldórsson 1990, 209). Magnús also illuminated the ms., which was owned by Jón Hákonarson of Viðidalstunga (b. 1350, d. before 1416). He also owned another famous ms., Vatnshyrna, a collection of sagas of Icelanders which was destroyed in the great fire of 1728 in Copenhagen (Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1860, xv–xvi; Stefán Karlsson 1970, 279–300). It is probable that he also had the ms. Hulda (AM 66 fol.), a collection of sagas of Norwegian kings, made for him. We do not know where Magnús Þórhallsson and Jón Þórðarson wrote Flateyjarbók, but the monastery at Þingeyrar has been considered a likely location, among other things because of its proximity to Viðidalstunga. However, Ólafur Halldórsson has also suggested that the volume could have been written in Skagafjörður, because one of the scribes, Jón Þórðarson, is mentioned in a letter written at Hólar in Hjaltadalur, and a Jón Þórðarson, probably the same man, is named as the steward of the convent at Reynistaður in 1383 (Ólafur Halldórsson 1990, 206–7).

3.2. In his study *Helgafellsbækur fornar* (1966), Ólafur Halldórsson showed that a manuscript of sagas about the apostles, AM 239 fol., had belonged to the monastery at Helgafell on Snæfellsnes. Among other sagas, the ms. contains incomplete the composite *Lives of St. John and James, Tveggja postula saga Jóns og Jakobs*. AM 239 fol. was written by two scribes (hand I and hand II), and hand I is the same as that found in Skarðsbók of the law code *Jónsbók* (AM 350 fol.). Ólafur Halldórsson argued that the texts of *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs* in Skarðsbók (SÁM 1 fol.) and in AM 653a 4to, in which there were 9 leaves of the same *Tveggja postula saga*, were copied from AM 239 fol. Written in the same hand as SÁM 1 fol. and AM 653a 4to were also AM 238 fol. fragm. VII (*Silvester saga*), AM 61 fol. (*Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar hin mesta*), AM 156 4to (*Jónsbók*), and hand II in AM 233a fol. However, hand I in AM 233a fol. is the same as Skarðsbók of *Jónsbók*, AM 350 fol. Ólafur Halldórsson concluded that SÁM 1 fol., and probably also Skarðsbók

of *Jónsbók* (AM 350 fol.), had been written for Ormr Snorrason (ca. 1320–1401/2), the landowner of Skarð on Skarðsströnd. Furthermore, AM 156 4to was in the possession of the family at Skarð in the 16th c. While it is conceivable that the mss. were written at Skarð itself, the fact that the majority of the mss. under discussion contained saints' lives, and the exemplars followed in SÁM 1, AM 653a 4to, and AM 239 fol. were owned by Helgafell monastery, suggests that they were copied at the monastery. Hand I in AM 239 fol. appears also to be found in the *Saga of St. Óláfr* in Bæjarbók (AM 73b fol.), and Unger (1874, xii) considered that AM 226 fol., a ms. of *Stjórn*, was written in the same hand. Stefán Karlsson added to this group of mss. AM 219 fol. and the fragments JS fragm 5, Lbs. fragm. 6 and Þjms. nr 176, originally belonging to the same ms., altogether 20 leaves which also contained the Lives of St. Jón of Hólar, St. Þorlákr and St. Guðmundr Arason. He considered that a single scribe had copied AM 383 IV 4to, consisting of 4 leaves from the Life of St. Þorlákr, AM 325 X 4to, 14 leaves from the sagas of Norwegian kings, Sverrir, Hákon Sverrisson, Hákon Hákonarson and Magnús lagabætir, and AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to, one leaf from the *Saga of King Sverrir*, probably belonging originally to the same book as AM 325 X 4to. Stefán Karlsson divided all those mss. into two groups. In the first group were the Skarðsbók of *Jónsbók* (AM 350 fol.), AM 226 fol. (*Stjórn*), AM 239 fol. and AM 233a fol. In the 2nd group were AM 219 fol., AM 73b fol. (Bæjarbók), AM 383 IV 4to and AM 325 X 4to. Stefán Karlsson argued that there was so much palaeographic difference between those two groups that they were probably written by two scribes (1967, 19–21). Stefán Karlsson's and Ólafur Halldórsson's research has shown that there was a productive scriptorium at Helgafell at the middle of the 14th c.

3.2.1. One of the best known mss. from the 14th c. is Möðruvallabók (AM 132 fol.), which is considered to have been copied sometime between 1330 and 1370. It contains eleven sagas of Icelanders, including *Njáls saga* (unfortunately incomplete), *Egils saga*, *Laxdæla saga* and *Bandamanna saga*. There were originally 26 quires in Möðruvallabók, each with 8 leaves and two columns per leaf. The first quire is lost, and a new one, consisting of 9 vellum leaves written in the 17th c., has been added. In a few places, primarily in the text of *Laxdæla*, the text had become difficult to

read by the 17th c. and an attempt was made to write over the original letters. There are no contemporary illustrations in *Möðruvallabók*.

Three scribes probably worked on the codex originally, although one of them was responsible for most of it. His hand is also known from the following mss.: AM 642a Ið 4to, a fragment of the *Life of St. Nicholas*; AM 325 XI 2b 4to, a leaf from the *Saga of St. Óláfr*; AM 240 V fol., miracles of the Blessed Virgin; AM 573 4to, fols. 46–63, the conclusion of *Breta sögur* and beginning of *Valvens þáttur*; AM 220 I fol., the *Priest's saga of Guðmundr Arason*; Lbs. fragm. 5, miracles of St. Guðmundr Arason; AM 173c 4to, containing the Christian Laws section of *Grágás* and the Christian Law of Bishop Árni; AM 229 II fol., *Stjórn*. A different scribe wrote the verses in *Egils saga*. His hand is known from other mss., including *Skálholtsannáll* (AM 420 4to) and the legal material in GKS 3268 4to and GKS 3270 4to. The third scribe wrote the rubrics with red ink (van Weenen 2000, 22–23). This description shows that Möðruvallabók must have been written in a scriptorium where at least three scribes worked on numerous mss. with varied contents. It is uncertain where Möðruvallabók was written, but references to a local use of words of direction suggest a location in the north of Iceland. It has been suggested that the scriptorium was at Möðruvellir monastery in Hörgárdalur in Eyjafjörður (Stefán Karlsson 1967, 26–29; cf. van Weenen 2000, 7.)

3.2.2. One of the best known mss. of Snorri's *Edda* is Codex Wormianus. It now consists of 63 leaves, and in addition to the *Edda* it contains the four grammatical treatises. It was written in the middle of the 14th c. Finnur Jónsson (1888, xvi) noticed that the fragment of *Egils saga* in AM 162 A β fol. was in the same hand as Wormianus, and Unger (1891, 182) pointed out that the same hand was to be found in the first part of AM 227 fol. (hand A) and the first part of AM 229 fol., both of which contain *Stjórn*. In his introduction to Hauksbók, Finnur Jónsson (1896, xxxvi) considered that *Vǫluspá* in Hauksbók (AM 544 4to, 20r–21r) was written by the same scribe. Jón Helgason (1960, xi) pointed out the similarity between these hands and added AM 657 a–b 4to to the group. Its contents include *Mikjál's saga* by Bergr Sokkason, Abbot of Munkaþverá (d. probably before 1350) and *Clarus saga*, which is thought to have been composed by the Norwegian Dominican

Bishop of Skálholt, Jón Halldórsson (1322–1339) (cf. Jakobsen 1964, 109–111). Jakob Benediktsson (1980, 10–12) made a detailed analysis of these mss. in his edition of *Rómverja saga* from AM 595 a–b 4to, and concluded that the same scribe had written 11 mss. In addition to those just mentioned, he wrote *Jónsbók* (GKS 3269a 4to), part of *Jónsbók* in AM 127 4to (hand 2), a fragment of *Mariú saga* (AM 240 IV fol.), a fragment of *Jóns saga baptista* (AM 667 IX 4to) and part of *Karlamagnús saga* (NRA 62). Jakob Benediktsson agreed with Stefán Karlsson that these mss. were of different ages, in particular *Vqluspá* in Hauksbók and *Clarus saga*. Jakob Benediktsson believed that these mss. were from the north, because AM 657 a–b 4to had been owned by the church at Bólstaðarhlíð in Langadalur, Húnavatnssýsla, and GKS 3269a 4to contained a list of bishops of Hólar, the last of whom was Gottskálk Nikulásson (d. 1520). To this group may be added a leaf from a psalter, now in Sweden, written by the same man (Stefán Karlsson 1982, 320–22). Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir has pointed out that the illuminations of this fragment and the mss. appear to have been done by the same individual, and considered it likely that the men who made these mss. worked together, probably in a scriptorium in the north of Iceland, most likely the Benedictine monastery at Þingeyrar (1983, 65–73).

4. From parchment to paper

Icelandic book production does not cease with the creation of the impressive mss. of the 14th c., but the time of such ambitious volumes was over. The single exception is *Helgastaðabók* (Stock Perg nr 16 4to). Liturgical books, now lost, are, however, mentioned in contemporary sources (DI III, 175–76; cf. Ólafur Halldórsson 1989, 86). Up until 1550, parchment books were mostly written for Icelandic aristocrats; the beginning of the 16th c. saw the arrival of paper. Bishop Gissur Einarsson (ca. 1512–1548) was probably one of the first Icelanders to use paper for letters, and during his episcopate the first extant Icelandic books printed on paper were produced. Books printed on vellum were also known. Bishop Þorlákur Skúlason of Hólar (d. 1656) was probably the last Icelandic to have parchment mss. written, among them Snorri's *Edda* (Stock Perg nr 3 4to). Another example of a parchment ms. written in the 17th c. is the saga collection in GKS 1002–1003 fol.

5. Epilogue

The history of Icelandic vellum codices is rarely easy to trace. Árni Magnússon (1663–1730), the indefatigable collector of Icelandic mss. was in the habit of recording where he had obtained each ms. These notes of his often contain valuable evidence about previous owners, and it is sometimes possible to determine that a ms. has been in the possession of a single family, handed down from one generation to the next. At the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th c. some of the best known Icelandic mss. were still in the possession of Icelanders, and it can often be deduced from the writings of Icelandic humanists like Arngrímur Jónsson the Learned (1568–1648) what mss. they used (Jakob Benediktsson 1957, 82–106). Nothing is known about the history of many mss. before they came into the hands of Árni Magnússon in Copenhagen. Some famous mss., such as Codex Regius (GKS 2365 4to) of the Eddic poems, Flateyjarbók (GKS 1005 fol.) and Codex Wormianus (AM 242 fol.) were given to scholars, noblemen and kings in the 17th c. Little is known about the owners of the mss. which Jón Rúgmann obtained or those which Jón Eggertsson collected and sold to the Swedes, although the prices of some of them were recorded.

5.1. The majority of medieval Icelandic mss. are now preserved primarily in two collections, the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Iceland and Det Arnamagnæanske Institut in Denmark. There are also significant collections in Sweden and Norway, and a scattering of medieval Icelandic mss. are to be found in Britain, Ireland, Germany, and the United States.

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92. The history of Old Nordic manuscripts II: Old Norwegian (incl. Faroese)

1. Introduction
2. The making of a manuscript
3. The first writing in Latin letters
4. The Norwegian codices – age and contents
5. The Norwegian diplomas
6. The Faroese manuscripts
7. The scribes and their milieu
8. The audience
9. The history of the codices
10. The history of the diplomas
11. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

This article deals with manuscripts written in OWN in Norway (incl. the Faroe Islands) before about 1350. Manuscripts written in Latin are not included. The term “manuscript” is used for codices (a collection of pages stitched together in book form), fragments and diplomas (letters). The earliest written texts in OWN are runic inscriptions, but we have no Norwegian (or Faroese) manuscripts written with runes. Hence they are not included in this article.

2. The making of a manuscript

The Old Norwegian manuscripts were written on parchment made of calfskin. We do not know who prepared the vellums, but the skinners mentioned in Bergen’s town law might have done such work. And we do not know with certainty how ink was made or how pigments for the illuminations were obtained, although we assume that ink was made of an extraction from boiled gallnuts. Writing was done with a quill pen, mostly made from the feathers of geese and swans. The manuscripts were usually bound in wooden boards, often covered with leather, but only a few of the medieval bindings have survived. More general information about OWN manuscripts are given in Holm-Olsen (1990) and Kristjánsson (1993).

The scribes usually left an empty space at the beginning of each section of the text. Later the scribe himself or another artistic person filled this in, sometimes with pictures related to the text. This art of decorating a manuscript

is called “illumination”. Many medieval Icelandic manuscripts are beautifully illustrated. From Norway, only one illustrated manuscript older than ca. 1350 has been preserved, the so-called Codex Hardenbergianus. The first part of this codex was probably written in Bergen in the first half of the 14th century and contains King Magnús Hákonarson’s Norwegian Code from 1274.

3. The first writing in Latin letters

The first Norwegian texts were written in runes. The oldest preserved manuscripts written in Norwegian with Latin letters can be dated to ca. 1150–1200. They contain translated stories about saints, but only fragments remain. The oldest preserved book is the so-called *Book of homilies* from ca. 1200, written in Old Norwegian. It is evident that the first manuscripts came along with Christianity, which was introduced in Norway around 1000. In my opinion, the earliest Norwegian manuscripts were made in the first half of the 11th century (cf. Eithun/Rindal/Ulset 1994, 10–12).

4. The Norwegian codices – age and contents

The date a manuscript was created is normally not given in the manuscript itself, but there are a few exceptions. A part of AM 309 fol. contains King Magnús Hákonarson’s Norwegian Code. After this section is written: “Completus fuit liber iste. Anno domini m. ccc vicesimo quinto” [This book was completed Anno Domini 1325]. Usually the dating is based on palaeographic and linguistic criteria, and on the content and the history of the manuscript. Useful informations about the dating of OWN manuscripts are given in *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog* (1989), and of Norwegian manuscripts in Seip (1954; 1955). The first Norwegian manuscripts probably were made in the first half of the 11th century. But no manuscript has survived from this period, the oldest ones being more than 100 years younger. All the manuscripts in existence are copies of exemplars which with a few exceptions are now lost.

The oldest preserved fragments of manuscripts contain saints’ lives; AM 655 IX 4to, which can be dated to ca. 1150–1200, has fragments of an Old Norwegian translation from Latin of the saga of the apostle Matthew and

the saints Blasius and Placidus. From around 1200 comes the so-called *Book of homilies* which contains sermons, among them the famous sermon for the feast celebrating the dedication of a church (the so-called “Stavechurch Homily”). Throughout the Middle Ages manuscripts were produced containing religious prose. The bulk of these manuscripts are written in Old Icelandic, but there are good reasons to believe that this kind of literature also was created in Norway. We have many sagas of male and female saints, of the apostles, of Mary the mother of Jesus, of Archbishop Thomas Becket, of Barlaam and Josaphat. An important text is *Stjórn*, a translation of the Old Testament. In the prologue we learn that the Norwegian King Hákon Magnússon (1299–1319) instigated this work so that it could be read aloud for the edification of those at his court who did not know Latin.

The oldest fragments of law texts can be dated to ca. 1200–1250. They are AM 315f. fol. and NRA 1 B, which contain parts of the older Gulaping Code. Later come many manuscripts of King Magnús Hákonarson’s Norwegian Code from 1274, the so-called *Landslog*. There are thirty-nine fairly complete manuscripts of this *Landslog* in existence and thirty-one fragments.

A few of the existing manuscripts contain sagas of the Norwegian kings. The oldest preserved king’s saga in OWN vernacular, *Agrip*, is a Norwegian work from the end of the 12th century. The only manuscript is Icelandic, probably a copy of a Norwegian exemplar. The oldest Norwegian manuscript containing a king’s saga is DG 8 from ca. 1225–1250, in which we find the so-called *Legendary Saga of St. Óláfr*. We also have a fragment of *Fagrskinna* and manuscripts of Oddr Snorrason’s saga of Óláfr Tryggvason.

The Norwegian didactic work from around 1250 called *Konungs skuggsjá* (‘the King’s Mirror’) is preserved in many manuscripts, the oldest being Norwegian from ca. 1250.

The Norwegian King Hákon Hákonarson (1217–1263) initiated the translation of courtly literature mainly from French. Some of the sagas, called *riddarasögur* (‘knights’ sagas’), are preserved in a Norwegian manuscript from ca. 1275. Some scholars also mention *Þiðreks saga af Bern* in this connection. This is a Norwegian compilation from ca. 1250 of tales of German origin about Dietrich of Bern (i.e. Verona). One of the main manuscripts is Norwegian, from around 1275–1300.

The OWN Eddaic poems have survived only in Icelandic manuscripts, and there are rather few Norwegian manuscripts containing skaldic verses. But the archaeological excavations after the conflagration in 1955 on Bryggen in Bergen have brought to light Norwegian poetry written in runes. These runic inscriptions show that the Eddaic and skaldic forms had not died out in Norway around 1200. Therefore it is reasonable to believe that earlier on there were manuscripts in Norway containing Eddaic poems.

5. The Norwegian diplomas

In our context, the term *diploma* signifies official medieval documents in the form of letters. In OWN documents of this type most often were called *bréf*. At the outset, the Scandinavian diplomas were written in Latin, and throughout the Middle Ages Latin was used alongside the vernaculars. The oldest Norwegian diplomas have been lost, but they probably were made before ca. 1150. The oldest preserved diploma written in Norwegian is a letter from King Philippus Simonsson (1207–1217).

With the exception of a few letters in runes, the Norwegian diplomas were written on parchment, as were other manuscripts. But there are some palaeographic differences between diplomas and codices. To certify the authenticity of a diploma, one or more seals were put on it. The seals were usually made of wax and were attached to the lower edge of the diploma by means of parchment straps. Sometimes these straps were cut off older diplomas and thus have text fragments on them, mostly from private letters. Another mark of authenticity was the so-called “chirographus”, for which a document was drawn up in duplicate. The text was written twice on the same piece of parchment, and along the line of division, usually dragged, was written the word “chirographus”.

Contrary to the book manuscripts, most preserved diplomas are original documents, but some of them were copied. The copy (transcript) was usually framed by a new letter with new seals, saying that the copy was accurate.

The contents of a diploma may be divided into three parts: protocol, text and eschatocol. The protocol contains the greeting formula and the names of the issuer and the addressee. The eschatocol normally lists the names of those who have attached their seals to the document and gives information on when and

where the document was made. Few of the oldest diplomas bear the date or place. After 1290 it was common practice to mention the exact time and place of the composition of the diploma. The year may be given either as dating from the birth of Christ or the accession of a king.

The diplomas were issued by kings, archbishops, bishops, priests, bailiffs, lawmen and private individuals such as farmers. The contents of the diplomas are varied. They are concerned with charters, contracts, conveyances, gifts, judgments, leaseholds, the purchase and sale of land, testaments etc. The diplomas provide our most important source of knowledge about medieval life in Norway (see fig. 92.1).

Almost all the diplomas that have been preserved are official documents; only very few are private letters. This is due to the fact that private letters were not used to guarantee legal property or rights. Therefore the valuable parchment could be used for other purposes, e.g. straps for seals attached to official documents (cf. Rindal 1982).

The Norwegian diplomas have been edited in the series *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. The first volume was published in 1847, the last one in 1995, and the series is to be continued. A facsimile edition of the oldest diplomas is published in Hødnebo (1960), which also contains a useful introduction.

6. The Faroese manuscripts

There is no codex or diploma which we can say with certainty was written on the Faroe Islands before 1350. But we have one important law amendment about sheep (called the “sheep-letter”) on the Faroe Islands in a diploma issued in Oslo by Duke Hákon Magnússon 1298. This diploma is bound together with a Norwegian law codex (Holm perg 33 qu) from the first half of the 14th century. According to Mikjel Sørli (1965, 9–10) this diploma was written by a Norwegian on the Faroe Islands. Sørli (1965, 73) claims that another Norwegian law codex (LundUB Mh 15) from the first half of the 14th century, which also contains the “sheep-letter”, was written by a “Bergen-influenced Faroese clerk”.

7. The scribes and their milieu

We do not know much about the persons who wrote the medieval Norwegian manuscripts. With two exceptions, the scribes of the codices

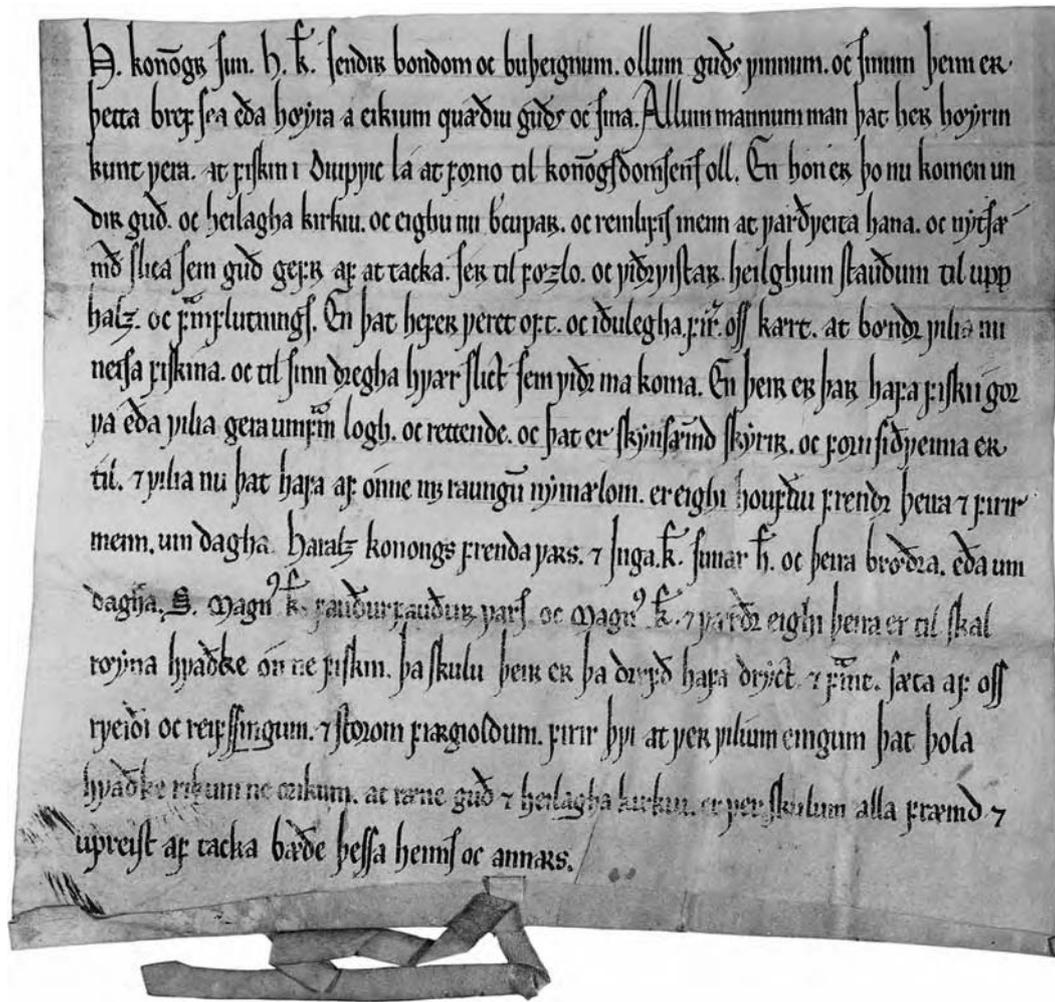


Fig. 92.1: Diploma from ca. 1224, issued by King Hákon Hákonarson

are unknown: around 1300 Þorgeirr Hákonarson made three copies of King Magnús Hákonarson's Norwegian Code and another legal text, and at about the same time Eiríkr Þróndarson made a copy of the same code. Icelandic scribes wrote manuscripts in Norway as well as they were producing manuscripts in Iceland for export to Norway (cf. Karlsson 1979).

Diplomas issued by the king often give the name of the scribes. According to Vågslid (1938), we know the names of 35 royal scribes working up to 1350. They often call themselves *klerkr* 'clerk' or *notarius* 'notary'. In a later study, Vågslid (1989) tried to identify the

scribes in the Norwegian medieval diplomas, pinpointing about 800 persons by name and title. Around 90 per cent of them belonged to the clergy at churches and monasteries. Only four of them were women. (Cf. Vannebo 1994). The bulk of the medieval scribes probably were clerics, but laymen were also able to write manuscripts. There are good reasons to believe that they received their education at churches and monasteries in Norway. For members higher up in the clergy, it was fairly normal to have some kind of university education abroad. We also know that a few members of the Norwegian aristocracy studied law at the University of Bologna.

8. The audience

Vannebo (1994) discusses what we know about the knowledge of reading and writing in medieval Norway. Obviously members of the clergy and some laymen were able to read and write. We have no exact figures, but probably less than 10 per cent of the urban population was literate. At this time Bergen had around 7000 inhabitants, and Oslo around 3000. In the prologue to *Konungs skuggsjá* ‘the King’s Mirror’ from the 13th century, it states that people who listen to this book are welcome to suggest improvements. And the standard initial formula in the diplomas is “to all those who see or listen to this letter”. These examples show that the audience normally was illiterate, so that these manuscripts had to be read aloud.

9. The history of the codices

According to Seip (1954; 1955), more than 125 Norwegian codices and fragments of codices older than ca. 1350 have been preserved. Karlsson (1979) has found that there were 54 non-legal codices in Norway in the Middle Ages, some of them imported from Iceland. These are only a small part of the codices that existed in medieval Norway. Halvorsen (1982) has emphasized that there was a greater loss of manuscripts in Norway than in Iceland. This is primarily due to the different development of the languages in these two countries at the end of the Middle Ages.

Most of the Norwegian medieval codices were owned by monasteries and churches. In the first half of the 14th century there were about 1200 churches in Norway with close to 2000 priests, and around 30 monasteries with approximately 600–700 people. Hence there must have been thousands of religious books, most of them written in Latin. From the written sources we get a few glimpses of the size of the libraries. We know that the monastery on Tautra in the Trondheimsfjord had 70 medieval books, and one in Konghelle in Bohuslän held 21 books. The archdiocese in Nidaros owned 87 volumes at the end of the Middle Ages. A church in Western Norway had 19 books around 1320. The sources also tell us about private book collections. The biggest was a collection of 36 volumes, probably owned by Árni Sigurðarson, Bishop of Bergen from 1305–1314.

Books were valuable at that time. In 1317 the Church of St. Mary in Oslo lent 4 legal

codes to a man going abroad to study. These four books were valued at fourteen cows.

At the end of the Middle Ages, the Norwegian language changed so much that people could hardly understand the medieval texts. Some of the manuscripts were now collected by high ranking people and later taken out of the country. The rest were used for other purposes. Let us look at the destiny of two well-known codices (cf. Rindal 1983; Tveitane 1972).

Manuscript No. 1154 fol. in the Old Royal Collection of the Royal Library, Copenhagen (GKS 1154 fol.), also called Codex Hardenbergianus, consists of three originally independent parts. The first part contains King Magnús Hákonarson’s Norwegian Code from 1274 and is the most richly illuminated of the medieval Norwegian manuscripts in existence (see figure p. 806, 92.2). This manuscript probably was written and illuminated in Bergen in the first half of the 14th century. There is one mostly erased signature from the end of the 14th century, indicating that the owner then was a bishop. From the 16th century, there are three notes saying that Helvig Hardenberg owned the book. She was born in Denmark in 1540 and was married to Erik Rosenkrantz in 1558. He was a Danish nobleman who became governor of Western Norway, residing at the Royal Palace in Bergen (Bergenhús) from 1560 to 1568. Then he became the lord lieutenant of Odense in Denmark, where Helvig Hardenberg died in 1599. While in Bergen, Erik Rosenkrantz showed much interest in the history of Norway. It is therefore possible that his wife received this manuscript from him. It was probably brought to Denmark when they moved there in 1568. We know that the manuscript belonged to the Royal Library in Copenhagen in 1670, but we do not know how it got there. This manuscript bears the name of its former owner, Codex Hardenbergianus. A few codices acquired their names in this way (e. g. Codex Frisianus, Codex Rantzovianus), but very seldom does a manuscript bear the name of a woman.

The oldest and most important collection of so-called courtly literature in OVN translation is in the codex known as De la Gardie (DG) 4–7 in the library at the University of Uppsala. This manuscript probably was written in Western Norway around 1270. From 1652 to 1669 the codex belonged to the Swedish Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. In 1669 he donated all his valuable collection of manuscripts to Uppsala Academy or Univer-

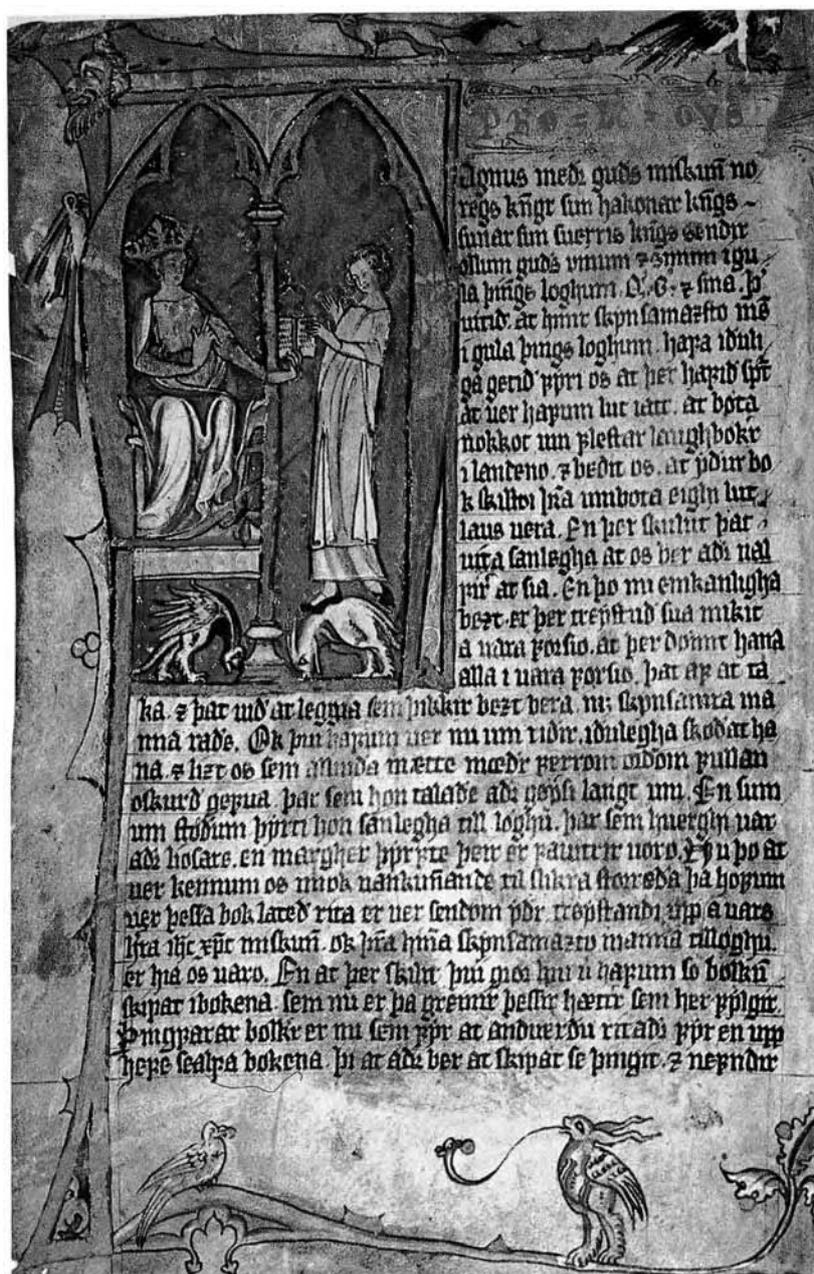


Fig. 92.2: Codex Hardenbergianus (GKS 1154 fol.) from 1300–1350. The prologue, where the king hands the law book over to a young man.

sity, and this is now part of the university library at Uppsala. Count De la Gardie bought this codex from the collection of the Danish historian Stephanus Johannis Stephanius after his death in 1650. The manuscript must have come to Stephanius from its last Norwegian owner, Laurits Samuelssøn Arctander, who wrote his name at the bottom of two leaves. He was born ca. 1600, studied at German universities, and was a tutor in Nordland when he wrote his name in the manuscript. From a letter from Stephanius to Ole Worm in 1642 we learn that Stephanius had had direct links with Arctander, but we do not know how he became the owner of the manuscript. Probably Arctander acquired the manuscript after the death in 1622 of Tollef Jonsson Benkestokk, who was a member of the noble family of Benkestokk in Nordland and wrote his name once in the manuscript. The oldest note of ownership says "Sir Snara Aslaksson owns me". Snara Aslaksson was one of Norway's leading men in the reign of King Hákon Magnússon (1299–1319).

Around 1500, four leaves from the end of DG 4–7 were cut out and subsequently inserted in a bishop's miter used at the cathedral church of Skálholt in Iceland. This is just one example of how medieval Norwegian manuscripts were dismembered and cut up after ca. 1500. The reason for this was partly the language change and partly religious changes. After the Lutheran Reformation in 1537 much Catholic liturgical literature was burned or mutilated.

From 1380, Norway was in union with Denmark. But Norway retained its own laws, and old Norwegian lawbooks had to be kept until the first authorized Danish translation in 1604. In 1846 the Director of the National Archives in Oslo discovered that the backs of certain provincial accounts from the 16th and 17th centuries had been reinforced by parchment scraps (cf. Eken 1963). These scraps had been cut out from medieval manuscripts and served to fasten the thread by which the sheets were stitched together to form a book. A smaller part of this collection of fragments represents nearly 100 manuscripts written in a medieval Scandinavian language. As recently as 1979, a fragment of the older Gulaping Code from the first half of the 13th century was found in the binding of a younger book.

The 16th century was the period of Humanism in Norway, and scholars took a great interest in early history. Sweden (1477) and

Denmark (1479) got their first universities just before that, whereas the first Norwegian university wasn't founded until 1811. Scholars used medieval manuscripts as sources for early Scandinavian history. The collecting of manuscripts started in the 16th century, mostly by Swedes and Danes. The most famous collector was the Icelander Árne Magnússon, professor in Copenhagen 1701–1730. He built up a large collection of Old Norse manuscripts, the Arnamagnæan Collection, which today is divided among the two Arnamagnæan Institutes in Copenhagen and Reykjavík.

As a result of the political situation in Scandinavia after the Middle Ages, most of the Norwegian medieval manuscripts are to be found in Danish and Swedish collections, mostly in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Uppsala. Apart from the fragments in the National Archives in Oslo, there are only two manuscripts older than 1350 in Norway, both in the National Library in Oslo. In 1961 and 1965 the Danish parliament agreed to return to Iceland a substantial part of the medieval Icelandic manuscripts which had been kept in Copenhagen. Norway never argued for the return of the Norwegian manuscripts. The only medieval Faroese manuscript, included in Holm perg 33 qu, was handed over by the Royal Library in Stockholm to the Faroe Islands in 1990.

10. The history of the diplomas

The Norwegian medieval diplomas number more than 20'000 when we include the Latin ones. From before 1350 there are 1108 original diplomas written in Norwegian. At the end of the Middle Ages there were archives including diplomas at the monasteries, the major churches and the king's chancery. Some diplomas have been privately owned. Normally the diplomas were important legal documents for the owners, and therefore preserved much better than the codices. Due to political developments, many archives were moved to Denmark. Some diplomas are also to be found in other countries, mostly in Sweden and in the Vatican Archives. After Norway left the union with Denmark in 1814, many diplomas were returned to the National Archives in Oslo.

Medieval letters are still being discovered. During the restoration of altar frontals at the University Museum in Bergen in 1960, fragments of letters from the 13th century under the painting were found.

11. Literature (a selection)

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Magnus Rindal, Oslo (Norway)

93. The history of Old Nordic manuscripts III: Old Swedish

1. Introduction
2. The Old Swedish manuscripts
3. The making of Old Swedish manuscripts
4. The culture of Old Swedish manuscripts
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

Just a small number of manuscripts containing native texts has been preserved from the Old Swedish period (ca. 1225–1375). This doesn't mean that nothing was written in Sweden during this period, but rather that scribes usually wrote in Latin, not in the vernacular. The use of Latin script for writing Swedish during this period must be seen as quite extraordinary. Latin was the language of the Church and the language of knowledge. The vernacular was generally written with runes.

In spite of this, 28 manuscripts (and some fragments) containing Old Swedish texts are preserved in different archives. How represen-

tative these manuscripts are is hard to say; it is of course impossible to guess how many manuscripts were lost since we have no records of any numbers.

The native language was used to some extent only for one genre, namely for rules and regulations. Out of the 28 preserved manuscripts, a total of 24 contain laws (Åström 1993, 232).

It seems that laws and regulations were written down in Swedish as a result of a Norwegian influence before the 13th century. It has been asserted that laws were composed orally. The early laws state that it was the lawman's duty to interpret ("lagh skilia") and to recite the law ("lagh tälia") at the *thing* (Holmbäck/Wessen 1979a, xvii ff.). Therefore it has been claimed that the laws were promulgated, memorized and proclaimed by generations of lawmen (cf. Ståhle 1955, 39; and Haugen 1976, 186). Recent research hypothesizes, however, that the laws, too, were adapted throughout for the written medium under the influence of

Roman and canon law (cf. Lönnroth/Delblanc 1987, 53).

Sawyer/Sawyer (1993, 19) point out that the early laws' distinguishing features such as alliteration, rhythmic constructions etc. are not very effective mnemonic devices. Alliteration, for example, appears to reflect the influence of Latin literature rather than oral promulgation.

The oldest laws concern different Swedish provinces, not the whole country. Accordingly, they are called provincial laws ("landskapslagar"). All of the Swedish provincial laws were written over a period of ca. 100 years. During this period the Swedish monarchy was consolidated, and the Church's power and social position was strengthened. Social life was thus undergoing a huge change. Thus, these provincial laws, too, have a high historical value and are often used as important sources for understanding social life during the early Middle Ages.

The written documentation of the provincial laws can probably be seen as the first step in a process of centralisation. In the mid-14th century we have the first Swedish national law, viz. *Magnus Eriksson's national law (landslag)*. The consolidation of the monarch's power through a common Swedish law implied the drafting of law codices. From the period between 1370 and 1400 we have 35 law codices preserved; 31 of those contain the national law (Åström 1993, 235).

Among the non-juridical manuscripts from the early medieval period in Sweden is the so-called *Old Swedish Legendary*. It is a chronological survey of the most important saints, kings and emperors. The stories from this source were still popular in the late mediaeval period, since many texts from this collection are frequent in late 15th and early 16th century manuscripts (cf. Carlquist 1996, 48f.).

Besides laws and saints' lives, there are some fragments of chivalrous poetry, of economic tracts etc. The content of the preserved Old Swedish manuscripts is consequently rather homogeneous; thus the fragments provide hints about the awakening of a more varied writing culture.

2. The Old Swedish manuscripts

This section gives a short survey of the most important Old Swedish manuscripts (for Middle Swedish manuscripts, see article 120). First a couple of law codices are presented,

then the *Old Swedish Legendary* and the *Autographs of Saint Bridget*.

2.1. The *Old Västergötland law* (Cod. Holm B 59 and Cod. Holm B 193)

The Old Västergötland law is the oldest known Swedish law; it is also preserved in the oldest manuscript. The original lawmaker was Eskil, a lawman and brother of Earl Birger – the founder of Stockholm. Snorri Sturluson may have influenced Eskil to write down the law since Snorri visited him in 1219 (cf. Ståhle 1955, 42). The language of the law also shows West Scandinavian features. The preserved manuscripts are, however, just copies.

The oldest fragment is Cod. Holm B 193, which today contains only two leaves from the inheritance code, and it was found in Telemarken, Norway. According to von Friesen (1904) this fragment is written in the pure 13th century dialect of Västergötland. Von Friesen has also set the dating of B 193 to ca. 1250.

The most important manuscript of the *Old Västergötland law* is, however, Cod. Holm B 59. This is a rather complex manuscript with a mixed content. B 59 consists at least of two different parts. The first part contains, besides the Västergötland law, notes about "the juggler's right" (*lekareätten*), geographical and political notes, and some statutes. In this part there is also a copy of Bishop Brynjolf's statute from 1281, which gives us a terminus post quem. This part of the manuscript consists today of 47 leaves; one leaf has been lost. It is easy to see that it has been well used, since the first and the last leaves are very discoloured and seem to have been used as covers. All this gives the manuscript the appearance of a private codex.

The second part of B 59 contains three sections distributed over 29 leaves. The first section gives historical information about lawmen and bishops in Västergötland, i.e. the notes of the friar from Vidhem (*Vidhemsprästens anteckningar*). In the second section we find the so-called *Lydekini notes*. This section includes adaptations of the law from the *Young Västergötland law* made by the scribe Lydekinus. The third section is written in Latin and is about Church legislation. In this section we find the expression "de jure regio" which indicates a terminus post quem of 1280.

The second part of the manuscript must also be seen as a private book; for instance Lydekini notes end with "Explicit liber laurentii quem scripsit lydekinus". According to Beck-

man (1911, 79), there is a connection between “laurencii” and a Laurentius Dyakn from Vidhem in Västergötland whom the first part of the manuscript talks about.

2.2. The *Young Västergötland law* (Cod. Holm B 58)

The well-preserved manuscript Cod. Holm B 58 contains a revised version of the law of Västergötland, i.e. the *Young Västergötland law*, together with the *Bjärköarätt*. The latter is a city law made for Lödöse (cf. 2.8.). B 58 also contains a Latin translation of the *statutes of Tälje* from 1345. There are some defects at the beginning of the manuscript; maybe as many as three files are missing (24 leaves); 124 parchment leaves have been preserved.

An innovation in the *Young Västergötland law* is the division and numbering of the codes into different parts [“flockar”], probably due to influence from the Norwegian law of Magnus Lagaböter. But the order of the different law codes does not seem very systematic, and it differs considerably in comparison with other Old Swedish provincial laws.

B 58 does not represent the oldest version of the *Young Västergötland law*. That is found in Cod. Holm B 59, in the Lydekini notes (cf. 2.1.). You can also track the older version of the law in the marginal notes of the *Old Västergötland law* in B 59. It thus seems that the owner of B 59 tried to update his law book. An interesting fact is that some of the added regulations in B 59 are not found in B 58. This indicates that the composing of the law was a work in progress.

The drafting of the *Young Västergötland law* must have been done between 1281 and 1300, and the new editors of the version found in B 58 may have used a version of the old law which was quite different from the text in B 59 (cf. Holmbäck/Wessén 1979b, xliii). The new regulations are inserted at the end of the codes rather mechanically. It thus does not seem that the scribe has been the editor; he was probably just working for a more competent lawman. However, his writing was very carefully and aesthetically done.

2.3. The *Östergötland law* (Cod. Holm B 50 and Cod. Ups. B 22)

The complete text of the *Östergötland law* is only preserved in two manuscripts, Cod. Holm B 50 and Cod. Holm B 197. B 197 is from the end of the 16th century; so B 197 is

not an Old Swedish manuscript. However, B 50 is dated to ca. 1350. It is a rather large manuscript with 108 leaves (two leaves have no text). Many of B 50’s initial letters are beautifully illuminated. It is maintained that the scribe thought more about the appearance of the page than of the language since many mistakes appear in the text (cf. Stähle 1988, 17).

There are also five fragments of this law, all from the 14th century. The most important of these is Cod. Ups. B 22, a very defective manuscript. Olson (1911), who found 30 single leaves and 12 strips of this manuscript, maintained that B 2 in the original may have contained 87 leaves (cf. 1911, xii ff.). Later Jan Liedgren found another 61 additional strips, 56 with text. All the leaves and strips belonging to B 22 are found in folders of 15th century manuscripts from Vadstena Abbey. B 22 may have been disassembled here when the text was out of date.

The *Östergötland law* seems to have been composed around 1290, and at least before 1303 when a charter speaks about a codex to this law. The primary editor was most certainly Bengt Magnusson, lawman between 1269 and 1294 (Holmbäck/Wessén 1979a, 3).

2.4. The *Uppland law* (Cod. Ups. B 12)

Cod. Ups. B 12 is one of the manuscripts of the *Uppland law*. It was edited by Schlyter, who dated the manuscript to ca. 1300 (1834, i), which today we know is incorrect. A more reliable dating would be ca. 1350 (Henning 1967, i). B 12 contains 123 parchment leaves; two have been lost and replaced with empty leaves.

There are four additional manuscripts containing the complete text of this law, all from the 14th century. The two most important ones are Cod. Holm B 199 which, according to Henning (1967, xv ff.), stands closer to the archetype than B 12, and Cod. Holm B 52, which is a straight copy of Cod. Holm B 199. The relationship between B 52 and B 199 can be proved by some mistakes they have in common (cf. Henning 1967, v).

The remarkable thing about B 12 is that this manuscript contains, besides the law text, both a preface and a copy of King Birger Magnusson’s confirmation of the law on the 2nd January 1296. The confirmation tells us that the initiative for the *Uppland law* came from the dependants. It was prepared by the lawman of Tiundaland, Birger Persson (father

of Saint Bridget), together with 12 men. The law was thereafter proclaimed and confirmed by the King. The *Uppland law* is thus a more official law than other provincial laws. Consequently the *Uppland law* came to be important also outside Uppland. It is easy to track its influences in e.g. the *Law of Hälsingland* and in King Magnus Eriksson's national law. The Church legislation from the *Uppland law* was used, to some extent, until 1686.

2.5. The *Law of Dalarna* (Cod. Holm B 54)

Just a single manuscript has been preserved of the *Law of Dalarna*, viz. Cod. Holm B 54 (some parts of the law are preserved in the copybook of Nils Hansson Brask, Cod. Ups. B 113, 16th century). B 54 is a rather small manuscript. It contains 53 parchment leaves, but only the first 46 leaves contain the law. The writing on the last leaves consists of later notes. The manuscript contains many writing errors, which indicates that the scribe was not very accurate. One problem is that the manuscript lacks a title and information about where it has been used, mentioning only that "this law has been valid since Dalarna was built" (þæssum lagh hawa standit æ sīþan dala byghdus, cf. Wiktorsson 1981, 38f.). When Schlyter edited the law, he described it as the *older Västmanna law* due to the fact that the province of Dalarna never was a proper law region (*lagsaga*). Since the end of the 19th century when H. Schück (1891) proved that during the 1570s Mats Bengtsson's law book was seen as applying to Dalarna, almost nobody has questioned B 54's provenance (cf. Holmbäck/Wessén 1979c, xiv ff.). Only Wiktorsson (1981, 59ff.) persists in claiming that B 54 is a version of the *Older Västmanna law*, but used in Dalarna. He asserts that there was no official version of the law for the province of Dalarna; so there would be no reason to talk about a law of Dalarna.

The *Law of Dalarna* also shows many similarities with the *Uppland law*. This has led to a discussion of which law has borrowed from the other. The problem is that there are very few word-for-word similarities. Neither do the different codes follow in the same order. Recent research has maintained that the *Law of Dalarna* must be younger than the *Uppland law* because of a reference to King Birger Magnusson (Holmbäck/Wessén 1979c, xviii). The reference gives the year 1290 when Birger became king as *terminus post quem*. Probably the dating can be extended to 1298 when Bir-

ger reached lawful age. The *Uppland law* was, as mentioned above (cf. 2.4.), confirmed 1296.

The dating of the *Law of Dalarna* is thus not unchallenged. For example, why must the reference to King Birger date the whole law and not just a single regulation? Information in different laws that a certain regent has decreed a certain law is not uncommon, especially in older Norwegian laws. In the (*young*) *Västmanna law* there is also the same regulation with the same reference to King Birger. Thus it does not seem that this reference can be used as proof that the *Uppland law* must be older than the *Law of Dalarna*.

According to Hafström (1974, 43), the draft of B 54 must have been made before 1280. This is because B 54 lacks regulations about visiting (*gästning*) that was included in the *Alsnö stadga* from that year.

Probably neither the *Uppland law* nor the *Law of Dalarna* are dependent on each other. The similarities may very likely be understood as a result of the establishment of the king's power.

2.6. The *Södermanna law* (Cod. Holm B 53 and Cod. Havn., Ny kongelig Samling N:r 2237 4:o)

Both the preserved manuscripts of this law are from the 14th century. Wiktorsson (1976, 10) dates B 53 to ca. 1327, and NKS 2237 to 1335–1350. He also claims through analyses of different charters that NKS 2237 was written by a scribe who was active in Ärnäs, Kärnbo parish, Selebo hundred (1976, 53). Wiktorsson (1976, 32; 1981, 4) also shows that the master manuscript for NKS 2237 must have been Cod. AM 52 4:o, today a fragment containing just the Church legislation.

NKS 2237 contains, besides the law, a confirmation and a preface. Both additions seem to have been copied from the *Uppland law* and just marginally changed for the new context. NKS 2237 is a well-prepared and very beautiful manuscript.

Cod. Holm B 53 contains, besides the *Södermanna law*, also one leaf of the *Björköarätt*. One scribe has written both the laws but with different kinds of ink, possibly at different times.

Some important differences, especially in the Church legislation, between NKS 2237 and B 53 indicate that in the beginning of the 14th century there must have been at least two different laws for Södermanland. B 53 represents the older version that was edited around

1300. NKS 2237 is slightly more modern and was probably the result of a new editing process (cf. Holmbäck/Wessén 1979c, xvii ff.). According to Wiktorsson (1976, 19 ff.) this is incorrect; he claims that both B 53 and NKS 2237 were edited around 1326 but at different locations.

2.7. The *Gutnish law* (Cod. Holm B 64)

The language spoken on Gotland in the Baltic Sea during this period was quite different from the language of the Swedish mainland. Therefore a distinction is made between Old Swedish and Old Gutnish. Only one Old Gutnish manuscript is preserved, viz. Cod. Holm B 64 from about 1350. B 64 contains the *Gutnish law*. An older textual version of this law is found in a later manuscript, viz. Cod. AM 54 4:o from the 16th century (cf. Holmbäck/Wessén 1979d, lxy). In AM 54 there are regulations about children of priests and about thralls. These regulations are missing in B 64 because they were not suitable after the imposition of celibacy and the abolition of bondage. Accordingly the version of the *Gutnish law* found in AM 54 must have been written during the 13th century.

The *Gutnish law* includes the *Gutnish saga*, composed around 1220. The law does not seem to have a later dating. The law was probably written down by order of Archbishop Andreas Suneson who visited Gotland in 1207 (cf. Holmbäck/Wessén 1979d, lxxi f.). The *Gutnish saga* follows immediately after the law text in B 64. Both texts were written by the same scribe.

There are two mediaeval translations of the *Gutnish law*, one in Low German from 1401, and one in Danish from ca. 1550. Both these translations contain the regulations about thralls, but not the ones about the children of priests. Since they differ in the order of chapters (the *Gutnish law* is not organised in codes), it seems that there are four different preserved versions of the law (cf. Holmbäck/Wessén 1979d, lxxviii).

2.8. The *Björköarätt* (Cod. Holm B 58)

The Swedish *Björköarätt* survives only in one manuscript, Cod. Holm B 58 from about 1345. This manuscript also contains the *Young Västergötland law* (cf. 2.2.). The *Björköarätt* in B 58 was written for use in Lödöse, Västergöt-

land, but the original text was probably composed for the city of Stockholm since the *Björköarätt* mentions Stockholm and other place-names around Stockholm.

Two fragments of the *Björköarätt* are also preserved, one written for the province of Södermanland, possibly Nyköping, the other for the province of Östergötland, possibly Linköping or Skänninge.

The *Björköarätt* was not influenced by German city laws to any large extent. This is a quite unexpected fact, since many Germans lived in Stockholm during the time the Swedish *Björköarätt* was drafted (Holmbäck/Wessén 1979b, xcix).

2.9. *Magnus Eriksson's national law* (Cod. AM 51 4:o)

Around 1350 a new law was drafted. This law intended to replace the different provincial laws as a common law. It has been shown that this new national law is related to the royal regulations that had been promulgated in Skara in 1335, Skänninge in 1335, Uppsala in 1344 and Tälje in 1345. This connects King Magnus Eriksson to the national law (Holmbäck/Wessén 1962, xvi ff.). In itself the national law is rather anonymous; it lacks confirmations, prefaces and even Church legislation. It shows a close connection to the provincial laws of Uppland and Östergötland.

The reason that the national law lacks Church legislation is due to a protest made by clerks from five of Sweden's seven dioceses in 1347. The clerks protested against every attempt to decrease the church's legal rights (cf. Holmbäck/Wessén 1962, xxvii ff.). This explains why most of the manuscripts containing the national law also contain Church legislation from an older law, usually from the *Uppland law* or the *Södermanna law*.

In spite of this the national law was ready to be used in 1352. Charters tell us that the *Östergötland law* and the *Uppland law* were still in use 1351, but during the year 1352 we know that the national law was used in Västmanland and Östergötland (cf. Holmbäck/Wessén 1962, lvi ff.).

Today ca. 100 manuscripts of the national law have been preserved, mostly from the Middle Swedish period. One of the most important manuscripts of *Magnus Eriksson's national law* is Cod. AM 51 4:o from the middle of the 14th century. This manuscript contains the national law together with the Church legislation from the *Småland law*. A different

and probably later hand (Holmbäck/Wessén 1979b, lxxvi) wrote the Church legislation.

Another important manuscript of the national law is Cod. Ups. B 23. In this 14th century manuscript we also find that a 16th century scribe tried to restore the lost parts of the manuscript. B 23 has been edited and closely described by Wiktorsson (1989).

2.10. *Magnus Eriksson's city law* (Cod. Holm B 154 and Cod. Holm B 170)

Around the same time the national law was written, a new city law for Sweden was drafted. Just like the national law, the city law lacks Church legislation (cf. 2.9.). The national law and the city law are often in accordance, so it is quite obvious that the city law was written in connection with the national law. One of the big differences is that the city law gives a daughter the same right of inheritance as a son (cf. Holmbäck/Wessén 1966, xlix).

The city law must have been ready before 1357 when King Birger Magnusson's regulations about sheriffs, chief magistrates and councils were announced. These regulations are not found in the city law.

Magnus Eriksson's city law is preserved in more than 100 mediaeval manuscripts, but only five of these (and one fragment) are from the 14th century. In Cod. Holm B 154 the city law takes up 98 leaves and follows after the Church legislation from the *Uppland law*. It has beautiful initials, often very large. It is quite clear that this manuscript was in frequent use; for instance many different hands have written notes in B 154.

Cod. Holm B 170 gives a clear dating and a clear notification of province. It begins with "Her byrias sutherköpungs laghboch" 'Here begins the law book of Söderköping' and ends with "Completus est liber iste sub manu konradis scriptoris. Anno ab incarnatione domini M.CCC.LXXX septimo".

Another Old Swedish manuscript containing the city law is Cod. Linc. J 88 written by the same scribe who wrote the national law in Cod. Ups. B 6. There is also Cod. Holm B 5b, which contains the national law together with the Church legislation from the *Södermanna law*. Last there is Cod. Holm B 127a; a defective manuscript which lacks Church legislation. None of J 88, B 56 or B 127a can be connected with any specific city. Holmbäck/Wessén (1966, xlv) suppose that all three were written in Stockholm, but they give no clue as to where they were used.

Every mediaeval city in Sweden had to have its own law book since the law stated that the law book should be kept in a chest together with seals and charters, and every year it had to be read aloud (Holmbäck/Wessén 1966, xv). However, very few manuscripts can be connected with a specific city. Many of the preserved manuscripts of the city law seem to have been owned by laymen, but there is very little information about scribes, dating, owners etc. Usually the manuscripts are anonymous. We do, however, know that Cod. Holm B 154 from the second half of the 14th century was used in Stockholm, and Cod. Holm B 170 from 1387 was used in Söderköping (cf. Holmbäck/Wessén 1966, xv; about the dating of B 154, see also Jansson 1943, 122f.).

According to Beckman (1917, 17f. and 240f.; see also Holmbäck/Wessén 1966, xviii f.) there are four different groups of manuscripts of the city law: the Stockholm type, the Söderköping type, the Uppsala type and the Västerås type. The most important type is certainly the Stockholm one with its prototype Cod. Holm B 154. This type was used for the first printed version in 1617–1618 (the city law was confirmed in 1617 by King Gustav II Adolf).

2.11. *The Old Swedish Legendary* (Cod. Holm A 34)

As already mentioned, the main part of the vernacular manuscripts from the Old Swedish period contain law texts. An exception is Cod. Holm A 34 from 1340–1385 (cf. Jansson 1934, 21f.), which contains the *Old Swedish legendary*. Today A 34 consists of 60 parchment leaves, but it must have been a great deal larger since the manuscript has some rather large lacunae.

According to Jansson (1934, 21) the dialect of the manuscript points towards Östergötland. Earlier research has mentioned the Dominican monastery of Skänninge as its place of origin, but during the 15th century it may have been transferred to Vadstena Abbey (cf. Carlquist 1996, 27). The binding is typical for Vadstena, and on the inside of the cover we find a fragment of a text by Saint Bridget (Carlquist 1996, 42f.).

The so-called *Old Swedish legendary* is a rather free translation of *Legenda aurea*. The legendary is also found in two Middle Swedish manuscripts, Cod. Ups. C 528 and Cod. RA E 8900. Jansson (1934, 46ff.) maintains that C 528 contains the most original version of

the text, but later research has shown that the differences between the manuscripts can be explained by their being aimed at different audiences: C 528 was written for use in Vadstena Abbey, A 34 and E 8900 for different lay audiences (cf. Carlquist 1996, 82f.).

Another Old Swedish manuscript containing the same texts is Cod. Holm A 124. A 124 is a very defective fragment, slightly older than A 34 (cf. Carlquist 1996, 30).

2.12. The *Autographs of Saint Bridget* (Cod. Holm A 65)

Maybe one of this period's most striking manuscripts is Cod. Holm A 65, also called the *Autographs of Saint Bridget*. Toni Schmid and Erik Noreen in particular (Högman 1961, 9f.) have discussed the authenticity of Saint Bridget's own writing. Thanks to Högman's philological survey of A 65, we can say that it is most possible and highly probable that we have here Saint Bridget's own draft. He has shown that the text in itself has priority over all Latin manuscripts (1961, 30ff.). He also put forward historical statements, palaeographical evidence, and the fact that Vadstena Abbey held the *Autographs* as authentic in the 15th century as evidence for this (1961, 70f.).

Cod. Holm A 65 consists of three paper leaves; two contain autograph A, one autograph B. The leaves of autograph A are sewn together. The paper has slightly yellowed with age and is of three different kinds. All three leaves are filled up with letters on one side. It was written by the same scribe throughout with two exceptions. On the back of autograph A a 15th century scribe has noted "Sancta birgitta screef thæssa ordh medh sinne eghne hand som røre pawan oc cardenales" [Saint Bridget wrote these words with her own hand about popes and cardinals], and on the back of autograph B we can read another note: "fyrst vil iak þik seya huru þik æru andelik understandelse giuin" [Firstly I will tell you how spiritual understanding is given you].

3. The making of Old Swedish manuscripts

Sweden is still without any greater codicological survey of the older vernacular manuscripts. We know very little about the different scribes, their schools, early chancelleries etc., especially in comparison with Norway and

Denmark. We do know that Bishop Henric of Linköping decreed in 1272 that a new priest should stay two years at the cathedral so that he could learn clerical skills (Jansson 1943, 83), but that is just about all.

However, it is quite clear that there were many scribes in Sweden during this period. The by-name *skrivare* 'scribe' was rather common during the 14th century, and even people whose profession wasn't that of a scribe carried that name.

Except for the *Autographs of Saint Bridget*, all the Old Swedish manuscripts consist of parchment. Law texts continued to be written on parchment during the 15th century, even though paper grew more popular. There are a few charters written on paper from the 14th century but they are not common. It is quite obvious that during this period paper did not constitute a threat to parchment as writing material.

The script is usually Gothic, quite soon changing to Gothic cursive. Only the *Old Västergötland law* is written in Carolingian script, an influence from the Norwegian manuscripts (cf. Jansson 1943, 88ff.).

The ink was usually made from oak galls and from vitriol, as we know through medieval recipes found in manuscripts. The ink was often black or brown; only in rubrics and for important names was coloured ink used, mostly red, but sometimes blue and green. Illuminations are not common. When they occur during this period, it is in law manuscripts, and then often in the initials. Most important here are Cod. Holm B 50, containing the *Östergötland law*, Cod. Holm B 6 and Cod. Holm B 10, both containing *Magnus Eriksson's national law*.

A lot of writing seems to have been done on wax tablets, but of course, nothing of this has been preserved. For example, the very special style of writing in *Saint Bridget's Autographs* may be explained by the possibility that Bridget used to write on a wax tablet (Högman 1961, 16f.).

Very few studies have been carried out regarding the punctuation system. As far as I know, only Cod. Holm A 34 (cf. 2.11.) has been examined from this perspective. It uses a well thought-out punctuation system both to structure the content and as a support for reading aloud (cf. Carlquist 1996, 204ff.).

4. The culture of Old Swedish manuscripts

In the Old Swedish period, we seem to have a clear difference between a literate elite and an illiterate mass. Nearly all the writing during this period was in Latin. In the vernacular there are, above all, law texts. The laws were written down as an essential part of the consolidation of the kingship when Sweden was on its way into Europe. The most interesting fact is that the laws were composed in the vernacular – not in Latin. Another interesting fact is that many of the law manuscripts from this period are private compilations, not official law-codices. This explains why the same law can differ in the order of items, that many manuscripts can be seen as unsystematic, containing repetitions and contradictions, including out-of-date laws etc. Laws tended to be treated as recommendations to be taken into account rather than as rules to be obeyed (Gunneng 1987). This also made it important for the king to make an official law that could strengthen his power (cf. Sawyer/Sawyer 1996, 18).

There is also a great collection of Saints' lives translated into Swedish ca. 1300. This collection can not have had any liturgical function. The lives are not ordered after the church year, but chronologically (cf. Carlquist 1996, 46f.). Probably the legendary was composed as a source of edificatory stories for a lay audience (Carlquist 1996, 223ff.).

Neither are the *Autographs of Saint Bridget* any proof of a higher level of lay literacy in Sweden. Bridget was from one of the noblest families in Sweden, and she was an extraordinary woman, not just because she knew how to write using the Latin alphabet.

Besides these texts preserved in Old Swedish manuscripts, we know that there were more texts written in Swedish. For example, the Norwegian Queen Eufemia had some of Chretien de Troyes' works translated into Swedish. The political chronicle of duke Erik (*Erikskrönikan*) was composed in the early 14th century. Probably the royal speculum *Um styrilsi kununga och höfþinga* [How to govern for kings and leaders] also dates from this period, as does a paraphrased translation of the Pentateuch.

Together this indicates that there was an audience for written texts of different kinds outside the church and outside the legal administration. But this audience differed greatly from later textual audiences. In spite of the

fact that everyone came into contact with written texts, in church, at the *thing* etc., very few read texts, and even fewer owned manuscripts. People *listened* to texts, maybe memorized texts or had texts read aloud (cf. Jansson 1994, 106f.).

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94. The history of Old Nordic manuscripts IV: Old Danish

1. Overview
2. Latin manuscripts
3. Vernacular manuscripts
4. Literature (a selection)

1. Overview

With regard to Danish manuscripts – a term here used to cover both manuscript books and handwritten documents of certain or probable Danish origin – the period from ca. 1100 to 1350 constitutes a well-defined whole: there are no extant Danish manuscripts dating from before ca. 1100 and only very few from the half century or so after 1350. In the following, attention is chiefly given to those manuscripts from this period which provide information pertaining to the history of the Danish language.

Historically speaking, the details surrounding these manuscripts are hazy; apart from the charters most can be dated and localised only approximately, if at all, and their scribes are anonymous, with the exception of a very small handful, who, when they provide titles, tend characteristically enough to be in religious orders. Scribal schools can be discerned only in conjunction with the largest religious institu-

tions (primarily Lund, but possibly also Sorø). Linguistically speaking, the manuscripts are sometimes solely or predominantly in Latin, sometimes solely or predominantly in Danish, the former case typically when they preserve texts which are part of the common European Latin-Christian tradition and/or can be presumed to have had interest principally for the local representatives of that tradition (diplomas, municipal laws, guild laws, necrologies, cadastres, annals and chronicles), and the latter case when they preserve texts that were the product of indigenous culture (chiefly the provincial laws), or common European texts which may be assumed to have had especial meaning for ordinary people (medical and religious works). Quantitatively speaking, the distribution of the manuscripts over the period is as could be expected: the largest number are from the first half of the 14th c., fewer from the 13th c., and only a very few from the 12th c. Given that it is known that texts have been written down in Danish since the end of the 12th c., it is more of a surprise that the great majority of vernacular manuscripts should come from the last part of the period – indeed, apart from one or two, all are dated to the period ca. 1300–1350.

2. Latin manuscripts

With the exception of the two law codices AM 37 4to and AM 11 8vo, which contain complete short texts in the vernacular, the chief interest of the Latin manuscripts from the point of view of the history of Danish lies in the vernacular material that appears sporadically in them. This material is principally in the form of Danish personal and place-names, although particularly in the charters and municipal laws Danish words, especially substantives, occasionally appear which for one reason or another are not translated. Most often this scattered material is found in purely Danish or slightly Latinised form (the latter is especially the case for personal names), and can therefore throw light on the history not only of the vocabulary, but also on orthography, phonology and to some extent morphology.

Despite being in Latin, the original charters (i. e. legal documents such as royal ordinances, deeds, testaments and so on) are one of the period's most important (and least studied) sources for the history of Danish. Owing to the nature of their content, they are full of names, are almost always precisely dated, unlike other sources, and are more evenly distributed chronologically over the period than are the vernacular Danish manuscripts.

Unfortunately there are only two or three original Danish charters (as opposed to copies) from the 12th c. dealing with Danish matters. The oldest is Erik Emune's privilege for Lund Cathedral from 6 January 1135, the scribe of which has been identified as one of the scribes of *Necrologium Lundense* and must therefore have been affiliated with the famous Lund scriptorium. From the 13th c. around 350 original Latin charters issued in Denmark have been preserved, and there are well over twice as many from the first half of the 14th c. The scribes of only a few of these have thus far been identified with named persons: one of the important figures in King Abel's chancellery is thought to have been Esger, Bishop of Ribe (d. 1273) (Skyum-Nielsen 1963, 225ff.), and the hand on a number of charters written in Ribe during the period 1289–1315 has been identified as that of Canon Astratus of Ribe, who is known from, among others, the cartulary referred to as the "Ribe Oldemoder". Scribes of charters, as far as can be seen, never identify themselves; despite what has been claimed to the contrary (Skautrup 1944, 206, cf. 197), the sporadically found

formula *Datum per manum/manus* + a name in the genitive hardly represents a scribal formula (cf. inter alia Skyum-Nielsen 1957, 111 with references).

On the borderline between charters and manuscripts proper lie the Latin municipal laws of the period, and a single collection of guild laws. The municipal laws contain officially confirmed rules for the legal system in the towns, and the guild law the rules for the mutual obligations between the members of a brotherhood. They are of interest linguistically principally for their vocabulary of Danish glosses; especially rich in this respect are the bylaws of Schleswig, which are thought to have been issued as early as the first half of the 13th c., but are only preserved in a version from the beginning of the 14th c. for use in Ebeltoft (DKB [Royal Library of Denmark] GKS 3168 4to). Preserved in the original are the municipal laws for Copenhagen from 1254 (DRA [Danish Record Office]) and 1294 (DRA), the municipal laws for Ribe from 1269 (fragm. DKB NKS 1880 fol.) and for Aabenraa from 1335 (Aabenraa Landsarkiv [Regional Archives]). The guild law is that of St. Erik's Guild in Kalvehave; it was confirmed in 1266, but the small parchment booklet containing it, which comprises a separate part of the manuscript AM 275 8vo, is thought to be a copy from ca. 1300.

The Latin manuscripts of the period are all miscellanies of varying degrees of heterogeneity. Here they have for purely practical reasons been separated into necrologia, cartularies, the anthology known as *Valdemars Jordebog*, legal anthologies, a collection of grammatical texts, and finally manuscripts that are only of interest for their historical content.

Necrologia have their origin in the obligation churches and other religious institutions had taken upon themselves – generally in exchange for donations – to commemorate the dead at a service on the anniversary of their death. They can comprise many different kinds of texts, but the Danish material they contain is limited to necrologies, occasionally with added information on donations made by the deceased, historical notices and short texts that have been added for practical or administrative reasons, for example copies of title deeds or lists of prebends (properties the revenues from which were used to pay priests, canons etc.). From the scriptorium of the Laurentius Church in Lund – where in the early 12th c. a number of manuscripts of an unsurpassed beauty were produced – come two

manuscripts of exceptional interest for historical linguists. With their age and the large amount of Danish vernacular material they contain, they help to fill a gap which the charters cannot. The elder and grander of the two is known as *Necrologium Lundense* (Lund Medeltidshandskr. 6). Its first necrologies are thought to have been taken over from an older necrologium in connection with the consecration of the new crypt at Lund Cathedral in 1123. It is unclear whether the introductory text of St. Knud's deed of gift from 21 May 1085 (and a prebend list written at the same time) was added even earlier or whether it is a copy of a forgery produced toward the middle of the 12th c. (Kroon 1989, 225). The obituary section (*Memoriale fratrum*) was continued regularly to about 1170, and thereafter sporadically until the beginning of the 14th c. In the first half of the 13th c. two boundary descriptions were added which are full of names (*Termini Balluncslef*). Only slightly younger than *Necrologium Lundense* and every bit as rich in names is the *Liber daticus Lundensis vetustior* (Lund Medeltidshandskr. 7), the oldest necrologies of which were taken from *Necrologium Lundense* before 1146; subsequently necrologies were added regularly until the beginning of the 15th c., in many cases with accompanying information on the donations of the deceased. Other surviving manuscripts of this type are considerably younger and scarcely as valuable as sources, at least as far as place-names are concerned; these are: the Næstved Calendarium (DKB E don. var. 52 fol.) which was begun about 1265, *Liber daticus Lundensis recentior* (DKB GKS 845 fol.), begun ca. 1268, *Obituarium Hafniense* (DKB Thott 805 fol.), begun ca. 1275, and the *Necrologium Ripense* (DKB GKS 849 fol.), in use from 1284. To this list might also be added the fragmentary Nysted necrologium (Den Haag, Mus. Meermannno-Westreenianum), which cannot be dated more precisely than to the 14th c.

Cartularies appear to have been put together solely in order to facilitate the juridical and economic administration of religious institutions. The texts contained in them are almost always sources of names, in that they consist of copies of charters of importance to the institutions in question, along with various inventories of sources of revenue – primarily prebend lists and cadastres (topographically arranged inventories of properties with information on the revenues deriving from them) – in other words texts which by necessity

contain names of various kinds. The earliest of these is the cartulary from Ribe, which owing to an enigmatic post-medieval inscription reading “Oldemoder” [grandmother], is generally known as the *Ribe Oldemoder/Avia Ripensis* (DRA). It contains entries for the Ribe bishopric and chapter for the entire period ca. 1290–1518, but over two thirds of them are the work of the oldest scribe, who was active from about 1290 to 1322 and identifies himself as master Astratus, canon of Ribe and the church's advocate (*tutor*); he is otherwise known from references in, and was presumably the writer of, a number of contemporary charters from Ribe (Skyum-Nielsen 1948–1949, 152–155). The cartulary and cadastre from the Århus chapter are dated to the period around 1315, and together with two 15th-c. sections of similar content make up the manuscript known as *Århusbogen* (DKB E don. var. 53 fol.).

The Latin manuscript of the period which has, alongside *Necrologium Lundense*, the greatest value as a source for the history of the Danish language, although dated to as late as ca. 1300, is known as *Valdemars Jordebog* (DRA). It too is a miscellany, comprising texts of varying kinds, some of interest to historians of the language, others not. Although the texts are copies which appear to have been added – primarily by two scribes – according to a preconceived plan, the book's exact purpose, in contradistinction to that of the necrologia and cartularies, is difficult to discern and has therefore been the subject of much debate. The most recent hypothesis, that the book was intended as an aid to the Franciscan mission in the Baltic area in the years around 1300 (Gallén 1993, 81–83), is irreconcilable with the generally accepted localisation of the manuscript to the Cistercian monastery at Sorø, a localisation based on the observation of two striking congruences: viz. that one of the manuscript's two main scribes, the writer of the cadastral sections, is apparently identical with the scribe of the law manuscript AM 455 12mo, who identifies himself as Frater Johannes Jutæ (“[the] Jute”) and shares his name – admittedly not a particularly rare one – with a monk from Sorø named in a title deed from 1298; and that the manuscript also has many striking features of layout in common with the leech-book DKB NKS 66 8vo, the main scribe of which identifies himself as Frater Kanutus Yuul, the name of another monk from Sorø mentioned in a deed from 1310. Of relevance for the history of the Danish language are

principally the lists of crown properties and the like, which although responsible for the book's name, make up only about one third of it. Here there are some 1200 name forms and a great number of Danish words, including some terms for measurements and the names of animals that could be hunted on the Danish islands, along with occasional purely Danish passages. Most important is the section known as the "Main List", which systematically covers the entire country, district by district. It was written, according to the manuscript itself, in 1231, i.e. during the reign of Valdemar Sejr. Danish names are also found among other places in the annals included in the manuscript, the *Valdemarsannaler* (1074, 1130–1219).

Of the legal anthologies, the manuscript AM 37 4to undoubtedly belongs to the period under discussion, since this collection, which is presumed to have originated in Lund, contains one section which is dated to the second half of the 13th c. AM 11 8vo may also stem from this period, but cannot be dated more precisely than to the 14th c. The main texts of the two manuscripts are indigenous vernacular texts that have been put into Latin in order to reach an international public: one is a copy of the paraphrase made, according to a colophon, by Archbishop Andreas Sunesen (d. 1228) of the *Skånske Lov* or Scanian Law; and the other is a copy of a translation of *Jyske Lov* or Jutish Law (see section 3.). Both these texts contain a small number of Danish glosses, but what is most interesting about the two manuscripts from the point of view of the history of Danish are their vernacular texts. In AM 37 4to there is a text of *Skånske Kirkelov* or Scanian Ecclesiastical Law (see section 3.) which is thought to be a copy of a copy made during the ecclesiastical conflict of the 1250s (cf. e.g. Brøndum-Nielsen 1975, 33–42), while AM 11 8vo contains a fragment of the preface to *Jyske Lov* and a prayer to Christ. In AM 37 4to there is also found, as a comment on the manuscript's particular version of the epilogue to the Ecclesiastical Law, a short verse which has been added in the margin, known as "skåningestrofen".

The whole of the small manuscript AM 202 8vo, which is possibly from Roskilde, is dominated by texts dealing with Latin grammar. The texts have been written by various 14th-c. hands, the oldest of which is dated to ca. 1300 and is thought to be responsible, along with several hands from the second half of the century, for the Danish elements, which consist

of sporadic Danish glosses, including several animal and fish names.

There are a number of Latin manuscripts from the period that are of interest for the history of Danish solely on account of their historical content, i.e. annals or chronicles which deal either solely or in part with Danish material and therefore include a number of Danish names, although in general significantly fewer than do the other Latin manuscripts discussed here. The earliest of the annals is the Colbaz Annal, which now forms part of the composite manuscript Ms. theol. lat. fol. 149 in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. The entries it contains pertaining to the history of Denmark are from 1130 until the end of the 12th c. and were made presumably in Lund or the vicinity thereof, as the same hand is thought to have been at work here as was responsible for the rubrication in *Necrologium Lundense*. Sometime late in the 12th c. the manuscript was transferred to the Cistercian monastery of Colbaz in Pomerania. A rich source for names, including many from the south Jutish border region, is the only surviving witness of the Ryd Annal, actually a combination of chronicle and annal, which goes up to 1288. The witness is a copy from about 1300 (Hamburg Stadtbibliothek 98b) and is so full of errors as far as the Danish names are concerned that the scribe is presumed to have been a foreigner. The most important of the chronicle manuscripts is *Ømbogen* (DKB E don. var. 135 4to). That part of the manuscript dating from the period under discussion contains a considerable collection of mid- and east-Jutish names, in that it gives historical accounts from the monastery at Øm in East Jutland, entered successively from at least 1216 up to 1320. Other manuscripts containing annals or chronicles with relevance for the history of the language are the following: Kiel UB [Universitätsbibliothek] S. H. 8 A 8vo from the second half of the 13th c. (a copy of the Roskilde Chronicle, written for the most part around 1140); Uppsala UB C 70 from the 13th c. (a copy of the Danish-Swedish annals from 916–1263); a leaf containing original annal entries for the years 1202 to 1347 that has been added at the end of DKB GKS 450 fol. ("the younger Sorø Annal") – the manuscript may be a French Justinus manuscript from the second half of the 12th c. given by Archbishop Absalon (d. 1201) to the monastery at Sorø; the fragment AM 843 4to from ca. 1300 and the older part, also from ca. 1300, of the composite vol-

ume Erfurt Stadtbibliothek 23 8vo (copies of the Lund Annal, running up to 1267, with the interpolation of the Lejre Chronicle, written about 1170). Of Saxo's great historical work *Gesta Danorum* – which is thought to have been written in the period 1185–1219 and which contains a large and important collection of names, albeit ones that are difficult to assess due to their partly Latinised forms – only a very few leaves survive from the period: the Angers fragment, DKB NKS 869 g 4to, comprising four leaves, dated to the beginning of the 13th c. and thought to stem from Saxo's own working copy; three other fragments, DKB NKS 570 fol., are dated to the end of the century. Despite their limited scope, these fragments are of great historical-linguistic significance if for no other reason than their importance for evaluating the oldest complete witness of the text, the Paris printed edition of 1514.

3. Danish vernacular manuscripts

From the last century of the period under discussion, ca. 1250–1350, about 30 Danish vernacular manuscripts have been preserved, all in the form of codices or fragments thereof, and all, with one possible exception, containing copies rather than originals. Naturally these manuscripts provide a much greater amount of material for the study of the history of Danish orthography, phonology, morphology and lexicology than do the Latin manuscripts, and also allow for the study of the history of syntax, style etc. In the areas of lexis, syntax, style etc. the possibilities are somewhat restricted, however, by the fact that the types of texts preserved are relatively limited, being principally confined to laws, leech-books and translations of religious material.

The bulk of medieval Danish vernacular manuscripts are law books, whose principal content is the laws for the three provinces into which the Danish kingdom was divided in the Middle Ages: Skåne (Scania), Sjælland (Zealand) and Jylland (Jutland). By the word 'law' is meant both laws proper (*love*), i. e. those issued and authorized by the king, as is the case with *Jyske Lov* ('Jutish Law'), and books of laws (*retsboøger*), collections compiled without royal sanction, as is the case with other provincial laws.

The doyen of Danish manuscripts is the large and exceptionally skilfully produced part of the manuscript SKB [Royal Library

of Sweden] B 74 which comes from the relevant period. It is dated to the second third of the 13th c., but rather before than after 1250. Its principal text is *Skånske Lov*, thought to have been recorded between 1202 and 1216; it otherwise contains only the *Skånske Kirke-lov*, i. e. a settlement regarding details in the administration of justice agreed between the Scanians and the archbishop at some indeterminate point in the late 12th c. Two other law manuscripts date to the 13th c. but are presumably several decades younger than B 74. Dated to the end of the century is AM 24 4to, an eight-leaf fragment of *Valdemars sjællandske Lov*, which in its earliest form was perhaps drawn up under Valdemar the Great but is found here in a version from some time between about 1216 and 1241 (the so-called older redaction). The other manuscript is part of the composite volume SKB C 37 and contains *Jyske Lov*, which was issued in 1241 by Valdemar Sejr, along with two Latin ordinances. Given their location in the manuscript, these must have been added later than the text of the law itself, and since the scribe who wrote them has been recently identified as a scribe active in 1279 in the employ of a certain Thomas, curate to the powerful dowager queen Margrete Sambiria (d. 1282) (Skyum-Nielsen 1980, 531), the manuscript is now dated to around 1280, whereas it was previously assumed to be significantly younger.

There are four law codices from around 1300. Two contain only texts of *Jyske Lov*: AM 4 4to, which was also formerly regarded as significantly younger and has received scant scholarly attention, and the "Flensburg manuscript" (Stadtarchiv, Flensburg), which before the redating of C 37 was thought to be the oldest known manuscript of *Jyske Lov*, dated by some to the end of the 13th c. Its name derives from its earliest known provenance, the town hall in Flensburg, whereas the language cannot be precisely localised, despite the sporadic presence of elements which have been attributed to a south-Jutish scribe. The third of these manuscripts is AM 455 12mo, a veritable florilegium of Zealandic legal material. It contains the younger redaction (compiled presumably after 1241) of *Valdemars sjællandske Lov* (to which the preface to *Jyske Lov* has been added, as was subsequently common); *Sjællandske Kirke-lov*, a text which is largely identical to *Skånske Kirke-lov* with the exception that the contracting parties are here the bishop and people of Zealand and that the date is (plausibly) given as July 21, 1171;

and finally *Eriks sjællandske Lov*, the youngest and longest of the provincial laws, which was presumably first drawn up after 1241 and is associated with some otherwise unidentifiable Erik. The manuscript's sole scribe identifies himself twice as Frater Johannes Jutæ, who, as was mentioned (in sect. 2.), is presumed to have written large parts of *Valdemars Jordebog* and has been identified as a monk in the monastery at Sorø, as has the only other scribe of a Danish vernacular manuscript who identifies himself with name and title, Frater Kanutus Yuul. Both in terms of date and style, the two scribes are so close to each other that it has been suggested – perhaps rather boldly – that there was an active scribal school at Sorø around the year 1300. The fourth manuscript from around 1300 is AM 28 8vo. It contains *Skånske Lov* and *Skånske Kirkelov* written in one hand; written in another, possibly slightly younger, hand are two short historical texts (fragments of a list of Danish kings and a Danish chronicle beginning with the legendary king Hadding's son Frode to Erik Menved), a description of the drawing of the oldest border between Sweden and Denmark (“the Daneholm settlement”) and finally a verse with accompanying musical notation, the earliest preserved in Scandinavia to a vernacular text. What makes the manuscript truly exceptional, however, is that it is written entirely in runes (hence its name, *Codex runicus*). These are not the classical Viking-Age runes, but rather runic characters modified so that each corresponds to a letter of the Latin alphabet. Something of a similar kind is known only from the small fragment SKB A 120, and given that it stands close to AM 28 8vo in terms of the form of the runes and the language (Scanian), it has been suggested that the two manuscripts come from the same scriptorium; it has been further suggested, on rather meagre grounds, that this scriptorium may have been at the Cistercian monastery at Herrevad in Scania. This use of runes is normally regarded as a revivalist phenomenon. The two runic manuscripts in no way form an organic link between the runic script culture of the Viking Age and medieval Latin book culture, but are entirely products of the latter, and both must have had as their exemplars texts written in the Latin alphabet.

Most of the law codices stemming from the first half of the 14th c. are dated to around 1325. Only two are thought to be slightly older. One of these is a manuscript of *Jyske Lov*, AM 286 fol., which is dated to the early

14th c., or ca. 1320. It appears originally to have belonged to the Ribe chapter house, and judging from its large format – it is the only extant Old Danish law manuscript in folio – may have served as a reference copy in the library. That the first of the manuscript's two scribes appears, on linguistic grounds, to have been from the Ribe area, or at least south Jutland, also supports this notion of an origin in Ribe. The other early 14th c. law manuscript is part of the composite volume Ledreborg 12 12mo (from the beginning of the 14th c., sometimes, however, dated to ca. 1325 or the middle of the century). With the exception of the last two leaves (which contain short texts in Latin), the manuscript is entirely taken up with Scanian legal material: *Skånske Lov*, *Skånske Kirkelov*, the Scanian version of Erik Klipping's Vordingborg Decree of March 19, 1282 and Erik Klipping's Nyborg Decree for Skania of May 26, 1284. Primarily on the basis of its language, which differs slightly from that of the other early manuscripts of *Skånske Lov*, it has been suggested that the text of *Skånske Lov* preserved in Ledreborg 12 represents an adaptation for use within the area of Zealandic judicature, something a thorough investigation of first and foremost the unstressed vowels argues against, however (Frederiksen 1974, 367–370). Among the large group of legal manuscripts dated to ca. 1325 there are two that contain essentially only *Skånske Lov* and *Skånske Kirkelov*: SKB B 76 4to (known as the “Hadorphian manuscript” after the Swedish scholar Johan Hadorph, who edited it as early as 1676), which has the peculiarity that the epilogue to the *Sjællandske Kirkelov* is added to the text of the ecclesiastical law, and SKB B 69 4to, which appears to have connections with Malmö and was perhaps written there – a scribe from Malmö has at least been postulated to explain a number of linguistically eccentric passages. Four other manuscripts in the 1325 group contain primarily Jutish legal material: SKB C 44, which contains only *Jyske Lov*; part of SKB C 40, also containing only *Jyske Lov*; AM 453 12mo, containing in part *Jyske Lov*, the scribe of which identifies himself in a Latin verse as Johannes, born in Ørum (the name of various settlements), and in part the Jutish-Zealandic version of Erik Klipping's coronation charter of July 29, 1282 in Latin and Erik Klipping's Nyborg Decree for North Jutland of May 21–27, 1284 in Danish; and finally DKB NKS 295 8vo, the contents of which are identical to those of AM 453. The scribe of NKS 295

8vo is thought to be the same as that of one of the two large Jutish-Zealandic legal anthologies which is also part of the group of manuscripts dated to ca. 1325. This is SKB C 63, which contains both the same Jutish legal material as does NKS 295 8vo and the two Zealandic Laws (the younger redaction of *Valdemars Lov*) as well as *Sjællandske Kirkelov*. These same contents, but in a slightly different order and without the decrees, are also found in another large anthology, SKB C 39, which, on account of its text being closely related to that of AM 455 12mo, and because a variant of the first line of a Latin scribal verse in the manuscript is found in NKS 66 8vo, might tentatively be linked to the monastery at Sorø. Slightly younger than these are part of DKB GKS 3657, from ca. 1350, which contains most of *Jyske Lov* but ends defectively, and AM 41 4to, from around or slightly before 1350, which contains *Skånske Lov* and *Skånske Kirkelov*. At the front of the latter manuscript and almost to be regarded as a pen trial, or at least added in a different hand (ca. 1350) from the main hand of the manuscript, is a fragment in Scanian or Swedish of the East-Nordic translation of a “Debate between the body and the soul”, ultimately based on a Latin poem from the 13th c. commonly known as *Visio Philiberti*. Dating from some time in the first half of the 14th c. is a two-leaf fragment of the older redaction of *Valdemars Lov* (NRA [Norwegian Record Office]). Perhaps also dating from the period is the vellum part of AM 19 8vo, containing *Jyske Lov*. The manuscript cannot be dated more precisely than to the 14th c., but on the basis of its linguistic features it may be localized to the area where Danish and Frisian were in contact at the time.

A small manuscript in the Stadtarchiv, Flensburg, is possibly an original law book. With perhaps only a draft for an exemplar, its oldest hand is responsible for a Danish version of the Flensburg municipal law, issued in Latin in 1284, with a supplement from 1295 (cf. Diderichsen 1956, 96 ff.). This Danish redaction is dated by Diderichsen (*ibid.*) to ca. 1315. Yet another supplement has been added in two 14th-century hands (issued January 25, 1321).

Two manuscripts from the period, SKB K 48 and DKB NKS 66 8vo, both dated to ca. 1300, contain texts of the same leech-book/herbal. Although traditionally associated with the name of Erik Plovpenning's physician, Master Henrik Harpestreng (d. 1244), the

work has its roots in two Latin texts from the Salerno medical school (*De viribus herbarum*, probably by Odo Magdunensis, and *De gradibus liber* by Constantinus Africanus, both 11th c.). The text of the leech-book as preserved in K 48 is nearer the original than that of NKS 66 8vo and also incorporates some sections attributed to Harpestreng (but based on Latin sources) on bathing, blood-letting and so on. The two manuscripts are otherwise quite different in their composition. K 48 contains, in addition to the leech-book, a confessional prayer, otherwise unknown but presumably a translation from Latin. It is added in a different, but in all likelihood contemporary, hand. Moreover, the prayer is preceded by the end of one Marian miracle and the full text of another, both known from the so-called TS-series of Marian miracles. K 48 thus appears to be a fragment of a larger whole, one whose contents are thought to have included a complete collection of Marian miracles along with a collection of female saints' lives (*legenda*), and possibly also a lapidary (a work that explains where gemstones can be found and enumerates their mineralogical, medicinal and supernatural qualities). The evidence on which this conclusion is based is partly the so-called Cambridge fragment, which is in all likelihood another part of this original whole and contains the beginning of a collection of Marian miracles (apparently of the TS type) along with fragments of the life of the martyr Christina (for its closest Latin parallel, see Gad 1961, 207), and partly the late medieval manuscript SKB K 4, which among other things contains a collection of female saints' lives and a lapidary whose language is rather archaic; the text of the legend of Christina it contains suggests it is related to the Cambridge fragment (Larsen 1974, 447). NKS 66 8vo is also a miscellany, but with a clearer unifying principle underlying the texts it comprises, at least those written in the main hand. The scribe identifies himself as Frater Kanutus Yuul and is thought to have been part of the Sorø scriptorium (see sect. 2.). Following the medical text he presents first a lapidary, which is based on two Latin texts, *Liber lapidum* written ca. 1080 by Marbod of Rennes and a compilation from the early 13th c. by the otherwise unknown Arnoldus Saxo, and which at most shares certain sources with the lapidary in K 4. Finally there is a short cookery book, possibly translated from Low German but presumably based ultimately upon French recipes whose earliest preserved witnesses are significantly

younger, as is the case with most European culinary texts from the Middle Ages. In a now fragmentary gathering in front of the leech-book text a more or less contemporary hand has added a text of *Skånske Kirkelov* that is so close to the text of B 69 that the two must derive from a common exemplar, while on the final leaf of the gathering of the cookery book there has been added a piece on “julemærker”, omens regarding the weather and harvests on the basis of the day of the week on which Christmas falls, probably deriving from a widely disseminated Latin work ultimately of Greek origin, *Prognostica temporum*. A four-leaf fragment dated to the first half of the 14th c. (Linköping Gymnasibibliotek T 67 nr. 199) preserves the text of a leech-book which appears to be closely related to that found in NkS 66 8vo.

All the manuscripts from the period that exclusively preserve translated religious material have in common the fact that they are fragmentary, and apart from SKB A 120 all bear clear signs of having been reused in the way religious manuscripts from the Middle Ages frequently tended to be treated in the following centuries – cut up for use as parchment strips for seals, as lining in bindings, or as envelopes for archival material and so on. The oldest of these religious manuscripts is in all likelihood the Cambridge fragment (Cambridge University Library Add. MS. 3827¹), which has been identified as a small remnant – two conjugate leaves – of the same miscellany which K 48 is a more extensive remnant of, and has thus the same dating (ca. 1300). To the period around 1325 are dated two fragments whose language had previously been identified as (younger) Old Swedish but in the 20th c. was claimed to be early Old Danish, more precisely Scanian, and which represent as such newly claimed territory for the history of Danish language. One of these is the six-leaf fragment SKB A 120, which is written in the runic alphabet and whose place of writing has been tentatively identified as the Cistercian monastery at Herrevad in Scania. It contains part of a translation of a widely disseminated Latin tract concerning Mary’s lament at the Cross (*Planctus Mariæ*, early on attributed to the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux, 1090–1153, but probably written by Og(ler)ius of Trino, d. 1214). The other fragment is SKB *A 115, a bifolium which contains just over a hundred lines of a metrical version (in *knittelvers*) of the Latin apocryphal gospel *Evangelium Nicodemi* (on Christ’s descent into hell

and resurrection); the Danish text is possibly based on a lost German metrical version. Probably also from the period, but not more precisely datable than to after about 1300, come the remnants of two manuscripts containing *legenda* found in Uppsala UB C 871. One contains fragments of a translation of the life of Christina, but based either on another Latin source or simply another translation than the Cambridge fragment (Gad 1961, 243f.). In the other are preserved fragments of a translation of the life of the confessor Elisabeth of Thuringia (canonized 1235), apparently translated from an otherwise unknown Latin version of her life in the *Legenda aurea* (a work compiled in the second half of the 13th c. by Jacobus de Voragine, ca. 1226–1298) (Gad 1961, 245). From around 1350, or perhaps slightly later, there is a manuscript the only remnants of which are strips on seals attached to two 17th-c. documents from Romsdal in Norway, but whose contents can with some likelihood be assumed to have been a translation of the *Legenda aurea*; at least the remnants preserve a few lines of two *legenda* from that collection, those of the 5th-c. (?) ascetic St. Alexius and the martyr Cecilia. The text of the latter appears to be so close to the life of Cecilia preserved in the much younger K 4 that the two could well derive from the same translation.

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95. The development of Latin script I: in Norway

1. The introduction of Latin script
2. The corpus
3. Typology
4. Periodisation
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6. Scribes
7. Reference books and study aids
8. Literature (a selection)

1. The introduction of Latin script

Norwegians encountered the Latin alphabet on Viking raids and on trading expeditions a long time before it was taken into use at home. Coins with Nordic names in the Latin alphabet (e.g. *Anlaf* = *Óláfr*, *Sihtric* = *Sigtryggr*) were issued in York before the middle of the 10th century and suggest that Scandinavian traders also knew how to employ the new al-

phabet. The fundamentals of an alphabetical script were, after all, well known, since the runes had by then been in use for many centuries in Norway and the other Scandinavian countries.

The introduction of Christianity brought the Latin alphabet to Norwegian shores, most likely as early as the 10th century. Several Norwegian bishops during the reign of King Óláfr Haraldsson (d. 1030) had learnt to write in England. One received the nick-name *inn bókvísi* 'the bookwise', and Bishop Grímkell or one of his companions is supposed to have written a mass for King Óláfr ca. 1050. Since the reign of King Óláfr inn kyrrri (1067–1093) we have every reason to assume that quite a few Norwegians knew how to write, not only in Latin but also in the vernacular. It is generally thought that the recording of provincial

laws started in the second part of the 11th century, but some scholars believe this took place as early as during the reign of King Óláfr (cf. article 92 by M. Rindal). The earliest extant manuscript in the vernacular, however, is AM 655 IX 4to, three leaves of an Old Norse translation of Latin legends, which are dated to the second half of the 12th century, possibly as early as ca. 1150. (Manuscript sigla and dates are given according to ONP *Registre* 1989.)

2. The corpus

A large number of Norwegian books and charters were written in Latin but, with a few exceptions, only fragments remain of the book manuscripts. The oldest fragments date back to ca. 1000, and were probably written in England and brought to Norway by English missionaries. Some manuscripts were later copied locally in Norway, but due to the highly fragmentary nature of the material, it is difficult to distinguish between foreign and local productions. Among the oldest extant manuscripts thought to be written in Norway are *Hieronymi Canones super Evangelia* (GKS 1347 4to; before 1200) and *Liber ritualis* (NKS 32 8vo). Also, many charters issued in Norway were written in Latin. The earliest extant ones are dated to the 1160s (cf. *Regesta Norvegica* vol. 1), and a fair number remain intact.

In a European context, the Nordic countries were late in introducing the Latin alphabet, but early in developing a vernacular literature. Norway has a considerable corpus of early vernacular manuscripts, larger than that of Sweden and Denmark, but smaller by far than that of Iceland. All but a few medieval Norwegian manuscripts date before ca. 1400, and the great majority of extant manuscripts were written in the comparatively short period ca. 1250–1350. There is a sharp decline in the production of book manuscripts around 1370. Seip has explained this, at least partly, as a result of the Black Death, which reached Norway in 1349–1350. Two decades later, a new generation had taken over from those who had survived the plague, and in political matters Norway was becoming increasingly dependent upon Sweden and Denmark. From a palaeographic point of view, there is no sharp division in the 1370s, but the almost complete lack of younger book manuscripts makes for a practical, corpus-based division around 1370.

There are 1108 Norwegian charters written in the vernacular up to 1350, of which about

80 date from the period up to 1300. Although there is a decline in the decades after 1350, by the end of the century the production of charters had resumed the level of the pre-plague years. From the period up to ca. 1350 there are more than 125 Norwegian book manuscripts, though many are fragmentary (the exact number depends on how the fragments are sorted and interpreted; cf. the list in ONP *Registre* and Seip 1955, 226ff.). The majority of these are law manuscripts, ranging from the early provincial laws (for Gulåping, Frostuþing etc.) to King Magnús's *Landslög* from 1274. In addition to the large group of law manuscripts there are about 20 Norwegian manuscripts, more or less complete, of other genres, such as historical works, courtly literature, religious works, legends etc. (cf. the list in Stefán Karlsson 1979, 4–6). A number of well-known works belong here, including The Old Norwegian *Book of homilies* (AM 619 4to, ca. 1200–1225), the legendary *Óláfs saga ins helga* (DG 8 II, ca. 1225–1250), *Strengleikar* (DG 4–7, ca. 1270), *Konungs skuggsjá* (AM 243 b a fol., ca. 1275), *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga* (Holm perg 6 fol, ca. 1275), *Þiðreks saga* (Holm perg 4 fol. ca. 1275–1300).

In addition to the unintended loss of manuscripts through the passage of time, many Norwegian manuscripts were deliberately destroyed in the 16th and 17th centuries. After the publication of *Missale Nidrosiense* and *Breviarium Nidrosiense* in 1519, a large number of Latin liturgical manuscripts were cut up and used for binding books. The National Archive (Riksarkivet) in Oslo has a collection of no less than about 5,000 Latin fragments, most of which are liturgical; it has been estimated that these fragments are the remains of ca. 1,200 codices. Vernacular manuscripts fared better for a while, since law books were still being used throughout the 16th century. However, after a translation of the Old Norwegian *landslög* was published in 1604, *Den Norske Lov-Bog* (authorised by King Christian IV), a number of vernacular law manuscripts encountered the same sad fate as the Latin ones. The National Archive has about 500 such fragments, many very small and few larger than 1/2–1 leaf. It has been estimated that they once made up about 100 manuscripts, of which more than two thirds were law books.

In a palaeographic context, there is no reason to distinguish between documents written in Latin and in the vernacular. However, unlike Latin documents, those written in the ver-

naacular can safely be assumed to be of Nordic origin, though not necessarily Norwegian. There are a number of manuscripts which were written by Icelanders, many of whom were staying in Norway. Other manuscripts were written in Iceland for the purpose of export to Norway, right up to ca. 1400 (Stefán Karlsson 1979). There are also a fair number of charters which may be classified as Swedish, and to a lesser extent, Danish. Although it is now generally accepted that perhaps too much interest has been invested in discussing the national provenance of medieval documents, especially between Norway and Iceland, it is impossible to avoid this question when trying to describe the national development of literature and script. However, the total number of medieval Norwegian manuscripts and charters is so high that one may disregard disputed manuscripts and charters and still have an ample corpus for a palaeographic study.

3. Typology

The earliest Norwegian script is a minuscule with a mixture of Carolingian and Insular letter-forms, as seen in AM 655 IX 4to, cf. fig. 95.1. It is generally thought that this script was brought to Norway from England, where the Carolingian minuscule of the Continent came up against the local Insular script in the 11th century, resulting in several types of intermediate scripts. The early Norwegian script is basically a formal script in which each letter is drawn separately. Up to the latter half of the 13th century, there seems to have been no distinction between the script in book manuscripts (*libraria*) and charters (*documentaria*), cf. e.g. the script in fig. 95.3, a book manuscript, and fig. 95.4, a charter. In fact, in the first half of the 13th century, the script in some of the charters is more formal than in some of the contemporaneous books.

From ca. 1280, a cursive script appeared in Norwegian charters and soon became dominant, cf. fig. 95.7. The influence may once more be sought in England. During the late 12th and early 13th centuries, the semi-cursive documentary script in England was developed into a fully-fledged cursive script, *cursiva anglicana*. This cursive script is characterized by linked letters, loops, decorative strokes and skeletal forms of initials. Although a cursive script also developed on the Continent, it is most likely that the Norwegian cursive was shaped by English influence; the cultural contact across the sea was still close, and

English scribes worked in Norway (possibly Gabriel klerkr, who wrote several charters ca. 1290).

For a while, the formal script of the books, especially the many law manuscripts, coexisted with the cursive hands of the charters. From ca. 1300, both types of script fall under the wide term Gothic, the book script a formal *textualis* (fig. 95.6) and the cursive script in the charters a much simpler, more rounded and fluent type (fig. 95.7). In the 14th century, however, a new, semi-cursive script developed and appeared in several book manuscripts (fig. 95.8). The Gothic semi-cursive is often somewhat condescendingly referred to as *bastarda*, since it has dual parentage: the formal *textualis* and the fluent *cursiva*. From a functional point of view, the semi-cursive was rather practical. It was quicker to write than the formal *textualis*, and more legible than the cursive script.

Beginning with a single, multi-purpose script in the 12th century, the introduction of the cursive in the 13th century and the semi-cursive in the 14th century thus led to three main types of script coexisting in the 14th century: the formal *textualis*, used in book manuscripts up to ca. 1370; the semi-cursive, increasingly used in books and from ca. 1370 generally replacing the *textualis*; and the cursive, used in charters throughout the period.

4. Periodisation

Following the division by Seip (1954) and the period names by Svensson (1974), Norwegian palaeography falls into a Carolingian-Insular period up to ca. 1300 and a Gothic period thereafter; the Carolingian-Insular period may be subdivided into an earlier period up to ca. 1225 and a younger period ca. 1225–1300. In the latter period, a gradual change began: the lines grew closer, the ascenders and descenders shorter and the letters closer. This process was brought to an end with the formal Gothic script of the 14th century.

4.1. Insular influence

Sweden and Denmark received their script from the Continent, and through the metropolitan sees in Hamburg, later Lund (1103/04) and finally Nidaros (present-day Trondheim, 1152/53) there must have been a Continental, Carolingian influence on the Norwegian script as well. However, the Insular character of

dausa. En þer allen er skilia megoð þetta
 skýntemi. Ða takeð | abnaut þra augliti minu
 gull þetta oc silfr yðat. eða geneð mynstene
 | guði með þpi þe. Oc komeð oft þangat till.
 At hæyna orð guðs

dauda. En þer allen er skilia megoð þetta
 skýntemi. Ða takeð | abnaut þra augliti minu
 gull þetta oc silfr yðat. eða geneð mynstene
 | guði með þpi þe. Oc komeð oft þangat till.
 At hæyna orð guðs

Fig. 95.1: AM 655 IX 4to, 3r, *Matheuss saga postola*, ca. 1150–1200.

A F Gloþapøyki. Skettingr.
 A F Ongulspic .iii. manaparmater |
 A F Dumbaftæmi .xiii. manaparmater |
 A F Spinalætre. halfr annar manaparmater |
 A F Diuppic .v. manaparmater |
 A F Tiiftáme .xi. manaparmater |

Af Gloþapøyki. Skettingr.
 Af Ongulspic .iii. manaparmater |
 Af Dumbaftæmi .xiii. manaparmater |
 Af Spinalætre. halfr annar manaparmater |
 Af Diuppic .v. manaparmater |
 Af Tiiftáme .xi. manaparmater |

Fig. 95.2: GKS 1347 4to, 62v, property list from *Munkalifi* in Bergen, ca. 1175.

frenda sin. bað þa fultingr oc hialpa. hét oc þpi til þeim
 haelga manne | ef ham lede haenum lifs oc unndan qvamo
 at lata gera or silfri dyrlega ro- | do til þef haelga hus er
 ham hplir i. Sidan seipar ham liði sinu ri fylgti

frenda sin. bað þa fultingr oc hialpa. hét oc þpi til þeim
 haelga manne | ef ham lede haenum lifs oc unndan qvamo
 at lata gera or silfri dyrlega ro- | do til þef haelga hus er
 ham hplir i. Sidan seipar ham liði sinu oc fylgti

Fig. 95.3: AM 619 4to, 56v, Old Norwegian *Book of Homilies*, ca. 1200–1225.

Ollum lipandum oc piðr komandum guðs pinum oc sinum þæim sem þetta bref sea eða horyra |
 sendir. þ-af. bifcup oc kaelbroðr i oslo quedim guðs oc fina. Ver pilum yðr kunnict geta um efgn

Ollum lipandum oc piðr komandum guðs pinum oc sinum þæim sem þetta bref sea eða horyra |
 sendir *Nikolas* bifcup oc kaelbroðr í oslo quediu guðs oc fina. Ver pilum yðr kunnict gera um efgn

Fig. 95.4: NRA dipl no perg 1, a letter from the bishop, Oslo 1224/25 (85 per cent of full size).

the oldest manuscripts strongly points to the British Isles.

Insular script supplemented the Latin alphabet with two new letters, ⟨þ⟩ (*thorn*, adopted from the Anglo-Saxon runes) and ⟨ð⟩. Although þ was also known from the Scandinavian runes, its use in Latin script is in all likelihood a result of English influence. Otherwise, the most characteristic Insular letter-forms are ⟨ǰ⟩, ⟨ŋ⟩, ⟨p⟩ and ⟨f⟩ (for *g*, *r*, *v* and *f* respectively). There are no traces of the Insular ⟨ǰ⟩ in Norwegian manuscripts at all, but ⟨ŋ⟩, ⟨p⟩ and ⟨f⟩ are known from the earliest extant manuscript, AM 655 IX 4to. The Insular ⟨ŋ⟩ is only found in NRA 73 in addition to AM 655 IX 4to, but ⟨p⟩ was widely used up to ca. 1300, and ⟨f⟩ to ca. 1420.

4.2. Older Carolingian-Insular script (up to ca. 1225)

From the earliest period, we have eight extant manuscripts, four written in Nidaros and four in Bergen. They are all fragments, except the Old Norwegian *Book of Homilies*, AM 619 4to, which was written in the Bergen area. The Nidaros manuscripts have a slightly stronger Insular flavour than those written in Bergen. From this period there are also three charters from Oslo and one from Nidaros; the oldest charter is the one issued ca. 1210 by Phillipus bōglungakonungr. The script in these charters does not differ from the contemporaneous book manuscripts. The individual letter-forms in this period show influence from both Carolingian and Insular script. Thus the Carolingian open-necked *a* is used consistently, not the Insular single-storey type, and the Insular ⟨ŋ⟩ was soon replaced by Carolingian ⟨r⟩. On the other hand, both Carolingian straight ⟨d⟩ and Insular ⟨ð⟩ are used, and Insular ⟨f⟩, and ⟨p⟩ were dominant. There is also great variation in the forms of ⟨r⟩ and ⟨y⟩.

AM 655 IX 4to, which contains only three disparate leaves, though probably by the same scribe, is the manuscript with the strongest Insular influence. As can be seen in fig. 95.1 it has consistent use of the Insular letter-forms ⟨f⟩, ⟨ŋ⟩ and ⟨p⟩ (for *f*, *r* and *v* respectively), and also the capital ⟨Ð⟩, another adaptation from English script. The dental fricative is denoted with þ in initial position and ð in medial and final position, in accordance with the English practice of the time. GKS 1347 4to (fig. 95.2) has the Insular letter-forms ⟨f⟩ and ⟨p⟩, but not ⟨ŋ⟩. The long-stemmed form of *r*, ⟨r̄⟩,

however, is known from Continental scripts and should not be regarded as an Insular form. Also of note here is the use of thorn, þ, in all positions, which was the norm in early Icelandic script, but rarely seen in Norwegian manuscripts. In AM 619 4to, fig. 95.3, the Insular influence is less pronounced; straight minuscule *r* is used, and the minuscule form of *f*, ⟨f⟩. A round form of *r*, ⟨r̄⟩, is found after the letter *o*, alternating with the straight *r*.

4.3. Younger Carolingian-Insular script (ca. 1225–1300)

The Insular influence was still present after ca. 1200, but decreased towards the end of the century. Icelandic script, which until the beginning of the 13th century was predominantly Carolingian, imported some Insular traits from Norway in this period, e.g. the distinction between þ and ð. The influence from Norwegian script can also be seen in early Swedish manuscripts, e.g. in a fragment of *Västgötalagen* (SKB B 193), which has several Insular characters. Towards the end of the period, the script of Norwegian manuscripts became increasingly Gothic. It is difficult to point to any definitive change; there was rather a general drift towards more compressed and angular letter-forms.

Around 1250 a closed, two-storeyed *a* appears for the first time, but Carolingian open-necked *a* was still used for several decades. Also, round *r* expanded its use, being found after curved letters other than *o*, such as *b* and *d*. The round *r* sometimes extends below the base line, so that it resembles the figure 3. Otherwise, the arms of the Insular *f* are reduced to two dots in some manuscripts (cf. fig. 95.5) or the upper arm becomes a bow (cf. fig. 95.6). The tall form of *s*, ⟨f⟩, is dominant, and seldom extends below the base line, while the low form, ⟨s⟩, in some manuscripts is terminated below the base line. The letter ð is widely used, but towards the end of the period it was replaced by ⟨ð⟩ in many manuscripts, especially charters. As mentioned above, the Insular *v*, ⟨p⟩, was used fairly regularly until ca. 1300.

Holm perg 6 fol. (ca. 1275), fig. 95.5, still employs the Carolingian open-necked *a*, and round *r*, ⟨r̄⟩, is used sparingly. The Insular *f* has an open form, and the Insular *v* is used exclusively. The letter *d* also has the Insular shape, ⟨ð⟩. The capital ⟨Ð⟩, however, has been replaced by ⟨P⟩. The script in this manuscript is basically the same as the one found

in AM 619 4to (fig. 95.3), although written more unevenly and with a broader pen.

4.4. Gothic textual and cursive script (from ca. 1300)

From ca. 1300, the script generally became Gothic in character: the letters are more compressed vertically, the ascenders and descenders shorter, the strokes more angular and the organisation of the script more regular. This is the script of the many law manuscripts of the 14th century; easily readable, stately and distinctly written. It is often referred to as textual script, *textualis*. The base line emerges clearly, and in some manuscripts the frame and rulings were drawn in ink (GKS 1154 fol., AM 309 fol.). The vertical strokes in letters such as *m*, *i*, *n* and *u* (the so-called *minims*) tend to look like single strokes, so that accents over the *i*'s are introduced as a distinctive mark. The two-storey *a* is now most common, though co-existing with older *a*-types. The Insular *v*, ⟨*p*⟩, is rarely seen, but the Insular *f* is still widely used, possibly due to the fact that it easily accommodates superscript abbreviation signs. The low *s* looks like the figure 8. The letter *w* is introduced, and long vowels are often noted as ligatures, e.g. ⟨*ā*⟩. In addition to the formal *textualis*, cursive script was used in charters, and with the introduction of the semi-cursive, also in books. In general, the cursive scripts have simplified letter forms, looped ascenders, and, in the true cursive, letters were joined.

AM 305 fol. (ca. 1300), fig. 95.6, written by Þorgeirr Hákonarson, is a good example of an early Gothic textual script. The letter *a* has two storeys, *s* has the typical 8-shape, the Insular *v* has been replaced by minuscule *v*, and there are accents over the *i*'s. There is also a tendency towards the fusion of bows, e.g. between adjacent *o* and *c*, *b* and *c*, etc. The script is clearly duolinear, i.e. there is a marked difference between heavy and light strokes.

The script in AM dipl norv fasc XXXIV 18 (1348), fig. 95.7, is cursive, typical of the charters from the beginning of this century. Here, lines are closely spaced, and most letters are joined by connecting strokes. Ascenders and descenders may be looped, such as in *b*, *þ*, *h* and *k*. Notably, the ascender of the letter *d* has acquired a loop which goes all the way down to the base line. The letter *a* has two storeys, but was later replaced by a simple form, which could easily be mistaken for *o*. The tall *s*, ⟨*f*⟩, extends below the base line,

and both arms of the Insular *f* are drawn as bows, ⟨*p*⟩. The letter *j*, originally a capital ⟨*I*⟩ from English cursive script, is introduced for the preposition *i* and in word-initial position. In general, accents and decorative strokes are semicircular. The script gives the impression of haste, fluency and elegance.

The script in Holm perg 35 4to, *Kristinréttr Jóns erkibiskups* (ca. 1350), fig. 95.8, is a typical example of early Gothic half-cursive. Unlike the full cursive script, few letters are actually joined, but many have looped ascenders, e.g. *b*, *l*, *h* and *k*. The *a* still has two storeys, but soon developed a simple, single-storeyed form. The tall *s* extends below the base line, ⟨*f*⟩, and the same applies to the finished strokes of *h* and sometimes *m*. The ascenders of the letters *d* and *ð* are drawn diagonally, and are often accentuated with a heavy stroke. Otherwise, the difference between heavy and light strokes is not strong in the Gothic half-cursive; it is rather as if the letters were written with a too broad pen.

5. Abbreviations

The system of abbreviation in Old Norwegian manuscripts was, like the script, imported from England. Abbreviations were used liberally, though much more sparingly than in many Icelandic manuscripts. The most common abbreviation sign is the horizontal bar, used primarily for the nasal consonants *m* and *n* (therefore often referred to as the nasal stroke), e.g. ⟨*honō*⟩ = 'honom'; at a later stage it could also be used to abbreviate a longer sequence, e.g. ⟨*mōm*⟩ = 'monnom' (expanded abbreviations are shown by italics). Two types of superscript abbreviations were frequently used: the zigzag-sign for front vowel + *r*, and any superscript vowel for *r* or *v* + the vowel; the letter *a* was usually written with an open, *u*-like letter-form. Baseline abbreviations include the usual tironian *notae* for *oc*, *us*, *per*, *pro* and *rum*. Also quite common was the semi-colon for *eð*. Frequently occurring names or words in the text were sometimes abbreviated with a dot, either contractions such as ⟨*kgr.*⟩ = 'konongr' or suspensions such as ⟨*O.*⟩ = 'Olaf^r'. The rune *m*, *Y*, was sometimes used for *maðr*.

6. Scribes

With a few exceptions the scribes of the earliest manuscripts are anonymous. An early example of a known scribe is Eiríkr Þróndarson,

who wrote part of a law book (Holm perg 34 4to, hand f) in the last quarter of the 13th century. From ca. 1300 we know of several scribes, especially of law manuscripts, e.g. Þorgeirr Hákonarson who wrote several state-ly manuscripts in a Gothic hand (AM 302 fol., AM 305 fol., AM 56 4to and 78 4to), cf. fig. 95.6 here. Also noteworthy is Páll Styrkársson who, in addition to 22 charters, probably wrote the manuscript AM 114 a 4to, which contains king Sverrir's *A speech against the bishops*. The Icelander Haukr Erlendsson (d. 1334), who mostly stayed in Norway from ca. 1300, wrote the manuscript now called *Hauksbók* (AM 371, 544 and 675 4to), a private collection of historical, mathematical and philosophical works; he has also left behind a few charters in his own hand. All told, around 120 scribes of law manuscripts can be identified in the 14th century, but only a minority are known by name.

The scribes of the charters are less anonymous, especially those writing on behalf of the king. In the period ca. 1280–1345, the scribes in these charters usually identified themselves with words such as “N.N. klerkr/notarius ritaði”. In his indispensable though controversial study, *Norske skrifvarar i millomalderen* (1989), Eivind Vågslid has tried to collect and identify each and every hand in Norwegian charters up to 1400, and sporadically up to 1580. Many scribes are anonymous (“serskild hand” in Vågslid's terminology), while others can be pinpointed to a specific milieu, or their identity can be derived from the names contained in the letter. In addition to the many anonymous scribes, Vågslid has identified well over 800 named scribes in the period up to 1400. Due to the sheer quantity of the corpus – 3,650 charters – it seems probable that Vågslid allocated charters to too many hands (cf. Bakken 1997, 4).

7. Reference books and study aids

Kålund's *Palaeografisk Atlas* (1905–07) is still very helpful; the quality of the facsimiles is admirably high and there are useful transcriptions. Each facsimile is of a single page from the chosen manuscripts, so that the Atlas gives a condensed overview of the development of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian palaeography. Although the majority of facsimiles are of Icelandic provenance, the Atlas contains a surprisingly wide and representative selection of Norwegian manuscripts and charters (17

examples up to ca. 1300 and 11 ca. 1300–1500). The Atlas will for some time remain the most convenient – though not easily accessible – introduction to the study of Norwegian palaeography. For a fuller study of each manuscript, however, one has to turn to the separate facsimile editions. There is so far no Norwegian parallel to Hreinn Benediktsson's *Early Icelandic Script* (1965).

In 1947, Holm-Olsen and Seip published a facsimile of the Norwegian manuscripts of *Konungs skuggsjá*, which was presented as a gift to King Haakon VII on his 75th birthday. Since 1950 nearly a dozen facsimiles of complete Old Norwegian manuscripts have been published in the series *Corpus codicum Norvegicorum medii aevi* (CCN), such as the Old Norwegian *Book of homilies*, the legendary *Óláfs saga ins helga*, *Elis saga* and *Strengleikar*, *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*, King Magnús Hákonsson's *Laws of Norway* and the oldest *Law of Gulathing* (the latter two in full colour); there are also editions of fragments and charters up to 1300. Several volumes are being planned, e.g. of *Piðreks saga*, *Thomas saga erkibiskups* and a number of provincial law manuscripts. These editions contain introductions which are important sources for codicology and palaeography.

As a general introduction to Old Norwegian palaeography, Seip (1954) is indispensable and still unsurpassed. His *Språkhistorie* (1955) also contains much palaeographical and codicological information. Otherwise, Svensson (1974) is a practical introduction to the whole field of Nordic palaeography up to modern times. Hreinn Benediktsson (1965) is a valuable supplement to Seip's palaeography, since Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian scripts are closely connected, especially in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Hødnebo (1960) is an excellent introduction to the earliest charters (up to 1300); there are good facsimiles of each charter, a transcription and a translation into Norwegian. Photographic facsimiles of younger charters are located at The National Archive in Oslo and The University of Bergen (Nordisk institutt).

Since the 1940s, a number of MA theses (“hovedfagsoppgaver”) have been written in Norway on the palaeography of individual manuscripts. The great majority are unpublished, but are accessible from the university libraries, though usually not on loan. Many are included in the bibliography in *ONP Registre* (1989). This volume can also be checked for the latest datings of Norwegian

manuscripts. Some of them have received new dates since the publication of Seip (1954), e. g. GKS 1347 4to, which was dated ca. 1200 by Seip (1954), but now ca. 1175.

Finally, Holm-Olsen (1990) should be mentioned. This is a general introduction to the field of Norwegian literary culture in medieval times, popular in approach, but well documented and richly illustrated.

8. Literature (a selection)

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Holm-Olsen, Ludvig (1990), *Med fjærpenn og pergament. Vår skriftkultur i middelalderen*. Oslo.

Kålund, Kristian (1905–07), *Palæografisk atlas. Oldnorsk-islandsk afdeling 1–2* (2nd vol. entitled *Ny serie. Oldnorsk-islandske skriftprøver c. 1300–1700*). København.

Karlsson Stefán (1979), Islandske bogeksport til Norge i middelalderen. In: *MM* 1979, 1–17.

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Regesta Norvegica, 1–. Oslo 1978–.

Seip, Didrik Arup (1954), *Palæografi. B. Norge og Island* (Nordisk kultur 28 B). Oslo.

Seip, Didrik Arup (1955), *Norsk språkhistorie til omkring 1370*. 2nd ed. Oslo.

Svensson, Lars (1974), *Nordisk paleografi* (Lundastudier i nordisk språkvitenskap A 28). Lund.

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96. The development of Latin script II: in Iceland

1. The introduction of Latin script
2. The corpus
3. The earliest Icelandic script
4. The development of the script
5. The shape and use of individual letters
6. Literature (a selection)

1. The introduction of Latin script

According to the Icelandic *Book of Settlements* (*Landnámabók*), a considerable part of the Norse population which settled in Iceland in the decades around the year 900 came from the British Isles; some of these settlers, at least, were Christians and may have brought with them books in Latin. Christian missionaries travelling to Iceland during the last decades of the 10th century must have relied on Latin texts, and such books no doubt existed in Iceland after Christianity was adopted in the year 1000 and in the 11th century with the organization of the Icelandic church.

The General Assembly (*Alþingi*) resolved in the summer of 1117 to put Icelandic civil laws into writing; this work was begun in the following winter, but the resolution would

hardly have been passed unless Icelanders already at that time had some experience in writing the vernacular in the Latin script.

2. The corpus

Remains of Latin medieval manuscripts in Iceland are for the most part confined to single leaves used in the binding of younger books, and it cannot be determined conclusively whether the oldest ones were written in Iceland or abroad. On such fragments, see especially Eggen 1968 and Gjerløw 1980. Only in very few cases has the same scribe been shown to have written in both Latin and Icelandic; see e. g. Louis-Jensen 1977, 19–20, and Stefán Karlsson 1982, 1986.

Relatively few Icelandic manuscripts from the Middle Ages have been preserved intact; in many cases we are left with only a few leaves, sometimes no more than a single leaf or a part of a single leaf. The earliest preserved manuscripts (and fragments of manuscripts) containing vernacular texts have been dated to the middle of or second half of the 12th century, and manuscripts from before 1300

number less than one hundred, but on the whole somewhere between 700 and 800 manuscripts, written in the period up to the middle of the 16th century, have survived to present times. Many of the manuscripts written after 1300 contain texts which are thought to have been copied from 13th century exemplars. With the exception of charters, only very few originals of Icelandic texts have survived. No charters from the period before 1300 have survived, and only 20 have been preserved from the first half of the 14th century, but after that they become more numerous, especially charters from the 15th century. Almost all charters include a date, but most manuscripts have been dated by scholars based on paleography and orthography, which only allows them to be dated within a period of half a century.

Specimens, in most cases a single page, from a vast majority of surviving manuscripts from the period before 1300 are produced in facsimile by Hreinn Benediktsson (1965), and his introduction provides a very thorough survey of the development of the Icelandic script and orthography at its earliest stages; the present article draws substantially on this account. The most detailed descriptions of the paleography of individual manuscripts are the ones by Buerger (1904), Lindblad (1954) and de Leeuw van Weenen (1993 and 2000). Facsimiles of select pages from manuscripts of this period and subsequent centuries have been reproduced by Kålund (1905, 1907) and Árni Böðvarsson (1974), and specimens of the script are found in Björn K. Þórólfsson (1950), Seip (1954), and Svensson (1974). A little over fifty manuscripts are available in their entirety in facsimile editions in the series CCI, MI, ÍH, EIM, and ÍM. Facsimiles of original charters down to 1450 are in IO. The latest datings of medieval Icelandic manuscripts are found in ONP Indices.

3. The earliest Icelandic script

3.1. The so-called *First Grammatical Treatise*, composed about or shortly after the middle of the 12th century, is a unique source of information about language and writing in Iceland at the time. It is only preserved in a single manuscript, AM 242 fol. (facsimile edition in CCI II), from the 14th century, and is available in several editions, the most recent one by Hreinn Benediktsson (1972), accompanied by an English translation and a very thorough

commentary and introduction, as well as facsimiles of the manuscript pages containing the treatise. The aim of the author of the treatise was to compose “an alphabet for us Icelanders”, i. e. adapt the Latin alphabet to meet the needs of the Icelandic language by, on the one hand, disposing of Latin letters deemed unnecessary by the author, and, on the other hand, adding letters that were essential for unambiguous interpretation of the written language.

The author argued that in addition to the Latin vowel symbols ⟨a⟩, ⟨e⟩, ⟨i⟩, ⟨o⟩, and ⟨u⟩, the Icelandic alphabet needed the symbols ⟨q⟩, ⟨ę⟩, ⟨ø⟩, and ⟨y⟩, i. e. symbols denoting the phonemes which arose as the result of the umlauts. For each one he provided a description of the pronunciation and explained the shape of every one of the new letters, for instance, ⟨ø⟩, he said, was composed of “the crossbar of *e* and the circle of *o*”. In his view, long vowels should be distinguished from their short counterparts by the writing of a superscript accent mark over the letter when it represented the long vowel; furthermore, nasal vowels should be indicated by a superscript dot over the vowel symbol.

The author of the *First Grammatical Treatise* found a few of the Latin consonant symbols to be unnecessary for writing the Icelandic language; for the short /k/ he proposed to use ⟨c⟩ exclusively, rather than ⟨k⟩ or ⟨q⟩ (in the combination /qv/), and instead of the letters ⟨x⟩ and ⟨z⟩ he preferred to write ⟨cs⟩ and ⟨ds⟩ (or possibly ⟨ts⟩), respectively. On the other hand, he favored the addition of ⟨þ⟩ to the Icelandic alphabet, and he also designed a new symbol intended to denote /ng/. Instead of doubling the minuscule letters to denote geminate consonants, the author proposed to use single majuscule letters, or small capitals, but since the small capital ⟨C⟩ looks almost identical to the minuscule ⟨c⟩, he thought it convenient to adopt the Greek *kappa* for the geminate /k/; the shape of this letter in the extant copy of the treatise and in manuscripts where it occurs is ⟨k⟩, i. e. like the type of ⟨k⟩ employed at least in the early stage of Caroline minuscule script (see, for instance, the alphabet in Bischoff 1986, 175).

For the influence of the *First Grammatical Treatise* on the development of the Icelandic script, see 4.1.

3.2. The script in the earliest extant Icelandic manuscripts is almost fully consistent with Caroline minuscule. In this respect there is a

clear difference between the Icelandic and Norwegian script in the earliest period, for at that time the Norwegian script already shows considerable Anglo-Saxon insular influence in vernacular writings. The letter ⟨þ⟩ was, however, used already in the earliest Icelandic manuscripts, and even if the letter was already familiar to Icelanders from the runic alphabet, where it was named *þurs*, its adoption in the Latin script in Iceland, as well as in Norway, is without much doubt due to either direct or indirect Anglo-Saxon influence, for in this function it had at least from the 12th century been known in Iceland under the Anglo-Saxon name *þorn*. The insular letters ⟨þ⟩, ⟨ð⟩, and ⟨f⟩, were adopted later than ⟨þ⟩ and used to varying degrees, as described in 4.1. (⟨ð⟩) and 5. (⟨þ⟩ and ⟨f⟩); their adoption is without doubt to be attributed to Norwegian, rather than Anglo-Saxon, influence.

4. The development of the script

4.1. The guidelines set forth in the *First Grammatical Treatise* were not followed in detail in any of the preserved Icelandic manuscripts. Its influence can, however, be detected in a great many manuscripts well into the 14th century, but the observance of its rules varies greatly, and consistency in orthography is extremely rare. An overview of the employment of various graphemes in almost 50 Icelandic manuscripts from the earliest period into the 14th century is provided by Lindblad (1954, 308–16). Considerable variation in script and orthography is to be expected in a sparsely populated country like Iceland, where there were many cultural centers but with few people; these were primarily the episcopal seats, the monasteries and the farmsteads of the most affluent families. Under these circumstances the homogeneity in language – and script – is more remarkable than the variation.

The umlaut phonemes /e/, /ø/, and /ø/ were not only denoted with the symbols proposed by the author of the *First Grammatical Treatise*, but also in a variety of other ways, as described in section 5.; this variation was compounded by the fact that in Icelandic the short vowels /ø/ and /ø/ began to merge around 1200 and long /e/ and long /ø/ around 1250. Nasal vowels appear to have merged with their non-nasal counterparts in the 12th century; there is, at any rate, no indication that the scribes of the earliest extant manuscripts distinguished them in their own language.

The distinction between long vowels and their short counterparts is entirely absent or only sporadic in some manuscripts, but when this distinction is made it is, until around 1300, done exclusively by means of a superscript acute accent mark; this same acute accent mark does, however, sometimes also appear over short-vowel symbols, especially over ⟨i⟩ in order to separate it from the minims of ⟨u⟩, ⟨n⟩, and ⟨m⟩. During the 14th century the employment of the acute accent mark to denote vowel length gradually decreased, and after 1400 it is rarely seen in this function until its revival in the second half of the 18th century (Lindblad 1952). Due to Norwegian influence during the 14th century this usage of the acute accent mark was gradually replaced by the doubling of vowel symbols, if the distinction of vowel length is observed at all; in those cases long /i/ is denoted ⟨ij⟩, and in the course of the 14th century ⟨a⟩ replaced ⟨aa⟩, and long /u/ was represented by ⟨w⟩. In addition, doubled vowel symbols (or ligatures) sometimes were written with double accent marks.

The author of the *First Grammatical Treatise* did not succeed in expelling those Latin consonant symbols which in his view were unnecessary. During the 13th century most scribes used the letter ⟨q⟩ in the sequence /kv/, but occasionally the velar was spelled ⟨c⟩ or ⟨k⟩ in this position. The predominant practice in the 14th century was to write ⟨ku⟩ (or ⟨kv⟩), except perhaps in the sequence /kve/, which was usually abbreviated ⟨q⟩ with a superscript horizontal stroke, consistent with the Latin custom. Almost every scribe used both ⟨k⟩ and ⟨c⟩ alternately to denote /k/; in some early manuscripts the so-called palatal rule was observed to a certain extent, i.e. the practice of writing ⟨k⟩ mostly before front vowels, but in the course of the 13th century ⟨k⟩ gradually took precedence over ⟨c⟩, which in the 14th century became rare, except in foreign words, loanwords, and in the digraph ⟨ck⟩ for long /k/. On the other hand there are examples of ⟨c⟩ for *ts* in a few manuscripts from around 1200. Generally, however, a sequence of a dental stop followed by a sibilant was, into the 16th century, denoted with the letter ⟨z⟩, but before the genitive ending *-s* the letter representing the dental was sometimes inserted before the ⟨z⟩, usually in analogy with other forms in the paradigm. The letter ⟨x⟩ is commonly found in word stems, but less frequently in genitive forms where *-s* directly follows stem-final *g* or *k*. A fair num-

ber of scribes in the first half of the 13th century employed a special symbol ⟨ŋ⟩, a kind of ligature of ⟨n⟩ and ⟨g⟩, but it was much less frequent in the second half of this century and appeared very rarely after 1300. In the earliest manuscripts the letter ⟨þ⟩ was the universal symbol for denoting the dental fricative, but before the middle of the 13th century the Anglo-Saxon insular ⟨ð⟩ appeared in this role in medial and final position. From around 1300 onwards, ⟨þ⟩ was somewhat rare in non-initial position and appeared in these positions only sporadically in abbreviations in some hands up to 1400. In initial position, ⟨þ⟩ has maintained its standing up to modern times, but ⟨ð⟩ was replaced by ⟨ð̇⟩; this process had already begun in the 13th century, around the mid-14th century ⟨ð̇⟩ took precedence over ⟨ð⟩ in these positions, and after 1400 ⟨ð̇⟩ does barely appear. Both the adoption of the letter ⟨ð̇⟩ and ultimately its abolition were due to Norwegian influence. (Around 1700 ⟨ð̇⟩ was retained in accurate copies of old manuscripts; it was used in a few printed books in the late 18th century, a practice which became more common in the first half of the 19th century, but ⟨ð̇⟩ did not become a standard feature of Icelandic writing and printing until the second half of the 19th century.)

The distinction between single and geminate consonants, if observed at all, could be accomplished in three ways: (1) Doubling the consonant symbol was practised from the very beginning but was not used exclusively, save for a very few of the earliest manuscripts. Long /k/ was frequently written ⟨cc⟩ in the earliest period (and sometimes ⟨cq⟩ before *v*), but later also ⟨kk⟩ or ⟨ck⟩, and after 1300 ⟨ck⟩ was the most common notation by a wide margin. (2) The practice proposed in the *First Grammatical Treatise* can be witnessed to varying degrees in a great many hands; it also varies considerably from one letter to another, since some of the capital letter forms differ only minimally from their minuscule counterparts. For this reason the letter ⟨k̇⟩ was adopted for long /k/ (see 3.1.) and used in a few manuscripts until around 1300; in this period, too, long /l/ could be denoted as ⟨l̇⟩, which is more likely a kind of a small capital rather than a ligature of ⟨ll⟩. The 13th century saw the sporadic use of uncial ⟨ṁ⟩ as a capital for long /m/, and the capital ⟨Ṫ⟩ never became widely used for long /t/, due to its resemblance to the minuscule ⟨ṫ⟩. The most frequent and longest lasting in their function denoting geminate consonants were ⟨Ṅ⟩, ⟨Ṙ⟩, ⟨Ġ⟩, and ⟨Ṡ⟩,

which were employed by some scribes well into the 14th century. The last of these four had, however, a weaker position than the others, since the “round *s*”, which is, in fact, the same letter, was used more and more frequently to denote short /s/ (see 5.); the predominant symbol for short /s/ was, however, the “tall *s*”, ⟨ſ⟩. (3) The third method of denoting geminate consonants was by means of a superscript dot; it is, like the use of capital letters in this function, characteristic of Icelandic writing. Even in the first half of the 13th century instances can be found of a superscript dot over ⟨ṫ⟩, ⟨ṙ⟩, ⟨ġ⟩, and ⟨ṗ⟩, and in the second half of this century also over ⟨ċ⟩, ⟨ṅ⟩, and the bowl of ⟨ḋ⟩ (⟨ð̇⟩) and ⟨k̇⟩. The first set of these dotted letters remained in use at least into the 16th century; the same applies to ⟨ṅ⟩, although here it was more common to express length by way of a superscript horizontal stroke over the vowel symbol preceding the ⟨ṅ⟩ or over the ⟨ṅ⟩ itself; this is also true of long /m/. The use of ⟨ċ⟩ with a superscript dot was abandoned in the 14th century, consistent with the decreasing use, in general, of the letter ⟨ċ⟩ at the time. ⟨ð̇⟩ with a superscript dot is very rare, but dotted ⟨k̇⟩ is somewhat more common and appears as late as around the middle of the 14th century. The two latter methods of denoting consonant gemination were sometimes united, i.e. by writing a capital letter with a superscript dot. This practice can be observed before the middle of the 13th century and lasted as long as capitals were employed for geminates.

Icelandic medieval script is characterized by extensive use of abbreviations. Common words or words that appeared frequently in the same text often were abbreviated by writing only the first one or few letters, but sometimes the ending was indicated by writing the last letter on or above the line. Individual superscript letters could also denote a sequence of letters, and various abbreviation symbols derived from Latin script were employed, cf. the thorough overview in Hreinn Benediktsson (1965), pp. 85–95, and the specimens accompanying the present article. The shape of some of the abbreviation symbols and their use evolved somewhat over time, for instance the way common words were abbreviated.

4.2. As noted above, the earliest Icelandic script is Carolingian in character. The individual letters are written separately and not

joined, and in addition to the straight vertical strokes, they are characterized by their curved shape. This was the prevalent script throughout the 13th century and remained in use to some extent into the first half of the 14th century. During the 13th century, Gothic traits became discernible, initially in that the bow of ⟨h⟩, ⟨m⟩, and ⟨n⟩ became angular; these characteristics became more pronounced at the beginning of the 14th century and culminated in book writing around the middle of this century.

There is usually a considerable difference between the script used in the 14th century for charters and the one used for books; in the charters (none of which are earlier than the 14th century) a cursive type of script predominates (see e. g. fig. 7), which in many cases was heavily influenced by Norwegian charter script; by contrast, the script used for books is as a rule much less cursive in character. The angular character of the Gothic script, replacing the curved (or even the straight) strokes of the Caroline script, is much more pronounced in books than in charters, while in the charter script letters more frequently were joined and also – more often than in book script, at least in the first half of the 14th century – a small loop was written on the right side of the topmost part of the ascenders.

The difference between book script and charter script is in most cases barely discernible after 1400, except that in service books containing Latin texts the script is more formal. Changes in script were quite insignificant up until the Reformation, which brought with it foreign influence, i. e. German influence by way of Denmark.

5. The shape and use of individual letters

⟨a⟩ of the Caroline type, with a bowl and a bow above it, was predominant in the 13th century. In the second half of the century a younger type of ⟨a⟩ appeared sporadically, with a bow bending down to the bowl, i. e. the so-called “two-storey *a*”; this type gradually prevailed in the course of the 14th century, but in addition a “single-storey *a*” started appearing, initially in charters, before the middle of the 14th century.

⟨d⟩ with an upright shaft was universal or predominant in a few of the very earliest manuscripts, but around 1200 a different type

of ⟨d⟩ made its appearance; in this type the shaft bends to the left and it is usually curved (⟨ð⟩, uncial ⟨d⟩). ⟨ð⟩ was predominant or universal in most manuscripts during the 13th century and probably became universal around 1300. The upper tip of the ascender of ⟨ð⟩ frequently was turned upward, but sometimes, especially around the middle of, and during the second half of, the 13th century, it was turned downward. During the 14th century – in the first half thereof mostly in charter script – it became common to draw a thin line from the upper tip of the ascender down to the right side of the bowl.

⟨ð̄⟩ was distinguished from ⟨ð⟩ in several ways, usually with a loop, much less frequently with a straight stroke, on the right side of the ascender. The end of the loop or the straight stroke sometimes extended through the ascender, but a straight cross-bar without a loop was used by a few scribes. For the use of ⟨ð̄⟩, see 4.1.

⟨f⟩ of the Carolingian type was universal in the earliest Icelandic manuscripts (3.2.), but the insular ⟨f⟩, ⟨ƒ⟩, started to appear in the first half of the 13th century, became predominant around the middle of the century and was practically universal towards the end of it, with the exception that many scribes used Caroline script ⟨f⟩ in words of Latin origin. The vertical stroke of ⟨ƒ⟩ always descended below the line, but the right-hand strokes varied in shape. Throughout the 13th century the upper shaft typically consisted of a short angular stroke, a dot or a short curved stroke and the lower one of a nearly horizontal stroke or a dot. In some hands in the first half of the 14th century the upper shaft developed into a larger curved stroke which bends down to touch the vertical shaft, and in charter script the lower shaft, too, forms a bowl which extends down below the line. This type, with two bowls, became predominant in Icelandic script, both in books and charters, in the second half of the 14th century and was used to a great extent up to the 17th century.

The upper half of ⟨g⟩ most often resembled the letter ⟨o⟩, but the shape of the lower half varied. The lower half frequently consisted of a second bowl which was joined with the upper bowl; this shape became predominant during the 14th century. Alternatively, the lower half was formed by a stroke from the upper half, extending below the line, either curving to the left or almost entirely vertically. Sometimes this leftward stroke was joined to the upper half by a fine hair-line, or, alternatively, it

could curve again to the right to form an oval-shaped bowl below the line. In some hands, especially in the second half of the 13th century, this stroke extended leftward below the letters preceding the <g>.

In some of the earliest manuscripts, the right stroke of <h> barely extends below the line, and usually its lower tip bends leftward. However, even in the early 13th century it usually descended below the line. When the right stroke of <h> has a sharp angular turn, it most often extends straight down below the line where it frequently bends to the left; this type of <h> was predominant in the 14th century.

<j> (always without a dot, but occasionally with acute accent mark) was rarely used in the 13th century, except sentence-initially for short and long /i/ and for /j/. In a few hands, however, the use of <j> is more extensive (for /i/ or /j/), but it was almost entirely limited to word-initial or final position, especially in final position in Roman numerals. The use of <j> in word-initial position increased after 1300, to begin with especially in charters; frequently, however, the capital letter <J> was used in this position. In addition, <ij> was used for long /i/ as a doubled vowel symbol.

The right half of <k> was formed by two strokes; the upper one formed a bowl, and the lower one extended rightward down towards the line. During the 14th century the lower stroke was almost vertical in some hands, but in a more common type of <k> this stroke and a serif on the right side of the lower tip of the main vertical stem nearly join to form a <k> which almost has two bowls.

In a few hands in the 13th century, the right minim of <n> sometimes extends below the line, especially in those cases where <n> (usually with a horizontal superscript stroke) denotes long /n/. This type of <n> and <m> was most common in word-final position. Its use culminated around or shortly after 1300, when it often was used irrespective of position within the word, but around the middle of the 14th century it had again become somewhat rare.

During the 13th century a few scribes wrote <r> with a vertical stroke that extended below the line; this mostly occurred in word-final position, and in some hands this was even a standard practice. This type of <r> became more common around 1300, but after the middle of the 14th century it was again rare. During the 14th century, starting in charter script, a line was sometimes drawn from the

lower tip of the stem upward to the shaft so that the <r> resembles the letter <v>. The “round *r*”, also known as “*r rotunda*”, <ɹ>, which developed out of the right half of the ligature of <o> and <R>, appeared sporadically following <o> (as well as <ø>, <ǫ>, <ð>, and <æ>) in almost all the earliest Icelandic manuscripts, and over the course of the 13th century it became almost the standard choice for *r* following these letters. Around the middle of the 13th century <ɹ> also started appearing after <ð> (and <ð>), and soon thereafter its use, too, became standard practice; at the same time <ɹ> also appeared following <þ>, <g>, <p>, and , albeit with less regularity. The use of <ɹ> following these letters was further established during the 14th century, and around the middle of this century and shortly thereafter the use of <ɹ> sometimes was extended to follow other letters, at least <a>, <y>, <v>, and <h>. During the 15th century, especially in the second half, <ɹ> was frequently used without any regard to the preceding letter, but it was rarely seen in word-initial position before 1500.

Two types of <s> were in use, the so-called “tall *s*”, or <ʃ>, and the “round *s*” <ʂ>. The first one was nearly universal up to 1300 as a symbol for short /s/. From around the middle of the 13th century and onwards, the <ʃ> extended below the line in some hands, and in the 14th century this variant of <ʃ> became predominant, except in very formal script. The use of “round *s*” (to denote short /s/) was in the beginning to a great extent confined to abbreviations where the abbreviation symbol was written above the <s>; its use increased during the 14th century, especially in word-final and initial position, but <ʃ> still remained the much more widely used type. The “round *s*” appeared in a number of variant shapes, especially in charter script: frequently the bows were closed so that the letter resembles the numerals <8> or <6> or a mirror image of the latter.

The stem of <t> usually extended only very slightly above the crossbar and sometimes not at all.

Short and long /u/, and /v/ were denoted by <u> and <v>; the insular <þ> appeared around 1200 and it was employed by many scribes, especially or even exclusively in word-initial position, until around 1300, but it was only sporadically seen in the 14th century. <w> was infrequently used until the second half of the 14th century, but it appeared in a few hands much earlier, around 1200. It was

most often used word-initially for /v/, and, in the 14th century and later, in all positions for long /u/, cf. 4.1. The use of <u> and <v> varied from one period to another and also from one scribe to another. In many of the earliest manuscripts, they are used for /u/ and /v/, respectively, fairly regularly in word-initial position but at the same time inconsistently in medial position. Many scribes used one of the two letters mainly or exclusively without regard to the distinction between the vowel and the semi-vowel, and in the 14th century it had become standard practice in many hands to use <v> word-initially and <u> elsewhere.

In some of the earliest manuscripts, the left stroke of <y> was drawn down below the line with a slight leftward turn, while the right part, which did not extend below the line, consisted of a dot with a thin connecting line curving down to the left stroke. Other types of <y> in the 13th century and into the 14th century all had a <v>-shaped upper half with a curving right stroke. However, which of the two strokes extended down below the line varied; the descender bent leftward to varying degrees. Around the middle of the 14th century there sometimes was a crossbar through the descender right below the line. All the <y>-types usually were written with a superscript dot. In those cases where it was the left stroke that extended below the line, the letter resembles <p>, but the superscript dot serves to distinguish it from the symbol for /v/. From a little before the middle of the 14th century, the two strokes sometimes were nearly vertical above the line and the right one extended below the line, frequently bending to the left; in such cases the <y> was often distinguished from <ij> (with or without the accent marks) by means of the superscript dot.

<z> usually appeared without a crossbar in the earliest manuscripts, but the variant with the crossbar became more common during the 13th century and more so in the 14th century.

Long /ɛ/, when not written <e>, was usually denoted with <ɛ> or <æ>, sometimes with a superscript accent mark. <ɛ> was the more common symbol during most of the 13th century, but <æ> appeared in some of the earliest manuscripts, gaining considerable ground in the second half of the century and becoming predominant in the 14th century. The first member of the ligature <æ> frequently came close to being a “one-storey *a*”, even if as an independent symbol the <a> was written with a bow or as a “two-storey *a*”. A few scribes

in the 14th century employed <è>. When long /ɛ/ and long /ø/ began to merge into a single phoneme in Icelandic (through the derounding of long /ø/), around the middle of the 13th century, the long /ɛ/ sometimes was denoted with the symbol for long /ø/, even as late as after the middle of the 14th century, by scribes unsuccessfully attempting to archaize their orthography or imitate Norwegian spelling conventions.

A few of the very earliest manuscripts have a special notation for short and long /ø/, namely the digraph <eo> and the letter <ø> (beside <o>), but since the merger of short /ø/ and short /ɔ/ began around 1200 the resulting phoneme (/ö/) was symbolized in the same way, regardless of origin. To be sure, the digraphs <ev> and <ey> (which otherwise were used to denote the diphthong /ey/) appeared in a few manuscripts from the 13th and 14th centuries and even still younger copies of texts from the second half of the 13th century as symbols for original short /ø/, without original short /ɔ/ (or long /ø/) ever being denoted in the same fashion. During the 13th century and as long as scribes maintained, or tried to maintain, the distinction between the long vowels /ø/ and /ɛ/, the former was denoted with a number of graphemes or allographs. Most common among these were <ø> and <ɔ> which were also used for the short /ö/ resulting from the merger of short /ø/ and /ɔ/. These letters sometimes were written with a superscript accent mark; this is also true for the hybrid <ɔ̈>. Around the middle of the 13th century <ð> (along with the hybrid <ð̈>) also appeared and <ð> remained longest in this function, beyond the middle of the 14th century.

Long /ɔ/ had already around 1200 begun to merge with long /a/ (or, when nasalized, long /o/) and was, accordingly, subject to the same kind of notation as long /a/ (or long /o/), whereas in the earliest manuscripts a symbol for /ɔ/ was employed. In the earliest manuscripts, short /ɔ/ was denoted with <æ>, <ɔ>, or <o>. The first of these is, however, found in few manuscripts in the 13th century, but during that century new types of notation came into use for /ö/ (or, very rarely, for /ɔ/ only), the most common of which were <au>, <ä>, and <ø̈>. During the second half of the 13th century, the symbol <ð̈>, first mostly used for long /ø/, entered the ranks of the symbols for /ö/; it gained ground during the 14th century and gradually became the predominant symbol for /ö/ along with /o/ and <au>.

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Reduced facsimiles from manuscripts in The Arnamagnæan Institute in Iceland (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi) and a charter in The Icelandic National Archives (Þjóðskjalasafn Íslands). Photos by Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir.

Examples (reduced except 96.5)

ícolom v. oc feóþa ánd óra hátíþlegre
feózlo. þat eru orþ goþf. þviat ó feómt
ef at licamr feóþefc. oc clæþefc. itarlega
en enn íþre maþr fe oprúþr. oc miffc

ícolom ver oc feóþa ánd óra hátíþlegre
feózlo. þat ero orþ goþf. þviat ó feómt
ef at lícamr feóþefc. oc clæþefc. itarlega.
en enn íþre maþr fe oprúþr. oc miffc

Fig. 96.1: AM 237a Fol., 1 vb, ca. 1150–1200; fragments of homilies.

Honocentavf heýter dýr þat ef ver kollom fin galkan.
þat ef maþr fram en dýr aftir oc markar þat o ein
arþar men i vexti finom þat kallafc at bok male

Honocentavf heýter dýr þat ef ver kollom fin galkan.
þat ef maþr fram en dýr aftir oc markar þat o ein
arþar men i vexti finom þat kallafc at bok male

Fig. 96.2: AM 673a I 4to, 1v, ca. 1200; Physiologus.

langaþu til ðngra ððgra. h qðdi oc engv pilgi mioc
 nema imboðogv oc alþingi. aþ þvi alþingi at hanom
 þotti þar margr maðr þerþa pillr vega vm þin mala
 ferli þa ær mikilf var perðr. oc hanom mikit pið liggia.

langaþi til ðngra ððgra. hann qvðði oc engv pilgi mioc
 nema imboðogvm oc alþingi. aþ þvi alþingi at hanom
 þotti þar margr maðr þerþa pillr vega vm þin mala
 ferli þa ær mikilf var perðr. oc hanom mikit pið liggia.

Fig. 96.3: AM 383 I 4to, 2r, ca. 1250; Þorláks saga helga (the Life of Þorlákr the Saint).

h raða f þe þra oc kapo. Eg e kono
 feyllt at eiga ibue nea ho pile. En ef ho a i
 bue m; ho. þa a ho at raða bu rapo. f man
 ftock ef ho pill oc smala npt. Kona a at

hann raða þr þe þerra oc kapom. Eige er kono
 feyllt at eiga ibue nema hon pile. EN ef hon á i
 bue með honom. þa á hon at raða bú ráþom. þr inan
 ftock ef hon pill oc smala npt. Kona a at

Fig. 96.4: AM 334 Fol., 30vb, ca. 1270; Grágás.

en aþ þarv þar v uari konvr. En atv þav fón er egill het. 7 er h ox vpp. þa matti brat
 fia a honvm at h v liotr m; 7 likr feðr finvm. Oc er h v m. vetr þa var hann mikill oc fterkr. h v brat
 ma logr oc oðvif oc illr v vngm þat h vi at leikom m; þ. þ v þæ lngvtr til boðg h bað grmi

en aþvr þarvinn þær voro vænar konvr. En attv þav fón er egill het. ok er hann ox vpp. þa matti brat
 fia a honvm at hann var liotr maðr ok líkr feðr sínum. Oc er hann var m. vetr þa var hann mikill oc fterkr. hann var brat
 malógr oc oðvif oc illr við vngmenne þott hann væri at leikom með þvi. þat var þo: Jngvarr til boðgar hann bað grmi

Fig. 96.5: AM 162 A 8 Fol., 5r, ca. 1300; Egils saga Skallagrímssonar.

^{englat}
 c. i þall Ríkhardar. Jón bróðr h tók ríki
 í englandi. Lögtekim Tholác mesa.
 Obut Sophia danadótning. Petr prestur.
 Barðagi á Ítrindfé með Sperru konungi ok boglvn.

c. i Þall Ríkhardar engla konungr. Jón bróðir hann tók ríki
 í englandi. Lögtekim Tholác mesa.
 Obut Sophia danadótning. Petr þbj/kvp prestur.
 Barðagi á Ítrindfé með Sperru konungi ok boglvn.

Fig. 96.6: GKS 2087 4to, 28va, ca. 1307; Annales Regii.

Allum monnum þeim sem þetta brep seá eða heýra/ sendir stephán prestur Gunnlaugs son Queðiu Guðs
 ok þina/ Ýð: se kunni[k]t at þa er lidit var þra hingat burð vars herra þushundað þíu hundað
 ok þúrtigur áára/ tok ek J vmbode míns virðuligs herra laurencíj hola þjfkups land á guðmun

Allum monnum þeim sem þetta brep seá eða heýra/ sendir stephán prestur Gunnlaugs son Queðiu Guðs
 ok þina/ Ýð: se kunni[k]t at þa er lidit var þra hingat burð vars herra þushundað þíu hundað
 ok þúrtigur áára/ tok ek J vmbode míns virðuligs herra laurencíj hola þjfkups land á guðmun

Fig. 96.7: AM Dipl. Isl. Fasc. I 4; charter written 1330.

aonem. Tok aaron þa vöndinn. ok þegar leid sem h
 kaftade hnu þramm þyr kungu ok hús þionofstu me
 u. þa varð hann at eitr o:me. Enn sem pharao sa vn
 ð: þetta. þa léét hann kalla féér fpekninga sina 7 gallð

aonem. Tok aaron þa vöndinn. ok þegar leid sem hann
 kaftade honum þramm þyrir konunginn ok hans þionofstu me
 nn. þa varð hann at eitr o:me. Enn sem pharao sa vn
 ð: þetta. þa léét hann kalla féér fpekninga sina ok gallð

Fig. 96.8: AM 227 Fol., 64va, ca. 1350; Stjórn.

Stefán Karlsson, Reykjavík (Iceland)

97. The development of Latin script III: in Sweden

1. Origin and earliest European contacts
2. Formal and informal script types
3. Individual graphemes
4. Ligatures
5. Numerals
6. Abbreviation signs
7. Old Swedish texts and manuscripts
8. Literature (a selection)

1. Origin and earliest European contacts

Latin script first appeared in Sweden on coins, struck on the patterns of English models, chiefly in Sigtuna under the kings Olof Skötkonung (ca. 995–1022) and Anund Jakob (ca. 1022–1050). The script is mainly majuscule, ultimately dating back to Roman capitals (Rasmusson 1982).

Handwritten Latin script came to Sweden with the Christian mission. In this country Christianity made its breakthrough in the 11th c., but handwritten documents are still extant only from the next century. The first monastic order to be established in Sweden was that of the Cistercians, who founded the first Swedish monasteries in 1143. Thus, the Cistercians are likely to have had the greatest influence on the development of the Latin script in the country. The first Swedish archbishop, Stefan, belonged to the order and was consecrated by the Pope in Sens in 1164. In the middle of the 13th c. the Cistercians in Sweden were superseded by the Dominicans, who were also closely connected to France. Consequently, it is from this country that Sweden received its earliest influences as far as Latin script is concerned (Jansson 1944, 82 f.; cf. Jansson 1952–54, 149 note 8).

The mediaeval history of the Swedish script has been divided by Jansson (1924, 108 ff.) into three periods, which are used here: (1) ca. 1150–1250, “the time of the round minuscule” or “the period of the Carolingian minuscule”, (2) “the time of the fractured minuscule and of the diplomatic cursive” or “the earlier Gothic period”, and (3) 1370–1526, “the time of the ornamented minuscule and of the half-cursive” or “the later Gothic period” (this division is followed by Svensson 1979, 46). The oldest extant documents written in Sweden, a few deeds issued in the second half of the 12th c., are said by Söderlind (1982) to represent a Carolingian script “in the first intermediate

stage of the transition into Gothic script”. The outside limits for the dates refer to historical events of indirect consequence to the history of the script. The year 1250 is the approximate date of origin of the oldest example of Swedish book production: the fragment of the Older Law of Västergötland (Cod. Holm. B 193). In 1370 the Order of St. Bridget was established, which, through its main convent in Vadstena, eventually came to exercise a great influence on culture in mediaeval Sweden. In 1526, The New Testament was first printed in Swedish.

Jansson’s classification of the script of period 1 as Carolingian can be disputed. Regarding some of the earliest deeds, Jansson speaks of “incipient Gothic features: a distinct difference between down-strokes and hair-strokes, the latter of which form sharp angles with the former, and a few broken angles instead of curves” (Jansson 1924, 109). In the oldest Swedish diplomas (e.g. Dipl. Sv. 51 and 63), the script presents clear Gothic features of the kind that appear in Belgium and France in the 11th c. (Bischoff 1986, 171 ff.): the height definitely exceeds the breadth in the letters without ascenders, and one can see clear tendencies to fracture the curves into angles. In other words, Jansson’s term “round minuscule” doesn’t seem quite accurate. Actually, the script in question doesn’t differ in any decisive way from the one which is called *gotische Buchschrift* by German palaeographers and which appears in contemporary French and German formal book script (see for instance Crous/Kirchner 1928, 9 f. with figs. 2 and 4). It can probably be stated that among the extant documents written in Sweden, none has a typical Carolingian minuscule of the type found in the Danish Dalby Book from the 11th c. (Cod. Hafn., GKS 1325 4:0).

2. Formal and informal script types

The main types of mediaeval script are (1) the formal one used chiefly in book production, and (2) the informal or cursive one, which results from an adaptation to faster writing and which appears above all in diplomas. Eventually, intermediate types were developed (2.2.).

2.1. Formal or book script

The formal or book script was executed slowly, with great care, so that every letter was written separately, without being conjoint to the next one. At first the formal script in Sweden was the only one in use, in diplomas as well as in codices (Öberg 1974, 11). The earliest extant deed written in Sweden is a letter issued by Archbishop Stefan in Uppsala during the period 1164–67 (Dipl. Sv. 51). The scribe was probably not a Swede but, perhaps, a Cistercian from France. The script is in a flowing formal hand with numerous decorative features in the form of long curved descenders for ⟨p⟩, ⟨q⟩, ⟨r⟩ and sigmatic ⟨s⟩ (see 3.2., ⟨s⟩), and loop ornaments on top of the ascenders for ⟨d⟩, ⟨l⟩, and ⟨t⟩.

An equally flowing book hand appears in two deeds issued by King Knut Eriksson sometime during the years 1167–85 (viz. Dipl. Sv. 63 and 64). Especially the former has the greatly prolonged ascenders, typical of the diplomas of the time. The hand of the latter can to a large extent be compared with contemporary book script of an early Gothic type; cf. for instance Crous/Kirchner, fig. 4.

The formal script continued to assert itself in Swedish diplomatic hands up to the 1240s; one late example is Dipl. Sv. 317 (1244), issued by Archbishop Jarler of Uppsala. The script here is markedly large: the letters without ascenders reach approximately 4 mm above the line instead of the normal 2–3 mm.

In the production of books, the style of the formal script underwent the same evolution that can be studied in an overwhelmingly large number of codices from, above all, Germany and France. The oldest Swedish book, Cod. Holm. B 59 from the 1280s, has a typical, though not extreme form of Gothic script, with letters of small width (the height of the letters without ascenders exceeds the breadth) and a clear tendency to fracture the curved strokes. The manuscript is referred to by Kirchner (1966, pl. 15) as an example of *textualis gothica*, also called *Gothic textura*. This script originated in northern France and Belgium and appears in a clear form in these areas during the 12th c. (Bischoff 1986, 171 ff.). All extant Swedish law codes from the first decades of the 14th c. are written in this kind of hand, e.g. the Laws of Västmanland (Cod. Holm. B 56), Uppland (Cod. Holm. B 199), and Södermanland (Cod. Holm. B 53), and the *Younger Law of Västergötland* (Cod. Holm. B 58).

The Gothic *textura* appears also in law codes from the middle and the second half of the 14th c., eventually in a more characteristic form, with a narrower script and fractures with sharper angles, e.g. in the Law of Östergötland (Cod. Holm. B 50 ca. 1350), The National Law of King Magnus Eriksson (Cod. Holm. B 107 1388), and The Law Code of Stockholm (Cod. Holm. B 154, first half of the 15th c.).

2.2. Informal or cursive script

An informal hand is characterized by the more or less conspicuous cursive character of the script. Cursive is generally defined as a script where the move from one letter to another is performed without lifting the pen, so that each letter is conjoined to the preceding one by a thin pen stroke. It should be emphasized that the earliest informal script is not typically cursive in this respect but acquired its informal features from the shapes and proportions of the letters. These are rounded, without any fracturing of the curves, the script is wider, that is, the breadth of the letter without ascenders exceeds the height, and the ascenders (⟨b⟩, ⟨d⟩, ⟨f⟩, ⟨l⟩) as well as the descenders (⟨f⟩; ⟨g⟩; ⟨p⟩; long ⟨s⟩, i.e. *f*, see 3.2., ⟨s⟩) often take the form of a loop. Two diplomas, one dated 1244 (Dipl. Sv. 317), the other written the same year or the year after (Dipl. Sv. 318), both issued by Archbishop Jarler of Uppsala, exhibit markedly different types of script, apparently in use at the same chancery. The former still is a typical book hand without conjoined letters, while the latter is a fairly cursive hand, regularly conjoining the letters. Shortly afterwards, e.g. in a diploma dated 1248 (Dipl. Sv. 355), the new cursive script emerged as fully developed. (Perhaps the scribe in this case was a foreigner: the document was issued by Bishop William of Sabina, at the time visiting Sweden). A little less than a decade later, a similar hand is found in a deed issued in Kungsåra, Uppland, in 1257 (Dipl. Sv. 445) by Birger jarl (Earl Birger). Clearly, the cursive script had by then, if not earlier, gained a foothold in the more important chancelleries. Here, the shapes of the letters are retained even when they are regularly written without the pen being lifted. Instances of such a formal cursive hand appear in two documents written in or near important chancelleries, one issued in 1275 by King Magnus Birgersson (Dipl. Sv. 586), the other issued in 1315 by Birger Persson, the principal officer of the provincial assembly of

Tiundaland in Uppland and the father of St. Bridget (Dipl. Sv. 2008).

The diplomatic script in Sweden from the end of the 13th to the middle of the 14th c. has been called “the arched script” (*valvbågsstilen*) by Jansson (1944, 10), who writes: “On a cursory view, it is characterized by wide arches on top, above the writing line and on its upper edge, and by wedge-shaped ascenders, that is, the upper part is thickened and the lower part is narrowed into a cusp.” The description is somewhat unclear, but it seems that the term “arches” refers to the looped ascenders of graphemes like , <d> and <l>. The wedge shape of the ascenders is accomplished by exerting stronger pressure on the pen at the beginning of the stroke. As the most characteristic grapheme, Jansson emphasizes the <a>, “the upper, now closed chamber of which rises like a dome above the line and is often larger than the lower one” (on <a> with two “chambers”, see 3.2., <a>). As far as can be judged, this description fits diploma Dipl. Sv. 2008 (1315) mentioned above.

The main features developed in the letter script during the period in question were retained for roughly one century, in Sweden as well as elsewhere. The most obvious change seems to be found in the design of one grapheme, <a>, which lost its “neck” and assumed the “one-chamber shape” (see 3.2., <a>).

Book script, especially in Italy and northern France, was at this time strongly influenced by the diploma hands, and a new kind of book hand called *bastarda* began to compete with the *textura* from the end of the 14th c. onwards (Bischoff 1986, 192 ff.; Crous/Kirchner 1928, 16 and fig. 18). Another term for this intermediate form between formal and cursive script is (*Gothic*) *semicursive* (G *Halbkursive*, Sw. *halvkursiv*; Jansson 1924, 113 f.; Kroman 1982a). It could most easily be described as a more carefully executed form of cursive script. When used in books, the cursive script appears more conservative than in the diplomas. An early instance of a letter hand in a codex is a copy of the Law of Uppland from ca. 1350 (Cod. Holm. B 52). Here, the pen used had a fairly pointed nib, as is the case in most diplomas. Elsewhere, when a scribe used a cursive script in a codex, he generally gave the nib of the pen a broader cut than when writing deeds. This produces a sturdier script as e.g. in Cod. Holm. A 110 (Cod. Oxenstiernianus) from 1385, and in a couple of copies of the National Law of King Magnus Eriksson, viz.

Cod. Holm. B 168 from 1428, and B 172 (Cod. Kalmar or Aboënsis), written shortly before 1450. From the end of the 14th c. onwards, the scribes of Vadstena monastery developed a script of their own, a kind of formal half-cursive called the *Vadstena cursive*, and most exhaustively treated by S.O. Jansson (1975, 417 ff.). The term is misleading since the script is formal rather than cursive. Above all, S.O. Jansson calls it *Vadstena script* (1975, 417). The Vadstena script has been characterized by Lindberg as “compact, but clear, large, and legible” (1982, 371). According to S.O. Jansson (1982, 417) it appears in two varieties, one a soft, more typically cursive, the other a more rigid half-cursive. The “softer” variety differs from contemporary German cursives by having more rounded shapes (Jansson 1924, 115). The Vadstena script soon was used by chancelleries all over Sweden. In its cursive form, it is considered to be present in a large number of Swedish manuscripts ever since the 1390s (Jansson 1924, 117). One early instance is a diploma from the year 1394 (RPB 2700). In books it can be found in a number of codices from the end of the 14th till the beginning of the 16th c., one of which is Cod. Holm. A 9. Facsimile editions of other Vadstena manuscripts are CCS 2, 10, 11, 13, 14, and 16. The script in certain literary 15th c. manuscripts is classified by Jansson (1924, 117) as belonging to the indigenous half-cursive, e.g. the 15th c. chronicle books such as the *Karl Chronicle* (Sw. *Karlskrönikan*, Cod. Holm. D 6) from 1452, the *Book of Spegelberg* (Cod. Holm. D 2) from 1457, and the *Eufemia songs* (Sw. *Eufemiavisorna*, Cod. Holm. D 4) from the second half of the 15th c.

Book production continued in Vadstena during the first three decades of the 16th c. When writing the formal half-cursive during this period, the Vadstena scribes used pens with exceptionally broad nibs, e.g. in Cod. Holm. A 37.

2.2.1. German cursive script

The mediaeval utility script eventually adopted an increasingly cursive character as the result of adaptation to faster writing. There was an obvious endeavour to write letters and whole words by using as few pen strokes as possible, that is, without any unnecessary lifting of the pen. The so-called German cursive soon was introduced into Sweden. One early example is provided by one of the hands in a codex from 1476: The book of Lady Elin (Sw.

Fru Elins bok, Cod. Holm. D 3). In its most extreme form the German cursive acquired an exceptionally great width, the arches of ⟨m⟩, ⟨n⟩ and ⟨u⟩ are low and pointed rather than curved, ⟨a⟩, ⟨c⟩, ⟨e⟩ and others are written in such a way that the first stroke is horizontal and slightly wavelike and constitutes a “floor” to which is added a convex “roof” (⟨a⟩) or a short stroke (⟨c⟩, ⟨e⟩). This kind of script has its strongest representation in the chancellery of Bishop Hans Brask of Linköping, the head of which was Hans Spegelberg, himself active as a scribe. Manuscripts produced there are Cod. A 6 and A 7 in the Swedish National Archives, Cod. D 2 in the Royal Library of Stockholm and Cod. Kh 53 and 54 in the Municipal Library of Linköping (Gunneng 1981).

2.2.2. Wax tablet script

A specific kind of script arose from writing in wax with a stylus. According to Jansson (1924, 115 note 1; cf. Jansson 1944, 85) this kind of script appears “here and there in diplomas and private records”. It is characterized by thin pen strokes – the pen was always pointed – absence of conjoined letters, and absence of any difference between down- and up-strokes. The autographs of St. Bridget (Cod. Holm. A 65, 1361, 1367) exhibit a typical wax tablet script (Jansson 1924, 115; CCS 10, XIII; Höggman 1951, 16 f.).

3. Individual graphemes

In Swedish mediaeval documents there are three graphemes that testify to influence from western Scandinavian, ultimately English script, viz. ⟨ð⟩, ⟨þ⟩, and ⟨ŷ⟩, and, furthermore, the insular allograph of ⟨f⟩. The letters ⟨ð⟩, insular ⟨f⟩, and ⟨ŷ⟩ are very rare; their presence is limited to Västergötland and the 13th c. The letter ⟨þ⟩ is more frequent; it appears all over the Swedish area during the greater part of the Middle Ages. The occurrence of ⟨ð⟩, insular ⟨f⟩, and ⟨ŷ⟩ in Västergötland could perhaps be taken as an indication of this region being a script province of its own, closely connected to the west.

3.1. Majuscules

The majuscules can be treated in brief. They can either be described as enlarged minuscules or, if they have a genuine majuscule shape, it is likely to be one that is common in mediaeval European script.

3.2. Minuscules

Here shall be treated all minuscule letters except ⟨b⟩, ⟨l⟩, ⟨m⟩, ⟨n⟩, and ⟨q⟩, the description of which would not provide anything of specific interest to Swedish palaeography.

⟨a⟩. This is one of the graphemes that show the clearest allographic variation during the Middle Ages. Minuscule ⟨a⟩ can be of the one-chamber or the two-chamber type. In the former case, a “neck” can be either present or absent. Minuscule ⟨a⟩ without a neck appeared about the middle of the 14th c., e.g. in a diploma written in 1352 in the chancellery of King Magnus Eriksson (Dipl. Sv. 4780). In Sweden the two-chamber ⟨a⟩, in which the neck is strongly curved, thus creating an upper closed chamber, began to appear towards the end of the 13th c. (Jansson 1944, 86; one instance from a French book hand in 1295 can be seen in Crous/Kirchner, fig. 7).

⟨c⟩. Most of the time this grapheme is written in two strokes. When the grapheme has its original shape, the first of the strokes is curved and the second one is short and added to the right and directed downwards (Jansson 1952–54, 94). Later on, the second stroke can be bent upwards and can thus obtain the shape of an angle (cf. ⟨e⟩). In markedly cursive writing, the first stroke is more or less straightened out; in extreme cases it is almost completely straight (e.g. in a diploma from June 29, 1455).

⟨d⟩. Minuscule ⟨d⟩ presents a clear example of allographic variation, with two main types: the Carolingian one with a straight ascender ⟨d⟩ and the uncial, rounded one ⟨ð⟩. In the early Swedish material both appear, but with a pronounced predominance for one of the types in the same document (Jansson 1952–54, 99). In the 12th c. material, the Carolingian variant is the most common and is always used when the ascender has an abbreviation sign in the form of a cross-bar (Dipl. Sv. 63). The uncial variant is always used in word-final position when it is followed by a *us*-abbreviation (Dipl. Sv. 64). The cursive script in letters prefers the uncial ⟨d⟩ with an ascender in the form of a loop. The diplomatic script appeared about the middle of the 13th c. and from then on Carolingian ⟨d⟩ is very rare in the documents (Jansson 1944, 90).

⟨ð⟩. This grapheme originates in English script (Seip 1954, 44). It denotes a voiced dental fricative and competes in this function with ⟨þ⟩. The extant manuscripts where ⟨ð⟩ occurs are all from the 13th c. In book script it has the shape of an uncial ð with the ascender

crossed by a diagonal hair stroke (Cod. Holm. B 193). Here, it can't be mistaken for an uncial δ with an abbreviation stroke. In cursive script used in diplomas, however, such a confusion is possible. Here $\langle\delta\rangle$ is shaped like an uncial δ of the diploma type with the ascending loop entirely or partly crossed by a broad pen-stroke, often shaped like a hook, quite like in Latin abbreviations (Jansson 1952–54, 100). Since $\langle\delta\rangle$ occurs only in Swedish words, it is easy to distinguish from $\langle d\rangle$ with an attached abbreviation sign even in diplomas. In Sweden $\langle\delta\rangle$ is extremely rare, and its appearance seems to be due to direct or indirect contact with the west. In the fragment of the *Older Law of Västergötland* (Cod. Holm. B 193, discovered in Norway) from about 1250, it varies with $\langle b\rangle$ but it is not found in the more complete manuscript of the same law code from about 1285, which has $\langle b\rangle$ consistently. According to Jansson (1952–54, 100), the letter is “so unusual that it can't be called a Swedish character”. In diploma hands, Jansson shows instances of $\langle\delta\rangle$ in six documents, the oldest of which is from 1283, the other ones from 1297–99. All of them are directly or indirectly connected with the Bishop of Skara (Brynolf), and here one could possibly see an element of western Scandinavian scribal customs.

$\langle e\rangle$. Like $\langle c\rangle$, $\langle e\rangle$ has the shape of a curve with an attached second stroke. In the earliest manuscript the second is a loop. In the cursive letter hands of the 15th c., the loop is simplified into a stroke which can be straight or bent upwards, in which case the grapheme can't be formally distinguished from $\langle c\rangle$ (Jansson 1952–54, 94).

$\langle f\rangle$. In book script $\langle f\rangle$ stands on the line, but in cursive script it extends below it (Jansson 1952–54, 101f.). The insular $\langle f\rangle$ originating from England is common in early Norwegian script (Seip 1954, 9f.) but appears in Swedish manuscripts only in the fragment of the *Older Law of Västergötland* (Cod. B 193). In all probability, it was taken over from Norwegian script.

$\langle g\rangle$. This grapheme has a number of variants, of which two main types can be discerned with respect to the descender, which can have the shape of a hook or a loop. In the oldest material both forms occur, but eventually the latter prevailed. The descending loop can be given a decorative design, e.g. with two “chambers” (Jansson 1952–54, 102).

$\langle h\rangle$. In $\langle h\rangle$ the second curved stroke may or may not extend below the line. The former variant is the one found in the earliest Swedish

material, e.g. in Dipl. Sv. 51 from 1164–67 and Dipl. Sv. 64 from 1167–85. Eventually the second variant prevailed; one early document in which it appears is Dipl. Sv. 240 from 1225 (Jansson 1952–54, 91 ff.). During the 15th c. the descender started to be shaped like a loop (Jansson 1952–54, 93). In the German cursive script the letter can be described as written in one stroke with two conjoined loops, one ascending and one descending (German $\langle h\rangle$, Jansson 1952–54, 93). In the chancellery of Bishop Hans Brask in Linköping in the 1520s, both the older and the younger variant are used (Gunneng 1981, 10, 12).

$\langle i\rangle$. Minuscule $\langle i\rangle$ has two main allo-graphs, one standing on the line, the other one extending below it. The latter one occurs only in word-final position. A diacritical super-script hair stroke is used when needed, e.g. if there is a risk of confusing $\langle ii\rangle$ with $\langle n\rangle$ or $\langle u\rangle$ (Jansson 1952–54, 107 ff.).

$\langle k\rangle$. This grapheme can generally be described as consisting of a vertical ascender, to the right-hand side of which is attached a loop or an open curve continued by a final diagonal stroke down to the line. A special variant occurs when the final stroke is more or less horizontal and does not reach the line. Jansson (1952–54, 94) cites this type from the second half of the 14th c. at the earliest. A $\langle k\rangle$ variant often found in the late Middle Ages has a long curved ascender bent to the right and continued below the line so that it reaches the normal depth of a descender.

$\langle p\rangle$. This grapheme appears in two main variants with respect to the “chamber” to the right of the descender. In one variant the chamber has a “floor”, while in the other one it does not. The floor-type is by far the most common one; only a few cases without a floor have been observed by Jansson (1952–54, 112f.), the earliest one from 1277. With respect to the *ductus*, $\langle p\rangle$ with a floor can be written either with two or more pen strokes, or with one. The latter type belongs to the German cursive and can be described as a loop lying on the line, closed on the left-hand side, after which the stroke is continued below the line as a descender. This variant has been cited by Jansson (1952–54, 115) from 1460 at the earliest.

$\langle r\rangle$. This grapheme is normally of a Carolingian type. In a few of the earliest extant manuscripts it has been continued below the line, ending as a descender, as in $\langle p\rangle$ (always in Dipl. Sv. 51 from 1164–67, a few cases in Dipl. Sv. 240 from 1225; both in book script).

The ⟨r⟩ *rotunda* appears after ⟨a⟩ and ⟨o⟩ when it is followed by an abbreviation sign for *um*, and after uncial ⟨d⟩ (ð). For ⟨r⟩, more than for any other grapheme, the reduced minuscule (R) is used as a minuscule. It occurs (irregularly) in words that should be emphasized (e.g. in Dipl. Sv. 51 and Dipl. Sv. 240). However, ⟨R⟩ and ⟨r⟩ can alternate freely in a document, although this is rare, e.g. in the early diploma Dipl. Sv. 137 from 1210–16 (book script).

⟨s⟩. Minuscule ⟨s⟩ has two main allo-graphs, the long one (which could be described as an *f* without a cross-bar) and the round (sigmatic) one. The distribution between the two follows the main rule in Latin script: round minuscule ⟨s⟩ is used only in word-final position. Long ⟨s⟩ appears in all other positions although there are exceptions (e.g. in Dipl. Sv. 64, which has some instances of word-final long ⟨s⟩).

⟨p⟩. In book script ⟨p⟩ often stands on the line. In such cases it can be described as an *l* with a closed curve on the right-hand side. In diploma script, however, ⟨p⟩ always has a descender, like ⟨p⟩. The grapheme has been imported from England by way of western Scandinavian script (Seip 1954, 44). Although not indigenous to Scandinavia, the use of ⟨p⟩ is likely to have been supported by the existence of the character Þ in the mediaeval runic alphabet. ⟨p⟩ denotes a voiced or voiceless dental fricative. In Swedish book hands it was for a long time the normal letter for those sounds. In Cod. Holm. B 193 it alternates with ⟨ð⟩, but in some later law codes it is used exclusively. In the second half of the 14th c. it eventually gave way to ⟨dh⟩/⟨th⟩. Thus, the Law Code of Söderköping from 1387 (Cod. Holm. B 127) always has ⟨th⟩, the Law Code of Stockholm from the first half of the 15th c. (Cod. Holm. B 154) has both ⟨dh⟩ and ⟨th⟩, whereas in Cod. Holm. B 112 from the end of the 14th c. ⟨dh⟩ alternates with ⟨p⟩.

In diploma script ⟨p⟩ appears also in Latin manuscripts, exclusively, however, in Swedish words (proper names). From the 13th c. Jansson (1952–54, 122f.) cites seven Latin diplomas that have ⟨p⟩. During the 14th c. their frequency increased, although ⟨p⟩ doesn't appear in more than a few tens of diplomas. Its use discontinued during the 15th c.

Thus, while being rather rare in diploma script, ⟨p⟩ seems to have had a strong position in Swedish scribal tradition, at least up to the middle of the 14th c. This assumption is sup-

ported by several facts. Although occurring rarely in the diplomas, it appears over a relatively long period of time and in several parts of the country. The oldest extant diploma in Swedish, dated 1330, almost exclusively uses ⟨p⟩ and the latest case observed by Jansson (1952–54, 122f.) dates from 1410 (SD 1304). Writing in Swedish was based on an orthographic tradition going back at least to the beginning of the 13th c., with the regular use of ⟨p⟩ for dental fricatives. It should be stressed that St. Bridget, who was probably used to writing Swedish (see 2.2.) but not educated in writing Latin, consistently uses ⟨p⟩ in the preserved autographs. Thus, the disappearance of ⟨p⟩ from Swedish orthography is evidently due to Latin influence.

⟨u⟩. From a graphemic point of view, *u*, *v*, and *w* in mediaeval script should be considered allo-graphs of the same grapheme. The allo-graph *u* mainly belongs to book script, where it alternates with *v*. According to Jansson (1952–54, 109) *u* is rare in letter script, where it is replaced by *w* and does not appear until the 15th c. It often has a superscript diacritic in the shape of a small *u*-like curve or *v*-like angle.

⟨â⟩. The approximate sound value of this grapheme is [o]. According to Seip (1954, 122) ⟨â⟩ appears in a few Norwegian diplomas from the 15th and 16th c. In Sweden it is not found in manuscripts written before the 14th of February 1526, the date of publication of *Een nyttwgh vnderwijsning*, which was the first printed matter to be published by the Swedish Reformation (Collijn, 1934–38, 321f.) and in which ⟨â⟩ is in regular use. In Swedish script ⟨â⟩ dates back to this publication and was spread by the reformers, through *Thet Nyia Testamentit på Swensko*, which was published in August 15th 1526 (Collijn, 1934–38, 331f.). If ⟨â⟩ appears in documents dated before 1526, it appears to have been created secondarily by a later addition of a superscript circle above an ⟨a⟩ (Jansson 1944, 134, note 45; 1952–54, 87, 146 note 5). The ⟨â⟩ was evidently modelled on early printed ⟨â⟩ and ⟨ô⟩, which originally had the shape of *a*, and *o*, with a small *e* printed on top.

⟨æ⟩, ⟨ę⟩. Originally a ligature, ⟨æ⟩ is an independent grapheme in Swedish mediaeval script. It denotes a low or middle-high non-rounded front vowel. It appears in diplomas during all the Middle Ages. In formal script in the Swedish language it is common from ca. 1250 (Cod. Holm. B 193) onwards. The fundamental form is always the same, i.e. an

⟨a⟩ with an additional stroke on the right-hand side which can vary considerably as to shape and placement. The ⟨ę⟩ called *e caudata*, has formally developed from the ligature ⟨æ⟩ and should be regarded as a variety of that character. It appears occasionally in diplomas from the 12th and 13th c., but here its graphemic status is doubtful. In Dipl. Sv. 51 from the 1160s it always denotes Latin *-ae*.

⟨ø⟩. To denote the phoneme /ø/, viz. a low or middle-high rounded front vowel, Swedish script originally used digraphic ⟨eo⟩, ⟨eu⟩ etc. under continental European influence. Not until ca. 1230 does ⟨ø⟩ with a diagonal cross-bar appear (Jansson 1952–54, 89). Like ⟨æ⟩, it thereafter existed throughout the Middle Ages.

⟨Ψ⟩. See sect. 6.

4. Ligatures

The term *ligature* should denote two graphs that are conjoined in such a way that they share a pen stroke which is distinctive for each grapheme. Two graphs that share a non-distinctive stroke do not fulfill this definition. (When describing the ligatures of Swedish mediaeval script, Jansson has taken up such cases as well: 1944, 129; 1952–54, 137). In Sweden the use of ligatures is scanty. Only the ligatures of ⟨r⟩ and a preceding grapheme occur regularly; in such cases ⟨r⟩ appears as the *rotunda* allograph. The preceding grapheme was originally ⟨o⟩ exclusively, eventually even uncial ⟨d⟩.

5. Numerals

Latin numerals are clearly predominant. Their shapes are the ones usually found in European script. For Latin I, V, X, C, and D, minuscules are used, for M a reduced majuscule of uncial type. Latin numerals are mostly, but not always, written within interlinear dots, e. g. ·iii· (= 3). Arabic numerals are found occasionally in the earliest material; the oldest one recorded by S. Jansson appears in a diploma from 1260 (Jansson 1944, 130; 1952–54, 143). In late letters from the 15th c. Arabic numerals are not uncommon. They appear in varying shapes (see Kroman 1982b). One early document with Arabic numerals of, on the whole, modern shapes is an autographic letter from March 1st 1504 by Hans Brask, then cathedral dean, later to become Bishop of Linköping.

6. Abbreviation signs

The abbreviation system is the Latin one (with one exception: Ψ). In Latin documents written in Sweden, nothing special is to be found. In documents in Swedish, the Latin abbreviation signs are used as long as they fit reasonably well with Swedish pronunciation. Thus, signs for contraction as well as signs for omitted ⟨m⟩ or ⟨n⟩ occur regularly. Both have the form of a superscript horizontal stroke. The sign of suspension varies a great deal in shape but often takes the form of a hook similar to a ⟨z⟩ which descends below the line: ꝛ; in this form it is especially common in the abbreviation of the preposition *meþ* as *mꝛ*.

Abbreviation signs for individual vowels as well as vowels preceded or succeeded by /r/ (*er, ir, re, ri, ur* etc.) occur throughout the Middle Ages. They are especially common in late mediaeval chancellery script, as seen in the chancellery of the Bishop of Linköping during the 1520s (Gunneng 1981). A grapho-phonemic and grapho-morphemic analysis of the abbreviation system in Old Swedish remains to be done.

Ψ. In England the *m*-rune (ᛗ) was used as the abbreviation sign for *man, men*, and under that influence the Nordic *m*-rune Ψ appears in some early Old Norse manuscripts as a sign for *maðr* ‘man’ (Seip 1954, 30, 59, 81). In Sweden this habit is limited to the main manuscript of the law of Västergötland (Cod. Holm. B 59) from the 1280s. Here the abbreviation is written ·Ψ·, with an interlinear dot on each side of the rune. In this codex, it alternates with unabbreviated *maþar*.

7. Old Swedish texts and manuscripts

Bridget, St., *autographs*. Facs. Högman; CCS 10 p. 4–7; Hildebrand et al. pl. 21.

CCS = *Corpus codicum Suecicorum mediæ aevi*. Hafniae 1943–67.

CCS 2. *Processus seu negocium canonizacionis b. Katerine de Vadstenis. Codex A 93 Bibl. Reg. Holm.* Ed. Isak Collijn. Hafniae 1943.

CCS 6. *Lex Vestro-gothica recentior* (‘Yngre Västgöotalagen’), cui addita est *lex urbica antiquior* (‘Bjärlkärätten’). *E codice B 58 Bibl. Reg. Holm.* Ed. Adolf Schüch. Hafniae 1946.

CCS 10. *Revelationes S. Birgittae. Translatio Suecana* (Birgittas uppenbarelser på svenska). *E codice Bibl. Reg. Holm. A 5 B una cum duabus schedis a S. Birgitta manu propria scriptis* Ed. Märta Wessén. Hafniae 1949.

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98. The development of Latin script IV: in Denmark

1. The Carolingian minuscule
2. The older Gothic script.
3. Literature (a selection)

1. The Carolingian minuscule

1.1. In general

The oldest medieval manuscript from the kingdom of Denmark presumably is the evangeliary called *Dalbybogen*, now in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, GKS 1325 4°. It is written in the characters of the Carolingian minuscule. As the manuscript does not contain any date, the usual estimate of its dating from about 1050–1100 is based upon the script only. The characters of the minuscule are enclosed by the fourline system: the low characters, e.g. *a*, are written in the middle, the ascenders are bounded by the upper line, the descenders by the lower one. The Carolingian minuscule was developed about 800 at the court of Charlemagne. The main principle is that the characters should be written separately from each other and with a clear space between the words. The low characters should be of equal height, the ascenders and descenders being of the same shape. The use of ligatures should be reduced. The script used in *Dalbybogen* corresponds to this description. The low characters are of equal height, the back stroke of *a* is almost perpendicular or curves a little to the left, *e* has a raised loop with a small tip on the right, *i* has no dot above it, *d* in most cases ascends perpendicularly, but now and then curves backwards to the left. The long-stemmed *s* is in frequent use. Like *f* and *r* it breaks through the bottom line. At the end of words *s* and *r* now and then are replaced by the reduced capitals *S* and *R*. The use of capitals, majuscules, is the usual one, with both square and uncial characters. In *Dalbybogen* e.g. rustic *A* is without a crossbar; two of them written together form the *M*. The uncials *D*, *E*, *H*, *T* and *U* are fairly well represented. The right stroke of the *U* runs beneath the line. *E* may also be formed as an enlarged minuscule, the loop with its tip hanging on the top of the extended curve. The use of ligatures is moderate. *Dalbybogen* uses & for the conjunction *et*, but also for the letters *et* within and at the end of words, e.g. *dicer&*. Ligatures connecting *c* and *t*, and *s* and *t* occur. The endings *ns* and *nt* can be formed as a ligature connecting a capital *N* and *s* or *t*

by prolonging the last stroke of *N* above the line and continuing on to the curve of *s* or the crossbar of *t*. Now and then the diphthong *ae* is expressed by the ligature *æ*, but more frequently by the ligature *e* caudata, the tagged *e*, where the tail beneath is a remnant of *a*; *e* at the beginning of *ecclesia* and *evangelium* is often written in this way, perhaps influenced by *cælorum*. The tables of canons and the list of pericopes are modestly decorated columns and Romanesque arches. The four gospels are each introduced by a seated evangelist painting the initial letter in the style of the 11th century. The connection with Dalby in Scania is evident from some 14th century additions.

1.2. The manuscripts from Lund

From the archdiocese of Lund in Scania, established in 1104, and its institutions, several manuscripts have survived, all on parchments. The oldest one is an evangeliary, now in the Royal Library, Thott 22 4°, written in a Carolingian minuscule reminiscent of *Dalbybogen* with broad and low characters, and *f*, *s*, and *r* having the long stroke beneath the line, but with an increased use of the diminished capital *S*, i.e. “the round *s*”. The hairline stroke on the descender of *q* is perhaps a new feature. However, the most important manuscript is the *Necrologium Lundense*, a collection in three parts: (1) a tax list, the donation in 1085 by Holy King Knud, canonized before 1100, and the list of prebends, (2) the rules of Aachen, perhaps of foreign origin, surrounded by texts of the Fathers, written by the same hand as the following constitutions of the canons, and (3) the “*Memoriale fratrum*”, the book of the deceased. The different hands still use the Carolingian minuscule. The ligature *N + t* is still in use, and *æ* is written as *e* caudata. The place-names and personal names are written in Danish, showing interesting ligatures: e.g. *Øpi*, written with a majuscule *O* in ligature with a small *e* above it, and *Ætu* “*sororis nostre*”, written with an enlarged minuscule *a* in ligature with a small *e*, the following *nostre* ending with *e* caudata. In the list of prebends many place-names have a minuscule *a* with a small curl above on the right side representing *æ*. This list also has several examples of *o* with a crossbar, representing the Danish letter *ø*. In “*Memoriale*

fratrum” under January the 3rd, there is another example of *o* in ligature with an *e*, perhaps representing a second way of writing the Danish *ø*-vowel. It should be noted that the scribes use all majuscules in a very clever way. Two of them are enlarged ornamental initials with bands, animals and plants, one of which introduces the rules of Aachen, the other one the text of Father Basilios. Later two scribes used the last leaves in the *Necrologium* for entering two acts concerning the borders of Ballingslöv. The numerous names provide many examples of *o* with a crossbar, as well as one example of *y* in *-by*. There is one example of *v* with a crossbar = *y*. Furthermore, two epistolaries, now in Lund, Medeltidshandskr. no. 2 and 5, and two evangelaries, one in Thott 21 4° and one in Uppsala University Library C 83, come from Lund. Presumably they are a little younger. The characters are slimmer, the curves more oval, and the letters *r*, *s* and *f* have a hairline stroke beneath. From about 1137, onward, the annals now known as the annals of Colbaz were written in the neighbourhood of Lund. After a drawing of the crucifixion of Christ came a calendar written by the main scribe. The initials were formed by the scribe who made the initials of *Necrologium Lundense*. When Lund Cathedral was consecrated, a new manuscript of 143 leaves in folio, the so-called *Liber daticus vetustior*, was made in the form of a martyrology with extracts of legends for every day of the year. The first day of every month, the *Kalende*, abbreviated as *KL*, is richly decorated; January the 1st is especially enlarged and profusely decorated. Two different hands have transferred some notes from *Necrologium Lundense* changing over on the 22nd of July.

1.3. Manuscripts from Zealand

From the rest of the Danish dioceses, nothing has been left. Only some small fragments of secular literature have been discovered, used as binding material in Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen, including an ornamental initial *P* from a manuscript of Justinus, whose script in some respects reminds one of the hand which wrote *Dalbybogen*: the ligature *NT* occurs and *&* is used inside words. Another undamaged manuscript of Justinus was given to Sorø Abbey about 1200, but the hand is older, though not as old as the hand which wrote the fragments. In it, the use of the round *s* has increased, the *e* caudata occurs, and *&* is used only for the word *et*. On the last leaf three

different hands have written the annals of Sorø; the oldest hand entered the notes until 1231. A manuscript of Plinius in two volumes, now in the Bibliotheca Laurenziana in Florence, probably dates from this time, and is introduced by a dedicatory picture with the superscription “*Petrus de Slaglosia me fecit*”, i. e. Slagelse in Zealand. The characters are of the same type as in the Justinus manuscript, but there are more initials of different sizes, richly decorated with acanthus, animals and figures. It was bought in Lübeck about 1430 for Cosimo de Medici. All these manuscripts are in Latin. No manuscript in Danish has survived, even though e. g. the *Scanian Law* was written before 1200.

2. The older Gothic script

2.1. In general

During the first decades of the 13th century the Carolingian minuscule was being gradually modified. The broad round characters grew smaller and slimmer. The round letters like *o* became oval, and letters were connected by means of hairline strokes at the foot of the stems of *i*, *l*, *m* and *n*. The crossbar of *f* and *t* also formed a connection with the following letter. Then a new convention arose whereby the curve on the right side of the backward-bent *d*, and gradually *b*, *e*, *o*, could be united at the scribe's discretion with a contrary curve on an immediately following letter such as *e* and *o*. The curves of *o* and the perpendicular strokes of *i*, *m*, *n*, *u* and *t* were slightly angulated, later on still more so, at first above, later also below. The backward-bent *d* was used more frequently than the perpendicular one. An oblique stroke closed the lower curve of *g*; in addition to the orthodox *r*, the round *r* after *o* and later on also in other positions, and diminished majuscule *r* occur. The long-stemmed *s* was increasingly replaced by the round *s*, especially at the end of words. The crossbar of *t* was now put a little under the top of the perpendicular stem and later on only on the right side of the stem. The oldest Danish manuscript in this book-hand is the so-called Angers Fragment of *Saxonis Gesta Danorum* which was found in 1863 as lining in a book in Angers, France, now in the Royal Library as NKS 869 g in 4°. It has a total of four reduced leaves of parchment with extra large space between the lines, that is with room for additions and corrections to the main text, especially in the first folio. The script has a

mixture of old and new features. The long-stemmed *s* runs under the bottom line, and only a few examples of the round *s* are found at the end of words; *t* varies: the stem is sometimes perpendicular, sometimes curved, now and then going through the crossbar. The curves are slightly angulated. The majuscules are a mixture of slightly angulated uncials and enlarged minuscules. Many ascenders are forked, sometimes almost a “thorn”. Only slightly younger is *Liber monasterii Carae Insulae*, now in the Royal Library as E donatione variorum 135 4°. It consists of two parts, only the first of which was written in the 13th century. According to the prologue the most ancient part was written between 1207 and 1216. The scribe used reddish-brown ink, but the initials and the headings are red. He also wrote most of a charter from 1221 with the Abbot of Cara Insula (Øm) as mediator. The initials of the chronicle are decorated with palmettos, while those of the charter are not. The identification of the two hands is based upon the letters *e*, *g* and *x* and the abbreviations for the syllables *-bus* and *-que*. Both of them have the long-stemmed *s* at the end of words, now and then curved to the left beneath the line, but the round *s* on the line also occurs. The backward-bent *d* dominates the chronicle; the charter, however, has a few perpendicular *d*'s. Neither *æ* nor *e* caudata occur, and *o* is an *o* with a crossbar.

2.2. The manuscript of the *Scanian Law*

The oldest manuscripts in the Danish language were produced in the following decades. They are the manuscripts of the Danish laws, the *Scanian Law* and the oldest edition of *Valdemar's Zealand Law*, the originals of which, now lost, must have been written before 1216. The *Jutland Law*, the original of which is also lost, was passed in 1241. The oldest law manuscript is in Stockholm, Royal Library B 74, which contains the *Scanian Law* and the customs of the Scanian church. Every page has 22 lines indicated by dots in the very broad margin to the right. Some of the leaves have the edges cut so that the dots have disappeared. To the left the text column is bounded by two perpendicular lines. Between them the scribe inserted the initials in red, green and yellow, decorated with very modest palmettos. The headings of the sections were written in red by the same scribe as the text. The letters are rather broad and low and only slightly angulated, the foot-serif hardly represented.

The upper curve of *a* is open, *d* is mostly perpendicular, and *h* has its right line curved down under the bottom line. Besides the orthodox *r*, round *r* after *o* and the diminished majuscule *R* at the end of words occur. Both long-stemmed *s* and round *s* are used at the end of words. The perpendicular stroke of *t* does not break through the crossbar. The perpendicular strokes of *u* are seriffed. Besides the orthodox *e* with a tip there are about 30 examples of *e* caudata. The upper curve of *æ* is open like for the *a*'s, and the loop above on the right side is closed. The scribe used *e* caudata about 200 times. It is not possible to find any phonetic difference between *e* and *e* caudata or *æ* and *æ* caudata; the phenomenon must be only graphical. Another interesting feature only occurs in the first part of the manuscript up to f. 58v, where the consonants *l*, *ll*, *n* and *nn* are often, but not always, given a crossbar. This is commonly assumed to indicate a palatalized sound. Among the very few original charters from this period, it should be noticed that only the scribe of the Latin charter, issued by King Erik Plovpenning on the 6th of July 1241, twice wrote the ending *-sun* with a crossbar through *n*, one a minuscule, one a majuscule. After that time the cross almost disappears. Referring to the previous text described above, it seems possible to suggest an approximate date of about 1230–1250 for this manuscript, which contains no indication of year and scribe.

2.3. The years 1250 to 1300

Several manuscripts have survived from these years, both in Latin and Danish. A calendar originating from Skovkloster in Næstved, dated to about 1265, is now in the Royal Library as E donatione variorum 52, 2°. A section of its leaves containing, among other things, the whole of June has disappeared. On two leaves in front of the calendar a scribe entered the older *Annals of Næstved* covering the years 1130 to 1228. The scribe of the calendar itself uses gold, red, blue and green for the calendar scheme. The Sunday letters, *A* in red, *B-G* in blue, are a mixture of square letters and uncials. The names of the months and the saints are written with the letters of the older Gothic script; the curves and the stems are moderately angulated, and the upper curve of *a* is almost closed. The scribe uses *7* for *et*, the round *s* at the end of words, and backward-bent *d*. The ascenders are slightly forked. At about the same time, perhaps in

1268, the calendar called *Liber daticus recentior* was made in Lund, now in the Royal Library as GKS 845 2°. The main hand also entered the oldest death notices, mostly transferred from the old *Liber daticus*. Also about this time a copy of the poem *Hexaëmeron* by Andreas Sunesøn was written down, now in the Royal Library as E donatione variorum 155 4°, consisting of a total of 134 folios with lines in pencil. The column of Latin verses is bounded in both sides by two perpendicular lines. Between the lines on the left the scribe put the first letter of the verse, the perpendicular stems are moderately angulated, and the upper curve of *a* is alternately open and closed. Both perpendicular and backward-bent *d* occur. The uniting of curves and the use of 7 for *et* appear. About this time the original part of manuscript AM 37 4° containing the Latin paraphrase by Andreas Sunesøn of the *Scanian Law* together with the Danish customs of the Scanian church was probably written down in Lund, with the text set in two columns by two scribes. The script of the paraphrase itself is very angulated; the feet of the rather low letters end in a pressure or a serif to the right. There are many united curves, especially involving *d* which is sometimes perpendicular, sometimes backward-bent. The second hand has written the customs with more pointed and narrow letters. The vowel *æ* is almost like the *æ* in B 74. The vowel *o* is an *o* with a crossbar. At the bottom of the last leaf but one, running underneath both columns, a third hand wrote a two-line stanza (“Skåningeverset”) in a script which is barely angulated and which uses a rather old-fashioned *a* and *æ*. A manuscript of 65 folios of parchment, now in the Universitätsbibliothek in Kiel, S.H. 8, A 8, contains the *Office of Saint Kanute*, duke of Sleswig, killed 1131, canonized 1169, and, after a small space, a copy of the *Chronicle of Roskilde*, written after 1250 by a single scribe probably in Ringsted or Roskilde. The headings of the sections of the office are red, the initials red or blue, some of them being extra large and elaborately decorated with palmettos, such as the majuscule *A* at the head of the chronicle. Some of the lessons are followed by songs annotated with black notes in a red four-line system. The scribe used the old Gothic book-hand. Another scribe using this kind of script designed the *Obituarium Hafniense*, now in the Royal Library, Thott 805 2°, as the usual calendar with names of saints. He also entered the oldest death notices from 1208 to 1277 all at

one time. The death notice for 1277 has an extra large initial *P*. The notices continue till about 1450. – Only one complete leaf of a manuscript in folio of *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, called the “Lassen Fragment”, written in the old Gothic script, has survived, now in the Royal Library as NKS 570 2°. The upper curve of *a* is still open, perpendicular and backward-bent *d* occur, and the perpendicular stem of *t* does not break through the crossbar, but the round *s* dominates at the end of words. The majuscules inside the text are accentuated by contour strokes. The letters *m*, *n*, *i* and *u* are slightly angulated, while *o* and *g* keep their round shape. The lowest curve of *g* is closed. Presumably the fragment consisting of 8 leaves of parchment containing *Valdemar's Zealand Law*, now AM 24 4°, was written during this period, but it is not known where. The text is in black, the headings in red ink. Each section has an initial square capital, rustic or uncial, painted in red or blue and variably decorated with palmettos. The very first one is adorned as a fleuroné-initial. Both perpendicular and backward-bent *d* occur, the upper curve of *a* is open, and the crossbar of *t* is mostly put on the right side of the stem. The long-stemmed *s* dominates, except at the end of lines, round *r* occurs only after *o* and *o*, the crossbar of *o* is inside the curves, *e* and *æ* have no tip to the right, and *z* has no crossbar; *y* is often expressed by *u* with a crossbar, but the orthodox *y* also occurs. Many of the ascenders are slightly forked, and the feet end with a serif. There is very little uniting of the curves.

2.4. The manuscripts from Sorø

Only a space of a few years separates the above manuscripts from another group of three manuscripts which presumably must have been produced in Sorø Abbey. The connection to this scriptorium is based on manuscript AM 455 12° containing *Valdemar's Zealand Law* combined with the preface of the *Jutland Law* and signed by Johannes Jutæ, but without a date. He, however, can be identified as one Jens Jyde, acting as a witness in 1298. His hand also occurs in the famous manuscript *Kong Valdemars Jordebog (Liber census Daniæ)* from 1231, now known only from this copy, which was formerly kept in the Stockholm Royal Library as A 41, but since 1929 in Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen. This manuscript is a collection of very different subjects, e. g. theological treatises, monastic rules for the Benedictines,

the so-called *Annales Waldemariani* from 1074 to 1219, a list of Danish kings, a list of popes, two itineraries and, last but not least, a cadastral survey of the kingdom of Denmark and two lists concerning Estonia. All of the cadastral survey, except the second list for Estonia, was written by Jens Jyde. All the other sections were written by an unidentified scribe. The third manuscript in this group was written by a scribe called Kanutus Yuul. He can be identified as the Knud Jul who acted on behalf of the abbey in 1310. The manuscript in question is in the Royal Library, NKS 66 8°, and contains three medical treatises by Henrik Harpestreng. The construction of this manuscript is very much like that of the others. The common features of the three manuscripts are a stronger angulation of the stems and also of the curves in *o*. The stem of *t* breaks through the crossbar, the round *s* is closed, and *z* has a crossbar. Jens Jyde closes the upper curves of *a*, but lets the upper curve of *æ* remain open. His *d* is mostly the backward-bent one, he uses *u* with a crossbar for *y*, e.g. in “by” and “syssel” but not without exceptions, and round *r* after *b*, *d* and *p* as well as after *o* and *ø*. Knud Jul on the other hand uses round *r* only after *o* and *ø* like the unidentified scribe. He uses very simple palmettos, while Jens Jyde only uses chapter marks in the cadastral survey, whereas the initials of AM 455 12° and NKS 66 8° are decorated with palmettos.

2.5. The manuscripts from Flensburg

In the town of Flensburg just to the South of the 1920 Danish-German border, a manuscript of the *Jutland Law* from about the same time is kept. It was written in the old Gothic script on parchment by one scribe and has red and blue initials decorated with palmettos. As well as the features mentioned in 2.4., the round *s* at the beginning, middle and end of words, the stem through the bar of *t*, *z* with a crossbar, the round *r* after *a* and *ø*, and the backward-bent *d* occur frequently. The use of *v* for *u* and *v* with a crossbar instead of *y* must be especially noted, though *y* also occurs. On the other hand, the upper curves of *a* and *æ* are open. A related hand can be seen in the manuscript of the Danish text of the *Town Law of Flensburg* dating from about 1300. The letters are rather angulated, the perpendiculars are forked, there are two kinds of *a* – one with the upper curve open, the other with a closed upper curve – and *æ* occurs with the upper

curve both open and closed and once with a closed curve to the left. *y* is in its orthodox form.

2.6. Manuscript C 37 of the Jutland Law

At one side of the end page of the index of sections of the *Jutland Law* in Stockholm Royal Library manuscript C 37, the scribe who wrote the original charter on the 24th of July 1279 entered the judgement of Odense 1245 and the 1276 ordinance of Nyborg just before the start of the text of the law, whose letters to some extent remind one of those in the Flensburg manuscript, e.g. the upper curves of *a* and *æ* are open, *æ* sometimes has a tip, but the round *s* is open. For these reasons C 37 must probably be considered one of the oldest manuscripts of the *Jutland Law*. The manuscripts Stockholm C 39 and AM 4 4° of this law are also from nearly the same time and are decorated with blue and red initials ornamented with palmettos. C 39 has very elaborated fleuroné-initials. In this manuscript both *u* with a crossbar and *y* with a crossbar occur for *y*; *x* also has a crossbar. The almost contemporary manuscript AM 286 2° was written in two columns with very elaborate initials in red, and blue. The letters are rather erect, the curves of *a* and *æ* are still open, and the *ø* is an *o* with a long crossbar. The Stockholm manuscript B 69 of the *Scanian Law* has initials of various colours, one of them a fleuroné-initial. The upper curves of *a* and *æ* are closed, both *z* and *x* have crossbars, and *ø* is an *o* with a crossbar. The Stockholm manuscript B 76 of this law is probably younger, perhaps from about 1325. The scribe uses *þ*, the forms of *æ* are unstable, the perpendicular stem of *t* is very high, *ø* has a carved stroke, *z* has a crossbar, and *h* and *þ* are followed by round *r*. The palmettos are very simple.

2.7. The manuscripts from Århus and Ribe

Very little has survived from the ecclesiastical institutions of this period. Only fragments exist as binding material in the archives from the 16th and the 17th centuries in Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen. Only the *Liber capituli Arusiensis* (Århusbogen) has survived, a manuscript of parchment containing 103 folios written in a large Gothic book-hand and furnished with red and green initials, the first part of which is dated to about 1315. As an introduction the scribe wrote out the statutes of the

Chapter of Århus Cathedral from the year 1312, adorned with many ornamental pen-scrolls, followed by copies of papal bulls, royal privileges and title-deeds in systematic order, and finally by a cadastral survey of the estates of the Chapter in Zealand. Another scribe added after that a similar survey of its estates in Jutland. The vertical strokes and the curves are completely but modestly angulated. The upper curve of *a* and *æ* are as a rule closed, *e* is without a tip, the round *s* is closed, the perpendicular stroke of *t* breaks through the crossbar, *x* has got a vertical bar, and *d* is backward-bent. Both *A* and *E* are enlarged minuscules. About 1317 the town of Horsens sent to the town of Ebeltoft a sealed copy of the Latin customs of Slesvig in the form of a booklet containing 10 leaves of parchment, now in the Royal Library, NKS 3168 4°, accompanied by a testification all in one hand. The letters are only slightly angulated. The upper curve of *a* is still open, but varies very much. Both *e* and *æ* have a tip, *y* in “gyald” should be compared with *y* in “sysæl”, and the two *o*’s in “skoot” have a stress accent like several of the Latin words.

The manuscript called Avia Ripensis, containing 29 folios of parchment belongs to the archives of the Ribe Chapter, now in Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen. The text is set in two columns separated by frame strokes and is divided into main sections, each with a heading in red, the first three of which contain privileges, title-deeds and statutes, lists of the wealth of the church, its treasures etc. In the second list of the “fabrica” the scribe reveals his identity as Åstred (Latin Astratus), canon and church-warden. He wrote the many Latin entries during the years 1290 to 1322. His hand is identified on the basis of his way of writing the letters *g* and *x*, the Tironian notation for *et*, and the abbreviations for *-bus*, *-rum*, *-que*, *con-* and *-ur*. Besides this, he wrote 12 deeds concerning Ribe during the years 1289 to 1315. After his death in 1323 nothing was entered into the manuscript till after 1340. The above-mentioned headings and initials were made by the scribe who, at about the same time, designed the Necrologium of the Chapter of Ribe, now Royal Library, GKS 849 2°. He wrote the whole calendar in a Gothic book-hand with many red initials and the 12 oldest death notices till 1284. Unlike this scribe, the script of Canon Åstred is characterized by his intimate knowledge of writing a charter or a title-deed. He avoids the angulation of the curves. He very often ties together

characters with hairline strokes and extends the use of the uniting of curves, like in the cursive hands used for diplomas which exist from about 1230 onward. However, he neither followed the habit of bending to the right the long ascenders of *b*, *h*, *k*, *l* and the backward-bent *d*, nor of curving the long descenders of *f*, *s*, *p*, *q* and the final stems of *m* and *n* to the left under the bottom line. During the following decades till about 1340, the scribes of diplomas use minor variations, but they maintain the above-mentioned main principles.

3. Literature (a selection)

3.1. Editions including Facsimiles

Apoteker Sibbernensens Saxobog (1927), København.
Corpus codicum Danicorum medii aevi I–X, redigendum cur. Ioannes Brøndum-Nielsen (1960–73). Hafniae. This edition contains in Vol. I (1960) Necrologium Lundense; in Vol. II (1960) Liber capituli Arusiensis, Liber monasterii Carae Insulae; in Vol. III (1961) Lex Scaniae e cod. Holm. B 74; in Vol. VII (1965) Lex Scaniae e cod. Holm. B 69 & B 72; in Vol. VIII (1967) Necrologium Ripense, Avia Ripensis; in Vol. IX (1972) Cod. AM 286 2°, AM 4 4°, AM 455 12°; in Vol. X (1973) Cod. Holm. C 37 & C 44.

Corpus diplomatum Regni Danici I–VIII, ed. Franz Blatt/C.A. Christensen (1938). Hauniae. This edition contains as No. 10 the charter of Cara Insula 1221, cf. *Diplomatarium Danicum* 1st Ser. Vol. V (1957) No. 197; as No. 27 the charter of King Erik 1241, cf. *Dipl. Dan.* 1st Ser. Vol. VII (1990) No. 77; as No. 186 the charter of 1279, cf. *Dipl. Dan.* 2nd Ser. Vol. II (1941) No. 377. – As for Jens Jyde 1298 see *Dipl. Dan.* 2nd Ser. Vol. IV (1942) No. 284; and Knud Jul 1310 *Dipl. Dan.* 2nd Ser. Vol. VI (1948) No. 306.

Danmarks gamle Landskabslove III, ed. Peter Skautrup (1932–51). København. This edition contains a facsimile of the Flensborg manuscript of the Jutland Law.

Kong Valdemars Jordebog, ed. Svend Aakjær (1926–43). København.

Kroman, Erik (1951), *Middelalderlig skrift. Skriftprøver og transskriptioner*. København.

3.2. Literature

Kroman, Erik (1936), *Kong Valdemars Jordebog. Et Haandskrifts Historie*. København.

Kroman, Erik (1956), Forekomsten af *e caudata* i dansk Skrift. In: *Festskrift til Peter Skautrup*. Århus, 73–85.

Nordisk Kultur XVIII: Palæografi A. Stockholm/Oslo/København, containing Johs. Brøndum-Niel-

sen, *Indledning* p. 1–35; Erik Kroman, *Dansk Palæografi* p. 36–81.

Riis, Thomas (1977), *Les institutions politiques centrales du Danemark 1100–1332*. Odense 60–85. Cp. a review by Niels Skyum-Nielsen in [Dansk] *Historisk Tidsskrift* 80, 524–538, esp. 531.

Skyum-Nielsen, Niels (1948–49), Haandskriftet “Ribe Oldemoder”. En kritisk Studie. In: *Scandia* 19, 127–156.

Weibull, Lauritz (1923), *Necrologium Lundense. Lunds domkyrkas nekrologium*. Lund.

Herluf Nielsen, Copenhagen (Denmark)

99. History of Old Nordic metrics

1. Introduction: Old Nordic poetry and the Germanic poetic tradition
2. Germanic alliterative poetry
3. The Old Nordic Eddaic meters
4. The Old Nordic scaldic meters
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1. Introduction: Old Nordic poetry and the Germanic poetic tradition

1.1. Germanic alliterative poetry: The earliest evidence

Classical authors testify to the presence of poetry in Germanic territory. As early as 98 A.D., Tacitus in his *Germania* (70) describes how the Germanic tribes celebrated the god of the earth, Tuisto, in ancient poems that were used as annals and historical sources, and in his *Annales* (Lib. II, ch. 88, p. 115) Tacitus mentions that they sang of the life and rule of the hero Arminius. Jordanes states that the Goths commemorated their heroic ancestors in poetry (ch. 5, p. 9), and Priscus describes how two barbarians appeared at Attila’s court and recited a poem they had composed to celebrate his victories and valiant deeds in war (60; 164). The practise of composing panegyric poetry in honor of ancient heroes and kings was also current among other Germanic tribes, such as the Bavarians and the Saxons (Paulus Diaconus, col. 476; Altfrid, Lib. II, i, p. 412). Thus it is clear that heroic poetry, extolling the lives, battles, generosity, and fame of dead and living rulers, as well as mythological and annalistic poetry, was part of Continental Germanic culture. However, as far as the metrical form of this early poetry is concerned, we are left in the dark, and concerning

the presence of early poetry in Scandinavian territory, the Classical sources are silent.

1.2. Old Nordic Eddaic and scaldic poetry

Old Nordic poetry is traditionally divided into the two categories Eddaic and scaldic on the basis of functional and formal criteria (Frank 1985, 159–60; Gade 1995a, 1–7). With the exception of isolated encomiastics, Eddaic poetry was devoted to events from a heroic and mythological past, such as the beginning and the end of the world, Þórr’s fishing expedition, the fall of the Burgundians, and the death of Ermanaric. In that respect, the subject matter of Eddaic poetry conforms to the categories of Germanic poetry described in 1.1. above. Scaldic poetry, with few exceptions, addressed contemporary persons and events. A scald could eulogize a living or deceased dignitary by praising his victories, valiance, and generosity (cf. Priscus’s description of the barbarians at Attila’s court, 1.1. above), but the stanzas could also be devoted to the poet’s individual experience; i. e., he could use his poetry as a tool to deride his enemies and to extol his own prowess as warrior, poet, or lover. Thus from a functional point of view, the extant corpus of Old Nordic poetry encompasses all the genres attested in early Germanic society.

2. Germanic alliterative poetry

2.1. Dating and chronology

Aside from possible metrical inscriptions in the Older Fuþark (see 2.3. below), the earliest transmitted Germanic poetry comes from Anglo-Saxon England. Such poems as *Bede’s Death Song* and *Cædmon’s Hymn* can be dated

to A.D. 735 and A.D. 657–80 respectively (Fulk 1992, 368), and, according to the most recent and comprehensive study, the earliest longer poems that can be dated on linguistic and metrical criteria must have been composed in the late 7th or the early 8th century (Fulk 1992, 348–61; 390–92). As far as the Continental Germanic poetry is concerned, both the Old Saxon *Heliand* and the Old High German *Hildebrandslied* are traditionally placed in the first half of the 9th century.

The bulk of the extant Old Nordic poetry is West Nordic, i.e., Icelandic and Norwegian, and it is transmitted in mss. from the 13th century and later. From a linguistic point of view, the poetry is surprisingly uniform (Kuhn 1983, 44–47) and unlike in Anglo-Saxon studies, dialectal investigations are scant (but see Kuhn 1939). As far as the scaldic corpus is concerned, linguistic and metrical criteria allow us to establish a certain internal chronology (see 4.3. below). The earliest longer scaldic poems are usually believed to have been composed in the 9th century, but by far the largest corpus of poems whose dates can be established with some certainty because of their association with specific historical persons and events stems from the 10th–13th centuries. The dating of the poetry in the Eddaic meters, however, is notoriously difficult and has sparked considerable debate (Kristjánsson 1990). There are no studies devoted to the dating of Eddaic poetry from a metrical point of view.

2.2. Principles of alliteration

Like the earliest extant vernacular Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, and Old High German poetry, Old Nordic poetry is alliterative and conforms more or less to the rules governing the West Germanic alliterative long-line. The principles of alliteration are also the same: consonantal alliteration requires phonetic identity (the groups *sk*, *sp*, and *st* are treated as single phonemes), vocalic alliteration does not (all vowels can alliterate with each other). The most common Eddaic meter, *fornyrðislag*, which represents a tightening of the Germanic long-line, is divided into two half-lines joined by alliteration and divided by a metrical caesura. Each on-line contains one or two alliterating staves that alliterate with the first stressed syllable in the off-line. Consider the following stanza from *Völuspá* (st. 3; emphasis added):

- (1) *Ár var alda, þat er Ymir bygði,
vara sandr né sær né svalar unnir
iqrð fannz æva né upphiminn,
gap var ginnunga, en gras hvergi.*

[It was at the beginning of time, when Ymir settled, there was no sand nor sea, nor cool waves; there was no earth, nor a heaven above; there was the chasm of immense expanse, and grass nowhere.]

The following lines from *Beowulf* (ll. 1–3, [2]) and *Hildebrandslied* (ll. 1–3, [3]) serve to illustrate the similarities between the respective Germanic alliterative traditions (cf. the overview of metrical types in the Appendix):

- (2) *Hwæt, wē gār-Dena in gēardagum,
þeodcyninga þrym gefrūnon,
hū ðā æþelingas ellen fremedon!*

[Lo, we heard of the glory of the spear-Danes, the kings of people, in the days of yore, how the princes performed deeds of valor!]

- (3) *Ik gihorta ðat seggen ...
ðat sih urhettun ænon muotin
Hiltibrant enti Haðubrant untar herium
tuem.*

[I heard that told ... that the champions met alone, Hildibrant and Hadubrant, between two armies.]

The most significant difference between West Germanic alliterative poetry and poetry in Old Nordic *fornyrðislag* meter, namely the reduction of the syllabic inventory of the half-line, can be ascribed to the fact that the extant Old Nordic poetry represents a stage of the language that already had undergone the processes of syncope and apocope (for the runic evidence, see 2.3. below). Not only were there no unstressed prefixes (e.g., OE *gefrūnon* [2] = ON *frágum*; OHG *gihorta* [3] = ON *heyrd̥a*), but syncope and apocope had caused the loss of medial and final vowels (e.g., OE *æþelingas*, *fremedon* [2] = ON *qðlingar*, *fr̥m̥ðu*; OHG *Haðubrant* [3] = ON *Hqðbrandr*). These very linguistic changes also seem to have precipitated the development in Scandinavian territory of a variety of new alliterative meters, namely the scaldic meters, whose structure was governed by the principles of syllable and mora counting (see the discussion of the individual meters 3.–4. below).

2.3. The runic evidence

As it emerged from sections 1.1.–1.2. above, the poetic genres which, according to Classical historians, flourished in Germanic territory, are amply represented in both eddic and scaldic poetry. However, the extant Old Nordic poetry, which is transmitted in mss. from the 13th century on, is fairly late compared to West Germanic alliterative poetry; there is little dialectal variation to be detected in the texts; and the language has already undergone syncope, apocope, umlaut, and breaking, i. e., changes that occurred at various stages in the Scandinavian languages between 600 and 800 A.D. Hence the extant poetry yields no information about the structure of Scandinavian poetry prior to the syncope period. For that reason some scholars have turned to the runic inscriptions in the Older Fuþark in an attempt to recover the principles governing preliterary poetic composition (for an overview of research, see Kabell 1978, 22–31).

The oldest inscriptions are frequently characterized by alliteration, especially prominent in alliterating name formulas. There are, however, extremely few inscriptions in the Older Fuþark which with any certainty can be regarded as metrical (von See 1980a, 416; Hofmann 1991, 39). The famous inscription on the Gallehus horn (ca. 400 A.D.) is usually given as an example of an early alliterating poetic long-line. That inscription reads as follows (cf. Musset 1965, 352–53; emphasis added):

- (4) *ek hlewagastir holtijar horna tawido*
[I Hlewagastir, descendant of Holt [or: from Holt], made the horn.]

While it is certainly true that the inscription contains alliterating staves placed in accordance with later poetic practice, it is equally clear that, if it indeed represents an early version of the alliterative long-line, it was governed by metrical principles fundamentally different from those that have been established for the extant Northwest Germanic alliterative poetry. The alliterating section in the inscription on the Tjurkö bracteate (ca. 500 A.D.), on the other hand, seems to conform more closely to later poetic conventions. That inscription, which was carved on a bracteate found along with a coin minted in 443 under Emperor Theodosius II, also contains a poetic circumlocution, but it is prefaced by the extra-metrical names of the runecarver (“heldar”) and of the person who commissioned the in-

scription (“kunimudiu”) (cf. Musset 1965, 362; emphasis added):

- (5) *wurte runor an walhakarne heldar
kunimudiu.*
[wrought runes on the Welsh grain [= the bracteate], Heldar for Kunimund.]

It is clear, then, that whereas many of the runic inscriptions in the Older Fuþark do contain alliterating formulas, the alliteration in these inscriptions is free and, with few exceptions, does not appear to follow any systematic pattern (cf. Kabell 1978, 22–31). Furthermore, when the placement of alliterating staves conforms to later poetic practice (e. g., [4] and [5] above), the inscriptions may also contain nonalliterating segments [5], and the metrical structure is difficult to reconcile with the later attested types of alliterative long-lines [4]. Thus it is doubtful whether the earliest inscriptions can be used as evidence for alliterative lines or be regarded as representing a preliminary stage of alliterative poetry.

As scholars have pointed out, the dearth of alliterative metrical inscriptions prior to the 9th century is best explained by the technique and function of these inscriptions, and the milieu in which they originated (von See 1980a, 416). There is nothing to contradict the assumption that there existed an early oral tradition of alliterative poetry in Scandinavian territory (see Hofmann 1991, 39), a tradition that differed from the later attested poetry in terms of nonsyncopated and nonapocopated forms, but it is equally clear that the short runic inscriptions in the Older Fuþark hardly lent themselves to the reproduction of longer, narrative poetic units. It can be no coincidence that the first full-fledged metrical stanza recorded in runes not only contains vocabulary characteristic of later Old Nordic poetic diction, but also addresses a heroic subject matter. The stanza in question is carved on the Swedish Rök stone, and the inscription is dated to the first half of the 9th century. It reads as follows (cf. Musset 1965, 378–80; emphasis added):

- (6) *raiþ [b]iaurikr hin þurmuþi
stilir flutna strantu hraiþmarar
sitir nu karur a kuta sinum
skialti ub fatlaþr skati marika.*

[Þjóðrekr, the bold-minded [?], lord of sea-warriors, ruled the shore of Hreiðmarr; the lord of the Mæringar now sits ready on his horse, girded with the sword.]

This stanza falls into four alliterative long-lines governed by regularized alliteration, and the structure of the half-lines more or less corresponds to that found in later fornyrðislag. The fact that the inscription consists of four lines, divided into two syntactically independent units, shows that, as early as the beginning of the 9th century, Old Nordic poetry must have been stanzaic rather than stichic like West Germanic alliterative poetry. Linguistically the Rök stanza represents a transitional stage: it contains nonsyncopated, nonapocopated, and nonumlauted forms (*strantu* > *strǫnd*, *sitir* > *sitr*, *karur* > *gǫrr*), but breaking has occurred (*skialti*; for this dative form, see Jónsson 1901, 56). It is interesting that this Swedish inscription represents the first step in the development of the syllable-counting skaldic meter *kviðuhátt* (see Gade 1995a, 234–36, and the discussion in 4.1. below), a meter used by the 9th-century Norwegian poet Þjóðólfr ór Hvini in his genealogical poem *Ynglingatal* (*Skj IA*, 7–15), and otherwise attested only in Norway and Iceland.

To sum up: Whereas many of the earliest Scandinavian runic inscriptions (predating the 9th century) do contain alliteration, the alliteration is mostly irregular, and it is doubtful whether any of the inscriptions in the Older Fuþark (with the possible exceptions of [4]–[5] above) represents a conscious and systematic attempt at poetic composition. There is nothing to preclude the presence of an oral alliterative poetic tradition in early Scandinavia (and the stanza on the Rök stone certainly suggests that such a tradition existed), but we know nothing about the metrical principles that governed this preliterary form with nonsyncopated metrical types of fillers.

3. The Old Nordic Eddaic meters

3.1. Fornyrðislag

The earliest variant of this meter occurs in the Rök stanza discussed in 2.3. above, and it is also found in later Swedish memorial inscriptions in the Younger Fuþark from the 10th and 11th centuries (see Kabell 1978, 31–49). Aside from the Swedish runic corpus, the earliest datable poetry in fornyrðislag is a stanza attributed to the Norwegian king Haraldr Sigurðarson (d. 1066; *Skj IA*, 360) and longer posthumous panegyrics composed in honor of the Norwegian kings Magnús Ólafsson (d. 1103; *Skj IA*, 440–44) and Sigurðr Magnús-

son (d. 1139; *Skj IA*, 495–502). The main corpus of poems in fornyrðislag meter is recorded in a ms. from around 1270, the Codex Regius (GKS 2365 4to), while additional poems and fragments are contained in the mss. of Snorra Edda and in mythic-heroic sagas.

As the discussion in 2.2. above showed, lines in fornyrðislag meter represent a tightening of the alliterative Germanic long-line as attested in West Germanic poetry, and they follow the same principles of alliteration. The metrical structure of fornyrðislag served as a basis for the formulation of Sievers's metrical system, and that meter is most conveniently described in terms of his five types (Sievers 1893, 63–70; but see Heusler 1956 for an alternative approach). For the sake of consistency, the same framework will be used in the discussion of the eddic meters *ljóðahátt* and *málahátt* (4.2.–4.3. below). An overview of Sievers's Five-Type system applied to Old Nordic fornyrðislag and West Germanic alliterative lines (exemplified by Old English and Old Saxon poetry) is given in the Appendix.

Each fornyrðislag half-line consists of two fully stressed syllables (lifts) and two unstressed or weakly stressed syllables (secondarily stressed lifts or dips). The alliterating staves (one or two in the on-line; one in the off-line) always fall on syllables carrying full stress. The lifts tend to consist of phonetically long syllables, i. e., syllables with three or more morae (*land*, *land-i*; *sár*, *sár-um*; *silfr*, *silfr-i*; for a discussion of mora-counting and syllabification in Old Nordic poetry see Pipping 1903a, 1; 1903b, 113; 1937, 27; Kuhn 1983, 53–55; Gade 1995a, 29–34); when directly preceded by a long lift (with primary or secondary stress), a lift can consist of a short, bimoric syllable (“short lift”: *bú*, *vit*; see Sievers's Types A2k, C3, D2). In certain positions a long stressed syllable can be replaced by the sequence of a short, bimoric syllable followed by a syllable of optional quantity (“resolution”; e. g., Sievers's Type C2; see Sievers 1878, 455–56; Kuhn 1983, 55–56; 68–69; Gade 1995a, 60–61). As Kuhn (1983, 56) observed, both Old Nordic and West Germanic alliterative poetry were subject to the restrictions that no enclitic syllable can be resolved; no initial syllable of a polysyllabic word can form resolution with a preceding syllable; no medial or final syllable in a word with three or more syllables can be resolved. With the exception of Eddaic *ljóðahátt*, however, Old Nordic meters were more restrictive than West Germanic alliterative poetry, because

resolution could occur only on the first lift of the half-line.

As far as the placement of alliteration is concerned, it always falls on syllables carrying full stress, i.e., the most strongly stressed syllables in the line. However, as noted by Max Rieger (1876), words of different lexico-grammatical categories (nomina, finite verbs, proclitics) are treated differently in terms of whether they can carry alliteration. Rieger examined the interplay between alliteration, word order, and lexico-grammatical categories in Old English and Old Saxon poetry. Based on the assumption that the poetic line reflected the normal sentence stress of prose language, he argued that because a syllable carrying alliteration also must have received the strongest stress, an investigation of the placement of alliterating staves (in on-lines, where the alliterating staff was not fixed on the first lift) and the syntactic relations between the alliterating and nonalliterating lifts would necessarily yield information about the different levels of stress in a sentence (“natural sentence stress”). He divided the syntactic elements of a sentence into the lexico-grammatical categories “nomen” (nouns, adjectives, infinitives, present and past participles, numerals), “verb” (finite verbs), “adverbs” (adverbs), and “function words” (proclitic prepositions, particles, connectives). His results concerning the restrictions imposed by alliteration can be summarized as follows (Rieger 1876, 19–32; cf. Sievers 1893, 42–46; Heusler 1956, 108–113; Gade 1995a, 37: the untranslated sample lines are taken from the Appendix; emphasis added):

- (7) N + N: in a sequence of two nomina, the first must alliterate, or both can alliterate, but the second nomen cannot alliterate without the first:

(7a) licit; \acute{n} + n: B 454a *hrægla sēlest*

(7b) licit: \acute{n} + \acute{n} : HH 12 : 7 *grára geira*

(7c) illicit: n + \acute{n} : *snarpra geira*.

- (8) V + N, N + V: in a sequence of verb + nomen or nomen + verb, the nomen must alliterate; a proclitic verb can also alliterate along with the nomen:

(8a) licit: v + \acute{n} : Vsp 7 : 1 *hittuz æsir*

(8b) licit: \acute{n} + v: Vsp 6 : 7 *morgin héto*

(8c) licit: \check{v} + \acute{n} : B 742a *bāt bānlocan*

(8d) illicit \check{v} + n: *hittuz æsir*.

- (9) ADV + V; V + ADV: prepositional adverbs in a verb-adverb collocation alliterate in proclitic position; in enclitic position they do not. Other adverbs do not normally alliterate in either position:

(9a) \check{v} + adv: Prk 30 : 1 *berið inn hamar*
[carry in the hammer]

(9b) adv + v: Gðr I 14 : 1 *á leit Guðrún*
[on looked Guðrún]

(9c) adv + \check{v} : Od 14 : 1 *var ec up alin*
[was I up raised].

Rieger’s observations allowed scholars to set up the following hierarchy of natural sentence stress in the different lexico-grammatical categories (cf. Sievers 1893, 41–46; Heusler 1956, 106–8; Kuhn 1933, 5; 1983, 113–24; Gade 1995a, 37–38):

(10a) Nomina are more heavily stressed than other word classes;

(10b) the finite verbs are less strongly stressed than nomina;

(10c) qualifying adverbs and pronouns are more strongly stressed than finite verbs and intensifying and temporal adverbs;

(10d) prepositions and connectives may stand in a lift, but rarely alliterate;

(10e) proclitic particles are always unstressed.

Rieger’s hierarchy of sentence stress not only applies to West Germanic poetry, but to poetry in Old Nordic fornyrðislag meter as well, and it became the point of departure for Hans Kuhn’s work on word stress and word order in the Germanic poetic traditions. In accordance with Rieger, Kuhn (1933, 5; 1983, 199–200) divided syntactic elements into “sentence elements” (“Satzteile”), which consist of nouns, adjectives, infinitives, and verbal participles and always receive stress; “sentence particles” (“Satzpartikeln”), encompassing finite verbs, demonstrative adverbs, personal and demonstrative pronouns, sometimes conjunctions, which may or may not receive stress (if they are stressed, they are no longer treated as sentence particles); and “proclitics” (“Satzteilpartikeln”), e.g., prepositions, connectives, demonstratives, possessive pronouns, articles, and proclitic particles. Words belonging to the category of proclitics are never stressed. Based on his observations on the word order of Northwest Germanic alliterative poetry, Kuhn formulated the following

laws (Kuhn 1933, 8; 43; 1983, 199–202; cf. Gade 1995a, 21):

- (11) “The Law of Sentence Particles” or “Kuhn’s First Law” (“Satzpartikelgesetz”): sentence particles stand in the first dip of the sentence, proclitic to either the first or the second stressed word;
- (12) “The Law of Sentence Introduction” or “Kuhn’s Second Law” (“Satzspitzengesetz”): sentence particles must stand in anacrusis.

What these rules imply for Old Nordic poetry, then, is first of all that no sentence can be introduced by a proclitic [12]. Hence lines of Sievers’s Types B and C cannot introduce a sentence if the anacrusis is occupied by a proclitic particle, a preposition, a connective, or an article. Consider the following examples (emphasis added, metrical caesuras are marked by “||”):

- (13) Gǫr I 25 : 3–5 Veldr einn Atli || ǫllo
bǫlvi || *of borinn Buðla*
[Causes Atli alone all the grief, born to Buðli]
- (14) Od 29 : 1–3 Var ec enn farin || einu sinni ||
til Geirmundar
[I had again gone one time to Geirmundr]
- (15) Hym 4 : 1–4 Nè þat máttu || mærir tívar ||
ok ginregin || of geta hvergi
[Not could that the famous gods, and the powerful gods, know at all]
- (16) HH 1 : 5–3 Þá hafði Helga || *inn hugom-
stóra* || Borghildr borit
[Then had Helgi, the great-minded, Borghildr born].

Secondly, Kuhn’s first law allowed him to distinguish between different levels of stress in finite verbs, depending on whether these verbs occurred in independent or in bound clauses (i.e., clauses introduced by a conjunction or an adverb). His investigations revealed that finite verbs in independent clauses can always occur in a dip and tend to be treated as sentence particles, whereas finite verbs in bound clauses, with the exception of auxiliaries, may not occupy dipo and are usually placed toward the end of the sentence (Kuhn 1933, 51–52). The following stanza ([1]; emphasis added) serves to illustrate the difference between the placement of finite verbs in independent and bound clauses:

Ár var alda, þat er Ymir bygði,
vara sandr né sær né svalar unnir
iqrð *fannz* æva né upphiminn,
gap var ginnunga, en gras hvergi.

Based on his observations of the word order in fornyrðislag, Kuhn (1933, 57–58) concluded that, in preliterate Old Nordic, the position of finite verbs in independent and bound clauses was differentiated in a way similar to what we find in Modern German independent and subordinate clauses, and, furthermore, that finite verbs were more strongly stressed in bound clauses than in independent clauses. With some exceptions (cf. Kuhn 1933, 61), both of Kuhn’s laws would appear to be enforced in Old Nordic fornyrðislag.

The question is whether that circumstance is due to preliterate conditions connected with stress and intonation as Kuhn thought (1933, 101–2), or whether other syntactic factors could have played a role. Investigations of Old Nordic poetic word order within the framework of recent syntactic theory might shed new light on that issue (see e.g., Getty 1998; Durbin 1999).

We see, then, that as far as Old Nordic fornyrðislag is concerned, this meter is governed by the same metrical principles as the West Germanic alliterative long-line. The meter is attested in Scandinavian territory (Sweden and Norway) from the beginning of the 9th century, and the stanza on the Swedish Rök stone [6], which contains nonsyncopated and nonapocopated forms, displays all the features that characterize later Eddaic poetry, such as stanzaic form, regularized alliteration, and half-lines that conform to fixed metrical patterns. The Rök stanza shows that a tradition of alliterative poetic composition was in place in Scandinavia as early as the beginning of the 9th century, and furthermore, the formal features displayed by the stanza, as well as the poetic diction employed, suggest that we are dealing with a tradition that had been current for some time.

3.2. Ljóðaháttir

Unlike fornyrðislag, the meter ljóðaháttir is a unique Old Nordic verse form. The first poems that can be dated with some certainty are *Haraldskvæði* (*Skj* IA, 24–29), composed in honor of the Norwegian king Haraldr fairhair (end ninth century), and *Eiríksmál* (from around 950; *Skj* IA, 174–75) and *Hákonarmál* (from around 961; *Skj* IA, 64–68), commem-

see Sievers 1893, 70–79). Consider the following half-stanza from *Atlamáal* (1 : 1–4; emphasis added):

- (22) Frétt hefir *ǫld ófo*, þá er endr um gorðo
seggir samkundo, sú var nýtt fæstom.

[Heard has the world of the arrogance
which long ago men made at a gathering,
that was useful to the fewest.]

Since Sievers's 1893 study, this meter has received little scholarly attention. Kuhn did not conduct a separate investigation of málahátt, but grouped *Atlamáal* together with fornyrðislag stanzas with foreign subject matter (Kuhn 1933, 37). He does, however, note that *Atlamáal* contains violations of both of his laws (1933, 38–39; 46–47), and also that the poem contains a high percentage of finite verbs in independent clauses that occur toward the end rather than at the beginning of the sentence (1933, 61–62). In Kuhn's opinion these violations could be attributed to the fact that poems like *Atlamáal* drew on heroic poetry from the Continent and retained the word order of their models, including the tendency to place the finite verb in independent clauses further back in the sentence (1933, 106–7).

4. The Old Nordic scaldic meters

4.1. Kviðuhátt

The first longer poem in this meter is Þjóðólfr ór Hvini's genealogical poem *Ynglingatal* (usually dated to the 9th century; *Skj* IA, 7–15), a poem allegedly composed in honor of Rognvaldr of Vestfold, the uncle of King Haraldr fairhair. Kviðuhátt is a variant of fornyrðislag, but unlike the extant fornyrðislag it is syllable counting. The off-lines are tetrasyllabic and follow the metrical patterns of fornyrðislag, but the on-lines are hypometrical, e. g., each on-line consists of three syllables instead of four, as the following lines from *Ynglingatal* show (Yt 35 : 5–8; *Skj* IA, 15; emphasis added):

- (23) Réð Óláfr ofsa forðum
víðri grund of vestmari.

[Ruled Óláfr with might formerly the
wide land across Vestmarr.]

Structurally most kviðuhátt on-lines can best be characterized as catalectic, e. g., they follow the same metrical patterns as fornyrðislag lines of Types A, C, D, minus the last, unstressed syllable (see Sievers 1893, 117–18):

- (24) A1: " x "

Yt 3 : 3 vitta véttr [witches' being]

- (25) C1: x " "

Yt 1 : 1 varð framgengt [was fulfilled]

- (26) D1: " " "

Yt 1 : 7 vágr vindlauss [sea windless].

Because lines of Sievers's Types B, D4, and E did not end in an unstressed syllable, there could be no catalectic lines conforming to those patterns. There are, however, two types of kviðuhátt on-lines which cannot be classified as catalectic, and whose structure Sievers (*ibid.*) was at a loss to explain:

- (27) Yt 14 : 1 varð Jǫrundr [was Jǫrundr]

- (28) Yt 2 : 11 jǫtunbyggðr [giant-fashioned].

Both [27] and [28] could technically be regarded as variants of Sievers's Type C2, i. e., they correspond to the fillers of positions 1–2 and 2–3 respectively. However, whereas position 2 in C2-lines was always resolved, the short syllables in positions 2–3 [27] and 1–2 [28] in kviðuhátt could not have been resolved, but must be regarded as short lifts: x " " [27]; " x " [28]. Thus such on-lines defy the principles of resolution that were adhered to by all other Northwest Germanic alliterative meters. As far as the syntax of kviðuhátt stanzas is concerned, Kuhn's "Law of Sentence Particles" [11] is strictly adhered to from the earliest poetry on (with minor irregularities in the poetry of Egill Skallagrímsson and in the 12th-century anonymous *Nóregs konungatal*), and there is a sharp distinction between the positions of finite verbs in independent and bound clauses (Kuhn 1933, 28–29; 61).

The catalectic nature of the majority of kviðuhátt on-lines suggests that these lines originated as apocopated versions of fornyrðislag lines. Furthermore, the Rök stanza would appear to represent a transitional stage in that development. In that stanza [6] all off-lines follow the pattern of fornyrðislag, but the first on-line is catalectic: *raip þiaurikr*; cf. *réð Óláfr* [23]). The third on-line, however, has five syllables, but would have formed a catalectic A3-line after syncope: *sitr nu karur* > *sitr nú gorr*. It seems, then, that syncope and apocope not only prompted the development of syllable-counting meters in Scandinavian territory, but that these linguistic changes also were responsible for the unique metrical form of the catalectic kviðuhátt on-lines.

4.2. Runhent

This meter, which is first attested in Egill Skallagrímsson's *Höfuðlausn* ('head ransom'; traditionally dated to 936; *Skj* IA, 35–39), is the first Old Nordic verse form to combine the poetic devices of alliteration and endrhyme (see Sievers 1893, 114–16). Structurally runhent lines correspond to tetrasyllabic forn-yrðislag lines, with the exception that endrhyme has been added in final position. Consider the following two half-stanzas from *Höfuðlausn* (1 : 1–4; 7 : 1–4; emphasis added):

- (29) Vestr fórk of ver
en ek Viðris ber
munstrandar mar
svás mitt of far.

[I went west across the sea, and I carry
Óðinn's soul-beach's ocean; such is my
journey.]

- (30) Fremr munk segja
ef firar þegja
frágum fleira
til frama þeira.

[Further I will tell, if men are silent, I
heard of more, about their fame.]

Egill allegedly composed this poem in honor of King Eiríkr bloodaxe to redeem his life and presented it before the king at his court in York. The meter bears all the marks of being a conscious creation by one individual, possibly an imitation of endrhyming Latin poetry that Egill had heard in England, and it represents a foreign poetic adornment (endrhyme) superimposed on the poetic structure of native forn-yrðislag. Although there are examples of runhent being used sporadically in panegyrics during the 11th and 12th centuries (see e.g., *Skj* IA, 194, 473–75), the meter never really caught on until the demise of the more common scaldic meters in the 14th century. The reason could be that, unlike Continental West Germanic, where poetry with endrhyme at an early date replaced the older alliterative long-line, Old Nordic was characterized by strongly stressed root syllables and weakly stressed final syllables. That circumstance would certainly favor the alliterative tradition, with a strong emphasis on the onset of root syllables, over a tradition where the poetic adornment would involve syllables that carried little or no stress (von See 1980a, 403–5). The fact that such a hybrid meter could be invented by a Scandinavian 10th-century scald is, however, a testimony to those poets'

taste for metrical experimentation and to their keen awareness of the distinctions of sound.

4.3. Dróttkvætt

Dróttkvætt was considered the most prestigious scaldic meter and dróttkvætt stanzas constitute the bulk of the extant corpus of scaldic poetry from the 9th to the 14th century. It is also the Old Nordic meter that has attracted most scholarly attention (Sievers 1893; von See 1980b; Kuhn 1983; Fijestøl 1985; Frank 1978; 1985; Gade 1995a). The earliest dróttkvætt poems, Bragi's *Ragnarsdrápa* and Þjóðólfr ór Hvini's *Haustlǫng* (*Skj* IA, 1–4, 16–20), are traditionally dated to the 9th century, that is, they are roughly contemporary with the Rök stanza, but neither *Ragnarsdrápa* nor *Haustlǫng* contains noncontracted forms. Like kviðuhátt, dróttkvætt is syllable counting. Each line consists of six syllables and ends in a cadence, e.g., a long syllable followed by a short enclitic syllable. Structurally dróttkvætt lines can best be defined as extensions of tetrasyllabic Eddaic forn-yrðislag lines plus the cadence at the end of the line. The placement of alliteration is regularized, with each on-line containing two staves (*stuðlar* 'props') that alliterate with the first syllable in the off-line (*höfuðstafr* 'main staff'). Because alliteration in off-lines is fixed on the first syllable, there are no regular dróttkvætt off-lines with anacrusis (Sievers's Types B and C). One of the most conspicuous innovations in dróttkvætt is the introduction of internal rhyme, the *hendingar* (see Kuhn 1977; 1981; 1983, 75–89). Each line contains two internal rhymes which begin with the vocalic onset of a syllable and involves one or more of the post-vocalic consonants. In on-lines these rhymes (*skotheningar* 'inserted rhymes'; e.g., át : *eikirótum*, *djúphugaðr* : *dræpi* [31]) require phonetic identity in the postvocalic environment only, whereas the internal rhymes in the off-lines (*aðalhendingar* 'noble rhymes': e.g., *ballastan* : *vallar*) require phonetic identity of vowels as well as of the following consonant(s). The second internal rhyme in both on- and off-lines is always fixed on the fifth long syllable in the cadence. Consider the following stanza from Þjóðólfr's *Haustlǫng* (*Haustl* 6, *Skj* IA, 17; emphasis added):

- (31) Ok slíðrliga síðan
[And greedily thereafter]
svangr vas þat fyr lǫngu
[hungry. Was that long ago]

- át af eikirótum
[ate from the oak-roots]
okbjörn faðir Mǫrnar.
[the yoke bear Mǫrn's father].
Áðr djúphugaðr dræpi
[Before the deep-minded hit]
dolg ballastan vallar
[the enemy strongest of the world]
hirði-Týr meðal herða
[guarding-Týr between the shoulders]
herfangs ofan stǫngu.
[war-booty's from above with the pole.]

In *Ragnarsdrápa* and, to some extent, in *Haustlǫng*, the internal rhymes are often irregular. Skothenningar may occur in off-lines, and sometimes the on-lines lack rhyme altogether. It would appear that, at least as far as *Ragnarsdrápa* is concerned, we are dealing with a tradition that was still in flux, but a particular license in aðalhendingar, which allowed nonumlauted /a/ to rhyme with its u-umlauted reflex /ǫ/ (*svangr*: *lǫngu*; *herfangs*: *stǫngu* [31]; see Hreinn Benediktsson 1963), indicates that the development of the system of skaldic internal rhyme most likely took place prior to the phonemization of /ǫ/. Scholars have debated whether the scaldic hendingar could have originated as imitations of Irish internal rhymes, but an indigenous development of such rhymes in Scandinavian territory, probably as the result of the same linguistic factors that prompted the creation of syllable counting meters, namely strong initial stress, syncope, and apocope, seems more likely (Gade 1995a, 7–11; 237–38).

Sievers noted that the structure of positions 1–4 in dróttkvætt lines closely resembled that of tetrasyllabic fornyrðislag, and he accordingly grouped dróttkvætt lines under his Types A–E, with an additional foot consisting of the two syllables in the cadence (1893, 98–105). Consider the following lines from [31] above:

- (32) Type A1: át af eiki-|rótum
(33) Type A2k: okbjörn faðir|Mǫrnar
 herfangs ofan|stǫngu
(34) Type C3: ok slíðrliga|síðan
 áðr djúphugaðr|dræpi
(35) Type D1: dolg ballastan|vallar.

Only two lines (*svangr vas þat fyr* / *lǫngu*; *hirði-Týr meðal* / *herða*), although trochaic and conforming to the metrical patterns of Type A, contain syntactic fillers incompatible with those of fornyrðislag lines. Sievers's system

was adopted by Kuhn (1983) in his studies on syntactic fillers of dróttkvætt lines. As [32]–[35] above showed, the structure of the first four positions of most dróttkvætt lines corresponds to that of tetrasyllabic fornyrðislag lines. However, it would appear that the addition of the heavy disyllabic cadence, which more often than not forms a syntactic unit with the word immediately preceding it (cf. *fyr lǫngu*, *eikirótum*, *faðir Mǫrnar*, *djúphugaðr dræpi*, *meðal herða* [31]), also altered the stress patterns in such lines. As a consequence of this, dróttkvætt lines show a much greater sensitivity to the distinction between long and short syllables (i.e., the meter is not only syllable counting but also mora counting; cf. Craigie 1900), and new metrical types of on-lines were developed to accommodate the requirements imposed on the syntax when alliteration fell in position 5 (cf. Gade 1995a, 85–87, 97–99). Although Sievers's Five-Type System is certainly an adequate tool to describe the types of syntactic fillers of dróttkvætt lines, the distribution of stress and the levels of stress inherent in Sievers's metrical positions cannot be used as a measure for the stress patterns of dróttkvætt.

A dróttkvætt stanza was divided into two syntactically independent half-stanzas (*hellingar*) each consisting of four lines (see Kuhn 1969b). Owing to the strict formal requirements imposed by syllable counting, alliteration, and rhyme, the word order of dróttkvætt poetry can be extremely convoluted (cf. [31] above), and the syntax is characterized by sentence intercalation, embedded clauses, incomplete syntactic units, and tmesis. Several attempts have been made to establish laws and rules for the word order in dróttkvætt lines (see Reichardt 1928; Kuhn 1929b; 1983; Edwards 1983; and the overview in Gade 1995a, 12–21). Although no absolute rules can be established for dróttkvætt syntax, the interplay between the placement of alliteration, internal rhymes, and the distribution of long and short syllables must have served to delineate the syntactic structure of the lines and facilitated the comprehension of such poetry during recitation (Gade 1995a, 173–208). As far as Kuhn's laws are concerned, the "Law of Sentence Introduction" is strictly adhered to from the earliest poetry on (Kuhn 1983, 202), but already Þjóðólfr's poetry contains violations of the "Law of Sentence Particles," and by the end of the 10th century it had ceased to be operational (Kuhn 1983, 199–202). That circumstance can most likely be attributed to the fact

that the syntax and the distribution of stress in dróttkvætt lines were governed by principles different from those that governed the alliterative long-line.

With the exception of the licensed *a : q* rhymes, the language of the earliest dróttkvætt poetry shows no traces of forms predating the stages of syncope, apocope, umlaut, and breaking. It is, however, possible to establish a certain internal chronology within the extant corpus of dróttkvætt poetry on the basis of linguistic and metrical criteria. Over the centuries, new types of metrical fillers developed, sometimes in the attempt to incorporate proper names, tied to a specific historical event, that were not readily accommodated in dróttkvætt lines (Kuhn 1969a; Gade 2000). Linguistic features, such as noncontracted hiatus constructions (e. g., *dreyrfáar v. dreyrfár* [‘gory,’ masc.acc.pl.]), archaic name forms (e. g., *Ulfketill vs. Ulfkell*), and the presence and function of the expletive particle *of*, have also been used in the attempt to distinguish between older and younger layers of dróttkvætt poetry (Kuhn 1929a; Dal 1929; 1930; Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1966; Fidjestøl 1989; Gade 2000).

The origin of dróttkvætt meter has sparked considerable debate. Since the end of the 19th century, that debate has been dominated by two schools; namely, by those who trace the peculiarities of dróttkvætt back to Irish models, and by those who regard the meter as the result of an indigenous Scandinavian development (see the overview in Gade 1995a, 7–12). Whereas one cannot dismiss the possibility of foreign influence altogether, we have seen that another syllable-counting meter indeed did develop as a catalectic variant of tetrasyllabic fornyrðislag in 9th-century Scandinavia. We have also seen that the syntactic fillers of positions 1–4 in dróttkvætt are more or less similar to those of Eddaic fornyrðislag. It could well be, then, that the dróttkvætt line originated as a hypermetrical variant of the Germanic alliterative half-line (cf. the origin of the full line in ljóðaháttir suggested in 3.2. above), caused by a close syntactic relationship between the word occupying the end of the on-line and the alliterating lift in the following off-line (Gade 1995a, 226–38).

4.4. Hrynhent

Hrynhent was first used in an 11th-century panegyric composed in honor of the Norwegian king Magnús Ólafsson (d. 1047) by the

Icelandic scald Arnórr Þórðarson jarlaskald (*Skj* IA, 332–38). It is a variant of dróttkvætt in which each line consists of eight rather than of six syllables, and it appears to be a conscious creation by Arnórr (Whaley 1998, 79–80; 92–98). Hrynhent is governed by the same rules as dróttkvætt with regard to rhyme and alliteration. As the following half-stanza from Arnórr’s *Magnússdrápa* (9 : 1–4; *Skj* I, 335: emphasis added) shows, the main difference between the two meters consists of the two syllables of optional quantity which are inserted in positions 5–6 in hrynhent:

- (36) Síðan vas þats *suðr með láði*
siklingr ýtti *flota* miklum
skíði vas þá *skriðar of* auðit
skorðu renndi *Visundr* norðan.

[Later the king set out with a great fleet south along the coast. Then the ski of the ship-prop was granted speed; Visundr swept from the north.]

As it is illustrated in the lines in [36], the first four positions in hrynhent lines correspond to positions 1–4 in dróttkvætt (and tetrasyllabic fornyrðislag), and their structure adheres to the same rules concerning syllabic quantity, mora counting, and resolution. The syllables in the cadence (always long + short) also follow the principles of dróttkvætt, but in positions 5–6, syllabic quantity is no longer metrically relevant. The syllable in position 5, which is always stressed, can be long (*suðr*), short (*flot-a*, *Visundr*), or resolved (*skriðar*). The stress pattern in positions 5–8, then, is always trochaic and not governed by the rules of mora counting, and it could well be that hrynhent was created in an attempt to achieve a regular, trochaic, stress-based meter, possibly under the influence of Latin hymns or trochaic tetrameter (Whaley 1998, 80).

5. The 13th-century renaissance and the demise of quantitative poetry

5.1. Clavis Metrica

As the discussion in 3.–4. above has shown, there existed an abundance of alliterative meters in Scandinavia, all of which seem to have evolved from the Germanic alliterative long-line. Given the Norsemen’s acute awareness of the distinctions of sound and the principles underlying metrical composition, it comes as no surprise that some of the earliest *clavis metrica* in the vernacular were composed in Scan-

dinavian territory. Around the middle of the 12th century, the Orkney jarl Rognvaldr Kali Kolsson and the Icelander Hallr Þórarinnsson composed *Háttalykill enn forni* (the ancient metrical key), a poem whose extant version consists of 82 stanzas illustrating 41 different alliterative meters. There is no prose commentary accompanying the poem, but in a number of cases the names of the meters are recorded above the stanzas. Whereas many of the meters in *Háttalykill* are attested in Old Nordic poetry, the poem also contains stanzas that seem to be influenced by foreign models (Latin and Provençal; see *Háttalykill enn forni*, 118–42).

The first metrical treatise with an extensive prose commentary was written in Iceland around 1220 by Snorri Sturluson and was later incorporated into his Prose Edda. Snorri's *Háttatal* (enumeration of meters) is made up by 102 stanzas interspersed with prose. Each stanza exemplifies a metrical variant whose peculiarities are expounded in the prose. The opening sections of *Háttatal* address the fundamental characteristics of Old Nordic metrical prosody, which according to Snorri can be described in terms of numerical characteristics (number of meters, of lines, and of syllables) and distinction (placement of alliterating staves, arrangement of internal rhymes, and long and short, hard and soft syllables) (*Snorri Sturluson Edda*, 3). The remainder of the treatise is devoted to a list of sample stanzas that contain variations in the syllabic inventory and the placement and nature of internal rhyme, as well as peculiarities of syntax, diction, and metrical fillers. Snorri apparently knew *Háttalykill*, and he adopts both names of meters and metrical forms from that poem. The most common types of Old Nordic alliterative meters (discussed in 3.–4. above) are all incorporated in *Háttatal*, as are minor meters that are occasionally attested in extant poetic corpus of scaldic poetry (see Sievers 1893, 105–114). But many of the meters exemplified in Snorri's treatise either represent stylizations of certain metrical features or seem to be new creations. The structure of *Háttatal* and some of the terminology employed by Snorri suggest that he was working within the tradition of medieval rhetoric and grammar, but owing to the dearth of information about the availability of such literature in early 12th-century Iceland, it is difficult to gauge the influence these models could have had on *Háttatal*. More research in this area is certainly a desideratum (see Marold 1995; Tranter 1997).

5.2. The change from quantitative to stress-based meter

Snorri's *Háttatal* is not only descriptive, but also prescriptive; i. e., his aim was to establish norms for the correct composition of alliterative poetry. It can be no coincidence that his treatise was written at a time when the Old Icelandic language begins to show the signs of sound changes that were to have a profound impact on the structure of Old Nordic poetry. As early as 1150, scaldic rhymes present the first evidence of rhotacism in such words as *vera, er* (*Skj* IA, 457; emphasis added: *vara kost fara* 'wasn't possible to go'), a change that obviated such earlier contractions as *þat es* > *þats* and increased the syllabic inventory of the lines. However, it was the desyllabification of final *-r*, i. e., the development of an epenthetic *-u-* before the earlier syllabic final *-r* in consonant clusters ($r > ur | C \#$; see Jón Þorkelsson 1863), that appears to have had the greatest consequences for the quantitative poetic tradition (Gade 1995b). That change can be detected in Icelandic mss. from the end of the 13th century, and poetic lines with desyllabified forms are attested in scaldic poetry from the 14th century on. The addition of an extra syllable caused an upheaval in the structure of the types of metrical fillers that led to the collapse of earlier distinct metrical patterns (e. g., Types E and A2k), and to the creation of new types that not only allowed resolution in earlier prohibited positions, but also approximated a trochaic rhythm and no longer observed the quantitative distinction between long and short syllables. In the course of the 14th century, lines of Types A2k, B, C, D, and E gradually disappeared, and the meter hrynhent (4.4. above), with its regular trochaic stress-based rhythm, and new trochaic meters with endrhymes ousted the older quantitative meters. In that respect, the sound changes that took place in late 13th- and early 14th-century Iceland had exactly the opposite effect on the structure of Old Nordic poetry of those that had occurred seven centuries earlier. Whereas apocope and syncope, brought on by strong initial stress, facilitated the development of new syllable counting, quantitative meters in Scandinavian territory, such changes as desyllabification (and the later vowel lengthening in open syllables) caused the old system to collapse and paved the way for a new tradition.

6. Appendix: Sievers's Five Types in ON, OE, OSx. alliterative Poetry

Symbols: $\acute{}$: alliterating lift; $\grave{}$: nonalliterating lift; $\tilde{\acute{}}$: alliterating short lift; $\tilde{\grave{}}$: nonalliterating short lift; $\grave{\cdot}$: secondary stress, long syllable; $\tilde{\grave{\cdot}}$: secondary stress, short syllable; ↔ : resolved lift; x: unstressed syllable (dip). The sample lines are taken from *Edda* (Neckel/Kuhn 1962), *Beowulf* (B), and *Heliand* (H).

A1: $\acute{}$ x $\acute{}$ x	(on-lines only)
HH 12 : 7 grára geira	[of grey spears]
B 483a Grendles gūþe	[Grendel's attack]
H 2054a druncan drōmead	[drunken rejoice]
A2: $\acute{}$ x $\acute{}$ x	(on- and off-lines)
Vsp 6 : 7 morgin hēto	[morning [they] named]
B 454a hræglā sēlest	[of corselets the best]
H 645a uuāþnes eggium	[[with the] weapon's edges]
A2k: $\tilde{\acute{}}$ $\tilde{\grave{}}$ x	or: $\tilde{\acute{}}$ $\tilde{\grave{\cdot}}$ x (on-lines only)
Vsp 1 : 7 forn spiǫll fira	[ancient lore of people]
B 2110b rūmheort cyning	[large-hearted king]
H 630b slīðmōd cuning	[gruesome-minded king]
A3: $\acute{}$ x $\acute{}$ x	(on-lines only)
Vsp 7 : 1 hittuz æsir	[met the gods]
B 710a þā cōm of mōre	[then came from the moor]
H 2045a hēt is thero gesteo	[commanded of it of the guests]
B1: x $\acute{}$ x $\acute{}$	or: x $\acute{}$ x $\acute{}$ (on-lines only)
Vsp 3 : 3 vara sandr né sær	[wasn't sand nor sea]
B 511a nē lēof nē lād	[neither dear nor hated]
H 2001a an that hōha hūs	[to the high house]
C1: x $\acute{}$ $\acute{}$ x	or: x $\acute{}$ $\acute{}$ x (on-lines only)
Vsp 28 : 11 dreccr miǫl Mímir	[drinks mead Mímir]
B 921a of brýdbüre	[from the woman-chamber]
H 3135a uuas thar gard gōdlic	[was there dwelling glorious]
C2: x ↔ $\acute{}$ x	or: x ↔ $\acute{}$ x (on-lines only)
Vsp 9 : 7 ór Brimis blóði	[from Brimir's blood]
B 604a tō medo mōdig	[to mead brave]
H 549a an is seli sittien	[in his hall to sit]
C3: x $\tilde{\acute{}}$ x	or: x $\tilde{\acute{}}$ x (on-lines only)
Rm 17 : 5 fellr brattr breki	[falls the steep wave]
B 840a geond wīdwegas	[throughout distant-regions]
H 3401a an that fern faren	[to the hell to journey]
D1: $\acute{}$ $\tilde{\acute{}}$ x	or: $\acute{}$ $\tilde{\acute{}}$ x (on-lines only)

Vsp 33 : 7 vá Valhallar	[the destruction of Valhǫll]
B 436a mīn mondrihten	[my liegeland]
H 2007a gumon gladmōdie	[men merry-minded]
D2: $\tilde{\acute{}}$ $\tilde{\acute{}}$ $\tilde{\grave{}}$ x	or: $\tilde{\acute{}}$ $\tilde{\acute{}}$ $\tilde{\grave{}}$ x (on-lines only)
Hym 17 : 7 briótr berg-Dana	[crusher of the mountain-Danes]
B 742a bāt bānlocan	[bit the bone-locker]
H 2084a drōm drohtines	[joy of the Lord]
D4: $\tilde{\acute{}}$ $\tilde{\acute{}}$ x $\tilde{\acute{}}$	or: $\tilde{\acute{}}$ $\tilde{\acute{}}$ x $\tilde{\acute{}}$ (on-lines only)
Vsp 32 : 5 Baldrs bróðir var	[Baldr's brother was]
B 978a maga māne fāh	[man with crime guilty]
H 626a liof landes uuard	[dear country's guardian]
E1: $\tilde{\acute{}}$ $\tilde{\acute{}}$ x $\tilde{\acute{}}$	or: $\tilde{\acute{}}$ $\tilde{\acute{}}$ x $\tilde{\acute{}}$ (on-lines only)
HH 41 : 3 varglióðom vanr	[to wolf-howls accustomed]
B 512a sorhfullne sīð	[perilous journey]
H 2630a fisknet an flōd	[fishnet into the ocean]

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XI. Old Nordic II: Grammatical system, lexicon, texts

100. The various Old Nordic dialects, their systems and their typology: A general survey of the classical Old Nordic of the High Middle Ages

1. Introduction
2. Basic research tools for Old Nordic
3. Designations of Old Nordic
4. The geographic range
5. Early dialectal differentiation
6. The various Old Nordic dialects
7. Conclusion: Old Nordic dialects and Pan-Scandinavian
8. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The classical ON of the High Middle Ages (ca. 1100 to 1350) comprises various languages and dialects, i.e. standard languages as well as non-standard languages. In this article, a language variety which is standardized in its own right, and which functions as a spoken and written medium, is defined as a language, regardless of its linguistic distance from other varieties (cf. Vikør 1993, 28). This consideration concerns mainly OIcel. in relation to its parent language ONorw. (see 6.1.1.). Traditional research focuses basically on the two main branches of OIcel.-ONorw. and OSw.-ODan., and neglects OFar. and OGu. to some degree. Yet their linguistic value in a broad Pan-Scand. perspective is unquestionable, and they are paid due attention here. It is traditionally believed that the East/West split for Nordic is valid with regard to the ON period, whereas other (some more recent) isogloss bundles are known to constitute partially North/South divisions (cf. Bandle 1973, 19ff.). The main focus of this article rests on the phonological and morphological subsystems of the ON idioms, since they elucidate dialectal interrelations and contrasts most clearly. A historical perspective is adopted where this is useful. This basic overview is complemented by arts. 101–106.

2. Basic research tools of Old Nordic

2.1. Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian

OIcel. and ONorw. have been studied extensively. To begin with, Heusler's *Altisländisches Elementarbuch* (1962) contains a valuable survey of OIcel. syntax and lists Gothic correspondences to the OIcel. forms. But the classical study of ON syntax is Nygaard (1906). Boer (1920) provides a detailed account of phonological developments in NGmc and is supplemented by a handbook of PGmc (Boer 1924). In his *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre des Altisländischen*, Gutenbrunner (1951) includes older runic and Gothic equivalents to the Nordic forms in question, as does Heusler (1962). Jóhannesson (1923–24) and Jóhannsson (1924) give revealing insights into the OIcel. language from the points of view of two Icelanders. So does Þórólfsson (1925), focusing mainly on the developments of the 14th and 15th c. Andersen's (1954) historical grammar also deserves a mention, as its presentation of morphophonological changes of ON (basically OIcel.) is chronologically based and clearly arranged. Steblin-Kamenskij (1955) gives new structure-based explanations of phonological changes such as umlaut and breaking. Unfortunately, this work is only accessible to readers of Russian, as are many of Steblin-Kamenskij's contributions on phonology and morphology. The Icelander Benediktsson has also contributed to OIcel. phonology and morphology (e.g. Benediktsson 1959; 1962; 1982). His various linguistic contributions are now collected in one volume (Benediktsson forthcoming).

The standard grammar for ONorw. and OIcel. is still Noreen's *Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik* (1923). It has been updated in accordance with the first parts of Hægstad's *Vestnorske maalføre* (1906–42) and Marstrander's *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* (1915). Marstrander's work was mainly concerned with phonological

questions, whereas Hægstad, who confined himself to Western Norw. (including the western colonies of Iceland and the Faroes), presented abundant excerpts from medieval Norwegian texts. Hægstad (1916 II, 63–173) evaluated later texts in order to shed light on (rarely attested) OFar. (cf. 6.1.2.). Mention must also be made of Krause's *Abriss der altwestnordischen Grammatik* (1948) and Iversen's *Norrøn grammatikk* (1973), both of which deal with OWN, as does Boer (1920). Basic historical-grammatical research on ONorw. has been done, e.g., by Seip (1955) in his *Norsk språkhistorie til omkring 1370* and in a number of separate articles (collected in Seip 1934; 1954). As the title of Seip's monograph indicates, his upper time limit is 1370 – the traditional demarcation line for classical ONorw. (cf. art. 122).

Classical works investigating the lexical stock of the oldest Icel. or Norw. manuscripts are Larsson (1891) and Holtsmark (1955). Among the standard lexica of OIcel. is Cleasby/Vigfusson (1957). Basic lexical resources for OWN are Fritzner (1886–1896; suppl. 1972) and Heggstad et al. (1990), but a new OWN dictionary is in preparation: *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog*, edited by Den Arnamagnæanske Kommission (1989 ff.). This project, which has been ongoing since 1939, is based primarily on manuscripts (several unpublished) and diplomatic editions.

2.2. Old Danish and Old Swedish

The first comprehensive historical grammar of ODan. was written by Brøndum-Nielsen (1928–1973). His *Gammeldansk Grammatik* does not focus on developments in ODan. as a (potential) standard language, but rather on regional variants as they show up in different manuscripts. Although it adheres to traditional philological methods, it is one of the indispensable reference grammars of ODan. Mention should next be made of Kristensen's *Folkemål og sproghistorie* (1933), which also addresses peculiar phonological and morphological features of OFar. (cf. 6.1.2.). Kristensen is bold enough to present views challenging those of Noreen, Brøndum-Nielsen and Kock. A major history of ODan. is that by Skautrup (1944–1947). More recent is the work of Hansen (1962–1971), which focuses on phonological developments in Danish from ca. 1300 onwards.

A classical reference grammar of OSw. is Noreen's *Altschwedische Grammatik mit Ein-*

schluss des Altgutnischen, which appeared in 1904. This work is firmly entrenched in the German linguistic tradition of that time, but it has never been revised or updated and is now obsolete. An outstanding grammar which, as the title indicates, focuses on the historical phonology of OSw. in different stages, is Kock's *Svensk ljudhistoria* (1906–29). Wessén's *Svensk språkhistoria* (1969–71) is a comprehensive work which has partially taken over the function of Noreen (1904), its textual basis being broader and its presentation more structured. Its third volume deals with the syntax of OSw. and Mod.Sw.

As for the lexica, Söderwall's OSw. dictionary from 1884 to 1918 (suppl. 1925–1973) corresponds to Kalkar's ODan. and early Mod.Dan. dictionary from 1881–1918, but clearly exceeds it in quantity and detail. Kristensen (1906) investigated the loanwords of early ODan. before 1300 (cf. art. 88).

3. Designations of Old Nordic – old and modern

In the Nordic sources from the 9th c. onwards, NGmc was commonly referred to as *dōnsk tunga* 'Danish tongue' (cf. Melberg 1951). This was primarily due to the closeness of Denmark to Northern Germany. Another reason might be that Danes were the main representatives of Scandinavian settlers in the so-called *Danelaw* of early medieval England (OE *danelage*, ODan. *danælovgh*; cf. arts. 24 and 88). The expression *dōnsk tunga* was also applied in the High Middle Ages, since ODan. had a central position within the Nordic language grouping (cf. also Vikør 1993, 32). The Icelandic historian Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) conjoined all the earlier Nordic languages under the term 'Danish tongue' – his prologue to *Heimskringla* begins thus: "Í bók þessi lét ek rita fornar frásagnir um höfðingja þá, er ríki hafa haft á Norðrlöndum ok á danska tungu hafa mælt" [In this book, I had written down old narratives of the chieftains who ruled in the Nordic countries, and who were [native] speakers of the Danish tongue; transl. mine]. As late as the middle of the 14th c., another Icelander, Brother Eysteinn, referred to *dōnsk tunga* in the famous poem *Lilja*: "Fyrri menn ... sungu lof með danskri tungu" [Former men ... sang praises in the Danish tongue]. These quotations indicate that the Scandinavians of the early Middle Ages were conscious of the ancient

unity of all Nordic languages (cf. also the comments in Karker 1977 and in *KLNM*, s.v. *Dansk tunge*). Note however that the above-mentioned passages concern chieftains and earlier men and hence do not indicate the use of *ḍǫnsk tunga* in the 14th c. It is a moot point whether the term *norróna* (OE *norþerne*, OHG *nordrōni*) specifically meant ‘ONorw.’ or more generally the entire grouping of OWN languages. Incidentally, the term *Norn*, which refers to the Nordic language of the Orkneys and Shetland, is derived from this word (cf. arts. 24; 88; 122).

In modern terminology, Old Nordic (or “Old Norse”, G “Altnordisch”) is often used in the narrow sense of OWN, including OIcel. and ONorw., but excluding ODan., OSw. and OGu. This terminological use corresponds to that of *norróna* in the broader sense of OWN (cf. Norw. *norrønt*, Icel. *norræna*). A subgroup of OWN is *islenzka* or *islenzk tunga*, which designates the ON language in Iceland. On the whole, OIcel. is more unified and normative than ONorw., and its huge literary corpus is of major importance (cf. art. 101). Therefore it is commonly called “Old Norse”, although OIcel. is the more precise term. Note that Old Norse in its normalized shape is a scholarly creation by normative linguists who took into consideration both OWN manuscripts and Mod.Icel. (for the problematical notion of “norm” in the ON context, cf. Hagland 1992). Nowadays, mainstream research makes use of the term ON in a broad sense – including all NGmc languages and dialects of the High Middle Ages (for a definition and delimitation of the ON period, see art. 90).

4. The geographic range

Early dialectal splits within Nordic led to the differentiation of an EN and a WN language grouping. WN comprises Insular Nordic and ONorw. Insular Nordic is mainly represented by OIcel., since only traces of OFar. can be found (cf. arts. 101 and 122). Furthermore, Insular Nordic included (partly unattested) idioms on the western isles, i.e. the Hebrides, the Orkneys, the Isle of Man, and Shetland, plus the coastal regions of Scotland and Ireland. The *Vinland sagas* inform us about ON colonies further westwards, i.e. in Greenland and on the American coast, and there is archaeological evidence to support this, including runic inscriptions from Greenland. EN, on the other hand, is represented by ODan., OSw. and OGu. Note that OGu. maintains a special

linguistic position within EN (see 6.2.3.). A variety of OEN (ODan.) was also spoken in the English *Danelag* (cf. art. 88).

Apart from OFar., which has to be reconstructed, all ON languages are attested in a corpus of literature and texts. This is especially true of OIcel., since it is amply attested in the Eddas, Sagas and Scaldic poetry. The Icelanders took the lead in the new literary culture of medieval Scandinavia. Of major linguistic importance is the so-called *First Grammatical Treatise*, which was probably written on Iceland about 1150 or earlier (on the dating, see Benediktsson 1972, 23–33).

5. Early dialectal differentiation

It is generally assumed that the dialectal splits within NGmc occurred relatively late. Therefore, a Common Scand. period, ca. 550–1050 with a common language history is envisaged (cf. Haugen/Markey 1972, 124). The EN monophthongization, for instance, is believed to have occurred as late as 900–1000 (see e.g. Bandle 1973, 116), a scholarly consensus which, however, rests on a questionable foundation (cf. Barnes 1997).

It is of major importance that runic inscriptions of the transitional period (ca. 450–600) indicate dialectal variation. Mention should first of all be made of the Stentofte and Björketorp inscriptions of the early 7th c. While Stentofte has the forms **hider** and **dud**, Björketorp shows the corresponding forms **haidr** and **daude** (< Gmc **haiðiz* ‘brightness of the sky’ and **daup-* ‘death’, respectively). What is more revealing, Björketorp has **haidera**, where Stentofte has **hedera** – both forms stemming from Gmc **hidran* with a monophthong as a root vowel (cf. ModE *hither*). Antonsen (1975, 14, 85ff.; 1998, 156) makes the point that the digraph **ai** in **haidera** is a reverse spelling based on EN monophthongization:

„What we have [in **haidera**] is clearly a reverse spelling that arose as the result of the confusion caused by the monophthongization of Proto-Germanic **/ai/* to **/æ/* in root syllables, which could no longer be distinguished from **/æ/* of other origins. This spelling indicates most forcefully that the East Nordic monophthongization has already occurred at the time of these inscriptions“ (Antonsen 1998, 156).

This southern (Danish) innovation must therefore be dated to the 600s at the latest. Given the evidence of runic spelling, this is indeed plausible (cf. Barnes 1997, 38f.).

Another dialectal runic form may be **tojeka** in the Noleby inscription from the 500s (see Antonsen 1975, 55). It is said to be an EN form stemming from AN **tauju* plus affixed *-eka*. The early monophthongization in **tojeka** (= [tøjeka]) may be due to its provenance from Västergötland in Sweden (cf. Krause 1971, 157). Last but not least, the famous Eggja inscription in Norway (ca. 650–700), which is as a rule included in the corpus of the older runic inscriptions, exhibits vowel harmony, i.e. a kind of progressive assimilation (cf. Grønvik 1985, 169–172). The endings of the forms **sakse**, **made**, **galande** are opposed to those of **wiltir**, **huni**, **misurki**. One basic rule is that high vowels in root syllables entail high final vowels, whereas low (non-high) root vowels entail non-high final vowels. Krause (1971, 143) tentatively suggested “Einfluß einer ostnordischen Sprache ... in gewissen Formen mit ostnordischer Vokalharmonie” [influence of an EN language ... in certain forms exhibiting EN vowel harmony], but this is far from proven. Vowel harmony occurs in manuscripts of both Eastern and North-western Norway, i.e. from Østlandet, Trøndelag and Nordvestlandet (Seip 1955, 128 ff.; Haugen 1982, 38). Hence it is not a distinctly EN phenomenon (see art. 101). Furthermore, the phonological evaluation of unstressed vowel systems in the manuscripts with regard to vowel harmony is a delicate problem, as has been shown by Haugen (1949) and Benediktsson (1962), both commenting on Seip (1943).

To sum up, the notion of dialectal diversification within early Scand. (ca. 550–700) seems to be appropriate. Dialectal traces of an East/West split are found in the so-called transitional inscriptions of the late 500s or early 600s at the latest. Later forms like **tupr** (OWN *dauðr*) and **stin** (OWN *steinn*) in Dan. and Sw. runic inscriptions from the Viking Age are by no means the earliest attestations of EN monophthongization (on the traditional view, cf. e.g. Skard 1967, 58). Note that the monographic spelling <u> in **tupr** directly corresponds to the above-mentioned older runic form **dud** on the Stentofte stone (ca. 600–625). It is indeed plausible that both spellings are indicative of the same phenomenon. As a consequence, the traditional language history of Common Scand. (ca. 550–1050) has to be rewritten in the light of modern linguistic and runological research (cf. Barnes 1997, 29).

6. The various Old Nordic dialects

It is generally assumed that a set of changes splits the language continuum of Common Scand. into two branches: a WN branch including OIcel., ONorw. (and OFar.), and an EN branch comprising OSw., ODan. and OGu. Haugen (1970, 49) emphasizes that this is an oversimplification: the evidence is based solely on written documents which follow certain scribal traditions and hence are unable to show the actual isoglosses of the spoken dialects (cf. the discussion of ONorw.-OIcel. relationships in 6.1.3.).

It is generally stated that WN tends to be more conservative than EN (cf. Haugen 1976, 92). Note however that Icel. and Far. also exhibit sound changes which have not occurred in the East – or have been levelled out. For a list of early East/West differences, see Haugen 1982, 34 ff.

6.1. Old West Nordic

OWN includes ONorw. and the Insular Nordic languages, i.e. OIcel. and (reconstructed) OFar. (cf. 6.1.2.). In addition, ON was spoken on the Orkneys and Shetland Islands, but no medieval texts of these ON idioms exist. Note, however, that these insular dialects also survived in later centuries; for the so-called Norn of the Orkneys and Shetland Islands, see Barnes (1998). It was traditionally assumed that these Insular Nordic varieties of OWN stemmed from a parent language in Southwestern Norway; but this has been questioned by Werner (1994, 123) with regard to Faroese (see 6.1.2.). One common development of Southwestern Norw. and Insular Nordic (i.e. Icel., Far., and even Norn) is a series of consonantal dissimilations /l:/ > /dl/, /n:/ > /dn/, /r/ > /dl/, /rn/ > /dn/ (cf. Chapman 1962, 61 ff. and art. 122).

As to the shortening of long vowels and diphthongs, it may be noted that OWN reduces two-moric (long) vowels in closed syllables followed by a long consonant or a consonant cluster; e.g. *Helgi* (proper name from the adj. *heilagr*), or *mestr*, *flestr* (superl., cf. the comp. *meiri*, *fleiri*). This structural change levelled overlong syllables. It was not related to EN monophthongization, which never reached Iceland and the Faroes.

Generally, OWN is characterized by more stasis than OEN (cf. 6.2.). Morphophonological characteristics of the OWN languages are: (1) retention of the old diphthongs /ai/, /au/,

/øy/; (2) more occurrences of *a*-umlaut; (3) more occurrences of *u*-umlaut; (4) higher frequency of *i*-umlaut (ind.pres. and subj.pret. of strong verbs); (5) *R*-umlaut; (6) *gi/ki*-umlaut; (7) restrictions on breaking (OIcel. *stela*); (8) development of rising diphthongs /io/, /iu/ (*jó, jú*); (9) regressive assimilation of the nasal clusters /nt/, /nk/, /mp/; (10) /v/-loss in the word-initial cluster /vr-/ (OIcel. *reiðr*); (11) retention of the final vowels <a-i-u>, or <a-e-o>; (12) retention of the old inflectional system; (13) medio-passive in /-st/ < /-sk/ as opposed to EN /-s/ (cf. Bandle 1973, 110; Torp 1998, 36f.). As for the feature of *i*-umlaut, it is highly probable that ODan. and OSw. non-umlaut forms such as subj.pret. ODan. *bruthe, gauæ, tokæ, hafthi*, OSw. *skuti, gāvi, tōki, valdi, kraffi* (as opposed to OIcel. *skyti, gæfi, tōki, velði, krefpi*) have been levelled. As argued above, these OEN forms are innovative in contrast to the conservative OEN forms with retained umlaut (Bandle 1973, 34; Schulte 1998, 75).

6.1.1. Old Icelandic

Iceland is traditionally considered to have been settled in the period 870–930, mainly from the southwestern coast of Norway. With time, OIcel. became the most typical representative of OWN. As OIcel. is a direct offshoot of its parent language ONorw., it is natural to assume close linguistic relationships (cf. Chapman 1962). But despite the OIcel.-ONorw. linguistic links, OIcel. must be viewed as a language in its own right. Vikør (1993, 56) points out that OIcel. is a so-called “Ausbausprache”, i.e. a language that gained its status by further development.

OIcel. is regarded as highly conservative. This is true for instance of /h/-retention before sonorants /l, r, n/, whereas /h/ was lost in ODan., ONorw. and OSw. from the 9th c. onwards. The orthographic evidence of early Icel. manuscripts has been investigated by Benediktsson (1965). A major change of Insular Nordic is the diphthongization of originally long vowels which probably occurred in the 14th c (cf. art 122). Note that this is not reflected in spelling; cf. OIcel. *bátr* [ˈbɑːtr] vs. Mod.Icel. *bátur* [ˈbɑʊtʏr]. Before this process was at work, ON /a:/ and /ɔ:/ (spelled as <ǫ>), the *u*-umlaut of /a:/ had already merged into /a:/ (e.g. OIcel. *spá* ‘prophecy’ < OWN *spó* < AN **spahu*). This transition was mirrored in Icel. manuscripts from the late 12th c. onwards and was probably completed in the

early 13th c. (cf. Benediktsson 1959, 291 ff.; 1965, 62). Similarly, short ON /ɔ/ (spelled as <ǫ>), the *u*-umlaut of /a/), merged with /ø/, the *i*-umlaut of /o/ in early OIcel. As indicated by the manuscript evidence, this merger occurred ca. 1200 (see Benediktsson 1959, 295). Another vowel change of prime importance is the merger of ON /æ:/ into OIcel. /æ:/ (OIcel. *ðéma* < AN **dōmijan*) which is datable approximately to the same time (Noreen 1923, 120). In Mod.Icel. the pronunciation of /æ:/ changed to a diphthong [aj(ɔ)]. This development went even further in Faroese (see 6.1.2.).

Among the OIcel. innovations, loss of /v/ in word-initial /vr/-clusters is salient (OIcel. *reiðr, rangr, rita*). This /v/-deletion occurred at the end of the 10th c. or even earlier. Bragi gamli and Egill Skallagrímsson have /r/-alliteration between (v)*reiðr* and words with initial /r/ (cf. Skard 1967, 59). On the other hand, /v/-alliteration is still to be found in the Eddaic lays (cf. e.g. Hávamál 32 *enn at virði vrecaz*). This might point to parts of the Eddaic lays being older, i.e. composed before 1000. But /v/-alliteration may at least in certain instances be due to old, fossilized formulas (Schier 1986, 379). In any case, the loss of /v-/ (OIcel. *reiðr*) is a distinctly Insular Nordic innovation, whereas /h/-loss (ONorw. *lutr*) is a clear Norwegianism, shared by ODan. and OSw. (cf. 6.1.3.).

6.1.2. Old Nordic in the Faroes

OFar. is an unattested language. At most there are ON manuscripts exhibiting traces of OFar. developments which have apparently been copied by Faroese scribes (see Sørliie 1936). Admittedly, there are only a small number of Faroese texts even from the later Middle Ages (see Hægstad 1916 II, 63f.; Haugen/Markey 1972, 98f.). Hence, a standard grammar of Far. is only available for later periods (cf. Hamre 1944). Common Far.-Icel. developments such as diphthongization and palatalization are probably interconnected (Rischel 1967/68, 89ff.; Werner 1996, 35ff.). In Faroese, some developments went further than in Icel. (cf. art. 122). Apart from palatalization, a characteristic feature of Far. (with ancient typological parallels such as ON *tveggja* and Go. *twaddjē*) is the so-called “sharpening” (G *Verschärfung*) after long vowels and diphthongs in open syllables. This sound change is also mirrored in the spelling, e.g. Mod.Far. *brúgv* vs. OIcel. *brú* ‘bridge’ (cf. Matras 1952, 177ff.). Due to scarce textual

evidence, it is extremely difficult to determine the starting-point of these changes. Werner (1996, 57) reckons with the possibility that “Old Norse on the Faroes around 1200 was already a West Norse dialect group, considerably distinct from (Classical) Old Icelandic.”

Like Iceland, the Faroes were settled mainly from Norway, partially via the British Isles (for the literary and archeological evidence, see Werner 1994, 123 ff.). Earlier scholars, e. g. Hægstad (1916), argued for a distinctly South-west Norwegian provenance of the Faroese settlement. Recently, this has been questioned by Werner (1994, 123). He stresses that it is hard to determine whether the characteristic features and the dialectal differences of Faroese arose on the Faroes or whether they were (at least partially) imported by the settlers, and whether the correspondences between insular and continental Norw. dialects arose only later through secondary parallel developments or through on-going language contact (cf. Chapman 1962):

„die Daten sind dazu noch nicht systematisch durchgeprüft; doch deutet vieles eher auf spätere parallele Entwicklungen und Konservatismen (vgl. Küspert 1988), als daß man aus den Übereinstimmungen auf ein einzelnes engeres Herkunftsgebiet schließen dürfte“; [the linguistic data have not yet been evaluated systematically, but many observations point to secondary parallel developments and conservatism (cf. Küspert 1988), so that there is no true indication of a single, clearly localizable area of origin; transl.mine] (Werner 1994, 123).

6.1.3. Old Norwegian

Until the middle of the 14th c., Norwegian scribes made use of a conservative ONorw. language, which did not differ a lot from the OIcel. manuscripts. However, local developments must already have existed, or were *in statu nascendi* (e. g. vowel harmony and vowel balance). In this context, the normative power of written ONorw. as a standard language must not be underestimated. It is highly probable that dialectal diversification had already gone much further than shown in the manuscripts.

A salient trait of East Norw. texts from the late 12th and early 13th c. are non-umlaut forms like *mannum*, *sakum* as opposed to OIcel. umlaut forms *mǫnnum*, *sǫkum* (cf. Skard 1967, 91). Benediktsson (1982, 29f.) points out that forms such as *mannum* do not necessarily indicate the absence of “younger” *u*-umlaut, but can be interpreted as “a consequence of the phonemic relationships within

the postumlaut vowel system”. Hence, the evaluation of spelling as direct evidence for *u*-umlaut in the ON dialects is bound to be circular (for *u*-umlaut as a dialectal feature, cf. Bandle 1973, 28 ff.). Somewhat clearer evidence is provided by forms with dropped *u* (“older” *u*-umlaut).

A major debate of ONorw.-OIcel. relationships concerns the origin of the Eddaic lays and other OWN texts (cf. Magerøy 1965). Seip (1945; 1951) believed that the prototype of the Edda was written down in Norway. He noted many Norwegianisms and argued that the two extant manuscripts, i. e. the famous Codex regius (GkS 2365, 4°) and the fragmentary AM 748 I, 4°, were Icelandic copies, stemming from a Norwegian source. The controversy is mainly due to the question of Norwegianisms such as the loss of /h/ in the clusters /hl-/, /hn-/, /hr-/ which occurred around 1150–1200 and thus predated the earliest Norwegian manuscripts (ONorw. *laupa*, *níga*, *rósa* vs. OIcel. *hlaupa*, *hníga*, *hrósa*). Seip (1951, 13) maintained that some of these /h/-less forms must have been old, since they were supported by alliteration: e. g. (*h*)*rás* : *rotom* (Hávamál 151). However, Kuhn (1952) argued strongly against a Norwegian Edda (cf. also Lindblad 1954). Neither Seip’s nor Kuhn’s arguments are decisive. As noted in 6.1.1., even alliteration is an untrustworthy feature, since fossilized formulas can be used. Incidentally, Seip (1954, 151) himself admitted that the question of origins is more complex: there might have been Norwegian scribes in medieval Iceland, or Icelandic scribes in medieval Norway with different scribal traditions (cf. also Haugen/Markey 1972, 115). In addition, scribes represent an educated, linguistically conservative group, which is the last of all groups in a speech community to internalize sound changes (cf. Chapman 1962, 79). To sum up, Norwegianisms in Icelandic manuscripts do not provide evidence of a Norwegian source. The most likely interpretation is that they embody individual (though interdependent) scribal practices (Karlsson 1978).

6.2. Old East Nordic

The OEN group of languages shares certain features, both innovations and archaisms, which contrast with OWN (i. e. *norróna*; cf. art. 101). Historically, a southern and an eastern centre of innovations can be discerned (Bandle 1973, 110f.). Hence the traditional East/West division is superseded by a North/

South division later in the Middle Ages (cf. Vikør 1993, 32). Some major innovations of southern origin (centred in Denmark) stand out in the manuscripts: (1) monophthongization of /ai/ > /e:/, /au/, /øy/ > /ø:/; (2) lowering /e(:)/ > /æ(:)/ in root syllables; (3) lenition of /p, t, k/ > /b, d, g/; (4) weakening of unaccented vowels (shown by the grapheme <æ>), or even Jutlandic apocope; (5) inflectional reduction (e.g. nom.acc. *thæn* < *sá – þann*); (6) extensive breaking output (e.g. OSw. *stjala*, ODan. *stjælæ* vs. OIcel. *stela*); (7) progressive *j*-umlaut (e.g. Mod.Sw. *hjärta*, Mod.Dan. *hjerter* vs. Mod.Icel. *hjárta*); (8) medio-passive in /-s/.

Partial stasis of the EN language group is evident in the following traits: (1) fewer cases of umlauts than in ODN; (2) no assimilation of NC-clusters (Mod.Dan. *enke*, *synke*, *svamp*, Mod.Sw. *änka*, *sjunka*, *svamp*); (3) no development of rising diphthongs with a long second element as in ODN (ODan. *biutha*, *siuk* vs. OIcel. *bjóða*, *sjúkr*); (4) retention of initial /vr/-clusters (OSw. *vræka* vs. OIcel. *reka*).

It is said that the breaking tendency is stronger in EN than in WN (e.g. Hoff 1949, 203; Haugen/Markey 1972, 125f.). Note also that special breaking phenomena occur in the East: EN *w*-breaking in OSw. *siunga*, ODan. *sjunge* vs. OIcel. *syngva*, and EN *r*-breaking in OSw. *giurþa* vs. OIcel. *gyrða* (cf. GG §§182f.). In ODN, the process could be impeded by preceding consonants, especially by the sonorants /l/, /r/, /m/, /n/, and /v/ (cf. OIcel. *bresta* ‘burst’, *verpa* ‘throw’). On the other hand, doublets such as OIcel. *bjarg/berg* or *fjall/fell* can be explained intra-paradigmatically. Unbroken forms such as *berg*, *fell* can be phonologically based on old datives of place-names (e.g. OIcel. *á Sandfelli*), where no breaking-inducing vowel existed (cf. Hoff 1949, 200f.). As in the case of monophthongization, this isogloss probably arose fairly early, i.e. in the 6th or 7th c. This is seen in the runic forms **haerama-** and **haeru-** in the inscriptions from Björketorp and Istaby. In all probability, the digraph <Ae> in the root syllables **herm-*, **her-* signals phonemic breaking diphthongs (Antonsen 1998, 157; Schulte 2000, 19f.).

6.2.1. Old Danish

The southern centre of ON innovations is Denmark. Not only the EN monophthongization but also other processes arose in the south. As for changes in syllable structure, the

lengthening of short vowels before a single consonant is a Common Scand. development which started in Denmark (e.g. ODan. *saak* < EN *sak*; cf. OIcel. *sqk*). Vowel weakening is also centred in the south, its extreme form being Jutlandic apocope. Phonological reduction is bound up with morphological reduction (Ringgaard 1989, 160ff.). According to Haugen (1970, 60), the different stages of vowel reduction in the ODan. dialects were as follows: (1) <a-i-u> > (2) <a-e-o> > (3) <a-e> > (4) [ə] (phonetically a schwa-variety) > (5) Ø (i.e. complete apocope). It may be noted that dialects that resisted vowel weakening the most underwent consonant deletion of final /-n, -t, -ð/ (cf. Hesselman 1948–53, 329). The intrusion of svarabhakti vowels, which occurred sporadically in ODan. before 1200 and later on also in OSw., ONorw. and OIcel., is a related phenomenon (e.g. ODan. *akær* ‘field’, *hagell* ‘hail’; cf. art. 122). In general, the chain-of-reduction phenomena are related to the intensified initial accent in ODan. But language contact to the south was a second factor of prime importance. As for Low German-Nordic contact, there are certain parallels to the situation in OE, where on-going language contact must have reinforced morpho-phonological reduction (cf. arts. 24 and 88). Note that the ODan. inflectional system was strongly reduced. For instance, the old gen. forms were replaced to some extent (e.g. *hestens* < *hests-ins* ‘of the horse’), and *s*-forms spread to other declensions, to feminines and to the plurals (e.g. *utæn skipmenz orlof* ‘without sailors’ permission’). In the middle of the 14th c., the nom.sg. ending *-r* was dropped in ODan. substantives and adjectives, whereas it was retained in OSw., OIcel. and OFar. (for ONorw., see art. 122). This yields an important inner-EN isogloss between ODan. and OSw. (e.g. ODan. *sun* vs. ON *sonr* ‘son’).

The first volume of Skautrup’s *Det danske sprogs historie* (1944–68) covers Runic Danish (ca. 800–1100) and early Middle Danish (ca. 1100–1350). Skautrup (1944) believed that ODan. sound changes had occurred earlier than previously assumed. According to his grammar, the voicing of medial and final /p, t, k/ > /b, d, g/ was completed by the end of the 1200s. The process of consonant weakening was able to go via spirants /b, d, g/ even further to frictionless continuants (e.g. ON *auga* > ODan. *oghe* > Mod.Dan. *øje* ‘eye’, with weakening of an original spirant). Skautrup’s model of the weakening of stops and spirants has been challenged by Hald

(1978). In Danish manuscripts, the transition /p, t, k/ > /b, d, g/ is traceable to about 1300, and Dan. words in Latin manuscripts, written in Denmark after 1200, already show the same trait (GG §§ 282f.). As early as 1000, the weakening of endings and morphological reduction must have been at work in the west of Denmark (its centre being Jutland). This line of reasoning fits well with the fact that the orthography tends to be conservative and stands in need of careful evaluation (on ONorw., cf. 6.1.3.). In all probability, the dialectal split in ODan. had already gone much further than is generally acknowledged (cf. Ringgaard 1989, 161). Initial stages of the Danish *stod* are probably as old as this (cf. Skautrup 1944 I, 238ff.). But this cannot be proven, since the glottal stop is not traceable in the texts (for tonal accents in Scandinavian, cf. art. 126).

6.2.2. Old Swedish

The beginning of the classical OSw. period (ca. 1225–1375) is marked by a literary event. Around 1225, the oldest extant long text was written down in Swedish – the Older Law of Västergötland (the extant manuscript is half a century later though). Latin was the dominant written language at the outset, but Swedish was used for popular literature and law texts. Among the distinctive East/West isoglosses is the nasal assimilation of /mp/ > /p:/, /nt/ > /t:/, /nk/ > /k:/ (e.g. OIcel. *svǫppr* vs. OSw. *svamper*, ODan. *svamp*). Moberg (1944, 183ff.) argued that this assimilation occurred as early as 650–850 (cf. also Bandle 1973, 36ff.). In most of the OSw. dialects, original /e:/ was lowered to /æ:/ and merged with unlauded /æ:/ < /a:/ (e.g. OSw. *knæ*, ODan. *knæ* vs. OIcel. *kné*). Short /e/ was also lowered (e.g. *mæþ* vs. OIcel. *með*). The *ä/e*-isogloss between Götaland and Svea dialects (e.g. Götaland *grät* vs. Svea *gret*, pret. of *grāta*) is discussed by Bergman (1921). It has already been noted that there are fewer instances of *i*- and *u*-umlaut in OSw. than in OIcel. (e.g. OSw. *takær*, cf. ODan. *tager*, OSw. *takin* vs. OIcel. *tekr*, *tekinn*; OSw. *laghum* vs. OIcel. *logum*). Breaking, on the other hand, seems to be more frequent in OSw. than in OIcel. (cf. 6.2.). Gmc */eu/ is regularly represented by /iu:/ in OSw., e.g. *siūkær*, *spiūt* (cf. OIcel. *siúkr*, *spiót*). On the whole, vowel contractions occur less often in OSw. than in OIcel.; cf. OSw. *sēa*, *þrēa(r)*, *fiāndi* vs. OIcel. *siá* ‘see’, *þriár* ‘three’, *fiāndi* ‘enemy’ with no syllabicity shift (Norw. “ak-

sentomkasting”) in OSw. Incidentally, Dan. *ffjende* and OWN *fiāndi* are only equatable on a surface level (GG § 117,2).

As for the unaccented vowels, a common ONorw.-OSw. dialectal feature is vowel harmony (cf. 5.). In other OSw. dialects, the alternation <i/e> and <u/o> is due to vowel balance. Here the quantity of the root vowel, not its quality, is decisive (e.g. *faþir* : *mōþer*). For morphology, the OSw. medio-passive in /-s/ is a clear EN feature which differs from OWN /-sk/, Mod.Icel. /-st/ (e.g. OSw. *bēþas* vs. OIcel. *beiðask* ‘claim for oneself’). It is generally derived from a dat. form *sér* (instead of acc. *sik*), but other solutions are worth consideration, e.g. Balto-Slavic influence (cf. Geniusiene 1987 and Dahl/Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1992).

Due to the loss of intervocalic /ð/ in the 13th and 14th c., the old *ēn*-verbs (weak declension *tro* – *trōdhe* – *trōt*) are in need of a new tense-marker. Hence a new ONorw.-OSw. tense formation arose in the 14th c.: *tro* – *trodde* – *trott* on analogy with OSw. *fōda* – *fōdde* – *fōtt* (cf. Bandle 1973, 82f.). In ODan., the main line of development was different (cf. ODan. *naadhæ*, *trothæ*, but Mod.Dan. *nå* – *nåede* like *kaste* – *kastede*; cf. ON *kasta* – *kastaði*).

Another important East/West distinction is the OSw. dat.pl. in *-umin* (*-omen* etc.), in contrast to OIcel.-ONorw. *-unum* (*-onom* etc.); cf. OSw. *skipumin*, dat.pl. ‘the ships’. In the verbal paradigms, OSw. has *-in* (*-en*) in the 2 pl.ind. in contrast to OIcel. *-iþ* (e.g. OSw. *kallin* ‘you call’, *kallapin* ‘you called’ vs. OIcel. *kalliþ*, *kolloþoþ*), and the 2nd and 3rd pers.sg. is extended to the 1st pers. (e.g. OSw. *iak takær* ‘I take’ vs. OIcel. *ek tek*). Note that the OSw. dat.pl. *-umin* differs not only from OWN, but also from ODan. (the only exception being Scania; see GG § 582B, 1). The same is true of the 2 pl.ind. *-in* (GG § 814), whereas the type *iak takær* is common to ODan. and OSw. (GG §§ 785–789).

6.2.3. Old Gutnish

Laws and the *Gutasaga* were the first texts to be written down on the island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea. The position of OGu. within the ON family of languages and dialects is somewhat difficult to determine. OGu. deviates significantly from OSw. and ODan., and its marked linguistic status has long been acknowledged (Wessén 1969, 115–117; Haugen 1976, 190). On a surface level, OGu. shows a characteristic blend of EN and WN

isoglosses plus a number of single language developments (e.g. additional di- and triphthongizations). There is consensus that the special linguistic position of OGu. is due to the isolation of the island in early Nordic times, which must have temporarily separated it from the mainstream of developments in East Scandinavia. Scholars agree that OGu. and modern Gotl. have to be considered separately from the other branches (see Bandle 1973, 107–110; cf. also *KLNM*, s.v. *Forngutiniska*).

A characteristic feature of OGu. is the retention of /a:/ in root syllables (e.g. *bāt*). Breaking occurs even in cases such as OGu. *biera*, Gotl. *bjere* (ON *bera* ‘carry’). In the main, OGu. shows a blend of archaisms and innovations and does not share the typical EN isoglosses (Bandle 1973, 107f.). The standard example is provided by EN monophthongization of */ai/, */au/, */øy/, which is not shared by OGu. (cf. *stain*, *auga*, *droyma* and ON *steinn*, *auga*, *dreyma*). It may be noted that OGu. even had a tendency to develop triphthongs (cf. *biauþa* vs. OSw. *biūþa* ‘offer’). Another feature is the so-called Birka-diphthongization (OGu. *hier*, *ier*, Gotl. *heär*, *jär* ‘here’, ‘is’). As to EN monophthongization, Haugen (1970, 51) wisely points out that the old diphthongs are retained not only in Gotland, but also in the fringe areas of Sweden, Estonia, Finland and northern Sweden: “It is therefore misleading to say (with Skautrup 1944–68 I.133) that the ‘language of Gotland shows West Scandinavian features’; the diphthongs merely reflect a retention quite unrelated to West Scandinavian” (cf. also Bandle 1973, 106–109). Hence, OGu. is archaic in that it does not follow the mainstream of EN innovations. At the same time, it may be noted that a major innovation of early OIcel., i.e. /w/-loss, also occurred in OGu. (e.g. OGu. *raíþi*, cf. OIcel. *reiþi* ‘wrath’).

Umlaut in OGu. differs a great deal from that in other ON dialects. It is a fact that *i*-umlaut in OGu. even goes beyond OIcel. in light stems such as *slegr*, *steþr*, *telþa* vs. OIcel. *slagr*, *staþr*, *talþa* from AN **slagiz*, **staþiz*, **talidō* (cf. Pipping 1901; Carlsson 1921; Benediktsson 1982). This led some researchers to posit the maximum intensity of umlaut in the East. Syrett (1994, 197), for example, states “that *i*-mutation can be viewed as an innovation beginning in the East Norse area and spreading westwards in a wave motion with less rather than greater efficacy.” But this is untenable both from a historical and a struc-

tural point of view (cf. Schulte 1998, 74f.). As for light stems like *slegr* and *telþa*, a structure-based phonological explanation is needed. There are strong arguments to be put forward in favour of a single language development subsequent to the basic steps of Nordic *i/j*-mutation (Schulte 1998, 257f.). This is also true of *R*-umlaut in forms such as OGu. *bær*, *bēr* and *kær*, *kēr* (OWN *ber*, *ker*, OSw. *bar*, *kar*). Steblin-Kamenskij (1963, 367) offered an explanation for the fact that this kind of mutation is weakly represented in EN, and is distinct only on Gotland and in Dalarna.

7. Conclusion: Old Nordic dialects and Pan-Scandinavian

As has been argued, the ON dialectal landscape must have been more diverse than the textual evidence indicates. This is at least true of ONorw., OSw. and ODan. The inclusion of OGu. in the dialectal system of ON leads to a highly complex dialectal situation, especially within OEN. For the OWN languages, the dialectal landscape seems to be more homogeneous. This is especially true of the Insular Nordic domain, even if (mainly reconstructed) OFar. and Norn are included (cf. art. 122). ONorw. can be split into various dialectal zones which developed divergently. Eastern dialects of ONorw. exhibit EN traits. It may be said that no variety of ON is purely innovative or purely archaic. Even OIcel., which is regarded as highly conservative, shows innovations clearly distinguishing it from ONorw. (cf. 6.1.3.).

In this sketchy overview, the main focus rested on phonological and morphological features (cf. also arts. 101–104). The interrelations and contrasts between the different ON dialects are most forcefully reflected in these subsystems.

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101. The phonological systems of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian

1. Introduction
2. From Ancient Nordic to Old Nordic
3. The earliest post-umlaut vowel system
4. Outline of general Old West Nordic traits
5. Old Icelandic phonology
6. Old Norwegian phonology
7. Conclusion
8. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The classical Old Norse of the High Middle Ages (1100–1350) has been basically identified with Old Icelandic due to its homogeneous manuscript tradition and the alleged absence of dialects as opposed to Old Norwegian. Not only has this apparent uniformity given rise to the scholarly creation of normalized Old Norse, but more importantly, it has been a constant factor of linguistic interest ever since Rasmus Rask (1811; cf. also Kuhn 1935). It should be noted from the outset that this traditional view oversimplifies the true state of affairs in at least one way. As evidenced by the Old Icelandic manuscripts, it can be reasonably argued that Old Icelandic possessed dialectal features like all the other Nordic languages. They were based on linguistic innovations which were later subjected to dialect

levelling either being neutralized or successively spreading over the whole island (see Benediktsson 1961/62; on Icelandic dialectology see Steblin-Kamenskij 1960; Werner 1968, 462–65; Bandle 1997).

The uniform character of written Icelandic through the ages is indeed striking. Diametrically opposed to this normative scribal tradition, Old Norwegian split up into a true dialectal continuum and developed divergently: its eastern varieties ran into Old East Nordic and bordered Old Swedish, whereas its western varieties were on a par with Insular Nordic, i. e. Old Icelandic, Old Faroese and Norn, which was spoken on the Orkneys and Shetland Islands (cf. arts. 100 and 122). Although Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian (particularly its western dialects) show striking parallels and common innovations in their phonological systems, they have to be regarded as distinct varieties on linguistic grounds (cf. art. 100). Their vowel systems in particular (including phonotactics and suprasegmental features) developed divergently at least from the 12th c. on. Due to the limitations of space, the main focus of this article rests on the phonology of Old Icelandic vowels. For the phonology of Old Faroese and Norn, see art. 122.

1.1. Sources of evidence

The grammatical works of the High Middle Ages provide the prime source of evidence for early Old Icelandic phonology (see 1.2.). Other main sources of evidence for Old West Nordic (i.e. Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian) are as follows: (1) poetry, especially Eddaic and Scaldic lays; (2) manuscripts; (3) diplomas and letters; (4) runic inscriptions; (5) loanwords in different target languages. Eddaic and Scaldic poetry is a tool for establishing the phonological systems of Old Nordic, although their evaluation faces particular problems such as dating and manuscript traditions. In general, poetry tends to preserve language in a more archaic form due to its strict metrical regulations, which include alliteration, rhyme, accentuation and the number of syllables (cf. Árnason 1991). Manuscripts provide another important source of evidence. Their evaluation also encounters serious difficulties, since almost all manuscripts are not originals but transcripts of lost sources. Consequently, these texts represent an orthographic mixture based on different chronological stages and dialects of Old Nordic. A long-lasting scholarly debate, partly blended with national pride, focused on the origin of Eddaic lays and other Old West Nordic texts (cf. art. 100). On the basis of Norwegian features in Icelandic manuscripts, Seip (e.g. 1945) favoured the general assumption of Norwegian provenance. Following Karlsson (1978), though, the situation must have been far more complex, as different (partly interdependent) manuscript traditions and scribal practices of Old Nordic were in use. As for Old Norwegian, the oldest vernacular manuscript dates back to 1150. The oldest Icelandic manuscript is probably a fragment of the homilies datable to the second half of the 12th c. An outstanding investigation of early Old Icelandic manuscripts of the 12th and 13th c. is Benediktsson (1965), who turns from graphemic surface representation to the underlying phonological system. Another source of evidence for Old Nordic phonology is furnished by original diplomas and letters. The Old Norwegian diplomas contained in the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* play an important role for the investigation of 12th and 13th c. language history (cf. Hødnebo 1971). Old Icelandic diplomas from the early period are few, but include *Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuch* from the 9th to 13th c. (cf. Naumann 1992) and *Reykjaholts máldagi*, the oldest part of which was written

before 1200 (see *Diplomatarium Islandicum* I, 25, 68, 94, 120 B). As with the manuscripts, evaluation of this kind of evidence is by no means unproblematic, since dialectal features of the spoken language undermined the scribal practices and led to all kinds of inconsistencies (e.g. inverted spellings and hybrid forms). Unfortunately, ignorance of this fact led to many deficient phonological analyses of the textual material (cf. Hødnebo 1971, 146f.). Among the direct sources of evidence, mention next to be made of the runic inscriptions of Norway written in the younger futhark. They stem from Bryggen in Bergen, Trondheim, Tønsberg as well as Oslo and are datable to the 12th–15th c. (see e.g. Liestøl 1964; Spurkland 1998). A grapho-phonological investigation of this material from Bryggen has been undertaken by Spurkland (1991), who points at orthographic peculiarities not found in the manuscripts. As for Old Icelandic language history, runic inscriptions are of minor importance; the two oldest inscriptions on Iceland date back to the middle and the end of the 12th c. (see Bæksted 1942, 181 ff., 208 ff.; Snædal 2000). In addition to these direct sources of evidence, Old Nordic phonology is also reflected in loanwords of different languages, e.g. Old Irish (cf. arts. 24 and 88). Almost ninety years have passed since Marstrander (1915) investigated the phonology of Old Norse loanwords in Old and Middle Irish. Within the modern field of contact linguistics, phonological processes of sound substitution and phonemic filtering in different target languages deserve further investigation (as for Old Norse–Old Irish contact; see Schulze-Thulin 1996).

1.2. Grammatical works of the High Middle Ages

It has been well known for decades that structural linguistics of the 20th c. has a methodological forerunner in the High Middle Ages (cf. Braunmüller 1998). Two grammatical works, both anonymous, are outstanding: the so-called *First Grammatical Treatise* (FGT), which was composed as early as 1150 and is contained only in a copy, the *Codex Wormianus* (AM 242, fol., datable to 1350), and the so-called *Second Grammatical Treatise* (SGT) of the *Codex Upsaliensis* (DG 11 4°, from ca. 1250). Both treatises have been duly studied and edited (see Benediktsson 1961; 1972; Haugen 1972; Ulvestad 1976; Raschellå 1982). These medieval works of the 12th and

development is Nordic breaking, i.e. the fracturing of Gmc /e/ into rising diphthongs /ja/, /jə/ caused by unstressed /-a, -u/. Two competing theories account for this change: (1) the epenthesis theory, claiming an intermediate stage /ia/ which in its turn is affected by *u*-umlaut (/ia/ > /iə/); (2) the breaking-umlaut theory, operating with two separate processes, viz. *a*- and *u*-breaking (/e/ > [e^a] > /ia/, and /e/ > [e^u] > /iə/) (see the critical survey in Benediktsson 1982, 38 ff.). In his research, Dyvik (1978) connected Old Nordic breaking with breaking and back mutation in Old English. As for Nordic breaking, note the 7th c. transitional inscriptions from Björketorp and Istaby (Blekinge) which exhibit the innovative spellings **hAerAM**- (OWN **hjarm*-) ‘rest’ and **hAeru**- (OWN *hjqr*-) ‘sword’ (see Schulte 2000, 19 f.). Diametrically opposed to this process, *i*-umlaut of /iu/ (< /eu/) resulted in monophthongization (cf. OWN *brýtr* ‘breaks’ < Gmc */breuti-/). Note the runic doublets **bariutip** and **barutr** in the Blekinge inscriptions from Stentofen and Björketorp (Antonsen 1975, 85 f.).

3. The earliest post-umlaut vowel system

Research on the immediate post-umlaut vowel system of Nordic invoked a variety of phonemic solutions, giving rise to two diametrically opposed models. An extreme position was held by Antonsen (1961; 1963; 1967) who claimed an umlaut-based vowel system consisting of twelve units (with the sounds /æ/, /θ/ and /ə/ corresponding to graphemic notations <ę>, <ø>, <ǫ>):

Antonsen’s post-umlaut vowel system

Front		Central	Back	
Spread	Rounded		Spread	Rounded
/i/	/y/		/u/	/u/
/e/	/ø/		/ʌ/	/o/
/æ/		/θ/		/ə/
		/a/		

Antonsen favours a system of four distinct tongue-heights, where /a/ is markedly low. He posits two additional vowel phonemes to the ten units mentioned in 2., viz. a phoneme /ʌ/, coming from /e/ by *u/w*-umlaut (ON *sökkva* ‘sink’ < */sekkwa-/ < */sinkwan-/), and a phoneme /u/, coming from /i/ by *u/w*-umlaut (ON *byggva* ‘build’ < */biggwijan-/). Thus, instead of the single phonemes /ø/ and /y/, An-

tonsen argued for two additional oppositions /ø/: /ʌ/ and /y/: /u/. Both of them were rejected by Benediktsson, who operated with a less complex vowel system of only nine units (see Benediktsson 1959; 1961; 1964):

Benediktsson’s post-umlaut vowel system

	Front		Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
Close	/i/	/y/		/u/
Mid	/e/	/ø/		/o/
Open	/æ/		/a/	/ə/

The vowels /a, a:/ constitute a separate category with regard to tongue-height, but in terms of distinctive-feature structure, it can be argued that this is non-distinctive (cf. Benediktsson 1972, 126 f.). The problem of a possible distinction between short /e/ and /æ/ at an early stage of Nordic has been discussed by Benediktsson (1964). The later developments clearly point to /e/, i.e. a mid-high vowel corresponding in aperture to /ø/ and /o/. Benediktsson points out that, contrary to the common view (maintained e.g. by Haugen 1942, 66), a distinction between original /e/ and the umlaut product /æ/ is not confirmed by the FGT either: “the evidence set forth in the FGT is not sufficient to establish, for early-twelfth-century Icelandic, a phonemic distinction of short *e* vs. *ę*” (Benediktsson 1972, 143). To conclude, the merger of short /e/ and /æ/ clearly predated early Old Icelandic, bringing about an asymmetrical system with eight short and nine long vowel phonemes (cf. 5.3.). Otherwise, this post-umlaut vowel system can be identified with the system of the FGT (see Benediktsson 1972, 126 ff.; 144 ff.).

4. Outline of general Old West Nordic traits

Typical features of the western and eastern branch of Old Nordic, i.e. Old West Nordic and Old East Nordic, must have been present early on (Barnes 1997). As mentioned in art. 100, Old West Nordic reveals a blend of conservative traits and innovations in relation to Old East Nordic. In a traditional perspective, mention must be made of the following general characteristics, which have a bearing on the phonological and phonotactic structure of Old West Nordic (cf. Hødnebo 1967, 358 f.): (1) retention of the three standard diphthongs /au/, /ei/ (< /ai/) and /øy/ (< /ey/) (Oicel. *grautr*, *bein*, *ey*); (2) non-occurrence of lowering /e/ > /æ/ (Oicel. *lesa*, *verða* vs. OSw. *læsa*,

værþa); (3) more occurrences of *a*-umlaut (cf. OIcel. *botn, golf, holt*); (4) more occurrences of *u*-umlaut (including *u*-umlaut before preserved *u*: OIcel. *qlum mǫnnum* vs. eastern ONorw. *allum mannum*); (5) higher frequency of *i*-umlaut (ind. pres. and subj. pret. of strong verbs, e.g. OIcel. *tekr, stendr, gengr*); (6) *r*-umlaut (OIcel. *ker, gler* vs. OSw. *kar, glar*); (7) *gi/ki*-umlaut (OIcel. *degi, dreginn, tekinn*); (8) restrictions on breaking (OIcel. *stela, ek* vs. OSw. *stiala, iak*); (9) non-occurrence of *w*-breaking in Old West Nordic (OSw. *liung, siunka, biugg*); (10) development of rising diphthongs /io:/, /iu:/ < */eu/ (OIcel. *spjót, sjúkr* vs. OSw. *spiüt, siükær*); (11) high frequency of vowel contraction due to syllabicity shift (OIcel. *sjá, fjándi* vs. OSw. *sēa, fiandi*); (12) regressive assimilation of nasal clusters /nk/, /nt/, /mp/ (OIcel. *bekkr, klettr, soppr* vs. OSw. *bänker, klinter, svamper*); (13) dissimilation /-n:r/ > /-ðr/ (OIcel. *maðr, saðr*); (14) secondary diphthongization (ONorw. *siætti*, OIcel. *sétti*); (15) unrounding /y/ > /i/ starting in weakly stressed position (OIcel. *firir* < *fyrir*, ONorw. *ivir* < *yfir*); (16) aphaeresis of word-initial /v/ in /vr/-clusters (OIcel. *reiðr, rangr* vs. OSw. *vræþer, vranger*; cf. art. 113); (17) retention of a set of three unstressed vowels, represented as <a>-<i>-<u>, and <a>-<e>-<o>; (18) vowel harmony in ONorw., partly superimposed with vowel balance (see 6.5.). Most of these isophones are confirmed by the later language history of Nordic (cf. Haugen 1970; Bandle 1973; Holm 1980).

Traditionally, the maxima of umlaut and breaking are localized in two geographically opposed kernel areas, viz. the west and the east. It should be noted, however, that general statements, e.g. on umlaut intensity, are deficient when being solely based on written sources (for *u*-umlaut, cf. Widmark 1959). Thus, eastern Old Norwegian forms from the late 12th and early 13th c. such as *landum, mannum* are by no means conclusive proof of the absence of umlaut. They must be regarded as conventional spellings due to eastern Old Norwegian scribal traditions, irrespective of the underlying phonological representation. This means that there is no way to decide whether these spellings document the non-occurrence of (younger) *u*-umlaut, or whether they are the result of a phonological reanalysis of the post-umlaut vowel system of Nordic (cf. Benediktsson 1982, 28f.). For further discussion of these Old West Nordic traits, see 5. and 6.

5. Old Icelandic phonology

5.1. General remarks

The starting-point of Old Icelandic language history was the period of settlement (ca. 874–950), when the first settlers from Norway came to live permanently on Iceland. In all probability, Norwegian was split up into many dialects at that time. Being a direct off-shoot of its non-homogeneous parent language Norwegian, Old Icelandic was subjected to dialect levelling (cf. Benediktsson 1961/62, 103). (For the levelling of tonal patterns in Insular Nordic, see art. 122.)

The Icelandic tendency to relative stability and uniformity as compared to the mother country Norway is a striking feature (cf. Sandøy 1994). As shown by Faroese, the colonial status of a language alone does not necessarily account for this (cf. art. 122). Factors of more explanatory power are the geographical and socio-historical conditions in the past (cf. Kuhn 1935; Rafnsson 2000). One such conservative trait of Old Icelandic is /h/-retention before sonorants /l, r, n/ as opposed to aphaeresis in Old Norwegian, Old Danish and Old Swedish, which probably started in the 9th c. (cf. 6.2.).

5.2. Specific developments in Old Icelandic

As shown in 4., Old Icelandic exhibits a series of phonological developments, which are also found in Old Faroese and Old Norwegian (especially its western and southwestern varieties). It has been disputed whether and to what extent such parallelism is contact-based or due to independent parallel developments (cf. art. 100). Among the striking phonological similarities in question are: (1) dissimilations /r/l, l:/ > /dl/, and /rn, n:/ > /dn/ (cf. Sommerfelt 1952, 219ff.; Chapman 1962, 61ff.); (2) diphthongization of non-high long vowels /æ:, ə:, o:/ > /ai, au, ou/, and /e:/ > /je/ (cf. Rischel 1967/68); (3) consonant palatalization reaching furthest in Far. (cf. Werner 1996); (4) the change of initial /hv-/ > /kv-/ (cf. Werner 1968). Note, however, that the transition /hv-/ > /kv-/ is not evidenced in Icel. until the early 17th c. (see Karlsson 1965).

As for the spelling evidence, diphthongization of long mid-high /e:/ is reflected by the occasional spelling <ie> which occurs from the first half of the 13th c. onward (cf. Þórólfsson 1929a; Benediktsson 1961/62, 96). The Mod. Icel. continuation is [jɛ(:)]. Following Bandle (1956), Küspert (1988, 185) favoured the as-

sumption that the transition /e:/ > /je(:)/ was an isolated process of “breaking”, clearly pre-dating the diphthongizations of /æ:/, /ø:/, /o:/. Another common development in Icelandic and Norwegian is itacism due to the unrounding of the high rounded front vowel /y/ > /i/, in the short, the long and the diphthongal subsystem (/y/, /y:/, /øy/). Traces of itacism can already be found in the 13th c. in a number of weakly stressed words, e.g. OIcel. *firir*, *ifir* instead of *fyrir*, *yfir* (cf. Bandle 1956). Benediktsson (1961/62, 97f.) suggested that the distinction /y:/ /i/ was maintained for centuries in the northwest of Iceland, while it was neutralized elsewhere on the island much earlier.

5.3. The stressed vowel system of Old Icelandic

As argued in 3., the vowel system of early Old Icelandic, which underlies the analysis of the FGT, exhibits an asymmetrical system consisting of nine long vowels but only eight short ones. There is no indication of a phonemic distinction /e/ vs. /æ/ in the short subsystem (see 3.). In addition to this long and short subset of vowels, the FGT confirms a nasal correlation which was subordinate to the quantity correlation (Benediktsson 1972, 135f.). For the long and the short vowel system, see the following vowel chart:

Early ON stressed vowel system

a) long vowels

Front		Back	
Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
Close	/i:/	/y:/	/u:/
Mid	/e:/	/ø:/	/o:/
Open	/æ:/	/a:/	/ɔ:/

b) short vowels

Front		Back	
Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
Close	/i/	/y/	/u/
Mid	/e/	/ø/	/o/
Open		/a/	/ɔ/

This early Old Icelandic vowel system represents that of classical Old Norse. In all probability, it is the point of departure for all the Old West Nordic languages, including not only Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic but also Old Faroese and the Norn (cf. Rischel 1967/68, 93f.). It is noteworthy that this complex post-umlaut vowel system with its nine/

eight contrastive units underwent several historical mergers leading to a system of reduced phonemic contrasts. This tendency of neutralization is clearly opposed to the earlier differentiation processes of umlaut and breaking in the transitional period (cf. 2.).

In the late 12th c., an important change affected the stressed vowel system of Old Icelandic: long /ɔ:/, the *u*-umlaut of long /a:/, merged with /o:/, when nasal. Consequently, early OIcel. *nótt* (< */na:t:u/ < */nahtu/) became *nött*; cf. Mod.Icel. *nött* ['nou^ht:] instead of *nátt* ['nau^ht:], which would be the regular equivalent of OIcel. *nótt*. The earliest sporadic evidence of the transition /ɔ:/ > /o:/ is provided by rhymes from the late 11th c. (e.g. *Óláfr* vs. *sólo* in *Óláfsdrápa*). It should be noted, however, that the distinction between nasal long /ɔ:/ and /o:/ is still maintained in the FGT of the mid-12th c. In the light of this contradictory evidence, Benediktsson (1961/62, 99) argued for a temporary dialectal opposition within OIcel.

A primary change which affected both the OIcel. and the ONorw. vowel system was the rounding /a:/ > [ɔ:], traditionally dated to 1200 (cf. OIcel. *spá* ‘prophecy’ < early OIcel. *spǫ* < AN */spahu/). The result of this merger probably was a back rounded vowel [ɔ:] which could be written <á> after the opposition between unrounded /a:/ and rounded /ɔ:/ had been neutralized (Skomedal 1969, 136; Küspert 1988, 181f.). In the early 13th c., another coalescence modified the long vowel system of OIcel.: the merger of front rounded and unrounded vowels /ø:/, /æ:/ > /æ:/ (cf. OIcel. *dáema* ‘judge’ < */do:mijan-/ and *rána* ‘rob’ < */rahnijan-/). As for the short vowel system, only one important merger took place in the first half of the 13th c.: front rounded /ø/ and back rounded /ɔ/ coalesced into /ø/ (cf. Jónsson 1919; Bergsveinsson 1955). Incidentally, the nasal correlation, which is evidenced by the FGT, had also disappeared in 13th c. OIcel. These neutralizations gave way to the following simplified vowel system consisting of seven long and seven short stressed units (for more detail, see Küspert 1988, 183; cf. also Benediktsson 1968, 56f.):

Late ON stressed vowel system

a) long vowels

Front		Back	
Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
Close	/i:/	/y:/	/u:/
Mid	/e:/		/o:/
Open	/æ:/		/ɔ:/

b) short vowels

	Front		Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
Close	/i/	/y/		/u/
Mid	/e/	/ø/		/o/
Open			/a/	

This 13th c. system of Old Icelandic can be identified with the vowel system underlying the SGT which possibly represents a later stage than the FGT (cf. Raschellà 1982, 84–92). In the late phase of classical Old Icelandic, i. e. from the 13th c. onward, /e:/ was fractured to /je(:)/. Only later, in the 14th and 15th c., were the other non-high long vowels diphthongized: /a:/ > [au], /o:/ > [ou], /æ:/ > [ai] (see Küspert 1988, 184). On further developments of the Icel. vowel system, see Skomedal 1969 and art. 126).

As for the inventory of Old Icelandic diphthongs, three structural types can be distinguished: (1) inherited diphthongs /ei/, /ey/, /au/; (2) breaking diphthongs /ja, jø/; (3) contracted diphthongs resulting from accent shift /e:a, i:a, i:u/ > /ja:, jo:, ju:/ (Heusler 1967, §§ 96f.). The fact that original diphthongs had no length distinction sets them off from the other groups of diphthongs, which had a quantity opposition (on the lengthening of diphthongs, see Benediktsson 1968; Árnason 1980). The breaking diphthongs /ja, jø/, for instance, developed long counterparts due to the process of secondary lengthening (cf. OIcel. *mjólk* vs. OSw. *miolk/miolk*, stemming from Gmc */meluk-/). New diphthongs resulting from accent shift were also long, as they contained a lengthened second segment (e. g. OIcel. *ljúga* 'lie' < Gmc */leugan-/ and *brjóta* 'break' < Gmc */breutan-/).

5.4. The unstressed vowel system of Old Icelandic

Basic research on the unstressed vowel system of early Old Icelandic and its further development has been carried out by Seip (1943), Haugen (1949) and Benediktsson (1962; 1965). The manuscript evidence clearly points to a subsystem of three unstressed units. In the FGT, the low vowel of the unstressed subsystem was identified in quality with stressed /a/, as shown by the pair *ísa* acc.pl. 'ice' vs. *í sá* 'saw in (it)' (see Benediktsson 1972, 147). What is more revealing, the second and third unstressed units were identified in quality with the mid-high long vowels /e:/ and /o:/ of the

stressed vowel system (cf. the pairs *framer* vs. *frá mér* and *høddo* vs. *hó dó* in the FGT). Phonologically, this yields the following unstressed vowel system for early Old Icelandic (ca. 1150):

ON unstressed vowels (phonological system)

	Front	Back
Mid-high	/e/	/o/
Low		/a/

In the orthography of the earliest manuscripts, these three phonemes were regularly represented as <a>–<e>–<o>. In the late 12th c. and in the 13th c., a shift in representation took place, first <e> → <i>, and subsequently <o> → <u>, hence the new notational system <a>–<i>–<u> (Benediktsson 1962; 1965). This orthographic change, however, was not linked to the phonetic properties of the unstressed vowels themselves. It was based on changes of the stressed vowels, which the unstressed vowels were identified with. Consequently, the phonetic features of the unstressed units /e/ and /o/ (involving laxness) remained stable throughout the Old Icelandic period; see the following vowel chart (cf. Benediktsson 1972, 148):

ON unstressed vowels (phonetic system)

	Front	Central	Back
Mid-high	[i]		[u]
Low		[a]	

There was a scholarly debate as to whether or not Old Icelandic had vowel harmony like Old Norwegian (see e. g. Flom 1934; Hesselman 1948–53, 203–9; cf. the comments in Haugen/Markey 1972, 109). In the light of the runic inscription from Eggja (Sogn, Norway) and the evidence from Old Norwegian manuscripts, it seems plausible that the language of the Icelandic settlers contained a rule (or divergent rules) of progressive vowel assimilation which ceased to work due to the operation of dialect levelling (cf. 5.1.). During the period of settlement, Icelandic must have included various Old Norwegian dialects with differing unstressed subsystems (cf. 6.5.). Traditionally, when vowel harmony occurs in Old Icelandic manuscripts, it is ascribed to Norwegian influence (cf. Seip 1943; on different aspects of OIcel.-ONorw. relationships, see art. 100). But in the light of Benediktsson's research, this pre-structural debate is probably out of date, since it relies heavily on the surface value of graphemic representation.

Another phenomenon tied in with the unstressed vowel system of Old Icelandic is svarabhakti intrusion (cf. art. 122). Although epenthetic vowels occur sporadically already in the older runic inscriptions (see e.g. Antonsen 1975, § 5.3), an innovation in Old Icelandic is the regular insertion of ⟨u⟩ (in early Old Icelandic also ⟨o⟩) between a consonant and final /r/ or a consonant cluster /rC/, e.g. *hestr* > *hestur* 'horse', *fegrð* > *fegurð* 'beauty' (cf. Þorkelsson 1863). Manuscripts from the 12th and 13th c. (e.g. AM 623 4^o) show both innovative spellings (such as *sonr* for *sonr* 'son') and inverted ones (such as *tungr* for *tungur* pl. 'tongues'). These particular Old Icelandic developments are shared by certain western varieties of Old Norwegian. Otherwise, Old Norwegian dialects differed markedly from Old Icelandic in their graphemic notation of svarabhaktis (cf. 6.5.).

6. Old Norwegian phonology

6.1. General remarks

In contrast to the normative character of Old Icelandic, Old Norwegian faced a situation of dialectal diversification (for Norwegian dialectology, see Bandle 1962). The general division of Old Norwegian into eastern and western varieties correlates with the geography of Norway, its central mountain range forming a natural line of demarcation (cf. Haugen 1942, 77). A range of language varieties must have existed in Norway in the High Middle Ages. In outlining general phonological systems of Old Norwegian, it seems reasonable to focus on well-established varieties such as western and eastern Old Norwegian. In his *Norsk språkhistorie*, Seip (1955) stressed the dominance of two geographical and chronological sectors: first Trondheim–Bergen (1150–1300), and subsequently Oslo (1300–1370). This displacement of the old center of linguistic innovations was mainly due to the shift of the administrative center to Oslo (as for the importance of this alleged move, cf. Hagland 1986).

6.2. Specific developments in Old Norwegian

Although the linguistic situation was more complex in Old Norwegian than in Old Icelandic, its common phonological developments can be briefly outlined as follows. (1) An important development for the whole

vowel system of ONorw. was the back-rounding of original /a:/, which entailed a merger with /ɔ:/ (written ⟨ǫ⟩ in normalized Old Norse). This change is confirmed by orthographic confusion of ⟨a⟩ and ⟨o⟩ in Old Norwegian manuscripts from 1200 onward. Both in Icelandic and in western Norwegian, the development went even further to a diphthong /au/ (cf. 5.3., 6.4.). (2) As for short mid-high front vowels, early Old Norwegian manuscripts continued to distinguish between ⟨e⟩ and ⟨æ⟩. But this graphemic distinction was only partly historically based (cf. Benedikts-son 1964; on the preliterate merger of /e/ and /æ/, see 3.). In Old Norwegian, ⟨æ⟩ basically represented *i*-umlaut of /a/ and the shortened diphthong */ai/ (e.g. *hæfir* 'has', *hælgir* m.pl. 'holy' vs. *gefa* 'give'). However, the distribution of ⟨æ⟩ vs. ⟨e⟩ partly depended on the consonantal environment. Due to orthographic confusion in later Old Norwegian, ⟨æ⟩ came to designate close /e/ (cf. also the inverted spelling ⟨e⟩ for open /æ/. In addition, ⟨æ⟩ represented the first element of diphthongs /ei/, /ey/ (conventional spellings ⟨æi⟩, ⟨æy⟩ beside ⟨ei⟩, ⟨ey⟩, ⟨øy⟩). (3) In contrast to Old Icelandic orthography, the rounded back vowel /ɔ/ was generally represented as ⟨o⟩ (not ⟨ǫ⟩) in Old Norwegian manuscripts (ONorw. *for* vs. OIcel. *fǫr* 'voyage'). Subsequently, /ɔ/ coalesces with the phoneme /o/ due to the process of raising. (4) A sporadic Old Norwegian development traceable in the manuscripts is unrounding /y/ > /i/ (cf. *firir* 'for', *ivir* 'above'). This process occurred in Old Icelandic too (cf. 4.). (5) In Old Norwegian the opposite process of rounding /i/ > /y/ is signalled by spellings such as *mykill* for *mikill* 'tall' (Indrebø 1951, 114). Note that inverted spellings due to the full merger of high front /i/ and /y/ can also be involved. (6) Among the consonantal developments peculiar to ONorw. is /h/-loss in the initial clusters /hl-, hr-, hn-/ (ONorw. *luter*, *reinn*, *nakke* vs. OIcel. *hlutr*, *hreinn*, *hnakki*). (7) Initial loss of /v/ in /vr/ clusters, on the other hand, is restricted to Old Icelandic and western varieties of Old Norwegian (cf. dial. ONorw. *reiðr* vs. OSw. *vræper* 'wrathful'). Incidentally, this kind of aphaeresis was used as a basic criterion in differentiating between ONorw. and OIcel. manuscripts (cf. 1.1.). (8) Another distinctly Old West Nordic innovation is the transition /hv-/ > /kv-/ (Seip 1949; Hoff 1965). In Norway, it must have taken place in the 14th c., whereas it occurred apparently much later in Iceland (see 5.2.). (9) Due to assimilation, the

fricative /f/ became voiced in intervocalic position and other environments (cf. ONorw. *hava, ulv* < OWN *hafa, ulfr*). (10) The fricative /ð/ (< OWN /θ/) underwent several changes in Old Norwegian including loss (e.g. in final position) and transition to /d/ (e.g. ONorw. *taldi, vandi* < OWN *talði, vanði*), later also /-mð/ > /-md/. (11) Among the consonantal assimilations, note the change /fn/ > /mn/ (e.g. ONorw. *hamn* vs. OIcel. *hǫfn* 'harbour'). (12) The assimilation /ld/ > /l:/ and /nd/ > /n:/ was investigated by Sørli (1969), who studied the local language of medieval Bergen. As for the dating, Sørli argued that some assimilated forms in the manuscripts were traces from the spoken language in Bergen which had entered the manuscripts. He concluded that the changes /ld/ > /l:/ and /nd/ > /n:/ had already started before 1300 (Sørli 1969, 37; cf. also Spurkland 1998, 597). (13) For the rise of tonal patterns in ONorw., see art. 122.

6.3. Dialectal diversification of Old Norwegian

In a general perspective, Old Norwegian can be subdivided into eastern-western as well as northern-southern dialect oppositions, the two main varieties being eastern and western Old Norwegian (cf. art. 113). On a careful evaluation of the manuscripts for dialectology, see Grøtvedt (1940). For instance, processes governing the unstressed syllables such as reduction and vowel balance differed in the north, east and west (see 6.5.). Traditionally, it is stated that southeastern Old Norwegian has developed further away from classical Old Norse due to a series of assimilatory processes (e.g. /tn/ > /n:/ in dial. ONorw. *vann, bonn*) and lack of *i*-umlaut in certain categories (e.g. 1sg.pres. of strong verbs *hogger, kommer*). Note that written sources from Bergen show the same traits, so that we are dealing with an oversimplification (Sørli 1969, 22–24). Nevertheless the southeastern variety of Old Norwegian (with Oslo as its centre) is closest to Old East Nordic of all the Norwegian dialects and, not surprisingly, shows typical traits of Old Swedish (cf. Grøtvedt 1939b). Western and southwestern varieties of Old Norwegian, on the other hand, are linguistically close to the Insular Nordic languages, i.e. Old Icelandic and (partly reconstructed) Old Faroese (cf. art. 122).

Grøtvedt (1938; 1939a) evaluated manuscripts from southeastern Norway using a dialectal perspective. Among the most significant

features of diplomas from this area in the period 1300–1350, he mentioned the following (cf. Indrebø 1951, 138f.): (1) monophthongization of original diphthongs */ai/, */au/, */ey/; (2) weak representation of the so-called “younger” *u*-umlaut (e.g. <markum> vs. <morkum>); (3) progressive *j*-umlaut /ja/ > /jæ/; (4) vowel reduction of unstressed /u/, /a/ > /ə/ (basically written <æ>); (5) consonantal assimilations (especially /ðl/, /tl/ > /l:/, /rn/ > /n:/); (6) itacism, i.e. /y/ > /i/; (7) lowering of short stressed vowels (e.g. /i/ > /e/, /e/ > /æ/); (8) secondary diphthongization (e.g. *sæitti, læiggia*); (9) svarabhakti intrusion (e.g. *gudes, gudæs, gudas*); (10) vowel harmony (cf. 6.5.). Recall that many of these traits are characteristic of Old East Nordic. Innovations with a markedly eastern (or southeastern) centre are monophthongization, lowering /e/ > /æ/, and progressive *j*-umlaut. For a broad linguistic analysis of monophthongization in Nordic, see Faarlund (1975).

On the basis of these linguistic data, Grøtvedt (1939b) and other scholars argued for close linguistic relationships between southeastern Norway and Bohuslän, maintaining that this was a transitional area between Old West Nordic and Old East Nordic. More recently, Holm (1980) argued in a similar vein that West Nordic traits in northern Swedish dialects reflected long-term contact between the two languages through the Middle Ages, possibly based on Norwegian immigration.

6.4. The stressed vowel systems of Old Norwegian

A starting-point for the restructuring of the Old Norwegian vowel system was the rounding /a:/ > [ɔ:], which is traditionally dated to 1200 (Indrebø 1951, 116; cf. 5.3.). After this change, the feature of lip-rounding was non-distinctive for the long low back vowels (cf. Halvorsen 1984, 242). Note that /a:/ was diphthongized in late ONorw. as in Icel. (see Küspert 1988, 240ff.; cf. 5.3.). Weinstock (1975) pointed to the high number of lengthening processes of short ON /a/ to ONorw. /a:/ which subsequently underwent the same developments as original /a:/, i.e. velarization, rounding and diphthongization (cf. Norw. *åker* < OWN *akr*; Indrebø 1951, 116f.). Weinstock inferred that lengthening of short /a/ antedated the above-mentioned coalescence of /a:/ and /ɔ:/. In the 13th c., the so-called quality shift affected the whole vowel system

of Old Norwegian (cf. Küspert 1988, 352 ff.). The divergent developments of long and short vowels have been perceived as a natural process of differentiation involving changes in quantity and quality. For an Old Swedish perspective, cf. Widmark (1998); Sandøy (1999). Thus, open /ɔ:/ moved to /o:/, which in its turn was raised toward /u:/, /ø:/, while /u:/ approached /y:/, and /y:/ in its turn gave way to /i:/. As a consequence of this quality shift, the long vowels diverged qualitatively from their short counterparts (e.g. /a/ : /ɔ:/). It is a moot point in Nordic language history whether these interlinked developments involved a push-chain or a drag-chain (cf. Rajić 1984, 351). In any case, this structural remodeling had far-reaching consequences for the phonology of Norwegian (cf. art. 122). Other changes were clearly dialectally based, e.g. progressive *j*-umlaut (cf. eastern ONorw. *jæfn*, *gjelda* < OWN *jafn*, *gjalda*; cf. 6.3.). For a detailed historical study of western Norwegian vowel systems, see Küspert (1988, 214 ff.).

6.5. The unstressed vowel systems of Old Norwegian

The unstressed vowel systems of Old Norwegian differed from the corresponding Old Icelandic system (cf. 5.4.). First, some Old Norwegian dialects tended to reduce the standard three-unit system toward a two- or one-unit system. Traces of vowel reduction (especially /a/, /u/ > /ə/) can be found in manuscripts from both eastern and western Norway from the 12th c. onward (cf. Indrebø 1951, 134). Sørliie (1969, 24–30) argued that “the local language of Bergen represented a transitional stage around 1200. Vowel weakening was an ongoing process at that time” (Sørliie 1969, 26; my transl.).

Second, there was an additional rule of progressive assimilation, so-called “vowel harmony”. Many Old Norwegian dialects (including eastern and northwestern Norway as well as the area of Trøndelag) have a regular distribution of <i/e> and <u/o> in unstressed syllables (cf. Indrebø 1951, 136; Haugen 1982, 38). This assimilatory process was dubbed vowel harmony ever since Kock (1882, 145). The standard rule for Old Norwegian is that unstressed /i/ and /u/ occurred as <i> and <u> after high /i, y, u/, but as <e> and <o> after low and mid-high /a, e, ø, o/ (cf. *ungi* vs. *orðe* and *ungum* vs. *orðom*). Surprisingly, the short umlaut vowels /æ/ (i.e. *i*-umlauted /a/) and /ɔ/ (i.e. *u*-umlauted /a/) were also followed by <i>

and <u> (e.g. *hofði*, *ollum*). Although this deviation has been observed by several scholars, it defies a proper solution (cf. Christiansen 1947, 100; Hagland 1978b, 142 ff.; Grønvik 1998, 580). The evidence from the Eggja inscription from Sogn (ca. 700) points to a great age for this kind of phonological rule; cf. **gAlande, mAdE, sAkse vs. huni, misurki, wiltir** with <i> after high vowels, but <e> after non-high ones (Grønvik 1985, 169–172).

Vowel harmony is traditionally regarded as a dialectal feature which is absent in southwestern Norwegian (cf. Indrebø 1951, 138). However, as shown by the Stavanger diplomas (datable before 1330), this rule must have been firmly established in the southwest, too: “Most of the diplomas exhibit a clear form of vowel harmony, much more so than one would expect to find” (Housken 1954, 17; my transl.). This runs counter to the categorical statement that vowel harmony was absent in southwestern Norway. It must be inferred that this phonological rule was at work in the whole of Norway (including the area of Stavanger), although it was partly undermined by vowel balance, which is found in northern and eastern Norway and in the north of Sweden (cf. Haugen 1970, 58–60). To account for Scandinavian vowel harmony in northern Norway and Sweden, Kusmenko/Riessler (2000) invoke Sami-Nordic language contact. Interference between different phonetic processes led to an intricate interplay which renders the Old Norwegian written sources hard to interpret (cf. Knudsen 1936, 198 f.). Hagland (1978a, 84–94) was also aware of the fact that vowel harmony interacted with other processes such as vowel weakening and vowel balance (cf. Larsen 1913).

As for svarabhakti intrusion, the rules were less restricted and uniform in Old Norwegian than they were in Old Icelandic (cf. Indrebø 1951, 118 f.). Old Norwegian dialects show considerable variation in denoting epenthetic vowels. The most frequent graphemes are <e>, <æ> (e.g. *riker maðer* ‘rich man’), but <a> occurs in certain western dialects such as Vestfold and Telemark (e.g. *vetar* ‘winter’, *bækar* ‘books’). Western varieties of Old Norwegian, especially from Hardanger and Voss, regularly exhibit <u> as does Icelandic (cf. 5.4.). On the whole, epenthesis in Old Norwegian is less restricted than in Old Icelandic. Apart from the general development before final /-r/, a svarabhakti intrudes into the cluster /-Cs/ in Old Norwegian dialects (e.g. gen.sg. *Noreges*, *guðes* < *Noregs*, *guðs*).

7. Conclusion

This sketch focused on the basic phonological systems of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, especially their stressed and unstressed vowel systems. Due to its uniformity and normative character, Old Icelandic appears clearly less diverse and complex than Old Norwegian. As for Old Norwegian, a dialectal split into eastern–western and northern–southern varieties is evident (Indrebø 1951, 131–39). But as far as the dialectal phonology of Old Norwegian is concerned, some of our standard knowledge has to be revised according to the investigations by Housken (1954) and Sørli (1969). In general, the analysis of unstressed vowel systems of Old Norwegian encounters several intricate problems, owing to the interaction of different processes such as vowel weakening, vowel harmony and vowel balance (cf. 6.5.). Therefore, the feature of vowel harmony is less suitable in a dialectal perspective than is commonly assumed.

On the whole, different manuscript traditions do not allow for a precise reconstruction of the dialectal phonological systems of Old Norwegian. It is self-evident that the different sources of evidence mentioned in 1.1. are only partially sensitive to phonological change. Diplomas are much closer to the spoken language of their time than the manuscripts. Runic inscriptions can also show peculiar, sometimes archaic traits (cf. Indrebø 1951, 110; Spurkland 1998). As a matter of fact, writing systems (both the adapted Latin alphabet and the runic futhark) are imperfect (cf. Indrebø 1951, 106ff.). It follows that the interpretation of the written medium encounters severe problems. It is generally acknowledged that the conservatism of orthography can be misleading. As most clearly seen in the case of Icelandic, innovations can partly be hidden under the guise of a stable graphemic system. Nedrelid (2000) stresses the divergent orthographic teleologies of Icelandic and Faroese: continuity vs. reconstruction.

Finally, it has to be stated that strict methodological principles have neither been established nor applied in the analysis of the written medium within the whole field of Nordic philology (cf. Hødnebo 1971). But it should now be possible to found a sound theory and methodology of internal reconstruction on the basis of American structuralism (cf. Fox 1995).

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102. The phonological systems of Old Nordic II: Old Swedish and Old Danish

1. The vowel system of Old East Nordic
2. The Danish quantity shift
3. Further vowel changes
4. The consonant system of Old East Nordic
5. Tonal prosodies
6. Literature (a selection)

The languages from the period 1100–1350 will be referred to with a common name, Old East Nordic (OEN), since at the outset, they share most phonological properties. By the end of the period, three distinct phonological systems had emerged, Old Danish (ODan.), Old Swedish (OSw.), and Old Gutnish (OGu.). The term used for the period preceding the Old East Nordic period is Proto-Nordic (PN). The later PN period, about 800–1100, includes the end of processes like syncope and the loss of umlaut as a productive process and several developments defining a western-eastern split in North Germanic.

1. The vowel system of Old East Nordic

In the transition from PN to OEN, the vowel system became richer by virtue of three umlauts, and more streamlined as the eight stable vowels all came to have long and short variants. The three old diphthongs were monophthongized in most dialects, with OGu. as a notable exception, as one of several features defining an East Nordic variety.

In Table 102.1, the OEN vowel system is described with monovalent distinctive features. The feature (rounded) is distinctive only in the (front) series, and the phoneme /a/ is specified solely by the height feature (low), as can be established from its behaviour and effects in umlauts.

Tab. 102.1: OEN vowel system

	front			back
		rounded		
high	i ~ i:	y ~ y:		u ~ u:
	e ~ e:	ø ~ ø:	ə	o ~ o:
low	æ ~ æ:		a ~ a:	(ɔ) ~ ɔ:

Different symbols are used for long /a:/ and short /a/ in order to make it easier to keep

track of them in the discussion of the OSw. vowel shift (art. 124).

1.1. The Old Danish vowel system

Danish did not undergo a vowel shift comparable to OSw. and OGu. All that happened was that a new low back phoneme was created by the lengthening of OEN /a/ to ODan. /a:/ (quantity shift, cf. Table 102.2.) and subsequent backing of OEN /a:/ to ODan. /ɔ:/. A short counterpart of /ɔ:/ arose e.g. by later shortening and in forms like s[ɔ]rt ‘black’ from former *swart-*.

Tab. 102.2: ODan. vowel system (ca. 1350)

	front			back
		rounded		
high	i ~ i:	y ~ y:		u ~ u:
	e ~ e:	ø ~ ø:	ə	o ~ o:
low	æ ~ æ:		a ~ a:	(ɔ) ~ ɔ:

ODan. obtained a schwa by reduction (3.3.). A diphthong [iu] developed from /y:/ in both ODan. and OSw. dialects during the period (Skautrup 1944, 250; Wessén 1969, 54). This mimics PN breaking, but occurred much later. Examples include ODan. *G[iu]rth-* (name) and OSw. *g[iu]rþa* ‘gird’ (OSw. *siuker* ‘sick’, *biudha* ‘to bid’ are of a different origin). The post-vocalic context for diphthongization of /y:/ is prototypical for breaking: [rþ], [rt] and [rn] (Dyvik 1978). The diphthong later underwent prominence shift and lowering (Mod. Dan. *skjorte* ‘shirt’, Mod.Sw. *omgjorda* ‘gird’), or rounding and lowering (dial. [høwər], for Mod.Dan. *hyrde* ‘shepherd’).

1.2. The Old Swedish vowel system

The OSw. vowel system around 1350 was very similar indeed to the ODan. one. There was a new low vowel phoneme /a:/ (from OEN /a/ in certain quantitative environments), and OEN /a:/ became back /ɔ:/, the beginnings of the later vowel shift (art. 124). A short counterpart of /ɔ:/ arose e.g. from the backed originally short instances of /a/ (s[ɔ]lde ‘sold’, etc.).

Tab. 102.3: OSw. vowel system (ca. 1350)

	front			back
		rounded		
high	i ~ i:	y ~ y:		u ~ u:
	e ~ e:	ø ~ ø:		o ~ o:
low	æ ~ æ:		a ~ a:	(ɔ) ~ ɔ:

Reduction in unstressed syllables was much less extensive in OSw. than in ODan. For this reason, no schwa has been inserted in the vowel system. The quality of the epenthetic vowel, which shows up even in some runic inscriptions, might however have had a schwa-like quality in several dialects. In orthography, that vowel is usually rendered as ⟨e⟩ or ⟨æ⟩, occasionally as ⟨a⟩. When the Swedish vowel shift was completed, perhaps three centuries later, all members of the back series had moved over one cell (cf. art. 124).

1.3. The Old Gutnish vowel system

OGu. exhibits a quite different development from OSw. and ODan., especially with regard to the vowels. Söderberg (1879) bases his presentation of OGu. on a 14th century manuscript of the Guta Law and the Guta Saga. By this time, OGu. already displayed several distinct properties. Compare Table 102.4 with the OEN vowel system given in (1).

Tab. 102.4: OGu. (ca. 1350)

	front			back
		rounded		
high	i ~ i:	y ~ y:		u ~ u:
	e ~ e:			o ~ o:
low			a ~ a:	

One salient feature of early OGu. is that there were hardly any traces of *u*-umlaut (OSw. *gora* ‘do’ is *gera* in OGu.). Another feature which sets OGu. aside from the other East Nordic dialects is a vowel shift which removed some of the effects of *i*-umlaut (Pipping 1905–07, 73). Thus, /æ ~ æ:/ and /ø ~ ø:/ were not present in the OGu. vowel system. Söderberg (1879, 17) assumes that the umlaut vowels were there earlier, but that they were subsequently removed by the OGu. vowel shift (cf. art. 124). One supporting argument for this

is the fact that the vowel shift can be established at least for one other non-umlaut vowel, /e:/.

1.4. Diphthongs in Old Gutnish

The old diphthongs /ai/, /au/ were both retained in OGu.: *st[ai]n* ‘stone’, *b[ai]n* ‘bone’, and *[au]ga* ‘eye’, *l[au]pa* ‘run’. PN /eu/, however, developed differently than in the other East Nordic languages, and shows up as OGu. /iau/, a triphthong, e.g. *d[iau]pr* ‘deep’, *b[iau]ða* ‘bid’, *n[iau]ta* ‘enjoy’ (OSw. *d[ju:]per*, *b[ju:]ða*, *n[ju:]ta*). Much evidence seems to point to the development of /iau/ being particular to OGu. from the outset. Pipping (1902) proposed that it resulted from a special case of *u*-breaking within /eu/. There is circumstantial support for such a reconstruction (Ralph 1998). Several questions regarding the phonological environment of breaking generally remain, however (cf. Dyvik 1978 for the argument that it is a postvocalic liquid rather than an /u/ which conditions breaking). Later, Mod.Gu. developed a new set of diphthongs in the final stage of the vowel shift (cf. art. 124).

2. The Danish quantity shift

In Denmark, the quantitative changes relating to the quantity shift generally took place earlier than further north, beginning about 1250 according to Haugen (1976, 258). A few examples of lengthened vowels (the most common case in the south) in CVCV disyllables include *gl[a:]de* ‘happy’ pl., *sk[æ:]re* ‘to cut’, *st[e:]der* ‘places’, *v[i:]de* ‘know’. In CVC monosyllables lengthening could also take place, analogically according to Skautrup (1944, 236), but the phenomenon appears more regular (hence phonological) in the general Scandinavian context. The quantity shift actually began in monosyllabic forms, at least in Swedish. Examples of vowel lengthening in CVC monosyllables include *fl[a:]d* ‘flat’, *sk[i:]b* ‘ship’, *r[u:]g* ‘rye’. In manuscripts, vowel length and consonant length are often represented with double letters (except in word-final consonants): ⟨gaat⟩ ‘street’, ⟨guul⟩ ‘yellow’, ⟨rymmæ⟩ ‘contain’, ⟨ussel⟩ ‘wretched’. Orthographic double vowels are particularly common in manuscripts displaying Jutlandish features, such as *Flensborg stadsret* and manuscripts by Jens Jyde and Knud Jul (Skautrup 1944, 217).

Consonant lengthening, which is quite limited in Danish, occurs when the postvocalic consonant is /m/ or a stop + /j/, viz. *ko[m]e* > *ko[m:]e* ‘come’, *sæ[t]jæ* > *sæ[t:]jæ* ‘put’. It also happens in (original) compounds where the first member ends in a long vowel, which shortens, e.g. *La:-[l]and* > *Lo[l:]and* (place name), *fa:-[t]økr* > *fa[t:]ig* ‘poor’. Forms of the *sætjæ* type are variably treated as heavy or light in different dialects. The reason for this is the different syllabifications available: *sæt.jæ* (heavy) or *sæ.tjæ* (light). In the latter case, the sequence /tj/ might be phonetically near an affricate of a palatalized /t/. In one view, the separation of /t/ and /j/ by a syllable boundary creates unstable syllable contact, by virtue of the rising sonority across the boundary (Murray/Vennemann 1983). This may favour change. Consonant lengthening (gemination) would solve all problems (heavy weight and good syllable contact) by making the lengthened /t:/ straddle the syllable boundary; /j/ is often lost in the process.

2.1. Danish degemination

The logical end point of the quantity shift is that the tendency for stressed syllables to be heavy (sometimes called Prokosch’s law or the bimoraic condition) becomes an obligatory constraint. However, depending on how the simplification of the quantity system is implemented, this state is not reached in all Germanic languages. At the critical cross-roads, Danish sides with the West Germanic languages, all of which generalize distinctive vowel quantity and lose distinctive consonant quantity (cf. art. 124). Neutralization of the consonant contrast is manifested as degemination of long consonants. In ODan., this happened around 1300 (Skautrup 1944, 254), while in the West Germanic languages, the whole development is at least a century older.

Tab. 102.5: ODan. and WGmc degemination

ODan.	<i>vi[l:]e</i>	>	<i>vi[l]e</i>	‘wild’ pl.
	<i>hje[m:]e</i>	>	<i>hje[m]e</i>	‘home’ adv.
	<i>fa[t:]ig</i>	>	<i>fa[t]ig</i>	‘poor’
MHG	<i>Ku[m:]er</i>	>	<i>Ku[m]er</i>	‘grief, trouble’
	<i>Ta[p:]e</i>	>	<i>Ta[p]e</i>	‘awkward person’
	<i>wa[k:]en</i>	>	<i>wa[k]en</i>	‘hesitate’
ME	<i>bi[t:]er</i>	>	<i>bi[t]er</i>	‘bitter’
	<i>ae[p:]el</i>	>	<i>ae[p]el</i>	‘apple’
	<i>fre[m:]an</i>	>	<i>fre[m]an</i>	‘stranger’

The Danish quantity shift is intricate in its details, but the general pattern is clear. To begin with, Danish showed all signs of a full and uninhibited quantity shift: vowels lengthened in open syllables, certain consonants lengthened. The dating of these events can be made quite precise due to ODan. degemination and consonant shift (gradation, cf. 4.4.) which affected short consonants only. The choice of distinctive vowel quantity means that consonants could no longer be used for lexical marking of quantity, and many heavy stressed syllables thus became light. Degemination goes against Prokosch’s law, and so the tendency to make stressed syllables heavy came to a halt in Danish.

3. Further vowel changes

3.1. Progressive *i*-umlaut

Progressive *i*-umlaut applies in the contexts [ja ~ ja:] and [jo ~ jo:] (Wessén 1969, 53 f.; Skautrup 1944, 248 f.), and constitutes one of the isoglosses separating West Nordic from East Nordic (Bandle 1973, 55; Haugen 1976, 200). The feature (front) is assimilated to a following vowel. The fronting of short /a/ is attested in the 11th century runic inscriptions (*hjalpi* > *hjælpi* ‘help’ subj.). Fronting of long /a:/, /o/ and /o:/ took place during the 14th and early 15th century, in that order: *s[ja:]l* > *s[jæ:]l* ‘soul’, *b[jo]rn* > *b[jø]rn* ‘bear’, *s[jo:]r* > *s[jø:]* ‘sea, lake’. In OGu., progressive *i*-umlaut only applies in the context [ja ~ ja:], and primarily in the northern part of Gotland (Pipping 1901). In later language stages the rule expanded, lexically and geographically (Gustavson 1940–42, 244), but the context [jo ~ jo:] remained unaffected (OGu. *b[jo]rn* ‘bear’ vs. OSw. *b[jø]rn*). The palatal element has been represented here as a glide (Bandle 1973, 55), the assumption being that it is part of the syllable onset rather than part of a nuclear diphthong (Skautrup 1944, 219).

3.2. Vowel changes in stressed syllables

Other OEN changes relating to vowel quality include the lowering of short /i/ and /y/ to [e]/[æ] and [ø]/[œ], respectively, beginning in the late 13th century. This development was inhibited in palatal environments (*j[y]sk* ‘Jutlandish’, not *j[ø]sk*) and had a limited impact on the Danish written language (Skautrup 1944, 247). Some examples are *þr[i]þia* > *þr[e]þia* ‘third’, *m[i]kin* > *m[e]gen* ‘much’,

$s[y]nir > s[\emptyset]nir$ 'sons', $b[y]lgia > b[\emptyset]lge$ 'wave'. A similar change took place in OSw., first in the context of a following cluster whose first member is an [r] or a velarized [l]: $h[i]rþe > h[e]rðe$ 'shepherd', $[y]rt > [\emptyset]rt$ 'herb'. The change also included /u/ > [o]: $d[u]lde > d[o]lde$ 'hid' (Wessén 1969, 54). The rule occurred in a more general form in MSw., where words that had escaped *a*-umlaut now could be lowered context-freely, e.g. $b[u]þ > b[o]þ$ 'message', $dr[u]pi > dr[o]ppe$ 'drop'. Swedish lowering was much more general in the Göta dialects than in the Svea dialects.

A reverse change, raising of /e/ to [i], took place in palatal environments, again more generally in ODan. than in OSw./MSw. Dan. examples include *sige* 'say', *kilde* 'source', *tie* 'be silent'.

3.3. Vowel weakening

Swedish, Norwegian and Danish all underwent a general weakening in unstressed syllables over the first half of the second millennium. It was by far most general in Danish, where it shows up regularly in runic inscriptions and in diplomas from around 1100 and onwards (Brøndum-Nielsen 1928, 390; Skautrup 1944, 219, 225). In Swedish and Norwegian the weakening occurred much later, and was not as extensive. OGu. exhibits no weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables, but at later stages weakening was extensive, sometimes resulting in apocope. In Danish, the full vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/ of endings reduced to a schwa [ə], orthographically represented as <æ> or (less often) <e> in the early written records, today as <e>. In Swedish, /a/ is preserved in the central and northern dialects, while /i/ and /u/ have lowered to mid vowels, but never to schwa, except in the very south (Scania). In many places throughout Scandinavia, unstressed vowels in final position are subject to apocope, but nowhere is this process more general than in Jutland (cf. Bandle 1973, map 16).

Danish weakening, though early, was not immediate and wholesale. In some dialects, e.g. Bornholm, /a/ was unaffected. The vowel /i/ also generally tended to be preserved when it followed a velar consonant (*riki* 'realm', *ængi* 'no one') or when followed by /t/ or /n/ (*haldit* 'held', *dræpin* 'killed'). The vowel /u/ was retained in some dative forms (*hanum* 'him', *logum* 'laws'). An interesting preservation pattern was conditioned by vowel harmony.

3.4. Vowel harmony I

Vowel harmony operated from the Old to Modern stages of Scandinavian dialects. We shall refer here to the older occurrence as Vowel harmony I and the later process as Vowel harmony II (Sw. *tilljämning*). Segmentally, they have much in common, but they apply under different prosodic conditions. The sensitivity to quantity gave rise to various patterns and also to different geographic foci (cf. Brøndum-Nielsen 1928, 382, for basically this view). Scandinavian vowel harmony may be seen as a broad response to the combination of two prosodic factors, namely a rich quantity system (allowing both light and super-heavy syllables beside regular heavy syllables) and tonal accent 2. The precise nature of the connection remains unclear (Sandøy 1987; Kristoffersen 1990; Bye 1996; Riad 1998b), but it is clear that harmony occurred after the introduction of tonal accent 2 and that it went away when a dialect implemented the quantity shift (cf. 2. and art. 124). The fact that the stress and quantity systems developed at different paces in different areas is a major cause for the phonological differences between dialects which emerged after the Old stage. Vowel harmony I became a southern and western (viz. East Norwegian) early phenomenon, while Vowel harmony II looks like a broadly northern and later phenomenon, and is still extant today. It appears quite likely, however, that harmony operated continuously, in some dialects until today. For instance, Älvdalska has as yet not implemented the quantity shift and exhibits Vowel harmony II, but only in accent 2 words. It might be added that Scandinavian vowel harmony does not exhibit the usual phonological and morphological constraints which obtain in better-known harmonic systems like Turkish, Finnish and Italian metaphony (cf. Riad 1998b for a brief review). Further study of the general connections between older and younger vowel harmony and the precise prosodic conditioning is warranted. For practical purposes, the two will be discussed separately here. Vowel harmony II is organically tied to persisting vowel balance and is discussed in art. 124. Vowel harmony I occurred in East ODan., East ONorw. and in southern and western OSw. Thus, it shows up in e.g. *Skånske lov*, *Necrologium Lundense* and other ODan. texts, and in the manuscripts of the OSw. *Västgöta laws*, but it is also manifest as far north as in the *Södermanna law* (Kock 1882; Larsson 1891; Brøn-

dum-Nielsen 1928, 382ff.; Ralph 1975, 25ff.), although manuscripts of this law exhibit both Göta and Danish influence (Wiktorsson 1976, 77; 145). Vowel harmony I lasted from around 1100 until after 1400, and seems to have spread from a center in Scania (Hesselman 1948–53, 281; Haugen 1976, 207) or East Norwegian (Wessén 1969, 61), or both.

This vowel harmony was progressive, where the height of the vowel in the root syllable harmonically regulated the height of the vowel in the following syllable. Brøndum-Nielsen (1928, 385) and Skautrup (1944, 227) report e.g. the following forms:

Tab. 102.6: Vowel harmony I, high and mid vowels

/i/ [i]		[e]	
sigir	‘says’	bethes	‘bid’
fulli	‘full’	bonden	‘the farmer’
lyftir	‘lifts’	gøre	‘do’
/u/ [u]		[o]	
finngu	‘received’ pl.	eno	‘one’ obl.
skulu	‘shall’ pl.	brothor	‘brother’ obl.
tyltum	‘dozen’ obl.	dømdo	‘deemed’ pl.

A low vowel in the root could also lower a following high vowel, but the distribution here appears to be controlled by the quantity of the root vowel (Brøndum-Nielsen 1928, 382); thus *dr[æ]pin* ‘killed’, *b[a]ni* ‘slayer’, *st[æ]fnu* ‘assembly’, *[a]ndru* ‘other’ vs. *m[æ:]ler* ‘tells’, *m[a:]le* ‘language, speech’, *r[æ:](t)to* ‘direct’, *s[a:]re* ‘wound’.

There was also a separate harmonic process changing /a/ to [æ], discussed e.g. by Kock (1882), Larsson (1891, 56ff.) and Ralph (1975, 25ff.). The examples below are taken from the *Södermanna law*.

Tab. 102.7: Vowel harmony I, low vowels

/a/ [a]	
aflat	‘conceived’ p.part.
gamla	‘old’
hundraþa	‘hundreds’ gen. pl.
hiona	‘servants’ gen. pl.
iorþa	‘lands’ gen. pl.
[æ]	
bindæ	‘to bind’
gerningæ	‘deeds’ acc. pl.
letæ	‘to search’
fæmtæ	‘fifth’ obl.
lösæn	‘ransom’

There are many exceptions to both of these harmonic patterns, often because of competing generalizations. For instance, so-called

vowel balance, where the quantity of the root syllable (indirectly) determines the quality of the post-tonic vowel, tends to require [i] in forms containing a light root syllable in the *Södermanna law*, even when vowel harmony I would dictate [e] (Larsson 1891, 69ff.). Also, [i] is generally favoured in closed syllables, a tendency that may compete with both vowel balance and vowel harmony I.

Vowel harmony I with the high vowels /i/ and /u/ has wide attestation, while harmony involving /a/ occurs in a smaller area. Ralph (1975, 28ff.) shows that harmony with /a/ is in fact a separate process from harmony with /i/ and /u/, and hence not to be captured by the same rule. In most records, the vowels triggering harmony with /a/ are the umlaut vowels, that is /y/, /æ/ and /ø/ (from earlier /i/, /a/ and /o/), but these do not form a natural class phonologically (Ralph 1975, 31ff.). The original conditioning factor of /a/ > [æ] is instead the /i/ of the unstressed /-ia/-endings (progressive *i*-umlaut). This was a regular process in OSw. and applied first after velar consonants, later in any unstressed syllable. An umlaut vowel in the root syllable will thus tend to co-occur with an [æ] in the ending, the qualitative relationship between the nuclear vowels of both syllables being indirect, conditioned by /i/. At some point, a reinterpretation of the context for harmonic /a/ > [æ] was made such that speakers came to associate the [æ] of the ending with root vowels of the umlaut type (hypercorrection). This measure in turn extended the application of harmony to many new instances of /a/, in forms etymologically lacking the directly preceding /i/. Note, however, that one must also allow for generalization of the phonological conditioning, beyond the umlaut vowels, in view of forms like *bindæ* and *gerningæ*, where the root does not contain an umlaut vowel.

Despite the fact that the two harmonic rules subsumed under Vowel harmony I are not organically related, /a/ > [æ] harmony occurs in a proper subset of the dialects displaying vowel harmony with /i/ and /u/. To explain this fact, Ralph (1975, 35) suggests that regular harmony provides the necessary psychological association between vowels of the root and ending for the hypercorrection /a/ > [æ] to occur.

3.5. Vowel epenthesis

Late PN syncope in closed syllables or word-medially put a potential strain on phonotactic

conditions. Word-internally, syllabic structure was fairly simple, and medial syncope usually resulted in an acceptable cluster (**katilo:z* > *kattlar* ‘kettles’) or a geminate (**satide:* > *satte* ‘set’). In final closed syllables, the target vowels for syncope occur before /z ~ R/, viz. **fiskaz* > **fiskz* > *fiskr* ‘fish’. The /z ~ R/ here developed in different ways (cf. 4.2.), one of which was merger with /r/. Where /r/ occurred after a stop, as in *fiskr*, epenthetic vowels began to develop (OSw. *fisker*). This process began with /r/ but soon showed up with the other coronal sonorants /l/ (*segl* > *segel* ‘sail’) and /n/ (*sokn* > *soken* ‘parish’) as well. The process primarily belongs to the 12th and 13th centuries, and is still a synchronic rule of Swedish (e.g. Rischel 1963; Telemann 1969; Hellberg 1974).

The epenthetic vowel is orthographically represented as ⟨e⟩, sometimes as ⟨i⟩ or ⟨æ⟩ or ⟨a⟩ in OSw. In OGu. it is predominantly ⟨i⟩, sometimes ⟨a⟩, but very often it is left out, apparently an orthographic convention, since occasional omissions of etymological ⟨i⟩ and ⟨a⟩ are not infrequent (Söderberg 1879, 46).

4. The consonant system of Old East Nordic

Regarding the consonant phoneme system, there are important isoglosses to reckon with. One runs through the Sound between mainland Sweden and Zealand. Some of the Danish innovations did not reach the Danish parts of southern Sweden (Scania, Blekinge, southern Halland, parts of Småland, and Bornholm) or were less fully implemented there. This area is commonly referred to as East Danish. Other innovations such as apocope separate West Danish (Jutland) from the rest of the area.

Tab. 102.8: Late PN consonant system

		place			voice
		manner	labial	coronal	
obstru- ents	stop	p(:) --	t(:) --	k(:) --	voiced
	continuant	f β/b(:)	θ ð/d(:)	χ/h γ/g(:)	
	continuant sibilant		s(:) z ~ R		
sono- rants	retroflex lateral		r(:) l(:)		voiced
	nasal	m(:)	n(:)	--	
	voiced	w		j	

The late PN consonant system is given in tab. 102.8. Discussions of the consonant system are given in e.g. Skautrup (1944, 220), Pamp (1971, 95ff.) and Haugen (1976, 154ff.).

The features are monovalent and used with some redundancy for clarity. To distinguish /s/ and /z ~ R/ from the interdental fricatives, the feature [sibilant] is used. The phoneme /z ~ R/ is often referred to as the ‘palatal r’. In a diachronic perspective, the assumption that /z ~ R/ is the voiced counterpart of /s/ seems to reflect the evidence best.

The stops, the sonorants except the glides, and /s/ could occur as geminates (=long). Note that the voiced fricatives participated in allophonic alternation with voiced stops. The stop realization originally occurred in the homorganic clusters /nd/, /mb/ and /ŋ/ and in the small set of geminates (Pamp 1971, 95; Skautrup 1944, 221). During the PN period the voiced fricatives became stops in word-initial position: PN **[β]eran* > OSw. [b]æra ‘carry’, **[ð]auðar* > [d]ø:ðer ‘dead’; and after a nasal: **dø:m[ð]i* > *dø:m[d]i* ‘deemed’, **maŋ[y]R* > *maŋ[g]er* ‘manifold’. Examples of geminate voiced stops are OSw. *Sibbi* (name), *fodder* ‘born’, *rygger* ‘back’.

Several changes took place in the consonant system between late PN and the systems of OSw. and ODan. around 1350. The OGu. developments were by and large as in OSw. Some changes streamlined the system such that most consonants came to have a long and a short variant. This came about as the segmental quantitative distinction expanded and loss or change affected some of the fricatives. In general, one could say that OSw. perfected this line of development. In ODan., two processes had far-reaching consequences for the consonant system. The ODan. quantity shift led to the loss of age-old distinctive quantity in the consonants (cf. 2.1.), and consonant weakening (diachronic gradation) took place, resulting in several new segmental specifications.

4.1. The Old Swedish consonant system

The bilabial fricative /β/ in its [β] realization and the glide /w/ both developed into a labiodental voiced fricative /v/, probably in the 11th century. However, /w/ was retained in postconsonantal position throughout the period, cf. forms like *swæria* ‘swear’, *hwat* ‘what’, *swa* ‘so’. /β/ also underwent nasal assimilation to a following /n/ in Swedish and East Danish. Thus, we find /m/ in forms like [hamn] ‘harbour’ (< [haβn]), [jamn/jæmn] ‘even’

(< [jaβn] < [eβn-]). In West and Central Danish we find [hawn] (< [havn] < [haβn]). The [β] phone thus removed, the stop allophone [b] became a full phoneme /b/. The other voiced fricatives remained with largely the same allophonic alternations.

Two of the voiceless stops, /t/ and /k/, underwent allophonic voicing (and sometimes further reduction) in the prosodically weak word-final and intervocalic positions (Pamp 1971, 107). Examples are *no[k]on* > *no[g]on/ no[ɣ]on* 'someone', *ta[k]a* > *ta[g]a/ta[ɣ]a* 'take', *skipi[t]* > *skipi[d]/skipi[ð]* 'the ship'. Final stops were sometimes lost entirely. Their presence in present-day Swedish (except Finland-Swedish) is due to restitution. In the southern and western dialects voicing was general in post-vocalic position and included the bilabial stop /p/. This process is obviously related to Danish gradation (cf. 4.4.). Examples include *ga[p]a* > *ga[b]a* 'hold one's mouth open', *ta[k]* > *ta[g]* 'roof'. These processes led to some positional neutralizations as the voiced stops [d] and [g] came to occur as allophones of two phonemes each: /t/, /ð/ and /k/, /ɣ/, respectively.

The voiceless dental fricative /θ/ only occurred word-initially, and was orthographically represented as <þ>. In OSw. it was subject to voicing in unstressed forms, primarily pronouns ([ð]u: 'you', [ð]ænni 'this one') and pronominal adverbs ([ð]a: 'then', [ð]ær 'there', [ð]i:t 'thither'). In late OSw. this phoneme merged with /t/, and to some extent with /ð ~ d/.

Tab. 102.9: OSw. consonant system

		place			voice
manner		labial	coronal	dorsal	
obstru- ents	stop	p(:) b(:)	t(:) --	k(:) --	voiced
	continuant	f v	θ ð ~ d(:)	h ɣ ~ g(:)	voiced
	continuant sibilant		s(:) z ~ R		voiced
sono- rants	retroflex lateral		r(:) l(:)		
	nasal	m(:)	n(:)	ŋ:	
	voiced	(w)		j	

The phoneme /h/, which resulted from a context-free transition from the remaining instances of PGmc /χ/, had a severely circumscribed distribution in Proto-Nordic. By early

OSw., /h/ was retained only before a stressed vowel or glide plus vowel (*halda* 'hold', *horn* 'horn', *hjarta* 'heart', *hwat* 'what').

A novelty of OSw. is the (inherently long) velar nasal /ŋ/. Through a somewhat abstract analysis, this sound can be derived from a consonant cluster /ng/, but we will treat it here as a phoneme in its own right. Two processes give us this phoneme. The voiced fricative/stop /ɣ ~ g/ became a velar nasal before /n/, and the stop /g/ of /ng/ clusters ceased to be pronounced, hence [vayn] > [vaŋ:n] 'cart' and [løn:g] > [løn:] 'long'. This process is partly visible in orthography (Wessén 1969, 45 mentions spellings like <vang> in VgL I and <ræng> in Cod. Holm. A 1) and is otherwise reconstructed on the basis of dialect differences and corresponding (orthographically visible) assimilations of [mb] and [nd] to [m:] and [n:], respectively, in late OSw. and early MSw. (Wessén 1969, 88).

4.2. Development of R

The segment /z ~ R/ developed into /s/ in East Germanic (Go. *dags* 'day'), was lost in West Germanic (OE *dæg*), and rhotacised in North Germanic (PN *dagr*). Also, /z ~ R/ was not in contrast with a voiced sibilant in the Germanic dialects, a fact that indirectly indicates that /z ~ R/ might have been a sibilant as indicated in Tab. 102.8. The relationship between the two r-sounds, /r/ and /z ~ R/, inherited from Proto-Nordic, has attracted the attention of several scholars (e.g. Noreen 1904, 220; Hultman 1931; Tjäder 1961; Steblin-Kamenskij 1963; Ronge 1966; Peterson 1983; Teleman 1985). Proto-Germanic [z] developed into an r-sound, represented by its own rune (ŕ), transliterated as <R>, and referred to as palatal r in the Scandinavian tradition. As Steblin-Kamenskij (1963, 363) points out, this would mean *palatalized r*. What seems clear is that it could not in fact be a sonorant, unlike the trilled /r/, since it could not support its own syllable.

The <R>, which primarily occurred in endings, underwent assimilation when preceded by any of the simple (i.e. non-geminate) sonorant coronals (*ketilR* > *ketill* 'kettle', *hamarR* > *hamarr* 'hammer', *steinR* > *steinn* 'stone') or /s/ (**i:SR* > *i:ss* 'ice'), in PN (Wessén 1969, 41). In the position after a stop it became a trill, first after the dentals (10th century), later after other consonants (ca. 900–1100). Scholars have usually assumed that it thereby merged articulatorily with original /r/

(but see Teleman 1985, for a different view). There are still several inscriptions from the 11th century which have ⟨R⟩ following dentals (Peterson 1983, 211). The result of these processes is that ⟨R⟩ occurred in complementary distribution with ⟨r⟩ by the beginning of the 12th century at the latest. This development is substantiated by the fact that original /r/ is represented by ⟨R⟩ in words like *fādīr* ‘father’, *moðīr* ‘mother’, *æftīr* ‘after’. We find ⟨R⟩ after unstressed vowels and ⟨r⟩ after consonants (Peterson 1983, 205).

Epenthesis before /r/ occurred sporadically as early as the 11th century. However, at this time [R] was arguably still phonetically distinct from [r], as indicated by it occasionally being written with ⟨s⟩ (Peterson 1983, 211). It seems safe to assume that the R-segment became syllabic fairly early on. Wessén (1969, 60) assumes that this was an immediate consequence of syncope, and the early (and late) cases of epenthesis support this view. Voice assimilation in the direction of voicelessness was common in the earliest OSw. records, and if this process could be substantiated for an earlier period, it would further support the sonorization of [R] (into a trill) since it does not devoice.

The development of epenthetic vowels before syllabic sonorants /r/, /l/, /n/, in that diachronic order (Ralph 1975, 43ff.), broke the complementary distribution. According to Widmark (1975), the merger of the allophones took place after this time. This would place the complete merger of the *r*-sounds in the late 12th century or early 13th century. The picture is further complicated by the fact that ⟨r⟩ in endings was often lost, quite generally in ODan. and OSw., and some scholars have tried to connect this fact with the qualitative difference between the *r*-sounds. However, Peterson (1983) demonstrates that the weak articulation in this position is the crucial factor causing loss, rather than place of articulation, and that any analysis based on the difference between the two *r*-sounds lacks material support. The loss of ⟨r⟩ thus belongs to a later period, roughly the 13th century (Tjäder 1961, 11).

It might be added as a final note that the development of [z] > [R] > [r] is not a common form of rhotacism. The classical context for rhotacism in many and unrelated languages is intervocalic position (Solé 1984). In the PN to OSw. case, the driving force seems instead to be first syllabicity, and later merger in unstressed positions. Thus, ⟨R⟩ appears not to represent what we normally mean by an

r-sound, i.e. a sonorant, but rather something like a voiced fricative, perhaps [z].

4.3. Stop epenthesis in Old Swedish and Old Gutnish

Several of the diachronic processes encountered above can be analysed as synchronic rules of OSw. and OGu. Here we shall look at a synchronic rule interaction, as we introduce the phonotactically motivated process of stop epenthesis, e.g. *ormr* > *ormber* ‘snake’. The synchronic analysis is adapted from Sigurd (1966; 1967, 52ff.). Stop epenthesis took place in ODan., too, but will not be discussed separately here (Skautrup 1944, 133). Consider first the inflections of masculine *a*-stem nouns in OSw. and OGu.:

Tab. 102.10

	sg.	pl.
nom.	-r	-ar
gen.	-s	-a
dat.	-i	-um
acc.	-Ø	-a

Stems with different segmental properties obey this morphological paradigm. The stem corresponds to the accusative singular:

Tab. 102.11: Stem = acc. sg.

fisk-	‘fish’	aptan-	‘evening’
dag-	‘day’	sko:-	‘shoe’
dal-	‘valley’	ste:n-	‘stone’
i:s-	‘ice’	hamar-	‘hammer’
orm-	‘snake’	himil-	‘heaven’
munn-	‘mouth’	hund-	‘dog’

The rules are numbered in a mostly non-trivial order of application and are summarized in Table 102.12.

(1) Place assimilation. The nominative /-r/ assimilates to a preceding coronal liquid or fricative. We get *dalr* > *dall*, *ste:nr* > *ste:nn*, *aptanr* > *aptann*, *i:sr* > *i:ss*, but not *ormr* > *ormm*. Assimilation only takes place if the preceding coronal is short, hence no assimilation in *munnr* (not *munnn* or *munnn*). The quantity of /n:/ shows in the accusative. (Historically this assimilation took place before the merger of /z ~ R/ with /r/, the latter being unaffected by this rule. As a synchronic rule, it relies on place of articulation and quantity rather than a differentiation of /r/).

(2) Syncope A affects unstressed vowels of disyllabic roots when inflected with a syllabic ending: *aptani* > *aptni*.

(3) Stop epenthesis A applies between a nasal (/m/, /n/) and a liquid (/r/, /l/). The inserted stop is homorganic to the preceding segment and assimilates with respect to voicing. This yields *himlum* > *himblum*, *hamri* > *hambri*, *ormr* > *ormbr* (later *ormber*) and *munnr* > *mundr* (later *munder*). Consonant quantity is neutralized in the coda position before an onset consonant of a following syllable, hence *munnder* = *munder*. Stop epenthesis A must follow place assimilation, witness *ste:nn* and *aptann* (not *ste:ndr* and *aptandr*).

(4) Stop epenthesis B. A stop is inserted between long /n:/ and /s/: *munns* > *munnds*. Notice that it is consonant quantity, not vowel quantity, that controls this rule (no epenthesis in *aptans* or *ste:ns*). The quality of the inserted stop is determined as in stop epenthesis A, but the stop is later subject to devoicing (i.e. *munnts*). Stop epenthesis B also has a narrower environment than stop epenthesis A (it avoids producing *ormbs* and *ste:nds*).

(5) Vowel epenthesis occurs in the environment of an obstruent (in effect a stop) and /r/: *fiskr* > *fisker*, *dagr* > *dager*, *ormbr* > *ormber*, *mundr* > *munder*, *hundr* > *hunder*. Place assimilation has already applied, hence *i:sr* > *i:ser* is avoided. Stop epenthesis A precedes vowel epenthesis, viz. *munder* not *munner* (because of the assimilations, there is no way of knowing whether /-nr-/ would be subject to this rule).

(6) Devoicing. Obstruents are devoiced before /s/, e. g. *dags* > *da[g]s*, *hunds* > *hund[d]s* and *munnds* > *munn[d]s*. (Spelling varies between <g>, <d> and <k>, <t>.)

(7) Syncope B deletes an unstressed vowel following a vowel-final stem: *sko:ar* > *sko:r*.

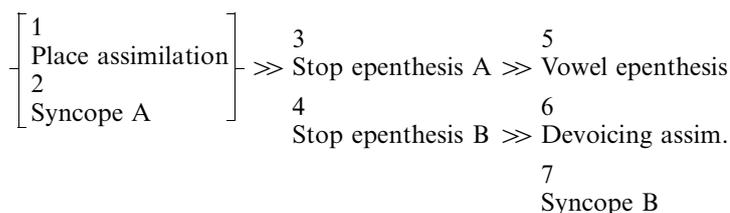
The diagram below indicates the synchronic rule orderings (>> = 'precedes').

As seen, rules 1 and 2 apply before rule 3, which in turn must precede rule 5. Rule 4 is ordered before rule 6, while rule 7 is not ordered with respect to any of the other rules.

4.4. Danish consonant shift

Beside the ODan. vowel reductions, there was also pervasive consonant weakening affecting stops and voiced fricatives in the 12th and 13th centuries. This is a gradation known in Danish as *klusilsvækkelse* 'stop weakening' and *lydåbning* 'sound opening, vocalization' which affected short segments in word-medial and word-final position (i.e. foot-internally). Distributionally it is thus not unlike British English deaspiration and American English flapping (Gussenhoven 1986). In the onset of stressed syllables no changes occurred. Beyond Denmark, the southern parts of present-day Sweden and Norway were also affected by gradation, the voiceless stops in particular. Thus, the phonemic system was largely preserved, but the lexical distribution of the sounds changed radically. Tables 102.13 and 102.14 contain information about the segmental gradation and the consonantal effects of the quantity shift. Table 102.13 plots the interaction of quantitative changes and gradation, while Table 102.14 provides a more detailed view of the last part of gradation, i.e. vocalization. There is no organic relationship between gemination and degemination on the one hand, and gradation on the other hand, and so the interaction yields a motley result. If we add dialectological variation to this, it is easy to understand that the result is quite variable at different ends of the language area. However, each process is straightforward on its own terms.

Tab. 102.12: Synchronic phonology of OSw. (ca. 1300)



Tab. 102.13: Gradation and gemination

	quantity	gradation	quantity	gradation	quantity
	gemination 12th c.	voicing 12th c.	gemination 12th c.	spirantization/vocalization 13th c.	degemination ca. 1300
/p: ~ p/	ho[p:]e	[p] > [b] ga[b]e lø[b]e		[b] > [β] (> [w]) ga[β]e lø[β]e	[p:] > [p] ho[p]e
/t: ~ t/	[t] > [t:] fa[t:]ig ni[t:]en	[t] > [d] ga[d]e fo[d]	[d] > [d:] fø[d:]er e[d:]er	[d] > [ð] (> [j]) ga[ð]e fo[ð] le[ð]ing	[t:] > [t] fa[t]ig fø[d]er
/k: ~ k/	hi[k:]e	[k] > [g] le[g]e bo[g]		[g] > [ɣ] (> [w]/[j]) le[ɣ]e bo[ɣ]	[k:] > [k] hi[k]e

Tab. 102.14: Vocalization

	gradation
	vocalization, beginning of 13th century
[β]	[β] > [v] > [w] (Ø) ga[β]e > ga[v]e > ga[w](e) ja[β]n > jæ[v]n > jæ[w]n ha[β]n > ha[v]n > ha[w]n
[ð]	[ð] > [j] (Ø) væ[ð]er > ve[j]r ty[ð]er > tø[j]r ske[ð] > ske[Ø] le[ð]ing > le[j]ing
/k/	[ɣ] > [j]/[w] (Ø) E[ɣ]il > E[j]il ma[ɣ]e > ma[w]e sti[ɣ] > sti[Ø] le[ɣ]e > le[j]e bo[ɣ] > bo[w]

Glosses in alphabetical order: *bog* 'book', *edder* 'poison', *Egil* (name), *fattig* 'poor', *fod* 'foot', *fodder* 'feet', *gabe* 'open one's mouth', *gade* 'street', *gave* 'gift', *havn* 'harbour', *hikke* 'hiccup', *hoppe* 'jump', *jævn* 'even', *leding* 'maritime raid', *lege* 'play', *lobe* 'run', *mave* 'stomach', *nitten* 'nineteen', *ske* 'spoon', *sti* 'path', *tøjr* 'tether', *vejr* 'weather'.

Spirantization of the voiced stops (by gradation) is geographically more limited than voicing. It is easier to establish for [ð] and [ɣ] which have a clear orthographic expression, <th> beside <d>, and <gh> beside <g>. [β] is invariably and is also mostly restituted as [b] in the later language. The oldest loans participate in the gradation, viz. *kube* 'bell-glass, hive', *sæbe* 'soap', *plade* 'plate', *bæger* 'cup, mug', *klog* 'wise'. Later loans (after 1300) are

unaffected: *kaper* 'privateer', *prædike* 'preach', *køter* 'mongrel'. Together with degemination, these loans secured the place of the phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ in the language. Degemination and loans also gave rise to a new set of voiced stops. These would seem to contrast positionally with the output of spirantization: *fø[d]er* 'feet' vs. *fø:[ð]e* 'feed'. The prosodic environment, however, allows the analysis of this contrast as allophonic. The stop follows a short vowel, the spirant a long. The segmental results of the quantity shift in an individual form, i.e. whether the vowel or the postvocalic consonant undergoes lengthening, are determined by phonetic factors but to different degrees according to dialect geography. The shift was an ongoing process during this period, and the chart in tab. 102.13 only shows the central flow of that process, found in Zealand and Funen (taken to be the innovation center, cf. Skautrup 1944, 229).

Gradation is weakening (lenition) and is limited to medial and final position, possibly with a slight temporal difference. The process affected stops and spirants, each separately but with some overlap. The stops were affected twice, first by voicing, later by spirantization. The old spirants shifted into glides which could occur as syllable onsets (*øje* 'eye') or as second elements of diphthongs (*skov* [skow] 'forest'). The old spirants were largely kept apart from the new spirants, indicating a time difference, and presumably also a system-driven chain effect. Thus, the new spirants tended to remain spirants (*bage* [baɣə] 'bake', *ude* [uðə] 'out') while the former vocalized or disappeared (*loβ* > *lov* > [low] 'permission', *bide* > *bie* [bi:ə] 'bide'). As has been seen, some of the voiced stops (by gradation) also underwent spirantization, especially forms from the

dental and velar categories. This suggests a slight time difference with respect to vocalization of /β/ (indicated in Table 102.14). Vocalization, then, must have started before the original stops had become spirants. The interaction between the quantity shift and gradation can be seen in the fact that consonant gemination affected stops both before and after voicing by gradation, yielding contrasts like *fattig* vs. *edder* (not *etter*), both originally going back on voiceless stops.

4.5. Development of palatal fricatives

Beginning in OSw., a process involving the velars /g/ and /k/ resulted in voiced and voiceless palatal fricatives in Mod.Sw., viz. /j/, /ç/ and /ʃ/. A glance at the Scandinavian dialects shows that the processes involved are far from simple. Nevertheless, the standard approach has been to linearize the developments as in Table 102.15, here adapted (and slightly expanded) from Ralph (1977, 487), who makes a critical assessment of the problem and the traditional approach. The other clusters in Table 102.15 indicate points at which constellations of consonants other than the one given on the first line in each group could join the development towards palatal fricatives.

Tab. 102.15: stage

		i	ii	iii	iv	v
a. sk	/ __ + front V >	skj	> stj	> [ʃtj]	> [ʃj]	> [ʃ]
		skj	_____	_____	_____	_____
		stj	_____	_____	_____	_____
		sj	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. k	/ __ + front V >	kj	> tj	> tg (> tç)		
		kj	_____	_____		
		tj	_____	_____		
c. g	/ __ + front V >	gj	> dj	> j		
		gj	_____	_____		
		gj	_____	_____		

This schematization implies processes of palatalization, coronalization, fricativization and affrication, deaffrication and cluster simplification. The central problem is empirical. Table 102.15 implies that for [gj] and [j] to merge, [dj] should also merge. This is not true for, e. g., Finland-Swedish and is also not the case in OSw., judging from confusion or non-confusion in the orthography. Similarly, *stj*-words

generally became fricatives later than original *sk*- and *skj*- words (Hesselman 1911). Furthermore, the voiced/voiceless correspondence in tab 102.15(b, c) is not evident, the voiced clusters merging much earlier than the voiceless. Thus, these developments cannot be seen as a simple sound shift picking up clusters along its route. Ralph (1977, 489f.) calls the very notion of palatalization into question, and concludes that *j*-insertion seems a more reasonable assumption. One argument is the fact that /j/ tends to show up sooner before non-high front vowels than before high vowels, the typological trend of palatalization predicting the opposite. Also, “fronting” of a velar stop often resulted directly in an affricate, rather than a palatalized stop. Looking at present-day dialect systems, one finds unpredicted word-initial oppositions like /j/ vs. /dj/ in Finland-Swedish, /ʃ/ vs. /stj/ and /ç/ vs. /stj/ in Norwegian dialects, and /ʃ/ (from /sj/) vs. /skj/ and /stj/.

The picture becomes even more complex when the resulting articulations are taken into account. For instance, putative [stç] (from [stj]) became a coronal fricative [ʃ] earlier than [tç] became [ç]. The latter development is usually taken to be the cause of the further development of [ʃ] to [fi], in some positions, whereby the two fricatives became more dissimilar. The ensuing distribution of allophones is positionally controlled (Bloch 1998b). Obviously, several issues relating to the history and dialectology of the palatal fricatives remain unclear. Synchronic and diachronic analyses of this problem are given in Wessén (1969, 65); Sigurd (1970); Ohlsson (1972); Hellberg (1974); Ralph (1977) and Lindblad (1980).

5. Tonal prosodies

Norwegian, Swedish and Danish all display tonal prosody which goes beyond regular intonation. In Sw. and Norw. there is a lexical tone accent known as accent 2 (toneme 2, grave), which contrasts with plain intonation, called accent 1 (toneme 1, acute). In Danish, we find a prosodic pattern known as *stød* beside lexical tone in a dwindling number of dialects. In many simplex forms, the lexical distribution of *stød* corresponds to accent 1 in the tonal dialects of Scandinavia. A historical relationship between the two types of system is not in doubt, but the nature of it is disputed, as is the grammatical status of each system.

The origin of tone accent is discussed in art. 81. The issues of the origin and relationship between tone and *stod* are further elaborated in Riad (1998a; 1999a; 1999b; forthcoming).

5.1. *Stod* from tones

The development of *stod* must be later than the development of tonal dialects (Ringgaard 1980; 1983). Geographically, the spread of *stod* has the contours of innovation, and tonal dialects remain in Denmark only in the southern and eastern peripheries. *Stod* is expanding even today (Fischer-Jørgensen 1989b, 13). Below, some basic facts about the diachronic development of Danish *stod* will be recapitulated, primarily following Skautrup (1944). Thereafter, an account of how *stod* has developed from a tonal system is given.

Skautrup (1944, 138) states that *stod* must have developed in Denmark during the period of vowel weakening and consonant gradation, beginning in the 12th century. The Danish *stod* area is contained within the weakening area (Skautrup 1944, map p. 226), and Skautrup sees a clear connection between the two phenomena. The idea is that for *stod* to be present in forms like Mod.Dan. *ager* 'acre' (< *akr*) and *odder* 'otter' (< *otr*) the formerly voiceless stops must have become voiced by gradation before the inception of *stod*. The reason is that *stod* can only be realized in syllables containing two voiced moras in the rhyme part of the syllable (so-called "*stod* basis"). The argument is not entirely compelling since, as Skautrup himself argues, once *stod* is in the system it will extend analogically (or logically) according to its distributional rules. At the same time, there are some idiosyncrasies regarding the distribution of *stod*, just as with accent 2 in the tonal dialects. Orthographic indications of the presence of *stod* may obtain from the beginning of the 13th century and onward, manifest as written epenthetic vowels in *stod* words containing a diphthong before *n*, e.g. <vagen> (for *vagn* 'cart'), <haføn>, <hauæn> (for *havn* 'harbour'), <gaghin>, <gaghæn> (for *gavn* 'benefit'), etc. If Skautrup is right, this very diachrony makes *stod* younger than tonal accent. A reliable description of *stod*, however, is not offered until the descriptions by the Danish grammarian Jens Pedersen Høysgaard (1743; 1747).

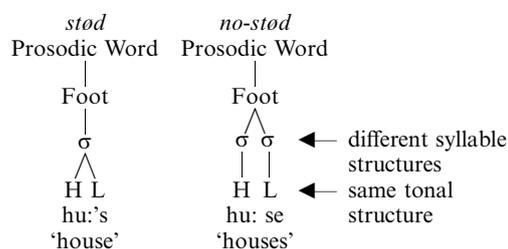
Other proposals, notably Liberman (1982), reconstruct *stod* as much older and as a predecessor to tonal accent. However, such proposals rely completely on a functionally mo-

tivated origin, which cannot be substantiated and which seems very dubious indeed in view of the completely marginal role which both *stod* and lexical tones have in the Scandinavian languages (several dialects make do without either kind of prosody). The degree of functional load is epiphenomenal to other developments such as vowel reduction (Elert 1972). This is not to say that *stod* or tone cannot provide cues e.g. to morphological structure (cf. Basbøll 1998, 51 ff.), only that such considerations are unlikely to have anything to do with their origin.

On the phonetic side, *stod* is similar to creaky voice and glottal stop, phenomena known to occur in connection with tonal systems elsewhere in the world. Also, *stod* is accompanied by a sharp tonal movement which can go in either direction (Fischer-Jørgensen 1989a; 1989b; personal communication). Several researchers have connected the origin of *stod* with quick tonal movement (Verner 1878; Jespersen 1897; 1913; Ekblom 1939, 176 f.), and some consider the tonal movement more important than the glottal activity (Forchhammer 1942). Nevertheless, the research tradition has tended to reify the latter, focussing on the distribution of the glottal catch rather than the tonal movement. This entails an increase in the number of basic phonological categories and fails to make the obvious historical and geographic connections to tonal systems. A tonal analysis should therefore be the null hypothesis. This immediately explains the notion of "*stod* basis", since only sonorant sounds can carry tone. There is a recent tonal analysis of *stod* in Livonian (Kiparsky 1995) which has been carried over to Danish by Itô/Mester (1997).

Standard Danish *stod* exhibits a sharp fall in the *stod* syllable (in present-day Copenhagen, a rise), which is tonally represented as two tones associated with one syllable, HL. This is typologically a marked structure (Goldsmith 1976), a fact that is also clear from a Scandinavian perspective, where in some dialects too many tones in too few syllables give rise to complex tonal configurations and quantitative effects. This is known as circumflex. The glottal effect of *stod* can be seen as the result of forcing two tones onto one syllable. In Standard Danish, "*stod* basis" equals two sonorant moras, while in West Jutlandish *stod* can occur in just a single mora, a short vowel (Ringgaard 1960). In Swedish and Norwegian, a stressed syllable can generally only carry one tone.

Tab. 102.16



The tonal analysis of *stod* allows for a comprehensive treatment of the Scandinavian prosodic systems, both with regard to synchrony and diachrony (H = 'high tone', L = 'low tone'). The diachronic issue involves understanding how it came to pass that two tones were associated with one syllable. Several facts point to a related but partly less advanced development in present-day Central Swedish dialects. The Eskilstuna variety exhibits a prosodic feature which looks like incipient *stod* and which is known as *knorr* 'curl' or *knarr* 'creak'. This Eskilstuna "curl" is a steep tonal fall followed by an audible, often voiced, release. The fall may be accompanied by creaky voice phonation and other laryngeal activity. Curl is pragmatically conditioned and occurs in focussed position, as part of a general hyperarticulation which includes Central Swedish diphthongization (Bleckert 1987; Lindqvist 1972, 13). Olof Gjerdmán (1918, 183–185), in his study of city dialects in Södermanland, notes the phonetic resemblance of curl to *stod*, and the fact that it tends to occur before a pause (i.e. phrase finally) and in particular after certain long vowels ([a:], [u:], [ɥ:]). Phonologically, these observations mean that the utterance-final L boundary tone tends to be pronounced within the last stressed syllable of the final phrase, where the H focus tone is also associated. The F0 tracings in Bleckert (1987, 116ff.) show this very clearly. This yields a phonological structure just like that for *stod* in tab. 102.16. Indeed, the realization of this structure sometimes results in *stod* (Gjerdmán 1918; Nordberg 1972; Pettersson/Forsberg 1970). Eskilstuna thus provides evidence of all the phonetic properties of *stod* in what is still a tonal dialect. Regarding distribution, a disturbing feature of the Scandinavian accent typology is the fact that what is marked in a tonal dialect (accent 2) is unmarked in the *stod* dialects (*no-stod*) and vice versa. This seeming markedness reversal can be fully explained by considering the distri-

bution of Eskilstuna curl and imposing the constraints of phonological *stod*, known from Danish. Crucially, phonologization of curl has not taken place in Eskilstuna. "*Stod* basis" delimits tonal realization to voiced segments (phonetically the only possible situation) and to stressed syllables. In accent 2 words, there are too many tones between the boundary tone and the stressed syllable, since accent 2 contains lexical tone in addition to focus and boundary tones. Therefore, curl will be less prominent and unable to associate with a stressed syllable, inhibiting phonologization as *stod*. In accent 1 words, however, there is no lexical tone, and the boundary tone can be pulled into the stressed syllable, allowing prominent curl and phonologization as *stod*. The same situation obtains in compounds, which pattern with accent 1 words, in Eskilstuna as well as in Danish. In compounds, the first tone is in the first stressed syllable, while the last stressed syllable contains the same tonal material as the only stressed syllable of an accent 1 word.

The phonologization of curl means that pragmatically motivated hyperarticulation yields to systematic patterning, basically such as schematically indicated in tab. 102.16, which is not a distinctive tonal pattern, however. Both word types contain the same tonal information but different numbers of syllables. A side effect of the development of *stod*, then, is the loss of distinctive accent, and so there is no real markedness reversal. This is not to flatly deny the existence of minimal pairs, but rather the existence of *lexical* tone in Danish. (The idiosyncratic presence of *stod* is better analyzed as the presence of underlying feet to which regular tone structure is sensitive, cf. Kiparsky 1995 regarding Livonian.) The argument for the loss of distinctive accent comes, again, from the Central Swedish dialect area. Eastern Mälardalen, between Eskilstuna and Stockholm, has developed in the same direction as Danish with regard to the loss of distinctive tones. Crucially, it is the accent 2 contour – which corresponds to unmarked *no-stod* in Danish – that has generalized as the unmarked pattern in polysyllables. Any word containing a post-tonic syllable gets accent 2 in Eastern Mälardalen, while all others get accent 1 (cf. Nyström 1997 for a presentation of this, and Bloch 1998a for the phonology).

Tab. 102.17: Accent contours in Eastern Mälardalen (EMä, no tonal contrast) and Central Swedish (CSw, tonal contrast).

example	CSw	EMä	gloss
a. 'bok ka'nel	1	1	'book' 'cinnamon'
b. 'bil-ar prin'sessa	2	2	'cars' 'princess'
c. 'fött-er-na 'spring-er	1	2	'feet' 'runs'
d. jag ska 'ta den 'mellan, mål	1	2	'I will take it' 'snack'
e. 'mid, sommar, dans	2	2	'midsummer dance'

The development into this system takes place in several steps, which will only be mentioned here. Secondary stresses are reinstalled on many previously unstressed syllables. This causes connective accent 2 assignment to generalize. Subsequently, the tonal contour is re-analyzed as dependent on the number of syllables. The impetus for these changes comes from curl prosody, which obscures the evidence for lexical tone when phonologized. For a detailed discussion and further correlations with Danish, cf. Riad (1999b; 2000). The basic point is that two obviously related dialects in Central Sweden together exhibit all phonetic, distributional and grammatical properties of Danish *stød*.

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103. The morphology of Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian

1. Introduction
2. Nouns
3. Adjectives
4. Adverbs
5. Pronouns
6. Numerals
7. Verbs
8. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

This article deals with the inflectional morphology of Old Nordic (ON) nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, numerals and verbs. As there are no systematic inflectional differences between Old Norwegian (ONorw.) and Old Icelandic (OIcel.), apart from a few cases commented on below, these two dialects will be treated together under the name Old Norse.

2. Nouns

ON nouns have inherent gender, and inflect for case, number and definiteness. There are four different cases: nominative (nom.), accusative (acc.), dative (dat.) and genitive (gen.). There are two numbers, singular (sg.) and plural (pl.). Finally, nouns may appear in indefinite (indef.) or definite (def.) form.

2.1. Gender

There are three genders in Old Nordic: masculine (masc.), feminine (fem.) and neuter (neut.). Which gender a noun belongs to is shown by the inflectional forms of adjectives and pronominal elements agreeing with the noun:

<i>stórr fiskr</i>	sg.nom.masc. 'big fish'
<i>stór fjǫðr</i>	sg.nom.fem. 'big feather'
<i>stórt land</i>	sg.nom.neut. 'big country'

Furthermore, the gender of a noun can to some extent be identified on the basis of the set of suffixes (and stem modifications) expressing case, number and definiteness. The following example, all sg. indef., illustrate this point:

	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>fiskr</i>	<i>fjǫðr</i>	<i>land</i>
acc.	<i>fisk</i>	<i>fjǫðr</i>	<i>land</i>
dat.	<i>fiski</i>	<i>fjǫðr</i>	<i>landi</i>
gen.	<i>fisks</i>	<i>fjaðrar</i>	<i>lands</i>

2.2. Definiteness

The following two paradigms illustrate the contrast between the indefinite and definite form of a noun:

		Indef.	Def.
Sg.	nom.	<i>fiskr</i>	<i>fiskrinn</i>
	acc.	<i>fisk</i>	<i>fiskinn</i>
	dat.	<i>fiski</i>	<i>fiskinum</i>
	gen.	<i>fisks</i>	<i>fisksins</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>fiskar</i>	<i>fiskarnir</i>
	acc.	<i>fiska</i>	<i>fiskana</i>
	dat.	<i>fiskum</i>	<i>fiskunum</i>
	gen.	<i>fiska</i>	<i>fiskanna</i>

The historical source of the definiteness suffixes are the various forms of the demonstrative pronoun *hin* 'that', which first developed into an element cliticized to the preceding noun, and later was reinterpreted as an inflectional suffix. Due to its origin as an adjectively inflected pronoun (cf. 5.2.2. below), these suffixes are in many ways similar to pronominal suffixes.

2.3. Inflectional classes

2.3.1. Masculine nouns

Masculine nouns fall into five inflectional classes, below designated as classes I–V. The first four classes, traditionally called strong inflections, can be distinguished according to their pl.acc. suffix (cf. Haugen 1995, 112): Class I nouns have *-a* in the pl.acc. (e.g. *fiska* 'fishes' from *fiskr*), class II nouns have *-i* (e.g. *gesti* 'guests' from *gestr*), class III nouns have *-u* (e.g. *vǫllu* 'fields' from *vǫllr*), and class IV nouns have *-r* (e.g. *fætr* 'feet' from *fótr*). The first three pl.acc. endings (vowels) reflect the so-called stem-suffixes of Ancient Nordic (AN) and form the basis for the traditional distinction between *a*-stems, *i*-stems and *u*-stems.

Class V nouns, traditionally called weak, are similar to class I in the pl., but inflect differently in the sg.

2.3.1.1. Class I (pl. nom. *-ar*; pl. acc. *-a*)

Class I nouns correspond to AN nouns of the *a*-stem class; the AN stem suffix *-a-* can in ON be seen in the pl. acc., e.g. *fiska* 'fishes' (< AN **fiskann*). *Fiskr* 'fish', see paradigm above, and *himinn* 'heaven' belong to class I:

Sg.	nom.	<i>himinn</i>
	acc.	<i>himin</i>
	dat.	<i>himni</i>
	gen.	<i>himins</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>himnar</i>
	acc.	<i>himna</i>
	dat.	<i>himnum</i>
	gen.	<i>himna</i>

Most monosyllabic masculine nouns with a long root syllable inflect like *fiskr*. Furthermore, words ending in one of the derivational suffixes *-angr*, *-ingr*, *-ungr* and *-leikr* inflect like *fiskr*. Nouns having one of the following inflectional suffixes inflect like *himinn*: *-an/-in/-un*, *-al/-il/-ul* and *-ar/-ur*. Note the syncope of the unstressed vowel of the second syllable in these words.

Note the following two deviations from the main pattern in sg.dat. and gen.: (i) sg.gen. may have *-ar* instead of *-s*. *-ar* is the sg.gen. suffix for classes II and III, which according to Noreen (1923, 249) were the original inflectional classes of many of these words; (ii) sg.dat. often lacks the suffix *-i*, a characteristic of class II for masculine nouns.

Furthermore, note that some of these nouns exhibit so-called "j-insertion" and "v-insertion" (Haugen 1995, 86ff.), the *-j-* and *-v-* being reflexes of AN stem suffixes beginning with one of these sounds, cf. the paradigms for *sqngr* 'song' and *niðr* ('relative'):

		-v-	-j-
Sg.	nom.	<i>sqngr</i>	<i>niðr</i>
	acc.	<i>sqng</i>	<i>nið</i>
	dat.	<i>sqngvi</i>	<i>nið</i>
	gen.	<i>sqngs</i>	<i>niðjar</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>sqngvar</i>	<i>niðjar</i>
	acc.	<i>sqngva</i>	<i>niðja</i>
	dat.	<i>sqngum</i>	<i>niðjum</i>
	gen.	<i>sqngva</i>	<i>niðja</i>

One subclass of class I nouns exhibits a stem change from sg. to pl. In the sg. the second (unstressed) syllable contains an *i*, which disappears in the pl. The inflectional suffixes,

however, do not deviate from the main pattern for class I, cf. the paradigm of *hersir* ‘chief’.

Sg.	nom.	<i>hersir</i>
	acc.	<i>hersir</i>
	dat.	<i>hersir</i>
	gen.	<i>hersis</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>hersar</i>
	acc.	<i>hersa</i>
	dat.	<i>hersum</i>
	gen.	<i>hersa</i>

2.3.1.2. Class II (pl.nom. *-ir*; pl.acc. *-i*)

Class II nouns correspond to AN nouns of the *i*-stem class; the AN stem suffix *-i-* can in ON be seen in the pl.acc., e.g. *gesti* from *gestr* ‘guest’. Two different inflectional variants can be observed, the first has the sg.gen. ending in *-s*, like *gestr*, the other has sg.gen. in *-ar*, like *vinr* ‘friend’:

Sg.	nom.	<i>gestr</i>	<i>vinr</i>
	acc.	<i>gestr</i>	<i>vin</i>
	dat.	<i>gest</i>	<i>vin</i>
	gen.	<i>gests</i>	<i>vinar</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>gestir</i>	<i>vinir</i>
	acc.	<i>gesti</i>	<i>vini</i>
	dat.	<i>gestum</i>	<i>vinum</i>
	gen.	<i>gesta</i>	<i>vina</i>

Some class II nouns have pl.nom. and acc. *-ar/-a*, following the pattern of class I nouns. Class II nouns ending in a velar consonant, e.g. *bekkr* ‘brook’, *elgr* ‘moose’ or *drengr* ‘man’, have *-j*-insertion:

Sg.	nom.	<i>bekkr</i>
	acc.	<i>bekkr</i>
	dat.	<i>bekkr</i>
	gen.	<i>bekkrjar/bekks</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>bekkir</i>
	acc.	<i>bekki</i>
	dat.	<i>bekkjum</i>
	gen.	<i>bekkjja</i>

2.3.1.3. Class III (pl.nom. *-ir*, pl.acc. *-u/i*)

Class III nouns correspond to AN nouns of the *u*-stem class; the AN stem suffix *-u-* can in ON be seen in the pl. acc., e.g. *vøllu* from *vøllr* ‘field’. The stem vowel can be modified by *i*-umlaut or by *u*-umlaut; in some paradigms we thus find three different stem vowels, as in *vøllr*. Other class III nouns are *fagnaðr* ‘happiness’ and *fjorðr* ‘fjord’.

Sg.	nom.	<i>vøllr</i>	<i>fagnaðr/føgnuðr</i>	<i>fjorðr</i>
	acc.	<i>vøll</i>	<i>fagnað/føgnuð</i>	<i>fjorð</i>
	dat.	<i>vølli</i>	<i>fagnaði</i>	<i>fjorði</i>
	gen.	<i>vøllar</i>	<i>fagnaðar</i>	<i>fjorðar</i>

Pl.	nom.	<i>vøllir</i>	<i>fagnaðir</i>	<i>fjorðir</i>
	acc.	<i>vøllu</i>	<i>fagnaði</i>	<i>fjorðu</i>
	dat.	<i>vøllum</i>	<i>føgnuðum</i>	<i>fjorðum</i>
	gen.	<i>vølla</i>	<i>fagnaða</i>	<i>fjorða</i>

Sg.dat. may in certain words (cf. Noreen 1923, 274) lack the suffix *-i*. Furthermore, pl.acc. *-u* was replaced by *-i* in many words, as in class II.

Nouns ending in *-aðr*, like *fagnaðr*, have two alternative forms in sg.nom. and acc., one with *u*-umlaut (*føgnuðr*) and one without (*fagnaðr*). Of these two forms the one without *u*-umlaut is the most common. Note that these words always have the pl.acc. suffix *-i*.

The vowel alternations in *fjorðr* and *vøllr* are caused by breaking (*e > jø ja*), *u*-umlaut (*a > ø*) and *i*-umlaut (*a > e*).

2.3.1.4. Class IV (pl.nom. = pl.acc.)

Class IV masculine nouns are characterized by having identical forms in pl.nom. and acc. Viewed historically, nouns of this class have developed from three different AN stem classes: monosyllabic stems (> e.g. *nagl* ‘nail’), *r*-stems (> e.g. *faðir* ‘father’), and *nd*-stems (> e.g. *bóndi* ‘farmer’). Class IV nouns vary considerably in the sg.; thus, the rationale for putting them together lies in their common inflection in the pl. Consider first ON reflexes of members of the AN monosyllabic stem class, which fall in two groups: those having sg. forms identical with the sg. forms of class I, e.g. *nagl*, and those having sg. forms identical with the sg. forms of class III, e.g. *fótr* ‘foot’.

Sg.	nom.	<i>nagl</i>	<i>fótr</i>
	acc.	<i>nagl</i>	<i>fót</i>
	dat.	<i>nagli</i>	<i>fæti</i>
	gen.	<i>nagls</i>	<i>fótar</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>negl</i>	<i>fætr</i>
	acc.	<i>negl</i>	<i>fætr</i>
	dat.	<i>nøglum</i>	<i>fótum</i>
	gen.	<i>nagla</i>	<i>fóta</i>

Two ON nouns have their origin in the AN *r*-stem class: *faðir* and *bróðir* ‘brother’:

Sg.	nom.	<i>faðir</i>
	acc.	<i>føður</i>
	dat.	<i>feðr/fjøður</i>
	gen.	<i>fjøður</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>feðr</i>
	acc.	<i>feðr</i>
	dat.	<i>feðrum</i>
	gen.	<i>feðra</i>

Finally, the so-called *nd*-nouns belong to class IV; these are nominalized present participles, inflecting like masculines of class V (weak masculines) in the sg.:

Sg.	nom.	<i>bóndi</i>
	acc.	<i>bónda</i>
	dat.	<i>bónda</i>
	gen.	<i>bónda</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>bændr</i>
	acc.	<i>bændr</i>
	dat.	<i>bóndum</i>
	gen.	<i>bónda</i>

2.3.1.5. Class V (weak masculines)

Class V comprises the so-called weak masculine nouns, which in the pl. inflect like class I masculines. Characteristic of the sg. forms is the syncretism resulting in a two-way distinction between nom. on the one hand and one common form for the three oblique cases, acc., dat. and gen., on the other.

Sg.	nom.	<i>granni</i>
	acc.	<i>granna</i>
	dat.	<i>granna</i>
	gen.	<i>granna</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>grannar</i>
	acc.	<i>granna</i>
	dat.	<i>grǫnnum</i>
	gen.	<i>granna</i>

Note the following deviations from this pattern: (i) Some borrowings from Old English, e.g. *herra* 'lord', have *-a* in all cases in the sg.; (ii) *uxi* 'ox' has the following paradigm in the pl.: *yxn-yxn-yxnum-yxna* (which makes it inflectionally of the same type as class IV nouns); (iii) one feminine word belongs to this class, *Skadī* (name of a goddess).

2.3.2. Feminine nouns

Feminine nouns can be classified according to their pl.nom. and acc. suffix, and thus fall into five inflectional classes, below called classes I–V (cf. Haugen 1995, 121). The first three classes constitute the so-called strong feminines. Class I has the pl.nom. and acc. suffix *-ir*, class II has *-ar*, class III has *-r*.

2.3.2.1. Class I (pl.nom./acc. *-ir*)

Most ON feminine nouns belong to class I. These nouns have the pl.nom. and acc. suffix *-ir*, and have a common origin with class II masculines in the AN *i*-stem class. The sg. in-

flexion is identical to that of class II feminines; *bæn* 'prayer' and *skipan* 'order' belong to this class:

Sg.	nom.	<i>bæn</i>	<i>skipan/skipun</i>
	acc.	<i>bæn</i>	<i>skipan/skipun</i>
	dat.	<i>bæn</i>	<i>skipan/skipun</i>
	gen.	<i>bænar</i>	<i>skipanar</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>bænir</i>	<i>skipanir</i>
	acc.	<i>bænir</i>	<i>skipanir</i>
	dat.	<i>bænum</i>	<i>skipunum</i>
	gen.	<i>bæna</i>	<i>skipana</i>

2.3.2.2. Class II (pl.nom. and acc. *-ar*)

Feminine nouns of class II fall in two subclasses. Members of the first subclass had the stem suffix *-ō-* in AN, cf. *mǫn* (< AN **manō*), whereas members of the second subclass had the AN stem suffix *-ijō-*. The paradigms of *mǫn* 'mane' and *ermr* 'sleeve' exemplify the suffixes of these two types:

Sg.	nom.	<i>mǫn</i>	<i>ermr</i>
	acc.	<i>mǫn</i>	<i>ermi</i>
	dat.	<i>mǫn</i>	<i>ermi</i>
	gen.	<i>manar</i>	<i>ermar</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>manar</i>	<i>ermar</i>
	acc.	<i>manar</i>	<i>ermar</i>
	dat.	<i>mǫnum</i>	<i>ermum</i>
	gen.	<i>mana</i>	<i>erma</i>

Nouns ending in *-ing/-ung* always inflect like *mǫn*. Note that these deviate from the main pattern by having the sg.dat. suffix *-u*: e.g. *dróttningu* 'queen'. Also a few other words in class II may take this ending in the sg.dat., cf. Noreen (1923, 261 f.). Furthermore, proper names ending in *-bjǫrg*, *-hvít*, *-leif*, *-lǫð*, *-rún*, *-veig*, *-vǫr* have the suffix *-u* also in the sg.acc.

Characteristics of the second type of the class II feminines are their long root syllable and *i*-umlaut in all forms. Note that in the sg., nouns of this type differ significantly from other feminine nouns.

Some class II feminines have *-j-* or *-v-*insertion, cf. the paradigms in 2.3.1.1. above showing *-j-* or *-v-*insertion in masculine nouns. See Haugen (1995, 124) for a list of these nouns.

2.3.2.3. Class III (*r*-nouns)

Feminine nouns of class III exhibit many inflectional similarities with class IV masculines (with which they to some extent have a common origin). Members of this class have their pl.nom. and acc. ending in *-r*. There are three inflectional subtypes: two historical reflexes of

AN monosyllabic stems, e.g. *bók* ‘book’ and *kýr* ‘cow’, and one reflecting the AN *r*-stem class, e.g. *móðir* ‘mother’.

Sg.	nom.	<i>bók</i>	<i>kýr</i>	<i>móðir</i>
	acc.	<i>bók</i>	<i>kú</i>	<i>móður</i>
	dat.	<i>bók</i>	<i>kú</i>	<i>mæðr/móður</i>
	gen.	<i>bókar/bækr</i>	<i>kýr</i>	<i>móður</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>bækr</i>	<i>kýr</i>	<i>mæðr</i>
	acc.	<i>bækr</i>	<i>kýr</i>	<i>mæðr</i>
	dat.	<i>bókum</i>	<i>kúm</i>	<i>mæðrum</i>
	gen.	<i>bóka</i>	<i>kúa</i>	<i>mæðra</i>

2.3.2.4. Class IV (weak feminines)

Members of the feminine class IV have the pl.nom. and acc. suffix *-ur*. They are reflexes of the AN *ōn*-stem class. The *-n*- of the AN stem suffix can in ON be observed in the pl.gen., cf. *sagna*. There are two distinct forms in the sg., nom. ending in *-a*, and acc., dat. and gen. ending in *-u* (resulting in *u*-umlauted forms). *Saga* ‘story’ illustrates this pattern:

Sg.	nom.	<i>saga</i>
	acc.	<i>sqgu</i>
	dat.	<i>sqgu</i>
	gen.	<i>sqgu</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>sqgur</i>
	acc.	<i>sqgur</i>
	dat.	<i>sqgum</i>
	gen.	<i>sagna</i>

2.3.2.5. Class V (weak feminines)

Class V of feminine nouns consists of a few abstract nouns with no pl. and full syncretism in the sg.; in AN their stem suffix was *-īn*. *blindi* ‘blindness’ belongs to this class:

Sg.	nom.	<i>blindi</i>
	acc.	<i>blindi</i>
	dat.	<i>blindi</i>
	gen.	<i>blindi</i>

2.3.3. Neuter nouns

ON neuter nouns fall into two inflectional classes: Members of class I, traditionally called strong neuters, had the stem suffix *-a*- in AN, like masculines of class I. Members of class II, traditionally called weak, had the AN stem suffix *-an*-.

2.3.3.1. Class I (strong neuters)

Members of class I of neuter nouns had in AN the stem suffix *-a*-, like class I masculines;

both in the sg. and the pl., nom. acc. have identical forms, pl. differing from sg. by having *u*-umlaut wherever possible. Pl.nom. and acc. have no suffix. *bak* ‘back’ belongs to class I:

Sg.	nom.	<i>bak</i>
	acc.	<i>bak</i>
	dat.	<i>baki</i>
	gen.	<i>baks</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>bøk</i>
	acc.	<i>bøk</i>
	dat.	<i>bøkum</i>
	gen.	<i>baka</i>

Some neuters of this class also have *-v*- and *-j*-insertion, e.g. *hogg* ‘blow’ and *egg* ‘egg’:

		<i>-v-</i>	<i>-j-</i>
Sg.	nom.	<i>hogg</i>	<i>egg</i>
	acc.	<i>hogg</i>	<i>egg</i>
	dat.	<i>hoggvi</i>	<i>eggi</i>
	gen.	<i>hoggs</i>	<i>eggs</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>hogg</i>	<i>egg</i>
	acc.	<i>hogg</i>	<i>egg</i>
	dat.	<i>hoggum</i>	<i>eggjum</i>
	gen.	<i>hoggva</i>	<i>eggja</i>

Some class I neuters exhibit a stem change from sg. to pl. In the sg. the second (unstressed) syllable contains an *i*, which disappears in pl.dat. and gen. The inflectional suffixes, however, do not deviate from the main pattern, cf. the paradigm of *kvæði* ‘poem’.

Sg.	nom.	<i>kvæði</i>
	acc.	<i>kvæði</i>
	dat.	<i>kvæði</i>
	gen.	<i>kvæðis</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>kvæði</i>
	acc.	<i>kvæði</i>
	dat.	<i>kvæðum</i>
	gen.	<i>kvæða</i>

2.3.3.2. Class II (weak neuters)

Class II neuters, of which there are only a few, have the same form in all cases in the sg.; pl. nom. and acc. end in *-u*, which triggers *u*-umlaut where possible.

Sg.	nom.	<i>auga</i>
	acc.	<i>auga</i>
	dat.	<i>auga</i>
	gen.	<i>auga</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>augu</i>
	acc.	<i>augu</i>
	dat.	<i>augum</i>
	gen.	<i>augna</i>

3. Adjectives

3.1. Morphosyntactic categories

Old Nordic adjectives inflect for degree, definiteness, gender, case and number. The degree category forms the basis for making a distinction between three inflection classes. The difference between definite and indefinite adjectives corresponds to the traditional distinction drawn between the weak and strong inflection of adjectives in the Germanic languages.

Historically the gender, case and number inflectional endings are derived partly from nominal inflections and partly from pronominal inflections (cf. Noreen 1923, 288ff.).

3.1.1. Degree and inflection classes

There are three adjectival degrees: positive, comparative and superlative, cf. the following forms of *fullr* 'full' in sg.nom.masc.indef.:

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>fullr</i>	<i>fullari</i>	<i>fullastr</i>
'full'	'fuller'	'fullest'

Adjectives of all three degrees also inflect for gender, case and number (although there are many syncretisms). Furthermore, positive and superlative adjectives inflect for definiteness (see 3.1.2.).

With references to the category of degree, a distinction can be made between three inflection classes (termed class I, II and III below) of ON adjectives.

3.1.1.1. Class I (inflection by affixation)

Most ON adjectives belong to this class. They show regular formation of the comparative and the superlative by adding two different suffixes to the positive stem: The comparative is formed by adding the suffix *-ar-*, the superlative by adding *-ast-*. In neither case does the stem vowel change, cf. the following sg.nom.masc. forms of *spakr* 'wise':

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>spak-r</i>	<i>spak-ar-i</i>	<i>spak-ast-r</i>
'wise'	'wiser'	'wisest'

In this partial paradigm, the positive stem is *spak-*, the *-r* being the sg.nom.masc.indef. suffix. To this stem is added *-ar-* to form the comparative stem, to which the suffix expressing gender, case, number and definiteness (in this case *-i*) is added.

3.1.1.2. Class II (inflection by affixation and stem change)

Class II adjectives form the comparative and the superlative by a combination of inflectional suffixes and stem change, e.g. *langr* 'long':

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>lang-r</i>	<i>leng-r-i</i>	<i>leng-st-r</i>
'long'	'longer'	'longest'

The historical source of the stem change in the comparative and superlative is *i*-umlaut. Quite a few adjectives belong to this class, e.g. *ungr* 'young' (comp. *yngr*), *stórr* 'big' (comp. *stærri*), *fagr* 'beautiful' (comp. *fegri*) etc. (cf. Noreen 1923, 299).

Some adjectives can appear with both class I and II suffixes (Noreen 1923, 300), e.g. *djúpr* 'deep'; note that class II suffixes are accompanied by *i*-umlaut of the stem vowel:

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>djúp-r</i>	<i>djúp-ar-i</i>	<i>djúp-ast-r</i>
	<i>dýp-r-i</i>	<i>dýp-st-r</i>

Furthermore, some adjectives of this class have comparative and superlative forms only. These are words denoting temporal or locational direction, e.g.:

Comparative	Superlative
<i>efri</i> 'upper', 'later'	<i>efstr</i> 'last'
<i>eptri/aptari</i>	<i>epztr/aptastr</i>
'further behind'	'further behind'
<i>nyrdri</i> 'northern'	<i>nyrztr</i> 'most northern'

3.1.1.3. Class III (inflection by suppletion)

Class III adjectives inflect by suppletion, where the positive is expressed by one stem while the comparative and the superlative are expressed by another. The comparative and superlative forms have inflectional characteristics of class II adjectives, i.e. they inflect by the suffixes *-r/-st-* and *i*-umlaut of the stem vowel.

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>gamall</i> ('old')	<i>ellri</i>	<i>elztr</i>
<i>góðr</i> ('good')	<i>betri</i>	<i>beztr</i>
<i>illr</i> ('bad')	<i>verri</i>	<i>verstr</i>
<i>litill</i> ('small')	<i>minni</i>	<i>minnstr</i>
<i>margr</i> ('many')	<i>fleiri</i>	<i>flestr</i>
<i>mikill</i> ('large')	<i>meiri</i>	<i>mestr</i>

3.1.2. Definiteness

Traditionally, adjectival (as well as nominal and verbal) inflection has been classified as either strong or weak. With respect to ON ad-

jectives this terminological distinction refers to a morphological category, viz. definiteness. Thus, instead of speaking of an opposition between strong and weak adjective forms, I shall refer to definite as opposed to indefinite forms of the adjective.

Adjectives in the positive and the superlative may have either definite or indefinite form, depending on the syntactic context they appear in. The general rule is that the definite form of the adjective is used when the phrase it appears in is definite, either by containing a demonstrative pronoun (*h*)*inn* ‘that’, *sá* ‘this’, *þessi* ‘this’, cf. (i), or by containing a head noun which is semantically definite, cf. (ii):

- (i) inn góði konungr
that- sg.nom.masc.
good- sg.nom.masc. def.
king
- (ii) Hákon góði
Hakon- sg.nom.masc.
good- sg.nom.masc.def.
Hakon the good

In all other contexts adjectives in the positive or superlative appear in the indefinite form. Adjectives in the comparative invariably appear in definite form.

For the adjectives *spakr* ‘wise’ and *heiðinn* ‘heathen’ the following forms illustrate the difference between indefinite and definite adjectives in sg.nom.masc.:

Indef.	Def.
<i>spakr</i>	<i>spaki</i>
<i>heiðinn</i>	<i>heiðni</i>

3.1.3. Gender, Case and Number

As a general rule, adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in gender, case and number. The gender distinction is illustrated by the following forms, all sg.nom.indef.:

masc.	fem.	neut.
<i>spakr</i>	<i>spøk</i>	<i>spakt</i>

Historically, the masc. and neut. forms are derived from *a*-stem adjectives in AN (which in turn reflect *i*- and *a*-stems in Proto-Germanic), whereas the fem. forms are derived from AN *ō*-stem-adjectives, which reflect PGmc *ō*- or *u*-stem adjectives (Noreen 1923, 289).

Second, there is agreement in case; below is the sg.masc. section of the paradigm for *spakr*, showing case inflection:

		Indef.	Def.
Sg.	nom.	<i>spakr</i>	<i>spaki</i>
	acc.	<i>spakan</i>	<i>spaka</i>
	dat.	<i>spøkum</i>	<i>spaka</i>
	gen.	<i>spaks</i>	<i>spaka</i>

Finally, adjectives agree in number with the nouns they modify; thus, we can extend the table immediately above as follows:

		Indef.	Def.
Pl.	nom.	<i>spakir</i>	<i>spøku</i>
	acc.	<i>spaka</i>	<i>spøku</i>
	dat.	<i>spøkum</i>	<i>spøkum</i>
	gen.	<i>spakra</i>	<i>spøku</i>

3.1.4. Complete paradigms

To sum up, ON adjectives inflect for degree, definiteness, gender, case, and number. The following three tables illustrate the various forms:

Positive degree, all genders, cases and numbers; indefinite/definite:

		masc.	fem.
Sg.	nom.	<i>spakr/spaki</i>	<i>spøk/spaka</i>
	acc.	<i>spakan/spaka</i>	<i>spaka/spøku</i>
	dat.	<i>spøkum/spaka</i>	<i>spakri/spøku</i>
	gen.	<i>spaks/spaka</i>	<i>spakrar/spøku</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>spakir/spøku</i>	<i>spakar/spøku</i>
	acc.	<i>spaka/spøku</i>	<i>spakar/spøku</i>
	dat.	<i>spøkum/spøkum</i>	<i>spøkum/spøkum</i>
	gen.	<i>spakra/spøku</i>	<i>spakra/spøku</i>

		neut.
Sg.	nom.	<i>spakt/spaka</i>
	acc.	<i>spakt/spaka</i>
	dat.	<i>spøku/spaka</i>
	gen.	<i>spaks/spaka</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>spøk/spøku</i>
	acc.	<i>spøk/spøku</i>
	dat.	<i>spøkum/spøkum</i>
	gen.	<i>spakra/spøku</i>

Comparative degree, all genders, cases and numbers; no distinction between indefinite and definite.

		masc.	fem.	neut.
Sg.	nom.	<i>spakari</i>	<i>spakari</i>	<i>spakara</i>
	acc.	<i>spakara</i>	<i>spakari</i>	<i>spakara</i>
	dat.	<i>spakara</i>	<i>spakari</i>	<i>spakara</i>
	gen.	<i>spakara</i>	<i>spakari</i>	<i>spakara</i>
Pl.	nom.	<i>spakari</i>	<i>spakari</i>	<i>spakari</i>
	acc.	<i>spakari</i>	<i>spakari</i>	<i>spakari</i>
	dat.	<i>spøkurum</i>	<i>spøkurum</i>	<i>spøkurum</i>
	gen.	<i>spakari</i>	<i>spakari</i>	<i>spakari</i>

Superlative degree, all genders, cases and numbers; indefinite/definite. (Note that in the pl., dat. def. and indef. forms are identical.)

	masc.	fem.
Sg. nom.	<i>spakastr/</i>	<i>spøkust/</i>
	<i>spakasti</i>	<i>spakasta</i>
acc.	<i>spakastan/</i>	<i>spakasta/</i>
	<i>spakasta</i>	<i>spøkustu</i>
dat.	<i>spøkustum/</i>	<i>spakastri/</i>
	<i>spakasta</i>	<i>spøkustu</i>
gen.	<i>spakasts/</i>	<i>spakastrar/</i>
	<i>spakasta</i>	<i>spøkustu</i>
Pl. nom.	<i>spakastir/</i>	<i>spakastar/</i>
	<i>spøkustu</i>	<i>spøkustu</i>
acc.	<i>spakasta/</i>	<i>spakastar/</i>
	<i>spøkustu</i>	<i>spøkustu</i>
dat.	<i>spøkustum</i>	<i>spøkustum</i>
gen.	<i>spakastra/</i>	<i>spakastra/</i>
	<i>spøkustu</i>	<i>spøkustu</i>
	neut.	
Sg. nom.	<i>spakast/spakasta</i>	
acc.	<i>spakast/spakasta</i>	
dat.	<i>spøkustu/spakasta</i>	
gen.	<i>spakasts/spakasta</i>	
Pl. nom.	<i>spøkust/spøkustu</i>	
acc.	<i>spøkust/spøkustu</i>	
dat.	<i>spøkustum</i>	
gen.	<i>spakastra/spøkustu</i>	

3.1.4.1. Two subtypes

Many ON adjectives with a monosyllabic stem inflect like *spakr*. However, for adjectives with polysyllabic stems there are two deviations to make note of. First, polysyllabic adjectives ending in *-al/-il/-ul-* and *-ig/-ug/-ag-* have their unstressed vowels syncopated before suffixes beginning with a vowel, cf. *gamall* (sg.nom.masc.indef.), *gamals* (sg.gen.masc./neut.indef.), but *gamlan* (sg.acc.masc. indef.).

Second, adjectives with bisyllabic stems ending in *-in-* have sg.acc.masc.indef. just like its nom. counterpart, e.g. *heiðinn* and not *heiðnan*, as expected from the pattern of *spakr*.

3.1.4.2. Nominal vs. pronominal inflection

If the adjectival paradigms presented in this section are compared to the nominal paradigms of the preceding section, it will be clear that the definite inflections of adjectives are of a nominal type, corresponding to the masculine nouns of class V (2.3.1.5.), the feminine nouns of class IV (2.3.2.4.), and the neuter nouns of class II (2.3.3.2.), cf. the following expressions:

	sg.masc.	sg.fem.
nom.	<i>inn spaki bóndi</i>	<i>in spaka kona</i>
acc.	<i>inn spaka bónda</i>	<i>ina spöku konu</i>
dat.	<i>inum spaka bónda</i>	<i>inni spöku konu</i>
gen.	<i>ins spaka bónda</i>	<i>innar spöku konu</i>
	sg.neut.	
nom.	<i>it spaka hjarta</i>	
acc.	<i>it spaka hjarta</i>	
dat.	<i>inu spaka hjarta</i>	
gen.	<i>ins spaka hjarta</i>	

Turning to the indefinite paradigms, it is clear that there are still some remnants of common inflections for nouns and adjectives, e.g. in the sg.nom.masc. *-r* and the pl.nom. and acc.fem. *-ar* (corresponding, though, only to class II feminines). However, several of the indefinite adjectival suffixes derive from demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *spakan* sg.acc.masc. (Cf. Noreen 1923, 89f. for details.)

4. Adverbs

Many ON adverbs are indeclinable, e.g. *eigi* ‘not’. Some adverbs, however, inflect for degree. Just like adjectives these adverbs fall into three inflection classes. Adverbs of the first inflectional class form the comparative and superlative by adding *-ar* and *-ast* to the positive stem, cf. the following forms of the adverb *opt* ‘often’:

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>opt</i>	<i>opt-ar</i>	<i>opt-ast</i>

A few adverbs in this class optionally have the suffixes *-arr* and *-arst* instead of *-ar/-ast*, e.g. *aptr* ‘back’:

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>aptr</i>	<i>aptarr</i>	<i>aptarst</i>

Adverbs of the second inflectional class form the comparative and superlative by *i*-umlaut of the stem vowel and by adding the suffixes *-r* and *-st*, cf. these forms of *fagrt* ‘beautifully’:

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>fagrt</i>	<i>feg-r</i>	<i>fegr-st</i>

Finally, a few adverbs inflect by suppletion, for example *illa* ‘badly’.

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
<i>illa</i> ‘badly’	<i>verr</i> ‘worse’	<i>verst</i> ‘worst’

5. Pronouns

5.1. Pronominal inflection

5.1.1. Personal pronouns

For ON personal pronouns a three-way distinction is made for first and second persons: singular, dual and plural:

	Sg.	Dual	Plural
1st pers. nom.	<i>ek</i>	<i>vit</i>	<i>vér</i>
acc.	<i>mik</i>	<i>ok(k)r</i>	<i>oss</i>
dat.	<i>mér</i>	<i>ok(k)r</i>	<i>oss</i>
gen.	<i>mín</i>	<i>okkar</i>	<i>vár</i>
2nd pers. nom.	<i>þú</i>	<i>it, þit</i>	<i>ér, þér</i>
acc.	<i>þik</i>	<i>yk(k)r</i>	<i>yðr</i>
dat.	<i>þér</i>	<i>yk(k)r</i>	<i>yðr</i>
gen.	<i>þín</i>	<i>ykkar</i>	<i>yðar, yðvar</i>

The following table shows the system for 3 sg. and 3 pl., in which there is a gender distinction. The reflexive pronouns are also included in this table:

	masc.	fem.	neut.	Reflexive
3 sg. nom.	<i>hann</i>	<i>hon</i>	<i>þat</i>	
acc.	<i>hann</i>	<i>hana</i>	<i>þat</i>	<i>sik</i>
dat.	<i>honum</i>	<i>henni</i>	<i>því</i>	<i>sér</i>
gen.	<i>hans</i>	<i>hennar</i>	<i>þess</i>	<i>sin</i>
3 pl. nom.	<i>þeir</i>	<i>þær</i>	<i>þau</i>	
acc.	<i>þá</i>	<i>þær</i>	<i>þau</i>	<i>sik</i>
dat.	<i>þeim</i>	<i>þeim</i>	<i>þeim</i>	<i>sér</i>
gen.	<i>þeir(r)a</i>	<i>þeir(r)a</i>	<i>þeir(r)a</i>	<i>sin</i>

The 3 sg. neut. forms and all the pl. forms are identical to the corresponding forms of the demonstrative pronouns *sá*, see 5.1.2. below.

5.1.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Two demonstrative pronouns, *sá* and *þessi* 'this, that', have pronominal inflection:

	Sg.		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>sá</i>	<i>sú</i>	<i>þat</i>
acc.	<i>þann</i>	<i>þá</i>	<i>þat</i>
dat.	<i>þeim</i>	<i>þeir(r)i</i>	<i>því</i>
gen.	<i>þess</i>	<i>þeir(r)ar</i>	<i>þess</i>
	Pl.		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>þeir</i>	<i>þær</i>	<i>þau</i>
acc.	<i>þá</i>	<i>þær</i>	<i>þau</i>
dat.	<i>þeim</i>	<i>þeim</i>	<i>þeim</i>
gen.	<i>þeir(r)a</i>	<i>þeir(r)a</i>	<i>þeir(r)a</i>

	Sg.		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>sjá/þessi</i>	<i>sjá/þessi</i>	<i>þetta</i>
acc.	<i>þenna</i>	<i>þessa</i>	<i>þetta</i>
dat.	<i>þessum</i>	<i>þessi</i>	<i>þessu</i>
gen.	<i>þessa</i>	<i>þessar</i>	<i>þessa</i>
	Pl.		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>þessir</i>	<i>þessar</i>	<i>þessi</i>
acc.	<i>þessa</i>	<i>þessar</i>	<i>þessi</i>
dat.	<i>þessum</i>	<i>þessum</i>	<i>þessum</i>
gen.	<i>þessa</i>	<i>þessa</i>	<i>þessa</i>

In some cases there is more than one variant: *þessar(r)ar* instead of *þessar* in sg.gen.fem., *þessar(r)i* instead of *þessi* in sg.dat.fem., *þvísa* instead of *þessu* in sg.dat.neut., *þeima* instead of *þessum* in sg.dat.masc. and in pl.dat.

5.2. Adjectival inflection

5.2.1. Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronoun *minn* 'my, mine' inflects like an indefinite adjective, and has the forms given in the table below. *þinn* 'your(s)' and *sinn* 'his', 'her(s)', 'its', 'their(s)' (reflexive) inflect similarly.

	Sg.		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>minn</i>	<i>mín</i>	<i>mitt</i>
acc.	<i>minn</i>	<i>mína</i>	<i>mitt</i>
dat.	<i>mínum</i>	<i>minni</i>	<i>mínu</i>
gen.	<i>míns</i>	<i>minnar</i>	<i>míns</i>
	Pl.		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>mínir</i>	<i>mínar</i>	<i>mín</i>
acc.	<i>mína</i>	<i>mínar</i>	<i>mín</i>
dat.	<i>mínum</i>	<i>mínum</i>	<i>mínum</i>
gen.	<i>minna</i>	<i>minna</i>	<i>minna</i>

várr 'our(s)-pl.' inflects like an indefinite adjective, cf. 3.1.3. above, the only difference being the sg.acc.masc. form *várn*.

Okkarr 'our(s)-du.', *yðvarr* 'your(s)-pl.' and *ykkarr* 'your(s)-du.' inflect like the adjective *gamall* (indefinite forms), cf. 3.1.3. Note the sg.acc.masc. forms *okkarn*, *yðvarn* and *ykkarn*.

5.2.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns *hinn*, *inn* and *enn*, all meaning 'that', inflect like the possessive pronoun *minn* 'my, mine', see 5.2.1. above. They differ from *minn* in having a short root vowel in all forms.

5.2.3. Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns in ON are:

(1) *hverr* (in ONorw. also *hvarr*) ‘each, anyone’, *hvárr* ‘both’, *einnhverr* ‘someone’, and *sumr* ‘some’, all inflecting like indefinite adjectives ((*einn-*)-*hverr* with *-j*-insertion), except for the forms *hvern*, *hvárn* in sg.acc.masc., cf. 3.1.3.

(2) *hvergi* ‘anyone (of more than two)’, *hvárgi* ‘anyone (of two)’ have developed from *hverr*/*hvárr* and the particle *-gi*. Both pronouns have many variants, some of which are given here (see Noreen (1923, 324) for an overview of all the forms):

Sg.			
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>hvergi</i>	<i>hvergi</i>	<i>hvertki</i>
acc.	<i>hverngi</i>	<i>hveriga</i>	<i>hvertki</i>
dat.	<i>hverigum</i>	<i>hvergri</i>	<i>hverigu</i>
gen.	<i>hverskis</i>	<i>hverigrar</i>	<i>hverskis</i>

Pl.			
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>hverigir</i>	<i>hverigar</i>	<i>hvergi</i>
acc.	<i>hveriga</i>	<i>hverigar</i>	<i>hvergi</i>
dat.	<i>hverigum</i>	<i>hverigum</i>	<i>hverigum</i>
gen.	<i>hverigra</i>	<i>hverigra</i>	<i>hverigra</i>

(3) *nøkkurr* ‘something, somebody’ has the following inflectional forms (note that other variants exist, cf. Noreen 1923, 322):

Sg.			
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>nøkkurr</i>	<i>nøkkur</i>	<i>nøkkur</i>
acc.	<i>nøkkurn</i>	<i>nøkkura</i>	<i>nøkkur</i>
dat.	<i>nøkkurum</i>	<i>nøkkurri</i>	<i>nøkkuru</i>
gen.	<i>nøkkurs</i>	<i>nøkkurrar</i>	<i>nøkkurs</i>

Pl.			
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>nøkkurir</i>	<i>nøkkurar</i>	<i>nøkkur</i>
acc.	<i>nøkkura</i>	<i>nøkkurar</i>	<i>nøkkur</i>
dat.	<i>nøkkurum</i>	<i>nøkkurum</i>	<i>nøkkurum</i>
gen.	<i>nøkkura</i>	<i>nøkkurra</i>	<i>nøkkurra</i>

(4) *engi* ‘no one’ inflects as follows (but also for this pronoun, other variants exist, cf. Noreen 1923, 322f.):

Sg.			
	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>engi</i>	<i>engi</i>	<i>ekki</i>
acc.	<i>engi</i>	<i>enga</i>	<i>ekki</i>
dat.	<i>engum</i>	<i>engi</i>	<i>engu</i>
gen.	<i>enskis</i>	<i>engrar</i>	<i>enskis</i>

Pl.

	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>engir</i>	<i>engar</i>	<i>engi</i>
acc.	<i>enga</i>	<i>engar</i>	<i>engi</i>
dat.	<i>engum</i>	<i>engum</i>	<i>engum</i>
gen.	<i>engra</i>	<i>engra</i>	<i>engra</i>

(5) *einn* ‘one’ inflects like adjectives ending in *-inn*, cf. 3.1.3. above.

(6) *báðir* ‘both’ inflects as follows:
masc. fem. neut.

	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>báðir</i>	<i>báðar</i>	<i>bæði</i>
acc.	<i>báða</i>	<i>báðar</i>	<i>bæði</i>
dat.	<i>báðum</i>	<i>báðum</i>	<i>báðum</i>
gen.	<i>beggja</i>	<i>beggja</i>	<i>beggja</i>

5.3. Relative pronouns

The most common complementizers of ON relative clauses are the particles *er*, *en* (restricted to ONorw.) and *at*. In translations from Latin, and in works based on foreign sources (i.e. works written in “learned style”, cf. Nygaard 1896), the interrogative pronouns *hverr* and *hvílikr* (cf. 5.4) are used as relative pronouns.

5.4. Interrogative pronouns

Hverr (in ONorw. also *hvarr*) ‘who’, *hvárr* ‘who-du.’ and *hvílikr* ‘of what kind’ inflect like a regular indefinite adjective, though with the forms *hvern*, *hvarn* and *hvárn* in sg.acc. masc.; cf. 5.2.3.(1.).

6. Numerals

6.1. Cardinals

(1) *einn* ‘one’ inflects like an adjective ending in *-inn*, cf. 3.1.4.2. above.

(2) *tveir* ‘two’, inflects as follows:

	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>tveir</i>	<i>tvær</i>	<i>tvau</i>
acc.	<i>tvá</i>	<i>tvær</i>	<i>tvau</i>
dat.	<i>tveim(r)</i>	<i>tveim(r)</i>	<i>tveim(r)</i>
gen.	<i>tveggja</i>	<i>tveggja</i>	<i>tveggja</i>

(3) *þrír* ‘three’ has the following forms:

	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>þrír</i>	<i>þrjár</i>	<i>þrjú</i>
acc.	<i>þrjá</i>	<i>þrjár</i>	<i>þrjú</i>
dat.	<i>þrim(r)</i>	<i>þrim(r)</i>	<i>þrim(r)</i>
gen.	<i>þriggja</i>	<i>þriggja</i>	<i>þriggja</i>

(4) *fjórir* ‘four’ inflects in the following way:

	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>fjórir</i>	<i>fjórar</i>	<i>fjögur</i>
acc.	<i>fjóra</i>	<i>fjórar</i>	<i>fjögur</i>
dat.	<i>fjórum</i>	<i>fjórum</i>	<i>fjórum</i>
gen.	<i>fjögurra</i>	<i>fjögurra</i>	<i>fjögurra</i>

(5) The cardinals 5–20 are indeclinable.

(6) In the expressions *þrír tigir* ‘30’, *fjórir tigir* ‘40’ etc. up to ‘110’, the element *tigir* (pl.) ‘ten’ is a masculine noun of class III (cf. 2.3.1.3.) and inflects accordingly.

(7) *hundrað* ‘hundred (i. e. 100 or 120)’ inflects like a class I neuter noun (cf. 2.3.3.1.).

(8) Finally, *þúsund* ‘thousand (i. e. 1000 or 1200)’ is a feminine noun of class I (cf. 2.3.2.1.).

6.2. Ordinals

(1) *fyrstr* ‘first’ inflects like a regular indefinite adjective (cf. 3.1.3.); *fyrsti* ‘first’ inflects like a regular definite adjective (cf. 3.1.3.).

(2) *annarr* ‘second’ inflects like an indefinite adjective.

(3) The remaining ordinals have definite inflection only.

7. Verbs

We shall follow traditional grammars of ON in making a distinction between strong and weak verbs. The two groups differ on two points. First, weak verbs form the past tense by means of a dental suffix (*t*, *d* or *ð*) (for the distribution of this suffix, see Noreen (1923, 174ff.; 343ff.) and Haugen (1995, 173f.)), while strong verbs form the past tense by changing the root vowel (which is a reflex of Indo-European ablaut):

<i>kasta</i> , inf. ‘throw’	<i>kastaði</i>	(past ind. 3 sg.)
<i>bíta</i> , inf. ‘bite’	<i>beit</i>	(past ind. 3 sg.)

Second, also illustrated by the forms immediately above, weak verbs have polysyllabic forms in the past ind.sg., while strong verbs always have monosyllabic forms.

This section starts with a brief overview of the morphosyntactic categories of ON verbs. Next, the various inflectional classes are presented. Finally, the section is summarized by tables showing the various inflectional characteristics associated with each class.

7.1. Finite and non-finite verb forms

In this section only the morphological properties of finite verb forms will be discussed. However, Old Nordic also has two participles present and past and an infinitive. The infinitive does not carry inflections. The past participles, on the other hand, inflect like normal adjectives like *spakr* and *heiðinn*, cf. 3.1.4.1. Present participles inflect like definite adjectives, cf. 3.1.3.

7.2. Inflectional categories

ON verbs carry inflections for the following five categories: tense, mood, number, person, and voice. First, ON verbs may express two different tenses, present and past (in addition the language has a set of analytically formed tenses; these will not concern us here):

pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past ind. 3 sg.
<i>kastar</i>	<i>kastaði</i>
<i>bítr</i>	<i>beit</i>

Second, ON verbs inflect for three moods: indicative, subjunctive and imperative, cf. the following forms of *telja* ‘count’ and *bíta* ‘bite’:

imp. (2 sg.)	ind. (past 3 sg.)	subj. (past 3 sg.)
<i>tel!</i>	<i>taldi</i>	<i>teldi</i>
<i>bít!</i>	<i>beit</i>	<i>biti</i>

Third, verbs appear in the sg. and pl., and fourth, in first, second or third person:

	<i>kasta</i> (pres.ind.)	<i>bíta</i> (pres.ind.)
Sg. 1	<i>kasta</i>	<i>bít</i>
2	<i>kastar</i>	<i>bítr</i>
3	<i>kastar</i>	<i>bítr</i>
Pl. 1	<i>køstum</i>	<i>bitum</i>
2	<i>kastið</i>	<i>bitið</i>
3	<i>kasta</i>	<i>bíta</i>

Finally, there is a morphological distinction in the category of voice between an active form and a form which expresses grammatical meaning elements like passive, inchoative, reflexive, and middle. This latter form, often called the reflexive form or the middle voice, is characterized by (variants of) the ending *-sk*:

	Active	Middle
Sg. 1	<i>kasta</i>	<i>køstumk</i>
2	<i>kastar</i>	<i>kastask</i>
3	<i>kastar</i>	<i>kastask</i>
Pl. 1	<i>køstum</i>	<i>køstumsk</i>
2	<i>kastið</i>	<i>kastizk</i>
3	<i>kasta</i>	<i>kastask</i>

7.3. Inflectional classes

In what follows, ON verbs will be categorized into eleven inflectional classes: three weak classes, seven strong classes, and one class having inflectional characteristics of both strong and weak verbs. In addition there are a number of verbs with more or less irregular inflections.

7.3.1. Weak classes

The three classes of weak verbs in ON (termed class I, II, and III below) differ with respect to their suffixes in the pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.: In class I this suffix is *-ar*; in class II it is *-r*, and in class III it is *-ir*. There are also other differences, which will be commented upon below.

The characteristics of each class will be illustrated by the following forms: the infinitive, the pres.ind. 2, 3 sg., the past ind. 3 sg. and the supine.

7.3.1.1. Class I

Weak verbs of class I had the stem suffix *-ō-*; in AN *kasta* 'throw' and *fá* 'paint' belong to this class:

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past.ind. 3 sg.	supine
<i>kasta</i>	<i>kastar</i>	<i>kastaði</i>	<i>kastat</i>
<i>fá</i>	<i>fár</i>	<i>fáði</i>	<i>fátt</i>

To this class belong most ON verbs, among them inchoatives with infinitives ending in *-na*, like *vakna* 'wake up'. The forms in the pres.ind.sg. have the suffix *-a-*, which also appears in the supine; this vowel has become contracted in verbs like *fá* 'paint', cf. *fár* (pres.ind.3 sg.), *fátt* (supine).

A few verbs in this class have *-j-* or *-v-*insertion, e.g. *eggja* 'incite' and *bqlva* 'curse':

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past.ind. 3 sg.	supine
<i>eggja</i>	<i>eggjar</i>	<i>eggjaði</i>	<i>eggjat</i>
<i>bqlva</i>	<i>bqlvar</i>	<i>bqlvaði</i>	<i>bqlvat</i>

7.3.1.2. Class II

Weak verbs of class II had the stem suffix *-ja-*; in AN *telja* 'count' and *flytja* 'move' belong to this class, which is the class of weak verbs in ON having fewest members:

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past.ind. 3 sg.	supine
<i>telja</i>	<i>telr</i>	<i>taldi</i>	<i>talt</i>
<i>flytja</i>	<i>flytr</i>	<i>flutti</i>	<i>flutt</i>

Characteristic of verbs of this class is (i) their short root syllable, (ii) inflection by vowel change (present to past), a result of *i*-umlaut

of the original root vowel in the present, (iii) pres.ind. 3 sg. suffix *-r*, in contrast with class I suffix *-ar* and class III *-ir*; and (iv) no vowel in the supine suffix.

Note the following exceptions to these characteristics: (i) Some verbs have an *i*-umlauted vowel also in the past, cf. *selja* 'sell' *seldi* (past ind. 3 sg.); (ii) some verbs have *-i-* in the supine suffix, which reflects an original *-i-*, e.g. *framit* of *fremja* 'promote'.

7.3.1.3. Class III

Members of class III of ON weak verbs correspond to two different AN classes; the first had the stem suffix *-ija-*, giving *i*-umlauted forms in the present as well as in the past, cf. *dæma* 'judge':

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past ind. 3 sg.	supine
<i>dæma</i>	<i>dæmir</i>	<i>dæmdi</i>	<i>dæmt</i>

The second AN source of class III verbs had the stem suffix *-ē-*. The ON verb *trúa* 'believe' belongs to this class:

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past ind. 3 sg.	supine
<i>trúa</i>	<i>trúir</i>	<i>trúði</i>	<i>trúat</i>

Class III verbs have the pres.ind. 2, 3 sg. suffix *-ir*. The subclass with an *i*-umlauted stem vowel has the supine ending in *-t*, while the other subclass has the supine ending in *-at*.

A number of weak class III verbs have *-j-*insertion, like *stengja* 'close', and a few also have *-v-*insertion, e.g. *slongva* 'throw':

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past ind. 3 sg.	supine
<i>stengja</i>	<i>stengir</i>	<i>stengði</i>	<i>stengt</i>
<i>slongva</i>	<i>slongvir</i>	<i>slongði</i>	<i>slongt</i>

Some verbs also appear with either type of insertion. (See Noreen 1923, 346f.)

7.3.1.4. Remaining patterns

The following verbs have inflectional properties in common with weak class III verbs, i.e. (partial) *i*-umlaut, pres. ind. sg 2, 3 suffix *-ir*, and supine suffix *-t*. However, they have certain inflectional irregularities which set them apart from regular class III verbs:

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past ind. 3 sg.	supine
<i>sækja</i>	<i>sækir</i>	<i>sótti</i>	<i>sótt</i>
<i>þykkja</i>	<i>þykkir</i>	<i>þótti</i>	<i>þótt</i>
<i>yrkja</i>	<i>yrkir</i>	<i>orti</i>	<i>ort</i>
<i>hafa</i>	<i>hefir</i>	<i>hafði</i>	<i>haft</i>
<i>segja</i>	<i>segir</i>	<i>sagði</i>	<i>sagt</i>
<i>þegja</i>	<i>þegir</i>	<i>þagði</i>	<i>þag(a)t</i>
<i>kaupa</i>	<i>keypir</i>	<i>keypti</i>	<i>keypt</i>

7.3.2. Strong classes

The seven classes of strong verbs in ON differ with respect to the alternations their stem vowels undergo (i. e. which Proto-Indo-European ablaut series they reflect.) The characteristics of each strong class will be illustrated by the following forms: the infinitive, the pres. ind. 2, 3 sg., the past ind. 1, 3 sg., the past ind. 1 pl., and the supine.

7.3.2.1. Class I

Strong verbs of class I instantiate the vowel series $i - ei - i$ (< PGmc $\bar{a}ii$). *bita* 'bite' is a member of this class:

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past ind. 1, 3 sg.	past ind. 1 pl.	supine
<i>bita</i>	<i>bítr</i>	<i>beit</i>	<i>bitum</i>	<i>bitit</i>

Other members of this class are *drífa* 'drive', *grípa* 'seize', *líta* 'see', *rífa* 'tear', *riða* 'ride'. Note the following alternative forms in the past ind. 1, 3 sg. in verbs whose stem ends in -g-; *hníga* 'bend over' – *hneig* or *hné*; *síga* 'sink down' – *seig* or *sé*.

7.3.2.2. Class II

Strong verbs of class II instantiate the vowel series $j\acute{u}/j\acute{o}/\acute{u} - au - u/o$ (< PGmc $eu - au - o$), cf. Noreen 1923, 94f. for details about the variation - $j\acute{u}/-j\acute{o}-$ in the infinitive; *krjúpa* 'crawl', *brjóta* 'break' and *lúka* 'close' are members of this class.

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past ind. 1, 3 sg.	past ind. 1 pl.	supine
<i>krjúpa</i>	<i>krýpr</i>	<i>kraup</i>	<i>krupum</i>	<i>kropit</i>
<i>brjóta</i>	<i>brýtr</i>	<i>braut</i>	<i>brutum</i>	<i>brotit</i>
<i>lúka</i>	<i>lýkr</i>	<i>lauk</i>	<i>lukum</i>	<i>lokit</i>

Most verbs in this class are like *krjúpa* and *brjóta*. The difference between the two stem diphthongs is predictable from the place of articulation of the following consonant: - $j\acute{o}$ - before alveolar consonants, - $j\acute{u}$ - elsewhere (cf. Noreen 1923, 94f.).

Only a few verbs inflect like *lúka*. The stem vowel \acute{u} (< PGmc. eu) has not been explained in the literature (Iversen 1972, 101).

If the stem ends in a -g-, there are two alternative forms in the past ind. 1, 3 sg., e. g. *fljúga* 'fly' has *flaug* or *fló*.

Two verbs, *kjósa* 'choose' and *frjósa* 'freeze', have aberrant forms in OIcel.; instead of the expected *kaus/kusum* and *fraus/frusum*, which are attested in ONorw., we find *kora*, *kori/*

korum and *fróra*, *fróri/frorum*, which for number and person inflect like weak verbs.

7.3.2.3. Class III

Strong verbs of class III instantiate the vowel series $e/ja/i/y/\emptyset - a - u - o/u$ (< PGmc $e - a - u$); *bresta* 'break', *bjarga* 'save, help', *spinna* 'spin', *slyngva* 'hurl' and *sökkva* 'sink' are members of this class:

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past ind. 1, 3 sg.	past ind. 1 pl.	supine
<i>bresta</i>	<i>brestr</i>	<i>brast</i>	<i>brustum</i>	<i>brostit</i>
<i>bjarga</i>	<i>bergr</i>	<i>barg</i>	<i>burgum</i>	<i>borgit</i>
<i>spinna</i>	<i>spinnr</i>	<i>spann</i>	<i>spunnum</i>	<i>spunnit</i>
<i>slyngva</i>	<i>slyngr</i>	<i>slǫng</i>	<i>slungum</i>	<i>slungit</i>
<i>sökkva</i>	<i>sökkv</i>	<i>sǫkk</i>	<i>sukkum</i>	<i>sokkit</i>

7.3.2.4. Class IV

Strong verbs of class IV instantiate the vowel series $e - a - \acute{a} - o$ (< PGmc $e - a - \bar{x} - u$); *bera* 'carry' is a member of class IV:

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past ind. 1, 3 sg.	past ind. 1 pl.	supine
<i>bera</i>	<i>berr</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>bárum</i>	<i>borit</i>

Several strong verbs of class IV have root vowels which in the infinitive/present or in the past deviate from that of *bera*, e. g. *sofa* 'sleep', *koma* 'come', and *svíma* 'swim':

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past ind. 1, 3 sg.	past ind. 1 pl.	supine
<i>koma</i>	<i>kemr/komr</i>	<i>kom</i>	<i>kvánum</i>	<i>komit</i>
<i>sofa</i>	<i>sefr/søfr</i>	<i>svaf</i>	<i>sváfum</i>	<i>sofit</i>
<i>svíma</i>	<i>svimr</i>	<i>svam</i>	<i>svámu</i>	<i>sumit</i>

7.3.2.5. Class V

Strong verbs of class V instantiate the vowel series $e - a - \acute{a} - e$ (< PGmc $e - a - \bar{x}$); *gefa* ('give'), *biðja* 'ask', *liggja* 'lie', *fregna* 'ask', *vera* 'be' and *sjá* 'see' are members of this class:

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg.	past ind. 1, 3 sg.	past ind. 1 pl.	supine
<i>gefa</i>	<i>gefr</i>	<i>gaf</i>	<i>gáfum</i>	<i>gefinn</i>
<i>biðja</i>	<i>biðr</i>	<i>bað</i>	<i>báðum</i>	<i>beðit</i>
<i>liggja</i>	<i>liggr</i>	<i>lá</i>	<i>lágum</i>	<i>legit</i>
<i>fregna</i>	<i>fregn</i>	<i>frá</i>	<i>frágum</i>	<i>fregit</i>
<i>vera</i>	(er)	<i>var</i>	<i>várum</i>	<i>verit</i>
<i>sjá</i>	<i>sér</i>	<i>sá</i>	<i>sám</i>	<i>sét</i>

7.3.2.6. Class VI

Strong verbs of class VI instantiate the vowel series $a - \acute{o}$ (< PGmc $a - \bar{o}$); *fara* 'go' is a member of this class. The verbs in this class can

be divided in several subclasses. First, verbs whose stem ends in *-g-* or *-k-*, e. g. *taka* ‘take’, have the root vowel *-e-* in the supine. Second, some verbs, e. g. *hefja* ‘lift’, have *-j-* insertion in the infinitive/present; these verbs have the root vowel *-e-* in the mentioned forms. Third, four verbs, *flá* ‘flay’, *klá* ‘scratch’, *slá* ‘beat’ and *þvá* ‘wash’ have a long vowel in the infinitive and the present.

inf.	pres.ind. 2, 3 sg	past ind. 1, 3 sg	past ind. 1 pl.	supine
<i>fara</i>	<i>ferr</i>	<i>för</i>	<i>fórum</i>	<i>farit</i>
<i>taka</i>	<i>tekr</i>	<i>tók</i>	<i>tókum</i>	<i>tekit</i>
<i>hefja</i>	<i>hefr</i>	<i>hóf</i>	<i>hófum</i>	<i>hafit</i>
<i>flá</i>	<i>flær</i>	<i>fló</i>	<i>flógum</i>	<i>flegit</i>
<i>þvá</i>	<i>þvær</i>	<i>þó</i>	<i>þógum</i>	<i>þvegit</i>
<i>draga</i>	<i>dregr</i>	<i>dró</i>	<i>drógum</i>	<i>dregit</i>
<i>hlæja</i>	<i>hlær</i>	<i>hló</i>	<i>hlógum</i>	<i>hlegit</i>

7.3.2.7. Class VII

Historically the verbs in class VII are derived from a PGmc. class of reduplicating verbs. There are four subclasses, represented below by *leika* ‘play’, *hlaupa* ‘run’, *blanda* ‘mix’, *blása* ‘blow’.

inf.	pres. ind. 2,3 sg.	past ind. 1,3 sg.	past ind. 1 pl.	supine
<i>leika</i>	<i>leikr</i>	<i>lék</i>	<i>lékum</i>	<i>leikit</i>
<i>hlaupa</i>	<i>hleypr</i>	<i>hljóp</i>	<i>hljöpum</i>	<i>hlaupit</i>
<i>blanda</i>	<i>blendr</i>	<i>blett</i>	<i>blendum</i>	<i>blandit</i>
<i>blása</i>	<i>blæss</i>	<i>blés</i>	<i>blésum</i>	<i>blásit</i>

7.3.2.8. Verbs with both weak and strong inflection

Several ON verbs have inflectional properties of both strong and weak verbs. Members of the first group have present forms like the past of regular strong verbs, and past forms like the past of regular verbs, i. e. with the dental

suffix. ON has 10 verbs of this type, all listed below:

7.3.3. The middle voice

Finally, the inflectional forms of reflexive ON verbs are given, illustrated by the paradigms of *kallask* ‘be called’ and *lúkask* ‘close, be closed’:

Infinitive		<i>kallask</i>	<i>lúkask</i>
Present Indicative	sg. 1	<i>køllumk</i>	<i>lúkumk</i>
	2	<i>kallask</i>	<i>lýksk</i>
	3	<i>kallask</i>	<i>lýksk</i>
	pl. 1	<i>køllumsk</i>	<i>lúkumsk</i>
	2	<i>kallizk</i>	<i>lúkizk</i>
	3	<i>kallask</i>	<i>lúkask</i>
Present Subjunctive	sg. 1	<i>køllumk</i>	<i>lúkumk</i>
	2	<i>kallisk</i>	<i>lúkisk</i>
	3	<i>kallisk</i>	<i>lúkisk</i>
	pl. 1	<i>kallimsk</i>	<i>lúkimsk</i>
	2	<i>kallizk</i>	<i>lúkizk</i>
	3	<i>kallisk</i>	<i>lúkisk</i>
Past Indicative	sg. 1	<i>kølluðumk</i>	<i>lukumk</i>
	2	<i>kallaðisk</i>	<i>lauksk</i>
	3	<i>kallaðisk</i>	<i>lauksk</i>
	pl. 1	<i>kølluðumsk</i>	<i>lukumsk</i>
	2	<i>kølluðuzk</i>	<i>lukuzk</i>
	3	<i>kølluðusk</i>	<i>lukusk</i>
Past Subjunctive	sg. 1	<i>kølluðumk</i>	<i>lykumk</i>
	2	<i>kallaðisk</i>	<i>lykisk</i>
	3	<i>kallaðisk</i>	<i>lykisk</i>
	pl. 1	<i>kallaðimsk</i>	<i>lykimsk</i>
	2	<i>kallaðizk</i>	<i>lykizk</i>
	3	<i>kallaðisk</i>	<i>lykisk</i>
Imperative	sg. 2	<i>kallask</i>	<i>lúksk</i>
	pl. 1	<i>køllumsk</i>	<i>lúkumsk</i>
	2	<i>kallizk</i>	<i>lúkizk</i>
Pres. Part.		<i>kallandisk</i>	<i>lúkandisk</i>
		<i>kallazk</i>	<i>lokizk</i>

Table 1.

inf.	pres. ind. 2,3 sg.	pres. ind. 1. pl.	pret. ind. 3. sg	supine
<i>vita</i> (‘know’)	<i>veit</i>	<i>vitum</i>	<i>vissi</i>	<i>vitat</i>
<i>eiga</i> (‘own’)	<i>á</i>	<i>eigum</i>	<i>átti</i>	<i>átt</i>
<i>unna</i> (‘love’)	<i>ann</i>	<i>unnum</i>	<i>unni</i>	<i>unt/unnat</i>
<i>kunna</i> (‘know’)	<i>kann</i>	<i>kunnum</i>	<i>kunni</i>	<i>kunnat</i>
<i>þurfa</i> (‘need’)	<i>þarf</i>	<i>þurfum</i>	<i>þurfti</i>	<i>þurft</i>
<i>muna</i> (‘remember’)	<i>man</i>	<i>munum</i>	<i>mundi</i>	<i>munat</i>
<i>munu</i> (‘will’)	<i>mun</i>	<i>munum</i>	<i>mundi</i>	–
<i>skulu</i> (‘shall’)	<i>skal</i>	<i>skulum</i>	<i>skyldi</i>	–
<i>mega</i> (‘be able to’)	<i>má</i>	<i>megum</i>	<i>mátti</i>	<i>megat/mátt</i>
– (‘know’)	<i>kná</i>	<i>knegum</i>	<i>knátti</i>	–

8. Literature (a selection)

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104. The morphology of Old Nordic II: Old Swedish and Old Danish

1. Introduction
2. Synchronic aspects
3. Diachronic aspects
4. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

This article is a survey of the morphology of Old Swedish (OSw.), Old Danish (ODan.) and Old Gutnish (OGu.) for the period 1100–1350. In some cases Old Scanian is sufficiently different from other variants of ODan. to be distinguished from it here, mostly in cases when Old Scanian patterns with OSw. The article has two parts. The first one is mainly synchronic, giving an overview of the morphology of OSw. and ODan. The second part is diachronic, presenting some major changes in the morphological system and their causes.

2. Synchronic aspects

In the beginning of the ON period, written Dan. and Sw. are only found in (short) runic inscriptions. However, some manuscripts do exist, mainly from the period 1250–1350. The oldest longer texts are from late 13th c. A description of OSw. and ODan. morphology from the beginning of this period must therefore be a reconstruction of what we can deduce from the earliest texts and the morphology of related languages. The main sources for this study are: for ODan., GG (1928–1971); and for OSw. and OGu., the main sources are Noreen *Aschwed.* and Wessén *Språkh. I*. These works are of course supplemented by other works. The survey has also benefited from searching computer files of the Scanian Law (SkL) and some OSw. provincial laws.

The grammatical categories expressed for nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs can be divided into three groups. First, some catego-

ries denote inherent properties of a word, a specified and invariable property of the single lexical item. For instance, all proper names are definite and lexically specified for either sg. or pl. (the latter is true for many place-names). All nouns also belong to certain genders (masc., fem. or neut.) and declensions related to these. Verbs belong to various conjugations. Second, words can have meaningful inflection to the extent that the speaker will choose different endings in order to convey different meanings. Number for nouns, comparison for adjectives and tense for verbs are typical instances of this type, which I will call *substantial inflection*. Third, we also find grammatical inflection, which is not a choice of the speaker but a consequence of the syntactic environment. Ordinary adjectival and verbal agreement are typical grammatical inflections. Case must be seen as partly substantial and partly grammatical. Nominative and accusative are normally dependent on the syntactic configuration (*structural case* in generative terms). The same is true for many complements of prepositions, which invariably take the same case (like the gen. after *til* in ON). On the other hand, case may also be a substantial inflection. For instance, dative is used for all phrases of time and distance introducing prepositional phrases and subordinate clauses: *niu manæþum æptir þet bonden doþær ær* (UL, ms. B) [nine month-dat. after that peasant-the dead is]. A similar thematic case is found with certain complements of prepositions, which take different cases for different meaning (*i hūs / i hūsi*), i.e. the accusative is used for direction (or bounded meaning), whereas dative is used for location (or unbounded meaning). Thus, while case can be both substantial and grammatical, since it is normally found in a syncretism with number, I will treat it together with number (i.e. as sub-

Table 104.1: Grammatical categories

	Inherent category	Substantial inflection	Grammatical inflection
Proper names	gender/ + def/number	case	(case)
Nouns	gender	number/case/def	(case)
Personal pronouns	person/number/ + def/case	(case)	
Possessive pronouns	person/number		gender/number/case
Adjectives		comparison	gender/number/case
Verbs		tense/mode	person/number

stantial inflection). The distinctions made above are concluded in table 104.1.

Nouns with certain combinations of number/gender inflections are grouped into declensions, and verbs with certain combinations of tense/number inflection are grouped into conjugations. Note that a category can be specified twice. Possessive pronouns may have an inherent specification (normally visible in the root) for the number of the possessor, but it also agrees with the possessee in number. Personal pronouns can be said to inflect only marginally, since different forms may be based on different roots. Following tradition, I will, however, include them in the survey. This synchronic section is thus divided into seven separate subsections:

- nouns and proper names (case and number)
- personal pronouns (case, number and person)
- pronominal agreement (case, number and gender)
- adjectives (comparison)
- adjectival agreement (case, number and gender)
- verbs (tense and mode)
- verbal agreement (person and number)

I will give a simplified picture of the facts here. Definiteness of noun phrases is often signalled by a definite suffix on the noun. This suffix takes basically the same form as pronominal attributive pronouns. Thus I will present the forms of nouns with the suffixed article together with attributive pronouns.

Generally, the old unstressed vowels, [i, u, a], are retained in OGu. In OSw. and Old Scanian, they are often weakened to [e, o] and (sometimes) [æ], respectively, by the end of this period. In ODan. all unstressed vowels are

normally weakened to [ə] (spelled <e> or <æ>), thus removing the distinction. Throughout, I will give examples with the original vowel preserved. Svarabhakti vowels are only present in the latter part of this period. There are still texts that frequently leave out the svarabhakti vowels, i.e. ÄVgL, GL and several manuscripts of UL, as well as the major part of KS (Moberg 1984, 166–174). In the texts with svarabhakti, we find <a> frequently in OGu. and in some texts from Östergötland. DL has <i>, whereas other OSw. texts normally have <æ> or <e>. ODan. has the ordinary unstressed <æ>. The svarabhakti vowel is not visible where there has been assimilation between the end of the stem and the inflectional suffix (when the stem ends in [s], [l], [r] or [n]). I use <æ> as svarabhakti vowel all through this survey. By the end of the period we also find the total loss of final unstressed vowels in Old Jutlandic: *bær, hald* (corresponding to Old Zealandic *bæræ, haldæ* or Old Scanian/OSw. *bæra, halda*). The following gives this idealised picture of OEN morphology. Since the common origin of ODan. and OSw. is almost always best preserved in OSw., I will basically present OSw. morphology in the tables, pointing out deviancies in ODan. and OGu. in the text.

2.1. Nouns

Ordinary nouns are inherently specified for gender. They are inflected for number and case. They may also take the suffixed article, which makes the noun phrase that they head definite. This suffixed article is in turn inflected for case and number. Proper names are inherently definite and they are either sg. or pl. They have a number/case suffix just as ordinary nouns do.

Table 104.2: Nouns in Old Nordic

Vowel	Strong nouns			Weak nouns (-n stems)		
	masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.	fem.	neut.
a/o	-a stem	-ō stem	-a stem	-an stem	-ōn stem	-an stem
i	-i stem	-i stem			-īn stem	
u	-u stem					

Nouns in ON are normally divided into stems, according to their PN forms. These stems consisted of a root and a derivational suffix, which normally is a vowel (strong nouns) or a vowel and a consonant (weak nouns). These stems correlate with one, two or three genders as illustrated in table 104.2.

Most of these stems are common, but -u stems, -īn stems and neuter -an stems comprise only few nouns. Among the masculines, the -a and -an stems are most common, among the feminines the -i and -ōn stems are most common, whereas almost all neuter nouns are -a stems. The -a/-an and -ō/-ōn stems formerly had variants with a [i] or a [j] before the vowel, -ia/-iō and -ja/-jō stems, which still affects the inflection. Apart from the stems presented in table 104.2, there are three types of stem that do not contain any vowel in the suffix. These stems have their pl. nom./acc. in -r (or svara-bhakti + -r). The three types are the root stems, which have no stem suffix at all (the inflectional ending is added to the root), the -r stems and the -nd stems. They are represented by very few nouns, but some of them are quite frequent, such as *maþær*, *hand*, *fapir*, *mopir*, *bondi*. I will treat these three types of nouns together with the strong nouns, as is customary in modern works on Scandinavian morphology. In the following, a brief survey of these noun stems is provided.

2.1.1. Strong nouns

The stem vowel of -a and -ō stems is still visible in the pl. (nom./acc.). It appears as an [a] in OSw., OGu. and Old Scanian, but the weakening of vowels has turned it into [ə], spelled <æ> or <e>, in ODan. The -a and -ō stems are inflected as in table 3 (some qualifying remarks are found at the end of this subsection).

Table 104.3: -a stems and -ō stems

Sg.	masc. -a stems	fem. -ō stems	neut. -a stems
Nom.	<i>fisk-ær</i>	<i>sōl</i>	<i>bēn</i>
Gen.	<i>fisk-s</i>	<i>sōl-ar</i>	<i>bēn-s</i>
Dat.	<i>fisk-i</i>	<i>sōl-u</i>	<i>bēn-i</i>
Acc.	<i>fisk</i>	<i>sōl</i>	<i>bēn</i>
Pl.			
Nom.	<i>fisk-ar</i>	<i>sōl-ar</i>	<i>bēn</i>
Gen.	<i>fisk-a</i>	<i>sōl-a</i>	<i>bēn-a</i>
Dat.	<i>fisk-um</i>	<i>sōl-um</i>	<i>bēn-um</i>
Acc.	<i>fisk-a</i>	<i>sōl-ar</i>	<i>bēn</i>

Most masc. nouns are inflected like *fiskær*, e.g. *dagær*, *stēnn*, *konungær*, *diævul*, *siōr*, and almost all neut. nouns are inflected like *bēn*, e.g. *hūs*, *ār*, *skip*, *haf*, *træ*. A minority of the fem. nouns are inflected like *sōl*: e.g. *graf*, *siæng*, *iorþ* and derived nouns in -ing or -ning.

The -ja/-ia and -jō/-iō stems differ from the pure -a and -ō stems. First, in sg. the -ia stems have an -i ending throughout the singular, and the -iō stems have an -i ending in dat. and acc. sg., as illustrated in table 104.4 (the plural paradigm is the same as in table 104.3).

Table 104.4: -ia and -iō stems in the singular

	masc. -ia stems	fem. -iō stems	neut -ia stems
Nom.	<i>ōr ir</i>	<i>byrþ</i>	<i>rīk i</i>
Gen.	<i>ōr is</i>	<i>byrþ ar</i>	<i>rīk is</i>
Dat.	<i>ōr i</i>	<i>byrþ i</i>	<i>rīk i</i>
Acc.	<i>ōr i</i>	<i>byrþ i</i>	<i>rīk i</i>

The neut. *-ia* stems are quite frequent: *æpli*, *mínni*, *dómi* etc. and some words in *-ilsi*, whereas the masc. and fem. ones are rare. Second, in OSw., OGu. and (less often) in Old Scanian, there are *-ja* and *-jō* stems, which are distinct from ordinary *-a* and *-ō* stems, in that they have a [j] before suffixes beginning in [a] or [u], e.g. the nom. and dat. pl. for masc. *-ja* stems and fem. *-jō* stems: *væfiar* and *væfium* (from *vævær*) and *ængiar* and *ængium* (from *æng*). Most masc. *-ja* stems end in a velar consonant, and those take *-iar*, e.g. *læggiar* in the gen. sing., instead of *-s*.

The *-i* stems are characterised by an *-i* ending in nom./acc. pl. The same is true for *-u* stems. The difference between *-i* and *-u* stems is that originally the former have a root vowel with *i*-umlaut, whereas the latter have *i*-umlaut only with retained *-i*. The *-i* and *-u* stems are illustrated in table 104.5.

Table 104.5: *-i* and *-u* stems

Sg.	masc. <i>-i</i> stems	fem. <i>-i</i> stems	masc. <i>-u</i> stems
Nom.	<i>sip-ær</i>	<i>dygb</i>	<i>sun</i>
Gen.	<i>sip-ar</i>	<i>dygb-ar</i>	<i>sun-ar</i>
Dat.	<i>sip-i</i>	<i>dygb</i>	<i>syn-i</i>
Acc.	<i>sip</i>	<i>dygb</i>	<i>sun</i>
Pl.			
Nom.	<i>sip-ir</i>	<i>dygb-ir</i>	<i>syn-ir</i>
Gen.	<i>sip-a</i>	<i>dygb-a</i>	<i>sun-a</i>
Dat.	<i>sip-um</i>	<i>dygb-um</i>	<i>sun-um</i>
Acc.	<i>sip-i</i>	<i>dygb-ir</i>	<i>syn-i</i>

Many fem. nouns are inflected like *dygb*, e.g. *færb*, *synd*, *sak*, *æt*. Several masc. nouns inflect like *sipær*, e.g. *rættær*, *vinær*, and derived nouns in *-naþær*. Very few words inflect like *sun*, e.g. *lutær*.

The acc.pl. of *-u* stems is originally *-u*, e.g. *sunu*, but this is rarely found. The ending is normally *-i* (or sometimes *-ir* in ODan.).

The strong nouns are alike in many ways. The following comments apply to all of them. The masc.nom. forms in *-ær* are dropped early in Old Jutlandic and Old Zealandic, a bit later in Old Scandian, where some instances are found in the manuscripts. The ending is normally retained in OSw. and OGu. manuscripts, but forms without it may be found by the end of the period. The dative *-i* in the masc. and neut.sg. is found in runic inscriptions in Denmark and Sweden. In the manuscripts, the *-i* ending is mostly found in fixed phrases (*af garthæ*, *mæth swornum ethe*) in ODan.; in Old Scanian the form is more frequent, and in OSw. and OGu. it is normally retained until the end of the period. In the gen. the fem.sg. ending often loses the *-r*, and by the end of the period the vowel is also lost. In Codex Bureanus from around 1350, the root is often used as the fem.gen.sing. form (Ottelin 1905, 94, 97). The *a(r)*-ending is, however, used in compounds. Individual nouns, like the *-u* stem *sun* and the *-ō* stem *væruld*, take the genitive *-s* of *-a* stems (Norde 1997, 120ff.). In the dat. the fem.sg. *-u* is partly retained in SkL and ÄVgL, but in other texts the *-u* endings are rare. The masc.nom.pl. *-ar* is found in Dan. runic inscriptions, but not in the manuscripts, where only *r*-less forms are found. The same is true for fem.nom./acc.pl., but some forms with *-r* are found in Old Scanian. The *-i*

Table 104.6: Root stems, *-r* stems and *-nd* stems

Sg.	masc. root stems	fem. root stems	masc. <i>-r</i> stems	fem. <i>-r</i> stems	masc. <i>-nd</i> stems
Nom.	<i>fōt-ær</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>fapir</i>	<i>mōþir</i>	<i>bōnd-i</i>
Gen.	<i>fōt-ar</i>	<i>hand-ar</i>	<i>fapur</i>	<i>mōþur</i>	<i>bōnd-a</i>
Dat.	<i>fōt-e</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>fæþær</i>	<i>mōþær</i>	<i>bōnd-a</i>
Acc.	<i>fōt</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>fapur</i>	<i>mōþur</i>	<i>bōnd-a</i>
Pl.					
Nom.	<i>fōt-ær</i>	<i>hænd-ær</i>	<i>fæþær</i>	<i>mōþær</i>	<i>bōnd-ær</i>
Gen.	<i>fōt-a</i>	<i>hand-a</i>	<i>fæþr-a</i>	<i>mōþr-a</i>	<i>bōnd-a</i>
Dat.	<i>fōt-um</i>	<i>hand-om</i>	<i>fæþr-um</i>	<i>mōþr-um</i>	<i>bōnd-um</i>
Acc.	<i>fōt-ær</i>	<i>hænd-ær</i>	<i>fæþær</i>	<i>mōþær</i>	<i>bōnd-ær</i>

and *-u* stem plurals in *-ir* (masc.nom. and fem.nom./acc.) retain the *-r* to a greater extent, especially in Old Scanian.

The nouns that lack a vowel in the stem suffix are root stems, *-r* stems and *-nd* stems. They are inflected as in table 104.6.

The word *maþær* (manns, manni, mann, nom./acc.plur. mænn) is also a root stem. Otherwise, we only find a few masc. root stems (such as *spandær*, *fiŋgær*) and fem. root stems (such as *nätt*, *bök*, *tann*). For *-r* stems we only find the five relational words *faþir*, *bröþir*, *möþir*, *döttir* and *systir*. A few words inflect like *böndi*, e.g. *frændi* and nouns in *æghandi* and *væriandi*. All *-nd* stems are inflected like masc. *-an* stems in the sg., but as masc. root stems in the pl. All of them are nominalised present participles. (The nom.sg. *-ær* ending, the dative *i*-ending and fem.gen. *-ar* in root and *-r* stems are subject to the same restrictions as in the *-a/-ö stems*).

The word *hand* was formerly a *-u* stem, and therefore it sometimes takes a dat.sg. *-i*: *hændi*. The old dat. forms of *-r* stems (*faþær*, *möþær*) are often replaced by the acc./gen. forms (*faþur*, *möþur*) by the end of the period. The nom.-acc. distinction in *-r* stems disappears in ODan. and Old Scanian (Bjerrum 1954, 27), but it is retained in OSw. In the gen. of masc. *-r* stems an *-s* is introduced by the end of the period.

2.1.2. Weak nouns

Weak nouns include all *-n* stems: *-an-*, *-ön-* and *-in-* stems. They have two (or three) syllables in all forms and are inflected as illustrated in table 104.7.

Table 104.7: *-an-*, *-ön-* and *-in-* stems

Sg.	masc. <i>-an</i> stems	fem. <i>-ön</i> stems	neut. <i>-an</i> stems	fem. <i>-in</i> stems
Nom.	<i>nakk-i</i>	<i>hak-a</i>	<i>ör-a</i>	<i>glæþ-i</i>
Gen.	<i>nakk-a</i>	<i>hak-u</i>	<i>ör-a</i>	<i>glæþ-i</i>
Dat.	<i>nakk-a</i>	<i>hak-u</i>	<i>ör-a</i>	<i>glæþ-i</i>
Acc.	<i>nakk-a</i>	<i>hak-u</i>	<i>ör-a</i>	<i>glæþ-i</i>
Pl.				
Nom.	<i>nakk-ar</i>	<i>hak-ur</i>	<i>ör-un</i>	–
Gen.	<i>nakk-a</i>	<i>hak-na</i>	<i>ör-na</i>	–
Dat.	<i>nakk-um</i>	<i>hak-um</i>	<i>ör-um</i>	–
Acc.	<i>nakk-a</i>	<i>hak-ur</i>	<i>ör-un</i>	–

The masc. *-an* stems and the fem. *-ön* stems are very frequent: they include nouns like *hani*, *loghi*, *timi*, *vafi* and derived nouns in *-ari* as well as nouns like *gata*, *kona* (gen.plur. *kvinna*), *vika* etc. The neut. *-an* stems only include *ōgha*, *ōra*, *hierta* and a few others. The few *-in* stems, *glæþi*, *vrēþi*, *ræddi*, *ælli* etc. are all abstract mass nouns, and thus they lack pl. forms.

The gen.sg. of *-ön* stems is consistently *-ur* in OGu. This form is also found in some Sw. runic inscriptions. The nom.-oblique distinction in the sg. is lost at an early stage in ODan. In Old Scanian it is lost by the end of the period for *-ön* stems (Bjerrum 1954, 27). In OSw. and OGu., the distinctions are retained throughout the period. The *-na* ending in the gen.pl. is rare; in OSw. we also find a *-u* ending for fem. nouns: *humblu*, *kyrkiu*.

A variant of the *-an/-ön stems* had a [i] in the stem (*-jan/-jön stems*). These have a visible [i] in endings beginning with an [a] or [u]. The *-jan* stem *vili* is *vilia* in the oblique sg. form, *vilium* in dat.pl., and a fem. like *kirkiu* has *kirkiu* in the oblique sg. form.

2.2. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are inherently specified for definiteness and gender. Most of them have different roots in the singular and plural, and in the nominative and oblique case. Thus personal pronouns can only be said to inflect in a few instances. However, they express the other distinctions visibly, as illustrated in table 104.8.

The reflexive form is missing in the nom. due to syntactic restrictions. The 1/2 oblique forms are also used reflexively. To express 3 neut.sg. and 3 pl. (non-reflexive), the originally demonstrative pronoun *þænn* is used (see table 104.11). There are also 1/2 dual forms, which is not attested in all cases, but we find 1 nom. *vit* and acc. *okkær* in some OSw. texts and 2 *it* and *ikkær* respectively.

The distinction between acc. *mik*, *þik*, *sik* and dative *mæ(r)*, *þæ(r)*, *sæ(r)* (OGu. *mür*, *þür*, *sür*) is found in runic inscriptions and in some OSw. and OGu. manuscripts. The dative form *sæ* is found in Old Scanian. Otherwise the old acc. is used in dat. contexts.

The forms *hāna/hōna* and *hann* in acc. begin to be replaced by the dat. *hænni/hānum* in ODan. during this period; the distinctive acc. forms are hardly attested at all in Old Jutlandic sources, but are mostly retained elsewhere. In OGu. (and sometimes in Codex Bureanus from Östergötland), the 3 fem.nom. pronoun is *hān*.

Table 104.8: Personal pronouns

	singular				plural		refl.
	1	2	3 masc.	3 fem.	1	2	3
Nom.	<i>iak</i>	<i>þu</i>	<i>hann, sá</i>	<i>hön, sū</i>	<i>vi(r)</i>	<i>i(r)</i>	–
Gen.	<i>mīn</i>	<i>þīn</i>	<i>hans</i>	<i>hænnar</i>	<i>vār</i>	<i>íþar</i>	<i>sīn</i>
Dat.	<i>mæ(r)</i>	<i>þæ(r)</i>	<i>hānum, honum</i>	<i>hænni</i>	<i>oss</i>	<i>íþær</i>	<i>sæ(r)</i>
Acc.	<i>mik</i>	<i>þik</i>	<i>hann</i>	<i>hāna, hōna</i>	<i>oss</i>	<i>íþær</i>	<i>sik</i>

2.3. Pronominal agreement

Attributive pronouns normally agree with their nouns. Here, I will give the paradigms for the more common cases. Table 104.9 illustrates the first-person possessive pronoun *minn*.

Table 104.9: Possessive pronoun *minn*

	singular		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
Nom.	<i>minn</i>	<i>mīn</i>	<i>mitt</i>
Gen.	<i>mīns</i>	<i>minna(r)</i>	<i>mīns</i>
Dat.	<i>mīnum</i>	<i>minni</i>	<i>mīnu</i>
Acc.	<i>minn</i>	<i>mīna</i>	<i>mitt</i>
	plural		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
Nom.	<i>mīni(r)</i>	<i>mīna(r)</i>	<i>mīn</i>
Gen.	<i>minna</i>		
Dat.	<i>mīnum</i>		
Acc.	<i>mīna</i>	<i>mīna(r)</i>	<i>mīn</i>

The possessive pronouns *þinn* (2 person) and *sinn* (reflexive) inflect like *minn*. In Old Jutlandic unassimilated forms such as *mint* can be found for neut. nom./acc.sg. The third person *hans, hænnar, þæss* and *þera* are non-agreeing gen. forms of *hann, hon* and *þænn*.

The demonstrative *inn/hinn* is inflected in the same way as *minn*, but when used as a pronominal article, it has the form *hit* in the neut. nom./acc. sg. The suffixed article *-inn* is in principle an agreeing pronoun cliticised to the noun. Number and case are thus visible twice on a noun with a suffixed article. In table 104.10 the most common types of nouns are given with the suffixed article.

The article is added to the inflected noun, but the vowel of the article is elided when the inflected noun ends in a vowel or a vowel and an *-r*. The pl. *-r* in the masc. and fem. is dropped in front of the article. In three cases the complex form cannot be described as the adding of an article *-inn* to an inflected noun. This involves the fem.gen.sing. and the fem.dat.sing. of *-ō* stems, where the noun has no case endings

Table 104.10: Nouns with the suffixed definite article

Sg.	masc. -a stem	masc. -an stem	fem. -i stem	fem. -ōn stem	neut. -a stem	neut. -ia stem
Nom.	<i>fiskr-inn</i>	<i>nakki-nn</i>	<i>dygþ-in</i>	<i>haka-n</i>	<i>bēn-it</i>	<i>rīki-t</i>
Gen.	<i>fisks-ins</i>	<i>nakka-ns</i>	<i>dygþ-inna(r)</i>	<i>haku-nna(r)</i>	<i>bēns-ins</i>	<i>rīkis-ins</i>
Dat.	<i>fisk-inum</i>	<i>nakka-num</i>	<i>dygþ-inni</i>	<i>haku-nni</i>	<i>bēn-inu</i>	<i>rīki-nu</i>
Acc.	<i>fisk-inn</i>	<i>nakka-nn</i>	<i>dygþ-ina</i>	<i>haku-na</i>	<i>bēn-it</i>	<i>rīki-t</i>
Pl.						
Nom.	<i>fiska-nir</i>	<i>nakka-nir</i>	<i>dygþ-inar</i>	<i>haku-nar</i>	<i>bēn-in</i>	<i>rīki-n</i>
Gen.	<i>fiska-nna</i>	<i>nakka-nna</i>	<i>dygþ-inna</i>	<i>haka-nna</i>	<i>bēna-nna</i>	<i>rīka-nna</i>
Dat.	<i>fiskum-in</i>	<i>nakkum-in</i>	<i>dygþum-in</i>	<i>hakum-in</i>	<i>bēnum-in</i>	<i>rīkum-in</i>
Acc.	<i>fiska-na</i>	<i>nakka-na</i>	<i>dygþ-inar</i>	<i>haku-nar</i>	<i>bēn-in</i>	<i>rīki-n</i>

of its own: forms like **grafa(ri)nnar* and **grafunni* are not attested. The third instance is dat.pl., where the form *-umin* is best described as a noun with a case ending followed by an article without case ending. The age of the article is a debated issue (see section 3.4.).

The form *fiskrinn* (with the nom. *-r-*) becomes less frequent by the end of the period; the form without the *-r-* is in the majority in the texts by then.

The demonstrative pronoun *þænn* is normally used as the independent article. It is inflected as in table 104.11.

Table 104.11: Demonstrative *þænn*

	singular		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
Nom.	<i>þænn</i>	<i>þē</i>	<i>þæt</i>
Gen.	<i>þæss</i>	<i>þēra, þærra</i>	<i>þæss</i>
Dat.	<i>þēm</i>	<i>þēri</i>	<i>þȳ</i>
Acc.	<i>þænn</i>	<i>þā</i>	<i>þæt</i>
	plural		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
Nom.	<i>þē(r)</i>	<i>þā(r)</i>	<i>þē, þō(n)</i>
Gen.	<i>þēra, þærra</i>		
Dat.	<i>þēm</i>		
Acc.	<i>þā</i>	<i>þā(r)</i>	<i>þē, þō(n)</i>

The gen.sg. is *thæns* and the gen.pl. *thærres* in some younger ODan. texts. The masc. dat.sg.

is often replaced by the accusative form, starting even in the oldest manuscripts. In the fem.sg., the form *þæn* is generalised by the end of the period in ODan. For the fem.sg. in OSw. *þōn* is sometimes borrowed from neut.pl., but by the end of the period, *þe* is generalised in all cases. The form *þau(n)* in neut.nom./acc.pl. is found in runic inscriptions and OGu. The OSw. counterpart is *þō(n)*. ODan. however consistently has *n*-less forms. The dat.plur. *þēm* often replaces the acc. forms in the younger texts.

The demonstrative *þænni* is based on the pronoun *þænn*, *sā* to which the particles *-si* or *-a* are cliticised. Several analogical processes have been active. In table 104.12, the most common forms are given. In OGu. the nom.sg. forms are *þissi – þissun – þitta*.

Table 104.12: Demonstrative *þænni, sāsi*

	singular		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
Nom.	<i>þænni, sāsi</i>	<i>þæssi</i>	<i>þætta</i>
Gen.	<i>þæssa</i>	<i>þæssa</i>	<i>þæssa</i>
Dat.	<i>þæssum, þæmma</i>	<i>þæssi</i>	<i>þæssu</i>
Acc.	<i>þænna, þansi</i>	<i>þæssa</i>	<i>þætta</i>
	plural		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
Nom.	<i>þæssi(r)</i>	<i>þæssar</i>	<i>þæssi(n)</i>
Gen.	<i>þæssar</i>		
Dat.	<i>þæssum, þæmma</i>		
Acc.	<i>þæssar</i>	<i>þæssar</i>	<i>þæssi(n)</i>

Table 104.13: Indefinite pronouns

Sg.	masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.	fem.	neut.
Nom.	<i>nokorr</i>	<i>nokor</i>	<i>nokot</i>	<i>ængi(m)</i>	<i>ængin</i>	<i>ænkte</i>
Gen.	<i>nokors</i>	<i>nokorra</i>	<i>nokors</i>	<i>ængsins</i>	<i>ænga</i>	<i>ængsins</i>
Dat.	<i>nokorum</i>	<i>nokorri</i>	<i>nokoru</i>	<i>ængum</i>	<i>ængi</i>	<i>ængu</i>
Acc.	<i>nokon</i>	<i>nokora</i>	<i>nokot</i>	<i>ængi(m)</i>	<i>ænga</i>	<i>ænkti</i>
Pl.						
Nom.	<i>nokorir</i>	<i>nokorar</i>	<i>nokor</i>	<i>ængi</i>	<i>ængar</i>	<i>ængin</i>
Gen.	<i>nokorra</i>			<i>ængra</i>		
Dat.	<i>nokorum</i>			<i>ængum</i>		
Acc.	<i>nokora</i>	<i>nokorar</i>	<i>nokor</i>	<i>ænga</i>	<i>ængar</i>	<i>ængin</i>

The masc.acc. form *þenna* is also used in dat. contexts in the younger texts (Ottelin 1905, 138; GG V; § 575,3).

The universally quantifying pronoun *allær* is inflected as an ordinary adjective (see table 104.17). The dual universal quantifier *þáþir* (fem. *þáþar*, neut. *þáþi*) has gen. *þæggia*. The indefinite pronouns *nokorr* and *ængi(nn)* are inflected as in table 104.13.

Nokorr comes in many forms, e.g. *nakvarr*, *nakorr*, *nakvorr*. A vowel in the suffix causes the reduction of the second vowel in ODan. and often in OSw.: e.g. masc.nom.pl. *nokrir*. This is standard by the end of the period. In masc.acc.sg. we also find *nokorn*, *nokron* and the like, and in ODan. sometimes the nom. is used instead of the acc.

The fem.gen./dat.sg. forms of *ængi(nn)* sometimes become *ænginna*, *ænginni* respectively. In Old Jutlandic texts, and sometimes in Old Zealandic texts, the masc.nom./acc.sing. form is *ængi*. Old Scanian uses the same forms as OSw.

The sg. numeral *enn* is inflected like *minn* (see table 104.9 above). In OGu. its nom. sg. forms are *ann* – *ain* – *att*. The numerals *tvēr*, *þrīr* and *fiūrir* are inflected as in table 104.14, whereas other cardinal numerals are in principle uninflected.

The paradigm is somewhat levelled in ODan., where the acc. forms prevail in the masc. and fem. The dat. forms are e.g. almost only found in Old Scanian. The ordinal *fyrstær/fyrsti* is inflected as an adjective, either strong or weak. *Annarr* may be used as the ordinal ‘second’ or as a pronoun with the meaning ‘other’ or ‘one out of two’. It always takes the strong inflection. In table 104.15, the forms of *annarr* are shown. In cases where the second vowel is syncopated, the sequence *-nnr-* becomes *-þr-*.

Table 104.15: The pronoun/numeral *annarr*

	Singular		
	masc.	fem.	neutr.
Nom.	<i>annarr</i>	<i>annur</i>	<i>annat</i>
Gen.	<i>annars</i>	<i>annarrar</i>	<i>annars</i>
Dat.	<i>aþrum</i>	<i>annarri</i>	<i>aþru</i>
Acc.	<i>annan</i>	<i>aþra</i>	<i>annat</i>
	Plural		
	masc.	fem.	neutr.
Nom.	<i>aþrir</i>	<i>aþrar</i>	<i>annur</i>
Gen.	<i>annara</i>	<i>annara</i>	<i>annara</i>
Dat.	<i>aþrum</i>	<i>aþrum</i>	<i>aþrum</i>
Acc.	<i>aþra</i>	<i>aþrar</i>	<i>annur</i>

The forms with a syncopated vowel, like *aþrum*, are by and large replaced by forms with *and-* by the end of the period: *andrum*. The other ordinal numbers *þriþi*, *fiærþi* etc. are inflected like weak adjectives (see table 104.18).

2.4. Comparison

Comparison is almost entirely restricted to adjectives. Adjectives are divided into two classes, those that take *-ari*, *-astær* as the comparative endings, and those that take the shorter endings: *-ri*, *-stær*; the latter always cause *i*-umlaut. Some adjectives have different roots in positive and comparative/superlative and some lack a positive form, in which case the comparative and superlative are normally based on a preposition or particle (like *ofri*, *ytri*, from *over*, *ut*).

Table 104.14: Cardinal numbers

	masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.	fem.	neut.
Nom.	<i>tvēr</i>	<i>tvār</i>	<i>tū</i>	<i>þrīr</i>	<i>þrēar</i>	<i>þrȳ</i>	<i>fiūrir</i>	<i>fiūrar</i>	<i>fiughur</i>
Gen.	<i>tvæggia</i>			<i>þriggia</i>			<i>fiughurra</i> , <i>fiūra</i>		
Dat.	<i>tvēm</i>			<i>þrim</i>			<i>fiūrum</i>		
Acc.	<i>tvā</i>	<i>tvār</i>	<i>tū</i>	<i>þrēa</i>	<i>þrēar</i>	<i>þrȳ</i>	<i>fiūra</i>	<i>fiūrar</i>	<i>fiughur</i>

Table 104.16: Comparison of adjectives

positive	comparative	superlative
<i>langær/langi</i>	<i>længri</i>	<i>længstær/længsti</i>
<i>starkær/starki</i>	<i>starkari</i>	<i>starkastær/starkasti</i>
<i>gamall/gambli</i>	<i>ældri</i>	<i>ælstær/ælsti</i>
–	<i>ofri</i>	<i>oværstær/oværsti</i>

The positive and the superlative may take either strong or weak inflection, whereas the comparative can only have (a somewhat special) weak inflection (see section 2.5.).

Apart from adjectives and adverbs derived from adjectives, we find some instances of comparison in words from other word classes. Some true adverbs have ordinary comparative forms: *optar* – *opta(r)st*, *hældær* – *hælst*, *værr* – *værst*, but mostly they take the comparative ending *-mer* (sometimes added to the stem, sometimes to an ordinary comparative form): *optarmer*, *frammer*, *nærmer* etc. To some extent these adverbial comparatives have turned into true adjectives (occurring attributively).

The pronouns *margær/mangær* and *fār* have the comparative forms *flēri*, *flæstær* and *færri*, *fæ(r)stær*, respectively.

2.5. Adjectival agreement

Adjectival agreement can be either strong or weak. The strong form is always used for predicative adjectives and sometimes for attributive adjectives, principally in indefinite noun phrases. The weak form is normally found after the definite article (*(h)inn* or *þænn*, but some weak adjectives can be used without it. Comparative adjectives and most ordinal numerals can only have weak inflection.

Strongly inflected adjectives are similar to nouns; they are inflected like *-a* and *-ō* stems, with the exception of a few *-ja* stems. Ordinary

adjectives inflected strongly are given in table 104.17.

The endings with a full vowel and a final *-r* often lose the *-r* in ODan. and also in some OSw. dialects. The internal *-r-* in the fem.gen./dat.sg. and gen.pl. is almost totally absent in ODan. In OGu. the *-r-* is retained, and in OSw. it is found in many manuscripts, but it is mostly absent by the end of the period. A few *-ja* stems remain, e.g. *mipær*, *nȳr* and *tryggær*. These take a [j] before endings beginning in [a] or [u], thus *mipian* in masc.acc.sg. Several adjectives ending in OSw. *-a* (or ODan. *-æ*) are indeclinable, e.g. *enka*, *udda*, *lagha*.

The weak adjectival forms are illustrated in table 104.18. Some adjectives, like *sami*, only have a weak form.

Table 104.18: Weak adjectival inflection

	Singular			Plural		
	masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.	fem.	neut.
Nom.	<i>lang i</i>	<i>lang a</i>	<i>lang a</i>	<i>lang u</i>		
Gen.	<i>lang a</i>	<i>lang u</i>	<i>lang a</i>	<i>lang u</i>		
Dat.	<i>lang a</i>	<i>lang u</i>	<i>lang a</i>	<i>lang u</i>		
Acc.	<i>lang a</i>	<i>lang u</i>	<i>lang a</i>	<i>lang u</i>		

The few *-ja* stems are inflected as in table 104.18, but with an [i] before the endings [a] and [u]: e.g. *nyia*, *nyiu*. In the comparative form we find a slightly different weak inflection. First, the forms ending in *-u* in table 104.18 above, end in [i]. Second, the [i] ending can also replace the forms ending in *-a*. Third, the pl.dat. form may end in *-um*. Comparative adjectives derived from adverbs or particles, e.g. *ofri*, *fræmbri*, *fyrrri*, may inflect like ordinary weak adjectives or like other comparatives. Present participles in *-andi* are inflected like comparatives. Ordinal numbers higher than two are inflected like ordinary weak adjectives.

Table 104.17: Strong adjectival inflection

	Singular			Plural		
	masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.	fem.	neut.
Nom.	<i>lang-ær</i>	<i>lang</i>	<i>lang-t</i>	<i>lang-ir</i>	<i>lang-ar</i>	<i>lang</i>
Gen.	<i>lang-s</i>	<i>lang-rar</i>	<i>lang-s</i>	<i>lang-ra</i>		
Dat.	<i>lang-um</i>	<i>lang-ri</i>	<i>lang-u</i>	<i>lang-um</i>		
Acc.	<i>lang-an</i>	<i>lang-a</i>	<i>lang-t</i>	<i>lang-a</i>	<i>lang-ar</i>	<i>lang</i>

Table 104.19: Verb classes in Old Nordic

	inf.	pres. sg.	pres. pl.	past sg.	past pl.	past part
strong	<i>bīta</i>	<i>bītær</i>	<i>bīta</i>	<i>bēt</i>	<i>bitu</i>	<i>bitinn</i>
redupl.	<i>hēta</i>	<i>hētær</i>	<i>hēta</i>	<i>hēt</i>	<i>hētu</i>	<i>hētinn</i>
weak	<i>bēta</i>	<i>bētar</i>	<i>bēta</i>	<i>bētaþi</i>	<i>bētaþu</i>	<i>bētaþær</i>
pret-pres.	<i>vita</i>	<i>vēt</i>	<i>vitu/vita</i>	<i>vissi</i>	<i>vissu</i>	<i>vitat</i>

2.6. Conjugation

Verbs have three non-finite forms, the infinitive (ending in [a], or in ODan. [ə]) and two participles. Verbs are inflected for three modes and two tenses. The imp. mode is not combined with tense, whereas the ind. and subj. are. The participial forms are inflected like adjectives; the past participle inflects strongly and weakly, whereas the present participle inflects like comparative adjectives (see section 2.5.).

The different verb classes are identified by specific forms (Sw.: *verbtema*). Strong verbs may have different ablaut vowels in the infinitive, past sg., past pl. and past participle. Thus these forms are normally used to identify the class. The formerly reduplicating verbs are normally seen as a special subgroup of the strong verbs. Weak verbs are identified by the infinitive, pres. sg., past sing. and past participle forms. The fourth group includes the preterite-present verbs. The four sorts of verb classes are given in table 104.19. The identifying forms are underlined for each class.

Strong verbs (and formerly reduplicating verbs) are characterised by their four different ablaut stages; there are six different ablaut series. The stem vowel in the pres. is normally the same as in the infinitival stem, but in Old Jutlandic it has *i*-umlaut (or rather *R*-umlaut): e.g. Old Jutlandic *stær*, *kymær* corresponding to OSw. *stār*, *komær*.

Table 104.20: Strong verbs

	inf.	past sing.	past pl.	past part.
1.	<i>bīta</i>	<i>bēt</i>	<i>bitu</i>	<i>bitinn</i>
2.	<i>biūþa</i>	<i>bōþ</i>	<i>bupu</i>	<i>bupinn</i>
3.	<i>binda</i>	<i>band</i>	<i>bundu</i>	<i>bundinn</i>
4.	<i>bæra</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>bāru</i>	<i>burinn</i>
5.	<i>biþia</i>	<i>baþ</i>	<i>bāpu</i>	<i>biþinn</i>
6.	<i>fara</i>	<i>fōr</i>	<i>fōru</i>	<i>farinn</i>

The first ablaut series includes many frequent verbs, such as *grīpa*, *vīka*, *rīþa*. The second series includes verbs with *-iū-* like *biūþa*, *niūta* and *-ū-* such as *sūpa*, as well as some where *-iū-* has become *-y-* like *flýta*, *þrýta*. The third, fourth and fifth series include verbs with an original short /e/ in the root of the infinitive. In ON, this turns up in many different forms. In the third series we find verbs like *svæltā*, *hialpa*, *drikka*, *siunga*. The fourth series includes verbs like *stiæla*, *nima*. The fifth series includes verbs like *læsa*, *giva*, *sitia*, *liggia*, as well as the highly irregular *vara*, *væra*, which has other roots in the present indicative and the present subjunctive (see table 104.27). The sixth series includes verbs like *taka*, *dragha*. There is also a group of formerly reduplicating verbs, which are part of the same ablaut series as the strong verbs (mainly classes 1 to 3), and which have the same *-inn* ending in the past participle.

Table 104.21: Formerly reduplicating verbs

	inf	past sg.	past pl.	past part.
1.	<i>hēta</i>	<i>hēt</i> , <i>hæt</i>	<i>hētu</i> , <i>hætu</i>	<i>hētinn</i>
2.	<i>lōpa</i>	<i>lop</i> , <i>lōp</i>	<i>lupu</i>	<i>lupinn</i> , <i>lopinn</i>
	<i>hugga</i>	<i>hiogg</i>	<i>hioggu</i>	<i>hugginn</i>
3.	<i>falla</i>	<i>fioll</i>	<i>fiollu</i>	<i>fallinn</i>
	<i>fanga</i> , <i>fā</i>	<i>fikk</i>	<i>fingu</i>	<i>fanginn</i>
X.	<i>lāta</i>	<i>lēt</i> , <i>læt</i>	<i>lētu</i> , <i>lætu</i>	<i>lātinn</i>

Old Jutlandic has *i*-umlaut (or rather *R*-umlaut) in the pres.sg.: e.g. *fællær* instead of *fallær*. Only a few verbs belong to this class, but most of them are quite frequent. Except for the examples above, we find *lēka* in the first class and *halda*, *valda*, *ganga/gā* in the third. The verb *lāta* takes a mixed inflection, which it shares with *grāta* and *rāþa*.

Weak verbs have a dental suffix in the past, which is *-þ-* (pronounced [ð]), *-d-* or *-t-* depending on the preceding phoneme. Weak verbs

are divided into four classes. The first class (-*ön* stems) has an -*a*- suffix in all forms, thus they have -*ar* in the pres. Class 2 verbs (-*ja* stems) have -*ia* in the infinitive, -*r* in the pres. sg., and *i*-umlaut only in the inf. and pres., whereas class 3 verbs (-*ia* stems) have -*ir* in the pres. and *i*-umlaut throughout. The fourth class (-*ē* stems) has -*ir* or -*r* in the present sg. The verbs in class 4 are normally of the type that cannot be passived, and thus the past participle can normally only be found in the default (neut. sg.) form. The -*r* ending in the pres. is assimilated with -*s*, -*l*, or -*n*: e.g. *væll*, *vill*. Some examples from the four classes are given in table 104.22.

Table 104.22: Weak verbs

	infinitive	present	past	past part
1.	<i>kalla</i>	<i>kallar</i>	<i>kallaþi</i>	<i>kallaþær</i>
	<i>byria</i>	<i>byriar</i>	<i>byriapi</i>	<i>byriapær</i>
	<i>spā</i>	<i>spār</i>	<i>spāþi</i>	<i>spāþær</i>
2.	<i>kræfia</i>	<i>krævæþ</i>	<i>kræfþi</i>	<i>kræfþær</i>
	<i>vælia</i>	<i>væll</i>	<i>valdi</i>	<i>valdær</i>
	<i>lykkia</i>	<i>lykkær</i>	<i>lukti</i>	<i>luktær</i>
3.	<i>byggia</i>	<i>byggir</i>	<i>bygþi</i>	<i>bygþær</i>
	<i>dōma</i>	<i>dōmir</i>	<i>dōmdi</i>	<i>dōmdær</i>
	<i>kōpa</i>	<i>kōpir</i>	<i>kōpti</i>	<i>kōptær</i>
4.	<i>liva</i>	<i>livir</i> , <i>livær</i>	<i>lifþi</i>	<i>livat</i>
	<i>hava</i>	<i>havir</i> , <i>havær</i>	<i>hafþi</i>	<i>havat</i> , <i>haft</i>
	<i>vilia</i>	<i>vill</i>	<i>vildi</i>	<i>vilit</i>

The preterite-present verbs have the same ablaut stages and personal agreement in the pres. as ordinary strong verbs have in the past tense. They lack the pres. -*r*. These verbs are few but frequent; some of them have become auxiliaries. As such they are seldom or never found in the inf. or as past participles.

Table 104.23: Preterite-present verbs

1.	<i>vita</i>	<i>vēt</i>	<i>vitu</i> , <i>vita</i>	<i>vissi</i> , <i>visti</i>	<i>vitat</i> , <i>vist</i>
	<i>ægha</i>	<i>ā</i> , <i>æghær</i>	<i>æghu</i> , <i>ægha</i>	<i>ātti</i>	<i>ātt</i>
3.	<i>kunna</i>	<i>kann</i>	<i>kunnu</i> , <i>kunna</i>	<i>kunni</i> , <i>kundi</i>	<i>kunnit</i>
	<i>unna</i>	<i>ann</i>	<i>unna</i>	<i>unti</i>	<i>unt</i>
	<i>þorva</i>	<i>þarf</i>	<i>þorvu</i> , <i>þorva</i>	<i>þurfti</i>	
4.		<i>mun</i>	<i>munu</i> , <i>muna</i>	<i>mundi</i>	
	<i>skulu</i> , <i>skula</i>	<i>skal</i>	<i>skulu</i> , <i>skula</i>	<i>skuldi</i>	<i>skulit</i> , <i>skulat</i>
5.	<i>magha</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>mughu</i> , <i>mugha</i>	<i>mātti</i>	<i>mātt</i>

In OGu. *skulu* has the form *ulu* (*al* – *ulu*), which is also found in the dialects of Dalecarlia in Sweden. The inf. and pres.pl. sometimes have -*u* in OSw., but -*a* is the normal form, except for *skulu*; as usual Old Zealandic and Old Jutlandic have unstressed -*æ*.

2.7. Verbal agreement

ON verbs agree in person and number with the subject. The forms are slightly different in the ind. and subj. The imp. mode is used only in the 2nd person and in the 1 pl. The form is the same as the stem in the sg. (*bīt*, *brȳt*, *kalla*, *kræf*, etc.) and the pres. forms in the pl. in OSw. In ODan. we find 2 pl. forms in -*ær*, which is not found in OSw. until the next period.

The person and number agreement of strong verbs is illustrated in table 104.24. In these, the pres. subj. forms are based on the first ablaut stage (the infinitive), and the past subj. is based on the third ablaut stage (past pl. ind.). In the sg., person agreement is only seen in the past ind.

Table 104.24 Person and number agreement for strong verbs.

present	indicative		subjunctive	
1–3 sg.	<i>bītær</i>	<i>bærr</i>	<i>bīti</i>	<i>bæri</i>
1 pl.	<i>bītum</i>	<i>bærum</i>	<i>bītum</i>	<i>bærum</i>
2 pl.	<i>bītīn</i>	<i>bærin</i>	<i>bītīn</i>	<i>bærin</i>
3 pl.	<i>bīta</i>	<i>bæra</i>	<i>bīti(n)</i>	<i>bæri(n)</i>
past				
1 sg.	<i>bēt</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>bīti</i>	<i>bāri</i>
2 sg.	<i>bētst</i>	<i>bart</i>	<i>bīti</i>	<i>bāri</i>
3 sg.	<i>bēt</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>bīti</i>	<i>bāri</i>
1 pl.	<i>bitum</i>	<i>bārum</i>	<i>bitum</i>	<i>bārum</i>
2 pl.	<i>bitīn</i>	<i>bārin</i>	<i>bitīn</i>	<i>bārin</i>
3 pl.	<i>bitu</i>	<i>bāru</i>	<i>biti(n)</i>	<i>bāri(n)</i>

The pres. *-r* ending is assimilated with the stem if the latter ends in an *-s*, *-l*, or *-n*: e.g. *læss*, *stiæll*, *skīnn*.

The person and number agreement of weak verbs is illustrated in table 104.25. The subj. of weak verbs is based on the corresponding ind. roots.

Table 104.25: Person and number agreement for weak verbs.

present	indicative		subjunctive	
1 sg.	<i>kalla(r)</i>	<i>krævær</i>	<i>kalli</i>	<i>krævi</i>
2–3 sg.	<i>kallar</i>	<i>krævær</i>	<i>kalli</i>	<i>krævi</i>
1 pl.	<i>kallum</i>	<i>kræfium</i>	<i>kallum</i>	<i>kræfium</i>
2 pl.	<i>kallin</i>	<i>krævin</i>	<i>kallin</i>	<i>krævin</i>
3 pl.	<i>kalla</i>	<i>kræfia</i>	<i>kalli(n)</i>	<i>krævi(n)</i>
past				
1–3 sg.	<i>kallaþi</i>	<i>krappa</i>	<i>kallaþi</i>	<i>krappa</i>
1 pl.	<i>kallaþum</i>	<i>krappa</i>	<i>kallaþum</i>	<i>krappa</i>
2 pl.	<i>kallaþin</i>	<i>krappa</i>	<i>kallaþin</i>	<i>krappa</i>
3 pl.	<i>kallaþu</i>	<i>krappa</i>	<i>kallaþi(n)</i>	<i>krappa(n)</i>

In the sg., person agreement is hardly visible at all. The distinction between 1st and 2nd/3rd person in the pres.ind.sing. is partly retained in Jutlandic (GG I, § 17). A tendency to drop the *-r* more often in the 1st person can be found also in OSw. texts, but there is no general distinction in the texts (Jansson 1934, 233). In 3 pl. subj., the form ends in *-in* (*kallin*, *krævin* etc.) in OGu., which sometimes has an *-int* ending. OSw. normally has the *-in* form, but the *n*-less form is more common in VgL and HL (Noreen 1904, 476). In ODan. only *n*-less forms are found. The verb *vilia* has person agreement in the pres. (just like a preterite-present verb): 1/3sg. *vill*, 2sg. *vilt*.

Preterite-present verbs have pres. forms which correspond to the past forms of strong verbs; they also have the same person and number agreement, and thus they have person inflection in the sg. The pres. forms of *ægha* and *kunna* are given in table 104.26.

The form *æghær* was analogically introduced from the inf./pl. forms.

The verb *væra*, *vara* also has person agreement in pres.ind. (like a preterite-present verb). It furthermore has a special root both in the pres.ind. (*ær-*) and in pres.subj. (*sē-*)

Table 104.26: Person and number agreement for weak verbs.

present	indicative		subjunctive	
1 sg.	<i>ā</i> , <i>æghær</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>æghi</i>	<i>kunni</i>
2 sg.	<i>āt</i> , <i>æghær</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>æghi</i>	<i>kunni</i>
3 sg.	<i>ā</i> , <i>æhgær</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>æghi</i>	<i>kunni</i>
1 pl.	<i>æghum</i>	<i>kunnum</i>	<i>æghum</i>	<i>kunnum</i>
2 pl.	<i>æghin</i>	<i>kunnin</i>	<i>æghin</i>	<i>kunnin</i>
3 pl.	<i>æghu</i> , <i>ægha</i>	<i>kunnu</i> , <i>kunna</i>	<i>æghi(n)</i>	<i>kunni(n)</i>

Table 104.27: Person and number agreement for *væra*, *vara*.

	indicative		subjunctive	
	present	past	present	past
1 sg.	<i>æm</i> , <i>ær</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>sē(i)</i> , <i>vari</i>	<i>vari</i>
2 sg.	<i>æst</i>	<i>vast</i>	<i>sē(i)</i> , <i>vari</i>	<i>vari</i>
3 sg.	<i>ær</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>sē(i)</i> , <i>vari</i>	<i>vari</i>
1 pl.	<i>ærum</i>	<i>vārum</i>	<i>sē(i)n</i> , <i>vari(n)</i>	<i>vāri(n)</i>
2 pl.	<i>ærin</i>	<i>vārin</i>	<i>sē(i)n</i> , <i>vari(n)</i>	<i>vāri(n)</i>
3 pl.	<i>æru</i>	<i>vāru</i>	<i>sē(i)n</i> , <i>vari(n)</i>	<i>vāri(n)</i>

Old Jutlandic and Old Zealandic have lost the person distinctions in the pl. for all verb classes. Only in some fixed phrases can we find the *-um* ending. The *-(s)t* ending in the sg., however, is preserved.

3. Diachronic aspects

The morphological system described above is idealised. During the ON period there were substantial changes in the morphological system from various kinds of causes. Since some of the most noticeable changes during this period also represent different types of change, I will illustrate the changes and the types of change simultaneously.

First, a morphological change can be due to a phonological change. For instance the weakening of unstressed vowels in endings will level several distinctions between different forms. Second, a change can be morphological in nature. In such a case, a suffix can be lost or changed through analogy with another form (without any sound change). Third, a syntactic change may reduce the use of a certain form, or even cause a form to die out. Fourth, a new morphological ending may arise, because of the cliticisation of a gram-

matical word onto another word, which is a subtype of grammaticalisation.

3.1. Phonological change

Phonological changes can affect the morphology of words. There are principally two different kinds of phonological change, one that alters the form of the word but not the morphological system, and one that changes both.

The first kind of phonological change can be exemplified by the insertion of a svarabhakti vowel. A svarabhakti vowel is primarily visible in the masc.nom.sg. of nominals (*fiskær*, *langær*), the plur.nom./acc. of certain noun classes (*hændær*, *fæþær*, *bøndær*), and the pres.sg. of strong verbs (*bītær*) and class 2 weak verbs (*krævær*). The svarabhakti vowel does not create any new distinctions in the language, nor does it cause the loss of any old ones. Thus, the morphological system remains intact. A similar change is the shift of voiceless stops and eventually to voiced fricatives. This development started in Jutland around 1100 and was completed in Denmark by the end of the period (Danish: *klusilsvækkelsen*). This change affects many endings *huset* > *hused* > *huseð*, but it never creates any new distinctions and it never causes the loss of any old distinctions.

The second type of phonological change does affect the morphological system. By far the most important one in this period is the weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables (Danish: *infortissvækkelsen*). The original vowels in unstressed syllables are [a], [u] and [i]. These are often weakend to [æ], [o] and [e] in OSw., Old Scanian and OGu., but the distinction between them is retained. In Old Jutlandic and Old Zealandic they all turn into [ə]. This weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables causes severe reductions in the morphological system. This is most visible in the sg. weak nominal paradigm and all the weak adjectival paradigms, where all endings contain just a single vowel. All gender and case distinctions disappear among the weak nouns in the sg. Thus we find *nakkæ* and *hakæ* for all cases in the sg.; the form *nakkæ* is also found in the gen. and acc. pl. In the weak adjectival paradigm all case, number and gender distinctions are lost. Thus *langæ* occurs throughout the paradigm. This change also erases distinctions in the strong nominal paradigm; for instance, the acc. and gen. pl. of *-i* stems: e.g. *sibi* and *siba*, now become indistinguishable as *sibæ*.

A parallel but less significant phonological change concerns the loss of final *-r*. In ODan. and some OSw. dialects (parts of Östergötland and Småland) the loss is quite consistent. This makes e.g. nom. and acc. identical in the pl. for masc. *-a* stems and *-i* stems (*fiska*, *sibi*). In combination with the weakening of unstressed vowels, the loss of *-r* levels many distinctions in the pronominal and strong adjectival paradigms: the strong pl. is now *langæ* in masc. and fem. nom./acc. Thus there are no longer any masc./fem. distinctions in the pl.

3.2. Morphological analogy

Another case of loss of morphological distinctions is found when a morpheme is dropped or replaced by another one. This can in principle give the same result as a phonological change, and the two types are not always easy to distinguish. If the loss of an ending is limited to a certain morpheme, we can, however, talk about morphological reduction. The loss of masc. *-ær* in the nom.sing. is such an example. The *-ær* ending is lost in this form exclusively; it is, for example, retained in the pl. (*fōtær*) and in the pres. of strong verbs (*bītær*).

The loss of masc.nom. *-ær* is earliest in ODan. By the end of the period the loss is almost completed (also in Old Scanian). In OSw., the *-r* is retained in the indefinite form almost without exception throughout the whole period. It is, however, frequently dropped in the definite form. This is the situation in Codex Bureanus from around 1350 (Ottelin 1905, 87f.). The loss of *-ær* can be seen as analogous to either the masc.acc. or fem.nom., but the latter seems more plausible (cf. Hansen 1956, 185).

The loss of the fem.dat. ending in *-ō* stems can be described as another instance of analogy (with nom./acc.). The *-u* ending is still found in SkL, ÄVgL and UL. In MEL it is missing, and we find dat. contexts without the *-u* ending: *vp v iorþ*, *i iorþ ællæ lös örum*. The same holds for the genitive *-a(r)* for fem. nouns, which seems to be retained mostly in compounds (cf. Ottelin 1905, 94; 97).

Another change through analogy concerns the 1 pres.sg. of weak verbs. From the beginning these lacked the *-r* ending, a situation that continued in Old Jutlandic. Elsewhere, the *-r* was introduced in the 1st person, in analogy with the 2nd/3rd person.

3.3. Syntactic reduction

A type of language change that does not normally affect the morphology in its meaning or function but does in its scope is syntactic change. A syntactic change can restrict the use of a certain form, and eventually eliminate it. A syntactic change can also widen the use of a certain form. An example of a form that had its scope narrowed during this period is the gen. The gen. is used in three major functions during this period.

- attributive genitive *mansins hus*
- governed genitive *til mansins*
- thematic genitive *allra manna bæstær*

First, the attributive gen. is found with all sorts of head nouns which have a loose relation to it – possessive, subjective, objective or just relational genitives. Second, the gen. can be assigned by a governing lexical element, e.g. a preposition like *til*, an adjective like *værþær* or a verb like *ræna*. Third, the gen. can be used to mark a certain thematic content, like when it is used to mark temporal adverbials (*annars dags*), standards of superlatives (*allra manna bæstær*) or phrases measuring time or distance (*fiughurra alna breþær*). The governed gen. and the thematic gen. are still quite frequent in SkL (cf. Bjerrum 1954, 31) and UL, but it has been shown that they are lost during the period 1250–1350 in OSw. (see Delsing 1991; Norde 1997). Personal pronouns still have the genitive after prepositions, though. Except for the gen. of personal pronouns, the only use of gen. left by the end of the period is thus the attributive possessive gen.

Thus, this syntactic change does not have any impact on the morphological system, but it clearly narrows the scope of the gen., which is replaced mostly by acc. or prepositional phrases. This narrowing is almost certainly a condition for the further development of the clitic *-s* of Mod. Scand., allowing group genitives like *Kungen av Danmarks bröst-karameller* (see Jespersen 1934; Delsing 1991; Norde 1997).

3.4. Grammaticalisation

In the previous three sections, I have illustrated cases where an inflectional suffix is altered or dropped by phonological change or morphological analogy or cases where the scope of an inflectional suffix is restricted. The final kind of change involves the introduction

of new inflectional suffixes by cliticisation of free elements, a process normally referred to as (a subcase of) grammaticalisation. The most significant representative of this type is, of course, the suffixed definite article. Nouns with definite references are provided with a definite ending. A word like *hūs* ‘house’ may have a definite form *hūsit* ‘house-the’. This development is found in practically all Scand. varieties, but it should be stressed that the suffixed article is missing in the modern dialects of Western and Southern Jutland. There, its counterpart is a prenominal article: *æhus* corresponds to Standard Danish *huset*. But the same modern dialects have reminiscences of the suffixed article in the gen. In Older Jutlandic texts, we also find the suffixed article in the gen.; non-gen. forms with the suffixed article are rare (Hansen 1927, 119–150).

There are several problems with regard to the development of the suffixed article, its origin, its age and the syntactic pattern from which it is supposed to have emerged; see e.g. Perridon (1989, 127–149) for a recent overview of the debate. The standard view is that the article (*h*)*inn* is cliticised onto the noun in constructions like *maþr inn gamli* ‘man the old’. This view has been quite widely accepted, but some researchers (e.g. Nygaard 1906, 33f.) have claimed that suffixed *inn* was originally not an adjectival article but a demonstrative. The fact that demonstratives are often placed postnominally is taken as a sufficient input for the cliticisation. It has been claimed that this alleged cliticisation took place as early as PN and as late as in the late Viking era or even after that.

For OSw. and ODan. the runic material is very meagre. The only instance of a cliticised definite article from Denmark is Tornby, **um morhen(e)n**, which is from around 1200 and normally attributed to a Norwegian. The only two instances from Swedish inscriptions are U 644 **kuþ heabi ontini** and U 669 **kuþ hialbi *antini**. In the first case, the reading is not absolutely certain, and in the second case, the stone has disappeared. We can also see that the oldest texts make scanty use of the article. In ÄVgL, Larm (1936, 24) reports 23 cases with the suffixed article, which would amount to approximately 0.5 per cent of the nouns. He reports that around 5 per cent of the nouns have the suffixed article in UL, and 7.5 per cent in ÖgL. According to Skautrup (1944, 269) 8 per cent of the nouns in SkL carry the suffixed article, and 10 per cent in JL. Even if their principles of excerption vary a little,

the figures still show that the suffixed article is very rare in ÄVgL and rare in UL, ÖgL, SkL and JL. The article is also rare in ON poetry. The scanty use of articles is often explained as a matter of style. Runic inscriptions, laws and poetry are not the kind of texts where we expect to find articles. This argument is stressed by Neckel (1924) and is often repeated in the handbooks (e.g. Skautrup 1944, 269; Wessén III: 1956, 27ff.). It should, however, be pointed out that some OSw. texts (Gutasaga and the chronicles in Vidhem) are written in styles where we would expect an ample use of the article; the article is, however, very rare in these texts too. In the chronicles in Vidhem (original from around 1250, ms. from 1325), there are 157 bare nouns, 6 with the indefinite article and 16 with a definite article (9 per cent). Gutasaga (original probably from around 1220, ms. from around 1350) has only two nouns with the article: *faroyna*, *drytningina*. Hence, I do not think that the low frequency of articles in the oldest texts can be explained by style, at least not as the main explanation. Rather, I am inclined to believe that the article developed as an innovation in the 13th c.

3.5. Conclusions

During this period the morphological system of ODan. and OSw. started on its way towards the simpler modern system. The causes of this simplification are to be found primarily within the phonological system. The weakening of unstressed vowels in suffixes and the dropping of final *-r*, which starts during this period, beginning in ODan., reduce many case, gender and number distinctions in the nominal system. These changes are accompanied by analogical processes internal to the morphological system, which level some case and number distinctions in the nominal paradigms and some person distinctions in the verbal paradigm. In addition, syntactic changes, which narrow the scope of the genitive, facilitate the loss of case distinctions in nouns, adjectives and pronouns. The true loss of case and gender distinctions belongs to later periods, but the changes during this period are crucial to the ensuing changes.

Abbreviations

ÄVgL: Äldre Västgötalagen, Old Provincial Law of Västergötland; DL: Dalalagen, Provincial Law of Dalecarlia; GL: Gutalagen,

Provincial Law of Gotland; HL: Hälsingelagen, Provincial Law of Hälsingland; JL: Jyske Lov, Provincial Law of Jutland; KS: Konungastyrelsen, A Swedish Kings' Mirror; MEL: Magnus Erikssons Landslag; King Magnus Eriksson's National Law for Sweden; ÖgL: Östgötalagen, Provincial Law of Östergötland; SkL: Skånske Lov, Provincial Law of Scania.; UL: Uplandslagen, Provincial Law of Uppland;

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105. The syntax of Old Nordic

1. Basic sentence structure
2. Cases
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4. Objects
5. The passive
6. The infinitive
7. Subordinate clauses
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1. Basic sentence structure

A declarative sentence in Old Nordic may consist of a finite verb, one or more non-finite verbs (infinitive or participle), one or several noun phrases in one of the four cases, adjectival phrases, prepositional phrases, and adverbs.

- (1) *þú skalt reka heim fimm tōgu ásauðar í sel*
 you-nom. shall drive home five-ty-acc.
 ewes to (the) barn

The only indispensable sentence element is the finite verb. Given the relevant context, any other constituent type (including the subject) can be omitted without the sentence being incomplete or elliptic. The element preceding the finite verb is the *topic* of the sentence. In (1) the topic is the subject, which is perhaps the most common case. But other elements may also serve as topics: see (54) in 8.2.

The number and order of sentence elements following the finite verb is very variable.

2. Cases

All nominal categories are inflected for case. There are four different cases: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive. When a noun or a noun phrase occurs outside of the sentence, that is without being syntactically governed or understood as being so, it occurs in the nominative. The nominative is the address form and the citation form of the noun. When a nominative phrase is used as part of a higher syntactic unit, a sentence, it presupposes a finite verb. These properties make the nominative case stand out among the cases. The other cases do not share any of these properties; they are referred to by the common term “oblique cases”. What follows is a brief outline of the main semantic and syntactic functions of each of the four cases.

The nominative is the case of the subject, and thereby also the case that typically denotes the agent, cf. (1), but a nominative subject may also express other semantic roles:

- (2) a. *hafid þit verit hér um hrið með mér*
 have you-nom. been here for a while
 with me
 b. *átta hann margt fé*
 owned he-nom. much money-acc.

By general agreement rules, a predicate complement is also in the nominative:

- (3) *hverr var þessi hinn orðsnjalli maðr?*
 who-nom. was this eloquent man-nom.

The typical function of the accusative is that of a complement of a verb (direct object) or of a preposition. When governed by a verb, the accusative typically expresses the role of a patient, as in (1) and (2b). When governed by a preposition, the accusative denotes ‘direction towards’:

- (4) *jarl fór í dal djupan*
 earl went in valley-acc. deep

Accusative NPs may be used as adjuncts to denote various temporal or local relations:

- (5) a. *hann bjó þar fá vetr*
 he lived there few winters-acc.
 b. *fjórir hleifar brauðs eru honum fórðir*
hvern dag
 four loaves-nom. bread-gen. are him-dat. brought each day-acc.
 ‘Four loaves of bread were brought him every day.’

The dative shares its syntactic functions with the accusative: it can function as a complement of a verb or a preposition or as an adjunct. In addition, the dative may function as a complement of an adjective:

- (6) *þér mun verða gott til vista*
 you-dat. will become well to provisions
 ‘You will obtain good provisions.’

The dative denotes a set of rather well defined semantic roles: benefactive/recipient (6) and (5b), instrumental (7a), ablative (7b), or locative (7c). (A purely locative dative is found mainly with prepositions.)

- (7) a. *þeim reið Goðgestr konungr*
 it-dat. rode Godgest-nom. king
 ‘King Godgest rode (on) it.’

- b. *þú firðir mik miklu úhappi*
 you-nom. saved me-acc. great disaster-dat.
 ‘You saved me from a great disaster.’
- c. *hann bjó á Býnesi*
 he lived at Bynes-dat.

The genitive case has the same syntactic functions as the dative. It is governed by a verb in (8a), by an adjective in (8b), and by a preposition in (8c):

- (8) a. *heraðsmenn leituðu hennar*
 district-men-nom. sought her-gen.
 ‘Men from her district looked for her.’
- b. *ker fullt mjaðar*
 vessel full mead-gen.
- c. *jarl sendi þræla sína til Orms*
 earl sent slaves his to Orm-gen.

The primary function of the genitive is, however, to mark a specifier or a complement of a noun:

- (9) a. *dóttir Bergþórs*
 ‘Bergthor’s daughter’
- b. *Ása var farin á fund föður síns*
 Ása was gone at meeting father-gen. hers

Some of the uses of the genitive are clearly partitive in meaning. This is seen most clearly in expressions like *fjórir hleifar brauðs* ‘four loaves of bread’ etc. Besides this genuine partitive meaning, it is extended to denote partial objects, as in ‘provide some goods’, ‘try out (the effects of) a method’, and by further extension to denote totally unaffected objects, in the sense that the referent of the NP is unaware of its role, as with verbs like ‘desire’, ‘look for’, ‘wait for’, ‘miss’, ‘avenge’, ‘mention’, etc. Most uses of the genitive therefore seem to derive from a core partitive meaning.

3. The subject

Traditionally, the subject in Old Nordic and in languages with similar case systems is defined as a referring NP in the nominative case. The modifier “referring” is meant to exclude predicate complements. In *Bjarni hét maðr* ‘a man was called Bjarni’, *maðr* is a referring NP in the nominative, and thus the subject of the sentence, while *Bjarni*, also in the nominative, is a non-referring predicate complement. This subject definition implies that only finite verbs have subjects.

Some researchers (e. g. Rögnvaldsson 1991; 1995; Barðdal 2000; Haugan 2000) have ar-

gued that case does not define subjecthood in Old Nordic. According to them, the subject should be defined in terms of structural position. This allows for oblique subjects in Old Nordic as well as in Modern Icelandic. In this chapter the subject will, however, be defined as a NP in the nominative case, for reasons given in Faarlund (2001).

The nominative subject is in most cases also the logical subject of the finite verb of the sentence, as for example in the sentences in (7). In other cases, the nominative NP is the logical subject of a non-finite verb in the sentence. The subject may then be said to be derived from an underlying subordinate clause. Such derived subjects occur in the following construction types:

(a) Auxiliary + main verb, where the subject is the logical subject of the main verb, while the finite verb is an auxiliary; previous examples include (1), (2a), (6), and (9b).

(b) Passive constructions, which also consist of an auxiliary + main verb; here the subject is the logical object of the main verb, cf. (5b).

(c) “Nominative with infinitive” constructions, or “raising” constructions, with verbs meaning “seem”; the grammatical subject of “seem” is the logical subject of the subordinate clause, whose verb appears in the infinitive:

- (10) *hon þótti mér þat vel þekkjust*
 she seemed me-dat. that well like
 ‘She seemed to me to like it very much.’

(d) “Object raising” or “tough movement”, where the matrix verb is a form of *vera* ‘be’ with a predicate complement and an infinitive construction as its logical subject; the logical object of the infinitive serves as grammatical subject of the matrix verb “be”:

- (11) *var áin allill at sókja*
 was river-def. very-bad to seek
 ‘The river was difficult to cross.’

(e) *vera* ‘be’ + infinitive, where the logical object of the infinitive is the grammatical subject of *vera*:

- (12) *mikil tíðendi eru þaðan at segja*
 great news are therefrom to say
 ‘There is great news to be told from there.’

In general, the finite verb agrees with the nominative subject in number and person, as can be witnessed in all the examples above. However, nominative phrases that are not

prototypical subjects may not always trigger verb agreement.

- (13) *i þann tíma fannst í Danmörk kvernsteinar tveir*
 in that time found-3sg. refl. in Denmark millstones-nom. two
 ‘At that time there were two millstones in Denmark.’

The nominative subject of the verb *þykkja* ‘seem’ is always derived from the subordinate clause, and even if it is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, *þykkja* may sometimes appear in 3rd person:

- (14) *mér þótti vit vera í hellinum*
 me-dat. seemed-3sg. we-nom. be in cave-def.
 ‘It seemed to me that we were in the cave.’

4. Objects

The term “object” is here used to refer to any oblique NP that is governed by a verb, regardless of case. What follows is a survey of the various kinds of case arrays that are found with different verbs in Old Nordic. It goes without saying that many interesting details will have to be left out for reasons of space.

4.1. Accusative

Most transitive verbs take their object in the accusative:

- (15) *Hallfreðr setti bú saman*
 Hallfred-nom. set home-acc. together
 ‘Hallfred set up a home.’

Verbs that do not normally assign a patient role to its complement may still take an accusative argument. These may be cognate objects with otherwise intransitive verbs (16a). Some objects may have a “looser” relationship to the verb in the sense that they are not semantically required by the regular meaning of the verb (16b).

- (16) a. *ek vil ráða þér annat ráð*
 I will advise you-dat. other advice-acc.
 ‘I will give you different advice.’
 b. *skaða mikinn höfum vér farit*
 injure-acc. great have we fared
 ‘We have suffered a great injury.’

Some verbs take an accusative as their only argument. They are then subjectless:

- (17) a. *mun þik kala*
 will you-acc. be cold
 ‘You will be cold.’
 b. *mik þyrsti*
 me-acc. thirsted
 ‘I was thirsty.’

Some verbs may take two accusative NPs. One is then a (usually animate) recipient, the other one a cognate object:

- (18) *konungr hjó hann banahögg*
 king-nom. struck him-acc. death-blow-acc.
 ‘The king gave him a death blow.’

Double accusatives are particularly common with verbs that do not take a nominative agent:

- (19) *Ragnhildi dróttning dreymdi drauma stóra*
 Ragnhild queen-acc. dreamt dreams-acc. great
 ‘Queen Ragnhild had great dreams.’

4.2. Dative

Dative objects are used with a variety of semantic functions, but they particularly have a benefactive or an instrumental role.

- (20) a. *Ólafur konungr þakkaði henni vel*
 Olaf-nom. king thanked her-dat. well
 b. *Þeim reið Goðgestur konungr*
 it-dat. rode Godgest-nom. king
 ‘King Godgest rode (on) it.’

The dative is, however, also used with other verbs where no such role can be specified (Kosuth 1980; Holland 1993). This may be due to analogical extension or attraction. Typically, verbs that are inherently causative take a dative object:

- (21) *hann ók heyjum sínum á yxni*
 he carried hay-dat. his on ox
 ‘He carried his hay on an ox.’

The dative may appear with verbs that are normally intransitive, such as *fara* and *koma*:

- (22) *hann kom fótum sínum undir sik*
 he came feet-dat. his under himself
 ‘He got onto his feet.’

Some verbs may take two dative arguments:

- (23) *bróðir hét honum griðum*
 brother promised him-dat. truce-dat.

The dative commonly occurs in combination with an accusative to denote the recipient

(indirect object), or the opposite meaning (ablative):

- (24) a. *hon skyldi bera öl vikingum*
 she-nom. should carry beer-acc.
 Vikings-dat.
 ‘She was to bring beer to the vikings.’
 b. *svíar vilja verja honum landit*
 Swedes will protect him-dat. country-
 def.acc.
 ‘The Swedes want to protect the coun-
 try against him.’

The dative is used with *þykkja* ‘seem’ and similar verbs for someone who receives an impression or expresses an opinion:

- (25) *mér þykkir þú fól*
 me-dat. seem-2sg. you-nom. fool
 ‘I think you are a fool.’

The dative is frequently used with verbs that take no nominative argument:

- (26) a. *konunginum svalaði mjök*
 king-def.dat. cooled much
 ‘The king became very cool.’

4.3. Genitive

A large number of verbs take their complement in the genitive. Semantically, they are basically of two kinds: partitive (27a), or non-affected (27b), (see section 2):

- (27) a. *naut hann þó eigi lengi konungdómsins*
 enjoyed he though not long kingdom-
 def.gen.
 ‘But he did not enjoy being king for long.’
 b. *heraðsmenn leituðu hennar*
 district-men-nom. sought her-gen.
 ‘Men from the district looked for her.’

Verbs meaning ‘ask, encourage, remind’, etc. may take a genitive complement together with an accusative complement referring to a person, typically with a recipient role:

- (28) *hon hefir mint mik þeira hluta*
 she has reminded me-acc. those things-gen.

Verbs meaning ‘provide, allow, lend, grant, deny, envy’, etc. may take a dative referring to a person recipient alongside the genitive:

- (29) *hann skyldi ljá honum fresta til annars sumars*
 he should lend him-dat. respite-gen. till
 other summer

5. The passive

The passive is formed by means of the auxiliary *vera* ‘be’ or (less common) *verða* ‘become’. The main verb occurs in the past participle and agrees with the nominative subject, if there is one:

- (30) a. *fjórir hleifar brauðs eru honum fóðir*
hvern dag
 four loaves-nom. bread-gen. are him-
 dat. brought-masc.nom.pl. each day
 b. *af því varð bón hans heyrð*
 from that became prayer-nom.
 his heard-fem.nom.
 ‘Therefore his prayer was heard.’

The nominative subject in passive sentences always corresponds to an accusative object in the active counterpart. Any other oblique NP in the active remains in the same case, with the participle in the neuter nominative singular form:

- (31) a. *farit var til þings*
 gone was to assembly
 ‘They/one went to the assembly.’
 b. *henni var vel þakkat*
 her-dat. was well thanked-neut.

A few verbs may take two accusatives in the active – one cognate or effected object and one animate object. In those cases the animate object becomes nominative subject in the passive, while the effected object remains in the accusative. Compare the active (32a) and the passive (32b):

- (32) a. *konungr hjó hann banahögg*
 king-nom. struck him-acc. death-
 blow-acc.
 b. *var hverr þeira sleginn límahögg*
 was each-nom. them-gen. beaten-
 masc.nom. broom-blows-acc.
 ‘Each of them was beaten with a broom.’

The active subject is normally not expressed in passive sentences. But on rare occasions, mainly in translated texts or formal style, the agent may be expressed by means of a prepositional phrase with *af*:

- (33) *þá var hann beðinn af vinum sínum at staðfestast hér*
 then was he asked by friends his to estab-
 lish-refl. here

6. The infinitive

Old Nordic has two kinds of infinitives, one preceded by the infinitive marker *at* 'to', and one bare infinitive without the *at*. The infinitive marker is always adjacent to the verb. The rules given below for the distribution of the two infinitives are generally valid for classical prose texts, but there are some exceptions in poetry, probably for metrical reasons. The infinitive with *at* is used whenever the subject must be inferred either from the context or from a NP with another function in the sentence. The bare infinitive is used when the subject is present somewhere in the sentence without having another role. The difference can be illustrated with the two sentences in (34):

- (34) a. *þú skalt reka heim fimm togu ásauðar*
you-nom. shall drive home fif-ty-acc.
ewes
b. *hann heitr at gefa þeim bæði ríki ok fé*
he promises to give them both power
and wealth

In (34a) the infinitive *reka* 'drive' follows the auxiliary verb *skalt* 'shall'. This verb does not assign any semantic role to its subject. The subject *þú* is the logical subject of *reka*. In (34b) the infinitive *at gefa* follows the verb *heita*, which is an agentive verb with its own subject; *hann* is thus first and foremost the subject of *heita*, and *gefa* does not have its own subject anywhere in the sentences. In generative terms, we may say that in (34a) the subject is moved from the subject position of *reka* while in (34b) it is base-generated as the subject of *heitr*, and the subject of *gefa* is an abstract element *PRO* which is controlled by the subject of *heitr*.

The bare infinitive is used with auxiliary verbs, as we have seen. It is furthermore used in "raising" constructions where the subject of the infinitive is "raised" to the subject position of the matrix verb. This then results in a "nominative with infinitive" construction. This is typically found with the verb *þykkja* 'seem' and its synonyms. An example is given in (10).

In accusative with infinitive constructions, the infinitive has its own subject expressed, and here also the bare infinitive is used. The subject (that is, what would have been the subject in the equivalent finite sentence) may be said to be "raised" into the object position of the matrix verb without being semantically the object of that verb:

- (35) *opt hefi ek heyrtr yðr þat mæla*
often have I heard you-acc.pl. that say
'I have often heard you say that.'

Besides sensory verbs, such complements are also found with verbs of cognition and volition, and above all with *verba dicendi*.

The infinitive with *at* is mainly used in nominal functions. In (34b) it is the direct object of the verb *heita* 'promise'. It can also be used as a subject (36a); as a complement of prepositions (36b), nouns (36c), and adjectives (36d); and in various adverbial functions (36e):

- (36) a. *hörmuligt er slikt at vita*
sad is such to know
'It is sad to know about such things.'
b. *áttu enga ætt til at vera konungr*
own-you no family for to be king
'You do not have the (necessary) family background to be a king.'
c. *hafa þeir þann sigr unnit at stíga yfir höfuð þvilikum höfðingja*
have they that victory won to rise above head such leader-dat.
'They have won the victory of rising above such a leader.'
d. *úfúss em ek at láta þetta band á mik leggja*
unwilling am I to let this band on me lay
'I am unwilling to have this band laid on me.'
e. *hann fór at heimta landskyldir*
he went to collect land-rent

The only regular exception to the distributions of *at*-infinitives and bare infinitives is the use of the bare infinitive in comparative constructions:

- (37) *ongan útveg á hon nema renna undan*
no way-out has she except run away
'She has no other means of escape than running away.'

7. Subordinate clauses

Finite subordinate clauses fill a variety of nominal, adjectival or adverbial functions. Their internal structure will be dealt with in sect. 8. Subordinate clauses are introduced either by a function word (a complementizer) or by an interrogative word.

7.1. Introduced by complementizer

The two most common complementizers used to introduce subordinate clauses are *at* and *er*. Clauses introduced by these complementizers are typically attached to a "head", which sometimes may be omitted. (Since the English *that* is both a pronoun/determiner and a complementizer, I will avoid confusion by glossing

at and *er* as “C” and the pronominal head as “PRO-x”, where x indicates the case form.)

7.1.1. Clauses introduced by *at*

These are *explicative* sentences, that is sentences with a nominal function. Their most common head is the neuter form of the determiner *sá* ‘that’, whose syntactic function in the matrix sentence determines the function of the subordinate clause:

- (38) *satt er þat, at mjök er niðrfallit ríki Haralds ins hárfagra*
 true is PRO-nom. C much is downfallen power Harold’s the fairhaired
 ‘It is true that Harold the Fairhaired’s power has declined much.’

The subject of (38) is the whole complex *þat at – hárfagra*. The clause, beginning with *at*, is always extraposed to the end of the matrix sentence, while the pronominal head normally retains its normal position. In this particular case, these requirements may be met without *þat* and the clause being separated. But often they are separated, as can be seen from some of the following examples:

- (39) a. *þat hyggjum vér, at hann kunnir fugls röddu*
 PRO-acc. believe we C he knows bird’s speech
 ‘We believe that he knows the language of the birds.’
 b. *því eru allir skyldir at trúa, at Þórr er mátkastr*
 PRO-dat. are all obliged to believe C Thor is greatest
 ‘Everybody has to believe that Thor is the greatest.’
 c. *jarl fýsti þess, at Þorkell skyldi fara til Noregs*
 earl wanted PRO-gen. C Thorkel should go to Norway
 ‘The Earl wanted Thorkel to go to Norway.’
 d. *Ólafur konungr gerði ekki atgönguna fyrr, því at hann beið Dags*
 Olaf king made not attack earlier PRO-dat. C he waited Dag-gen.
 ‘King Olaf did not attack earlier, because he was waiting for Dag.’
 e. *Þorsteinn tók við stýrimanninum, fyrir því at hann beiðdist þangat*
 Thorstein took with skipper-def. dat., for PRO-dat. C he asked-himself thither
 ‘Thorstein received the skipper because he wanted to come there.’

The verb *trúa* ‘believe’ in (39b) takes its object in the dative (*því*), and *fýsa* ‘want’ in (39c) takes its object in the genitive (*þess*). In (39d) the dative *því* is used in an adverbial function to express a cause. Adverbial functions such as cause, finality etc. are more commonly expressed by means of a preposition followed by the appropriate case of *þat*, as in (39e).

The pronominal head may sometimes be omitted, whereby the *at*-clause functions as a regular nominal clause:

- (40) a. *eigi er undarligt, at þú sér kallaðr Óláfr digri*
 not is strange C you-nom. are called Olaf Huge-nom.
 ‘It is no wonder that you are called Olaf Huge.’
 b. *skulum vér varast við, at eigi taki oss þau dómi*
 shall we beware-refl. with C not take us those examples
 ‘We should take care not to set ourselves such examples.’

An *at*-clause may also have a regular noun as its head:

- (41) *konungr ræðr honum þau ráð, at hann skal nú fyrst láta kyrt vera*
 king advises him PRO advice C he shall now first let quiet be
 ‘The king advises him first to leave it in peace.’

7.1.2. Clauses introduced by *er*

These are *implicative* clauses with an adjectival or adverbial function. If they have a nominal head, they are adjectival clauses, i.e. relative clauses. Usually a form of the pronoun *sá* is added to the head NP. This pronoun agrees with the NP for gender, number, and case and serves as the formal head of the relative clause. It does not show the case of the relativized item:

- (42) a. *í borginni var höfðingi sá er Óðinn var kallaðr*
 in castle-def.dat. was chieftain-nom. PRO-nom. C Odin was called
 ‘In the castle there was a chieftain who was called Odin.’
 b. *Hrafnkell átti þann grip í eigu sinni er honum þótti betri en annarr*
 Hrafnkel owned PRO-acc. treasure in ownership his C him-dat. seemed better than other
 ‘Hrafnkel had a treasure that was dearer to him than any other.’

As the sentences in (42) show, the PRO may precede or follow the noun and thus be adjacent to or separated from the *er*-clause.

The pronominal head may occasionally (especially in formal style) show the case of the relativized element in the clause:

- (43) *ok ólust þaðan af mankindir, þeim er bygðin var gefin undir Miðgarði*
and bore-refl. thereof races PRO-dat. C dwelling-def. was given under Midgard
'And from there were born peoples who were given a dwelling under the Midgard.'

In the popular style we would expect nominative *þær*, agreeing with the nominative *mannkindir*, instead of the dative governed by *gefin*.

The head of an *er*-clause may also be an adverb of place or time. The entire construction then serves as an adverbial clause:

- (44) a. *þeir hræddust, at úvinir mundu leita líksins þar, er var*
they feared that enemies would seek corpse-def.gen. there C was
'They feared that the enemy would look for the corpse where it was.'
b. *ok þá er hann hafði tekit fuglinn, þá vildi hann drepa fuglinn ok eta hann síðan*
and when C he had taken bird-def. then would he kill bird-def. and eat it since
'When he had caught the bird he wanted to kill it and then eat it.'

The adverb may be omitted, whereby *er* alone introduces an adverbial clause:

- (45) *Ólafur konungr fór, er váraði, út til sævar*
Olaf king went C became spring out to sea
'When spring came, King Olaf went out to sea.'

7.1.3. Other complementizers

Besides *er*, two other complementizers are used to introduce implicative clauses: *en* is mainly used in (eastern) Norwegian, and *sem* is originally a comparative particle ("as") which first was used as a complementizer in Norwegian and then spread to Icelandic.

- (46) a. *þau helgu orð en í bókinni vǫru*
PRO-nom. sacred words C in book-def. were
'those sacred words that were in the book.'
b. *eptir því sem Eyvindr segir*
after PRO C Eyvindr says
'according to what Eyvindr says.'

Conditional clauses are introduced by *ef* 'if' and by *nema* 'unless':

- (47) a. *ef þú setzt niður þá skal þú úrgr vera*
if you sit down, then shall you wet be
b. *eigi meguð þér inn ganga í ríki himna nema þér lægið yðr*
not may you-nom. in go in realm heavens' unless you-nom. lower you-acc.
'You may not enter heaven unless you humble yourselves.'

Ef is also used to introduce indirect questions:

- (48) *skal ek freista ef ek mega þik drepa*
shall I try if I may you-acc. kill

7.2. Introduced by interrogative words

Besides the use of *ef* as in (48), indirect questions may be introduced by various interrogative words.

- (49) a. *þat skyldi svá reyna, hvárt Baldr var svá ástsæll sem sagt er*
that should thus try, whether Baldr was as popular as said is
b. *hann spurði hvat mönnum þeir sé*
he asked what men-dat. they are
'He asked what sort of men they were.'
c. *sagði, hversu mikill grátr var með ásum*
said, how much weeping was with gods
'(He) said how much the gods were weeping.'

In learned style, the interrogative pronoun may be used as a relative pronoun, on the pattern of Latin and French, and is sometimes followed by *er*:

- (50) a. *hyggið þér at falsligum spámönnum, hverir til yðar koma i sauðaklæðum*
think you of false prophets who to you come in sheep-clothes
b. *þetta sama orð var ok upphaf, i hverju ok fyrir hvat er guð skapaði allan heiminn*
this same word was also beginning in which-dat. and for which-acc. C God created all world

8. Word order

Old Nordic is usually said to have "free word order". When compared to English or to the modern Scandinavian languages, this may to some extent be true, but even in Old Nordic, there are syntactic rules determining the order

of words and constituents. The apparent freedom of word order is mainly due to certain permitted movement rules, which do not all necessarily exist in the present-day Nordic languages. The function of these movement rules is mainly to order sentence elements in accordance with their discourse functions.

Unlike modern Scandinavian, Old Nordic does not seem to have different word order patterns for main and subordinate clauses. There is, however, a certain statistical difference in the frequencies of certain patterns.

8.1. The finite verb

One fixed position in the sentence is that of the finite verb, and other sentence elements can be located in relation to it. The finite verb is most often in second position in the sentence, as in several of the previous examples, e. g. (49a,b) and (50b). But the finite verb may also occur in initial position, as in (49c) and (50a). In all other respects, the word order pattern of verb-initial sentences is the same as that of verb-second sentences, the only difference being an empty position before the verb. Rather than considering the sentences in (49c) and (50a) “verb-initial”, they may for systematic and descriptive reasons be considered “topicless” sentences. This allows us to describe the finite verb as being in the same position in all main sentences, namely second position. The sentences starting with a verb then have an empty topic position, and Old Nordic can be considered a regular verb-second language, on a par with the other Germanic languages (except modern English).

8.2. Topicalization and *wh*-movement

The position in front of the finite verb is the topic position. As we have seen already, this position may be empty. If the sentence contains a question word, this is obligatorily topicalized:

- (51) a. *hverr var þessi hinn orðsnjalli maðr?*
 who-nom. was this eloquent man-nom.
 b. *hvat gerir þú?*
 what-acc. do you-nom.
 c. *hví dveljum vér*
 what-dat. hesitate we
 ‘Why are we hesitating?’

Phrases containing a question word are also fronted:

- (52) a. *hversu mikla frændsemi átt þú við Erling?*
 how great relationship-acc. own you-nom. with Erling
 ‘How close is your relationship with Erling?’
 b. *við hvat fóddist kýrin?*
 with what feed-refl. cow-def.nom.
 ‘On what did the cow feed?’

Even direct sentence questions may be introduced by a question word:

- (53) *hvárt eru allir menn í svefni á bónum?*
 whether are all men in sleep at farm-def.
 ‘Are all the men asleep on the farm?’

In declarative sentences, any sentence element may be fronted, with the exception of the finite verb, which is tied to the second position:

- (54) a. *Sámr var kvánaðr*
 Sam-nom. was married (subject)
 b. *Bjarni hét maðr*
 Bjarni-nom. was-called man-nom.
 ‘There was a man called Bjarni.’
 (predicate complement)
 c. *annan mann drap hann litlu síðar*
 other man-acc. killed he-nom. little later (direct object)
 ‘The other man he killed a bit later.’
 d. *Á þessum hesti hafði hann svá mikla elsku, at ...*
 on this horse had he so great love-acc. that
 ‘He loved this horse so much that ...’
 (PP adjunct)
 e. *eigi veldr ástleysi þessi brottkvaðning við þik*
 not causes lovelack-nom. this farewell-acc. with you
 ‘It is not lack of love that causes me to leave you.’ (sentence adverbial)

The head of a phrase may also be topicalized, leaving the rest behind in its original position:

- (55) a. *væta var á mikil um daginn*
 wetness-nom. was on great-nom. in day
 ‘There was much rain during the day.’
 b. *en á þykkir mér vera skuggi nökkurr mannum*
 but on seems me-dat. be shadow some man-dat.def.
 ‘But there seems to me to be a shadow over the man.’
 c. *þakka viljum vér yðr*
 thank will we you-dat.
 ‘We want to thank you.’

The fronting of a head noun or a preposition alone, as in (55a, b), is very uncommon. The fronting of a verb alone, as in (55c), however, is much more common. In fact, fronting a verb together with its complement seems not to exist: constructions of the form *þakka yðr viljum vér are not attested. This may indicate that Old Nordic does not have VPs as regular constituents (Faarlund 1990, 95 ff.).

A determiner or a modifier of a NP may also be fronted, leaving the rest of the NP *in situ*. This is particularly common with quantifiers but is also found with other determiners and with adjectives:

- (56) a. *engi var hann hermaðr*
no-masc.nom. was he soldier-nom.
'He was no soldier.'
- b. *þeirrar skaltu konu biðja*
that-fem.gen. shall-you woman-gen.
ask
'You shall ask for that woman.'
- c. *góðan eigum vér konung*
good-acc. own we king-acc.
'we have a good king.'

In subordinate clauses the fronted element ends up in a position immediately after the complementizer or the interrogative phrase. In the majority of cases, and much more often than in main sentences, this is the subject, as exemplified in most of the sentences in 7, e. g. (39). But other sentence elements may also be topicalized in subordinate clauses. In (38) and (40b) adverbs are topicalized, in (42a) a predicate NP, in (42b) a dative object, and in (46a) and (50a) prepositional phrases. If the interrogative phrase is the subject of the sentence, it is usually followed immediately by the finite verb; cf. (49c). It should be noted that sentence adverbials that are not fronted occur after the finite verb, as in main sentences:

- (57) *at ek hafa ekki varliga mælt*
that I have not carefully spoken

Fronting of a non-subject to the preverbal position is particularly common in subordinate clauses where the subject is missing, known as "stylistic inversion" or "stylistic fronting" (Maling 1980); cf. (42a).

8.3. Rightward movement

A constituent may be shifted to the final position in the sentence if it is long, complex or focussed, without leaving a visible trace in its original position. Under such conditions the

subject may occur at the end of the sentence, and the object may occur after an adverbial and thus further to the right than otherwise expected:

- (58) a. *hljópu þar út mýss*
ran there out mice-nom.
- b. *Þórolfur kastaði þá fyrir borð öndvegis-
súlum sínum, þeim er staðit höfðu í
hofinu*
Thorolf threw then overboard throne-
posts his, those that stood had in tem-
ple-def.

In particular, subordinate clauses are moved to the right, whether they are part of a NP or not:

- (59) a. *eigi er undarligt, at þú sér kallaðr Óláfr
digri*
not is strange that you-nom. are called
Olaf Huge-nom.
'It is no wonder that you are called
Olaf Huge.'
- b. *þat hyggjum vér, at hann kunni fugls
röddu*
it believe we, that he knows bird's
speech
'We believe that he knows the language
of the birds.'

In (59b), *þat* in initial position is the direct object of *hyggjum*; in the D-structure, the *at*-clause is an apposition to *þat*, and the two elements thus make up the direct object of the sentence (*þat at ...*). Therefore *þat* is not a dummy filling an empty object position but a pronoun constituting the head of the object phrase.

8.4. Position of the subject

The basic position of the subject is immediately following the finite verb. This is the unmarked subject position in main sentences with an empty topic position or with something other than the subject as topic, as in e. g. (54b-e). From this position the subject may be topicalized, as in (54a) and several other example sentences above. If heavy or focussed, the subject may be moved to the end of the sentence, as shown in sect. 8.3.

A fourth possibility is for a derived subject to remain in its original position. Thus in (60a), *hon* is separated from the finite verb but occurs in a position where we might expect the subject of *hafa gert* in a subordinate sentence; cf. (60b):

- (60) a. *þótti honum hon vel hafa gert*
 seemed him-dat. she-nom. well have
 done
 ‘She seemed to him to have done well.’
 b. *at hon vel hafði gert.*
 that she-nom. well had done

In passive sentences, the nominative may remain in the original object position behind the main verb. Of course, this is often impossible to distinguish from instances of rightward movement of subjects, as in (61 a), but sometimes other material may follow the NP, as in (61 b):

- (61) a. *var þeim gefinn dagverður*
 was them given breakfast-nom.
 ‘They were given breakfast.’
 b. *ok var fluttr varnaður þeira til skips*
 and were moved commodities-nom.
 their to ship

The same position of the subject may be found also with active verbs. These may then be considered ‘ergative’ constructions, where the subject is an underlying object:

- (62) *ok var þá sigit blóð fyrir augu þeim*
 and was then run blood-nom. before eyes
 their

None of the subject positions demonstrated here is a unique subject position. The topic position, the rightmost focus position, and the postverbal position may also host other sentence elements, and even the position immediately after the finite verb, which I called the basic subject position, may contain other elements, particularly pronouns in oblique cases, as in (60 a) and (61 a).

8.5. The verb and its complements

Old Nordic is a VO language, which means that objects and predicate adverbials regularly follow the non-finite verb. (The finite verb is fronted to second position; cf. 8.1.)

- (63) *þá skal ek sjalfr veita þeim lið*
 then shall I myself give them-dat. help-
 acc.

Further examples are found in several of the preceding sections, e. g. (44). Generally, the indirect (dative) object precedes the direct (accusative) object, as in (63), but the order may be reversed:

- (64) *ok bauð Þorsteinn at gefa þann Gunnlaugi*
 and ordered Thorstein to give it-acc.
 Gunnlaug-dat.

However, the object(s) may precede the non-finite verb:

- (65) *ef nokkurir vilji land hennar kaupa*
 if some will land-acc. hers buy
 ‘If somebody wants to buy her land.’

This is particularly common if the object is a pronoun, and above all if this is a subject-like pronoun (“oblique subject”), as in (61 a). A preverbal object NP or predicate adverbial may be interpreted in either of two ways. It may be a remnant of the older OV pattern of Germanic languages (cf. article 83), or it may result from a movement of the object or adverbial to a position in front of the verb (“scrambling”, cf. Haugan 1999). The latter is probably the most plausible analysis when unstressed pronouns are involved. It also happens that some complements precede the verb while others follow it:

- (66) *þá mátt þú nú mikit lið veita Njáli*
 then may you now much help-acc. give
 Njal-dat.

In cases like this, again two analyses are possible. On the basis of an old OV structure, the dative object has been extraposed because it is focussed; or on the basis of a VO structure, the accusative object has been moved in front of the verb. It would be consistent with a basic OV order for auxiliaries to follow the main verb. This is not the normal order but it is not unusual:

- (67) *ok munt þú ekki drauma ráða kunna*
 and may you not dreams interpret can-
 inf.
 ‘And you may not know how to interpret dreams.’

9. Empty argument positions

9.1. Deletion under identity

Noun phrases may generally be omitted if they are recoverable from the context. Thus in the second of two conjoined sentences, any argument phrase may be omitted if it is coreferential with a phrase in the preceding sentence, regardless of case or function:

- (68) a. *þá brá hann sverðinu hart ok titt ok hljóp í stofuna*
 then drew he-nom. sword-dat. hard
 and often and [-] ran into room-def.
 (nom.-nom.)
 b. *þá lét Óðinn bera inn í höllina sverð,
 ok váru svá björt ...*

then let Odin bring into hall-def.
swords-acc. and [-] were so bright ...
(acc.-nom.)

- c. *Einarr þambarskelfir fór með líki Magnús konungs ok flutti til Niðaróss*
Einar Thambarskelfi-nom. went with
corpse-dat. Magnus King-gen. and
moved [-] to Nidaros (dat.-acc.)
'Einar Thambarskelfi brought King
Magnus' corpse to Nidaros.'

A similar kind of deletion is found in subordinate sentences:

- (69) a. *þú munt eigi segja hersögu, nema sönn sé*
you shall not tell war-tales unless
true be
'You shall not tell news from the war
unless it is true.'
b. *sá baugr skyldi vera hverjum höfuðsbani, er átti*
that ring should be each-dat. death,
C owned
'That ring would be the death of
anyone who possessed it.'

9.2. Unspecified subject deletion

The subject may be omitted if it has a general or non-specifiable reference:

- (70) a. *ekki sá skipit fyrir laufinu*
not saw ship-def. acc. for foliage-def.
'The ship was invisible because of the
foliage.'
b. *bítr vel á um daginn*
bites well at in day-def.
'(The fish) bites well in the day.'

Verbs that normally take an agent subject may be used without a subject when they denote natural processes:

- (71) *Gerði myrkt*
made dark
'It got dark.'

Certain verbs regularly do not take a nominative NP and therefore always form 'subjectless' sentences. Some of these may take oblique arguments only; others have no arguments. These are typically verbs that refer to mental or natural states or processes:

- (72) a. *mik þyrsti*
me-acc. thirsted
'I was thirsty.'
b. *snjófaði mjök*
snowed much
'It snowed much.'

The passive of verbs that do not take an accusative object in the active also belongs to this category, since only accusative objects can become nominative in the passive; cf. (31) in sect. 5. In a parallel fashion, some adjectives may also occur without a subject:

- (73) *Mér er varmt*
me-dat. is hot
'I am hot.'

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106. The Old Nordic lexicon

1. Introduction
2. General characteristics of the ON lexicon
3. Periodization
4. Typology of loans
5. Dialectal differences within ON
6. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

1.1. The Old Nordic (ON) lexicon is documented in a large and diversified body of literature. It may be subdivided into two branches: (1) Old West Nordic, comprising Old Norwegian, Old Icelandic and Old Faroese; and (2) Old East Nordic, comprising Old Danish, Old Swedish and Old Gutnish.

The earliest texts of the Western branch, scaldic poetry, belong to the 9th century, while the oldest preserved manuscripts were written in the latter half of the 12th century. The sources of Old Faroese are few and young: apart from two runic inscriptions, the most important ones are additions from the 14th and 15th centuries to a Norwegian legal text.

The oldest Danish and Swedish manuscripts, copies of legal texts, stem from the 13th century. Old Gutnish is known through a legal manuscript from ca. 1350 and a number of runic inscriptions. An important group of Old East Nordic sources comes from runic inscriptions. Such inscriptions are less important as sources of classical Old West Nordic, since they are by far outnumbered by manuscripts in the Latin alphabet.

In what follows, emphasis will be given to Old West Nordic, which has the larger and older corpus, especially from the classical period (1100–1350). The corpus gives a fairly broad picture of the ON lexicon, but not all areas of vocabulary are equally well covered. The vocabulary of the Christian church is extensively documented, whereas words and expressions dealing with everyday life are less known, because much less was written about these walks of life.

For lexical differences between and within the two branches, see section 5.

1.2. For Old West Nordic there are two larger general dictionaries, one by Fritzner (1886–1896, 1972), another by Cleasby/Vigfusson/Craigie (1957). A third large dictionary (planned to comprise 12 volumes), *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*, is being edited by The Arnarnagænan Commission in Copen-

hagen. Only the first and second volumes, *abam* and *ban-da* respectively, a volume of indices and a user's guide have been published so far (2001). Important specialized dictionaries are Hertzberg's glossary of law terms (1895), Jónsson's *Lexicon poeticum* (1913–16, ²1931), and two concordances, one by Larsson (1891) for Old Icelandic, and one by Holtsmark (1955) for Old Norwegian; both works cover the vocabulary of the oldest manuscripts down to ca. 1250. For Old Faroese no separate dictionary exists.

Dictionaries of Old Danish are provided by Lund (1877) and Kalkar (1881–1918). The vocabulary of Old Swedish is covered by Söderwall (1884–1918; supplements 1953–1973) and Schlyter (1877, law terms). Old Gutnish still lacks a separate dictionary.

1.3. The standard etymological dictionary is de Vries (1977), superseding Holthausen (1948). Additional information can be found in Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989).

2. General characteristics of the ON lexicon

2.1. On the whole, the ON lexicon has a clearly Germanic character, in the sense that the majority of words have close cognates in the other Old Germanic languages (cf. 2.2.1.). Peculiar to ON is, on the one hand, a substantial body of Nordic innovations, words having no obvious equivalents in related Germanic languages, although their roots may be Indo-European and Germanic (cf. Haugen 1982, 186–88 and 2.2.2.). On the other hand, ON has more loans than the other Old Germanic languages (cf. Fischer 1909, iii), especially from Old English (OE), Old French (OFr.) and Middle Low German (MLG), more sparingly from Old Irish (OIr.), Old Frisian, Middle English (ME), Slavic and remoter languages.

The standard survey of loanwords in ON is Fischer (1909), which presents most of the relevant material, classified according to source languages; semantic loans, derivatives and compounds on foreign patterns are more summarily treated. Many of Fischer's etymologies have been questioned or refuted by later scholars (Höfler, de Vries, Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon), and several words are still etymologically obscure or disputed.

2.2. This section gives examples of words belonging to the common Germanic heritage (2.2.1., where Gothic and Old High German are abbreviated Go. and OHG, respectively), and examples of Nordic peculiarities (2.2.2.).

2.2.1. ON *aldr*, OE *ealdor*, OHG *altar*; ON *aptr*, Go. *aþtra*, OE *æfter*, OHG *aftar*; ON *ár*, Go. *jer*, OE *geár*, OHG *jâr*; ON *bað*, OE *bæþ*, OHG *bad*; ON *band*, Go. *bandi*, OE *bend*, OHG *bant*; ON *berg*, *bjarg*, OE *beorh*, *beorg*, OHG *berg*; ON *blindr*, Go. *blinds*, OE *blind*, OHG *blint*; ON *dagr*, Go. *dags*, OE *dæg*, OHG *tag*; ON *dáð*, Go. *gadēþs*, OE *dæd*, OHG *tât*; ON *djúpr*, Go. *diups*, OE *deóp*, OHG *tiuf*; ON *drekka*, Go. *driþkan*, OE *drincan*, OHG *trinþkan*; ON *ef*, Go. *ibaþ(i)*, OE *gif*, OHG *ibu*; ON *eiðr*, Go. *aipþs*, OE *āþ*, OHG *eid*; ON *ellri*, Go. *alþiza*, OE *ieldra*, OHG *eltiro*; ON *endi(r)*, Go. *andeis*, OE *ende*, OHG *enti*; ON *faðir*, Go. *faðar*, OE *fæder*, OHG *fater*; ON *fara*, Go. OE, OHG *faran*; ON *fé*, Go. *faihu*, OE *feoh*, OHG *fihu*; ON *friðr*, OE *friþ*, OHG *fridu*; ON *fugl*, Go. *fugls*, OE *fugol*, OHG *fogal*; ON *garðr*, Go. *gards*, OE *geard*, OHG *gart*; ON *gefa*, Go. *giban*, OE *gifan*, OHG *geban*; ON *gjarna*, OE *georn*, OHG *gerno*; ON (g)*nógr*, Go. *ganohs*, OE *genōh*, OHG *ginuog*; ON *góðr*, Go. *gods*, OE *gōd*, OHG *guot*; ON *gráðigr*, Go. *grēdags*, OE *grædig*, OHG *grâtag*; ON *hafa*, Go. *haban*, OE *habban*, OHG *habên*; ON *hár*, OE *hær*, OHG *hâr*; ON *harðr*, Go. *hardus*, OE *heard*, OHG *hart*; ON *hefja*, Go. *hafjan*, OE *hebban*, OHG *heffen*, *heven*; ON *heimr*, Go. *haims*, OE *hām*, OHG *heim*; ON *heita*, Go. *haitan*, OE *hātan*, OHG *heizzan*; ON *heyra*, Go. *hausjan*, OE *hiéran*, *hýran*, OHG *hōren*; ON *himinn*, Go. *himins*, OE *heofon*, OHG *himil*; ON *hrafn*, OE *hræfn*, OHG *hraban*; ON *hrís*, OE, OHG *hrís*; ON *hross*, OE *hors*, OHG *ros*; ON *hundr*, Go. *hunds*, OE *hund*, OHG *hunt*; ON *hvítr*, Go. *hweits*, OE *hwit*, OHG *wiz*; ON *iss*, OE, OHG *ís*; ON *jafn*, Go. *ibns*, OE *efn*, OHG *eban*; ON *jörð*, Go. *airþa*, OE *eorþe*, OHG *erda*; ON *júgr*, OE *ūder*, OHG *útar*, *útar*; ON *kambr*, OE *camb*, OHG *kamb*; ON *kinn*, Go. *kinnus*, OE *cin*, OHG *chinne*; ON *kjósa*, Go. *kiusan*, OE *céosan*, OHG *kiosan*; ON *kljúfa*, OE *cléofan*, OHG *klioban*; ON *kné*, Go. *kniu*, OE *cnéo*, OHG *knio*; ON *kona*, Go. *qino*, OE *cwene*, OHG *quena*; ON *korn*, Go *kairn*, OE *corn*, OHG *korn*; ON *kraptr*, *krqþr*, OE *cræft*, OHG *kraft*; ON *kunna*, Go., OHG *kunnan*, OE *cunnan*; ON *kvöl*, OE *cwalu*, OHG *quála*; ON *kóla*, OE *cēlan*, OHG *chuolen*; ON *kýr*, OE *cū*, OHG *chuo*; ON, Go., OE *land*,

OHG *lant*; ON *leggja*, Go. *lagjan*, OE *lecgan*, OHG *lecchen*, *legen*; ON *lif*, OE *lif*, OHG *lib*; ON *lúka*, Go. *galūkan*, OE *lūcan*, OHG *lūhhan*; ON *maðr*, Go. *manna*, OE, OHG *mann*; ON *með(r)*, Go. *mipþ*, *mid*, OE *mid*, OHG *mit*; ON *mjolk*, Go. *miluks*, OE *meol(u)c*, OHG *miluh*; ON *nátt*, *nótt*, Go. *nahts*, OE *neaht*, *niht*, OHG *naht*; ON *nökkviðr*, Go. *naqaþs*, OE *nacod*, OHG *nackot*; ON *nýr*, Go. *niujis*, OE *nīwe*, *neówe*, OHG *niuwi*; ON *óðal*, OE *ōþel*, *ēþel*, OHG *uodal*; ON *orð*, Go. *waúrd*, OE *word*, OHG *wort*; ON *ragr*, *argr*, OE *earg*, OHG *arg*; ON *reiðr*, OE *wrāþ*, OHG *reid*; ON *riða*, OE *rīdan*, OHG *rītan*; ON *sáð*, OE *sæd*, OHG *sât*; ON *segja*, OE *secgan*, OHG *sagên*; ON *skaði*, OE *sceaþa*, OHG *scad(h)o*; ON, OHG *sumar*, OE *sumer*, *sumor*; ON *sverð*, OE *sweord*, OHG *swert*; ON *tamr*, OE *tam*, OHG *zam*; ON *tíð*, OE *tīd*, OHG *zīt*; ON *tún*, OE *tūn*, OHG *zûn*; ON *þak*, OE *þæc*, OHG *dah*; ON *þunnr*, OE *þynne*, OHG *dunni*; ON *þorþ*, OE *þearf*, OHG *darba*; ON *ulfr*, Go. *wulfs*, OE *wulf*, OHG *wolf*; ON *ungr*, Go. *juggs*, OE *geong*, OHG *jung*; ON *uxi*, *oxi*, Go. *auhsa*, OE *oxa*, OHG *ohso*; ON *vaka*, OE *wacian*, OHG *wahhên*; ON *vefa*, OE *wefan*, OHG *weban*; ON *verða*, Go. *wairþan*, OE *weorþan*, OHG *werdan*; ON *qngr*, Go. *aggwus*, OE *enge*, OHG *engi*.

2.2.2. Some idiosyncrasies in word formation distinguish ON from the other Germanic languages (cf. Haugen 1982, 184–195). Among such features are a series of derivational suffixes, e.g. *-að-*, *-átta*, *-d/-ð* and *-ning*, forming deverbal nouns (*batnaðr* from *batna*, *barátta* from *berja*, *hefnð* from *hefna*, *byggð* from *byggja*, *brotning* from *brotna*, *soðning* from *soðna*); *-leikr/-leiki* forming nouns from adjectives (*góðleikr*, *kunnleiki*, *vaskleikr*); and *-látr* forming adjectives from other adjectives (*blíðlátr* from *blíðr*, *mikillátr* from *mikill*, *vandlátr* from *vandr*).

A major deviation from Germanic usage is the absence of the unstressed prefixes **bi-* and **ga-*, which have left few traces (*breiða*, *gnógr*).

In a number of cases ON words are clearly related to other Germanic words, but have been constructed by choosing different alternative formations. Thus ON *ljós* 'light' is based on a form with the suffix *-s*, whereas OE *leoht* and OHG *lioht* have been derived with the suffix *-t*; all three come from Germanic **leuh*. ON *björn* 'bear' corresponds to OE *bera* and OHG *bero*, all from Germanic **ber*; here West Germanic shows an *an*-stem

(**beran*), North Germanic a reshaped *u*-stem (**bernu*). The word for 'up' could form its comparative with the suffixes *-ōz or *-iz in Germanic; OHG chose the former, giving *obaro*, OE and ON the latter, giving ON *ofri*.

Several areas of the ON lexicon show innovations, e.g., words denoting (a) physical terrain: *bakki* 'hill', *fors/foss* 'waterfall', *kjarr* 'thicket', *oddi* 'headland'; (b) plants and trees: *barr* 'evergreen needles', *einir* 'juniper', *grøn* 'spruce', *heggr* 'chokecherry', *laf* 'lichen', *lyng* 'heather', *sef* 'rushes'; (c) animals and birds: *aurriði* 'trout', *gedda* 'pike', *gríss* 'pig', *már* 'gull', *refr* 'fox', *sild* 'herring', *þerna* 'tern'; (d) buildings and houses: *bjalki* 'beam', *fjós* 'cowbarn', *golf* 'floor', *ljóri* 'smoke vent', *svalar* 'hallway', *sæng* 'bed'; (e) food and clothing: *doggurðr* 'breakfast', *ermr* 'sleeve', *grýta* 'kettle', *hetta* 'hood', *kjöt* 'meat', *náttverðr* 'supper'; (f) people: *drengr* 'hero, man', *dróttning* 'queen', *ekkja* 'widow', *kerling* '(old) woman', *staðkarl* 'beggar', *þræll* 'slave, serf'; (g) law and commerce: *eykt* 'working period', *knorr* 'merchant ship', *leiðangr* 'naval conscription', *lög* 'law', *skeið* 'longship', *umboðsmaðr* 'deputy'; (h) descriptive terms: *dofinn* 'lazy', *fátókr* 'poor', *hógri* 'right (vs. left)', *kátr* 'merry', *spakr* 'wise', *úsæll* 'unhappy, miserable', *vánder* 'bad, evil'.

3. Periodization

3.1. The development of the ON lexicon does not allow clear-cut chronological divisions comparable to those of phonology and morphology. Nevertheless it is possible to discern some vaguely distinct phases partly based on the range, character and treatment of loanwords (e.g. Nordic loans in Finnish), partly on grounds of general cultural history. The main division is marked by the introduction of Christianity (10th–11th centuries), which brought in a host of words relating to the beliefs, concepts and institutions of the new religion. Cf. Indrebø 1951, 33–34, 54; Seip 1955, 6–7, 56–58; Haugen 1976, 164–65.

3.2. The pre-Christian era can be subdivided according to the age and character of important cultural contacts.

3.2.1. The oldest stratum seems to appear in some Celtic loans: *ambátt* 'bondswoman, maid, concubine', *isarn*, *jarn* 'iron', *ríkr* 'powerful', *ríki* 'power; kingdom'. Somewhat later, but prior to the Viking Age, a number of loans were adopted from the Frisians, the leading

Germanic traders in the 6th–9th centuries. Words generally attributed to Frisian are *akkeri* 'anchor', *bákn* 'beacon', *bátr* 'boat', *dúkr* 'cloth, sail', *gjaldkeri* 'the king's rent-collector, steward', *kál* 'cabbage', *kerra* 'cart', *klæði* 'cloth', *kuggi*, *kuggr* 'a kind of ship', *sekk* 'sack', and *stræti* 'street'. Some of these (*kál*, *sekk*, *stræti*) can be traced back to Latin, others (*akkeri*, *sekk*) even further (Greek, Semitic); some (e.g. *bákn*) may also have been influenced by OE or OSx counterparts. Cf. Indrebø (1951, 54) and Haugen (1976, 164), and further references in these works.

3.2.2. Other prehistoric loans, of uncertain origin, are *apaldr* 'apple tree', *epli* 'apple', *api* 'ape', *ertr* 'peas', *hampr* 'cannabis, hemp', *plógr* 'plough', *tjald* 'tent', and *ulfaldi* 'camel'.

3.2.3. Early loans from Latin are *eyrir* 'ounce of silver; money', *kapp* 'contest; eagerness', *karfi* 'a kind of galley', *kaupa* 'to buy' and *kaup*, *ketill* 'kettle', *múta* 'payment, bribe', *móttull* 'mantle', *pund* 'pound', *tafl* 'a game', *vin* 'wine', *qrk* 'ark, chest'; and possibly *kyllir* 'bag; scrotum', *kqtr* 'cat', *pungr* 'purse'. Some may have come into ON via OE or OSx. (*manga*, *múrr*, *mylna*, *penningr*, *pund*, *tolldr*), while for others (*pell*, *tafl*, *vin*) OE or MLG transmission has been suggested; *móttull* comes via MLG.

3.2.4. Many other cultural loans are assumed to have come from or via OE, especially after the Viking contacts with England (from the end of the 8th century). Examples of words from OE: *barlak* 'barley', *byrli* 'to wait upon', *byrlari*, *byrli* 'waiter', *hirð* 'a king's or earl's bodyguard, the king's men', *láðmaðr* 'guide', *stívarðr* 'steward', *vend* 'name of the *v*-rune'; and possibly *bjórr* 'beer', *krukka* 'pot', *skruð* 'ornament; furniture; a kind of cloth', *tákn* 'sign', *vimpill* 'wimple, a kind of hood, veil'. From Latin via OE: *belti* 'belt', *diskr* 'plate', *gimr*, *gimsteinn* 'gem-stone', *kalkr* 'chalice' (cf. also *kalekr* 3.3.), *kempa* 'champion', *kista* 'chest, box' (ult. Greek), *koparr* 'copper', *krog* 'saffron', *kylna* 'kiln', *kyrtill* 'gown, tunic', *leó*, *león*, *ljón* 'lion' (cf. also *leena* 3.4.1.), *næpa* 'turnip' (possibly Egyptian origin), *pá(i)* 'peacock' (possibly Indian origin), *páll* 'hoe or spade', *pera* 'pear', *piliza* 'pilch, fur coat', *pipari*, *piparr* 'pepper' (ult. from the Orient), *port* 'gate', *skutill* 'plate, table', *stallari* 'a king's marshal', *sútari* 'tanner, shoemaker'; and possibly *klefi* 'closet', *mynt* 'coin', *plóma* 'plum', *tigl* 'tile, brick'.

For the words of Latin origin, it is not possible to say for certain whether they came to ON from OE or OSx. (cf. 3.2.3. and 3.3.). Many words of Latin origin were common coin in western Europe and could have been spread through Roman traders and soldiers as well as through Germanic speakers.

3.2.5. Loans from other languages are few and do not readily fit into a chronological frame. Some words have Celtic origins: *gaflak* 'javelin', *gjalt* 'insanity', *laustik* 'nightingale', *skjaðak* 'darnel; inferior beer', *ærgin* 'shieling, mountain pastures'; and possibly *þúst* 'flail'. (Cf. also *ambátt* etc., 3.2.1.) Among these, *gjalt*, *skjaðak*, *ærgin* and *þúst* come from Irish. For other Irish loans see 5.3.4.

The following loans are considered to have come from Slavic: *bismari* 'steelyard', *brakki*, *brakun* 'broker', *buzar* 'a kind of beverage', *dyflissa* 'jail', *fill* 'elephant' (ult. Arabic), *leðja* 'ship', *prámr* 'flat-bottomed boat', *safali* 'sable(-fur)', *silki* 'silk' (ult. from the Orient), *taparox* 'small axe', *trapiza* 'table' (ult. Greek), *torg* 'market place', *tulkr* 'interpreter'; and possibly *humli* 'hops'. *bismari*, *dyflissa*, *prámr* and *tulkr* reached ON via MLG.

3.3. The profound influence of Christianity has been extensively studied, especially by Kahle (1890), Taranger (1890), and Thors (1957).

The ecclesiastical terminology was mainly Latin in its origin. (Ultimately from Greek were *antefna*, *biskup*, *djákn(i)*, *djǫfull*, *engill*, *erki*-, *kirkja*, *krisma*, *krismi*, *kristinn*, *munkr*, *musteri*, *postoli*, *prestr*, *salmr*, *saltari*, *skóli*, *qlmusa*.) It was channelled into ON through adaptations made either in OE (especially) or OSx. and MLG. Some terms were sometimes cited unadapted (e.g., *kredo*, *monachus*, *monasterium*), but as a rule they were more or less adapted (e.g. *munkr*; *mustari*, *mynstr*; see also 4.3.). Via OE came, e.g., *ábóti*, *biskup*, *djákn*, *engill*, *erki*-, *imbrudagar*, *kalekr* (cf. *kalkr* 3.2.4.), *kanóki*, *kannúkr*, *kanunkr*, *kirkja*, *klaustr*, *klerkr*, *kredda*, *krisma*, *krismi*, *kristinn*, *munkr*, *postoli*, *prestr*, *prim*, *prófasti*, *prófastr*, *salmr*, *skrin*, *skript* [in the sense 'confession'], and probably *messa* and *url(an)* 'veil'. Via OE or OIr.: *bagall* 'crosier' and *kross*; via OE or OFr: *funtr*, *fontr*.

Via OSx. have come *djǫfull*, *qlmusa* (cf. Kahle 1890, 13), and probably *altari*, *alteri*, *altara*, *frú*, *herra*, *pína*, *synd*; via OE or OSx.: *bókstafr*, *offra*, *prédika*.

Via MLG have come, e.g., *abbadis*, *ametta* 'linen cloth worn by priests', *bréf*, *bréferr*,

dómkirkja, *ferma*, *gradal*, *graðall*, *(h)yumni* (ult. Greek), *kapella*, *karína* 'fast of 40 days', *kir(k)messa*, *klokka*, *klukka* (ult. OIr.), *konvent(a)*, *kraptr*, *krǫptr* [in the sense 'crypt'], *leikr* 'lay', *lektia*, *lektari*, *páfi*, *paradis(i)*, *páskar*, *patriarki*, *píkis*-, *pikkisdagr*, *pela*-, *pílagrimr*, *pítenz*, *plága*, *regla*, *spitali*, *spitall*, *texti*, *textr*, *vill* 'veil'; and possibly *abbati* and *skrifra*. Via ME: *primsigna* 'to give the "prima signatio"'. Via OE or MLG: *kapellánn* (cf. also *kapaleinn*, *kapalinn* 3.6.1.) and *skóli*.

OE has supplied some ecclesiastical words, e.g. *bleza*, *blesa*, *guðspell*, *guðspjall*, *reykelsi*, *ræðingr*, *sál*, *sálast*; and possibly *hunsl*, *húsl*, *rim* 'computation, calendar'.

Much of the Christian terminology was adapted through loanshifts (cf. 4.3.).

3.4. In the wake of Christianity followed the large-scale introduction of the Latin language and literature. Its early phase in Norway and Iceland belongs to the 11th and 12th centuries (cf. Walter 1976, 7, 37 with references). Surveys of Latin loanwords are given by Fischer (1909, 67–75) and de Vries (1977, xxxiv). Latin's influence, which is especially strong in ecclesiastical and learned literature, makes itself felt throughout the ON period and will not be divided here into chronological layers (except for 3.2.3. and 3.3. above).

3.4.1. Additional examples of Latin loanwords are *amor* 'love', *ampli*, *ampulla*, *ampullr* 'vessel, flask', *annáll* 'annal, record', *balsamr* 'balsam' (ult. Semitic), *biblia*, *biflia* 'bible' (ult. Greek), *bussel*, *buzel* 'cask', *buza* 'merchant-ship', *daktihr* 'fruit of the date palm' (ult. Greek), *dalmatika* 'a kind of liturgical garment', *dekan* (= *djákn*, cf. 3.3.), *dekreta*, 'decree', *dekreta*, 'to decree', *eximi* 'silk, velvet', *eyrir* 'ounce of silver', *figúra* 'figure, metaphor', *fika*, *fikja* 'fig', *fitónsandi* 'magic, prophetic power', *flórena*, *flórin*, 'florin', *fustan* 'a kind of cotton' (ult. Arabic), *gafi* 'griffin, a kind of mythical creature' (ult. Greek?), *gladel* 'lance, spear', *gráða*, *gráði* 'step', *homília* 'sermon' (ult. Greek), *iðusdagr* 'the Ides of a month', *jacinctus* 'a kind of blue silk', *justa* 'a kind of measure for liquids', *kaldel* 'cake', *kalendasdagr* 'the first day of the month', *kanceler* 'chancellor', *kanon* 'song', *kantiki*, *kantilena*, *kantilia* 'song', *kapituli* 'chapter; congregation of canons', *kapp* 'strife', *kardináli* 'cardinal', *karína* 'fast of 40 days', *kastr* 'fortress, camp', *klausa* 'clause, passage', *klúss* 'dear', *kollekta* 'collect, prayer', *kolorr* 'colour', *kóméta* 'comet' (ult. Greek), *kommún*

'commune, guild', *kompon* 'composition in Latin', *koróna* 'crown', *krónikubók* 'chronicle' (ult. Greek), *kvaðrantr* 'quadrant', *kvaterni* 'quire', *kussari* 'corsair, pirate', *latína* 'Latin language', *leena* 'lioness' (cf. also *léo* etc., 3.2.4.), *legáti* 'envoy', *léoparðr*, *hlébarðr* 'leopard' (cf. also *léparðr* 3.6.4., *parði* 3.5.2.), *lepra* 'leprosy' (ult. Greek), *linja* 'gallery', *máláttusótt* 'leprosy', *malmari*, *marmari* 'marble', *manna* 'manna' (ult. Arabic?), *metr* 'metre' (ult. Greek), *mítr*, *mítra* 'mitre, tall cap worn by bishops', *móménta* 'moment, 1.5 minute', *músikalist* 'music' (ult. Greek), *muskat* 'muscat', *múta* 'bribe', *mútari* 'a hawk that has moulted', *náttúra* 'nature; property', *nigromantia* 'sorcery' (ult. Greek), *nóna*, *nóni* 'the ninth hour, noon', *nóti* 'note, mark', *obláta*, *oblét*, *ofláta* 'sacramental wafer', *offerenda* 'offering', *oktavudagr* 'the eighth day after a feast day', *olífa* 'olive', *organ* 'organ', *pakti*, *paktr* 'epact, the "age" of the moon' (ult. Greek), *palata*, *palati* 'palace', *palma*, *palmi* 'palm-tree', *passia* 'the sufferings of Jesus', *past* 'food', *pati* 'father', *patena* 'the plate holding the bread in the Eucharist' (ult. Greek), *patriarki* 'patriarch' (ult. Greek), *PELLA* 'parchment', *persóna* 'person', *pikturr* 'painter', *portari* 'doorman', *prefatía* 'preface, introduction to the Mass', *prímstafr* 'prime letter' (i.e. golden number, the number of a particular year in the Metonic moon cycle – a period of 19 years – used to fix the date of Easter), *priorr* 'prior in a convent', *próba* 'to investigate, prove' (cf. *prófa* 3.5.2.), *processia* 'procession', *prófeta*, *prófeti* 'prophet' (ult. Greek), *prólaga* 'to bargain for oneself', *próvenda* 'prebend, benefice', *psalmr*, *psaltari* 'psalm, psalter' (cf. *salmr*, *saltari* 3.3.), *pulkrokirkja* 'the church of the sepulchre in Jerusalem', *purpura*, *purpuri* 'purple', *regula* 'monastic rule', *responsi* 'responsory (in worship)', *sálifa* 'saliva, spit', *salterium* 'psaltery, a stringed instrument' (ult. Greek), *samvit*, *samvizka* 'consciousness, wit; conscience', *samvitand* 'cognisance, knowledge', *sekventia* 'sequence, part of a chant in the Mass', *signa* 'to consecrate, bless', *simfón*, *sinfón* 'lyre', *skapular* 'a garment, part of a monk's habit', *skipt* 'the camp of the Varangians at Constantinople', *smaragdr* 'emerald' (ult. Greek?), *sónn* 'sound', *statút* 'statute', *still* 'stylus; style', *stóla*, *stóli* 'stole, strip of cloth worn like a scarf by some clergymen', *stóll* 'fleet' (ult. Greek), *subtil* 'a garment worn by a subdeacon', *suzingull* 'surcingle', *tabla*, *tabola* 'picture, altar-piece', *tesaurr* 'treasure, treasury', *testament* 'will', *timpanum* 'kettledrum' (ult. Greek),

titull 'heading; inscription; story; abbreviation sign', *traktr* 'a kind of chant', *tripla* 'to chant in three voices', *turturi* 'turtle-dove', *unian* 'onion', *vigiliudagr* 'the day before a festival', *vinflaki* 'a kind of cover or shelter'.

3.4.2. Typical Latinisms are the verbs in *-era*, which mainly occur in ecclesiastical and learned literature. In ON the type seems to be patterned on MLG verbs in *-eren*. MLG models can be found for a number of these verbs, cf. 3.5.3.

Directly from Latin have come, e.g., *diskordera* 'to disagree', *dispensera* 'to dispense', *disputera* 'to dispute', *divisera* 'to distribute', *emendera* 'to amend', *kancellera* 'to stretch out', *komponera* 'to compose', *konfirmera* 'to confirm', *konkordera* 'to agree', *nótera* 'to denote, mark', *traktera* 'to treat, entertain', *visitera* 'to visit'; and possibly **pretitulerá* (presupposed by *pretituleran* 'heading'), *prokurerá* 'to procure', *punktera* 'to point, dot', *studera* 'to study'.

A number of these verbs occur in shortened forms in *-a*: *diskorda*, *disputa*, *emenda*, *kompona*, *kompona*, *studia*.

Corresponding verbal nouns end in *-an* (cf. 3.5.3.): *dispenseran*, *disputan*, *disputeran*, *komponeran*, *konkorderan*, *studeran*, *trakteran*.

3.5. The next great wave of loans came from MLG, beginning in the late 12th century and rapidly growing in the 13th. The ground was to some extent prepared partly through those Christian missionaries whose mother tongue was OSx. (cf. 3.3.), partly through commercial and cultural contacts with peoples bordering on the North Sea coasts in the Viking Age and even before that time (cf. 3.2.1.). But the greater part of the MLG influence was imported through contacts with members of the Hanseatic League. In the ON period the linguistic results were most conspicuous in the language of merchants and the nobility, who had closer contacts with the Germans. MLG loans are thus fairly frequent in the charters, and this had far-reaching effects on colloquial speech as well, as can be seen from later sources, e.g. in the Scandinavian dialects. The MLG influence was facilitated through some structural similarities between MLG and the Scandinavian languages, viz. the absence of diphthongisation of Proto-Germanic long vowels (cf. e.g., High German *Eis*, *Haus*) and of the affricates *pf*, *ts* (cf. e.g., High German *Apfel*, *Zunge*), which reduced the linguistic distance between the languages involved. On

the other hand, MLG loans are in some cases more easily recognized as such because of certain distinctive phonological and morphological criteria, such as *kt* from *ht*; *mp*, *nt*, and *nk* (in words where the pre-literary ON assimilation to (resp.) *pp*, *tt*, and *kk* would have been expected); initial *ju-*; the affixes *bi-*, *for-*, *-inna* etc.; cf. Fischer 1909, 26; Simensen 1995, 71.

3.5.1. Based on semantic content, the MLG loanwords can roughly be divided into four main categories, viz. (1) trade and handicrafts, (2) chivalry, (3) the military, and (4) a remainder category containing, i. a., some “fashionable” words and more common words.

(1) Examples from the sphere of trade and handicrafts: *blik* ‘sheet metal’, *brák* ‘a tanner’s implement’, *buðla* ‘to sieve, sift’, *dokka* ‘windlass’, *espíngtr* ‘a ship’s boat’, *fóðr* ‘lining’, *frukta*, *frykta* ‘to load, transport’, *gígja* ‘fiddle’, *hala* ‘to haul’, *hanzki* ‘glove’, *hirsí* ‘millet’, *húðfat* ‘leather bag’, *iperst* ‘cloth from Ypres’, *jurt* ‘herb’, *kalka* ‘to chalk, lime’, *katlari* ‘kettle-maker’, *kloflaukr* ‘garlic’, *kram* ‘merchandise’, *kranz* ‘circle, garland’, *krydd* ‘spice’, *leðr* ‘leather’, *lest* ‘cargo’, *lifs-*, *lispund* ‘lis-pound’ (a kind of weight), *linlak* ‘linen bed-sheet’, *mengdr*, *menginn*, *mengjaðr* ‘mixed, blended’, *messing* ‘brass’, *okr* ‘interest, usury’, *pakki* ‘package’, *pantr* ‘pawn, pledge’, *pinni* ‘pin’, *plagg* ‘luggage, garment’, *reikna* ‘to count, calculate’, *reipari* ‘ropemaker’, *reisa* ‘journey’, *sikta* ‘to sift’, *silfar* ‘a kind of woollen cloth’, *skarfr*, *skerfr* ‘coin’, *skjaldari* ‘shield-maker’, *skrá* ‘iron plate’, *skraddari* ‘tailor’, *slípari* ‘whetter’, *smelt* ‘enamel’, *snid-dari* ‘tailor’, *sparlak* ‘curtain’, *sprang* ‘lace-weaving’, *steinmez* ‘a kind of knife’, *strip* ‘striped cloth’, *tygi* ‘stuff, things, equipment’, *vekt* ‘weight’, *veski* ‘bag’; and possibly *kuggi*, *kuggr* ‘a kind of merchant-ship’, *pottr* ‘pot’, *rist* ‘gridiron’, *tappa* ‘to tap, draw’.

(2) Examples from the sphere of chivalry: *ers*, *ess* ‘steed’, *greifi* ‘count’, *hertogi* ‘duke’, *hóf* ‘banquet’, *hofferð* ‘pride, pomp’, *hóverskr* ‘courtly’ (and derivatives), *jungfrú* ‘young noblewoman’, *jungherra*, *junkerí* ‘young nobleman’, *knapi* ‘servant, valet’, *klénn* ‘beautiful’, *lén* ‘fief’, *orlof* ‘leave’, *riddari* ‘knight’, *skenkja* ‘to serve drinks’, *skylmask* ‘to fence’, *tykt* ‘discipline, chastisement’, *þéna* ‘to serve’ (and derivatives), *æra* ‘to honour’ (and derivatives).

(3) Examples from the military sphere: *doppa* ‘boss of metal’, *fanga* ‘to capture’, *fangelsi* ‘prison, jail’, *fangi* ‘prisoner’, *klót* ‘knob on a sword’s hilt’, *kragi* ‘collar on armour’,

rýt(n)ingr ‘dagger’, *skuttingr* ‘shield’, *skyr sill*, *skózill* ‘tasse on a suit of armour’, *speja*, *spæja* ‘to spy’; and possibly *fóra* ‘armour, harness’, *skyttá* ‘shooter’, *orlygi* ‘battle’.

(4) Examples of loanwords from other categories: *akta* ‘to attend to; examine; determine’, *andvarða* ‘to hand over’, *angist* ‘anxiety’, *armóða* ‘hardship, toil’, *bilæti* ‘picture’, *buðkr* ‘box’, *býta* ‘to change’, *dára* ‘to mock’, *ferskr* ‘fresh’, *flygill* ‘wing’?, *fría* ‘to free’, *frygð* ‘joy’, *hínka* ‘to limp’, *hop* ‘hope’, *hópr* ‘host, flock’, *innsteri* ‘bowels’, *jaga* ‘to hunt’, *klókr* ‘clever’, *krankr* ‘ill, sick’, *líða* ‘to suffer’, *lukka*, *lykka* ‘luck’, *maka* ‘to make’, *makt*, *mekt* ‘power; pomp’, *mála* ‘to paint’, *meina* ‘to mean’, *möguligr* ‘possible’, *noti* ‘match, equal’, *plaga*, *plega* ‘to cultivate; treat; be in the habit of’, *reyfari*, *raufari* ‘robber’, *skákmaðr* ‘robber’, *skálkr* ‘rogue’, *skammfóra* ‘to spoil’, *skari* ‘host, troop’, *skelmir* ‘devil’, *skikka* ‘to order, ordain’, *skorsteinn* ‘chimney’, *skókja* ‘whore’, *slangi* ‘serpent’, *slekt* ‘family, kind; way of living’, *slenr* ‘sloth’, *spraki* ‘rumour’, *spezskór* ‘a kind of shoe’, *strax* ‘at once’, *stumpr* ‘stump; piece of bread’, *tæra* ‘to consume, spend’, *þerna* ‘maid-servant’, *vága* ‘to dare’, *vakta* ‘to watch, guard’, *vallari* ‘traveller, tramp’, *visundr* ‘bisonox’, *æverðligr* ‘everlasting’, *öldurmaðr* ‘alderman’; and possibly *gáfa* ‘gift’, *mát* ‘estimate’, *mega* inf. of *má* ‘may’, *spinka* ‘to sprawl’.

3.5.2. Many words that reached ON from MLG were of Latin or Greek origin, e.g. *amatisti* ‘amethyst’, *arbyssa*, *arbysti* ‘cross-bow’, *baldikin* ‘a kind of silk; canopy’, *barki* ‘small boat’ (ult. Greek or Egyptian), *beja*, *bæja* ‘shackle’, *bisund* ‘Byzantine gold coin’, *bliat*, *bliaz* ‘a kind of silk’, *bréf* ‘letter’, *bukran* ‘cloth of linen or cotton’, *dekur* ‘10 hides’, *dikta* ‘to compose; think up, contrive’ (and derivatives), *edik* ‘vinegar’, *elefantr* ‘elephant’ (ult. Greek), *er(i)miti* ‘hermit’ (ult. Greek, cf. *heremita*, *hermiti*, 3.6.1.), *fals* ‘fraud, cheat’ (and derivatives), *fóguti* ‘a kind of bailiff’, *form* ‘form, shape; picture’, *fótskemill* ‘foot-board’, *fruktr*, *fryktr* ‘fruit’, *galeið* ‘galley’ (ult. Greek), *glafja*, *glefja* ‘lance, spear’, *grípr* ‘vulture’, *kamarr* ‘toilet’, *keisari* ‘emperor’ (and derivatives), *kerti* ‘wax candle’, *klár* ‘clean, bright’, *kórr* ‘choir’ (ult. Greek), *kosta* ‘to kost’, *kostr* ‘cost, expense’ (and derivatives), *krúna* ‘crown’, *krús* ‘pot, tankard’ (ult. Greek?), *kukl* ‘sorcery’, *kvátra* ‘a kind of board game’, *legill* ‘cask’ (ult. Greek?), *lína* ‘rope’ (ult. Greek), *manga* ‘ballista’ (ult. Greek), *meistari* ‘master’, *mintá* ‘mint’, *mirra* ‘myrrh’

(ult. Arabic), *múll* ‘mule’, *mútaðr* ‘something that has moulted’, *muza* ‘a kind of jacket’ (ult. Arabic), *náttúrligr* ‘natural’, *olea, olía* ‘oil’ (ult. Greek) (and derivatives), *organ* (ult. Greek), *pallaz* ‘palace’, *panna* ‘pan’, *panzari, panzer* ‘coat of mail’, *par* ‘pair’, *parði* ‘leopard’ (ult. Iranian? cf. *hlébarðr, léoparðr* 3.4.1., *léparðr* 3.6.4.), *pilárr* ‘pillar’, *pilz, pilzungr* ‘pilch, fur coat’, *plána* ‘to efface, blot out’, *planka* ‘plank, thick board’, *planta* ‘to plant’, *plástr* ‘plaster’ (ult. Greek), *plata, pláta* ‘plate armour’, *ponta* ‘to point, dot’, *portinhérr* ‘porter, doorman’, *prófa* ‘to investigate; prove’ (cf. *próba* 3.4.1.), *renta* ‘income, rent’, *sargent, sergent* ‘soldier trained to fight on foot’, *simili* ‘flour’ (ult. Arabic), *sirop* ‘syrup’ (ult. Arabic), *sister* ‘a measure of land’, *skáldpípa* ‘flute, pipe’, *soldari* ‘soldier (mercenary)’, *spégill* ‘mirror’, *spiza* ‘to furnish with provender’, *spons* ‘bung in a barrel’, *sponsa* ‘to bung a barrel’, *strúz* ‘ostrich’ (ult. Greek), *tabúr* ‘drum’ (ult. Arabic), *taferni* ‘tavern’, *tapit* ‘carpet, tapestry’ (ult. Asiatic), *templari* ‘Knight Templar’, *tempra* ‘to temper, moderate’, *ten(n)ingr* ‘die’, *tóni, tónn* ‘tone, tune’ (ult. Greek), *tortis(s)* ‘torch; big wax candle’, *tréhakl* ‘antidote’ (ult. Greek), *triza* ‘pull, tress’?, *vers(i)* ‘verse’, *versa* ‘to put into verse’, *vinzari* ‘steelyard’; and possibly *búss* ‘boxwood’, *innsigli* ‘seal’ (and derivatives), *korf* ‘basket’, *lenz* ‘lance’, *píla* ‘arrow’, *pípa* ‘pipe’, *skyrbjúgr* ‘scurvy’, *stoppa* ‘to stuff’, *violat* ‘violet cloth’.

From OSx.: *kellari, kjallari* ‘cellar’; from MLG or OE: *fíðla* ‘fiddle’, *lilja* ‘lily’ (ult. Egyptian), *punktr* ‘point’, *rós*, ‘rose’, *sóli* ‘sole of a shoe’; from MLG or OFr.: *morsel* ‘bit’, *penni* ‘pen’; perhaps directly from Latin: *bik* ‘pitch’, *planéta* ‘planet’, *prócessia* ‘procession’, *próvenda* ‘prebend, benefice’.

3.5.3. Conspicuous are the verbs ending in *-era*, many of which have come into ON via MLG (from Latin or OFr., cf. 3.4.2., 3.6.1., 3.6.3.): *dustera* ‘to tilt, fight’, *fallera* ‘to deceive, mislead’, *formera* ‘to form, shape’, *fundera* ‘to found’, **hófera* ‘to be proud, haughty’ (presupposed by *hóferan* ‘haughtiness’), *mútera* ‘to change’, *spazera* ‘to walk’, *summera* ‘to sum, count’, *turnera* ‘to take part in a tournament’; and possibly *appellera* ‘to cite, summon’, *glósera* ‘to explain by a gloss’, *studera* ‘to study’, *terminera* ‘to limit’.

Corresponding verbal nouns end in *-an* (cf. 3.4.2.): *dusteran, formeran, hóferan, spazeran, appelleran, studeran*.

3.5.4. The examples indicate that MLG loans flourished in the learned literature and in the literature of chivalric romance (“*riddarasögur*” etc.). But even the central ON vocabulary was affected. A trace of the MLG prefix *be-* is etymologically discernible in *breiða* ‘pay’ (< MLG *bere(i)den*). Still, the majority of forms with MLG affixes (cf. 4.3.2.) and such frequent words as *men* ‘but’ and *blifa* ‘to become’ are not attested in the ON period.

3.6. The 13th and 14th centuries also witnessed the importation of words of Romance origin, not only channelled through MLG (cf. 3.4.2., 3.5.2., 3.6.2.), but also through ME, and probably for the most part directly from OFr., although this distinction according to origin cannot be maintained in all cases (cf. Fischer 1909, 76). The OFr. influence seems to have been initiated especially during the reign of King Hákon Hákonsson (1217–63), who is traditionally credited with having instigated the translation of French courtly romances known as *lais* and *chansons de geste* into ON prose.

Among the Romance loans are many words for different kinds of textiles, exotic items and concepts from the sphere of chivalry. They are fewer than those from OE, Latin and MLG measured in the number of known lexemes (cf. the lists in de Vries 1977, xxvii–xxxiv). In general, they are characteristic of the language of the higher circles of the sophisticated culture of Western Europe in the High Middle Ages. Like many MLG loans, they are especially frequent in courtly literature.

3.6.1. Directly from OFr. have come, e.g., *al(a)mandr, amendashnot* ‘almond’, *ámalera* ‘to enamel’, *amía* ‘sweetheart’, *ársali, ársalr* ‘bed-hangings’, *asni* ‘ass’ (Latin *asinus*), *bar(r)ún* ‘baron’, *blank* ‘white cloth’ (cf. *blakt* 3.6.4.), *bóla* ‘seal’, *bóti* ‘boot’, *buris* ‘borax’, *burt* ‘a kind of tournament’, *dauss* ‘die showing the side with two dots’, *drómundr* ‘big warship’ (ult. Greek), *dubba* ‘to dub a knight’ (ult. Germanic), *duz* ‘dozen’, *ermíns* ‘ermine’, *flúr* ‘flower; flour’, *formel* ‘female Greenlandic falcon’, *fors, forz* ‘violence, wrath, rage’, *gammi* ‘musical scale’ (ult. Greek), *gardekors* ‘a kind of short jacket’, *glósa* ‘gloss, explanation’, *glósa* ‘to explain’, *heremita, hermiti* ‘hermit’ (ult. Greek, cf. *ermiti* 3.5.2.), *hrókr* ‘the castle in chess’ (ult. Persian), *isope* ‘hysop’ (ult. Semitic), *jarngrilli* ‘iron grill’, *justis* ‘judge’, *kamelet* ‘camelot, a kind of fine cloth’, *kapaleinn, kapalinn* ‘chaplain’ (cf. *kapellánn*

3.3.), *katel* 'chattel, possession', *kisill* 'shirt of linen or silk', *klare*, *klaret* 'claret', *kofri* 'hood or bonnet of fur', *kompáss*, *kumpáss* 'ring, circle', *kordúnuhosur* 'hose of cordovan leather', *kordúnuskór* 'shoe of cordovan leather', *kothardi* 'cloak, coat', *kreatýr* 'creature', *kria*, *kræja* 'to crave, assert', *kunkteis* 'countess', *kurt* (n.) 'king's court', *kurt* (f.), *kurteisi*, *kurtr* 'courtesy, chivalry, good manners', *kurteiss* 'courtly, gentle', *kveif* 'coif, cap', *kver* 'quire, sheet folded in a book', *kærr* 'dear', *laðrúnn*, *latrónn* 'robber', *latún*, *latúnn* 'brass', *laz* 'lace' (and derivatives), *letr* 'letters; writing', *livori* 'hard wood, ebony?', *malla*, *mella* 'loop, noose', *manér* 'manners', *marbr(i)* 'marble cloth', *marchiss* 'margrave, marquis', *mát* 'checkmate' (ult. Persian), *morel* 'dark brown horse', *mærr* 'mayor', *offrend* 'offering during Mass', *olifant* '(horn of) ivory', *osterin* 'purple silk', *palafrey* 'palfrey, saddle horse', *pardueri* 'as a token of love', *pardún* 'pardon', 'forgiveness', *pataldr* 'battle', *pia* 'magpie', *piment* 'a kind of wine', *presenta*, *presentera* 'to present', (s)*púsa*, 'to marry', (s)*púsa* (f.), (s)*púsi* (m.) 'spouse' (with derivatives and compounds), *rábítr* 'Arabian horse', *reison* 'order, rule', *roba* 'robe', *sifra* 'zero' (ult. Arabic), *siment* 'cement', *sinjórr* 'lord, master', *sira*, *siri* 'sir', *siridúkr* 'wax cloth', *sirihúfa* 'wax hood', *skarmandi*, *skarmendingr* 'cape-like vestment worn by priests' (ult. Greek), *surkot*, *syrkot* 'surcoat', *spáz* 'space, room', *trafali* 'hindrance, impediment' (a nickname), *truff* 'trumpetry', *úklúsaðr* 'unhampered', *turniment* 'tournament', *vargulfr* 'were-wolf'; and possibly *aiol* 'a kind of hard wood', *glatunshundr* 'weasel'.

Several of these, e.g. *amía*, *duz*, *formel*, *gammí*, *gardekors*, *kisill*, *marbr(i)*, *morel*, *olifant*, *osterin*, *palafrey*, *reison*, *silfra*, *siment*, *spáz*, *vargulfr*, appear to be nonce formations, since they are each known from only one ON text. (Cf. also 3.6.2. and 3.6.4.)

3.6.2. Via MLG have probably come, e.g., *áss* 'ace', *barbér* 'barber', *basún* 'trombone', *basúna* 'to play the trombone', *bukl* 'the boss of a shield', *burdeigja*, *burdia* 'to ride a tilt', *burt* 'tilt, tournament', *dans*, *danz* 'dance' (ult. Germanic), *dubla*, *dufla* 'to play or gamble with dice', *dust* 'tilt, tournament', *falkeneri*, *falkiner* 'falconer', *fantr* 'vagabond' (ult. Germanic?), *feila* 'to falter, be shy', *finn* 'fine', *foel* 'velvet', *gardian* 'head of a Minorite monastery', *harneskja*, *hernesekja* 'harness, armour', *innrenta* 'income', *kamell* 'camel' (ult. Semitic?), *kanifas* 'canvas', *kaprún* 'a kind of

cowl or cap', *kompánn*, *kumpánn* 'companion, fellow, mate', *konstabl*, *konstafl* 'constable, an official of the royal household, court etc.', *kovertúr* 'saddlecloth', *kult* 'quilt, counterpane', *kvitta* 'to acquit', *kvitr* 'quit, acquitted', *lampi*, *lampr* 'lamp', *mustarðr* 'mustard', *partr* 'part, share', *plaxa* 'plain, open place', *prisa* 'to praise; torture', *priss* 'pomp, state', *púta* 'whore' (with derivatives), *rím* 'rhyme, poem' (ult. Greek), *rolla* 'roll, scroll', *roti* 'crowd', *safran* 'saffron' (ult. Arabic), *salún* 'a kind of cloth', *sapol*, *sjappel*, *þjapel* 'wreath', *skák* 'chess' (ult. Persian) (with derivatives), *spaldener*, *spaldenære* 'armour for the back', *ævintýr(r)* 'adventure, tale; event', and possibly *trejja* 'jerkin', *trumba* 'pipe, trumpet', *tumba* 'to tumble, fall'. Via OSx.: *turn* 'tower'.

From MLG or OFr.: *palliment*, *parlament* 'parley, conference', *prinz* 'prince', *prisand*, *prísund* 'prison', *siklát*, *siklátum*, *siklátun* 'a kind of expensive silk' (ult. Arabic), *sæi(n)* 'fine woollen cloth'. Via MHG (?): *gammr*, *gambr* 'griffin, vulture'.

Of these, *barbér*, *kamell*, *kanifas*, *konstabl*, *konstafl*, *kovertúr*, *plaxa*, *roti*, *spons*, *sponsa* are probably nonce formations (cf. also 3.6.1. and 3.6.4.).

3.6.3. For some verbs in *-era* it is not clear whether they have been transmitted via MLG or OFr., or directly from Latin; they are not mentioned in the etymological dictionaries for ON and Icelandic. On general grounds, the latter alternative seems more probable, cf. Holthausen 1948 under *pretituleran*, *prokure-ra*, and *punkt(er)a*. The verbs in question are *artikulerá* 'to articulate; enumerate', *degrade-ra* 'to degrade, dismiss', *deponera* 'to dismiss', *examinera* 'to examine, interrogate', *komplera* 'to compile', *officera* 'to perform the services of the church', *repetera* 'to repeat', *resignera* 'to resign'.

Possible analogical formations are *parta*, *partera* 'to part, divide', *punkta* 'to point, dot'; cf. 3.4.2.

3.6.4. Via ME have probably come, e.g., *bastarðr* 'bastard; a kind of cloth', *blakt* 'white cloth' (cf. *blank* 3.6.1.), *buffeit* 'buffet, blow', *burgeis* 'burgess; big man', *dan* 'sir', *fól* 'fool', *gingibráð* 'ginger', *léparðr* 'leopard' (cf. *hlébarðr*, *léparðr* 3.4.1., *parði* 3.5.2.), *markeiss* 'margrave, marquis', *puliza* 'to polish', *purtrea* 'to portray', *ribbaldi* 'ribald, savage', *skviari*, *skýjari* 'esquire', *spis*, *spiz* 'spices, delicacies', *tersél* 'a kind of falcon'; and possibly *dubba* 'to arm, dress; dub a knight', *par* 'scrap'.

Via ME or MLG: *skarlat* ‘scarlet’ (ult. Persian). Via ME or OFr.: *skons* ‘lantern’.

Nonce formations are probably *buffeit*, *markeiss*, *puliza* (cf. 3.6.1. and 3.6.2.).

4. Typology of loans

4.1. Several lexemes occur in different forms, often due to borrowing from or via different languages. Generally, such varying forms reflect differing degrees of assimilation to the ON phonological system.

Examples of such pairs or triplets are *blank* (from OFr.): *blakt* (via ME), *kapellánn* (via OE or MLG): *kapaleinn*, *-lím* (from OFr.), *koróna* (from Latin): *krína* (via MLG), *kredo* (from Latin): *kredda* (via OE), *palata*, *palati* (from Latin): *pallaz* (via MLG): *polota*, *polut* (probably from Slavic), *próba* (from Latin): *prófa* (via MLG), *psalmr* (from Latin): *salmr* (via OE).

For another type of doublet see 4.4.

4.2. On the whole, unassimilated loans are not very numerous. In addition to those cited above (e.g. *blank*, *koróna*, *kredo*, cf. also 3.3.) may be mentioned some OFr. loans, not only those such as *aiol*, *offrend*, *pardueri*, *truff*, which show foreign combinations of sounds, but also *duz*, *gardekors*, *palafrey*, *reison*, *siment*, which do not show inflection and thus may possibly have been mere citation words. This is also the case with some Latin loans, which are either uninflected (*expens*, *manna*, *tesaur*) or, at least in some texts, inflected according to the rules of Latin grammar (*biflia*, *jacinctus*, *paradisus*, etc., cf. Fischer 1909, 8).

4.3. The assimilation of loanwords may take on different forms. Phonological (cf. 4.3.1.) and morphological (cf. 4.3.2.) assimilation are common. Other forms of loan-coinage (cf. 4.3.3.) are more restricted to special types of texts.

4.3.1. Phonological assimilation is fairly consistent, e.g. in MLG loans in charters from the 14th century, where MLG *á* is rendered as ON *á* in early loans (e.g. *náðir*, ‘mercy, peace’ (1307), *mátuliga* ‘fitting’ (1320)), in later loans as *a* (e.g. *kragi* ‘collar’ (1353)), which had by then presumably been lengthened in ON (in connection with the quantity shift). On the other hand ON phonotactics demands a short vowel before *dd*, as in *skraddari* and *sniddari* ‘tailor’, where MLG had a long vowel. Cf. also *kredda* (4.1.).

As regards consonants, ON *ð* is substituted for MLG *d* between *r* and a vowel (*garðian*, *náðr*). MLG *g* and *ch* denoting the voiced and unvoiced allophones respectively of the velar fricatives (/ɣ/ and /χ/), are generally rendered *g* or *gh*, and *k*, as in *tygh* ‘harness’ vs. *slekt* ‘family’. On the other hand the nasal groups *mp*, *nk*, *nt* (in preliterary ON generally assimilated to *pp*, *kk* and *tt*) are usually kept unchanged, e.g. as in *krankleiki* ‘illness’, *pant* ‘pledge’. Cf. Simensen 1995, 61–63.

4.3.2. Morphological assimilation appears in its simplest form in a series of folk etymologies, like *abbadis* ‘abbess’, *ábóti* ‘abbot’, *bilæti* ‘picture’, *hlébarðr* (cf. 3.4.1.), *húðfat* ‘leather bag used to sleep in’, *kyndill* ‘torch’, *opinberr* ‘manifest’, *skammfóra* ‘to spoil’, etc., cf. Fischer 1909, 10.

More regular morphological assimilation is shown by (a) adaptation to productive native patterns and (b) increased productivity of certain borrowed affixes.

(a) Some loans have adopted ON suffixes in the formation of derivatives, e.g. the deverbal nouns in *-an* (*aktan*, *reiknan*) from the borrowed verbs *akta*, *reikna* (from MLG), and the Latinisms in *-an* (*disputeran* etc., cf. 3.4.2. and 3.5.3.); others have given rise to new words with such Common Germanic suffixes as *-dómr* (e.g. *hertogadómr*, *jungfrúadómr*, *krankadómr*, *lækidómr*, *riddaradómr*) and *-skapr* (e.g. *dáraskapr*, *klókskapr*, *kompánaskapr*, *mangaraskapr*, *reiðskapr*, *riddaraskapr*).

(b) One of the oldest is the nomen agentis suffix *-ari*, ultimately and generally derived from Latin *-arius*. Examples are *mútari* ‘hawk’, *falsari* ‘impostor’, *mylnari* ‘miller’, *myntari* ‘mint-master’. Latin origins have also *kaupari* (cf. Latin *caupo* ‘merchant’), *keisari* (cf. Latin *Caesar*), *sútari* (Latin *sutor* ‘shoemaker, tanner’), *prédikari* (Latin *praedicator*). This suffix was very productive. From OE comes *loddari* ‘player; jester’, while *skraddari* ‘tailor’ and *spæjari* ‘scout’ have MLG origins. It is added to ON roots in a number of words, such as *gróðari* ‘healer, saviour’, *harpari* ‘harper’, *kallari* ‘crier, herald’, *kambari* ‘comb-maker’, *laggari* ‘cooper’, *lausnari* ‘saviour’, *lokkari* ‘allurer’, *leikari* ‘player; jester’, *riðari* ‘rider, knight’, *sigrari* ‘victor’, *skapari* ‘creator’, *stjórnari* ‘steersman, ruler’, *svikari* ‘traitor’, *talmari* ‘person who hinders, obstructs’, *tjúgari* ‘pitch-forker, robber’. Cf. also Fischer 1909, 3–5.

More limited in use was the verbal suffix *-era* (cf. 3.4.2., 3.5.3., 3.6.3.).

From MLG comes the feminine noun suffix *-inna*, attested in *hertuginna* 'duchess' and *keisarinna* 'empress'.

Among the prefixes, the relationship of *for-* and *fyrir-* to their MLG counterpart *vor-* remains unclear, partly because of our incomplete knowledge of the distribution of stress. It is generally assumed that these prefixes carried stress in classical ON prose. The MLG prefix was unaccentuated. Both prefixes are Common Germanic, but classical ON uses *for-* only with nouns and verbs derived from nouns (cf. Falk/Torp ²1960, 251), such as *foreldri*, *forellrar* 'parents', *forvitnast* 'to enquire'. According to Johannisson (1939, 198–205) those formations with *fyrir-* where the prefix carries a pejorative meaning, e.g. *fyrbjóða*, *fyrirbjóða* 'to prohibit', *fyrirdjarfa* 'to disgrace', should be regarded as autochthonous in North Germanic. Some of these verbs, e.g. *fyrbanna* 'to forbid', *fyrbjóða*, are known from Eddaic poems, where the metre indicates that the prefix is unstressed. In ON prose unstressed *fyr-* is usually replaced by the stressed *fyrir-* (cf. Johannisson 1939, 198, 215, 216). A special case is verbs composed with *fyrir-* in the sense of 'before, foregoing, previous', e.g. *fyrirhugsa* 'to premeditate', *fyrirsegja* 'to predict, foretell', *fyrirskipa* 'to prescribe, order'. This type, which generally coexists with combinations of simple verbs + particle in the same senses, seems to be modelled on Latin compounds with *prae-*. It is possible that the presence of verbal nouns with *fyrir-*, e.g. *fyrirhugsan*, *fyrirsogn*, *fyrirskipan*, contributed to the increased use of such verbs (cf. Johannisson 1939, 197 with further references). Nevertheless ON has loans with *fyrir-* modelled on MLG formations with *vor-*; an example is *fyrirstanda* 'to understand'. The presence of *for-* and *fyrir-* in verbal nouns with the same stem has led to a number of doublets, e.g. *fordóming* : *fyrirdóming*, *forlitning* : *fyrirlitning*. Here *for-* represents the older formation, *fyrir-* a younger one, transferred from the verb compounded with originally unstressed *fyr-*, later *fyrir-* (cf. Johannisson 1939, 216). MLG influence and native analogy led to an increase of verbs with *for-* modelled after nouns with the same prefix, e.g. *forláta* 'to forgive' (after *forlát*), *forsmá* 'to despise' (after *forsmán*), *fortaka* 'to deny' (after *fortak*) (cf. Johannisson 1939, 194). On the other hand, several compound verbs with *for-* belong to a later chronological layer, modelled on MLG. Examples from the Late ON period are *formerkja* 'to perceive', *forráða* 'to betray', *for-*

standa 'to understand' (cf. Johannisson 1939, 193–4).

4.3.3. Other kinds of adaptation are shown in a number of highly differentiated forms of loan-coinage.

Loan extensions (semantic extensions of native terms) are frequent, e.g. *andskoti*, *fjandi* 'enemy, fiend > devil', *dygð* 'strength > (Christian) virtue', *halda fyrir* 'to hold before > withhold', *heilagr* 'inviolate > sacred' (in a Christian sense), *hreinn*, *skírr* 'bright, clean > (morally) pure', *jól* '(pagan) midwinter festival > Christmas', *mildr* 'mild, gentle > pious', *rétta* 'to make right, straight > judge', *trú(a)* 'trust, confidence > faith, belief'. Cf. also Fischer 1909, 1.

Loan creations are either literal translations (calques, substituting native morphemes for foreign), like *alþingis* (MLG *aldink*), *bókstafr* (OE *bōcstæf*), *dagþinga* (MLG *degedingen*), *dómkirkja* (MLG *dōmkerke*), *guðspell* (OE *godspell*), *himinriki* (Latin *regnum coelorum*), *hvitásunnudagr* (OE *hwīta sunnandæg*), *inntekja* (MLG *inname*), *kunngera* (MLG *kunt maken*), *þyrnihjalmr* (OE *þyrnene helm*), *(ú)hlýðni* (Latin *(in)oboedientia*) (cf. also Fischer 1909, 5–6); or less exact renditions, like *bindendi* (Latin *continentia*), *klykkja* 'to ring a bell' (derived from *klukka*, from MLG), *litillátr* (Latin *humilis*), *trúlauss* (Latin *infidelis*), *æverðligr* (MLG *iewer(l)de*); or still freer loan formations, such as *hófsemi* (Latin *temperantia*), *føstudagr* (Latin *ieiunium*); and more independent loan creations, such as *réttlætisdómur* (for Latin *iustitia*) and *villumaðr* (for Latin *haereticus*).

New terms for Christian concepts were also created, e.g. *gróðari* 'saviour', *leiðrétting* 'conversion', *spámaðr* 'prophet'.

Foreign influence probably also led to an increased frequency in some previously infrequent native words, such as *ofmetnaðr* (corresponding to Latin *superbia*) and *réttlátr*, *réttlæti* (corresponding to Latin *iustus*, *iustitia*). Cf. Haugen 1982, 198; Walter 1976, 80–81, 99.

4.4. One of the effects of borrowing was the creation of pairs of lexical doublets, often used as parallelisms for stylistic ornamentation, where one member of the pair was of native origin, the other a loanword. Examples of such pairs (from Norwegian charters with MLG loans) are *aktan ok atgeymsla*, *heiðr ok æra*, *klókr ok vitr*, *nafnlíga ok sérlíga*, *sómd ok æra* (cf. Berulfsen 1948, 270).

Another was the loss or reduced frequency of the native member(s) of groups of near-synonyms, such as *auðsýnn* giving way to *opinberr*, *ganga* to *gá*, *hátr* to *máti*, *heita* and *játa* to *lofa*, *hyggja* and *ætla* to *meina*, *leyfi* to *orlof*, *líkn* and *miskunn* to *náð*, *ljúfr* to *kærr*, *mátr* and *veldi* to *makt*, *sýsla* to *lén*, *songhús* to *kórr*, *veð* to *pantr*, *vitr* to *klókr*, *ætt* to *slekt*, *þjóna* to *þéna*; *fyrir hǫnd* and *af halfu* to *af/á vegna* (cf. Simensen 1995, 72).

5. Dialectal differences within ON

5.1. A number of dialectal differences between Old West Nordic and Old East Nordic, and within each of these branches, have been noticed, although this subject has never been fully investigated.

5.2. Peculiar to Old East Nordic are, e.g., *aftenbakke* ‘bat’, *fælled* ‘common pasture land’, *helleflynder* ‘halibut’, *ladegård* ‘barn, stable’, *mulm/molm* ‘dark, dead of night’, *slegfred* ‘concubine, mistress’, *tagskæg* ‘eaves’; some plant names like *kabbeleje* ‘Caltha’, *veger* ‘Salix’, *åkande* ‘Nuphar, Nymphaea’; and a number of MLG loans and derivatives in *-else* and (to a smaller extent) *-end(e)*, e.g. *dopælsæ* ‘baptism’, *fordomælsæ* ‘damnation’, giving rise to new formations of the same kind, e.g. *fræstæls* ‘temptation’, *othmykælsæ* ‘humiliation’, *fiskende* ‘fisheries’, *akallænd* ‘invocation’; cf. Hellquist 1929, 388, 391; Skautrup 1944, 290–291, 296.

5.2.1. Characteristic of Old Danish are, e.g., *dynd(e)* ‘mire, mud’, *fnat* ‘scabies, itch’, *nor* ‘infant’, *ryle* ‘sandpiper’, *ægt* ‘driving, transport’; plant names like *dude* ‘Lolium’, *gir* ‘Spergula’, *hejre* ‘Bromus’; and some verbs: *bøge* ‘to roar, bellow’, *dræve* ‘to falter, hesitate’, *gæffe* ‘to bark, yap’; cf. Skautrup 1944, 297.

5.2.2. Characteristic of Old Swedish are, e.g., *hēman* ‘home, landed property’, *vidskepelse* ‘superstition’; cf. Hellquist 1929, 393, 421, 424 and *passim*.

5.2.3. Old Gutnish is in many ways more archaic than the other Old Nordic dialects. The word *lamb*, e.g., means ‘sheep’, as in Gothic. MLG loans peculiar to Old Gutnish are *hogsl* ‘child support’, *hogsla* ‘to pay hogsl’ and *slaper* ‘sleeper’; cf. Pipping 1905–07, CXII–XIII.

5.3. Earlier scholars (Hægstad 1933; Indrebø 1951, 141; Seip 1955, 82, 208–209) have al-

ready recorded some differences between Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic, the most important ones probably related to legal concepts and other phenomena that appear to be peculiar to one of the two countries. In what follows, the present writer’s own findings are included in the surveys.

5.3.1. The following may be considered Norwegianisms: *álborinn* ‘measured with a line’, *álburðr*, *taumburðr* ‘mensuration with a line’, *alþingis* ‘altogether’, *ámálga* ‘to claim’ (with compounds and derivatives), *baugskerðing* ‘diminishing of fines’, *elgskot* ‘elk-hunting’, *halflyti* ‘a half’, *ketilgarðr* ‘kiln’ (?), *knefill* ‘post, pole’, *krossfé* ‘payment to support a holy rood’, *kylna* ‘kiln’, *mánaðarmatr* ‘a month’s rate’ (with compounds), *moldrofsmaðr* ‘a man who breaks a bargain for the sale of land’, *skipreiða* ‘ship-levy’, *spann* ‘pail’, *tillægi* ‘appurtenances of an estate’, *útekja* ‘(time for) bringing wares (to markets)’, *útvegr* ‘the outer march or boundary’; some compounds denoting the value of farms, where the first part indicates the size of the rent: *eyrisból*, *halfsælduból*, *mánaðarmatarból*; some standard phrases in charters: *frjals ok heimoll* ‘at one’s free disposal, in one’s full possession’, *veðslauss ok vǫrzlu* ‘free of mortgage’; and a number of appurtenance clauses (“formules d’appartenance”, cf. Mediaeval Latin *pertinentia* ‘belongings’): *á gǫrðum ok grindum* ‘on fences and gates’, *ffogurra stafstóða í millum* ‘between four corner posts’, *frá heiðnum haugi* ‘from heathen hows (i.e. times)’, *hǫgg ok hǫfn* ‘trees and pastures’, *með fiski of fygli* ‘with fish and fowl’, *með qllum hlutum þeim er til liggja* ‘with all appurtenances’, *útan garðs ok innan* ‘outside and inside the fence’, *vann (vǫtn) ok veiðistǫð* ‘water(s), fishing- and hunting-place(s)’. (In Old Icelandic the common corresponding formula is *með gǫgnum ok góðum* ‘with (all) products, revenues and emoluments, i.e. with everything useful and good’.)

5.3.2. There is a marked difference in the naming of some weekdays: Old Norwegian generally uses *týsdagr* ‘Tuesday’, *óðinsdagr* ‘Wednesday’, *þórsdagr* ‘Thursday’ and *frjádagr* ‘Friday’. All these are rare in Old Icelandic, which prefers *þriðidagr*, *miðvikudagr*, *fimmti dagr* and *fastudagr*.

5.3.3. Peculiar to Old Icelandic (in the sense that the words denote Icelandic phenomena and/or have no known cognates in Norwe-

gian) are *aðili* 'chief defendant or prosecutor', *aftekja* 'revenue', *forlendi* 'the land between sea and hills', *forvista*, *forysta* 'leadership', *hize*, *hizi* 'yonder, there', *ítak* 'a partial right of property in another's estate', *itala* 'a proportionate share in a right or in an estate', *knár* 'pithy, vigorous' (with derivatives), *laga-*, *lögripting* 'a legal voidance', *miski* 'misdeed, offense', *réttsýni* 'a straight direction' (with the adverb *réttsýnis*), *ræsta* 'to clear, clean out', *ræxn* 'knot, mesh', *skeitung* 'vanity' (?), *slyppr* 'unarmed', *spryna* 'to kick', *targa* 'shield', *tefill* 'hinderer', *tízka* 'custom, fashion', *ú(h)ræsi* 'a filthy thing', *undirdráttull* 'covetous', *unnvarp* 'wave-drift', *uppivözlumaðr* 'a turbulent, noisy man', *uppivözlumikill* 'troublesome', *úræst* 'filth', *úræstligr* 'filthy', *úvænkast* 'to grow worse', *úværateigr* 'a strip of land overrun by strange cattle', *úþínsligr* 'unworthy of you', *úóðr* 'not passable on foot', *þaðra* 'there', *þerfilligr* 'useful, convenient', *þermlast* 'to lack, miss'.

5.3.4. In addition, the following Irish loanwords are only known from Icelandic sources: *bjának*, *bjannak* 'blessing', *diar* 'gods; priests', *gresjárn* 'some kind of iron', *kapall* 'a hack, nag', *kjafall* 'a kind of garment', *korki* 'oats' (?), *lung* 'a ship', *minþak* 'a dough made of butter and flour', *súst* 'a flail', *tarfr* 'a bull'.

5.3.5. The vocabulary of Old Faroese is practically identical to that of classical Old West Nordic. Among the few lexical peculiarities are some words related to sheep breeding: *einganga* 'walking alone', *hagamark* 'boundary mark of an enclosure', *hagfastr* 'a sheep which stays in a certain pasture', *iskipan* 'regulation of the maximum size of livestock to be admitted to a pasture', *lenda* 'to give land to a person', *samrétt(i)* 'common enclosure for livestock', *tvilembdr* 'a sheep which has two lambs', *vagnhogg* 'piece of blubber'; cf. Agerholt 1959, 237 (quoting from an unprinted ms. by Fredrik Scheel).

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107. The development of Old Nordic personal names

1. Sources
2. Forenames
3. Bynames
4. Family names
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Sources

1.1. Runic inscriptions after 1100

Runic inscriptions in the Scandinavian countries from the 12th and 13th c., and to some extent throughout the Middle Ages, are important sources which partly overlap with the documents written in Roman letters, although their character changed. The erect runic stone monuments typical of the Viking Age were replaced by tombs and slabs of stone in the church floors, thus in every respect representing the new religion. The runic texts are sometimes even repeated in Latin with Roman letters on the same monument. The number of medieval runic grave inscriptions is considerable, but runes are to a greater extent found on all kinds of everyday objects, combs, tools etc. A great number of runic inscriptions on wooden sticks have been found in Bergen and Trondheim. The Bergen inscriptions from the 13th and 14th c. alone amount to 618 regis-

tered items containing 157 different names borne by approximately 300 people (Markali 1983, 2, 77). Altogether, including inscriptions from Scandinavian colonized territories – the Orkneys and Greenland, there exist about 1270 medieval inscriptions containing identifiable names of living persons. The distribution of these inscriptions is, however, somewhat uneven. Slightly more than half of them, 651, are Norwegian. Sweden has about 350, but more than half of them, 180, are from Gotland and 77 are from Västergötland. The tiny remainder is spread over Middle Sweden. In Uppland, where the vast majority of Viking Age inscriptions have been found, there are only 23 medieval inscriptions left. The high number of Norwegian inscriptions is due to the Bergen finds. In total, no less than about 240 different names have been found in over 650 Norwegian inscriptions containing names (Scandinavian runic-text database).

In Denmark there are 169 inscriptions containing names with 93 different forenames in use (Scandinavian runic-text database; cf. Lerche Nielsen 1997, Bilag 17 ff.).

In Iceland only 47 genuine inscriptions have been preserved, most of them on slabs from the later part of the Middle Ages or even

younger, the very oldest from about 1200 (Bæksted 1942, 21, 52). In 35 inscriptions, about 50 different names are to be found (Scandinavian runic-text database).

Medieval runic inscriptions from Greenland and Orkney should also be mentioned. There are 27 runic documents from Greenland containing 32 different names, and 24 from Orkney, all but 4 of them found within the ancient cairn of Maeshowe and containing 30 different names of clearly Scandinavian origin (Scandinavian runic-text database; cf. Barnes 1994).

1.2. Place-names

A few place-name types are considered medieval in the sense that their productivity period is mainly supposed to be limited to the Middle Ages.

Much debated are the names in *-thorp*. They vary in age; the oldest – from the pre-Viking Age – are found in Jutland and are connected with identical continental names. However, the vast majority in Sweden and Norway are no doubt medieval. Three quarters of them contain personal names. Old Scand. names prevail in the south, younger “Christian” ones in the north, mirroring the supposed spread of the type from south to north (Eriksson 1974, 493 ff.). Names like *Johannes*, *Niels* and *Peter* and others are first elements in Dan. *-thorp*-names attributed to the oldest part of the Middle Ages (Lerche Nielsen 1997, 111; cf. Hald 1974, 88, map 87).

Another type of more clearly medieval origin are the place-names in *-arve(t)* known from parts of Eastern Sweden (Dalarna, Uppland and Hälsingland) and those in *-arve* from Gotland. They contain not only a number of names of Christian origin but also German ones, which places them at the end of the period (Ståhl 1956, 253 ff.).

Among other place-name elements of mainly medieval origin, the names in *-bodh(a)*, *-bod*, *-bud* are widespread in Scandinavia, many of which use personal names and personal designations as a first element (Ståhl 1957, 30 ff.; Hald 1957, 32 f.; Hovda 1957, 33 f.).

More locally distributed are the almost 900 representatives of the Sw. names in *-måla* and *-målen* mainly spread throughout Småland and Blekinge. They very often contain personal names known from other Middle Age sources (Ståhl 1967, 114 ff.). There are other place-name types from this period which could also be taken into account here, for instance

those ending in *-bo*, *-bygd*, *-byggning* and *-böle* (Otterbjörk 1968, 207).

1.3. Literary sources

It is a problem that our knowledge of the Scandinavian personal nomenclature of the time following the runic period mainly rests on texts written in non-native languages. Chronicles, calendaries, necrologies and charters are in Latin with endings and forms of the names adapted to this language, in some cases obscuring the original native form, for example *Homerus* for *Ormer* or *Orm*, *Hericus* for *Erik* because ⟨*h*⟩ was a mute letter in medieval Latin. Other examples of misleading Latinizations of Scand. names are *Kanutus* for *Knut*, Lat. *canus*, *canutus* meaning ‘grey, inspiring awe’, *Ovidius* for *Øvith*, *Simon* for *Sighmund* etc. (Hornby 1947, 187 ff.).

1.3.1. Charters

Most of the medieval names can be found in a great number of medieval charters during this period, written on parchment. These documents are as a rule very rich in names and come from all over Scandinavia. For the period dealt with, most charters are published in national cartularies for each country: *Diplomatarium Danicum*, *Islandicum*, *Norvegicum* and *Suecanum* and *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*. The main stock of charters are from the 13th and the following centuries. The oldest ones are mostly clerical documents written in Latin. From the end of the 13th c. there are so many extant charters and other written documents that it is possible to some extent to ascertain the contemporary nomenclature. In the 14th c. the sources are rich, but this is true only for the central parts of the countries. For the island of Gotland, for instance, there are almost no medieval documents, and in the northern parts of Sweden and Norway only a few are known. This fact makes the material less useful for investigations or calculations of geographical distribution. The Swedish material from the central parts of the country is especially rich in names because most of the legal documents dealing with pieces of land (Sw. *fastebrev*) include the names of 12 witnesses, mostly domiciled farmers. Women of the peasantry, though, are very seldom mentioned in medieval official documents, which makes our knowledge of the personal nomenclature less comprehensive (Otterbjörk 1968, 206 f.; Modéer 1989, 15 note 3).

1.3.2. Other early sources

Besides the charters, there are only a few early sources worth mentioning as examples of name usage, i.e. disparate lists of names in confraternity books, *libri vitae* and memorial lists from monasteries and churches in and outside Scandinavia. Unfortunately none of these lists or any others contain a sufficiently large number of names spread over the whole of Scandinavia to allow adequate statistical treatment.

1.3.2.1. The *Reichenau Confraternity Book*

Especially noteworthy is the confraternity book from the 11th and 12th c. from the Reichenau Benedictine Monastery at Lake Constance containing approximately 715 more or less successfully written forms of Scandinavian personal names. It is, however, difficult to fully identify the name bearers, no doubt pilgrims on their way to Rome and other places, with regard to which part of Scandinavia they came from, even if there is a title *Hislant terra* (Iceland) under which 13 slightly disguised Scand. names are listed, for instance *Wigedis*, *Arnur* and *Gudemunder*. No less than 270 different names of Scand./Gmc origin are represented. In contrast to most medieval name lists, Reichenau has a high percentage of women's names – 34 per cent (Naumann 1991, 131f.).

1.3.2.2. *Necrologium Lundense*

The slightly younger *Necrologium Lundense* in the cartulary of S:t Laurentius Cathedral in Lund contains a *Memoriale fratrum*, i.e. a list of names of deceased members of different confraternities as well as names of benefactors of the church. They are registered in calendary form from 1123 to 1170. Of the nearly 690 cases of written name forms, it is possible to identify about 230 different names of Scand./Gmc origin, 51 of which are women's names. These early records are of great importance for our knowledge of the early introduction of names of Christian origin and other foreign names into Scandinavia (Naumann 1991, 134ff.).

1.3.2.3. The Brother List in *King Valdemar's cadastre*

Next comes the so-called Dan. brother list in King Valdemar's taxation list (*cadastre*) dating back to the latter part of the 12th c. The

list is heavily weighted for Jutland. Nearly 215 names, 50 of which are of Christian origin, give us a glimpse of the name stock in use at that time. Most frequent is *Niels* with 20 bearers, followed by *Peter* with 16 and *Iohannes* (*Ion*, *Ioens*) with 8. It should also be noted that there are a few Fris. (and Sx.) names like *Occa*, *Poppo*, *Wirik*, *Liæf*, *Folklef* and *Radolf*, probably borne by foreigners. It should also be mentioned that the names in the list are borne by people of high rank, so the list has probably very little to say about the naming of common people (Hald 1974, 83). In spite of the high number of names of Christian origin, the list contains between 2/3 and 3/4 native names. This proportion was to be altered radically during the centuries to follow in Denmark.

Other sources covering the whole of Denmark are lacking. As a random sample, the land register of the Danish bishop of Roskilde from about 1370 could be mentioned. It includes other parts of the country, e.g. the names of about 70 farmers from the little island of Møn. Only 12 of these bear Scandinavian names, and there are examples of German names like *Henrik*, *Herman* and *Henneke* (Hald 1974, 83f.).

1.3.2.4. The 1312 taxation lists from Uppland

From 15 Swedish parishes in Northern Uppland, taxation lists from an extra tax tribute in the year 1312 have been preserved. About 1670 persons, 1625 men and 45 women, are registered by names; 435 different names, 38 of which are bynames, are used. The nomenclature is rather conservative. Of the 396 forenames, only 37 are non-native, i.e. 9 per cent, but among them certain Christian saints' names dominate, especially in the central parishes. Such names and others connected with the new religion are borne by no less than 644 persons, i.e. 39 per cent. Most popular by far is *Olaf* (together with its hypocoristic *Olle*) at 8.3 per cent, no doubt due to the popularity of the Norwegian saint Olav. It should be noted that the name of the Swedish national saint, Erik, at this time had not yet reached the peak of its later popularity; only 8 men are named *Erik* (0.5 per cent). Among the 39 women's names used, 7 are of Christian origin, with *Katerina* and *Margareta* coming top, borne by 6 and 4 women, respectively.

The 15 most commonly used names in 1312 were (percentage in brackets):

Johan 119 (7.3), *Olaf* 113 (7.0), *Niklas* 77 (4.7), *Laurens* 62 (3.8), *Peter* 57 (3.5), *Jakob* 47 (2.9), *Anders* 40 (2.5), *Björn* 29 (1.8), *Kettilbjörn* 22 (1.3), *Olle* 21 (1.3), *Gudvast* 20 (1.2), *Mikael* 20 (1.2), *Thorsten* 19 (1.2), *Kettilvast* 18 (1.1), *Thomas* 18 (1.1).

The interesting thing about the lists is the very rich variety of native Viking Age names; no less than 359 different such names are used (Otterbjörk 1968, 214; Dahlbäck 1997, 175).

1.3.3. Scandinavian names in Russia

In the 9th and 10th c., Scandinavian vikings known as Varangians penetrated into Russia and brought their names into the Novgorod region where they settled down under the rulers *Rurik* (ON < *Hrærikr*), *Askold* (< *Hqskuldr*) and *Dyr*. From that era, about 85 names of Scandinavian settlers and their descendants are preserved in the early Russian chronicles. A few of them were soon russified. Only about 15 were current in the Middle Ages and became incorporated in the Old Russian personal onomasticon. The great prince of Kiev in 882–911 was *Oleg* (< ON *Helgi*). His name is still popular in Russia. Later, in 932, *Igor* (< ON *Ingvarr*), the son of Rurik, held the same position. His wife was *Olga* (< ON *Helga*), whose name became popular because of her later status as a saint. Another saint was Saint *Gleb* (< ON *Guðleifr*), the son of Vladimir the Saint. The dynasty of Russian rulers was Scandinavian by origin, but Slavic names appeared in the mid-10th c. in the Rurikide clan, the earliest being *Svjatoslav*, prince and son of the great prince *Igor*. Vladimir the Saint was married to the daughter of a prince of Potolsk named *Rogvolod* (< ON *Rqgnvaldr*). Other names borne by people of the same class are *Uleb* (< *Óleifr*), *Ivor* (< ON *Ívarr*), *Aldan* (< ON *Halfdan*) and *Jakun* (< ON *Hákun*, *Hákon*) (Bækklund 1956, 26 ff.). Several of the Scandinavian names were fully adopted in the Old Russian onomasticon, and some of them seem to have been preserved far into the Middle Ages in the Novgorod region by bearers who probably were descendants to the Viking settlers. Thus we meet the name *Jakun* several times, borne by officials in Novgorod and elsewhere in the region. This name is represented at the latest in a birch-bark letter from 1369–1382. Other names of Scand. origin used in late chronicles and on six medieval birch-bark letters are *Az-gut*, *Sten*, *Vigar* and *Gugmor* (< *Guðmarr*) (Melnikova 1996, 218 ff.).

2. Forenames

2.1. General changes since the Viking Age and the introduction of foreign names

The Viking Age Scandinavian nomenclature was to a great extent formed by so-called variation, i.e. a rather free combination of two name elements linking family members together (see art. 85, 4.1.). Semantically the Viking Age name elements consist of ancient Gmc words for battle, glory, fame and heaven gods. The native medieval names from the 11th c. and onwards are basically the same as far as the repertoire is concerned, although the stock of names was not renewed by means of variation and the meaning of the name elements is more or less obscured. All through the Middle Ages, names containing *Por-*, *Guf-*, *Gun-*, *Sigh-*, *Porbiorn*, *Guplek*, *Gunvald*, *Sigsten* and others remained popular in spite of the change of religion, a fact that has been much discussed (see Kousgård Sørensen 1990, 394 ff.).

However, name-givers had to choose their children's names from an existing set of names. Gradually this name repertoire expanded in a new way due to the import of foreign names. A new custom of naming children after saints, biblical persons and kings was rapidly established, even though odd examples of a kind of late variation are recorded, such as OSw. *Kristmoþer* and OWN *Kristrún* given after the Christianization period (see art. 85, 3.1.; Andersson 1995, 797). In a recent study of the Christianization process in Sweden, it has been shown that very few names of Christian origin are recorded on Viking Age memorial stones in spite of the fact that a great many of them show signs of the new religion, such as Christian crosses and prayer formulas. In fact, only 13 instances of *Johan* and *Jon* are known (Eldblad 1994, 58), together with two instances of *Nicolaus* and one each of *Klement* and *Martin* (Williams 1996, 70). There is evidence to show that as early as in the 12th c. the aristocracy adopted the new custom of introducing foreign names into their dynasties, for instance *Burislef*, *Rikiza* and *Valdemar* from Slavic countries (Otterbjörk 1968, 209). Once the principle of naming children after people from outside the close family was established, and the more the names of popular saints were chosen after Christianization, the more the great mass of old Scand. names, borne by fewer individuals, became obsolete in favour of popular saints' names like *Jon*, *Johan*, *Jön(i)s* (< *Iohannes*),

Nils (< *Nicolaus*), *Per* (< *Petrus*) and *Lars* (< *Laurentius*). The introduction of Christian and foreign names was more extensive in densely populated areas, where ecclesiastical influence was greater. In the Norwegian Østland-region, as many as 75 per cent of the farmers bore native names as late as in 1529 (Halvorsen 1968, 204).

It would be very interesting to follow in detail the increasing importation into Scandinavia of foreign names during the Middle Ages if that was possible. This importation, especially of names of Christian origin, is of course closely related to cultural and other contact with surrounding peoples and countries. The names introduced with Christianity are saints' names and names from the Bible, i. e. for the most part names of Hebrew, Greek and Latin origin. They are not as numerous as the names of German origin, which were introduced later, but they are borne by far more people. Thus they characterize the name stock of the Middle Ages as a whole. The process of this introduction has been much discussed, but no one doubts the crucial part played by the Scandinavian kings and the aristocracy (Hald 1974, 44).

2.2. Saints' names

As stated above, the characteristic trend in medieval Scandinavian personal nomenclature is the increasing use of imported saints' names. Among the most popular were *Johannes*, *Nicolaus*, *Petrus*, *Laurentius*, *Andreas*, *Benedictus*, *Jacobus* and *Thomas*. The first five names achieved unsurpassed popularity by the end of the Middle Ages, and they developed a rich variety of forms adapted to the Scandinavian tongues.

However, it should be noted that the time of introduction of these names varies from name to name. Generally they all reached Denmark and Sweden earlier than Norway and Iceland. They did not arrive in great numbers and waves, but rather first appeared as single instances surrounded by heathen, native names. The competition between old native names and those associated with the new religion for a long time favoured the native ones, but gradually the newcomers penetrated the Scandinavian personal onomasticon. In contrast to the religious spheres where the orthodox church was in control and actively worked for eradication of heathen names in connection with the baptismal rite, Scandinavian religious society seems to have been tol-

erant towards native pagan names, allowing a more peaceful coexistence (Grape 1911, 78 ff.; Kousgård Sørensen 1990). It is interesting to look closer at a few of the popular Christian names such as *Johannes*, *Nicolaus*, *Petrus* and *Iacobus*.

Johannes was introduced into Scandinavia very early and quickly, no doubt due to its wide use all over the Christian world in memory of *Johannes* the Baptist and *Johannes* the Apostle. As stated above, there are 13 instances of *Johan*, *Jon* on Swedish runic stones, and in Iceland bishop *Ión Qgmundar son*, born in the middle of the 11th c., is believed to be the first bearer there of this name. Other *Ións* from Norway and Iceland are known from *Heimskringla* in the 11th c. (Lind 1905–15, 649; Gunnes 1982, 156).

In Denmark the earliest recorded instance of this name is from the first half of the 11th c., but it must have been known among the Danes considerably earlier since it quite frequently appears in place-names in *-thorp*, *Jonstrup* for instance (Lerche Nielsen 1997, Bilag 35). The shorter forms *Johan* and *Jon* imply an early and more direct import because of the shift in stress to the first syllable. The form *Iones*, later *Ionis*, *Jons* came in a later wave to Denmark and Sweden probably due to Low German influence. The form *Hannus*, *Hans* was introduced later into Scandinavia from German-speaking areas; in Sweden it was first recorded in 1352 (Eldblad 1994, 61). The name was by far the most frequent in Denmark during the Middle Ages (Hald 1974, 46f.).

Nicolaus, the name of a Greek saint, was used early on in Scandinavia, in Norway and Sweden from the 11th c. In Sweden it is also known from two runic inscriptions. In Denmark the oldest bearer is believed to have been the king from 1104–34. Like many other saints' names, it was first borne by clerics but became popular soon enough, first among highly ranked people, cf. the brother list in King Valdemar's cadastre in which it tops the name list, and later among common people (Hald 1974, 48 f.; Gunnes 1982, 156 f.; Grape 1911, 81 f.; Hornby 1947, 214 f.).

Later in the Middle Ages, a rich variety of forms was developed. The short form *Klaus* was no doubt borrowed from Germany (Janzen 1947, 141), while *Nicklas*, *Nikils*, *Nighels*, *Niels*, *Nils* and *Nisse* developed within Scandinavia (ibid., 142).

Petrus, the name of the most famous apostle, was introduced into Sweden about 1100. In Denmark it was borne by the king's

equerry in 1085, but like *Iohannes* it appears in place-names in *-thorp* which are believed to be older (Lerche Nielsen 1997, Bilag 38).

In Iceland there was a *Pétrus frá Ósi* in the *Landnámabók* as early as about 1000, but in Norway and Iceland it was not frequent until after 1200 (Lind 1905–15, 830 ff.). During the period up to 1350 and afterwards, the name in the form of *Peter*, *Pedher*, *Per*, *Pelle* became the most frequent name all over Scandinavia (Janzén 1947, 142).

Jacobus was the name of the patron of pilgrims. It became popular in Scandinavia rather late. Most of the first bearers in Denmark and Sweden were clergymen recorded in the Lund cartulary (cf. 1.3.2.) from the end of the 12th c. and onward (DGP and Sveriges medeltida personnamn, samlingar). However, the very first Swedish Jacob was the Svea king *Anund Jacob* (1022–1050) who, according to Adam of Bremen and *Heimskringla*, adopted the Christian name as an extra name when he was baptized (Grape 1911, 79 f.). In Denmark about 8,000 *Jacobs* were registered, before 1450 with a great variety of forms (Hornby 1947, 212). The growing popularity of *Jakob* in Gotland from the beginning of the 14th c. was probably due to influence from Denmark or Germany. It seems to be one of the most popular early established Christian names in the island and was outstanding in a context of genuine native names. There are no records of it in Norway during this period. One of the first bearers of this name in Norway (Bohuslän) seems to be a parish priest in 1366. In Iceland an *Einarr Iacobs son* is known from the 12th c., but there is no evidence that his father was born in Iceland (Lind 1905–15, 613 f.). Later, especially in Denmark, “native” forms like *Jæp*, *Jæppe* and *Ib* developed (Janzén 1957, 141; Hald 1974, 56).

Andreas, the name of one of the most important apostles, appears in records in Norway in 1135 through *Andreas Brunsson*, a priest, and at the end of the same century it was borne by several Danish clergymen. In Iceland it was used in one family in the middle of the 13th c. In Sweden there are no reliable records of it until the end of the 13th c., with the exception of three cases in runic inscriptions from the province of Västergötland from the 12th c. The name then rapidly spread throughout Scandinavia and to all strata of society. In its late medieval forms *Andres* and *Anders*, it has become one of the most used Swedish male names (Grape 1911, 55 f.).

2.3. Other foreign/imported names

During the Migration and Viking periods, contact between the peoples of Europe was close and thus of importance for name exchanges, although not on a large scale. Best known are a few names brought into Scandinavia through dynastic connections. Names like *Valdemar* (< Sl. *Vladimir*), *Boris* and *Dagmar* (< Sl. *Dragomir*) are examples from Danish royal families (Hald 1974, 42 f.). Names were also imported from the West, i. e. the saint's name *Edward* from England and *Njáll* from Celtic-speaking areas.

The main source of imported names, however, came from the south, from Germany and the Netherlands. This borrowing reached its peak during the late Middle Ages but started probably before the 12th c. and was reinforced by the Hanseatic trade. In the towns, foreign names of Low German origin became increasingly more frequent. Examples are names ending in

-bert, *-brikt*: *Albrikt*/*Albert*, *Engilbrikt*, *Lambrikt*;

-helm: *Anselm*, *Vilhelm*;

-man: *Folkman*, *Herman*, *Tideman*;

-rik: *Diderik*, *Frederik*, *Henrik*;

-wini: *Gervin*, *Rikvin*.

Examples of women's names of German origin are *Hillegun*, *Mektild*, *Vendela*, *Gertrudh* and *Valborgh*, the latter two being names of saints.

A rather large group of German names were used in hypocoristic forms such as *Fikke* (from *Frederik*), *Heyne* or *Hinze* (from *Henrik* and other names), *Timme* (from *Tideman* and other names). Another type of imported German hypocoristic is *Heneka*, *Henika* (from *Henrik*), *Konika* (from *Konrad*), *Lydika*, *Tideka* etc. with fem. weak declension (Modéer 1989, 45 ff.).

3. Bynames

The need for a more specific identification of individuals in wider contexts has led to the development of different name patterns, most often formed as an attributive addendum, i. e. an appositional element to the forename (see definitions in art. 85, 3.3.).

3.1. Patronymics and matronymics

A common way of denoting a person is with reference to close relatives, mostly parents, by way of so-called patronymics and matronym-

ics. There are a few examples of regular compounds, true patronymics, in medieval runic inscriptions; for instance instead of *sun Ulf*s, which is a syntactic sequence typical for Viking Age runic inscriptions, we find *Ulfssun* beginning in the 13th c. (Modéer 1989, 51 note 2). An early example is *suen sazærsuæn* (= Sasser-sen) in a Danish medieval runic inscription (Kousgård Sørensen 1984, 78). The development of the compound type could be looked upon as parallel to or depending on such Latin flexional patronyms as *Ericus Olai* for *Erik Olafsson* (see *ibid.* 108ff.).

Matronymics are also known from all Scandinavia, although they are few compared with the patronymics. *Sven Estridsen* (11th c.), *Peder* and *Ubbe Bodilsen* (12th c.) and *Karl Ingeborgsen* (13th c.) are examples from Denmark. The reason or reasons why the mother's name is used instead of the father's has been much discussed, but most cases concern people of high rank, where possibly the mother's rank was regarded as higher than the father's (see Peterson 1990 and Kousgård Sørensen 1984, 123ff. with references; see also art. 85, 3.3.1.).

3.2. Occupational names

During the Middle Ages and particularly during the 15th c. we find a great number of name combinations in which the apposition in most cases – but not always – reveals the bearer's actual occupation. Thus, a *Petrus Bryggæræ* 'brewer' is mentioned 1349 in a Dan. charter. Most likely he was a brewer by profession. Most persons called *Peter Skomare* ('shoemaker'), *Magnus Muramæstare* ('mason'), *Olaff Kiotmangare* 'butcher' and many others named in the same way actually practised the profession. However, names based on occupations do not always imply this. In cases like *Pape*, *Kesare* and *Biscop* the context sometimes makes it clear that the names were meant to be ironic or humorous, unlike in Icelandic sagas where names with *konungr*, *jarl* or *skáld* actually denote these occupations (see Modéer 1989, 106; Ekbo 1947, 282).

3.3. Characterizing bynames

A very large part of the name vocabulary in Scandinavia throughout the Middle Ages consists of bynames which in one way or another must first have been given to an individual in order to characterize him or her. Often such names were meant as nicknames in the pejor-

ative sense of the word. The very first individual to be called *Get* 'goat', *Gylta* 'sow', *Ræf* 'fox' or *Puke* 'devil' was probably not flattered by this, but nevertheless all were adopted and inherited by new generations, one of them, *Rääf*, later being recognized as the name of a noble family.

A good portion of the bynames seem to be easy to understand and interpret, like *Lang* 'long', *Gammal* 'old', *Ung* 'young', *Bred* 'broad', *Diger*, *Digre* 'big, fat'. The same goes for *Kroknæf* 'bent nose' and even *Peder Timberman medh ena ögat* 'P. T. with one eye', but in most if not practically all cases, the exact reason why a byname was given remains obscure. There are, for instance, several possible reasons for the name *Olafuer Graflax* 'raw spiced salmon'. Two of the obvious ones are that he might have sold salmon or that he might have liked salmon, but there are many other possibilities, for instance his having been involved in an incident connected with salmon (Modéer 1989, 98). There seems to have been no limit to creative imagination in this field, but the ultimate reasons for this kind of name-giving are not possible to establish. Was *Hjalti jarnauga* ('iron eye') so called because of his hard and sharp eye, or had he on some occasion had his eye damaged by a piece of iron? *Ketill flatnefr* ('flatnose') seems easy to understand, but it is not so clear in which sense the byname *Þorsteinn blindigr* ('blind man') was intended (Jónsson 1907, 199, 202, 201). There have been a number of attempts at different times to categorize bynames from all the Scandinavian countries, and a large amount of material has been collected by different scholars. Dan. and Norw.-Icel. bynames have been published as parts of the name books, *DGP 2*, *Tilnavne* and *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden* by E. H. Lind. Bynames from the name-rich Icelandic old literature were presented and commented on earlier by Finnur Jónsson (1907, 161f.). He emphasized not only the linguistic importance of the bynames themselves, but also the cultural knowledge about the old society which could be acquired from them. He chose to present the names in 10 semantic groups, starting with names assumed to have been given after ancestral origin, kinship and birth place, for instance *Sigurðr Markusfóstri* (d. 1163) 'fosterson of Markus', *Árni byskupsfrændi* (d. 1201) 'relative of the bishop', *Einarr gotneski* 'the Gotlander'. A very common way of denoting residence or birthplace was to put the byname in front of the forename, e. g. *Gnúpa-*

Bárðr, living in Gnúpar in Fljótshverfi. By-names referring to the human body and its parts seem to be the most used of all. Finnur Jónsson also exemplified other possible sources for the old bynames, for instance armour, clothes, ornaments, mental skills, animal names and so on. In a similar way Elof Hellquist (1912, 84ff.) listed and commented on OSw. bynames. His work remains the most comprehensive on the subject, but there exists a large hand-written collection waiting to be published in the Archives for Swedish medieval personal names in Uppsala (SMPs).

OWN bynames have been discussed in a survey by Sven Ekbo (1947, 269ff.) also along with material from the eastern parts of Scandinavia.

4. Family names

Family names in the modern sense of the word did not exist during the Middle Ages, but the custom of adapting inheritable family names – in most cases derived from place-names – was well established earlier on in Germany, and merchant immigrants in Scandinavian cities used names of this kind. There are a few examples of native names which seem to follow the German pattern. The most frequently recorded is *Laurencius Bobiærgh*, a nobleman first mentioned in 1283, whose name – originally a place-name – was inherited (Briekorn 1915, 8–12). Another early example involves two generations, *Conradus* and *Hinricus Arxo*, known during the 14th c., probably from the island of Hargön near Stockholm (Briekorn 1912, 166ff.).

There are also early signs of a more vernacular type of inherited bynames in the Swedish aristocracy. Some of these were first used just to distinguish among family members with the same forename and patronymic, but a few have survived as family names of noble families, for instance *Bonde*, *Puke* and *Soop* (Gilligstam 1965).

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108. The development of Old Nordic place-names

1. Settlement names
2. Parish names
3. Town names
4. Street names
5. Castle and manor names
6. Field names
7. Nature names
8. Literature (a selection)

1. Settlement names

1.1. Dating

A strict delimitation between Viking Age and medieval place-name types is not possible to uphold, since many Viking Age name types continued to be productive also in the early Middle Ages. This is, in turn, essentially due to the fact that the agrarian expansion that started in the Viking Age continued also into the Middle Ages. The same kind of localities, therefore, to a certain extent, continued to be given the same kind of names. The greatest cultural change during this period, of course, was the definitive establishment of Christianity in the Nordic countries and the resulting dominating influence of the Church. A reliable method of dating types of place-names to the Middle Ages, then, is the occurrence of Christian name elements, especially Christian personal names as first elements of compound place-names. The absence of a certain name type in the western Viking colonies on the British Isles or in Normandy could be an indication that the name type in question became productive only after the colonization period. In some cases, however, there are different explanations, and this dating criterion, then, is not totally reliable.

1.2. Frequent medieval place-name elements

1.2.1. *-bodh(a)*

The word *bodh* (*búð*) fem. 'shed' is found as second element in many medieval Nordic place-names, e.g. *Tokabodhum* 'Toke's sheds', *Malungsbodhum* 'the sheds by Lake Malunger'. The names are normally plural, originally *-bodhir* (*-búðir*), later *-bodha*, which nowadays often has been reduced to simply *-bo* (*-bu*). The names allude primarily to different types of simple sheds, such as hay barns, fishing sheds or cattle sheds. Settlement names in *-bodh(a)* are spread all over the Nordic countries, but

are especially frequent in southern and middle Sweden, where the common meaning of the name element in all probability is 'meadow lands with hay barns' (Hellberg 1967, 183 ff.). The meaning 'summer pasture farm' (Swedish *fäbod*) is not as general as was supposed by earlier researchers and is furthermore limited to the areas in the north, where summer pasture farming is a historically known practice. Some of the oldest names in *-bodha* may date back to the Viking Age, but the overwhelming majority is medieval.

1.2.2. *-bol* and *-bole*

The two related words *bol* neut. and *bole* neut. originally meant 'dwelling place'. The modern dialectal meaning 'lair, den' is also very close to this original sense. In settlement names we probably normally have on the one hand the meaning 'habitation, residence', on the other the somewhat more general meaning 'landed property, farm'. *Bol* probably originates from Germanic **bubla*, and *bole* is an analogically formed derivative of *bol* (Hellberg 1985, 63 f.). Place-names in *-bol* and *-bole*, e.g. *Laggarabol* 'the cooper's farm', *Karabole* 'Kare's farm', can be found in large parts of the Nordic countries, but while *-bol* is most frequent in western Sweden, *-bole* is more widely spread with concentrations in southern Denmark, south-eastern Norway and neighbouring parts of western Sweden, eastern Götaland and Svealand, Norrland, Åland and southern Finland (Thors 1952, 11 ff.; Fries 1962, 42 ff.). The oldest names may be from the Viking Age, but the great majority denote medieval new settlements. There are also medieval field-names in *-bol* and *-bole*.

1.2.3. *-by/-bo*

Place-names in *-by/-bo* essentially belong to pre-Christian times (see articles 77 and 86), but in parts of the Nordic countries this name type continued its productivity also into the Middle Ages, denoting medieval new settlements. This is true in particular for the numerous place-names in *-by* in Finland and Estonia, but also elsewhere, e.g. in western Sweden and eastern Svealand. The medieval place-names in *-by* often have personal names as their first element, e.g. *Kætilsby* 'Kætíl's farm'.

1.2.4. *-hester*

Settlement names in *-hester* in the Nordic countries can be found only in central Götaland in Sweden (Ekenvall 1942, 187), e.g. *Arngærdharhestrum* 'Arngærdh's forest', *Apoldahestrum* 'the forest where apple trees grow'. Nature and field names formed from the same word, however, are somewhat more widely spread and the word *hester* probably once had a continuous area of distribution from northern France, Belgium, Holland, north-western Germany through Denmark and Scania up to central Götaland (Ljunggren 1969, 35; Romell 1975, 248f.). Two different opinions have been expressed concerning the meaning of *hester* as a place-name element: 'young forest of fruit-bearing trees (oak, beech)' (Ekenvall 1942, 198) and 'coppice' (Romell 1975, 243ff.; Strid 1993, 69f.). The names may probably partly date back to the Viking Age, but the great majority are medieval.

1.2.5. *-hult*

Place-names in *-hult* (*-holt*). e.g. *Ælmihult* 'elm forest', *Haraldshult* 'Harald's [farm] in the forest', are common in most parts of the Nordic countries, with the exception of northern Sweden. The basic meaning of the place-name element *hult* most likely is 'forest', a sense which is clearly documented in many old names of large forest areas. Also suggested for it is a more specialized meaning 'coppice', i.e. a kind of cultivated deciduous forest (Hellberg 1967, 100ff.; Strid 1996, 19ff.), but the arguments are uncertain and not very convincing. The great number of medieval place-names in *-hult* in older forest districts rather indicates that the names on the whole have denoted new settlements in forests (Benson 1972, 35f.). In the west Nordic countries a secondary meaning '(rocky) hill' has evolved, which usually is assumed in the Icelandic place-names in *-holt*. The oldest layer of the Nordic *-hult*-names certainly is as old as the Viking Age, but most names are medieval. A derivative *-hylta* is less common and limited to southern Sweden and Nyland in Finland, e.g. *Haghsioarhylta* 'the small forest by Lake Haghsior'.

1.2.6. *-kop*

The place-names in *-kop*, e.g. *Jonskop* 'Jon's bought landed property', are most likely only of medieval origin. They can be found in

southern Sweden (Götaland) and in Zealand with the meaning 'bought landed property' (Sahlgren 1920, 223ff.; Sahlgren 1925, 266ff.; Hald 1965, 156f.). A suggestion to separately date the Danish names to the Viking Age (Jørgensen 1994, 170) is not convincing.

1.2.7. *-mala*

Place-names in *-mala* > *-måla*, e.g. *Sibbamala* 'Sibbe's measured land', occur very frequently in south-eastern Sweden. A few names also can be found in the south-west of Finland. The place-name element is in fact an inflected form of *male* masc., has the meaning 'measured land' and denotes medieval new settlements (Ödeen 1927, 1ff.).

1.2.8. *-mark*

There are place-names in *-mark* (*-mork*), e.g. *Gudmundsmark* 'Gudmund's [farm] in the forest', *Alptamark* 'the forest by Lake Alpte', in many parts of the Nordic countries. The meaning is 'borderland, outland', 'border forest, outforest' or '(large) forest'. The different meanings overlap and are difficult to separate. A concentration of names can be found in Norrland in Sweden, where the large number of medieval place-names in *-mark* probably bears witness to an extensive wave of new settlements in forests (Fries 1983, 132ff.). In other areas, the name type cannot be given such a homogeneous dating. Many are certainly medieval, but they may be both older and younger.

1.2.9. *-rudh*

Place-names originating from *-rudh* (*-ruð*), e.g. *Geirsruð* 'Geir's clearing', *Birkiruð* 'the clearing where birches grow' or 'the clearing in the birch forest', are frequent in the south-east of Norway and neighbouring parts of Sweden as well as more sporadically in other parts of the two countries (Ejder 1979, 93ff.). The names of Zealand now ending in *-rod* have the same original form. The meaning is 'clearing' and so the names indicate extensive new settlement in forest areas. The names are medieval, hardly older. This group of place-names should not be confused with *-riudh* > *-rydh*, which is related by ablaut, and which has a somewhat different meaning, another and more southern distribution as well as an earlier dating on average (see below 1.2.11.).

1.2.10. *-rum*

The place-names in *-rum*, e.g. *Algutsrum* 'Algut's open ground', *Yxnarum* 'the open ground where oxen graze', are on the whole concentrated in eastern Götaland in Sweden (Lindroth 1916, map). A few names occur in Denmark. The meaning is most likely 'open ground (in a forest)'. A considerable portion of the names probably originally denoted meadowlands (Strid 1986, 187 ff.; Strid 1987, 297 ff.). The name type was productive both before and during the Middle Ages.

1.2.11. *-rydh/-rjóðr*

This place-name element is in Old West Nordic called *-rjóðr*, in Old East Nordic *-riudh* > *-rydh*. The greatest number of such names exists in the south-west of Sweden, e.g. *Tranurydh* 'the clearing where cranes stay', *Hørydh* 'the open land where hay is harvested'. There are some further occurrences in Norway. The meaning is on the one hand 'clearing', on the other more generally 'open ground (in a forest)'. As was the case for *-rum*, many names have primarily denoted meadowlands, but also new settlements in forests have been given names in *-rydh* (Fridell 1992, 243 ff.). A considerable share of the names were formed in the Viking Age, but the majority nevertheless are medieval (Ejder 1979, 362 ff.; Fridell 1992, 203 ff.).

1.2.12. *-sel*

The word *sel* neut. is a diminutive derivative of *sal* masc. Place-names in *-sel*, e.g. *Gradosælia* 'the summer pasture farm by the stream', occur in Norway, central Sweden (mainly Dalarna) and on Iceland. The meaning is 'summer pasture farm' and the names thus denote actual summer pasture farms (Swedish *fäbodrar*) or farms that originated as summer pasture farms (Beito 1949, 118 ff.). The names are to a large extent medieval, but may also be younger.

1.2.13. *-stqðull*

The place-name element *-stol* < *-stqðull* is very common in Norway. The meaning is 'summer pasture farm'. The primary sense of the word, however, is 'milking place', a meaning which is still preserved in the language of western Norway as well as on Iceland and the Faroe Islands (Beito 1949, 84 ff.).

1.2.14. *-sæter/-setr/-sætr*

In the middle of Sweden there are settlement names in *-säter*, e.g. *Biornasæter* 'the forest meadow where bears have been seen', that can be dated to the Viking Age and the Middle Ages and where the primary meaning of the name element is 'outlying meadow, forest meadow'. They correspond formally to the Norwegian names in *-set*, where however as a rule the meaning 'dwelling place, habitation' has been assumed as well as a somewhat earlier dating (the Viking Age and just before). The West Nordic place-names in *-sæter* 'summer pasture farm', which is related by ablaut, also occur in Norway and neighbouring parts of Sweden. They are also to a considerable extent medieval. The semantic relationship between the three name groups is, in spite of many notable research efforts, still obscure (Hedblom 1945, 223 ff.; Beito 1949, 11 ff.; Brink 1987, 79 ff.; Helleland 1989, 59 ff.).

1.2.15. *-thorp*

The place-name element *-thorp* (*-þorp*) occurs in many medieval names, denoting secondary settlement separated from older, larger settlement units. In addition one must reckon with a younger, weakened sense 'new settlement'. The name type, e.g. *Svensthorp* 'Sven's settlement', *Sioarthorp* 'the settlement by the lake', is very frequent in Denmark and southern Sweden and can also be found in the south-east of Norway. It was productive over a very long time span before, during and after the Middle Ages (Hellberg 1954, 106 ff.).

1.2.16. *-thvet*

Place-names in *-thvet* (*-þveit*), e.g. *Rúgþveit* 'the clearing where rye is grown', *Grimstthvet* 'Grim's clearing', are relatively common in southern Norway and Denmark, but also occur sporadically in southern Sweden. The meaning is 'clearing, cutting' and indicates new settlements in forest areas (Markey 1978, 70). The name type is mainly from the Viking Age, but continued to be productive also in the early Middle Ages.

1.2.17. *-vret/-reit*

In the middle of Norway (principally Møre and Trøndelag) are found a large number of presumably medieval place-names in *-reit* (Sandnes 1968, 388 ff.). This corresponds to Swedish *-vret*, which occurs more sporadically

in southern and central Sweden. The Swedish names cannot be given any uniform dating, but some of them apparently are medieval. The meaning of *-vret/-reit* is 'delimited piece of land', and the names seem primarily to have denoted outlying arable fields.

1.2.18. Place-names and fire-clearing

Certain types of place-names with the meaning 'land cleared by burning' are probably to a large extent medieval and accordingly an essential source for the history of fire-clearing. To this group belong place-names in *-bruni*, *-bruti*, *-brænna*, *-svidh* and *-svidhia*. Some other place-name elements with the primary meaning 'cutting, clearing' as *-fall*, *-fælla*, *-girdhe* and *-rydhs* apparently very early on also developed a secondary sense 'land cleared by burning'.

1.3. Place-names and settlement history

The majority of the early medieval Nordic types of place-names are names related to expansion and new settlements. They reflect linguistically how new settlements were established (*-bol*, *-bole*, *-by*, *-thorp*), how new land was cultivated (*-mala*, *-vret/-reit*), how new summer pasture farms came into use (*-bodha*, *-sel*, *stqðull*, *-sætr*), how forests were cleared (*-rudh*, *-rydh*, *-thvet*), how new open land for haymaking and pasture was created (*-bodha*, *-rum*, *-rydh*, *-sæter*) and how new farms were set up in forest areas (*-hult*, *-mark*). To a certain extent the categories of second elements in place-names are interchangeable. If a new settlement was founded in connection with forest clearing it could have been given a name based on either the settlement itself, the piece of land, the location in the forest, the clearing or the resulting open land, but still be the same kind of settlement. The same type of new settlement could in one region be given a name in *-rydh*, in another region a name in *-bodha*, in a third a name in *-mala* and so on. The choice of second element is in such a case culturally dependent and based on analogy.

The datings that have been given above (section 1.2.) concern the age of the settlement names. In those cases where the place-name primarily denoted not a settlement but a field (*-bodha*, *-hester*, *-mala*, *-rudh*, *-rum*, *-rydh*, *-sæter*, *-thvet*, *-vret/-reit*) or a natural feature (*-hult*, *-mark*), the name may have previously existed as a field or natural feature name. It

was for instance probably not unusual for a field that was created and named in the Viking Age to have its name transferred to a settlement established at or nearby the field in the early Middle Ages. Such a name transfer presupposes, however, a certain continuity of settlement structure and cultural landscape. That means that it is unrealistic, as has recently been suggested (Strid 1986, 187ff.; Strid 1993, 82f.; Strid 1996, 22; 35f.), to assume that place-names in e.g. *-rum*, *-rydh* and *-sæter* as field names could date back to the early Iron Age or even earlier. The great changes in settlement and cultivation that took place in the transition period from early to late Iron Age makes this very unlikely. Place-names in *-bodha*, *-rum*, *-rydh* and *-sæter* are both spatially and semantically closely linked to the settlement structure of the late Iron Age and to the agrarian expansion which took place within the framework of this structure during the Viking Age and the early Middle Ages, especially to the extensive expansion of meadow area during that time.

In connection with new colonization of earlier uninhabited and uncultivated areas, the place-name formation process is supposedly partly different from that of the successive extension of an older inhabitation. In the early Middle Ages such new colonization took place on a large scale both in earlier forest areas in the old countries as well as in new countries (Åland, Finland, Estonia). It has often been commented on that the percentage of personal names in the first element of place-name compounds tends to be higher in areas of new colonization, that a relatively large proportion of the settlement names are primary natural feature names, and that analogy in naming relatively speaking grew more important. The latter often implies that a single place-name element is extremely frequent within a limited region.

As a result of expansion through the successive extension of an older inhabitation, we get a naturally grown place-name inventory where names of outlying fields belonging to a primary habitation turn into settlement names when a new habitation is established at the old field and assumes its name. This model of place-name formation (cf. Brink 1989, 232ff.), however, is not applicable for massive new colonization of an earlier uninhabited and uncultivated area. In such cases we have to assume to a large extent that compounded settlement place-names with field or natural feature denotations as second elements are primary

settlement names (cf. Hald 1965, 185 ff.). This line of reasoning is in principle applicable to all settlement names containing field and natural feature denotations as second elements (-*bodha*, -*hester*, -*hult*, -*mala*, -*mark*, -*rudh*, -*rum*, -*rydh*, -*sæter*, -*thvet*, -*vret/-reit* and so on) but assumes a particular weight for understanding the names in -*hult* and -*mark*. It is not reasonable to presuppose that, for instance, all the many medieval settlement names in -*hult* in previously uninhabited forest areas were names of larger or smaller forests before they became settlement names. Such names probably should be regarded as new settlement names which were formed on a large scale through the establishment of a name pattern in connection with the colonization. It has been suggested that in such cases one therefore has to reckon with a change of meaning for -*hult* from 'forest' to 'forest farm' (Benson 1972, 35f.; cf. Pamp 1988, 21) or a weakening in meaning to simply 'settlement'. As long as the place-name element in question also is still living as an appellative noun in the language, however, such shifts in meaning are unlikely. Two hypothetical primary settlement names **Svensbiærgh* and **Svenshult* mean 'Sven's [farm] at the mountain/hill' and 'Sven's [farm] in the forest' respectively rather than 'Sven's mountain farm' or 'Sven's forest farm'. Alternatively one could argue that a second element -*hult* as a place-name element in the onomasticon in such cases shows a shift in meaning to 'farm in a forest', while the word as an appellative noun in the lexicon preserves the old meaning 'forest'. This, however, is doubtful and it is better to treat **Svenshult* in the same manner as **Svensbiærgh*. It is hardly possible to maintain that *biærgh* as a place-name element in the onomasticon could mean 'farm at a mountain/hill'. Place-names of the type **Svenshult* and **Svensbiærgh* thus could be seen as being formed through a kind of metonymic association.

1.4. Farm names

The different farms in a village probably always have had names as long as they have existed as separate entities. The need to be able in speech to simply refer to and mention a certain farm has necessitated names. It has been claimed that the Danish medieval farms in a village as a rule were nameless (Hald 1965, 157). However, this is highly unlikely. We cannot in such a case infer this from the lack of written evidence. The names must have been

there, although they were not written down or didn't have official status. The few known medieval names of farms in a village normally end in -*gardh(en)*. The first element often is a personal name or a directional or positional word (e.g. *Norr-* 'north', *Mellan-* 'middle'). A high proportion of the names of farms still existing in villages today probably have a medieval origin.

1.5. Particular areas

1.5.1. Iceland and the Faroe Islands

The most predominant trait in the place-name inventory of Iceland generally speaking is the many names in -*staðir*, a place-name element which here, in contrast to the other Nordic countries, to a certain extent continued to be productive also after the Viking Age in the formation of names of small farms. The meaning in Iceland is probably simply 'farm' (another opinion is presented by Sigmundsson 1990, 61 ff.). Also -*bær* 'farm' was used for the formation of medieval names. The medieval name inventory of Iceland is otherwise characterized by place-name elements with the meanings 'enclosure' (-*garðr*, -*gerði*, -*tún*) or 'smaller house, shed' (-*búð*, -*hús*, -*kot*, -*sel*) (Lárusson 1939, 642 ff.; Lárusson 1960, 642 ff.; Bandle 1977, 40 ff.; Sigmundsson 1996, 413 ff.).

Primary natural feature names heavily dominate the Faroese settlement names. The most important of the other type of place-names are -*bour* 'farm; cultivated land', -*garður* or -*gerði* 'enclosure' and -*toftir* 'site of farm' (Matras 1939, 53 ff.; Thorsteinsson 1996, 183 ff.). There is no established chronology for Faroese place-names, but it is likely that the elements mentioned above were productive during the Viking Age as well as the Middle Ages.

1.5.2. Finland and Estonia

The Swedish speaking parts of Finland (Åland, Österbotten, Åboland and Nyland) and Estonia were colonized in the early Middle Ages from Sweden. This means that in principle all Swedish settlement names in these areas are medieval or younger (Lagman 1964, 9 ff.; 1987, 5 ff.; Huldén 1980, 109 ff.; 2001, 453 ff.; Hellberg 1987, 57 ff.). The dominant name type over this entire area is -*by*. In southern Finland -*bole* is also very common.

Less frequently, *-bodha* and *-thorp* occur in southern Finland and *-mark* in Österbotten (Thors 1953, 1 ff.; Granlund 1956, 1 ff.). On Åland there are some names in *-bolstadh* with probable reference to settlements that were deserted during the Viking Age and reinhabited during the early Middle Ages (Hellberg 1987, 142 ff.).

1.6. Place-name geography

Certain second elements of compounded place-names show a complementary distribution and thus are examples of variation based on place-name geography. Clear cases are *-sæter*, *-rum* and *-rydh*, which denote the same kind of open meadowlands in three different neighbouring areas in Sweden, and *-thvet* and *-ruth* which denote clearings in complementary areas in Denmark. At a more general level all place-name elements of course are connected to language geography in some way or another. Thus, *-stqðull* and *-sel* are decidedly West Nordic medieval place-name elements; *-hester*, *-køp*, *-mala* and *-rum* are obviously South-east Nordic. A predominantly South-east Nordic distribution occurs for *-rydh* and *-thorp*. For certain name types it has been assumed that it is possible to reconstruct a pattern of distribution showing that they emerged from a certain area and from there spread in different directions. This kind of explanatory model was commonly used by early Nordic place-name researchers, in particular Jöran Sahlgren (1920, 223 ff.; 1925, 266 ff.), who claimed that *-thorp* as well as *-rydh* had spread from the European continent through Denmark to Sweden and that *-køp* had originated in Denmark and later came to Sweden from there. Nils Ödeen (1927, 462) has correspondingly argued that the place-names in *-hult* spread from present-day Germany through Denmark to Sweden. For *-hult* and *-rydh*, the explanation most certainly is incorrect. The illusory impression of later occurrence of the name types in question in Sweden arises because the written sources are earlier in Germany and Denmark (Ejder 1979, 384 ff.; Fridell 1992, 210). For, also, the names in *-thorp* the theory of "importation" from abroad most likely is fallacious. The names probably are of spontaneous native origin, the result of an appellative which existed in the language becoming productive as a place-name element. The names in *-køp*, however, may as a result of cultural influence have come to Sweden from Denmark. The names in

-sæter in Sweden seem to have diffused from the central part of Svealand around Lake Mälaren, as also seems the case for the names in *-bole* (Fries 1962, 42 ff.). A special type of place-name diffusion is the so-called "wandering names", which are ready-made imported fashionable names. Medieval examples are *Rosendal* and *Fuglsang*, both arriving in the Nordic countries from the south.

2. Parish names

According to most contemporary researchers the Nordic parishes were formed and named in the early Middle Ages. The parish names are of different types (Andersson 1988, 65 ff.; Brink 1990, 123 ff.; Sandnes 1991, 15 ff.). The most common case, especially in the south, is that the parish took over the old name of the village where the church was situated. Other kinds of secondary parish names are old district names and so-called church-site names, which refers to cases where the parish took its name from the locality where the church was built. In contrast one can find a relatively small number of primary parish names of different types, e.g. church names such as *Nyakirkia* 'the new church' or *Knutskirkia* 'Knut's church' (from which later came *Knudsker sogn*). The parish names on Bornholm in Denmark are of the last type.

3. Town names

If one, quite reasonably, combines trading places and towns as one category, the medieval Nordic names of these localities can, in parallel with the parish names, be divided into primary and secondary names. Among the primary trading place and town names, the most important second element is *-køping(er)*/*-køping(er)*/*-kaupang(r)*. It occurs in Denmark, Norway and Sweden (Ljunggren 1937, 99 ff.; Ståhl/Hald/Hovda et al. 1971, 667 ff.). This type has a Viking Age origin, and it is difficult to decide which names were formed then and which ones are medieval. The secondary trading place and town names, being the most frequent group, are names of the localities where the trading place or the town was established, either older village settlements (e.g. *Vimmerby*), fortifications (e.g. *Ålborg*), bridges (e.g. *Örebro*), natural features (e.g. *Niðaróss*) or something else. For some names denoting natural features, e.g. *Aros* 'river estuary', we cannot however exclude the

possibility that the name primarily was given to the trading place without existing before as a name of a natural feature.

4. Street names

Because of fires and changed town layouts, a great deal of the medieval street names have disappeared, but some still have survived until today. Common second elements of medieval street names are *-gata* (Sweden and Denmark); *-stræte* (Denmark and Norway); *-grænd* and *-brink* (Sweden); *-veit*, *-geil* and *almenningr* (Norway) (Hald/Ståhl/Rosén et al. 1960, 151 ff.).

5. Castle and manor names

The fortified castles in the Nordic countries often have names with the second elements *-borgh*, *-hus* or *-holm* (Mattisson 1982, 17 ff.; Mattisson 1986, 14 ff.); *-borgh* here means 'fortification' and *-hus* 'fortified house', while *-holm* in the early medieval names has the sense 'elevated land, (partly) surrounded by water', a kind of locality where, for reasons of defence, it was natural to build a fortification. Medieval Swedish and Danish manors of the nobility for the same reason have also often been given names in *-holm*. At the end of the Middle Ages the name element *-holm* gradually acquired a weakened meaning and was used just to mark the high and noble status of the manor or castle, independent of the topography. In Denmark we can also find medieval manor names in *-garth*.

6. Field names

Field names, i. e. mainly names of arable land, meadows, and pastures, must have existed at least as long as sedentary agriculture because of the need to identify such valuable areas. Field names thus were formed both before, during and after the Middle Ages. The specific medieval part of the documented field name inventory is, on the other hand, hard to determine. The issue of continuity of field names has been discussed thoroughly by Nordic place-name scholars (Hald 1948, 14 ff.; Lisse 1960, 96 ff.; Jørgensen 1984, 259 ff.; Harling-Kranck 1990, 11 ff.; Bandle 1996, 1456 ff.). Apparently there is a continuous exchange of field names, but it is still likely that in old villages there was a nucleus of medieval (or

older) field names which were preserved at least until the great redistributions of land holdings in the 18th century and onwards. It has been claimed that in Denmark certain field names in principle could date back to the Viking Age (Hald 1948, 28 ff.), but also that the majority of the Danish field names known from 16th- and 17th-century sources date from the late Middle Ages (Jørgensen 1984, 269). Normally there are no definitive chronological grounds for absolute or relative dating of a certain type of second element in compounded field names.

7. Nature names

The inventory of names of natural features (lakes, rivers, brooks, islands, mountains, forests, wetlands and so on) shows, just like the field names, a tendency towards continuous exchange and renewal. Smaller localities, whose names are known by fewer people, generally run a greater risk of changing their names. Therefore many natural feature names were established in the Middle Ages, even in the areas of old settlement. Moreover, the colonization of new land of course gave rise to new natural feature names. A strong general tendency was for (especially smaller) natural features to be named after a settlement (farm or village) at or near the locality. This may also have been the case when the settlement name itself was secondary to a name for the natural feature, resulting in names like *Gölsarydssjön* (< **Gylsioarydhssio(r)* 'the lake by the farm *Gylsioarydh*'), which earlier had been called **Gylsio(r)* 'the lake that is (small) like a mere'. Some individual natural feature names can be dated linguistically to the medieval period, for instance through the occurrence of Christian personal names or other Christian words in the first elements of compounded names. On the other hand it is hard to find specific medieval types of natural feature names. A probable case is the river names in Finland that have a personal designation as a first element and the second element *-a* 'river', e.g. *Sjundeå* from the male name *Sunde*, and *Helsingå* (from which later on *Helsingfors* and *Helsing* > *Helsinki*) from *helsing* 'person from the province of Hälsingland (in Sweden)' (Granlund 1956, 13 ff.; 33 ff.).

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109. Old Nordic types of texts I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian

1. Introduction
2. Poetry
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5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

This overview is concerned with all vernacular text types produced in Iceland and Norway between 1100 and 1350. In such a short article, simplifications and abridgements are necessary, even if textual transmission from Iceland and Norway is extremely heterogeneous as to the nature of the corpus and the age of our sources. Moreover, as can be said for medieval literary sources in general, Old West Nordic texts only present glimpses of the whole literary production of the period. When, in the title of this article, the Old Icelandic texts are given precedence before the texts from Norway, this ranking is in fact due to the far greater differentiation the Icelandic text types developed over the course of time compared to the ones originating in the Norwegian mother country. Although the bulk of Old Nordic texts can be classified by using the categories stated above, there are always some features and types that cannot be categorized so easily. On the one hand, we have types of texts derived from a long-standing oral tradition, but on the other hand, we also find texts drawing on insular and continental models which originated during a comparatively short period of time.

The oral precursors of Icelandic literature are actually to be looked for in Norway, as it was from there the settlers reached Iceland in the 9th c. The Christianization of Iceland in the 11th c., however, led to a process of acquiring literacy, which in Iceland proceeded very much faster into the life even of the uneducated illiterate population than was the case in comparable societies in other parts of Europe. Additionally, Icelandic monasteries were predominantly founded by the Orders of St. Augustine or St. Benedict which, with their fondness for theological and scientific knowledge, at the same time promoted vernacular literacy.

The process of becoming literate in Iceland and Norway was thus obviously connected with the new Christian faith. With clerical literacy, Latin script reached northwest Scandi-

navia mainly via the Anglo-Saxon area. Caused by and connected with late Christianization, the transmission of Icelandic and Norwegian texts started at a time when secular texts in southern Germania gradually freed themselves from their clerical embrace. Basically, the text types discussed here may be said to fall into the three main categories of poetry, saga literature and non-fictional prose, although this distinction is quite artificial sometimes.

2. Poetry

2.1. Eddaic poetry

2.1.1. Content

The term *Eddaic poetry* refers to a type of text characterized by features of metre, style and content which in turn are essentially found in the texts of the so-called Codex Regius. Early research bestowed the name *Edda* on this collection of texts by mistake. Until the 17th c., general opinion held that Snorri Sturluson's handbook of poetics, the *Snorra Edda*, was based on an older anthology. Its author was thought to be the Icelandic historiographer Sæmundr Sigfússon, called *inn fróði* 'the learned', 'the historian'. When – probably in 1643 – Brynjólfur Sveinsson (the bishop of Skálholt) came into possession of a manuscript containing a great number of poetic texts which shared stanzas with *Snorra Edda*, he believed this codex to be the supposed anthology of Sæmundr inn fróði. The codex was subsequently named *Sæmundar-Edda*. In 1663, the codex left Iceland and went to Denmark, where it was added to the Royal Collection under the signature GKS 2365,4. Although given back to Iceland in the 1970s, the codex is still known today as Codex Regius, and it is dated to the late 13th c. Besides Codex Regius, there is a second fragmentary manuscript AM 749 4to containing Eddaic poetry and dating from the early 14th c. Writing mistakes that are otherwise inexplicable and space management on the pages indicate that both manuscripts are based on a further lost source usually dated to the middle of the 13th c.

In Cod. Upsaliensis and in some younger manuscript fragments, Snorri Sturluson's handbook of poetics is named *Edda (bók þessi*

heitir Edda ‘this book is called Edda’). The exact meaning of *Edda* has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Among several suggestions are a connection to the farm Oddi (where Snorri spent a part of his life), and the interpretations of *Edda* as a pet name derived from OWN *edda* ‘great grandmother’, or as a derivation of *óðr* ‘enthusiasm’, ‘poetical inspiration’.

Although the surviving texts originate from the 13th c. only, the roots of Eddic poetry reach far back into the Viking Age. Unlike scaldic poetry, Eddaic poetry is anonymous and its themes are not taken from everyday life. Lines are usually drawn between mythological poetry, gnomic poetry and heroic poetry, and the way the poems are arranged in Codex Regius seems to support this categorization. The heroic poems are thematically related to continental Germanic literature, as they use stories and motifs that can be found e.g. in the MHG *Nibelungenlied*.

Outside Codex Regius, Eddaic stanzas can be found, as we have seen, in *Snorra-Edda*, in other collective manuscripts and even implemented in sagas. As *lausavísur*, stanzas featuring the same metrical forms and content, are transmitted in saga manuscripts from the 13th and 14th c., most of all in the *fornaldarsögur*, and they are usually termed *Eddica minora*. This term was coined by Andreas Heusler and Wilhelm Ranisch as a title for their first edition of the corpus. Moreover, excavations in Bergen between 1956 and 1967 led to the discovery of several objects incised with runes. A few of those texts use Eddaic metrical patterns and must be included in the corpus of Eddaic poetry as well.

2.1.2. Style

From the viewpoint of text typology, a sharp separation between Eddic and scaldic poetry is difficult to justify. The metrical patterns of Eddaic poetry, with alliterative verse as a prominent feature, are all derived from the Germanic long-line and are relatively simple compared to the ones found in scaldic poetry. Two of them are predominantly used in Eddaic poetry: *fornyrðislag* (with *málaháttir* as a variant) and *ljóðaháttir*. The long-line metre *fornyrðislag* is the metre of the epic Edda poems. A typical stanza contains four long-lines consisting of eight half-lines. The quatrain, however, is by no means the only regular form, as there are three-line, five-line and even six-line stanzas. Each long-line in turn is divided in two

by a heavy caesura, each half dominated by two strongly stressed alliterating syllables.

Ljóðaháttir traditionally has a peculiar style and word order. Traditionally the metre of gnomic poetry, teaching poetry and magic spells, it even appears in these functions in stanzas with other metres, cf. the mnemonic stanzas in *Grímnismál* and *Reginismál*. *Ljóðaháttir* is characterized by the alternation of a long-line and a so-called full verse. The full verse is often without caesura and has three stresses which may all alliterate with each other.

As to style, almost every Edda poem features exceptions to the “proper” metre. Generally, the style of Eddaic poetry can be characterized as plain and succinct. There are almost no tensions between the verses and syntax, as end-stopped lines are generally preferred to enjambement, of which there are only occasional examples. Variations in the lexicon are not very frequent. Although we occasionally find *kenningar* (poetical paraphrases typical for the scalds), they appear less frequently and not in the sophisticated form so rich in variants that is found in scaldic poetry.

2.2. Scaldic poetry

2.2.1. Content

OWN *skáld* (n.) means ‘poet’ and is possibly etymologically related to OHG *skeldan* ‘to scold’. Unknown to medieval sources, a dichotomy between Eddaic and scaldic poetry has been established mainly through peculiarities of the transmission process. Actually, there are no precise criteria on which to base the drawing of such a line of demarcation. Nevertheless, scaldic poetry is distinguished from Eddaic poetry because of formal features as well as content. Formally, scaldic poetry is characterized by peculiar verse forms, a more rigid awareness of syllables in the metre, a word order freer and more removed from prose than in Eddaic poetry, and a semantically veiling use of words, which is usually termed “scaldic diction”. Scaldic poetry is, unlike Eddaic poetry, concerned with themes related to the present.

There are two main groups of scaldic poetry: praise poetry and occasional poetry. In most cases, the praise poem is in praise of kings and princes, but it can also be composed in honour of friends. As to the level of complexity, there are two hierarchically distinguished forms: *drápa*, which is artfully constructed with a refrain, and *flokkr*, without a

refrain. *Drápa* developed early on as the preferred form to praise princes, but then came to be used even to convey Christian themes.

The term *occasional poetry* summarizes many different *lausavísur* ('loose poems'), which, describing an event related to a particular situation or reflecting on an event, pretend to be spontaneous, extempore poetry. In most cases, however, the stanzas were actually not composed by the historically known people to which they are ascribed, but are a later addition and therefore called spurious stanzas. Some fragments preserved by chance (runic inscriptions from Vinje, Urnes and Bergen) indicate that scaldic verse forms were used as late as the 14th c. in occasional poetry.

As the earliest scaldic poem, Snorri Sturluson names *Ragnarsdrápa*, a shield poem by Bragi Boddason the Elder, which was probably composed towards the end of the 9th c. Due to its rigid metre, scaldic poetry has been transmitted orally for centuries before it found its way into the manuscripts. There is no collection of scaldic poetry as we find in Codex Regius for Eddaic poetry. Most of the scaldic verses that have been handed down to us are found in saga prose. Only in the course of developing Christian scaldic poetry were scaldic stanzas written down for their own sake. Other important sources for scaldic stanzas are the scaldic handbooks *Háttalykill* by Jarl Rögnvald and the even weightier *Háttatal* by Snorri Sturluson. Not only do we learn about metrical terminology there, but we also find a number of examples of scaldic stanzas, of which we have no traces elsewhere. *Háttalykill* describes 41 kinds of scaldic stanzas, while Snorri presents 102. However, for some stanza forms it must be assumed that the differentiation is purely artificial, as there is no transmission of such stanzas outside the model poems.

2.2.2. Style

The most common metre of scaldic poetry is *dróttkvætt*, which is subject to extraordinarily sophisticated rules and predominates in about 80 per cent of all scaldic poems. Each of the eight lines in a stanza possesses six syllables, and every two lines are linked by alliteration to form pairs. The first line of each pair has two alliterating stresses (*stuðlar*), the second line one more alliterating "main" stress (*hofuð-stafr*) on the very first syllable. While half rhyme (*skothending*) is restricted to the first line and full rhyme (*aðalhending*) to the second line of a pair, assonance (*hending*) is

found throughout the stanza. A thematical caesura divides the eight-line stanza into two half-stanzas (*helmingr*).

A semantically veiling use of language, i. e. conscious obscuring by means of metaphor or imagery, is characteristic of scaldic poetry. The replacing word is called *heiti*, and the whole composition consisting of several elements is called *kenning*. *Kenningar* are also known from Old English literature, e. g. from Beowulf, but not in forms as elaborate as the ones found in Old Nordic. Most *kenningar* are dependent on two elements, but there can also be more. Exceptionally, as many as six elements can be found.

The *kenning* is a stylistic form that appeals to knowledge and reason, which might explain why so many names and terms from Nordic mythology are used. Discovering the meaning behind the veiling language procures intellectual satisfaction and is, even in saga literature, frequently used as an element of the plot. Praise poems tend to a particularly rich use of *kenningar*. When the Christian scaldic poems (e. g. *Plácítusdrápa* or *Geisli*) merged with the praise poem tradition, the metrical patterns did not change, but *kenningar* referring to names and terms of heathen mythology were often replaced or avoided, although they did not disappear completely.

3. Saga literature

3.1. Content

Even in medieval manuscripts, the term *saga* is used for a range of very different prose texts. The noun *saga* is derived from the verb *segja* 'to say', 'to speak', 'to tell' and properly means 'tale', 'report'. Even in modern Icelandic, the word is generally used to denote any prose text, no matter whether it is long or short, old or new, fictional or non-fictional. In a narrower sense, *saga* denotes the medieval prose texts that will be discussed here.

Unlike the Continent, the high medieval North did not produce long verse epics. Instead, the study of historiographic and hagiographic texts in foreign languages led to the origin of an extensive body of prose literature, of which some texts must be deemed extraordinary. Texts belonging to saga literature are often precursors of the modern novel in their way of thinking, their psychology and their highly developed narrative technique. Saga literature is prose which is clearly distinguished from other types of texts by form and style.

How a text type so exceptional compared with Insular and Continental literature could develop has been the object of study since the beginning of research, but even today, the question is far from being answered.

Typologizing the sagas as a group is not without difficulties, as there is hardly any criterion which can be found in all texts. Traditionally, the sagas have been classified according to subject matter into five groups: kings' sagas (*konungasögur*), Icelandic family sagas (*Íslendingasögur*), mythic-heroic sagas (*fornaldarsögur*), *Sturlunga saga* and bishops' sagas (*byskupa sögur*). Schier (1970) counts these five groups among saga literature in the narrower sense of the word ("Sagaliteratur im engeren Sinne"). Looking for saga literature taken in a wider sense, four more groups can be found: knights' sagas (*riddarasögur*), fairy-tale sagas (*Märchensagas*), legends and translations of historical or pseudo-historical works. In a wider sense, saga literature thus consists of a number of texts which early research classified as translated and not genuinely Scandinavian, as these texts were obviously derived from foreign models. We have to consider, however, that a medieval translator saw himself more like an equally legitimate editor and author than like a modern translator copying his model as accurately as possible. As a result, a number of texts deviate so considerably from their models that more recent research has led to the decision to add them to the corpus of saga literature.

Researchers have felt uncomfortable with the rather crude and imprecise categorization of sagas according to content for quite a long time. Nordal (1953) therefore proposed a classification which was different from the canonical categorization when he grouped the texts according to the time at which their plot is set. His aim was not to suspend the traditional categories but to create units of a higher order under the aspect of historical veracity. By estimating the time span between the time a given saga was composed and the period in which its events purported to take place, Nordal believed he was able to detect "factors of falsification" more accurately. His three categories are:

- (1) contemporary sagas (*samtidssagaer*), describing events in the time range of composition,
- (2) sagas of olden times (*fortidssagaer*), set in the years from 850 A.D. to 1100, and
- (3) ancient sagas (*oldtidssagaer*), set in the time before the settlers came to Iceland.

The problem of categorization has been subject to discussion ever since and is far from reaching a satisfactory solution. Current research tries to move away from the earlier idea of chronological decoding, as the preserved texts usually cannot be used to establish an accurate chronology. The bulk of texts is transmitted fragmentarily, in many cases only in paper manuscripts which are very much younger. The so-called Icelandic school mainly subscribed to one line of research, aiming to establish the chronology and typological history of saga literature by unravelling the complex manuscript stemmata and textual dependencies between texts and text groups. In the past few decades, several datings of individual sagas have been revised, however without a coherent view of the whole body of texts emerging.

For a long time, the debate on the origin of the sagas was dominated by subscribers to two theories: free-prose theory and book-prose theory. According to free-prose theory, the texts have existed in their oral form for centuries and were transmitted orally with only minor alterations before being written down on parchment. Book-prose theory, on the other hand, claims that the texts were produced only at the time of writing down. Since the second half of the 20th c., the general opinion has been crystallizing that it is probably not a question of one or the other, but more likely a complex process in which the seemingly opposite poles of free-prose theory and book-prose theory are joined.

3.2. Style

Earlier research believed it was possible to describe a typical saga style, which in some research works was called "objective". This term soon proved not to be accurate enough. More recent investigations have shown that the pinning-down of the texts' style to a classical variant is only a projection of modern ideas back on older texts. Several intensive studies of individual texts prove that each saga is stylistically so independent that it often transgresses the narrowly defined borders of a postulated uniform saga style.

3.3. Icelandic family sagas

3.3.1. Content

The term "Icelandic family sagas" is used for a corpus of approximately 35 to 40 prose tales, which are distinguished from other sagas

because of their content and style. Icelandic family sagas tell about Icelanders, and their plot is set mainly in Iceland, although they frequently start off in Norway and the protagonists sometimes undertake long journeys into non-European countries. Normally, the plot is set in so-called saga time (*söguöld*, ca. 930–1030 A.D.), but this time span is managed differently in each saga, also depending on its length. In the individual sagas, the antecedents and aftermath of the plot can even extend beyond the time of settlement and the end of the Viking Age. Thus the category “Icelandic family sagas” extends without clear demarcation towards *Sturlunga saga* and the shorter *þættir*, which both narrate events of a later period, as well as towards the kings’ sagas or the *fornaldarsögur*, which describe earlier history.

Thematically, all Icelandic family sagas share a focus on feuds and blood-letting with their legal and social disputes and implications. Most Icelandic family sagas are oriented along the biography of an individual, on whom the narration focuses. Subgroups of this kind of saga are e.g. the scald sagas (*Kormáks saga*, *Hallfreðar saga*, *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*, *Bjarnar saga hitdælakappa*), which focus on the life of individual scalds, or outlaw stories (*Gisla saga*, *Grettis saga Asmundarsonar*), which put an outlaw at the centre. Other sagas do not focus on individual characters but deal with groups which often lend their name to the saga (*Eyrbyggja saga*, *Laxdæla saga*, *Ljósvetninga saga*). However, even sagas naming only one person in their title can have a collective nature (*Hænsa-Þóris saga*, *Njáls saga*). The length of these texts spans from 25 printed pages (*Hrafnkels saga*, *Hænsa-Þóris saga*) up to several hundred pages (*Njáls saga*).

The sagas vary structurally. Some of them narrate along a linear chronology, while others present several strings of the plot in parallel and jump back and forth between them.

3.3.2. Style

There is still no comprehensive analysis of style in the Icelandic family sagas. Individual, frequently repeated elements are the “objective” style, the succinct, direct and laconic mode of narration, which moreover often is humorous in nature. The “objective” style is achieved by using a number of features. The narrator pretends to be objective by usually not commenting on the events but reporting what is visible on the outside. Moreover, the

sagas pretend to pass on an oral tradition and ask their audience to receive the story and the reports as historical facts. Tense shift occurs without recognizable coherent motivation, and the texts sometimes present a movie-like perspective of suspense, which is not determining in itself. Dialogue occurs frequently, sometimes leading up to perfect dramaturgy, because it takes on important functions in the characterization of people. As the narrator does not comment on the feelings of the characters, direct speech is even more informative and the texts switch from indirect to direct speech without introducing pronouns or verbs, often with anacoluthic syntax.

All these stylistic devices also occur in other types of prose, but not equally often. The Icelandic family sagas, however, lack the decorative figures of style taught through Latin rhetoric and school grammars, as for example tropes, which appear frequently in other text types. The *lausavísur* used in the Icelandic family sagas are not presented as evidence for the saga narrator’s trustworthiness, as is the case in the kings’ sagas, but are instead ornamental, besides serving to individualize the characters and to enhance the suspense by slowing the pace of the narrative.

The influences of medieval classical education are visible even in the Icelandic sagas, but elements e.g. from patristic literature are disguised so skilfully that they can hardly be discovered. Flosi’s dream in *Njáls saga*, for example, is taken from the *Dialogues of Gregory the Great*.

3.4. Kings’ sagas

3.4.1. Content

The kings’ sagas form one of the oldest groups of saga literature. Their origin, however, is obscure. A large group of different and heterogeneous texts belong to this type of saga. Taken in a narrow sense, the corpus is made up of texts using the form and narrative structure of a saga, and describing the lives of Scandinavian kings or earls (*jarlar*), e.g. *Sverris saga* or *Ólafs saga helga*. Taken in a wider sense, even other text types with a chronical style belong to the corpus, e.g. *Ágrip af Noregs konunga sögum*, *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók*.

Most of the kings’ sagas were composed in Iceland by Icelanders. Similarly to scaldic poetry, the writing of such sagas developed to become a domain of the Icelanders. While the

authors of all Icelandic family sagas without exception remain anonymous, the authors of many kings' sagas are known.

Reaching even far back into an era of mythical origin, the kings' sagas thematize all epochs of Scandinavian history. Concerning their content, they are not restricted to Iceland and Norway, as is shown e.g. by *Ynglinga saga*, *Færeyinga saga*, *Orkneyinga saga* or *Knýtlinga saga*.

In the kings' sagas, numerous scaldic stanzas can be found, which are meant to emphasize the veracity of the story. Formally, two types of kings' sagas can be distinguished: first, a *vita*-type describing the life of an individual person; second, a type more like a description of a people's or nation's history.

The manuscript tradition of the kings' sagas is very rich and rather complex, since collective manuscripts and compilations often present revised older sagas.

3.5. Mythic-heroic sagas (*fornaldarsögur*)

In 1830, the Dane Carl Christian Rafn edited a collection of sagas under the title *Fornaldar sögur Norðrlanda*. Since then, the term *fornaldarsögur* has become established for the group of approximately 30 sagas from this collection, although some revisions of the original corpus have been made.

However, there are no features of content or plot or motives on which to base this category. A sub-categorization of the sagas published in the collection, too, can only be achieved if one is willing to accept inconsistencies. Usually, the lines are drawn between heroic sagas (*Völsunga saga*, *Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, *Norna-Gests þátr*, *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs*, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, *Ásmundar saga kappabana*), sagas of the Vikings (*Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*, *Qrvar-Odds saga*, *Friðþjófs saga frækna*, *Heðins saga ok Hognar*) and adventure sagas (*Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, *Egils saga einhenda*, *Bósa saga ok Herrauðs*, *Gautreks saga*). While the heroic sagas are set in a period before the proper Viking Age, the sagas of the Vikings develop their plot in the early Viking Age and partly narrate episodes similar to the ones found in the oldest kings' sagas and the oldest Icelandic family sagas. The adventure sagas on the other hand have no relation to a particular period in time, as they are based on very different models and use different motives. In any case, the chronology of the written texts approximates this division into categories: heroic sagas

were written down first, followed by sagas of the Vikings and finally by adventure sagas. Interestingly, *fornaldarsögur* are never set in Iceland, but in most cases in other parts of Scandinavia or in a vaguely remote half-mythological world. Hyperbolic or almost fairytale-like features are typical of the *fornaldarsögur*.

A small number of *fornaldarsögur* deal with themes of ancient Germanic heroic poetry. Hildibrand's death song, transmitted in *Ásmundar saga kappabana*, has thus been used to reconstruct the ending of the fragmentary Old High German *Hildebrandslied*.

3.6. Legendary sagas

The oldest manuscripts presenting narratives from Iceland and Norway are hagiographical texts. They focus on the life of a saint and depend on the Continental tradition of legend writing. The oldest Scandinavian legends date from the middle of the 12th c. Although their Latin model can rarely be established, it is very evident that all of them are translations from Latin. Two groups differing in style can be distinguished. Up to the middle of the 13th c., the style is obviously Latin-oriented, but still there are stylistic elements corresponding to the classical saga style. This is telling for the development of later saga texts out of this type. Towards the end of the 13th c., few new texts were translated into Old West Nordic, but instead, the existing legendary texts were enlarged and revised. Their style then changed considerably. Featuring a frequent use of adjectives and compounds, a tendency to use parallel structures and alliteration as well as a preference for participial constructions, this style is usually termed "florid" or "florissant".

The *postola sögur* are a subgroup of the legendary sagas. Dependent on Latin models, there is one for each Apostle.

3.7. Contemporary sagas

Sturlunga saga and the bishops' sagas together form the group of contemporary sagas. *Sturlunga saga* is a compilation of very different individual sagas. The compilation covers the historical period from 1117 till 1264, when the descendants of Sturla Þórðarson were cultural and political leaders in Iceland, and it was most likely made by the lawyer Þórðr Narfa-son (died 1308), but there is only indirect evidence for his authorship. *Sturlunga saga* is transmitted in two manuscripts from the 14th c. The bishops' sagas, on the other hand, focus on the lives of some bishops in the 12th to

the 14th c. and are on the border between historiography and hagiography.

As regards content, while connections to the bishops' sagas can be established, the texts in *Sturlunga saga* differ considerably from them in form and style. Some of them, however, approach the perfect art of the Icelandic family sagas in their dramaturgical structure, in the succinctness of their dialogues and in their precise characterizations.

3.8. Sagas of the knights (*riddarasögur*)

In the 13th c., courtly verse narratives from the French and Anglo-Norman areas were translated and revised in Norway. Most of them, however, are only transmitted in Icelandic manuscripts dating from after the Middle Ages. These texts are called *translated riddarasögur* 'sagas of the knights', to distinguish them from the indigenous Icelandic sagas of the knights produced from the turn of the 14th c. onwards, which are not relevant for the period discussed here.

The impulse to translate Continental texts came from the Norwegian King Hákon Hákonarson (1217–1263). The courtly style of the texts is far more decorated with rhetorical figures than the style of the Icelandic family sagas. Antithesis, parallelism and alliteration are frequently found, as well as the participial constructions which the "learned style" of hagiographic literature inherited from Latin.

A subgroup of the translated sagas of the knights are sagas translated from Latin models which are concerned with matters from classical antiquity. Examples of such texts are *Trójumanna saga* or *Alexanders saga*. The fact that the Latin models of those sagas are very different in style is barely visible in the Nordic versions, which are written in classical saga style.

3.9. Þættir

Like *saga*, *þáttur* ('string of a rope', pl. *þættir*) is a term already found in the manuscripts. On the one hand, it denotes a paragraph with a particular theme inside a longer narrative, i. e. story within the story. Most such *þættir* appear in the kings' sagas and correspond to the surrounding texts in style. On the other hand, the same term is used to denote an individual, shorter narrative. A definition is difficult, since in Old Nordic literature the use of the terms *saga* and *þáttur* is not consistent, even for the same text. Observed more closely, such *þættir* can actually only be distinguished from sagas by the fact that they are shorter.

4. Non-fictional prose

4.1. Glosses

While there are thousands of glosses known from the Continent, we only find traces of this tradition in Iceland and Norway, which nevertheless show that glossography had developed to a comparatively high level in a short period of time. The oldest glosses in the Old Icelandic *Homiliubók* provide evidence of a long preceding period during which Latin texts were studied. In computational manuscripts, we find fragments of glossaries with lexical units relating to very different areas of life. Their form and function is certainly dependent on Continental models but is otherwise difficult to determine, as there are so few of them.

4.2. Legal texts

Legal texts belong to the earliest testimonies of literary transmission in Iceland and Norway. Contrary to the situation on the Continent, laws were never written down in Latin in the Old West Nordic area. The codification of legal regulations had been an oral process for a long time when the new culture of literacy mediated by the Church led to their being written. Mnemonic and judicial verse are still clearly visible in the written law codes. At the annual allthing, the law speaker (*lögsgumaðr*) had to recite a third of the law, so that at the end of his three-year term of office, the whole body of law had been recited once.

In the early 12th c., the writing down of the free state's laws started in Iceland. All the laws originating before the end of the free state period are together called *Grágás*. The oldest Icelandic church laws are the tithe laws from 1096/97 (*Um tíundargjald*). They are documented in connection with the oldest church law (*Kristinna laga þáttur*, 1122–33) and are also part of the *Grágás*. According to Ari Þorgilsson, the oldest secular laws were written down only in the winter of 1117/18. It is quite difficult to distinguish the older secular laws from the younger laws transmitted in the *Grágás*, the most important manuscripts of which date from the second half of the 13th c. The *Grágás* is transmitted in two codices: *Konungsbók* (GKS 1157, fol. ca. 1260) and *Staðarhólsbók* (ca. 1280). In *Konungsbók* the winter of 1117/1118 is mentioned as the date when *Haflíðaskrá* ('parchment of Haflíði Másson, a wealthy farmer from Breiðabólstaðr in Vesturhóp) was written down. Probably the body of laws in Iceland started to be written as early

as the end of the 11th c., due to the narrow cultural contacts with Norway. Stylistically, the *Grágás* lacks the rhetorical devices found in mainland Scandinavia.

In medieval Norway there were four jurisdictional districts (þing-districts), each of which started to write down its collection of laws as early as the 11th c. (*Gulaþingslag*, *Frostuþingslag*, *Eiðsiváþingslag* and *Borgarþingslag*). These early district laws have, however, been preserved only in later copies and partly only in fragments. Covering the south-western district, the *Gulaþingsbók* was transmitted orally in the 9th and 10th c., before the text was written down in sections probably from the second half of the 11th c. onwards. All in all, there are only three editions of it. The oldest edition I exists only fragmentarily in three excerpts of a manuscript dating from the late 12th c. The oldest coherent text is transmitted in Codex Rantzovianus (around 1250). There, edition I is attributed to Saint Olaf, which might, however, just be an attribution to a ruler following medieval tradition, since even the feast of Saint Olaf himself is among the Christian holidays fixed by the author. Nevertheless, edition I has come to be known as Olaf's edition. In the times of King Magnus Erlingsson (1162–1184), innovations were most of all made in the church law, so that one can then speak of edition II or the edition of Magnus. Around 1200, the editions of Olaf and Magnus were compiled, and this compilation has then become known as edition III.

4.3. Historiographical texts

As described above, historiographical writing cannot easily be distinguished from saga literature. We have almost chronicle-like historiographical texts such as *Ágrip*, *Morkin-skinna* and *Fagrskinna*, but also *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók*, which can only be added to saga literature with some reservations. On the other side, the kings' sagas and bishops' sagas, the *Sturlunga saga* as well as the legends only come to life because of their historiographical interest. Historiography developed in the 12th c. first in Latin, but the shift to the vernacular occurred comparatively early. The prosimetre, a mix of prose and verse, was taken up from ancient historiographers (Sallust).

Íslendingabók (*Libellus Islandorum*) by Ari Þorgilsson is the first Icelandic book. It is derived from a lost version which was probably written down in the first quarter of the

12th c. The manuscript we have is possibly an abridged edition of the first version, although the differences cannot be established accurately. In this second edition, Ari Þorgilsson left out genealogical passages and historiographical descriptions of kings. *Íslendingabók* offers a comprehensive overview over the history of Iceland from the time of settlement (from 870 A. D.) up to the end of the free state era (1264). With Ari's *Íslendingabók*, historiography in the vernacular became established, while the rest of Europe still wrote in Latin. Thus the conditions which enabled a rich development both of scientific and fictional prose in the vernacular were created. Without the cutting of the cultural ties to Norway which let memory-consciousness arise, the rich literary production in Iceland would not have become possible.

4.4. Cosmographical texts

Vernacular cosmography is clearly more developed in Iceland and Norway than on the Continent. Although the first preserved texts date from as late as the 12th c. and most other manuscripts originate from the 14th c. only, all cosmographical genres are present: astronomy texts and pictures of the spheres, *mappaemundi*, chorographies, itineraries as well as geographic and ethnographic treatises.

Normally, cosmographical texts are found loosely bound together into compilation manuscripts, and only occasionally do such collections assume the status of a coherent text, e.g. the Old Norwegian *Konungskuggsjá*. The bulk of scientific OWN cosmographical texts consists of editions of Latin works from the British Isles and the Continent. During the 12th c. and until the beginning of the 13th c., Icelandic and Norwegian scientific writing was very much up-to-date as to current topics in Continental European thinking. Works by authors such as Honorius of Autun, Lambert of St. Omer, William of Conches, John of Sacrobosco and Vincent of Beauvais were received with no or only a little delay. Over the course of the 13th and 14th c., almost no new sources were used, yet many old texts were revised. Beginning in the 13th c., a shift from the reception of Latin scientific literature towards the writing of original vernacular texts can be observed.

The geographic and ethnographic descriptions of Greenland and the Atlantic coast of North America are unique within the entire body of medieval European cosmographic work.

4.5. Grammatical and rhetorical writings

In the Codex Wormianus edition of *Snorra Edda*, we find four so-called grammatical treatises. The first two of those are very exceptional within European literature, as they give a surprisingly accurate overview over Old Nordic phonology. In the *First Grammatical Treatise*, the anonymous author is concerned with the question how to codify a language orthographically by means of a foreign alphabet. In addition, he works out a system of signs, which – although not used systematically in any text that has come down to us – still is very informative as to the contemporary phonological situation, because it presents phonemes in a structuralist manner by listing minimal pairs. The *Second Grammatical Treatise*, too, is a pioneering work from the viewpoint of a structuralist, as it deals with the distribution of the phonemes, syllable structure and the criteria for rhyming syllables. In the Cod. Upsaliensis edition of *Snorra Edda*, the *Second Grammatical Treatise* is placed just before *Háttatal*, showing that the compiler evidently deemed knowledge of syllable structure to be a useful basis for the art of rhyming.

The *Third* and *Fourth Grammatical Treatise* are derived from Latin grammars and rhetorics by authors such as Donatus Aelius, Priscian of Caesarea, Petrus Helias, Alexander of Villedieu and Eberhart of Béthune. Latin terminology is taken up and illustrated with Icelandic examples. The *Third Grammatical Treatise* is the only one for which we know the author. It was written around 1250 by Snorri's nephew Óláfr Þórðarson.

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110. Old Nordic types of texts II: Old Swedish and Old Danish

1. Provincial laws and early national laws
2. Diplomas and statutes
3. Medical writing
4. History texts
5. Educational writing
6. Fiction
7. Religious texts
8. Literature (a selection)

In the early Middle Ages, most of the texts written in Latin characters were in the Latin language, but during the 13th century these characters started to be used for vernacular texts as well. The texts were initially mostly written on parchment, but as time went on paper became more and more common, and parchment was only used for particularly important texts. The texts are mostly known only in fairly late copies; the exact year or even decade of the original is impossible to establish with any certainty (cf. art. 93). Subsequently, the names of the writers are unknown in many cases. In any case, whoever the writers were, they must be regarded more as compilers or translators than as original authors. Even though they are unknown, it is obvious that their background was academic and that many of them had been studying at universities in Italy, France or Germany. They belong to a European writing community, their writing is part of a European tradition, and no text type is particularly Scandinavian. Their work is distinguished by certain text structure patterns, even involving the use of sentences with a prototypical wording. In all such cases, the patterns used were taken over from corresponding text types in other parts of Europe.

In the Middle Ages, access to writing defined an educated middle class, chiefly connected with administration, commerce and the church. Outside the clergy, writing was not really a characteristic of the upper classes, although they recognised its role in organising society. It was not regarded a chivalrous activity, although writing was encouraged, but it was considered a handicraft to be performed by clerks. The peasant population was to a large extent illiterate, slaves and farmhands completely so. Medieval Nordic culture was thus predominantly oral, and the texts produced were designed to function in oral communication and to be read aloud. This was of course necessary when the receiver could not read and had to rely on others to interpret the text, which was quite a common situation

even in the higher classes of society. Even when the receiver could read the text, he read it aloud to himself and did not take it in just by looking at it (cf. Lindell 1994).

During the early Middle Ages, until the middle of the 14th century, the number of people participating in writing and reading activities was particularly limited, and the range of genres was very narrow. Judicial texts constitute the largest and most diversified text type. Most of the judicial texts are provincial laws, and the development of national laws was initiated during this period. Beside the laws, there are some other judicial texts, statutes and diplomas, although they primarily belong to later periods. Medical texts constitute an old text type with its roots in classical times. The ODen. and OSw. texts go back to the 13th century.

The text types mentioned constitute the largest part of the early medieval text universe in Scandinavia. Texts with historical and religious content as well as fiction and texts with a pure educational aim started to appear during the early part of the Middle Ages but flourished during later periods (cf. art. 131). These texts are rather divergent as far as text structure features are concerned, and texts with historical content may in this respect be regarded as belonging to different text types. The same may be said of the texts with religious content. At the same time it could rightly be argued that historical and religious texts can be educational and entertaining as well. As a matter of practicality, historical and religious texts are treated in specific sections of this article due to their content, and texts with principally educational or entertainment goals are treated in other sections.

The translations into English of the Old Danish and Old Swedish text extracts are intended to mirror the basic textual and syntactical characteristics of the texts. This means that the word order of the original text is retained in many cases instead of rendering an idiomatic English translation.

1. Provincial laws and early national laws

Latin characters were used early on in provincial laws, which contained written documentation of the social norms of a particular

province. The law was administered by the lawman, who read it out aloud at court sessions, the *ting*. He, and not the written law, was the legal authority, and written documentation was first produced for the benefit of the lawman's memory and as a way of handing down the law to new generations of lawmen.

1.1. The law texts

In Denmark, written documentation of the laws started in about 1200. The *Scanian law*, which applied to the eastern Danish provinces, i. e. Scania, Blekinge, and Halland, was written down at the end of the 12th century or perhaps at the beginning of the 13th century. The oldest existing manuscripts are from the 13th century. The *Jutland law*, which operated in Jutland, Funen, and some adjoining small islands, is known from manuscripts from the beginning of the 14th century. The *Zealand law* was in force in Zealand and adjoining islands. It is represented in two main editions, Valdemar's law and Erik's law. Valdemar's law is supposed to be the oldest, represented in three editions, two of which are known only as fragments.

The Swedish provincial laws are sometimes divided into a southern group, called Göta laws, and a northern group, called Svea laws. This is not just a grouping based on geographical circumstances. The laws within one group to some extent display similarities in content and language which is divergent from the laws of the other group.

The southern group consists primarily of the laws of Västergötland and Östergötland. The *Västergötland law* applied to Västergötland and Dalsland, and the north-west corner of Småland. It seems to be the first law that was written down. The oldest complete manuscript is dated to about 1280, but it is believed to represent an edition made by lawman Eskil Magnusson, who was lawman in Västergötland in 1217–1227. It was followed somewhat later by a new edition, the *younger Västergötland law*. The *Östergötland law* was in force in Östergötland, in the coastal area of Småland and on the island of Öland. It is known from a manuscript from the middle of the 14th century, believed to be a copy of a version dating back to the later half of the 13th century, compiled by the lawman Bengt Magnusson possibly on the pattern of the *Västergötland law*. The remaining parts of Småland fell under the *Småland law*, and the province of Värmland under the *Värmland*

law. These two laws are preserved only as fragments.

As far as the northern laws are concerned, the *Dalecarlia law* is supposed to be the oldest, possibly written down at the middle of the 13th century, and its oldest existing manuscript is from the 14th century. It is generally believed to represent very ancient norms, and the language used is somewhat archaic even in comparison with other medieval laws. The *Uppland law* was authorized by the Swedish king Birger Magnusson in a letter dated January 2nd, 1296. Other northern laws are the *Hälsingland law*, the *Västmanland law*, and the *Södermanland law*. No copies remain of the *Närke law*.

On the island of Gotland, the Guta law was in force until 1595. It was written in the old Gutnish dialect, supposedly at the beginning of the 13th century, and it is known from a manuscript from the middle of the 14th century.

In the 13th and 14th c. jurisdiction started to become national, and at the same time the written text in itself became more important. It was no longer just a documentation of the law, it *was* the law. The importance of the written law may be seen from the existence of "bag binding", where the cover of the law book is shaped like a bag, which made it possible e. g. for officials to carry the book with them on their journeys.

In Denmark, the *Jutland law* was authorized by the Danish king Valdemar Sejr in 1241, and eventually it came into force in all the Danish provinces. In Sweden, a national law, *Magnus Erikssons landslag*, was compiled, based on provincial laws and on statutes issued by the king during the 1330s and 1340s. Work on this law was probably brought to an end at the beginning of the 1350s, and it came into force in the Swedish provinces during the latter half of the 14th century. A number of manuscripts are extant from this period.

1.2. Content

Many of the norms documented in the laws had been passed on orally for centuries before being written down, as may be seen e. g. from a prescription in the *Västergötland law*: "ingsins mans arf takær han, mæn i Girklandi sitær" [he will not be the heir of any man as long as he sits in Greece]. This was for obvious reasons an important regulation in the Viking Age, but hardly so in the 13th century. Many other norms are quite modern from a medieval

point of view, and so the laws present different chronological content.

The laws contain regulations concerning weddings, inheritance, theft, injuries and murder. Some regulations concern court proceedings, e.g. specifying the number of men in the jury, and there are regulations concerning what the sentence should be, how a death penalty should be executed, or the amount of the fees of fines that had to be paid and who should receive them. Church matters were regulated in specific law chapters, or sometimes in statutes or in independent law books, and specific city laws were instituted for the developing cities in the later medieval period.

1.3. Text structure

In the laws, the text structure is rather stereotypical and text-type specific. Legal prescriptions are typically divided into two parts, one representing an event and stating the case, and another stating a regulation and specifying what should be done, e.g. what fine a sentenced person had to pay.

Even though a few legal prescriptions had only a regulatory role, e.g. from the *Västergötland law* “sun ær faþurs arvi” [the son is the heir of his father], the most salient genre characteristic of the Danish and Swedish laws is the division of the prescriptions into two parts. The following starts with a representative event, stating the case:

Ganger maþer fra kunu sinne laghgifte ok fæste sik aþra kunu laghlika ok hæfþa, mæþan hin liuer, sum han før meþ laghum hafþe fangit, varþer þæt skælleka leet. mæþ vppinbarum vitnum ok kirkionna ræt in til hans [...] (*Magnus Erikssons landslag*)

[Leaves a man his lawfully married wife and marries another woman and has intercourse with her while the other is still alive, the one he was married to before, and is it legally proved with eyewitnesses and according to church justice.]

After that a regulation follows, stating what is to be done:

[...] hauri forgiort liue sino; ok kona samuleþ æn hon gør þæt; han skal hals hugga ok hona stænka. [he has forfeited his life, and the same applies to a woman if she does it, him one shall decapitate and stone her].

In the first part, sentences with inverted word order starting with the verb are often used, and sentences with an initial conditional subordinating conjunction are far more infrequent. These two possibilities may be exem-

plified by: (1) “dræpar maþær danskan man” [kills one man a Danish man] (the *Västergötland law*) and (2) “of man giuær annæn thiwfs sak” [if a man accuses another of theft] (the *Jutland law*). The latter alternative with a conjunction is used in more prescriptions in the Danish laws and the southern Swedish laws, except for the *Västergötland law*, than in the northern Swedish laws, where the alternative with inverted word order is dominant. Other types of clause may also be used, although infrequently, such as a generic relative clause: *hwar sum dræper man* [(s)he who kills a man] (the *Dalecarlian law*), or a temporal clause: “siþan bonde haur fangit þiuui sinum matban i hæraþæ” [after the man has had his thief sentenced to be expelled from the social community of the district] (the *Scanian law*).

The action of a case statement is often fairly concrete while the actors are treated in rather general terms, which gives the text a fairly impersonal quality. An offender is generally known only as such, e.g. “særir nokir man annan man j howit” [injures some man another man in the head] (the *Zealand law*). Sometimes the actor is specified as to sex and social status, e.g. “dræpar kona man” [kills a woman a man] (the *Västergötland law*), “þræl dræpar man ættæþæn” [a thrall kills a free man] (the *Västergötland law*). Sometimes animals are involved, e.g. “nu bitær hæstær skiut” [now bites a horse a mare] (the *Östergötland law*), “nu stangar þiur oxa” [now butts a bull an ox] (the *Östergötland law*). The case statements supplied exemplars, and it fell to the lawman to decide which prescription was valid for a certain case presented in court.

The regulatory part of the prescription specified what actions should be taken in a specific case, e.g. “hængin wþ han” [hang up him] (the *Dalecarlian law*). It often started with a connective *þa* [then], e.g. “þa a at bõdas fulla manbõdir fare” [then shall be paid a full fine for manslaughter for that] (the *Zealand law*), “þa a hun j bali brinna” [then shall she at the stake burn] (the *Östergötland law*). The prescription could be restricted to stating what something was called, e.g. “hete þe konæ laghtakin” [is called that woman “taken by law”] (the *Uppland law*), “þæt ær fuldær þiufnaþær” [that is full theft] (the *Östergötland law*), and it was part of the knowledge of the people to recognize what actions should be taken in such cases. The verdict could also be a dismissal, e.g. “wæri saklõs” [be guiltless] (the *Uppland law*).

The different prescriptions were distributed over various topics, each containing prescriptions for e.g. inheritance, marriage, theft or manslaughter. This distribution is not explicit in the Danish laws, but in the Swedish tradition, these topics, called *balkar*, are specifically marked. The *Guta law* agrees in this respect with the Danish ones.

The texts are divided into chapters, containing prescriptions with closely related contents, e.g. giving the regulations concerning a specific kind of manslaughter, as in the following excerpt from the Jutland law.

Wil man hoggæ annæn a hæst. oc mistær man oc hoggær hæst. tha bötæs for thæt saar thær hæstæn fæk thre mark. swo sum han hivggæ mannæn. oc thæn hæst thær han hioo takær han til siin hæfth. oc gør hanum swo gooth sum han war fyrræ æn han wrth hoggæn. æn wrthær hæstæn døøth æth liwt. gialdæ hæstæn æfter. swo sum han waar wird fyrræ æn han wrth hoggæn. oc bötæ thre mark.

[If one man wants to hit another man on horseback, and he misses the man and hits the horse, then a fee of three marks shall be paid for the wound that the horse got, as if he had hit the man. And the horse he hit, he shall take into his care and make it equally good as it was before it was hit. But if the horse is dead or lame, he must pay back the value of the horse as it was worth before it was killed, and shall be payed with three marks.]

The text structure of the laws found in the medieval Danish and Swedish legal documents is a characteristic of all Germanic legislation, not just Scandinavian but German and Anglo-Saxon as well. It is reasonable to describe it as a common Germanic law text culture. This tradition lived on until modern times and also characterises the legislative texts of today.

1.4. Specific language features

The texts are characterized by a number of terms referring to activities in medieval rural society, e.g. buying and selling, gifts, marriage, court sessions, guilt and punishment, testifying. Many terms refer to the professions and daily life of middle-class citizens. In the law texts, a number of central Scandinavian legal terms that previously had existed only in oral tradition are established in writing, as well as terms within a number of other areas (cf. art. 40).

The different chronological layers of content reflect the language as well. The language of the laws uses forms and structures that are

lost in later language. Nouns, especially in the older Swedish laws, are used without a definite article, even in definite positions: “Takær maþær þiuf sin ok þiuft mæþ, bindi þiuf a bak” [Takes a man his burglar and (the) theft too, he bind (the) burglar on (the) back] (the *Västergötland law*). Verb complements are often placed in front of the infinite verb, as in “han skal ikki arvi hans væræ” [he shall not his heir be] (the *Västergötland law*), “nu skal bondin til þingxs fara” [now shall the man to the court go] (the *Östergötland law*). This is more common in the Swedish laws than in the Danish laws, where the complement more often is placed after the verb, which may be regarded as a more modern word order.

Since a part of a sentence, particularly the subject, is commonly omitted, the interpretation depends on cultural knowledge, which determines e.g. who, according to the social norms, is expected to do what, as in “nu stan-gar þiur oxa gialde fullum gialdum” [now butts a bull an ox, pay it back with full payment] (the *Östergötland law*), “dræpar kona man, þa skal mælæ a man þen skyldæstæ” [kills a woman a man, then shall bring an action against the man closest related] (the *Västergötland law*).

The conjunctive mode of the verb is common in the prescriptive part of a regulation. For the most part it is used in a few verbs connected with the legal context, such as *dömi* ‘sentence (somebody)’, *böti* ‘pay a fine’, *dyli* ‘declare or prove oneself not guilty’. In other cases, a phrase containing a modal auxiliary is used, e.g. *þen skal a bale brinna* [(s)he shall burn at the stake] (*Magnus Erikssons landslag*). The frequency of the conjunctive mode varies somewhat; it is more frequent in the Danish and northern Swedish laws than in the southern Swedish laws.

Stylistic features corresponding to oral tradition are rather common. These include repetition of a concept with alliterated synonymous terms, e.g. “sætær stok ok stava” [puts up posts and poles] (the *Östergötland law*), a feature that is not, however, very frequent. Linguistic features that explicitly specify the structure of the text are used more often, such as the Latin *item*, or the synonymous vernacular *æn* in the Danish laws and *nu* in the Swedish laws. This was particularly important when the texts were read aloud to an audience.

2. Diplomas and statutes

Beside the laws, early judicial texts include the so-called diplomas. The term *diploma* is used for medieval official documents, equivalent to Latin *charta, epistola*. They consist of missives and official letters, e.g. wills, agreements, depositions of evidence, verdicts, decisions of authorities. Unlike the laws, they were written almost exclusively in Latin until the middle of the 14th century. It was not until after 1350 that the vernacular (or Low German) was used more frequently (cf. art. 131). The text structure of the Latin diplomas as well as the few vernacular ones was stereotypical. The text starts by identifying the sender in a characteristic phrase, as in a diploma dated August 29, 1344: “Allæ the thettæ bref höræ ok see helsær jæc Birghittæ Anundædotir með Guði” [all those who this letter hear or see, greet I Birghittæ Anundædotir with God]. The use of the verb *hōra* is common and shows that it was not presupposed that all the receivers could read. The diploma ends with the date it was issued and the names of those confirming the authenticity of the diploma, who attached their seals to the document, together with the senders if they had one.

þer til at thettæ se fult oc fast oc iæc hawir egh inzighle, bedis iæc ærlix fapurs inzighle herræ Frendæ biscops j Strengnes, oc hans capituli herræ Lafrinzæ Wlphson, laghmanz j Suthermannælande. oc herræ Birghirs Magnusson sætiæs for thættæ bref. Scriuet eptir waars herræ byrþ þusænd arum thry hundræþ arum fyritighi arum oc fyrum arum jn decollacione sancti Johannis baptiste.

[In order that this be complete and certain and I have not a seal, ask I the seal of honourable father Sir Frende bishop in Strängnäs and his dean Lafrinz Wlphson lawman in Södermanland and Sir Birghir Magnusson to be put on this letter. Written after the birth of Our Lord one thousand years three hundred years forty years and four years on the day of the decapitation of John the Baptist.]

The language of the diplomas is syntactically complex, containing long sentences with abundant subordination, using various subordinating constructions, not least contractions, that are both adverbial and adjectival. Today such diplomas are especially important because they mention a great number of place-names and personal names.

In order to bring the laws up to date, e.g. by regulating the norms for different new subgroups in society, a number of statutes, sometimes called articles, were issued throughout

the Middle Ages as codicils. An addition to the *Jutland law* is called *Thord diægns artikler* [The articles of Thord the deacon], originally written in Latin around 1300, but with later Danish and Low German versions, Sweden had the *Alsnö stadga* [The statutes of Alsnö] and *Skänninge stadga* [The statutes of Skänninge]. In addition, there were statutes for churches and convents, and statutes issued by the king on a number of different matters, e.g. estate statutes, the “gårdsrätt”, concerning misdemeanours of those employed on the king’s estate. This was instituted in Sweden during the reign of King Magnus Eriksson and later exported to Denmark. He also issued statutes on innkeeping in 1344. Other collections of statutes were later drawn up for the trade and craft guilds of the cities.

In some statutes the text structure is reminiscent of that of the laws, with an initial part of the regulation stating the case followed by a description. For the most part, the text structure reflects that of the diplomas, to which the statutes are also stylistically very close with very complex syntax. The borderline between diplomas expressing decisions of authorities and the statutes is in most cases very hard to draw. In academic literature, diplomas and statutes are almost always treated as the same text type.

The language style of the diplomas and the statutes may have its roots in classical times. It continued to be used in the language of the chancelleries for centuries and is still alive at least to some extent in the language of modern legal and political authorities.

3. Medical writing

Almost as old as the laws are texts on medicine. Medieval medical writing in the Nordic countries is closely associated with the Dane Henrik Harpestræng, although his name is explicitly attached only to copies of a rather late origin such as “Hær byrias lækedombir aff mæsther henrik harpostræng” [here starts the remedy of master Henrik Harpestræng] in a Swedish manuscript from the middle of the 15th century. Harpestræng was a canon at the cathedral of Roskilde and died in 1244. The oldest existing copies of his texts are from the end of the 13th century.

The texts attributed to Harpestræng are versions of a book on drugs, which is chiefly a translation into Danish prose of a Latin work written in hexameter, *Liber Herbarum* by Macer (pseudonym for Odo of Meung), who

in his turn drew on ancient (Greek and Arabic) medicine. Other parts of the book are based on work by Constantinus Africanus, another intermediary of Greek-Arabic medicine to western Europe (cf. the introduction by Marius Kristensen to his edition of Harpestræng's herb book).

Some Danish medical texts seem to have used quite different sources from those employed by Harpestræng. Some Swedish texts are compilations using Harpestræng as their main source, but much information nevertheless deviates from that given in the texts ascribed to Harpestræng. The origin of the Swedish medical texts is not clear, as we know them only through manuscripts from the 15th or 16th century. The text was copied over and over again, as it represented the prevailing view on sickness and medicine at least until the 18th century.

3.1. Content

Most of the medical texts are concerned with drugs made of herbs as in the following example:

Vrtica. ær nætlæ. hun ær mykæt het. hun dughær for gulæ sot. of man stampær hænnæ mæth win oc drikkær. Nætlæ frø wæld innæn hunugh. thæt dughær for siuknæth innæn kuddæ. oc thæt helær gamæl hostæ of man drikkær thæt oftæ. oc thæt wrækær burt kuld af lungæ oc ær got bolæn qwith. for allæ thæssæ ær nætlæ frø got mæth hunugh. ællær of man drikkær oftæ grøn nætlæ os.

[Urtica is nettle. She is very hot. She helps against jaundice if one pounds her with wine and drinks. Nettle seed boiled in honey, it helps for illness within testicles, and it heals old cough if one drinks it often. And it ejects cold from the lungs and is good for swollen abdomen. For all these is nettle seed good with honey, or if one drinks green nettle broth].

Remedies were also based on minerals (collected in the *Lapidaria*) and various animal products.

Phlebotomy is sometimes mentioned, as well as prophylactic treatment such as what to eat to maintain one's health. There is some use, although very rare, of religious incantations.

The texts are rather impersonal, concentrating on symptoms and the remedies as in "Raphanus piprarot doger mot magha soth" [horseradish helps for stomach illness]; sometimes the word "illness" is omitted, as in "Saluia hun dughær for liuær" [sage helps for

liver]. If the sick person is referred to, this is typically done in very general terms, e. g. *then siwke* "the sick", but can be more specific, e. g. *spitælskom* "lepers". Sometimes the sick person is referred to with a generic *man* "a man", "one", e. g. "Æther man synaps ffrø" [eats one grain of mustard]. Direct reference to the sick person is very rare, although he may be addressed, as in "Om thu hauer houeth wærk" [if you have a headache]. The patient's gender is implicit in remedies for e. g. help in giving birth, menses or the virile member, and sometimes specific remedies may be recommended for children or for old people. The carer is implicitly referred to in phrases like "Giiffwer man purløk mz wiin dricka thom skadde ære" [gives one leek with wine to drink to those who are injured]. Instructions like "warder hon swden" [is she boiled] or "stamper man hennes frø" [pounds one her seed] may be directed either to the patient or the carer, or even to the druggist.

The Harpestræng text is a very close although prose rendering of Macer. It is, however, abbreviated, and some content is missing. This does not seem to have been done in any systematic way, except that information given by Macer about sexual matters, giving birth and menses was very often omitted by Harpestræng.

3.2. Text structure

The structure of the medical texts is rather standardised, based on similar texts from classical times. The text is divided into paragraphs, the theme of each being either a remedy, such as a particular herb, or a specific symptom. The former type (cf. the example in 3.1.) starts with specifying the remedy, e. g. giving the name of the herb, usually both in Latin and the vernacular: "Vrtica ær nætlæ" [Urtica is nettle], "Thus. røkilsæ" [Tus, incense], followed by the medical qualities of the remedy according to the prevalent medical ideology of the time, humoral pathology: "thus thæt ær het oc thiurt innæn annæn trappæ" [Tus it is hot and dry to the second degree].

The main part of the paragraph deals with the effects of the remedy, e. g. "thæt dughær for ethær" [it helps against poison]. This is the common pattern, but sometimes a description is given of how the remedy should be handled to be efficient for different illnesses, e. g.: "Stampær man røkælse mæth fet af swin. thæt dughær til thæt thær brænt ær" [crush you in-

cense together with the fat of pigs, it helps for what is burnt], “drikkær kunæ hænnæ thær döt barn hauer. tha kummær barn ut af hænnæ” [Drinks woman her (wormwood) who a dead child has, then comes the child out of her]. This descriptive part generally consists of a sentence with inverted word order.

Paragraphs with a symptom as their theme start with naming it, e.g. “Om thu hauer houeth wærk” [if you have a headache] For hostæ” [for coughs], followed by an enumeration of possible remedies, as in the following excerpt:

Item for lösa tender skwalpa ätykya j mwnnen thed festher tendher verum est. Item for blod soth skal man tagha gress tormentilla som wexer i mosanom oc haffuer golt blomster mz fyra blad oc haffuär rödhä rooth, thed hielper tz är vist. [Further for loose teeth, splash vinegar in the mouth, it fastens teeth, that is true. Further for dysentery, one shall take the grass tormentilla which grows in the peat and has yellow flowers with four leaves and has a red root, it helps, that is certain.]

The prescription may end with a general statement of the effects of the remedy, such as “tha hielper thz” [then helps that], sometimes with a reference to some medical authority, e.g. “tz hielper siger Galienus” [that helps says Galen].

3.3. Language aspects

The medical texts are characterised by a great number of terms, some of them taken directly from the Latin sources, others from the vernaculars (both Nordic and northern German) used previously in oral communication. They refer to anatomy, physiology and sicknesses, as well as to names of herbs and other drugs. Through the medical books, these terms have been established in the Nordic written language, and most of both the Latin and the vernacular terms are used even today. The herbal terminology, both Latin and vernacular, is firmly associated with the pharmaceutical tradition, and was later used by e.g. Linné.

The names of different herbs, as well as anatomical terms like *milt* ‘spleen’, *nyræ* ‘kidney’ and terms for illnesses, like *gulæ sot* ‘jaundice’, *blodsot* ‘dysentery’, are mostly used without any further explanation, presupposing that the reader or listener possessed a great deal of previous knowledge about symptoms of sicknesses and how different herbs in the garden are to be recognized. This implicitness suggests that the purpose of making the texts

was probably to create a notebook, a kind of reminder of particular remedies for the practitioner. At least to some extent, the text was also directed to the ordinary person who was taken ill.

The vernacular language was used, possibly because good knowledge of Latin was not that widespread even among those for whom the texts may have been intended. Some parts are rendered only in Latin, and Latin is sometimes used in otherwise vernacular texts when referring to illnesses of the genitalia.

4. History texts

In many of the Danish and Swedish history texts from the Middle Ages, the language is Latin. This is the case for the extensive Danish chronicle by Saxo, *Gesta Danorum*, from about 1200, as well as a Swedish history book written in the middle of the 15th century by Ericus Olai. The yearbooks or annals composed in the monasteries, which recorded both local and European events during each year, are mostly written in Latin, although some items are in the vernacular language. Historiography also embodies catalogues of more or less obscure kings and rhymed chronicles. Characteristic of all these texts are terms referring to warfare and politics as well as the activities and appearance of the upper classes.

One reason for writing the chronicles was the desire to keep the memory of the events alive in order to secure and strengthen the group identity among those reading them or listening to them. This was particularly important in a situation where national states were being formed. Perhaps equally important was the question of who was to govern these new states, so that making particular rulers look better than others in the eyes of the people was another goal of the chronicles. Catalogues of rulers, often with extensive genealogical information, have been used in many cultures as a means of justifying the predominant position of a certain individual or family. Other types of text might serve similar purposes. The rhymed chronicles were probably particularly efficient because they were entertaining, and they were also read aloud in places where many people were gathered, e.g. market places. A number of ballads from the later part of the Middle Ages with historical content probably served the same function.

4.1. The Guta Saga

In the same manuscript that contains the Guta law, there is also a history of Gotland, called the *Guta Saga*. It starts out with the first colonisation of the island:

Gutland hitti fyrsti maþr þan, sum Þieluar hit.
Þa war Gutland so eluist, at þet daghum sanc oc
natum war uppi. En þann maþr quam fyrsti eldi
a land, oc siþan sanc þet aldri.

[Gotland found, as the first, the man who Tjelvar
was called. Then was Gotland under such a spell
that it during the day sank and in the nights was
up. But this man brought as the first fire to the
land, and then sank it never more].

It continues with the story of people emigrating from the island to the south of Europe. It also tells about heathen traditions and how the island was Christianized, and about political issues. The *Guta Saga* relates the political and ecclesiastical status of the island, which provides good motivation for it to have been included in the *Guta law*. It is believed that it was written not later than 1285, because an agreement was made that year between the people of Gotland and the Swedish king Magnus Ladulås that changed some norms which it records as still valid.

4.2. The notes of the priest of Vidhem

The oldest Swedish history text is a catalogue of lawmen and kings, called *Vidhemsprästens anteckningar* [the notes of the priest of Vidhem] and is ascribed to a Västergötland priest. It was probably written in the middle of the 13th century; the oldest manuscript is from the beginning of the 14th century, attached to a manuscript containing a copy of the Västergötland law. It enumerates 19 lawmen in Västergötland as well as 18 Swedish kings from the first Christian king, Olof Skötkonung, to King Johan, who died in 1222. All paragraphs start by stating the ordinal number of the king and his name, then giving some information or an evaluation of the king:

Þriðhi war Æmundær slemæ, þy at war sliskær
oc eygh goðþær at þra i þy mali, han wildi
fræmmiæ. Oc han gørdhe skiael mællin Swerikis
oc Danmark, swa sum sighx i landæmærum.

[The third was Edmund rogue, because he was
mean and not easy to have to deal with in those
cases he wanted to promote. And he made the
border between Sweden and Denmark, as is said
in the section on borders.]

The kings during that period came from two different families who were fighting for the

Swedish throne. The author shows an obvious partiality for a family with connections to Västergötland, shown e.g. by a statement like “Oc e glæddus wæstgøtær af hanum” [And the people of Västergötland were always happy with him].

4.3. The chronicle of Erik

The oldest rhymed chronicles in Europe were written by the Anglo-Normans in the 12th c., using the French *chanson de geste* as a pattern. This text type flourished in Europe around 1300. The first Swedish rhymed chronicle, *Erikskrönikan*, was probably written some time between 1322 and 1332, and it gives an account of the period from 1230 until King Magnus Eriksson was crowned in 1319. The oldest existing copies are, however, from the 15th century. It was followed by a number of chronicles written during the later part of the Middle Ages (cf. art. 131).

4.3.1. Language features

The meter of the chronicle is knittelvers. The characteristics of this meter is that the lines are rhymed in pairs, and each line has four to seven feet, but in the Nordic tradition it was treated very freely. This text type may be illustrated by the following excerpt, where the Swedish earl Birger jarl is talking to his wife about finding a wife for their son Valdemar:

Qwinnor fynna ok godh rad stundom.
Huro tykker tik hær vm wara
– ther skaltu mik wel til swara –
vm war son, som konunger ær
– han er oss badhum hionom æmkær –
huar han matte ena jomfrw faa,
at rikit matte tess bæther staa?
[Women find also good means at times.
What do you think about this – please
answer me – about our son, who is king
– he is equally dear to both of us –
where will he get a wife so that the kingdom may
prosper?]

A characteristic stylistic feature is fictitious direct and indirect speech. This makes the texts more down-to-earth and perhaps more trustworthy, and it has a dramatizing effect, which makes the texts more interesting and easier to comprehend. It is also a means of showing what is supposed to be the motivation for an individual's activities. Similar patterns may be seen in modern journalism.

The chronicle is characterized by the style of romance poetry, with rather stereotypical

descriptions of the male and female characters and their actions, such as phrases like “Tha swarade hon, som hon wel kunne, søth ordh aff rødhum mwnne” [Then she answered as best she could, sweet words out of a red mouth], “Riddara ok swena wordo tha kledde, frome hælade ok men vrædde” [Knights and squires were then equipped, brave knights and men without fear].

5. Educational writing

Educational texts are essentially intended for a wider range of people. In the early Middle Ages, the audience for written texts was very small, which may be the reason why educational texts from the early part of the Middle Ages are very scarce. Probably education was still predominantly oral at that time.

A number of proverbs illustrating moral norms are ascribed to the otherwise unknown Dane Peder Låle. They are Latin proverbs presented with Danish equivalents, and Danish proverbs or common phrases presented with Latin equivalents.

Alterius plena frustra sonat ere crvmena/Then
pungn ær thom som andær mans peningh ær i.
[That purse is empty which another man’s money
is in].

Ampnem paruorum facit vnda frequens fluuio-
rum/Mangæ bekkæ ok smo gøra en stor aa.
[Many brooks and small make a big stream.]

The proverbs were collected in the 14th century, but the oldest manuscript is a fragment from the middle of the 15th century. The complete collection was printed in 1506. It is known that the collection was used in the beginning of the 15th century as a school book, not just for ethics but also to teach Latin.

The education of young men within the aristocracy, notably those who would become kings, is the subject of the Swedish text *Konungastyrelsen* [The governing of kings]. This is supposed originally to have been written in the first part of the 14th century, but the only complete copy is Bure’s printed edition from 1634, besides a manuscript fragment from the first half of the 15th c. It was compiled, as it says explicitly in the text, from works of Egidius de Columna, e.g. *De regimine principum*. The text provides general codes of behaviour by which a young man should be brought up: he should learn good virtues and wisdom, be moderate in eating and drinking, be careful of his words, not participate in sinful activities and avoid bad company. The

most important part of the book starts with the words “Nw sigs, huru konunghir ælla hōfðinghir skal styra landh ælla almogha” [Now is said how a king or a chief shall govern land or people], and the norms given are related to Aristotle, Seneca and King Solomon among others.

The educational texts are written in a straightforward and syntactically simple language. A rule of behaviour is given and sometimes the reasons for it, without any linguistic ornamentation.

6. Fiction

Like in other parts of Europe, the new aristocracy in the Nordic countries had a desire for entertainment. People of the upper classes promoted the production of texts that were pure fiction, with no other purpose than to entertain: “them til skemptan ther a wile hōra” [to diversion of those who want to listen], as it says in *Ivan the Lion Knight*. However, the borderline between historical and educational writing is sometimes hard to draw.

In the beginning of the 14th century, possibly 1303–1312, the Norwegian queen Eufemia is believed to have promoted translations into Swedish knittelvers of three chivalry romances: *Ivan the Lion Knight*, *Duke Fredrik of Normandy* and *Flores and Blanceflor*. A Swedish copy of these texts is dated to about 1400, and there are copies of a version in Danish which are about a hundred years younger. The date of the original text is given in the end of Ivan:

Tha thusand vinter, thry hundradh aar
fran Gudz føzlo lidhin var
ok ther til thry, ij thæn sama tima
vardh thæsse bokin giordh til rima,
Eufemia drøtning, thet maghin ij tro,
læt thæssa bokena vända swo
aff valske tungo ok a vart maal.

[When one thousand winters, three hundred years
from the birth of God had elapsed, and yet three,
at that very time was this book made into rhyme.
Queen Eufemia, that must you believe, had this
book translated from French and into our lan-
guage.]

Of course, this kind of information is not very reliable. As was usual in those times, “translation” means that the text was a compilation from a number of texts, not only romances but also ballads, and there are even traces of Norwegian sagas in it.

7. Religious texts

There were few religious texts during the early medieval period (cf. art. 131), but some seem to have existed in written form. In the Swedish *Pentateukparfrasen*, parts are a paraphrased translation of the Pentateuch, while other parts are commentaries to the text, e.g. “Hær skulom wi vndirstanda at [...]” [At this point we should understand that], “Oc ær thz mærkelikt at gud bœriadhe daghin aat quældino” [and it is to be noted that God started the day at the evening].

Certain kinds of religious texts are called legends, a term based on a Latin word meaning ‘what should be read’, because they were used as an instructional part of the liturgy. A number of these are collected in *Fornsvenska legendariet* [The Old Swedish book of legends], handed down in manuscript copies from the middle of the 14th century. They start with stories about the Virgin Mary and end with stories about holy persons from the middle of the 13th century; some of them were probably known during the early medieval period. The text is based on a *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine, which contains narratives with a saint as the main persona. They were entertaining as fiction and at the same time instructive, and they were probably regarded as effective religious propaganda.

8. Literature (a selection)

Swedish medieval texts are published in *Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet* by a society founded in 1843. Many editions have introductions to the texts. The Danish laws are published in *Danmarks gamle Landskabslove* 1–8 (1932–51), and the Swedish laws in *Samling av Sveriges gamla lagar* I–XII, ed. by C.J. Schlyter, I–II together with H. S. Collin (1827–69). Translations into Modern Danish and Modern Swedish with commentaries are found in Kroman, Erik/Juul Stig, *Danmarks gamle Love paa Nutidsdansk* 1–3 (1945–48) and Holmbäck, Åke/Wessén, Elias. *Svenska landskapslagar tolkade och förklarade för nutidens svenskar* (1933–46). Diplomas are collected in *Diplomatarium Danicum* (1938 and later), and in *Svenskt Diplomatarium* (1829 and later).

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111. Translations and interference by translation in Old Nordic I: Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian

1. Translations
2. Interference from translation
3. Literature (a selection)

1. Translations

The vehicle for the transmission of foreign literature to Norway and Iceland was above all the Christian Church, which brought the Norwegians and Icelanders into touch with European civilization in a way they had not been before. The intercourse between the centers of learning on the Continent and in Britain and the monasteries and cathedrals in Norway and Iceland in the centuries following their conversion to Christianity led to the translation of an astonishing number of not only devotional and doctrinal books, but also secular works of various kinds.

1.1. Translations from Latin

Presumably, the Norwegians and Icelanders confined themselves at first to translations of the essential tools for Christian instruction. Indeed, the earliest preserved manuscripts are of clerical provenance: AM 732a VII 4to from 1121–39 has an Easter Table; AM 237a fol. from ca. 1150 contains a fragment of two homilies, while AM 655 IX 4to from ca. 1150–1200 contains fragments of the lives of Saints Placid, Blaise, and Matthew. It is not known when religious literature was first translated into Norse, but it is unlikely that it made its appearance before the latter part of the 11th century, after the establishment by Bishop Ísleifr Gizurarson (1056–80) of the school at Skálholt in Iceland, and in Norway with the establishment of the episcopal sees in the reign of Óláfr kyrr Haraldsson (1066–93) (Kirby 1980, 17). On the other hand, neither AM 237a fol. nor AM 655 IX 4to is an original: AM 655 IX 4to is a copy of earlier material, and AM 237a fol. is not only a copy, but makes use of a Norse translation of Gregory the Great's 34th gospel homily extant in later manuscripts, which implies that the earliest translation of Gregory's *Homiliae in evangelia* was undertaken before the mid-12th century. Other translations, some of a theological and philosophical rather than devotional nature, which appear at the end of the 12th century, but which may be older, include the *Physio-*

logus, Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, *Niðrstigningar saga* (a translation of the second part of the Gospel of Nicodemus, the *Descensus Christi ad inferos*), and most of the material contained in the two books of homilies, commonly referred to as the *Stockholm or Old Icelandic Homily Book* and the *Old Norwegian Homily Book*. The two books, which have eleven items in common, all based on earlier exemplars, are, however, homiletic handbooks rather than homiliaries and also contain commentaries on the *Paternoster* and the service of the mass. The *Old Icelandic Homily Book* also includes an allegorical interpretation of the eight church modes, a rendering of a section of Pseudo-Ambrose's *Acta Sancti Sebastiani*, two versions of the *Credo*, an Easter gospel harmony, a passage from a life of Saint Stephen, and prayers to Christ and the Virgin Mary. The *Old Norwegian Homily Book* contains a translation of Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, a translation of the Old French poem *Un samedi par nuit*, a homily on Saint Óláfr derived from a *vita* predating Archbishop Eysteinn Erlendsson's *Passio Olavi*, and a vernacular version of the extended series of twenty *Miracula Beati Olavi*. Sources for a number of the texts in the two homily books have been found in the works of Ambrosius Autpertus, Augustine, Bede, Caesarius of Arles, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Gregory the Great, Haymo of Auxerre, Honorius Augustodunensis, Maximus of Turin, and Pascasius Radbert. Much of the source material used by the homilists was available in well-known homiliaries including those compiled by Alan of Farfa and Paul the Deacon, but the homilists probably utilized other collections as well (McDougall 1993, 290–91). In addition, the translation of the now-lost Latin *vita* of Saint Magnús, preserved in the extant vernacular accounts of the Orkney saint, and *Veraldar saga*, of a more secular nature, have been dated to before 1200. This work is a chronicle of world history covering the six *aetates mundi* from the Creation to the 12th century, the core of which is presumably a reworking of an unknown original. The oldest part is based ultimately on Bede's and Isidore's chronicles, but is augmented with matter drawn from the Bible, Bible commentaries, and other sources. For the section on the ancient history of Rome, the compiler appears

to have relied on *Rómverja saga*, a translation of Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* and *Coniuratio Catilinae* and Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which has been dated to the 1180s at the latest. The material for the history after Bede is known from German annals and chronicles, but no specific source has been identified. Translations in existence by ca. 1200, but which cannot be dated more precisely, include *Elucidarius* (a translation of Honorius Augustodunensis' theological textbook), the epigrams of Prosper Aquitanus, preserved fragmentarily in AM 677 4to (ca. 1200–25), which also contains the end of the Pseudo-Cyprian document *De XII abusivis saeculi*, and AM 685c 4to (ca. 1300–25), a commentary on the Penitential Psalms preserved in two fragments, AM 655 XXIII 4to and AM 696 XXIV 4to from the early 13th century, and some other liturgical material, notably the fragments of a breviary in AM 655 XXI 4to dated to ca. 1200–50. In addition, it is possible that the translation of Exodus 19 to the end of Deuteronomy, the work commonly referred to as *Stjórn II* and preserved in a 15th- or early 16th-century addition to AM 226 fol. (ca. 1350–70), may represent a translation from before or around 1200 of the historical literature of the Old Testament, although there is not as yet consensus on the date of *Stjórn II* (Kirby 1986, 56–60). The same applies to the translation of *Visio Pauli*, preserved fragmentarily in AM 681c 4to (ca. 1400) and AM 624 4to (ca. 1500) (Sverrir Tómasson 1993, 270).

Translations of hagiographic material in different forms were produced throughout the medieval period and comprise the bulk of Old Norse translated texts. It is difficult to assign a date to much of this material. As noted above, AM 655 IX 4to contains three legends, and to these early translations may be added the legends of Basil, Clement, Erasmus, Nicholas, and Silvester, which are all found in early manuscripts, more specifically from the first quarter of the 13th century, which saw also the life of Jón Ögmundarson, bishop of Hólar (1106–21), presumably translated soon after Jón was declared a saint in 1200. The original, now-lost Latin *vita* of Jón was composed by the monk Gunnlaugr Leifsson of Þingeyrar (d. 1218/19), who is credited also with the composition of a Latin *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, which, like that of his fellow-monk Oddr Snorrason, has survived only partially in Old Norse translation, and *Merlinusspá*, a versified translation in *fornyrðislag* of the *Prophetiae Merlini* contained in Geof-

frey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*. *Merlinusspá*, along with *Hugsvinnsmál*, a loose rendering of the *Disticha Catonis*, and *Heilags anda vísur*, a free rendering of the hymn *Veni, creator spiritus*, which have both tentatively been dated to the 13th century, are the only versified translations so far identified in Old Norse. The translation and compilation of the life of the Virgin Mary, which in *Guðmundar saga* is attributed to the cleric and bishop-elect Kygri-Björn Hjaltason (d. 1237/38), has also been assigned to the early 13th century. The work is based on a number of sources, of which the primary ones are *Liber de ortu beatae Mariae et infantia salvatoris* (Pseudo-Matthew) and *De nativitate Mariae*, which depends on the former. Minor sources for the account of Christ's childhood are the canonical gospels of Matthew and Luke. The historical background for Mary's life is drawn mainly from Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae*. Additional sources are Jerome, Gregory the Great, Augustine, and John Chrysostom. Only a few of the sources for the many theological commentaries that are interwoven into the story of Mary's life have yet been brought to light. Further works dated to the early 13th century are two semi-historical works: *Trójumanna saga*, a compilation of translations of Dares Phrygius' *De Excidio Troiae*, *Ilias latina*, and other sources; and *Breta sǫgur*, a translation of the *Historia regum Britanniae*. From the mid-13th century come *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*, a tale based upon the legends of the life of Buddha, and *Duggals leiðsla*, a translation of the *Visio Tnugdali*. Of a slightly later date is the earlier *Thómas saga erkibiskups*, a life of Thomas à Becket, based on the so-called *Quadrilogus prior*. Also dated to shortly after the mid-13th century are *Stjórn III*, a translation of Old Testament material from Joshua to 2 Kings, augmented with matter drawn from the *Imago mundi* and *Speculum ecclesiae* of Honorius Augustodunensis, the *Liber exceptionum* of Richard of Saint Victor, and possibly Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*; and *Gyðinga saga*, based on 1 and 2 Maccabees, *Historia scholastica*, and a certain "historia apocrypha" of the lives of Pontius Pilate and Judas Iscariot, compiled by Brandr Jónsson, bishop of Hólar (1263–64), to whom has also been attributed *Alexanders saga*, a translation of Galterus de Castellione's *Alexandreis*. Finally, a translation of the anonymous poem *Pamphilus de amore* and two philosophical-theological dialogues grouped together as the so-

called *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* in *Hauksbók* (AM 544 4to; ca. 1290–1350) have been assigned somewhat more broadly to the 13th century. One is a translation of the Pseudo-Senecan dialogue *De remediis*, which figures in a shortened form as the 26th chapter, “De fiducia et securitate”, of *Moralium dogma philosophorum*; the other is an interpolated translation of Hugh of Saint Victor’s *De arrha animae*.

It is generally believed that most of the translations of saints’ lives originated in the last quarter of the 13th century and during the 14th century. The corpus is varied and includes the passions of the early martyrs, such as those of Agnes and Sebastian, the sources of which are the Pseudo-Ambrosian *passiones*; lives of the early ascetics, such as those of Anthony of Egypt, the source of which is the *vita* of Athanasius, and the desert fathers, that is, *Vitae patrum* based on Rufinus’ *Historia monachorum*, *Verba seniorum*, and Pelagius’ commentary on the latter work; and the lives of the early confessors, such as those of Martin of Tours, based on the *vita* of Sulpicius Severus with additional material from other sources, and Paul the Hermit, based on Jerome’s *vita*. The lives of the fathers of the Church include those of Ambrose, based chiefly on the *vita* of Paulinus; Augustine, translated by Runólfur Sigmundarson (d. 1307), Abbot of Pykkvibær, from an unidentified source; and Gregory, the source of which is the *vita* by John the Deacon. Works on the apostles, however, appear to have taken pride of place; legends of all the apostles, including Paul and Matthias, are extant often in several versions. In its earliest form, the rendering of this material represented close translation of the Latin sources. AM 645 4to from ca. 1220–50, for example, contains fairly straightforward translations of *passio* material on Peter, James the Greater, Bartholomew, Matthew, Andrew, and Paul, and on Pope Clement and Bishop Martin. But in the course of the 13th century much of this material was reworked and expanded, and a greater freedom in the use of sources becomes noticeable. In AM 655 XII–XIII 4to from ca. 1250–75, containing the legends of Peter, James the Greater, Bartholomew, Matthew, and the composite legend of Simon and Jude, the apostolic legend material has been retranslated and supplemented with, for instance, an account of the apostle’s life as described in the Gospels and an account of the history of his relics. The saints’ lives in general underwent no such change: in most cases their con-

tent did not lend itself to amplification, and their transmission suggests that, with only few exceptions, the older versions remained in vogue throughout the medieval period. Stock. Perg. 2 fol. from ca. 1425–45, for example, contains texts of a number of saints’ lives, which have been copied virtually unchanged from earlier exemplars. Later still, a different approach to the work of translation became popular, in which the emphasis was on paraphrase. With the often copious additions, usually of an illustrative, explanatory, or purely decorative nature, from the Church Fathers and more recent works, such as the *Historia scholastica* and Vincent of Beauvais’ *Speculum historiale*, the genre of translated religious literature became a more individualistic one. In the case of the legends of the apostles, this new approach is seen in, for example, the *Codex Scardensis* (ca. 1360) legends of Peter, Paul, and the composite legend of John and James the Greater, based on an exemplar dated to ca. 1300. A similar style is found also in the priest Grímr Hólmsteinsson’s (d. 1298) legend of John the Baptist. The work is a compilation of information about John in which his life story according to the Gospels is filled out with material from, for example, Bede, Peter Comestor, Vincent of Beauvais, and the Church Fathers Gregory the Great, Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome. Further examples are the lives of the Archangel Michael and Archbishop Nicholas, both attributed to Bergr Sökkason (d. 1350), Abbot of Munkaþverá; the composite life of Martha and Mary Magdalen; the younger *Thómas saga erkibiskups*; and also *Stjórn* I, the translation of Genesis-Exodus 18 with additions drawn from *Historia scholastica*, *Speculum historiale*, Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, William Durand’s *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*, and the works of Augustine.

The last-mentioned works have been dated to the early 14th century, and from the first half of this century we also have *Amicus saga ok Amilius*, based on *Speculum historiale*, and the life of Saint Dunstan compiled by the monk and priest Árni Laurentiusson (b. 1304) on the basis of a life by Abelard written between 1006 and 1012, a life by Eadmer of Canterbury, *Speculum historiale*, *Passio Sancti Edwardi*, and Isidore’s *Etymologiae*. Another type of material is represented by the exempla, many of which are translations of a few Latin collections whose ultimate sources were Caesarius of Heisterbach, Martin of Troppau,

and Vincent of Beauvais. Over a dozen exempla appear to be based on oral tradition, however, and some of these are attributed in the manuscripts themselves to the Norwegian Jón Halldórsson, Bishop of Skálholt (1322–39), who allegedly translated *Klári saga* from a now-lost Latin original.

Somewhat more difficult to date are the translations included in *Hauksbók* (AM 544, 4to), some of which are found in manuscripts older than *Hauksbók*. Apart from two sermons, which are considered translations from Old English (Ælfric’s homilies *De falsis diis* and *De auguriis*), all the material is translated from Latin. While the specific sources for some of the geographical, chronological, and theological dissertations and excerpts in the section commonly labelled „Heimslýsing ok helgifræði” remain unknown, the majority of texts appears to be extracts from Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, although the geographical compendium may equally be based on Honorius Augustodunensis’ *Imago mundi*. Among the sources identified for translations included in the following section, “Heimspeki ok helgifræði”, are *De duodecim abusivis saecule* and Godofridus de Trano’s *Summa super titulos decretalium*. Further texts based on foreign sources include a lapidarium, the source of which is Marbodius of Rennes’ *Liber lapidum*, and two mathematical treatises, *Algorismus*, the source of which is Alexander de Villa Dei’s *Carmen de Algorismo*, and *Prognostica temporum* in Latin, a translation of which is found in several manuscripts. An encyclopedia of a similar kind, though with more of an emphasis on the natural sciences, is represented by, for example, GKS 1812 4to (ca. 1192–1500), which draws on the works of several astronomers (John of Sacrobosco, Gerlandus, and Helpericus), as well as medieval popular texts (*Elucidarius* and *Cisio Janus*) and encyclopedic works by a variety of authorities (Isidore, Macrobius, Hrabanus Maurus, Bede, and Jerome).

1.2. Translations from French

Until the first decade of the 13th century, virtually all translations into Old Norse were from Latin. At this time translations from French make their appearance. These are the romances, the translation and production of which is believed to have been initiated by King Hákon Hákonarson (1217–64). He is named as the commissioner of *Tristrams saga* (based on the *Tristan* poem by Thomas), *Elis*

saga (based on the *chanson de geste Elie de Saint Gille*), *Ívens saga* (a translation of Chrétien de Troyes’ *Yvain*), *Mottuls saga* (a translation of the *fabliau Le Lai du cort mantel*), and *Strengleikar* (a translation of 11 of the 12 *lais* traditionally attributed to Marie de France, six anonymous *lais* found in other collections, and four *lais* for which no source has survived). Most likely *Erex saga* and *Parcevals saga/Valvers þátr* (translations of Chrétien’s *Erec et Enide* and *Perceval*) were also written for the court of King Hákon. Dated to about the mid-13th century are *Karlamagnús saga* (a compilation of Carolingian *chansons de geste* as well as the Latin *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*), *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* (translated from *Floire et Blancheflor*), *Flóvents saga* (an adaptation of a lost *chanson de geste*), and *Partalopa saga* (based on a lost version of *Partenopeus de Blois*). *Bevers saga* (translated from a lost version of *Boeve de Haumtone*) has been assigned to the end of the 13th or the early 14th century. Sometimes included among romances is *Þiðreks saga*, a compilation of tales of German origin about Dietrich of Bern.

2. Interference from translation

The translation of foreign works into Old Norse influenced the language most notably at the lexical and syntactic levels. Although both foreign and native currents mingled from the start, some differences of language and style can be observed in the translated works, and the term “learned style” has been applied to distinguish the language of these works from that of native compositions on native subjects, which has commonly been labelled “popular style”. In the late decades of the 12th century, the salient features of learned style are found only sporadically, and it is not until the early 13th century that it begins to develop into an artistic prose medium. The two *Homily Books*, for example, are written in a simple, idiomatic prose style reminiscent of the home-spun narrative of the Sagas of Icelanders. They are generally devoid of Latinate vocabulary and syntax, though in some passages, rhetorical devices, such as isocolon, antithesis, chiasmus, anaphora, alliteration, and word pairs, are exploited to achieve a high style (McDougall 1993, 290).

2.1. The learned style is characterized above all by a greater verbosity than the popular

style and by the use of rhetorical figures of speech and grammatical constructions alien to or infrequent in the native works. The verbosity consists to a considerable extent of characterizing adjectives (epithets), the use of parallelisms and antithetic expressions (e. g., *hreysti ok riddaraskapr* [valor and knighthood]; *valk ok vandræði* [worry and difficulty]; *syrgði hann hana dauða, en landslýðr allr syrgði hann viltan* [he mourned her death, but all the people of the land mourned his having gone astray]), assonance, rhyme, and alliteration (e. g., *harmr ok hǫrmung* [grief and affliction]; *ráð ok ræður* [counsels and speeches]; *siðaði ok friðaði* [reformed [the faith] and restored to peace]). Grammatical constructions typical of learned style include the extensive use of participle constructions, for example, in apposition to the subject with the function of a subordinate clause (e. g., *spakr maðr hræðisk guð í qlum verkum sínum vitandi sik hvergi mega flýja návistu hans* [a wise man fears God in all his actions knowing that he can by no means escape His presence]), the use of the dative absolute (e. g., *liðnum þeim sjau vetrum* [when the seven winters had passed]), and the use of reflexive forms with a pronounced passive sense (e. g., *hirð eigi þú yfir at stigask af illu* [beware of being overcome by evil]). Further characteristics of learned style are the use of interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns, the substantive use of adjectives, and the use of *sjálfir* ‘himself’ (like *ipse*) to lay stress on the relative relation. All these features do not necessarily appear in all works written in learned style, nor are they at all times direct translations or imitations of similar Latin expressions and constructions; in many cases they may be due to the rhetorical training of the translator rather than the respective Latin source. The frequency of loanwords and new coinages also varies greatly and is to quite an extent determined by the nature of the source text. Generally, only a limited number of Latin loanwords appear to have entered the language via translations, and these tend to be restricted primarily, although by no means exclusively, to religious or more scientific terminology, such as *amor* ‘love’, *ampulla* ‘flask’, *antifona* ‘antiphon’, *atóma* ‘atom’, *dalmatica* ‘dalmatic’, *disputa* ‘debate’, *figúra* ‘figure’, *graðall* ‘gradual’, *homilia* ‘homily’, *iuristi* ‘jurist’, *kollekta* ‘collect’, *kóróna* ‘crown’, *marmari* ‘marble’, *obláta* ‘host’, *past* ‘food’, *piktúrr* ‘painter’, *psalmr* ‘psalm’, *purpuri* ‘costly cloth’, *regula* ‘monastic order’, *salterium* ‘psalter’, *testament* ‘testament’, and *vigilia* ‘vigil’

(Hødnebo 1966, 45). Some loan translations may also be attributed to the adaptation of Latin literary works to Old Norse (e. g., *vespers* > *aptansqngr*, *synagogue* > *þinghús*, *prophet* > *spámaðr*, *decimal* > *tíund*, and *vigil* > *vaka*) (Hødnebo 1966, 45).

2.2. The so-called “court style” represents a further development of the learned style and is found primarily, but by no means exclusively, in translations from Old French. It is characterized by a wider range of rhetorical elements, in particular various forms of parallelism, and well-known conventions are used more frequently and in a more sophisticated manner than in the learned style. Synonyms, alliteration, and assonance are common, but the use of participles and antithesis is more limited than in the learned style. Loanwords appear frequently; many are isolated occurrences, but a fair number gained ground, such as *asni* ‘donkey’, *glósa* ‘explanation’, *ísópi* ‘hyssop’, *kamell* ‘camel’, *kordúna* ‘cordovan’, *kreatýr* ‘creature’, *kurteisi* ‘courtesy’, *lampr* ‘lamp’, *marchíss* ‘marquis’, *mustarðr* ‘mustard’, *pardún* ‘pardon’, *prinz* ‘prince’, *púsa/púsi* ‘spouse’, *sira* ‘sir’, and *turniment* ‘tournament’ (Jakob Benediktsson 1964, 97; Hødnebo 1966, 45).

2.3. The works that reveal most noticeably foreign influences are those written in what has been called the “florid style”. The emergence of this style is connected with general developments in European Latin writing in the 13th century, in which there was a growing preference for the elaborate and the bombastic. It is characterized by ornate phrasing and rhetorical mannerisms: a profusion of adverbs and adjectives (especially of the type ending in *-liga/-lega*) and compound nouns, often abstracts, with frequent repetition for the sake of parallelism or antithesis; abundant alliteration; and a preference for participial verbal forms in imitation of Latin usage, but often freely constructed and without any foundation in the Latin sources. An abundance of metaphors serves as pedagogic tools, as do digressions. The florid style was regarded as an advanced manner of writing, and there were practitioners of the style in the latter half of the 13th century (it is found fully-fledged in Grímr Hólmsteinnsson’s *Jóns saga baptista*), but its golden age was the 14th century, with Bergr Sokkason as its best-known exponent, who used it also for independent compositions.

3. Literature (a selection)

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112. Translations and interference by translation in Old Nordic II: Old Swedish and Old Danish

1. Introduction
2. The paraphrast: the translator's forerunner
3. The genres
4. The influence of translation on the East Nordic vernaculars
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The role of translation in the development of the written vernacular depends, of course, on contact with other linguistic communities. Not until this contact assumes such character and such proportions as to call for communication over otherwise unbridgeable linguistic gulfs does translation become relevant. In Scandinavia, this historical situation coincides with the first initiatives to use the Latin alphabet for composing written documents in the vernaculars. This means that the oldest vernacular texts essentially comprised more or (often) less literal imitations of Latin originals,

and sometimes there were even different types of mixture between this kind of imitation and writing exclusively in Latin or directly in the vernaculars.

In Sweden and Denmark, this early phase of written transfer over linguistic boundaries falls roughly within the final half-century of the period treated in this article, or approximately 1300–1350. In Sweden this means the culmination of the so-called Folkunga epoch; in Denmark the period is delimited by Kings Eric Menved and Valdemar Atterdag. In the history of the Nordic languages we are dealing with the period traditionally referred to as, respectively, older (or “classical”) Old Swedish (by Wessén and others) and Early Middle Danish (by Skautrup) or (early) Old Danish (cf. art. 4).

Christian missionary activities, followed by the Latin language, Latin script, rudimentary book-learning and the beginning of literacy, had reached Denmark before Sweden: in the

10th and 11th c. respectively. With an excellent, stylistically first-rate historiographer like Saxo Grammaticus, Latin writing in Denmark was flourishing already during the so-called Great Valdemar epoch in the later 12th and earlier 13th c. – at a time when Sweden could offer nothing of the sort. It was not until more than half a century later that Sweden was capable of producing a Latin work on a European level: *St. Bridget's Revelations*. It is hardly accidental that this latter achievement coincides in time with the pioneering epoch of vernacular East Nordic literature dealt with here.

This use of vernacular language in writing with the Latin alphabet presents the reverse picture: here Sweden was ahead of Denmark. This is reflected in the dating of the oldest preserved documents: the Swedish *Äldre Västgötalagen* ca. 1220–50 and the Danish *Skånske lov* ca. 1250. Nor is it accidental that both these pioneering documents are provincial laws. Legislation, along with the constantly increasing use of written documents in official administration, was the principal field of competition between Latin and the vernaculars during this period, and Swedish was made use of for this before Danish. (See further Kaspersen/Kværndrup/Lönnroth et al. 1984, 143 ff.).

The difference is far more than a possible earlier start of a few decades. Even generally, medieval vernacular literature was quantitatively and qualitatively greater in Sweden than in Denmark. Already at this pioneering stage in the High Middle Ages, vernacular text was written to a considerably larger extent and spread over a wider scope of literature in Old Swedish than in Old Danish. However, this is partly a question of the quantity of preserved literary sources and does not imply that translation into the vernacular did not occur in Denmark, though it is hard to judge to which extent and in which forms it actually did. (The general conditions surrounding Danish book production during this period are discussed by Th. Damsgaard Olsen in Kaspersen/Kværndrup/Lönnroth et al. 1984, 392 ff.). In any case, this literature arose under conditions which were similar for translation and original production.

2. The paraphrast: the translator's forerunner

Translation in today's sense of the word, aiming at a reasonably strict formal equivalence between a source and a target text (see

further art. 133), occurred only marginally in this period.

The "real" translator has, however, a very important forerunner, who was strikingly diligent at this early stage of domestic literary culture: the adapter, the maker of paraphrases in the vernacular which were freely modelled upon foreign originals. The paraphrast was certainly not an original writer in a strict sense but was dependent, like the translator, on a given source text (sometimes several texts). As to content, though, as well as to linguistic and stylistic form, he is quite sovereign to this "source". The paraphrast could add fresh material, which he gathered from other writings or fabricated himself, could prune, transpose and alter the text – all according to the logic of his priorities.

In high medieval Sweden, with its traditionally conceived "golden age" in the Folkunga epoch, practically all texts preserved today, with the possible exception of the provincial laws, are paraphrases of foreign, particularly Latin, sources. The classical showpieces of the epoch are often referred to as "free translations" or "very free translations" of foreign "originals", composed by anonymous "translators" or "adapters" – or even "authors". The terminological confusion reflects a descriptive dilemma: scholars do not have established categories for the adequate characterization of literary products from this extensive medieval borderland between translation and original writing.

The distinction, then, between the one form of literary production and the other is not very significant in this early phase of developing East Nordic literacy. Whoever wanted to write something interesting, edifying or amusing in the vernacular normally had access to excellent foreign sources in Latin, French, Low German or possibly even West Nordic. These could be retold freely in good Swedish or Danish. Consequently, all literary genres and types of texts from the High Middle Ages, entirely or partly cultivated in East Nordic vernacular, are relevant from the perspective of translation.

3. The genres

The main types of texts of relevance here are laws, official documents, legends, the Bible, chivalric epics and professional texts. In Sweden, vernacular writing of significance has been documented for this period in all these

genres except the last one; in Denmark mainly laws, official documents and professional text (cf. art. 110).

3.1. Laws

When fixing the legislation of the separate, judicially autonomous provinces in written documents, learned law editors in Sweden and Denmark were paving the way for the first extensive and significant use of the vernacular in writing. Provincial law, then, represents the first important genre in Swedish and Danish vernacular literature after runic inscriptions. These laws are documented in hundreds of preserved manuscripts, only a few of which, though, are dated to the pioneering phase in this period.

The law text proper, divided into sections (balkar) and later into chapters and paragraphs, involves deep-seated problems, concerning i.a. far-reaching questions of legal history. The traditional status of this genre as original literature is no longer self-evident. Nevertheless, given the present state of research, its relevance to the history of translation, though potentially very significant, is hard to determine. The idea that particular continental legal documents in Latin were the object of imitation in Swedish and Danish by erudite law editors, in forms justifying the notion of translation – and more or less formally strict “translation” at that – is merely a hypothesis to be tested.

We are on firmer ground when we try to judge the editorial framework of the laws: prefaces, confirmation acts etc. This material is obviously written directly, originally; in this respect it is more unambiguously part of contemporary literacy. Such texts are records, attached to and incorporated in particular laws through their editorial arrangement, handed down in important manuscripts. Famous documents are e.g. a couple of Prefaces: to the Danish *Jutland law* from 1241 (used later in the Zealand and Scanian laws) and to the Swedish *Uppland law* from 1296. These texts were apparently composed by the editors themselves, in immediate connection with their editorial work. Their arguments are developed at a level of abstraction and in a grammatically complex, formal and Latinized style that is very remote from the simple, concrete and straightforward approach of the law text proper. Certainly, though, there was room even for very pithy wordings which were quite typical of “ordinary” law style, e.g. the famous

sentence introducing the Jutland law: *Mæth logh scal land byggjæs* ‘With law shall land be built’. An almost identical wording is found in the Uppland Law preface.

Whether these prefaces are to be regarded as products of original, more or less Latin-influenced authorship written directly in the vernacular, or as “translated” adaptations of some Latin versions available to the editors, is beyond judgement. No corresponding Latin texts have been found in these cases. In favour of the latter possibility, however, we may cite a few particular documents that are actually extant in both languages which are closely connected to Swedish as well as Danish law manuscripts.

3.2. Official documents

In Denmark, translation appears to have been fairly significant in the production of official texts during the period. There are e.g. indications of major legal acts having been worked out in Latin and translated into Danish, but except for some individual cases (like the Flensburg town charter of ca. 1300; cf. Th. Damsgaard Olsen in Kaspersen/Kværndrup/Lönnroth et al. 1984, 394), the documents in question are only preserved in late medieval copies, bearing little, if any, evidence of the production circumstances (cf. Skautrup 1944, 213).

In both countries, a number of minor official documents of the period were issued in Latin along with a vernacular version, particularly in connection with provincial laws. Not everything has been lost. Remarkable Danish examples are to be found in a few – certainly late – manuscripts of the *Scanian law* (*Skånske lov*), where even ordinances of Kings Canute VI and Valdemar II from the first half of the 13th c. were rendered in Latin. It is not self-evident, though, which version is translated from which; some putative Latin features in the Danish text have, far from conclusively, been adduced in favour of Latin priority (cf. Brøndum-Nielsen 1918, 132ff.).

A similar Swedish example of Latin and vernacular bilingual texts from this period – equally striking and more closely examined – is the *Confirmation act* of the *Uppland law*. In several main manuscripts of this law, a document appears in an Old Swedish version in which King Birger Magnusson, on January 2nd, 1296, in majestically imperative wording, gives his official sanction to the new law. Even this document was composed in Latin, and a

few copies of the Latin text have come down to us from the 17th c. In content, the two versions are parallel to such a degree that one of them must reasonably be a translation from the other. Actually, we are dealing here with a fairly faithful rendering which in part almost lives up to the modern standard of equivalence. Close scrutiny of the editorial arrangement and the linguistic form of this bilingual document proves rather conclusively the priority of the Latin version over the Old Swedish (Wollin, 2001 a, 122ff.). Accordingly, the *Uppland Law Confirmation Act* is the oldest dated document in the history of Swedish (and possibly East Nordic) translation.

The text is introduced (after the salutation formula) in Latin and Old Swedish versions as follows. (Corresponding passages are marked with italics and underlining, bold type marking non-corresponding text. Maximally literal English translations of each version marked in the same way have been added.)

Licet legum veterum non sit vilis autoritas, interdum tamen, *per processum temporum et humane propagationis successum, convictus mutui modo et ordine variatis, necnon insolitis aliquibus contingentibus casibus, nonnullis et antiquitatibus minus lucide traditis, immutari quoque contingit leges et statuta, quibus humane fragilitatis mores regulari et litigia quietari competit, æquitatis tramite observato.* Quod profecto tam in Ecclesiasticarum quam Civilium traditionum abrogationibus, suppletionibus ac novellis institutionibus clarius elucescit.

[Although the authority of ancient laws is not negligible, sometimes, however – *over the course of time and the progress of human propagation, the mode and order of common*

Þo at forni laghæ rættir sein wirþningæ wærþir, þa kombær stundum swa til, at um skiptis þæn laghæ stabgi sum skipapær ær til at rættæ kränkæ mannæ sibi ok mæþ iampnæþ aff læggæ mannæ missæmi, fore þæn skyld at, swa sum timin liþær ok mæn fra faldæ ok andri til föþæs, swa ymskæ mannæ samwæræ, fore þy at j langum timæ kunnu mang ny fall hændæ, ok atær fore þy at j gamblum laghum hittis sumpt mæþ faum orþom at saght ok æi swa liuslikæ sum wiþ þorff. Ok fore þæssum faldum giörs umskipti bapi j kirkiu rætt ok kiæsæræ laghum, swa at sumpt ær aff laght ok sumpt mæþ faum orþom fullæt ok sumpt allungis nyskipæt.

[Although ancient laws deserve reverence, yet it sometimes comes about that the legal order is changed, which is instituted to correct weak mens' customs and with justness to settle mens' dissension, because, as time

intercourse varying, even some unusual cases occurring and several antiquities being less perspicuously rendered – it happens that the laws and the statutes are changed too, by which it is in [our] power that the customs of human fragility be regulated and disputes settled, the path of justness observed. This, certainly, stands out quite clearly in the abrogations, completions and more recent institutions in Canon as well as Civil traditions.]

passes on and men pass away and others are born, so is changed mens' intercourse, because over a long time many new cases may occur, and again because in the old law some things are found that are said in few words and not so clearly as is necessary. And for these cases change is made both in church and secular law, so that some is left out and some completed in a few words and some entirely new.]

This paragraph deals with necessary changes in legislation, their causes, realization and results. Both versions render essentially the same content; deleted and added material (in bold type) is marginal. However, the material has been arranged in differing ways. In the Latin version the causes of the changes (the sequence in italics) are mentioned before specifying and describing what is actually changed (the underlined sequence); in the Old Swedish version the order is reversed.

This sample is characteristic of the style in the entire document. The choice of words and the modes of expression are, as mentioned, at a high level of abstraction, and the complex Latin syntax is, despite the radical transposition of major sentence units, largely maintained in the target text. At lower levels of the syntactic hierarchy, in phrase construction and in the choice of words, the translator certainly proceeds very independently, but nevertheless sticks to the text with a fidelity that corresponds largely even to modern demands for semantic equivalence in an admittedly “free” though accurate translation. In this respect the translator differs from his contemporary – or even slightly later – more loosely paraphrasing colleagues working with other genres. Generally, his achievement is fairly representative of the style in charters, deeds, and other official documents composed in the Latinized vernaculars of the Middle Ages.

3.3. Legends

The legend literature in the classical Old Swedish vernacular of the period is comparatively rich, even by European standards. It has been handed down in several large manuscripts, containing a few hundred legends (Carlquist 1996, 36ff.). From the Danish realm, only about a half-dozen legends, all in a fragmentary state, are known. The literature of the medieval legends covers an extensive field, thematically as well as stylistically: from solemn meditations upon Christ and the Holy Virgin to racy cock-and-bull stories about sundry local saints. Above all, the genre aimed at broad entertainment and functioned as something like popular light reading during the Middle Ages.

Though stemming from important Latin traditions on the Continent, the legend was one of the first genres to bridge the gap to domestic spheres of literature. In vernacular versions the legend could probably link up with inherited epic patterns and continue domestic traditions in a suitable Christian shape. Legends were imported to Sweden and Denmark in Latin throughout the Middle Ages. They were first transformed into the vernaculars in the late 13th and the early 14th c.

Two great, separate traditions of the Old Swedish legend developed, each dealing with about one hundred saints. In the earlier medieval period, only the older tradition was cultivated (the younger, Birgittine, belonging to the succeeding late medieval period). The 19th c. editor of this older tradition (G. Stephens) has coined a designation which is still current: *The Old Swedish Legendary* (*Fornsvenska legendariet*; see further Jansson 1934; Carlquist 1996). Fixed in vernacular writing at some time during the period 1276–1307, this tradition reached its first and presumably greatest height in the middle of the 14th c. Its main source is the great work *Legenda aurea*, composed in Latin ca. 1250 by the Italian Dominican friar Jacobus de Voragine. Supplementary contributions from other, more or less independent sources occur, though rather marginally. The originator of the Old Swedish text is, despite numerous guesses, unknown.

The Old Swedish Legendary has been estimated as dating from ca. 1300 and, on the basis of certain dialectological features, has been located as coming from the southern part of the then Swedish realm, very reasonably to the Dominican convent of Skänninge in the southeastern province of Östergötland. It

originated as an imitation of legends in Latin and was executed as a single great enterprise – quite possibly, however, involving several more or less contemporary writers. The result was a text which was read and copied throughout the Middle Ages. In relation to the Latin original, the text maker of the older legend tradition rendered the text loosely, though within certain limits. His mode of procedure was in fact very similar to that of the biblical paraphrast.

3.4. The Bible

With the establishment in Scandinavia of Christianity and Latin in the early Middle Ages came, probably rather quickly, the demand for vernacular exegeses of the Scriptures. The pioneering phase in Sweden took place in the late 13th and early 14th c. At that time large parts of the historical books of the Old Testament were rendered in Old Swedish. In the Danish realm, no biblical literature in the vernacular is known from this early period.

Throughout the Middle Ages, biblical texts were written in the vernacular in different contexts and in different ways. As for the period in question here, we are dealing with certain (more or less) complete books of the Bible. The great Swedish text of the epoch is the so-called *Pentateuch Paraphrase* (*Pentateukparafrazen* or *Moseboksparafrazen*; see further Thorell 1959; Wollin 2001 b). It is a very independently accomplished, in parts considerably abridged, version of the first five books of the Old Testament, combined with (actually surrounded by) some connecting historical and philosophical tracts by St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. The paraphrase proper renders, with various reductions, most chapters of Genesis and Exodus, but considerably less of the other three books. The main source is the Latin Vulgate text. About twenty Fathers of the Church, particularly St. Augustine, are frequently quoted or otherwise referred to. The connecting tracts are equally loose paraphrases of their Latin originals. The text is to be taken as a whole, though. It has very much in common with the Old Swedish Legendary, and like that, it has been recently argued, it probably originated in a Dominican environment.

The first verse in the first chapter of Genesis in the *Vulgate* Bible and in the *Pentateuch Paraphrase* reads as follows (added material is in bold type).

In principio creavit Deus
caelum et terram.

[In the beginning God
created heaven and
earth.]

Gudh skapadhe aff alzenge
himil ok iordh. **ey aff sik
sälwom som fadhir födhe son
ok ey af nakro ämpne som
smedher gör yxe.**

[God created from nothing at
all heaven and earth. **Not of
himself, as a father gives life
to a son, and not of any stuff,
as a smith makes an axe.**]

The characteristic strategy here is the glossing, the addition of a brief passage, explaining or otherwise commenting upon the content of the source text – which in such cases is normally rendered with reasonable fidelity. When occurring in vernacular literature, glossing probably has its origin in preaching. This homiletic device is more or less systematically applied in certain, though not too numerous, sections of this pioneering Swedish biblical paraphrase.

More frequently, by deliberately but capriciously transposing central phrases, the paraphrast follows an equally typical, very common strategy in this early rendering of foreign originals. Other, very frequent devices are additions and omissions: the epic stream is enriched by numerous instances of new information, which develop the story at the level of basic content. At the same time, certain equally essential elements in the source text are dropped.

Nevertheless, the paraphrast cannot be accused of actually distorting the message. Rather, he was acting as the independent narrator, accurately rendering a story he had heard or read, but doing so in his own, entirely personal way.

3.5. Chivalric epics

Among the upper classes of a more or less feudal society during the Middle Ages, in Scandinavia as elsewhere, life and views were imbued with the ideas of chivalry. This applies even to the literary culture, in content as well as in form. Secular entertainment and refined manners are reflected in poetry and prose. The aristocratic outlook of the Swedish Folkunga epoch left its mark on some classical literary showpieces of the period: the three chivalric romances grouped together under the name *The Eufemia songs*; the historical, politically very biased *Erik's chronicle*; the political and philosophical tract *The Kings' Government*; and finally, an excellent little piece of clerical satire entitled *A Joke on all Abbots. The Eu-*

femia songs and *Erik's chronicle* are composed in rhymed *knittelvers*, imported from the Continent, whereas the other two works are elaborated in a stylistically sterling form of prose. Apart from *Erik's chronicle*, which is a purely original work, we are dealing here with vernacular literature originating from paraphrased imitations of foreign sources.

No Danish texts similar to these Old Swedish works are known from the period. Certain Danish participation, though, in the elaboration of the *Eufemia songs* has been suggested.

The comprehensive title of the *Eufemia songs* (*Eufemiavisorna*) refers to the three chivalric novels *Sir Ivan* (*Hærra Ivan*), *Duke Fredrik* (*Hærtogher Fredrik*) and *Flores and Blanzaflor* (*Flores ok Blanzaflor*). The title originates from a statement made in the final verses of the three poems, that they were “translated” (actually *vænde* ‘turned’) into Swedish on the initiative of the Norwegian Queen Eufemia, respectively in 1303, 1308 and soon before the Queen’s death in 1312, the first from French and the second from German; as for the third, no source language is mentioned. These assertions have long since been accepted by modern researchers (see further Jansson 1945; Williams 1999, 3ff.); the source language of the third work was French. The “Swedifications” of these very romantic poems are supposed to have been the Queen’s personal gifts to her son-in-law to be, the Swedish Duke Erik Magnusson at his betrothal and wedding to her daughter, the Princess Ingeborg.

The originals of *Sir Ivan* and *Flores and Blanzaflor* are, respectively, the versified romances *Yvain, Le chevalier au lion* by Chrétien de Troyes and *Floire et Blancheflor* by an unknown author; the supposed German original of *Duke Fredrik* has not been identified. *Sir Ivan* and *Duke Fredrik* are representatives of the genre called “romans bretons”, with motifs from the circle around King Arthur and his knights, whereas *Flores and Blanzaflor* has a certain oriental touch. The poems are chivalrous stories of love and warfare, reflecting an aristocratic parlour culture – continental and French in colour, though probably not lacking roots in ancient Nordic heroism.

The current view is that all three works were directly transferred into the Old Swedish target language without any West Nordic intermediary version, as had been suggested earlier. In addition, this was supposed to have been the work of a single individual. This man is

certainly unknown, but his dialectal peculiarities point to the southwest, particularly to the then Danish province of Halland.

The Swedish works have taken their metre from the foreign originals. It is based on the knittel, rhymed in characteristic pairs of normally four-foot verses. Their relationship to the foreign sources in terms of linguistic transfer has never been investigated more closely. At first glance, however, the Swedish version of *Sir Ivan* seems to render the French text with basic fidelity (the total number of verses in the source and target versions amounts to roughly 6,800 and 6,450 respectively), although the general pattern of paraphrase is never far away.

The *Government of Kings and Princes* (*Konunga Styrilse och Höfðinga*; cf. Moberg 1984; Wollin 1995; Delsing 2000) is an exemplary mirror of princes, an Old Swedish counterpart of the famous West Nordic *Konungs skuggsjá* (from which it is quite independent). It depicts, in an elevated Christian tone, the good ruler, chosen by God and trusted by his subjects. Its main source is a political and pedagogical tract in Latin entitled *De regimine principum*, written in 1280 by Egidius de Colonna, a disciple of St. Thomas Aquinas, but other sources have been used as well. The Swedish version is supposed to have been composed in the 1340s, intended as an educational piece for the infant sons of King Magnus Eriksson. The text maker – who is unknown – has treated his Latin original in the same manner as did the originators of the *Old Swedish Legendary* and the *Pentateuch Paraphrase*, i.e. he has proceeded as a prose paraphrast typical of his time. The *Government of Kings* has been praised unanimously by posterity for its sober, though perhaps somewhat verbose, style. The Latin tract is theoretically elaborated, including an element of scholastically meticulous theology. These features have been taken over in the vernacular version, where they mingle with unmistakable influences from the austere prose of the laws. The blend has assumed an independent, very personal touch.

In two 15th c. manuscripts comprising, among other works, the *Eufemia songs* and the *Erik's chronicle* – the older manuscript is dated to 1448 – a minor piece of text (roughly 500 words) is introduced by the words *Hær sigx aff abotum allum skemptan mykla* [Here is told of all abbots a big joke]. The text is usually referred to as *The joke on abbots* or “*Skemtan*” (*Skämtan* [om abbotar] or *Abbot-*

skämtet; see further the several articles in Ferm/Morris 1998). In a plain, matter-of-fact style, the anonymous writer presents an equally anonymous abbot in his magnificent attire. The reader witnesses the abbot's gargantuan meal, with scores of very substantial dishes and huge tankards of “good hop beer”; the latter scene is developed in an excellent, very famous biblical parody. *Skemtan* is a minor classic in Sweden's literary heritage.

The appearance of *Skemtan* in two manuscripts from the middle and the latter half of the 15th c. has determined its traditional dating to the late Middle Ages. However, its presence in the same manuscripts as the chivalrous verse romances and *Eric's chronicle* just as strongly indicates its literary conception in the time and cultural context of these works, i.e. in the early 14th c. Folkunga period. Another factor in favour of this conclusion is its relationship to the probable Latin original: *Skemtan* quite obviously belongs to the high medieval Swedish paraphrasing culture. Though this is perhaps a matter of some controversy (cf. articles by S-B. Jansson and L. Wollin in Ferm/Morris 1998), the Old Swedish text is reasonably seen as a free adaptation of a Latin original, entitled *Magister Golyas de quodam abbate* [Master Golyas on a certain abbot], attributed by tradition to the English prelate Walter Map (Mapes), who lived in the 12th and early 13th c.

3.6. Professional texts

Medical literature in the vernacular – books on healing herbs and stones – has been preserved from this epoch. The predominant name here is the Dane *Henrik Harpestræng*, who died probably in 1244 and was physician-in-ordinary to King Erik Plovpenning (Skautrup 1944, 213f.; Kaspersen/Kværndrup/Lönroth et al. 1984, 404ff.). Several works of this kind were attributed to him already in the Middle Ages (in some cases on weak grounds), later to be copied (actually translated) into Swedish. His main work, *The herb book* (*Urtebogen*), is an adaptation in Danish of a hexameter poem in Latin, *De viribus herbarum*, composed by the Frenchman Odo de Meung (or Macer) in ca. 1090, and another, slightly older Latin work, completed with elements of his own learning.

4. The influence of translation on the East Nordic vernaculars

The process of translation affects linguistic structure primarily at the levels of the lexicon, phraseology and syntax. Even at the level of text formation one might expect at least a potential influence exerted by translators. The loose relationship to the source text that left its mark on the paraphrasing culture of the period makes it difficult, though, to determine exactly which elements in a given target text can be traced back to the linguistic form of a source text. Equally difficult is the assessment of the paraphrast's loose handling of the overall structure and external organization of the material (the text formation) in relation to a source text, the exact formation of which is rarely known.

4.1. Lexicon and phraseology

In Old Swedish texts originating in the typical paraphrase of Latin, French and German sources, several words and word forms appear first in written text. In the cases where influence from foreign languages is incontestable – whether in loanwords or in domestic words given a new meaning or otherwise used in a new way – it is often impossible to know if the word/word form was actually coined in the text in question or just appeared there in accordance with a usage that was already prevalent at the time. However, directly or indirectly, new words and new usage of words even in this early literature undeniably testify to the paraphrasts' innovating achievements.

In literature from Latin originals, the predominant field of lexical innovation is quite naturally the religious sphere, whereas chivalric vocabulary leaves an equally natural mark on the romances, coloured by their French and Low German originals. The Old Swedish Christian and church vocabulary has been thoroughly investigated in philological research (Thors 1957), whereas the lexicon of the other spheres has not been penetrated to such a degree.

There are about 200 words pertaining to Christian or ecclesiastical terminology which can be found in undisputedly paraphrasing Old Swedish texts from this period – i.e. essentially in the literature treated above, except the laws. However, only one of the manuscripts in question (the Cod. Bureanus of the *Old Swedish Legendary*) is actually dated to (the end of) this early epoch (ca. 1350); for

the others, the possibility of influence from the succeeding period, when the manuscripts were written down, cannot be entirely ruled out. The number of words in this early layer of vocabulary from the Christian sphere which are actually attested in the Cod. Bureanus, and consequently for certain were used in this period, amounts to half, or about a hundred. A few of these words are well-known even in modern Swedish. Roughly thirty are loanwords, ultimately of Greek or Latin origin, like *altare* 'altar', *kloster* 'monastery', *kors* 'cross' and *korsfæsta* 'crucify', *præster* 'priest', Mod. Sw. *präst* and *ærmite* 'hermit', Mod. Sw. *eremit*. The rest are inherited words of Germanic descent. Like the loanwords, they are used in a specific meaning which is obviously different from their original, more general denotation. This new meaning is determined by a reasonably well-defined terminological system taken over from foreign sources and gradually established in the theological and ecclesiastical sphere. There are about sixty such words, e.g. *alzvaldugher* 'almighty', Mod. Sw. *allsmäktig*, *frälsa* 'save', *guddomber* 'godhead', *hælghidomber* 'sanctuary', Mod. Sw. *helgedom*, *hælviti* 'hell', Mod. Sw. *helvete*, *synd* 'sin', *tro* 'faith', *troa* 'believe', and *ælskoghe* 'charity, love', Mod. Sw. *älskog*, which is not used in the religious sphere.

The proportions of the two categories are striking. The growth of Christian terminology in early Old Swedish seems to be dominated by creative semantic development within an inherited store of vernacular lexemes. Adoption of loanwords is certainly important too – by no means are we dealing here with any kind of puristic tendencies – but nevertheless it plays a secondary part. The relationship to the paraphrasing ideal that governed literary text production during this epoch is interesting: the hypothesis that the independent treatment of foreign text sources favoured the development of new terminologies in the domestic language is an intriguing one.

The chivalrous sphere developed a rich terminology, too, though maybe one of lesser complexity and semantic elaboration than the religious. Anonymous translators and vernacular paraphrasts of continental epics probably served as mediators, which was equally important. Many of the new French and Low German words which entered the East Nordic vernaculars through literature or through being adopted in the spoken language of the aristocracy referred to central concepts in the chivalrous outlook, such as *hovisker* 'cour-

teous', Mod. Sw. *hövisk* and *æra* 'honour'. Some were terms for noble forms of fighting like *bohordh*, *torney* (both meaning 'tourney', Mod. Sw. *torner spel*, *turnering*) and *ors* 'warhorse', others for elegant textiles like *baldakin* 'canopy' and *bliald* 'silk'. Lasting vernacular designations for central elements of social life were coined in this high medieval sphere, like the word *danz* 'dance', Mod. Sw. *dans*.

Even outside these particular spheres of medieval culture – and whether mediated by translators or not – the lexicon was enriched by foreign influence. This is particularly clear in charters, deeds and other documents in official language, where the proximity of Latinate modes of expression is tangible. Quite often such Latinisms have strong phraseological implications. In the famous royal letter known under the title *Kopparbergsprivilegierna* ('the Kopparberg privileges'; the text has not been proved to be a translation), issued in 1347, we read about some goods that *varo ipær borto* 'were away for you', rather artificially reflecting (though not with certainty translating) the Latin *vobis deerant*. A frequent formula in this kind of regal deed is the phrase *gora witerlikt* 'make it known', 'notify', a close equivalent of the Latin *notum facere*. A probable mediator in the process of influence is the corresponding Low German wording *witlik don*. In Latin documents there was often an abundance of synonyms (in this case e.g. *evidenter elucere*, *constare* etc.), whereas the vernacular writers contented themselves with one single phrase, used routinely (cf. Holm 1967, 239ff.). Accordingly, though certainly stimulated by foreign influence in general, the development of vernacular lexicon and phraseology may thus even have included fixed patterns, copied from the source languages.

Very indicative of the intermediary role played by Low German in the constant Latinization of the East Nordic vernaculars – and striking in its high frequency – is the development of the pronoun *hvilikin* or *hulkin* ('which', Mod. Sw. *vilken*, Dan. *hvilken*). Originally it was interrogative: *hauin i eigh hört huliken dombar giuin är iui cristet folk* (Cod. Bur., 'have you not heard which sentence is given over Christian people'). Obviously based on the direct model of LG *welk*, indirectly (and maybe partly even directly) on the Latin interrogatives *quis* and *quid* which coincide in the rest of the paradigm with the relatives *qui* and *quod*, it assumed the parallel status of a relative pronoun early on. In the

same manuscript we read: *ängen toks vndan a huiliken han* (i.e. *lutren*) *fiöl* (Cod. Bur., [nobody was excepted on whom the lot fell]). The ease of using the pronoun in prepositional phrases probably paved the way for this relative construction, which is still used in modern Swedish and Danish.

4.2. Syntax

It is only in cases of reasonable formal correspondence between source and target text that influence from translation upon the syntactic structure of the product can be actually attested. As demonstrated above, this situation cannot be found during this pioneering epoch except in some sporadic instances, such as the *Uppland Law Confirmation Act*. Indirect influence from early translation exercises can be traced, of course, in vernacular documents like charters and deeds, even when they obviously were original works: style, particularly syntax, in this kind of text is normally highly Latinized. Beautiful and stylistically elaborate examples – whether conditioned by translation from the Latin or not – occur even in the two famous prefaces of the *Uppland* and the *Jutland law*.

In general, however, typically Latinate modes of expression are not as frequent during this early epoch as they are in the succeeding one (treated in art. 133, where they will be more systematically exemplified). In the common paraphrasing literature of the epoch, the vernacular target language is fairly independent of the Latin, which is no less striking with regard to syntax than to the lexicon. Classical written Old Swedish preserves successfully certain native, possibly colloquial forms. This is particularly obvious in the legend and Bible genres, where the sentence structure is not very complex, having relatively short clauses and a high relative frequency of finite verbs. These stylistic features certainly occur in the Latin originals, too, but the paraphrasts did not copy them, at the most they imitated them.

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XII. Old Nordic III: The ecology of language

113. Dialects and written language in Old Nordic I: Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic

1. Introduction
2. Hægstad's classification of Old Norwegian dialects
3. West Scandinavian dialect features before 1350
4. Conclusion
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The written form of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian transmitted in manuscripts from the early 12th to the middle of the 14th c. is, as in most manuscript cultures, characterized by variance rather than standardization and uniformity. The heterogeneity displayed in the rather large corpus of manuscripts does in fact reflect random orthographic inconsistencies as well as variation based on dialectal differences in the spoken language.

Awareness among scholars of linguistic variation within the medieval West Nordic area goes back more than a couple of centuries. Jón Eiríksson, an Icelander who became Professor of Law at the Academy of Sorø, Denmark, as early as the 1760s distinguished between Icelandic and Norwegian medieval manuscripts on linguistic grounds (cf. Holm-Olsen 1982, 3ff.; 1984, 255ff.). Studies of dialect variance were not, however, carried out in more detail or at length till the end of the 1890s when Marius Hægstad (1850–1927), Professor of New Norwegian and Norwegian dialectology (Kristiania), started a large-scale project mapping mainly West Norwegian dialects before 1350 (cf. Rindal 1984). Hægstad managed to investigate what he interpreted as dialectal features on the basis of documents – charters in particular – traced to Trøndelag, Western Norway, and to some extent also based on manuscripts from Iceland, the Faroes and Shetland. His method had been considered by earlier scholars such as Ivar Aasen and Johan Storm, but in-depth studies had not been undertaken before. Today there

is a general consensus that Hægstad's results are in many respects still valid. Hægstad, at least to some extent, took into account evidence even from modern dialects when analysing the variance displayed in the written medieval source material. This material was sought first and foremost in the extensive corpus of charters, the overwhelming proportion of which dates from the 14th c.; as a consequence the end of the period 1150 to 1350 is overrepresented. Hægstad tried to overcome this difficulty by taking into consideration manuscript evidence from the areas he wanted to map – an approach which does not escape the dangers of circularity of argumentation. Also his tendency to attribute the provenance of charters too closely to the places and areas where they were dated has been criticized by later scholars. A difficulty common to most of the research on dialect variation in Old West Scandinavian sources is the methodological problem of distinguishing between the written level of language and the spoken language. A tendency towards overinterpreting variation on the written level as evidence for underlying dialect differences should be taken into consideration when using the results of this kind of research.

2. Marius Hægstad's classification of Old Norwegian dialects

Hægstad differentiated between four main dialect areas within western Norway and present-day Trøndelag without being able, of course, to draw isoglosses very precisely between them. He distinguished between the following areas: Trøndelag, Northwest Norway (which covered, it seems, the present-day areas of Romsdal, Sunnmøre, Nordfjord and the coastal areas of Sogn) and Southwest Norway. The latter was divided in two dialect areas: the Outer Southwest (which covered the coastal areas of present-day Rogaland and

Hordaland) and the Inner Southwest (which covered Agder, western Telemark, Sætedal and the remaining parts of Sogn, Hordaland and Rogaland – including the Faroe Islands and Iceland). Hægstad did not manage to include the rest of Norway in his survey. Studies on specific dialect features of East Norwegian were carried out by successors such as Didrik Arup Seip, Trygve Knudsen, Per Nyquist Grøtvedt and in later years by Magnus Rindal. East Norwegian is divided into Southeast Norwegian as opposed to East Norwegian in general by most scholars. Arguments for singling out the district of Upplond as a separate dialect area have been put forward (Rindal 1981). Source material from northern Norway parallel to that which forms the basis for studies of dialect variation elsewhere in medieval Norway is absent. Thus northern Norway in this respect remains a more or less blank area on the Norwegian map of medieval linguistic variation.

Hægstad's investigations of dialectal differences within the Old Norwegian – Old Icelandic linguistic area, as well as those carried out by his followers, first and foremost focused on the phonological level of language. Some morphological variation has been observed, whereas no significant syntactic and very few lexical differences have been treated as dialect variation in the period covered by this article. Later studies, of Old Norwegian in particular, have also concentrated on phonological, and to some extent morphological, variation – much in line with the general paradigm of Norwegian dialectology in the late 19th and most of the 20th c. Wide acceptance of the idea that certain linguistic features should be considered as dialect-related has prevailed since the work of Hægstad and his followers. This applies both to Old Norwegian before 1350 and to variation between Old Icelandic and common Old Norwegian features.

3. West Scandinavian dialect features before 1350

The most important West Scandinavian dialect features before 1350 can be summarised as follows: (1) Marked or unmarked *u*-umlaut of short *a* before preserved *u* as in *hofum* ~ *hafum* (1pl. pres. of *hafa* 'to have'). (Note that *u*-umlauted /a/ and the vowel /o/ are both as a rule written as *o* in Norwegian manuscripts.) Distribution: unmarked umlaut: Trøndelag and, it seems, adjacent parts of Upplond. (2)

Vowel harmony (highness assimilation) or fixed vowels in unstressed position, typically in the 2nd syllable as in *lifi* and *lifum* (dat.sg. and dat.pl. of *lif* neutr. 'life') ~ *lofe* and *lofum* (dat. sg. and dat.pl. of *lof* neutr. 'praise') on the one hand (= vowel harmony) and on the other *lifi*, *lifum*, *lofi*, *lofum* or *life*, *lifom*, *lofe*, *lofom* (= fixed vowels *i/u* or *e/o* respectively). As indicated by the examples above, the notion of vowel harmony is currently used for the phonetically conditioned distribution of unstressed vowels even if no morphological distinction arises from this variation. Distribution: Vowel harmony: Trøndelag, Northwest Norwegian, East Norwegian. Fixed *e/o*: Outer Southwest Norwegian, Icelandic (early manuscripts), fixed *i/u*: Inner Southwest Norwegian, Icelandic. The possibility that vowel harmony was a more general feature of Old Norwegian than claimed by Hægstad remains a possibility, in which case this could be seen as a distinctive feature of Old Norwegian as opposed to Old Icelandic. The chronological change of Old Icelandic *e/o* to *i/u* is thoroughly described and explained by Benediktsson (1962). (3) Consonant clusters *mn/ft* ~ *fn/pt* as in *namn/eftir* ~ *nafn/eptir* (neut. 'name' and prep. 'after'), to some degree also *fs* ~ *ps* as in *refsing* ~ *repsing* (fem. 'punishment'). Distribution: *mn/ft/fs*: Trøndelag and East Norwegian; *fn/pt/ps*: West Norwegian and Icelandic (Northwest Norwegian ambiguous). (4) Negative prefix *ú* ~ *ó* as in *úfeginn* ~ *ófeginn* (adj. 'unhappy'). A present-day isogloss splits Norway into a northern and a southern area which have /*ú*/ and /*ó*/ respectively. Distribution ca. 1150–1350: *ó*: Trøndelag, northern parts of Northwest Norwegian and Icelandic; *ú*: remaining parts of Norway. (5) Svarabhakti vowel *e/æ*, *a* or *u* as in *bæker/bækær/bækur* or *bækur* (fem.pl. 'books'). Distribution: *a*: Western parts of Southeast Norwegian (corresponding more or less to present-day isoglosses); *u*: Icelandic and a restricted part of Inner Southwest Norwegian; *e/æ*: remaining parts. Features 1–5 can, to some extent at least, be observed in sources from the entire period between 1150 and 1350. (6) Marked or unmarked progressive umlaut *ja* ~ *jæ* as in *jarn* ~ *jærn* (neut. 'iron'). This feature has not been attested in the sources earlier than the first quarter of the 13th c. Distribution: Trøndelag and East Norwegian. (7) A special feature of East Norwegian in the later part of the period is a tendency in the sources to mark a weakening of the unstressed (low) vowel *a* after long syllables, as in *hiarta* > *hiærtæ*

(‘heart’). In addition, it should be noted that Southeast Norwegian is characterised by preserving the old glide /w/ before /r/ as in *vreiðr* for *reiðr* (adj. ‘angry’). This feature is, to some extent, confirmed by the present-day distribution of the place-name element *Vrå* for *Rå* (‘corner’), used both monothematically and polythematically. A morphological feature which seems to single out the Southeast area is the present tense form of strong verbs unmarked for *i*-umlaut, such as *taker* for *tekr* (‘takes’). This is a feature which distinguishes present-day dialects of the Oslofjord region from those of the Old Norwegian Uppland. In addition, there are features which distinguish between Old Norwegian on the one hand and Old Icelandic on the other, the most important of which are, of course, the loss of initial *h* before *l*, *n*, *r* in Norwegian (*laupa*, *neisa*, *ross* as opposed to *hlaupa*, *hneisa*, *hross* in Icelandic) and the merger of long /æ/ and /æ/ in Icelandic but not in Norwegian towards the end of the period under discussion. In general, written Icelandic seems to have developed towards a higher degree of consistency and uniformity than did Norwegian in the period covered here. On the basis of runological evidence which is datable, it seems, to the early 14th c., a specific dialectal feature may be observed even for ON in Greenland: as opposed to Old Icelandic initial /þ/ seems to have merged with /t/ in this area, thus **teta**, **torir** for *þetta*, *þorir* etc. (cf. art. 136).

4. Conclusion

In general it should, of course, be noticed that no single manuscript, not even originals such as charters, displays any of these features uniformly or unmixed with alternative forms at any particular time. Thus the dialectal variants outlined above should not be considered regional “norms” even if local schools of writing can to some extent be identified on the basis of linguistic and palaeographic evidence (cf. Hagland 1984, 1992).

A much discussed problem in Norwegian language history is whether or not a standard written Old Norwegian “norm” was established during this period. Seip (1954) postulated the existence of a medieval reading language on the basis of which a “higher spoken language” emerged as a kind of standard spoken Norwegian. This, of course, is difficult to prove, and the idea has not been widely supported. On the other hand, the idea that a standard written language developed on the

basis of the language used in the king’s chancery was for a long time generally accepted. Studies by Hagland (1986; 1988; 1992) have hinted at this view. The development towards a standard written Norwegian based to a large degree on the production of law codes and legal documents in general can be observed towards the end of the period discussed here. With regard to this process, considerable influence from Icelandic scribes working in Norway should be taken into account.

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114. Dialects and written language in Old Nordic II: Old Danish and Old Swedish

1. Language and dialect in medieval Denmark and Sweden
2. Denmark
3. Sweden
4. Gotland
5. Literature (a selection)

1. Language and dialect in medieval Denmark and Sweden

At the end of the Viking Age the language of the Scandinavians did not yet display much dialectal variation. This is remarkable since this language, *dǫnsk tunga* ‘the Danish tongue’, had undergone major changes in the course of its history. Although the sources, inscriptions in the older runic alphabet, are sparse and often hard to interpret, it is clear that the phonological make-up of Old Scandinavian was completely transformed by major sound changes in the pre-Viking period. The fact that the same changes are found all over the Scandinavian language area therefore strongly suggests that there was extensive contact between the various parts of this huge area.

After the introduction of Christianity and feudalism, the linguistic situation changed dramatically. The once relatively uniform language of the Vikings broke up into a great number of often mutually unintelligible dialects. The feudal fragmentation of society is thus reflected in the fragmentation of the language. The seafaring Viking, for whom the entire known world at that time was (at least in theory) his home, was transformed into a medieval peasant who hardly ever left the village where he was born. For him it did not matter whether or not he understood or was understood by people who lived farther away than the next village. By using the local dialect, he showed where he came from and thus where he belonged. Since he had no direct contact

with those in power, there was no need for him to adapt to their way of speaking.

Under such circumstances, local forms of speech could develop relatively independently. Major changes that affect all the vernaculars in Scandinavia are therefore not expected for the period after the feudal revolution had transformed society, i. e. after 1250.

2. Denmark

The language of the Danes underwent major changes in the period between the end of the Viking Age and the beginning of the 13th c.: the case system was given up, verbal inflection was simplified, word order within the noun phrase became fixed, stress was concentrated on the stem syllable, unstressed syllables weakened or were lost. Since these changes affected different parts of the Danish empire at different points in time and to varying degrees, regional differences emerged, eventually leading to the birth of dialects which at the end of the period (1350) were probably no longer mutually intelligible. There are three main dialect areas: (a) West Danish, or Jutlandic (*jysk*), which in most cases seems to be the dialect area where the changes started; (b) Central or Island Danish (*ømål*), which is the main source of the standard language (*rigsdansk*); and (c) East Danish (*østdansk*) or South Swedish, which hardly changed at all during the period treated in this article.

According to Skautrup (1944, 255–260) and Karker (1993) a “national” written language was created during the 12th and 13th c. Wessén (1979, 79), on the other hand, is of a quite different opinion: “A written language, common for all of Denmark, did not yet exist.” Skautrup and Karker appear to have a strong case, as the manuscripts show clearly that the Jutlanders tried to write Central

Danish (Zealandic), however without succeeding in hiding their linguistic background.

2.1. Changes in the morphological system

2.1.1. Definiteness

The most famous dialect boundary in Denmark, and probably in the whole of Scandinavia, is the one that separates East Jutlandic, which has a suffix of definiteness, from West and South Jutlandic, which lack such a suffix but have a marker of definiteness (æ or a) that is placed before the noun instead. Since all the Gmc and Romance languages south or west of the boundary have prepositive definite articles, but all the Gmc languages north or east of it have a suffix, “one is perhaps justified in calling it not only a Danish, but a European dialect boundary” (Ringgaard 1973, 192).

The position of the definite article in West and South Jutlandic has been explained by many as the result of strong Low German influence upon these Danish dialects. In the beginning of the 19th century the position of the markers of definiteness was deemed by some to be so important that they assumed that peoples that differed on this point had to be of different origins. In 1833 the Danish historian and man of letters Christian Molbech, for instance, suggested that the Jutlanders were originally a Saxon tribe who got mixed up with Scandinavian or “Gothic” tribes from the North (Skautrup 1944, 138). From a purely linguistic point of view, however, such a view is untenable: structurally Jutlandic æ is as different from the definite article of MLG and other Gmc languages as it is similar to the Standard Dan. suffixes of definiteness. Like Standard Dan. (*rigsdansk*), but unlike MLG, West and South Jutlandic make a distinction between definiteness in bare nouns and definiteness in other contexts, the only difference between the Jutlandic dialects and Standard Dan. being that the former have a prefix (æ) where the latter has a suffix (the Jutlandic examples are from Højer near the Danish-German border, see Nielsen/Sørensen 1990):

<i>South Jutlandic/Standard Danish</i>		
æ by	byen	‘the town’
den lille by	den lille by	‘the little town’
æ daw æte	dagen efter	‘the day after’
dæn daw	den dag	‘that day’
di ong	de unge	‘the young’
al æ post-wuwn	alle post-vognene	‘all the mailvans’
æ hele hus	hele huset	‘the whole house’

Since both systems thus turn out to be virtually identical in structure, it seems likely that they either have a common origin or, as has been argued by e. g. Møller (1945), that the one (Jutlandic æ) is a later development of the other (the Dan. suffix). The latter theory seems to be confirmed by the following facts: (a) the first appearance of a prefix of definiteness in writing dates from the 16th c.; (b) the suffix is found in the earliest texts written by Jutlanders, e. g. *Flensborg Stadsret*. But Møller’s theory creates in fact more problems than it solves, as it forces us to assume, on the basis of no evidence at all, that South and West Jutlandic lost the suffixes of definiteness that were retained in East Jutlandic. This brings us back to the hypothesis that the suffix and prefix have a common origin.

This origin, then, can be dated to the 11th c. on the following grounds: the suffixed article appears for the first time in writing on two runic stones from the 11th c., viz. U 644 (U: Uppland, Sweden) and U 669, both times in the phrase *Guð hialpi andinni* ‘God help soul-DEF’. In the *First Grammatical Treatise* (Iceland, first half of the 12th c.) the suffix is already used consistently. One may therefore assume that by 1100 the practice of formally marking definiteness in nouns had spread to all parts of the Scandinavian language area. Since there is no reason to suppose that the Danish Islands or Jutland formed an exception in this respect, we may assume that both the (forerunner of the) Jutlandic prefix æ and the suffixes of Central Dan. and East Jutlandic date from the 11th (or perhaps 12th) c.

But why did West and South Jutlandic develop a prefix instead of a set of suffixes as their sister Scand. dialects did? I venture the following answer to this question (cf. Skautrup 1944, 141–143). Before the prefix came into existence, both (groups of) dialects had undergone a major change in word order: attributes were placed before, instead of after, the noun they qualified. This change took place in the Viking Age (800–1000), as is shown by Kousgård Sørensen (1984): comparing the number of prepositive genitival attributes qualifying the word *sun* ‘son’ or *dottir* ‘daughter’ in Jutlandic and in East and Island Dan. runic inscriptions, he found that in 24 out of 28 cases the genitive was placed before the noun in Jutlandic inscriptions, but only in 13 out of 21 cases in the rest of Dan. inscriptions. In Sw. inscriptions from the 11th c. postposition of the attribute seems still to be the rule: in 30 inscriptions a genitive is

found before the noun *sun*, but in 73 inscriptions after that noun (Perridon 1996). The tendency to place attributes before the nouns they qualify seems thus to have originated in Jutland and to have spread from there to the East and the North. In South and West Jutland the demonstrative *þæn* (or perhaps (*h*)*inn*) coalesced with the noun after the change in word order, but in the rest of Scandinavia the change in the position of the attribute occurred after noun plus demonstrative (*inn* or *hinn*, see Perridon 1989, 127–149 for a discussion of the various theories on the origin of the suffixed article) had turned into definite noun forms.

2.1.2. Deflexion

In OWN, morphology is fusional: in the declension of nouns, case, number, gender and declension type are not expressed by means of separate morphemes but are fused into unanalysable endings; e. g. the *s* in a form like *dags* does not only indicate the case of the noun (gen.) but also its number (sg.), its gender (masc.) and the declension class to which it belongs (*a*-stem). As a result of sound changes, even stems partake in this fusion, e. g. *örn* (nom.sg.m.), *arna* (gen.pl.), *erni* (dat.sg.) ‘eagle’, or *ær* (nom./gen.sg.f.), *á* (dat./acc.sg.) ‘ewe’. Especially with ablauting verbs the allomorphy can be extreme, e. g. *auka* (inf.) ‘to increase’, *eyk* (ind.pres.lsg.), *jók* (ind.pret.1/3sg.), *yki* (subj.pret.3sg./pl.). This kind of opacity in the morphological system is, as Werner (1984) and Braunmüller (1985) suggest, probably only possible in small communities who have little contact with the outside world.

From the scanty evidence given by the runic inscriptions it is not clear whether East Scand. ever had the same kind of abundant allomorphy as OWN; the earliest written sources, however, exhibit a more transparent morphology, with usually only one form for the stem morphemes, e. g. OSw. *örn* (nom.sg.m), *örna* (gen.pl.), *örne* (dat.sg.) ‘eagle’.

To judge from the earliest texts that have come down to us, the morphology of OSw. and, to a lesser extent, East Dan. (Scanian), was still of the fusional type: nouns were inflected for case, number and gender. West and Central Dan., on the other hand, seem already in the period between the end of the Viking Age and the beginning of the 14th c. to have changed from a fusional to a more or less agglutinative type of morphology. Except in the

pronominal system, case was lost as a grammatical category, although remnants of the dat. are even in West Dan. texts to be found in set prepositional phrases like *a hæstæ* ‘on horseback’, *a marckæ* ‘on the ground’, *i fathærs nafnæ* ‘in the name of the father’; cf. Brøndum-Nielsen 1935, 263. As in the modern continental Scand. languages nouns have one basic form in medieval West and Central Dan. texts, from which a plural form is derived by means of a suffix *-er* (*-ær*) or *-e* (*-æ*); *-s*, the old ending for the gen.sg. of masc. and neut. *a*-stems, has turned into a clitic that can be placed after noun phrases of whatever form, e. g. (*thæn*) *hælxægh ands* ‘the holy ghost’s’, cf. OSw. *þæs hælxgha anz* (*Codex Bureanus*) with case marking in all three words.

Gender is only expressed by the noun itself when it is definite and singular: *præstæn* ‘the priest’ vs. *huset* ‘the house’ (not in West and South Jutlandic, see below), and in all other cases by the attribute, e. g. *thæn man* ‘that man’ vs. *thæt barn* ‘that child’. In the written language, especially of West Dan. provenance (cf. Brøndum-Nielsen 1935, 268–271), masc. and fem. gender tend to fuse into a ‘common gender’ (*fælleskøn*). Compare e. g. the following two versions of a passage in *Jyske Lov*: (a) *Sæl bondæ sinæ egnæ iorth*; (b) *Sæl bondæ sin æghæn iorth* ‘if someone sells his own land’: in (a) the attributes *sinæ* and *egnæ* still have forms that show that the noun (*iorth*) is fem., in (b) the form of the attributes only indicates that the noun is non-neuter (*fælleskøn*). Most Central Dan. dialects (*ømål*), as well as North-East Jutlandic (*Vendelbomål*), retained the old gender system until the 20th c. The long *n* that was the reflex of Old Scand. *-nR* < NGmc **-n-aR*, nom.sg.masc. of stems ending in *-n*, palatalised in many of these dialects and changed eventually to *i* (for example in the dialects of Vendsyssel and Funen) or *ng* (Zealand), which resulted in forms like *skåw’wi* ‘the forest’ (Standard Dan. *skoven*) or *grij’sing* ‘the pig’ (Dan. *grisen*). These masc. forms contrast with fem. forms ending in *-en/-n*, e. g. *kuenen* ‘the woman’, and neuters ending in *-et*.

In the dialects of West and South Jutland a wholly new gender system developed: all count nouns are common gender, mass nouns and abstract nouns neuter. This change in the gender system is old, as it is already attested in the oldest Dan. manuscripts, e. g.: *Flensborg Stadsret ien dyghæn* ‘one day and night’ (Dan. *et døgn*, Sw. *ett dygn*); *Jyske Lov* (AM 286 fol.) *en thing* ‘a thing (meeting)’ instead of *et*

thing; the iorth (the < thet) ‘that land’, common gender in Standard Dan. (cf. Skautrup 1924, 30–31).

In Old Scand., adjectives were inflected for case, number, gender and definiteness (“weak” adj. are definite, “strong” ones indefinite), agreeing with the noun or noun phrase on which they were predicated. In East Dan. this system is still in operation at the end of the period described in this article. But in Central and West Dan. the declension of adjectives was simplified at about the same time as the nouns lost most of their endings: in the manuscripts, case marking of adjectives has become an exception, e.g. *tha ær han værthær at (Eriks Sjællandske Lov)* ‘then he is worthy (deserves) to’, with the adj. *værthær* in nom.sg.masc.; but in general adjectives are inflected as in Mod.Dan., agreeing with the noun they qualify in number, definiteness and gender with an ending *-e (-æ)* for plural and definite adj., an ending *-t* for indefinite neut.sg., and no ending for indefinite sg. adjs. that are *fælleskon*. In most West Dan. dialects, adjectives are not inflected for gender (e.g. the dialect of Houbjerg, described by Ella Jensen 1956); some dialects in South Jutland make only a distinction between a neut.sg. form ending in *-t* and a basic form without any ending, e.g. the dialect of Fjølde in Schleswig; cf. Bjerrum/Bjerrum 1974.

In Old East Dan. texts, verbs agree with the subject in number and person except in the sg. of the pres., which has one form for all persons (with an ending *-ær/ar*). In Central and West Dan. texts from the 14th c., on the other hand, it is the pl. that has one form for all persons (ending in *-æ*); in the pres.sg. the first person is still distinct from the second and third person (which end in *-ær*): (*Jyske Lov*) *ac dopæ thic* ‘I baptize thee’; (Christina, Cambridge fragment) *ac bith* ‘I pray’, *ac thackæ* ‘I thank’, (*Valdemars Sjællandske Lov*) *ac haf* ‘I have’; in the past sg. of strong verbs or the pres. of preterite-present verbs, the distinction between second and first/third person (no ending) is sometimes maintained: *thu skalt* ‘you shall’, *thu est/æst* ‘you are’. These forms have been retained in some dialects in South Jutland: the dialect that was spoken in Fjølde in Schleswig until the middle of the 20th c., for example, still had forms like: *du skat* ‘you shall’ (cf. *æ, hun skal, vi, i, di skul* ‘I, she, we, you (pl.), they shall’; *du kat* ‘you can’, *du kut* ‘you could’, *du æst* ‘you are’) (Bjerrum/Bjerrum 1974, 26–27). At the end of the period (1350), however, person was lost as a grammatical

category in the majority of the Central and West Dan. dialects.

Already at the end of the 13th c. the tendency to use the sg. instead of the pl. is discernible in West and Central Dan.: (*Jyske Lov*, Flensburg ms.) *allæ the thær thennæ bok ser* ‘all those who see this book’ (Skautrup 1944, 273; Karker 1993, 79). Some examples of sg. verb forms instead of pl. are also found in the East Dan. *Skånske Lov* (Bjerrum 1966, 56–57). As a result of these changes the ending *-er (-ær)* became a pure marker of the present.

2.1.3. Possessive pronouns

In NGmc the possessive pronoun *sin* < *PGmc *sīnaz* retained its reflexive function, but in Dan. its use was gradually restricted to singular antecedents. In the dialects of West and South Jutland it subsequently turned into an ordinary possessive pronoun, which refers to singular antecedents that can not be pronominalized with *han* ‘he’ or *hun* ‘she’. The possessive pronouns *hans* and *hinne(r)*, which originally were the gen. forms of the personal pronouns *han* and *hun*, are used in these dialects for reference to persons, but it does not matter whether they refer to the subject of the sentence (or another antecedent that in Standard Dan. requires the use of a reflexive possessive pronoun) or not. This use of *hans* occurs in the earliest manuscripts with a Jutlandic background, e.g. in *Flensburg Stadsret: af han wil ei mistæ olt hans gooz thær i skip ær* [if he doesn’t want to lose all his goods that are in the ship]; the other Scand. dialects and the standard languages would have a form of *sin*, here *sit*, in this position.

Sin is used in these dialects for reference to persons, objects etc. that are referred to by means of other personal pronouns, such as *den* or *det* ‘it’, or *en/den* ‘one’, e.g.: *æ kalv er ved sin moder* [the calf is with its mother]; *enhver so synes bedst om sine grise* [any sow likes her own pigs best]; no distinction is made between a reflexive and non-reflexive use of *sin*, so it is possible to say: *se sine øjne* ‘look at its (i.e. the child’s) eyes’ (Jul Nielsen 1986).

In West Jutland the third person possessive pronouns can be used as resumptive pronouns in genitival constructions: *æ kuen hennær kjowl* ‘the woman her skirt = the skirt of the woman’; *Jens hans fader* ‘Jens his father = Jens’ father’; *æ kow si maw* ‘the cow its belly’ = ‘the belly of the cow’. The construction is also attested in MSw. texts: *the willo forraadha konungen sith liff* ‘they wanted to betray the

king his life = the king's life' (Söderwall 1891–1918, 333), as well as in other medieval Gmc languages (ME, MHG, MLG, OFris., MDu.).

2.2. Changes in the phonological system

2.2.1. Stød

Stød, a kind of creaky voice produced during the articulation of long voiced sounds (long vowel, or vowel + voiced consonant) esp. in monosyllabic words, is a characteristic feature of Standard Dan. and most of the West and Central Dan. dialects. There are no traces of stød in East Dan., nor in the West and Central Dan. dialects that are spoken in the southern parts of present-day Denmark. In Scania, South East Jutland, and South Funen the dialects have an opposition between accent 1 and accent 2 (or “melodic accent”), as in Sw. and Norw.

It is commonly assumed that the Dan. opposition stød / non-stød is a further development of a common Scand. opposition between accent 1 (“acute”) and accent 2 (“gravis”), caused by an extreme concentration of word stress on the first syllable (= stem syllable). In this view, stød is an innovation, which according to e. g. Bandle (1973, 69) is proved by its areal distribution.

How old is the stød? Skautrup (1944, 243) argues that stød cannot be older than the weakening of postvocalic voiceless stops (*klusilsvækkelsen*), as words like *otr* ‘otter’ or *akr* ‘field’ could only receive stød after they had become voiced. The stød in *odder* and *ager* may, however, be the result of analogy. For Skautrup the *terminus ante quem* is the beginning of the 13th c., when forms like *Vagen* (Vagn, a name) and *Haføn* (Havn, i. e. Copenhagen) start to appear in the documents. The epenthetic vowel between fricative and nasal should according to Skautrup be interpreted as a reflex of stød in writing. Ringgaard (1978) thinks that stød is of a more recent date, which he claims is proved by the fact that verbs with an unstressed prefix, such as *betale* ‘to pay’, have stød in Central Dan. and accent 1 in East Dan. (South Sw.), but lack stød in West Dan. This suggests according to Ringgaard that West Dan. had parted company with Central and East Dan. before it acquired the stød. Since verbs with an unstressed first syllable did not occur in the language before the 14th c., when this type was borrowed from MLG, the date of the origin of stød can hardly be pushed

back further than 1400. Ringgaard's argumentation is not compelling. The intonation pattern in weak-strong-weak sequences may very well antedate the borrowings from MLG by several centuries; it is for instance also found in (South) Sw. in phrases like *god mörron* ‘good morning’, cf. *mörgon*, and *för gammal* ‘too old’ (*gammal*) (Malmberg 1968, 130).

As Liberman (1982, 236) rightly remarks, it is always possible to invoke analogy in order to explain the presence of stød in words that cannot have had it before a late sound law had changed their phonological make-up. It is hence practically impossible to *prove* that stød did not exist at a given point in time. We can only make more or less educated guesses. In my opinion the traditional date for the appearance of stød, i. e. the 12th c., is still the best guess.

2.2.2. Vestjysk stød

In the dialects of West Jutland, the western part of South Jutland and North Funen, /p, t, k/ are preceded by a glottal stop “in originally medial position after a voiced sound in a stressed syllable” (Ringgaard 1960, 10) The pl. *ka'd* ‘cats’, for instance, derives from *katte*, in which form the dental stop is medial, and long. Skautrup sees a connection between apocope and the rise of this *vestjysk stød* (WJ stød): in the dialects of West Jutland the loss of final *-e* was compensated for by the lengthening of the final consonant of the stem, e. g.: *kom*: < *komme* ‘to come’ (cf. *kom* with short *m* ‘come!’); *skow*: *skoww*, Standard Dan. *skov*: *skove* ‘forest: forests’. But the geminates could not be lengthened any more, so the overlong closure was replaced by two closures, first a glottal then an oral stop. This theory does not account for the stød in words like *læ'dels* Dan. *lettelse* ‘relief’, or *ver'geli* Dan. *virkelig* ‘real’. Kortlandt (1988; 1997) suggests that the WJ stød is inherited from late PGmc which he claims possessed a series of preglottalized stops /p, t, k/. Although the interesting hypothesis that PGmc had preglottalized stops appears to “give a straightforward explanation of the WJ stød” (Kortlandt 1997, 176), it makes the history of the Scand. stops considerably more complicated, as their deglottalization in the various Scand. languages has to be accounted for. It seems, furthermore, not very likely that a distinctive feature such as [preglottalized], which helps to define a segment as just that segment, is systematically

lost, whenever the words in which it occurs lose their stress, as is the case with WJ stød.

According to Ringgaard (1960, 10) WJ stød is a characteristic of every stop in medial position in stressed words. If this were correct, we would have to assume that the speakers of the dialects in question still hear and produce some element after the stop in apocopated words like *ka''d* 'cats'. This is extremely unlikely. In my opinion the WJ stød is best considered a kind of reinforcement of all unaspirated stops after a stressed sonorous base; it is found word-finally in all apocopated words, as well as in non-apocopated words that end in an unaspirated stop, such as *a''g* 'egg'; aspirated stops lack the glottal reinforcement: *stærk* 'strong'.

2.2.3. Reduction and loss of unstressed syllables

In the 12th c., or perhaps even earlier, all vowels in unstressed final syllables were reduced to *-æ/-e* in West and Central Dan., as is attested by several runic inscriptions from that period, e. g.: *þene* (i. e. *þænne*) < *þænni* 'this, acc.sg.m.' on the Hanning-stone from around 1100 (for more examples, see Skautrup 1944, 225). In East Dan., on the other hand, the vowels /i/ and /u/ were retained after a high vowel /i, y, u/ or a short /ä/ in the preceding, stressed, syllable but lowered to /e/ and /o/ after other vowels; short /ä/ was retained after short syllables, but sometimes weakened to /æ/ after long syllables.

In West Dan. the reduced vowels were lost when not followed by a consonant. Loss of final /ə/ is well attested in manuscripts of *Jyske Lov* (JL) and *Flensborg Stadsret* (FS), e. g.: (FS) *skip rouær* < *rouæræ* 'pirates'; (FS) *tha scul skipmen bithæ ham ien dyghæn* [then the sailors shall wait for him twenty-four hours], with *scul* < *sculæ* cf. East Dan. *sculu*; (JL, AM 286) *saald* < *saaldæ* 'sold'. It seems likely that there still was free variation between forms with and without /ə/ in Jutland at the time when the manuscripts (beginning of the 14th c.) were produced, as both types of form may occur in the same text, e. g. *scul* and *bithæ* in the passage from FS quoted above. In this period the apocopated forms may have developed a circumflex, i. e. a kind of accent that, so to speak, adds an extra syllable to a stressed vowel, as e. g. in the Mod.Sw. word *ja*, which is often pronounced as [ja-a] or [jaha]. By means of the circumflex apocopated and non-

apocopated forms of the same word could be kept together, as Liberman (1982, 140–158) remarks. The circumflex is according to Ringgaard (1959) still to be heard in some dialects in West Jutland, where it is mainly found in apocopated words with long sonorous stems, such as *vî:s* < *vise* 'to show', *kôm:* < *komme* 'to come', *skrÿw:* < *skrive* 'to write'. Since long sonorous syllables developed stød in monosyllabic words, there is opposition in West Jutlandic dialects between words with stød, which originally were monosyllabic, and words with circumflex, which were originally disyllabic, e. g.: *fi'n* : *fi:n*, Standard Dan.: *fi'n* : *fine* 'fine, sg. : pl.>'; *hu's* : *hû:s*, Dan. *hu's* : *huse* 'house : houses'. As the same opposition can be expressed by the presence and absence of stød alone, the circumflex has no real function in the phonological system of the dialects in question, and is therefore likely to disappear in the long run, which, according to Ringgaard (1959), is exactly what happened in the dialects of East Jutland. In these dialects the distinction between old and new monosyllabic words is only maintained when the old monosyllable has stød (*hu's* sg. : *hu:s* pl.), but given up in other cases, e. g. *fesk* N. *fesk* vb., Dan. *fisk* : *fiske* 'fish : to fish'. Since the changes in the morphological system of West and Central Dan. all seem to indicate that the distinction between sg. and pl. has gained in importance, it is not surprising that only in the case of nouns the loss of final *-e* is compensated for. The pl. suffix *-er* is in East Jutland extended to words whose pl. would otherwise be indistinguishable from the sg., e. g. *katter* 'cats', *kæpper* 'sticks', *storker* 'storks' : *katte* > *katt* > *katter*. In the dialects of West Jutland stødless bases ending in *-p*, *-t* or *-k* have West Jutland stød in the pl., e. g. *kat* sg. : *ka''d* pl.; compensation for the lost ending *-e* by means of a suffix *-er* is therefore not necessary in these cases. (For a discussion of similar phenomena in the dialect of Fjølde in Schleswig, see Bjertrum 1944, 60–66.)

2.2.4. Weakening of consonants

In all Dan. dialects /p, t, k/ were weakened to /b, d, g/ when preceded by a stressed vowel and followed by either a vowel or a morpheme boundary, e. g. *gata* > *gada* (East Dan.) > *gade* (Central and West Dan.); *bôk* > *bog*. In Central and West Dan. the resulting voiced stops developed into voiced fricatives /β, ð, γ/, in writing *b*, *th*, *gh*. Forms with *b*, *d*, *th*,

g(h) occur sporadically in texts that were composed well before 1300 but have come down to us in more recent manuscripts, such as Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* (written around 1200), which has weakening in some Latinized Dan. names, e. g. *Krage* < ON *Kraki*, or *Valdemars Sjællandske Lov*, which has weakened forms like *uthæn* 'without, outside' and *withæ* 'know'. The number of occurrences of *b, d, g* < *p, t, k* in the manuscripts from the 14th c. is, however, extremely small, in an overwhelming majority of cases we find *p, t, k* instead of expected *b, d, g(h)*. Skautrup (1944, 229, 257–260) assumes that the written language of that time did not reflect the spoken language (at least not in this respect), but continued to use a traditional spelling. Others argue that the change belongs to a later period, viz. the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th c. (Wessén 1968, 50)

2.2.5. Diphthongization of long vowels in West Danish

In West Dan. the long vowels /ē, ō, ǫ became /i:e, u:o (u:ə, ow), y:ø (y:ə)/ before 1250. These diphthongs are attested in *Flensborg Stadsret*, e. g.: *ien, ient*, modern dialect: *jæn, jæt*, Standard Dan. *en, et* 'a, one'; *stien*, Dan. *sten* 'stone'; *gwoth*, dial. *gu'ə*, Dan. *god* 'good'; *hwos* Dan. *hos* 'at'. In South Jutland the diphthongs were later monophthongized again. The West Dan. diphthongization of /ō/ is described by Nielsen (1959, 53) as the result of a (push) chain reaction: long /ā/ was changed to long /ǎ/ in most of continental Scandinavia; this /ǎ/ became long /ō/, which caused the original long /ō/ to diphthongize.

2.2.6. Other features of West Danish

One of the most characteristic features of West Dan. is the "unbroken" form of the personal pronoun 'I': *a* or *æ* (in South Jutland; cf. Hesselman 1945, 56 who thinks that West Dan. *ak æk* "without any doubt goes back to a pre-literary *iak iäk*"). Unbroken forms of this pronoun are quite frequent in manuscripts of West Dan. origin, e. g. *Jyske Lov*: *Ak dop thik/ æc dopæ thic* (Flensborg ms.) 'I baptize thee'; *Legend of Sancta Cristina*: *ac thackæ thic* 'I thank you', *ac bith thæc* 'I ask you'; prayer, in Harpestreng ms.: *æk ær æi wærthigh* 'I am not worthy'. The verb *stælxæ* (Dan. *stjæle*) also occurs a number of times without breaking of original /ē/, e. g. in *Jyske Lov* and *Flensborg*

Stadsret: *hwo sum stæl i skip* 'who steals on a ship'.

In South Jutland short /a/ is rounded to short /o/ before long /l/, e. g. in *Flensborg Stadsret*, around 1300: *olt hans gooz* 'all his possessions', in the dialect of Fjølde: *ålt* (or *olt?*), cf. Mod.E.

Initial *h* before *w* or *j* was lost in all of Denmark before 1300, except in the North of Jutland, where it is retained up to now in the various dialects; *h* is also retained in writing, but occasional *h*-less forms occur from 1300 onward, e. g.: *ialpa* 'to help' instead of *hjalpa* (*Skånske Lov*), *war* 'each' instead of *hwar/hwær* (*Jyske Lov*, AM 286 fol.).

3. Sweden

In the course of the 13th century the Swedish king succeeded in strengthening his power, and thus in uniting the various parts of the country, at the cost of the ruling classes in the more or less independent "provinces" (*landskap*). In this way the ground was prepared for the creation of a standard language, the language of communication between the state and its subjects. In the written sources from the 13th and 14th c., however, there are hardly any traces to be found of a tendency towards such a "language of the state". Although a certain predominance of the Central Sw. dialects (*sveamål*) can be discerned at the end of the OSw. period (around 1375), no variety in Sweden had as yet attained the same status as Central Dan. in Denmark, which could function as the norm for a great number of local varieties. This may be due to an absence of major dialect differences in this period, which would have made a national language more or less superfluous: almost all the sound changes and changes in the grammatical system that were to fragment the Swedish language into mutually unintelligible dialects belong to the next period. It is possible that the relative uniformity of the language reflects a stronger position of the peasants in Sweden, who had not yet been tied to their lands to the same degree as their Danish colleagues: in Sweden the tax-paying peasants (*skattebönder*) owned more than half of the land, in Denmark less than one eighth.

Minor differences between the spoken language varieties in the various parts of the country were the result of sound laws that belong to the previous period (Runic Scand.), the most important of which are nasal assimilation, monophthongization and loss of pala-

tal /r/. Later changes foreshadow the quantity shift in the 15th and early 16th c.: vowels were weakened after stressed heavy syllables, but retained, or even strengthened, after light syllables (vowel balance). Palatalization of velar stops started in this period, which was to lead to important differences between the various dialects in the next period: some dialects did not change their velar stops at all, other dialects changed every velar stop before a high vowel, whereas the central dialects only changed them in word-initial position.

3.1. Nasal assimilation

In all Scandinavian dialects nasals tended to assimilate to a following voiceless stop: /mp/ > /pp/, /nt/ > /tt/, /nk/ > /kk/. In the dialects of West Scandinavia (Norway, Faroes, Iceland), as well as in the neighbouring West and North Sw. dialects, nasals assimilated in most positions, in East Sweden (North East Småland, Östergötland, Södermanland, South and East Uppland, Gotland) only in un- or weakly stressed position (Moberg 1944, 179–182; Bandle 1973, 36–39). The distribution of assimilated and non-assimilated forms in the various provincial laws (*landskapslagar*) confirms the theory that the nasal assimilation is a Norw. innovation which gradually spread to the adjacent parts of Sweden, until it came to a halt at the borders of Svealand (Moberg 1944, 33–67).

3.2. Monophthongization

The diphthongs /ei, øy/ (< /au/ with *i*-umlaut), au/ were monophthongized in Denmark and large parts of Sweden. The process started in Denmark; on the Gørlev runic stone from the 9th c. the words *risþi* and *stin* are written with an *i*-rune (to be read as *ē*) instead of an expected diphthong *ai* or *æi*. At a snail's pace it spread to the neighbouring Sw. dialects, reaching Central Sweden in the 12th c., or perhaps even later. The dialects of Gotland, Jämtland, Northern Sweden (Västerbotten and Norrbotten), Finland (except Åland) and Estonia were never affected. In all areas /ei/ changed to /ē/, and /øy/ to /ø:/; /au/ changed in most areas to /ø:/, but in Dalarna, Hälsingland, Gästrikland and even North West Uppland, to /å:/ and later /ō/, as is attested by the various dialects, and by several runic inscriptions from Uppland and Västmanland (Strid 1989; Elmevik 1998)

3.3. Loss of palatal r

Palatal /r/ < PGmc *z, which was extremely frequent in both nominal and verbal endings, fell regularly in compounds, e. g.: *sonabarn* (cf. *sunærbörn* in *Västgötalagen* I) 'son's child(ren)'; esp. before the suffix of definiteness: *syndina(r)* 'sin-DEF nom/acc. pl. (cf. Birgitta 2:60 *syndirnar*). Morpheme-final /r/ was lost in two distinct areas in Scandinavia: (a) in the south (Denmark, and South Sweden) and (b) in the west (most of Norway) and north (North Sweden), cf. Tjäder 1961. In Dan. and the dialects of South West Sweden (Götamål) the plurals that originally ended in *-aR* have *R*-less forms, which are already attested in the oldest manuscripts: *fiska* Mod.Sw. *fiskar* 'fishes, nom.'

In North Sweden /r/ fell regularly in all plurals, except in consonant stems, and in the present of strong verbs: *sov, bit, spring* Mod.Sw. *sover, biter, springer* 'sleep(s)', 'bite(s)', 'run(s)'.

3.4. Vowel balance and level stress

Reduction of vowels in unstressed or weakly stressed syllables occurs in all NGmc languages/dialects, as Hesselman (1949–53) has made abundantly clear. In some dialects all vowels in weakly stressed syllables were reduced to /e/ (Gotland, East Götaland, Värmland) or to /æ/ and /e/ < /i, u/ (Södermanland, Närke), both in open and closed syllables. In other dialects, however, weakly stressed vowels were only reduced after heavy syllables but were retained after light syllables. In the oldest manuscripts, such quantity-dependent reduction (vowel balance) is attested from all parts of the country, except West Götaland (and South Sweden, which at this time was part of Denmark). The "sharp" vowels /i, u, a/ after light stem syllables alternate with the "lax" vowels /e, o, æ/ after heavy stem syllables, e. g. *fabir : môþer* ('father' : 'mother', nom. sg.); *fabur : môþor* (acc. sg.); *tala : siungæ* 'to speak' : 'to sing' (Wessén 1968, 61). In a later period weakened vowels in open syllables were lost in Jämtland, Västerbotten, Norrbotten, Finland and Estonia (and Trøndelagen in Norway), which gave rise to the following alternations: (Finland) *kást : tala* 'to throw' : 'to speak'; *tûng : viku* 'tongue' : 'week' (Hesselman 1949–53, 37). The dialects which still have short stems and vowel balance, such as Ragunda in Jämtland, distribute word stress evenly over the two syllables in light stems

(level stress); the two light syllables together are, as it were, equal to one heavy syllable.

3.5. Intonation

Accent 2 is found in most dialects in Norway and Sweden, except in Finland, Estonia and parts of Uppland and Norrland (Överkalix). It is generally assumed that these latter dialects once had accent 2 but later lost it, probably under the influence of Finn., Est., and LG (Selenius 1972; Riad 1998, 72ff.). This assumption seems to be confirmed by the fact that there are some dialects in Finland (West Nyland) that have retained the tonal accent. It is not unthinkable, however, that the dialects that now lack accent 2 never had it, like Icel. and Far. (cf. Fischer-Jørgensen 1989, 19). This would mean that the accentual innovation did not reach Uppland, from where Norrland and Finland were colonized, until the 12th c. The tonal accent in the dialects of West Nyland would then be due to the immigrants from Sweden who were employed in the manors and steel mills in the area (Ahlbäck 1971, 6).

3.6. Palatalization

In most Scand. dialects the velar stops /k, g/ developed palatalized allophones [k^j, g^j] before a front vowel. In Dan. and Sw. manuscripts from the 13th c. onward these “soft” consonants appear as *ki* (*ky*, *kj*), *gi* (*gy*, *gj*): *Skielfiskor* ‘Skælskør’ (1253); *Kiætil* ‘Ketil’; *Gyæltyn* ‘Geltning’ (*Liber Census Daniæ*); *kiöt* Mod.Sw. *kött* ‘flesh, meat’ (*Codex Bureanus*); *kiäre* Mod.Sw. *kär* ‘dear-DEF’ (*SD* 1285). Original *kj* and *gi*, on the other hand, are sometimes ‘misspelled’ as *k*, *g*, e. g.: *gäf* ‘gift’ instead of *giäf* (*SD* 1334); *gärna* (= Mod.Sw.) ‘gladly’ instead of *giärna* (*Codex Bureanus*). In some parts of Denmark (Scania, North Jutland, the southern islands), Norway and Sweden, with the exception of Gotland, Estonia, some parts of Uppland and Nyland (Finland), Nagu and Pargas (Finland), the palatalized velar stops turned into affricates /tj, dj/ and merged with the sequences *t + j*, *d + j*. This stage is represented in OSw. manuscripts by occasional “misspellings” like: *kiuver* for *tiuver* ‘thief’ (Wessén 1968, 66). Finally the affricates turned into palatal fricatives: /dj/ > /j/; /tj/ > /ç/; /skj/ > /ʃ/, which yields a form like *iäf* instead of *giäf* in OSw. manuscripts. Some Sw. dialects (Dalarna, North Sweden, Finland) did not partake in the change from affricate to frica-

tive in the case of /dj/ and /tj/, which were either retained or slightly changed to /dz/ and /sts/ (North Ostrobothnia).

In the northern parts of Sweden (in this case north of Uppsala), Finland and Estonia, the velar stops were palatalized not only in word-initial position, but also word-internally, esp. before the suffixed article, e. g. *ryddjin* Mod.Sw. *ryggen* ‘back-DEF’; *bättjin* Mod.Sw. *bäcken* ‘brook-DEF’; *fistjin* Mod.Sw. *fisken* ‘fish-DEF’.

4. Gotland

The language of Gotland differed according to Noreen (1904, 22; 1913, 52–53) and Wessén (1979¹¹, 109) to such an extent from OSw. and ODan. that one is justified in calling it a Nord. *language* on a par with the other Old Scand. languages. The differences are considerable, indeed, but not so large as to call OGU. (*forn-gutniskan*) a language of its own. The main characteristics of the dialect are:

- a) the old diphthongs /ai/, /øy/ (> /oy/) and /au/ are retained: *stain* ‘stone’; *droyma* ‘to dream’; *auga* ‘eye’; OSw./ODan.: *sten*, *droma*/*dromæ*, *ogha*/*oghæ*.
- b) the reflex of PGmc **eu* is /iau/, in OSw. /iū/: *biauþa* ‘to offer’, OSw. *biūþa* (cf. Ralph 1988).
- c) OSw. *æ* and *ø* correspond with OGu. *e* and *y*: *mēla* ‘to speak’, OSw. *mæla*; *dyma* ‘to judge’, OSw. *dōma*.
- d) short /u/ is retained, except before /r/, also in cases where OSw. shows a change /u/ > /o/: *ful* ‘people’, *sun* ‘son’; OSw. *folk*, *son*.
- e) word-initial /w/ is lost before /r/, as in OWN; OSw. changes /w/ > /v/ in this position: *raip̄i*; OSw. *vrēþe* ‘anger’.
- f) there is no ‘w-breaking’ of short /i/: *singe* ‘to sing’; *sinke* ‘to sink’; OSw. *siunga*, *siunka*.
- g) the velar stops are not palatalized before a front vowel.

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115. Language contact during the Old Nordic period I: with the British Isles, Frisia and the Hanseatic League

1. The profile of Nordic language contact to the west and to the south in the Middle Ages
2. Contact to the west: with England, Scotland and the Orkneys
3. Contact to the south I: with Frisia
4. Contact to the south II: with the Hanseatic League (part I)
5. Literature (a selection)

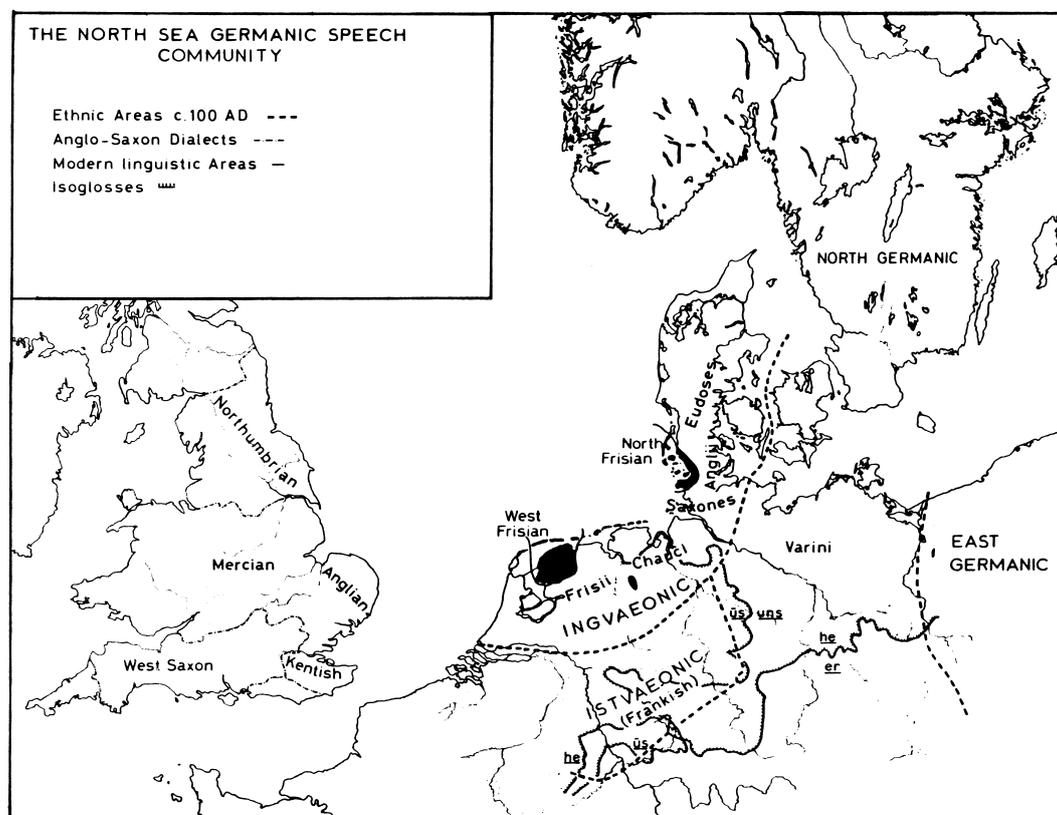
1. The profile of Nordic language contact to the west and to the south in the Middle Ages

1.1. All language contact which will be treated here is characterized by close genetic relationship. Therefore we are faced with (a) special forms of ad-, sub- and superstratum, (b) (pre-

dominantly oral) interdialectal communication, and (c) the possibility for receptive multilingualism and semicomcommunication due to mutual intelligibility.

1.2. The emergence of any pidgin and creole languages (in the traditional senses of these terms) should, however, *not* be expected because of the close genetic relationship between these Gmc dialects. The languages or rather dialects under investigation are thus characterized by common basic structural and, in many cases, also by lexical conformity which considerably increased during the contact period.

Linguistic compromises between idioms in terms of far-reaching reduction and radical



Map 115.1: From Markey (1975, 416) with the permission of Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich

simplification thus do not occur, though various interlanguage phenomena and many other (interdialectal) realignments can be observed. The question is more whether these restructurings were caused by language contact, or whether they are part of a common (Gmc) evolutionary process and inner (typological) drift, respectively (see Sapir 1921, §7; cf. e.g. Russ 1980 pro contact vs. Ringgaard 1986 contra contact).

1.3. “Language mixing”, whatever that actually may mean in these cases, must be considered too vague a term properly to define these special forms of linguistic convergence and accommodation between dialects of one and the same language family (cf. the discussion in Görlach 1986; or Hines 1991, though with a misleading use of “creole”).

1.4. Creoloids (Trudgill 1992, 21 f.), however, do occur because some of these languages have experienced certain forms of simplification and admixture, but they have undergone neither reduction (as is the case in pidginization between totally different languages) nor expansion (a natural consequence when a pidgin becomes a creole). When creoloids develop, mutual understanding is never endangered: Most speakers accommodate rapidly, either deliberately or more or less inadvertently when a new, quasi-dialectal variety with high social prestige and connected with economic, political, military or cultural power comes into use through contact with an influential group of (mostly) immigrant speakers (here: the ON-speaking Danish or Norwegian Vikings and the MLG-speaking German Hanseatic merchants, respectively).

1.5. Even the occurrence of jargons (Trudgill 1992, 41; 2000, 76 f.) as intermediate stages of more or less balanced bilateral linguistic contact can actually not be excluded, the result of which is a non-stable, non-focused oral variety. Jargons (like pidgins) typically occur in trading situations and/or when linguistic effectiveness is the prevailing concern.

1.6. This linguistic situation does, of course, not exclude the existence of a (supranational) lingua franca, which was Latin during the entire Middle Ages. Furthermore, Latin was not only the language of the church and of scholarship, but it was also used as a language for specific purposes, e.g. within jurisprudence and book-keeping.

2. Contact to the west: with England, Scotland and the Orkneys

2.1. The situation we are faced with at the beginning of the High Middle Ages is quite typical of eras with previous predominantly oral communication: During the (early medieval) OE period Scandinavian/Viking conquerors and settlers heavily influenced the Anglo-Saxon dialects primarily in the eastern and northern parts of England (eastern Mercia, East Anglia and Northumbria; in Scotland: the far northwestern parts and the Orkneys; and in Ireland: scattered parts in the west and south; see map 115.2). In England, this part of the country is usually called Danelaw, i.e. the territories under the rule of Danish law. But the results of this contact and the far-reaching consequences for the English lexicon were not to be seen to their full extent before the end of this epoch, i.e. at the beginning of the ME period, where, for the first time, we have access to a greater selection of documents belonging to different types of texts and dealing with a greater variety of topics. The spread of these originally Scand. elements to the southern dialects (esp. to London) did not take place, however, until the migrations of the 14th century.

Furthermore, it should be noted (see Hofmann 1955, 253–261) that lexical fusions (e.g. in *sōlmerca* ‘sundial’ < ON *sōl* and OE *-merca* [< *gemearcian* ‘to show’], but not < ON *merki* ‘sign’) and borrowings due to overt correlations such as OE *earl* – ON *iarl* or OE *manncyn* – ON *mannkyn* ‘mankind, people’ (a loan translation) occurred but were not primarily intentional. These two closely related dialects were in principle kept apart, as far as this can be judged from the written sources. But there are good reasons to suppose that informal communication in everyday life was quite different and must therefore have produced many compromise and/or hybrid forms (cf. *to bask* ‘to bathe oneself’ or *to busk* ‘to prepare oneself’ < ON *búa* ‘to live’, with the ON medio-passive suffix *-sk*; Barber 1993, 133). Examples of semantic split can be found, too: ON *dvelja* ‘dwell’ vs. OE *dwellan* ‘to lead astray’ (Barber 1993, 131).

Peters (1981) and Wollmann (1996) give comprehensive surveys of the (approx. 140) clearly attested Scand. loanwords in OE. The bulk of these loans are

(a) maritime: *cnear* (with vowel breaking!) < ON *knorr* ‘merchant-ship’, *snace* < ON



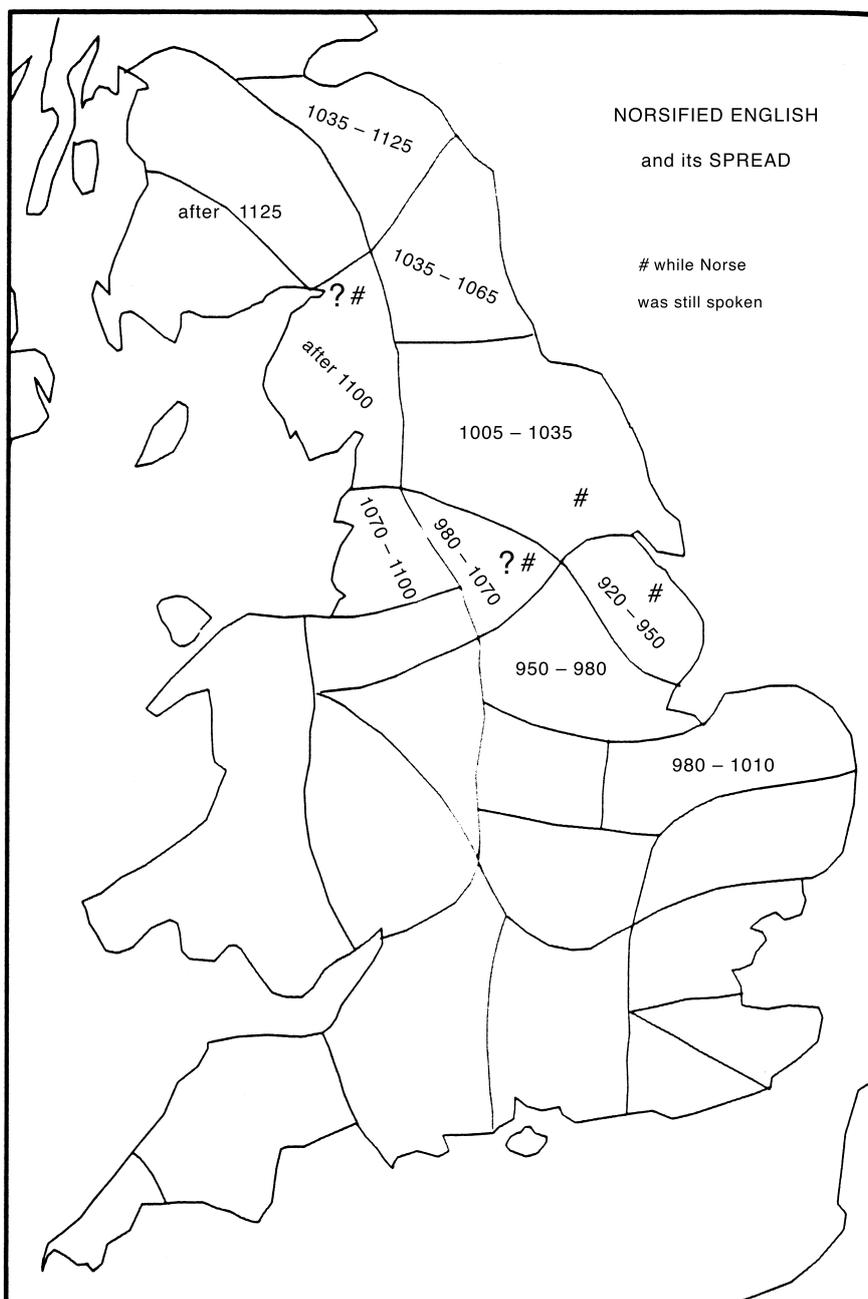
Great Britain in the Viking Age.

Map 115.2: From Kisbye (1982, 32) with the permission of Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen

snekkja 'swift-sailing ship', *stēoresmann* < ON *stýrimaðr* 'steersman' (a loan translation), (b) legal: *fēolaȝa* < ON *fēlagi* 'fellow, mate', *sac* < *sekr* 'guilty', and (c) societal: *bōnda/būnda* < ON *bóndi/búandi* 'husbandman', *swān* < ODan. *svēn* 'man, warrior' (not < *sveinn!*), *marc* (without vowel

breaking) < ON *mark*, *sceppa* < ON *skeppa* 'bushel'.

For further details, see the seminal investigations done by Hofmann (1955) for OE and Björkman (1900/1902) for ME; and for the various types and derivations of Scand.



Map 115.3: From Thomason/Kaufman (1988, 338) with the permission of University of California Press

names, esp. place-names, see Fellows-Jensen (1991) and the summarizing art. 224 by Sandred, which treats this matter in extenso.

2.2. Later, in the ME era, we are at once faced with numerous loans from Scandinavian, most of them expressing items from everyday-

life. This observation can be regarded as clear evidence for the dominance of the Vikings in their sphere of influence: They were in a position to replace many common OE terms of WGmc/AS origin in the core vocabulary. Owing to the great similarity of the varieties involved and the complete integration of all

loans from ON, we may positively conclude that the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians formed a linguistically quite homogeneous society at the end of the OE era and before England was conquered by the French-speaking Normans (in 1066 A.D.). Finally, the once dominant Vikings became assimilated to the Anglo-Saxons (latest, however, in the northern parts of England; see map 115.3). Cultural divergency was of a minor nature and disappeared sooner or later, if it ever existed at all (cf. Kisbye 1982, 137ff.).

2.3. What actually happened in the Danelaw area can, however, only be inferred by cross-linguistic evidence (cf. Kisbye 1982, 42ff. and especially Thomason/Kaufman 1988, 275ff.):

(1) This period was clearly dominated by oral communication: The majority of the Vikings invading England were uneducated. Their administration was primarily based on military force without much need for elaborate administrative documents. The further decline of the (rather modest) Anglo-Saxon writing tradition was thus only a matter of time.

(2) The pre-existing typological and genetic closeness of the two languages involved made not only interdialectal communication possible but also gave rise to a linguistic restructuring of these Gmc dialects in contact, which may be called interdialectal convergence.

(3) The result of this far-reaching dialect contact was non-focused forms of a dialect-based Anglo-Saxon creoloid. But this final development probably underwent stages of balanced bilateral contact first, a situation which usually occurs when jargons emerge (cf. 1.5.). This means, e.g., that the same word order was accepted by either side, no matter what kind of wording was preferred. Even mixtures of both dialectal variants were obviously tolerated.

(4) This development came to an end when the Normans conquered England, introducing new forms of rule and administration based on Latin and French as written languages. This (indirect) revival of a rather weak writing tradition (cf. (1)) gave way to the establishment of a new literary tradition for writing local/dialect forms of ME.

The diglossic status of the ME dialects as low varieties did not change, however. Norman – a northern French dialect which later, in its vernacular form, was better known as Anglo-Norman – together with Latin (cf. Wright 1996 for the area of London) soon be-

came the new high variety due to the higher social and political status of the Norman invaders.

(5) Very characteristic of the origin of jargons is (morphological) simplification. And this is exactly what happened, but only in the development of the dialects in the northern parts of England (cf. Thomason/Kaufman 1988, 275ff.; see 2.6.).

(6) Finally and therefore marking the beginning of the new (ME) period, ON forms became completely absorbed by these (internally quite divergent) Anglo-Saxon creoloids: The embedded ON loans could, at this time, hardly be distinguished any more from the (still dominant) elements of the matrix language.

(7) The intensification of any genuine code-switching as a consequence of this linguistic change can, however, be excluded due to the quasi-dialectal nature of this contact. However, other forms of bilingualism (Gmc dialects – Latin) are not affected by this observation.

2.4. The grammatical side of the “Norsification” of Anglo-Saxon has been analyzed thoroughly in a case study by Thomason/Kaufman (1988, 282ff.). They pointed out that about two-thirds of the structural as well as lexical loans from Scandinavian could also have been part of any other contemporary English dialect: “The Norse influence on English was pervasive, in the sense that its results are found in all parts of the language; but it was not deep, except in the lexicon” (p. 302). Furthermore, personal and demonstrative pronouns in particular as well as auxiliaries were similar or almost identical in many of their forms due to the inter-Gmc dialectal relationship just mentioned. Under other circumstances, the replacement of function words and auxiliaries would, however, be considered an indicator of a “more intense” (level 3) form of language contact.

There are 57 items listed in table 6 in Thomason/Kaufman (1988, 293–295) which demonstrate these ON-based grammatical influences in ME on the following levels:

- (a) processes: e.g. no *i-* on perfect participles; but there is no such prefix in ON; cf. OE *ge-* /je/,
- (b) affixes: *umbe-* ‘around’; *-leik* ‘-ness’; *scap* ‘-ship’ vs. OE *-sċip*,
- (c) phonetic trait: #[f _] not #[v _],
- (d) copula: *ert* ‘(thou) art’, *er* ‘is’, *ere* ‘are’; *waare*/*woaren* ‘were’,

- (e) auxiliaries: *mun* – *munde* ‘must, will’; *sall* ‘shall’ – *sulde* ‘should’,
- (f) pronouns: *they* – *them* replacing OE *hī(e)* and *him*, respectively; *theire*; *sliik* ‘such’; *thir(e)* ‘these’; *same*,
- (g) noun plurals: *breedher* ‘brothers’, *dehter(es)* ‘daughters’; *hend* ‘hands’,
- (h) strong verbs: e.g. *give(n)* – *gaf* – *geeven* ‘to give’ or *gete(n)* – *gat* – *geeten* ‘to get’ vs. OE forms with /je-/,
- (i) quantifiers: *twinne* ‘two’, *faa/foa* ‘few’; *minne* ‘less’,
- (j) comparatives: *werre/werse* ‘worse’,
- (k) place words: *hedhen* ‘hence’, *whaare* ‘where’, *thaare* ‘there’; *til* ‘to’; *fraa/froa* ‘from’; *samen* ‘together’,
- (l) time words: *ay* ‘always’, *aar/oar* ‘before’, *after* ‘after’,
- (m) conjunctions: *ook* ‘also’, *at* ‘that; (for) to’; *sum* ‘as, so’, and finally
- (n) interjections: *yaa* ‘yes!’, *way* ‘alas!’.

2.5. To sum up, contact with ON did not cause or even stimulate any typologically or structurally significant simplification in English dialects. Rather, it added many new and/or prestigious variants to genetically closely related dialects, or it replaced outdated lexemes by forms with some sort of divergent pronunciation. Only in this respect does the Nordic-English dialect influence resemble the restructuring of the mainland Scandinavian languages under the influence of the (equally) prestigious Middle Low German language (see 4.). What actually happened was nothing more than the development of a West Gmc creoloid, an interdialectal expanded vernacular based on OE dialects due to Scand. language contact.

2.6. Special attention has to be paid to the situation in the northern part of England, roughly between the river Humber and the Scottish border, sometimes called the “Great Scandinavian Belt” (Kolb 1965; Samuels 1985; Nielsen 1998, 184ff.; see map 115.4). In this area, the ME dialects are simpler in their morphological structure than the other ME dialects. This development may be seen in connection with social upheavals but, in any case, it has nothing to do with the structure of ON itself. Bilinguals (ON–OE/early ME) living in some remote areas, where ON survived in closed communities until the 12th century (the assumption made in Samuels 1985, 278ff.; cf. also map 115.3), and the transition from focused bidialectalism to the use of diffuse, jar-

gon-like interdialectal variants in the next generation(s), together with the migration of these people away from their homelands up to Scotland may serve as a cross-linguistically tenable explanation for this development: Such scenarios may have as their result morphologically restructured and convergent languages or (here) vernaculars.

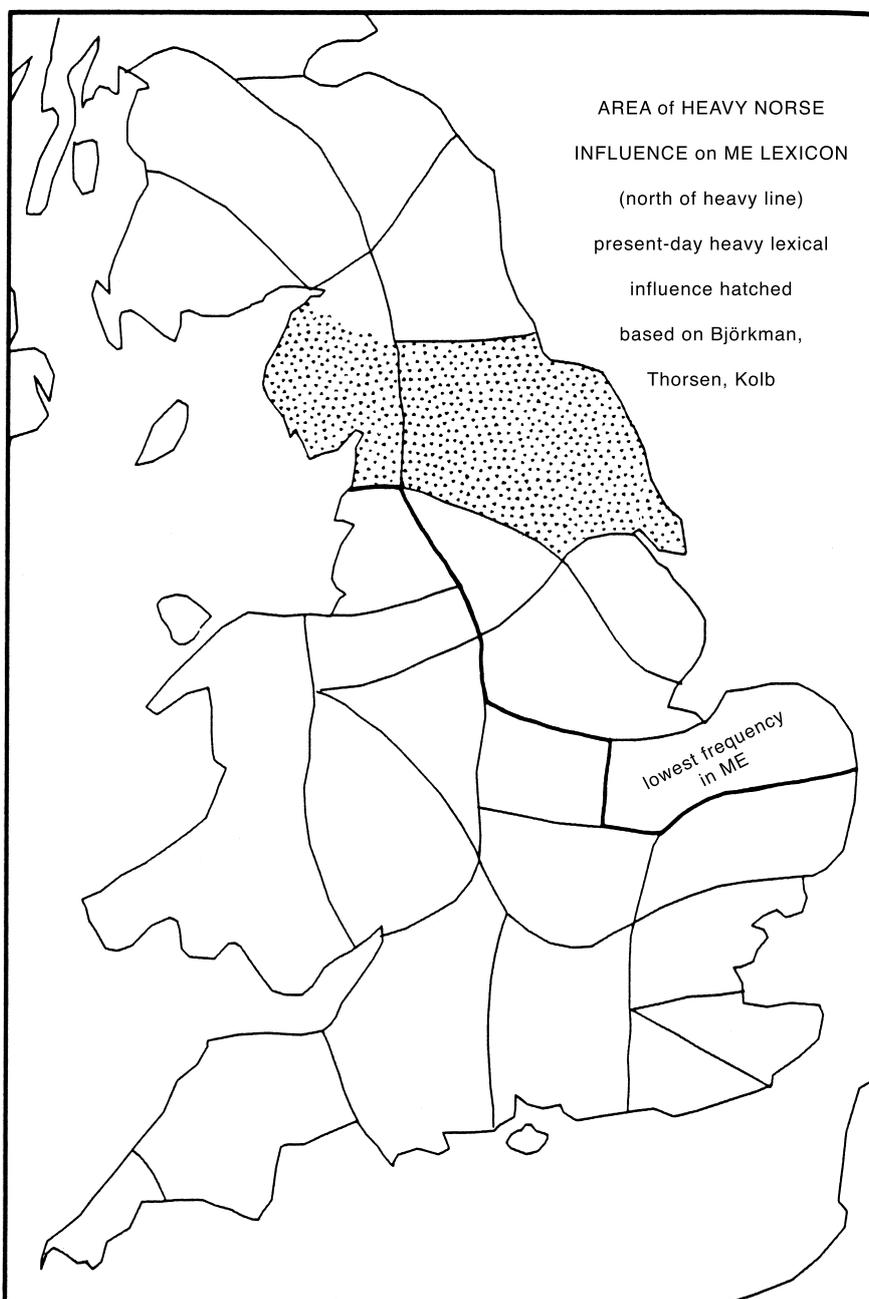
2.7. A further but rather controversial point of structural importance has not been touched upon yet: Both OE and ME came into contact with two groups of non-English speakers, both Scandinavian in origin (cf. Barber 1993, 127):

(1) Melberg (1949/1951, 785), representing the *opinio communis* of older research, e.g. has pointed out that NGmc shares a series of important innovations with WGmc, especially with AS: “Several varieties of breaking spread to the Southern Scandinavians from the Angles, Jutes, and Frisians” (p. 787; before 450 A.D.). Some hundred years later, in the Viking Age, this contact has come full circle because “[t]he Danes were the neighbours of the Angles and Jutes, who were to occupy Britain” (p. 793). These observations have been used not only to motivate some obvious NWGmc innovations such as the occurrence of several breaking processes in both branches of Germanic but also to explain the rather unspectacular integration of ON patterns and lexemes into OE.

More recent research, however, came to the conclusion that breaking/diphthongization occurred independently in the languages under discussion (see Nielsen 1984, 80). Thus, it seems that the parallel developments mentioned are due to common Gmc evolutionary processes rather than due to contact with neighbours. Anyway, the idioms in contact show similar phonological structures at approximately the same time, which facilitated the integration of Scand. loans into English considerably.

(2) The earliest contact with a French-speaking population in 1066 A.D. involved also – indirect – Nordic language contact because Norman (!) French represents a NW-French dialect with some Gmc (lexical) loans and, potentially, more but unknown (Scand.?) substrata.

(Other, esp. earlier forms of substrata in English, e.g. from Celtic or pre-IE-languages, can not be dealt with here; see Ureland 1978 or Vennemann 1999 with further references.)



Map 115.4: From Thomason/Kaufman (1988, 340) with the permission of University of California Press

2.8. Detailed research on language contact phenomena in the opposite direction (OE/ME > Scand.) is relatively rare (cf. Hofmann 1955). Eiriksson (1991) e.g. discusses the impact of English loans in Icelandic with respect

to fishing and trading terminology in the late Middle Ages: e.g. *doggur* 'dog' (a type of shark) and *hafurtask* 'haberdash' (but cf. Dan. *havtaske*) (p. 151).

3. Contact to the south I: with Frisia

3.1. Contact with the Frisians is characterized by a more balanced form of linguistic exchange.

For a survey of the pre-OFris. developments and contact see Nielsen (1994): “the oldest of these [contacts] might go back to the pre-Carolingian era where Frisians and Scandinavians were neighbours, while others might stem from the time when Frisian traders played an important role in Hedeby and Birka” (p. 110).

Since the early Middle Ages, Frisian lexical loans have infiltrated into the southernmost Scand. dialects, probably to the same extent as the dialect of the Angles has left its traces in this Jutish-dominated border area of (the later duchy of) Schleswig. Later, many Dan. words were borrowed, especially into the insular NFris. dialects of Sylt, Föhr and Amrum. Mutual borrowings and parallels due to genetic relationship and/or common innovations were thus quite usual in this transitional area with its (more or less) multilingual population.

3.2. Nielsen (1981, 187ff. and 215–220) has given a (predominantly) morphological survey of parallels between the genetically related languages OE, OFris. and OSx. on the one hand and ON on the other. But the internal WGmc innovations common to OE and OFris. are more striking than the parallels between OFris. and ON no matter whether they are genetically related or due to language contact. Similarly, Hofmann (1979, 18f.) has pointed out that the linguistic differences between OFris. and ODan. were more significant than those between OFris. and OSx. or MLG.

3.3. In any case, all Frisians felt compelled to learn at least one of the local majority languages, either Danish, often represented by its vernacular variant Jutish, or Low German. Thus, a functional diglossic situation developed, often connected with personal relations.

3.4. Since the Frisians settled much earlier on the islands than on the mainland, the borrowed forms diverge considerably in the various dialects, depending on the time they entered these dialects.

In some cases, however, the ODan. consonants are still preserved (cf. ODan. **stēkæ* ‘to roast’ with /-k-/ > Ins.NFris. *stiakē/stiūke(-i)* and Mainl.NFris. *steeke/stäike/stäke* vs. Mod.Dan. *stege* [‘sɔ(j)²] with the reduction

or the total loss of the former *k/g*-phoneme). Even function words were sometimes affected by Scand./Dan. influence: the original Frisian forms for negation, derived from OFris. *nā*, have totally been replaced by Danish-based equivalents (*ech/ich/ek/eg/üäch/äi/ää* < Dan. *ikke* (Hofmann 1979, 19).

Furthermore, cases of coincidental mergers in phonology between NFris. and Dan. can be observed (cf. *baage/bååge/boog* ‘to bake’ < **bāge*: either (a) < OFris. **baka* or (b) ODan. **bakæ* vs. *maage/mååge/moog* ‘stomach’ < OFris. **maga*, but not < ODan. **maghæ*, cf. Mod.Dan. *mave*). Though fricativization might have its origin in Danish, this phonological change turns out to be more restricted in Frisian (only in intervocalic position) than in Danish (in final positions, too): see Mainl.NFris. *schap* (sg.) ‘ship’ – *schaawe* (pl.) ‘ships’ vs. Dan. *skib/e*, in both cases with obstruents, (ditto NFris. *spat* – *spaaase* ‘cut with a spade’ and *feek* – *fääge* ‘section’ vs. Dan. *spid* and *fag* (now: *j/(γ)* or \emptyset), respectively). Since this development did not affect the old long vowels, it must be taken for granted that these changes occurred before the beginning of the 14th century, i.e. before the restructuring of the syllables in Jutish/Scandinavian towards uniformly long syllables took place (see Haugen 1984, 326f.): cf. OFris. *gripa* > *grip(e)*, ‘to grip’; *bīta* > *bit(e)*, ‘to bite’ and *brūka* > *brük(e)*, ‘to use’ vs. Dan. *gribe*, *bide* and *bruge*, respectively (all examples are from Hofmann 1979, 20f.).

3.5. As these few paradigmatic examples have shown, etymological investigations are faced with enormous problems in deciding whether a certain word has been borrowed (from Dan.) or not. Some of the problems are mentioned or discussed in Löfstedt (1963/1965–1969) and Århammar (1992). But even exhaustive collections of words summing up all (evident) loans from Danish (here) will not be able to give a reasonable explanation for these far-reaching lexical changes in North Frisian. Why, e.g., should we expect OFris. *sax* ‘a sort of knife’ or *fiūr* ‘fire’ to be replaced by their ODan. equivalents *knif* and *æld*?

Further, Dan. loans do not only, as the examples mentioned have shown, occur in the core vocabulary but also in those domains where the Frisians were supposed to be more advanced (cf. Faltings 1983). Any explanation which does not consider the North Frisians’ multilingualism must therefore fail: If their main trading partners or other contact per-

sons were only accustomed to Danish or Low German, the Frisian minority had to accommodate in order to be understood by the majority population(s) and thus to become successful in business. Code-switching is easier the more correspondences and parallels there are between the languages/dialects involved. So, the Frisians gave way on the one hand (incorporation of non-native but related words), but simultaneously they succeeded in reducing the burden of mastering two, or often, three linguistic codes on the other.

3.6. Cultural exchanges on various levels, however, can be found on both sides. Some examples in Andersen's (1995) lists, comprising only terms connected with eating, drinking and the household, show that loans from North Frisian and especially from Dutch were also to be found in the dialects of Jutland. This may demonstrate that a certain amount of cultural exchange even took place between the common people in Jutland and their contacts from the south/west (cf. Jut. *kastrol* 'casserole' or *beskojt* 'rusk/ biscuit' via Dutch; *strog* (*strog*) 'first milk after calving, spread on bread before baking' < Du. *strooken* 'to stroke [to milk]'; Jut. *bjæst/bjost* 'first milk' < NFris. *bjarst/bjürst*; Jut. *mukke* 'to crush with a hammer' < Du. *moker* 'big hammer' or Jut. *bak|skulde* < Du. *bakschol* 'fried plaice'). But much more research still needs to be done before we are able to determine the actual extent of the influence from the (south) western bordering population on West Danish/Jutish and Scandinavian in general.

4. Contact to the south II: with the Hanseatic League (part I)

4.1. The famous Hanseatic League or just the Hansa ('guild') started as a small and loose trading association of North German merchants. They succeeded in taking over the old (waterborne) trading routes in the Baltic via Visby on Gotland and the coastal connections in the North Sea area in the middle of the 12th century (see map 115.5). Their transnational activities were based on more advanced technology (a new type of ship) and a more effective organization (better logistics including commercial enclaves ("Kontore") in Bergen, London (see Lappenberg 1851) and Novgorod; unified commercial and, later, even uniform legal conditions). But no pivotal trading place (such as Haithabu was in the early

Middle Ages) emerged before the end of the 13th century. (Lübeck was founded in 1159 A.D.) This early period is best characterized by the term "Merchants' Hansa", which lasted from 1150 – 1250/1300 A.D., i.e. almost to the end of the era to be dealt with here. For the rise and decline of the Hansa as a mighty trading union and a precursor to a Northern European common market, see art. 135 which is devoted to the so-called "Hansa of the Towns" (part II).

4.2. The languages used in the early days of contact with the Hansa were Latin, as the (predominantly written) lingua franca of the Middle Ages (for legal documents of any kind, but also for book-keeping) on the one hand, and Middle Low German and Scandinavian for face-to-face communication on the other.

There is no evidence, however, that any trading jargon or a pidgin ever evolved. Since the vernacular languages were not standardized in those days, migrating merchants as well as their Scandinavian trading partners in the coastal towns were used to understanding many dialectal variants of their native language and often of the neighbouring dialects, too.

Thus, there are good reasons to assume that both sides very soon must have been aware that the Scand. languages were very closely related to MLG and its dialects, and that neither an interpreter (as in Russia) nor any forms of active bilingualism were mandatory to be sufficiently understood: The interlinguistic relations within the Gmc-speaking parts of the Baltic and beyond were based on mutual intelligibility and receptive multilingualism. This form of communication has also been called semicommunication (cf. Braumüller 1995) and has its obvious counterpart in modern inter-Scandinavian communication. Native command of either Dan./Swed./Norw. or MLG proved to be a sufficient precondition for this – by no means unique – form of receptive multilingualism (cf. the possibility for semicommunication between Slavic, Romance and Finno-Ugrian languages). Therefore, a Swede or a Dane may have considered MLG a potential or quasi-dialect of his/her own linguistic system and would consequently understand what the Hanseatic merchant wanted to say.

4.3. The following historical facts can be regarded as crucial preconditions for the overwhelming success of the Hansa:

(a) At the beginning of the High Middle Ages, Scandinavia was quite underdeveloped in comparison to continental Europe with respect to economy, administration, Christianity, education and literacy in general.

(b) Northern Germany and its merchants played a mediating role and held a key position between the periphery (Scandinavia) and the centre of Europe (southern Germany, France, Italy).

(c) Low German was obviously a prestigious language or a high variety (not only for the upper classes), and it gradually acquired an important function when participation in the various advancements coming from the south was desired.

(d) All contact around the Baltic and the coastal regions of the North Sea was decentralized in nature. This led not only to contact on equal terms but also to a faster spread of loanwords and rapid transfer of other related linguistic structures in general.

4.4. Due to the close genetic relationship, loans and transfers of word formation elements (such as the affixes *an-*, *be-*, *for/för-*, *-het/hed*, *-else*) were possible without causing any integrational problems for the receiving linguistic systems. Both language/dialect groups in contact were also typologically similar, the consequence of which was the development of some sort of interdialectal continuum around the Baltic, i.e. between the linguistic varieties of Scand. and of MLG. The predominantly parallel structures in word order and in syntax were obvious, too: There was hardly any structure which could be regarded as inappropriate or definitely obsolete.

The price to be paid for the many lexical or structural loans from MLG was, however, a deep-seated typological restructuring of the Scand. languages according to WGmc patterns (cf. e.g. the increasing use of derivations with pre-verbs of the type OSw. *bestigha* (with a direct object) 'to climb up' vs. the inherited ON/OSw. type *stíga á* ≈ *stígha på* (with an intransitive/prepositional object)).

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116. Language contact during the Old Nordic period II: with Eastern Europe

1. Introduction
2. Domains and sources of Scandinavian influence
3. Conclusion
4. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

Language contact between Old Nordic in Scandinavia and “the East”, i. e. the Finnic, Baltic and Slavic populations in what is now Russia, the Baltic States and – possibly – also Finland, or, generally speaking, language influence across the eastern part of the *Baltic*

Sea, is to be seen and explained in the context of political, economic, and social relations between these areas. It is clear from historical sources (Tacitus, Jordanes et alii) that we have to account for such relations as early as the first century B. C., when the Goths crossed the Baltic Sea, emigrating from Scandinavia to its southern shores, settling on both sides of the Vistula river, which they left later – beginning in the first century A. D. – following this river upstream, ultimately settling in (now) SW-Ukraine and the territories on the northern shores of the Black Sea. It is generally assumed that this period of time provides the historical

and ethnological background for many linguistic influences, in particular lexical borrowings from Proto-Germanic or Gothic into the Proto-Slavic and Proto-Baltic (possibly also Proto-Finnic) languages (cf. Kiparsky 1934; Stender-Petersen 1927). As the present article concerns only later borrowings and influences, i. e. from the Viking period, we will have to separate these from those of the Gothic (or Proto-Germanic) period, which will cause some difficulties methodologically, as we shall see later, when discussing individual items.

The immigration or invasion of Scandinavian Germanic-speaking people (merchants or warriors respectively) into East-Slavic territories is very well documented in Old Russian chronicles as well as in Byzantine (e.g. Scylitzes) and Old Nordic chronicles (Snorri's *Heimskringla*) and other documents, including runic inscriptions (cf. Düwel 1968, Krause 1993², Mel'nikova 1998, Sverdlov 1974) both in Scandinavia and Old Russia. This is so well known, though still discussed at length in much detail, that we need not repeat it here, restricting ourselves to the bare facts relevant to the question of language contact. We may refer here to the historical works by Birnbaum (1978), Forssman (1983²), Hellmann/Schramm/Zernack (1981), Lägheid (1984), Rüss (1981), Stender-Petersen (1934), Wührer (1976).

It is communis opinio that the number of Scandinavian people who immigrated into or invaded the East European territories – irrespective of the ethnic character of their population – was relatively small, though effective in military and political respects. The reason for this is that the motivation for these raids by the Vikings was not the occupation of new lands for settlers or great masses of population, but rather the famous glamour of oriental cities and treasures of gold and precious stones, which they hoped to gain by conquering these countries and towns. Old Russia, called *Garðaríki* in Old Nordic, i. e. 'country of towns', was only a transit country for these adventurers, who hoped for a better life after a short spell of extreme violence. Also the probably relatively small number of merchants who preceded or accompanied them were attracted by the tales of gold and silver, palaces and marvellous treasures of oriental countries and cities such as Miklagard (the 'great city' of Byzantium), Serkland ('land of silk' or 'of the Saracenes') and others.

The ethnographic and linguistic situations in these areas were by no means homogene-

ous, but included at least four major divisions: Baltic, (East) Slavic, Finno-Ugric and Turkic (cf. Schmid 1981, Vasmer 1941). All of these have many modern language descendants. Nevertheless, for cultural and linguistic reasons, we can observe phenomena of language contact almost exclusively in East Slavic: neither the Baltic nor Finno-Ugric nor Turkic peoples produced and left us written records from which we would be able to determine anything about the state of these languages at this time, e. g. during the 10th through the 12th or 13th centuries. Only Slavic documents were produced from at least the middle of the 11th century (1056/7). As strong as the political and military impact of the Normans upon the Slavic people may have been, the main cultural influence on the Slavs and their conquerors came from Byzantium: due to the strong influence of Christianity, finally adopted by the "Russians" in 988, they were totally acculturated by Byzantine Greek and (Slavo)-Bulgarian monks and priests, who imported religious ideas and books written in Cyrillic, i. e. a kind of Greek alphabet, in a (South)-Slavic language. (The term *Russian* (*rus-ŷsk-*) originally meant the Swedish tribe of the *roths* (*karlar*), Finnish *rotsi/ruotsi* 'Swede', but was later (in the course of time) applied to all inhabitants of the Kiev state, called *Rus'*, the vast majority of whom were Slavs ethnically and linguistically. Since the Normans (or *Varangians*, as they are called in the east) were pagans at the time they came to the east, they could not withstand this strong influence from the south: however, they accepted both the local culture and language, and finally were totally assimilated to the Slavic majority.

2. Domains and sources of Scandinavian influence

Except for some single runic inscriptions, we do not have any North Germanic documents created in these regions. So we must look for traces of the culture and language of the Normans which may have survived in a Slavic context, i. e. in written documents in the Slavic language.

Of course the Normans brought their names with them: *Rjurik*, *Igor'*, *Oleg*, *Ol'ga* etc. certainly are names of Germanic origin, some of which have survived until the present (cf. Vasmer 1971 vol. II, 814–71; Forssman 1983², 44–60; Strumiński 1996, 77–228; see 2.1-3). In addition we have a number of toponymic and

hydronymic items evidently coined by the Normans in “Russia”, e. g. the famous names of the Dniepr river rapids, mentioned by Porphyrogenetos (*De administrando imperio*) in Slavic (σλαβηγιστί) and North Germanic (ῥωσιιστί!), and other names of settlements (towns) and rivers (see 2.2.). Nomina appellativa of North Germanic origin are to be found in Old Russian documents as well as in modern (North) Russian dialects and – to a minor degree – in contemporary literary standard Russian also (see 2.3.). A few borrowings from Old Russian into Old Nordic are discussed in 2.4. The question of whether there are Varangian traces in the morphology or syntax of North Russian dialects (the post-positive article, possessive perfect) is discussed by Panzer (1984) and will be briefly summarized in 2.5.

Though of minor importance here, it must be mentioned that some scholars assume there was Old Nordic influence also in literature (folklore), e. g. the tale of Igor, *byliny* etc. (Forssman 1983², 80–99), and law (*Russkaja pravda*). This, of course, is of considerable importance generally, as far as the social and cultural background of language contact is concerned; but as to the linguistic consequences (lexical borrowings) of such phenomena, we will need to deal with them only marginally.

2.1. Personal names

From Forssman (1983², 31 ff.) and Strumiński (1996, 159–62) we can compile the following list of Old Russian names with their Old Nordic equivalents (< means ‘coming from’; reconstructed forms are marked by *; pairs connected by ‘=’ may have gone the other way, i. e. from Slavic to Old Nordic).

The first Russian princes were:

Rjurik < *(H)rōrikR; *Sineus* < *Signiutr*; *Truvor* < *Pró(w)arr|Þorvarr, ONorw. *thrúvar* ‘true’; *Oleg* < *Helgi; *Igor* < *Ingorr|Ingvarr; *Ol’ga* < *Helga*; *Malfrid* < *Málfríðr*; *Rognedi* < *Ragnheiðr*; (*Vladimir*, *Volodimer* = *Valdimarr*); (*Jaroslav* = *Jarizleifr*).

Other *personal names* in Old Russian literature include:

(J)*Akun* < *Hák*(u/o/a)n; *Askold* < *HaskuldR|Hōskuldr; *Asmud* < *Asmundr*, *Asmóðr*; *Bern* < *Björn*; *Blud* < *Bloði*; *Dir* < *Diuri*; *Friand* < *Frænde*; *Ikmor* < *Ingmarr*; *Ivor* < *Ingvarr*; *Ljut* < Icel.-Norw. name *Ljótr*; *Olma* < *Holmi*; *Olstin* < *Holmstæinn*; *Otvine* <

(OHG) *Otwini*; *Rogvolod* < *Ragnvaldr*; *Sfengos* < *Svænke*; *Sveneld*, *Svenald* < *Sveinaldr*; *Simon* < *Sigmundr*; *Tuky* < *Tóki*; *Tur(y)* < *Thóre*; *Uleb* < *Olef*, *Oleifr*; *Vōdmol/váth* ‘cloth’, *mál* ‘measure’, Sw. *vadmal* ‘cloth’; *Ždibern* < *Sig-Björn*(?)

In the treaties made by *Oleg* and *Igor* with *Byzantium* in 907, 912 and 945 A.D., the following names of Old Nordic origin are mentioned (cf. Strumiński 1996, 162–6; 211 ff.):

907: *Farlof* < *Farulfr*; *Karl*; *Rulav* < *RōllabR|Hrolleifr; *Stemid/r* < *Steinviðr*?; *Ver/lemud* < *Vermu(n)dr*;

912: *Fost* < *FastuR; *Frelavc* < *Frilleifr*; *Inegeld* < *Ingialdr*; *Karly* < *Karli*; *Karn* < *karna* (from a runic inscription in Sweden); *Lidul(f)* < *Lidulif* < *Leiðulfr*(?) (*litulfr* in a runic inscription); *Ruald* < *Hróaldr*; *Rjuar* < *Hróarr*; *Truan* < þróndr, þrándr;

945: *Adulb* < *Auðulfr*; *Aðun* < *Audun*; *Aldan* < *Hálfðan*; *Alvad* < *Halvarðr*; *Bruny* < *Bruni*; *Emig* < *Hemíngr*; *Fudri* < *Frudr*; *Fursten* < *Thurstain*; *Gomol* < *Gamall*; *Grim* < *Grimr*; *Gunar* < *Gunnarr*; *Gunastr* < *Gunnfastr*; *Iggvilad* (*Angivlad*) < *Ingivaldr*; *Kary* < *Kári/e*; *Prasten* < *Freysteinn*; *Sfandr* < *Svanhildr*(?); *Sludi* < *Slóði*; *Stir* < *Styrr*; *Sven* < *Sveinn*; *Šibrid* < *Sigfríðr*; *Sichbern*, *Sigobern* < *Sighjörn*; *Tulb* < Sw. Dan. *Thólfr*, *Thulfr*; *Turubern* < Þorbjörn, *Turdov* < Þórðr; *Turbrid* < Þórfriðr.

These lists are, of course, far from being complete; we restrict ourselves to citing only those examples which can be explained by Old Nordic influence with a high degree of probability.

2.2. Names of rapids, rivers, settlements

On their way from the Baltic Sea to Byzantium, the Varangians had to pass the famous rapids (cataracts) of the river *Dniepr*, situated between Dnepropetrovsk and Zaporoz’je. These rapids are mentioned in two forms by the Byzantine emperor *Porphyrogenetos* (912–959) in chapter 9 of his description of his empire (usually cited as *De administrando imperio*): the “Russian”, i. e. Scandinavian, and the Slavic names of these rapids (cf. Forssman 1983², 67–9; Strumiński 1996, 133–49):

- (1) (N)εσσουπιῆ (N)essupi = *ne sofí* (Forssman), *nesuþi (Strumiński) = *ne sʌpi ‘don’t sleep’;
- (2) Ούλβορσί Ulvorsi (= *Hulmfors*) = Ὀστροβουνιπράχ ostrovuniprach (*ostrovnyjъ prachъ) ‘rapid of the island(s)’

- (3) *Γελανδρί Gelandri* (= *gællandi*) ‘roaring (rapid)’ (without Slavic equivalent);
- (4) (*M*) *Αειφόρ Aifor(s)* ‘always violent’ or (Strumiński) **maiwaR* ‘gull’; *Νεασήτ ne(n)asyt* ‘insatiable’ (Forssman) or *nejasyt* ‘gull / pelican’ (Strumiński);
- (5) *Βαρουφόρος Varufor(o)s* ‘wave rapid’; *Βουλνηπράχ vulnīprach* (**vb̥ln̥ɛn(ɔ) praxɔ*) ‘rapid of the waves’; (Whether Greek *-πραχ* corresponds to Slav. *prag-* ‘sill’ or to Slavic *prax-* ‘dust, mist’, etymologically the same word as ON *fors*, is not easy to decide in this context.)
- (6) *Λεάντι Leanti* = OSw. *leandi* ‘laughing’ (Forssman) or *(*h*)*lōjandi* ‘boiling hot’ (Strumiński); *Βερούτζη verutzi* (*vb̥ručii*) ‘boiling’
- (7) *Στρούκουν Strukun* = **strukum* ‘on the mainstreams’ (Strumiński); *Ναπρεζή naprezi*: derived from **na-pražie*, *prag-* ‘rapid’ (Forssman); *nastrezi* = **na striži* ‘on the mainstream’ (Strumiński following Falk). Porphyrogenetos translates both words as ‘μικρὸς φραγμός’, i. e. ‘little rapid’!

It is clear from these examples that the names do not always correspond in meaning, but they clearly document bilingualism and thus language contact in these geographical areas.

Other names of bodies of water and settlements are derived from the ethnic names *Varangians* (*væringr*), *Burangians* (*bu/yringr*) and *Kolbangians* (*kulfingr*):

Varegovo, *Varež(ka)*, *Varyzki*, *Varjaža*, *Verjažino*, *Verjažka* ...

Burjaži, *Buregi*, *Burigi*, *Burezi*, *Burjaki*, *Burjaz* ...

Kolbežycze, *Kolbjagi*, *Kolbižicy*

or from Scandinavian personal names:

Ašvidovo < *Asviðr*; *Bernovo*, *Bernjatin*, *Bemniški*, *Bernava*, *Bernoviči* < *Björn*; *Buchvostovo* < *Bôfastr*; *Djurbenevo* < *Dyrbiorn*; *Inarevo* < *Einarr*; *Ivorovo*, *Ivorovka* < *Ivarr*; *Jakunovo*, *Jakunicha* < *Hákon*; *Kondrikovo* < *Kynríkr*; *Redrikovo*, *Redruchino*, *Redriki* < *Ródríker*; *Rognedino* < *Ragnheidr*; *Sven* < *Svén*; *Sneberka* < *Snæbjörn*; *Stegrimovo* < *Steingrímr*; *Suchvostovo* < *Stófast/r*; *Turyborovo* < *Thorbjörn*; *Ulebovo*, *Olebino*, *Olibov* < *Oléf*; *Veliž* < *Vællinge*.

On the other hand we find only a few place-names of famous Russian towns in Old Nordic texts, e. g.

Hólmgarðr = *Nógarðr* (Novgorod); *Kænu-garðr* (Kiev); *Morammar* (Murom); *Surdalar* (Suzdal’); *Rostofa* (Rostov); *Palteskia* (Polotsk); *Smalizka* (Smolensk)

or names of Russian rivers: *Duna* (*Dvina*), *Nepr* (*Danpr*), *Nyja* (*Neva*), *Vína* (*Dvina*).

2.3. Loanwords (borrowings) from (Old) Nordic

As indicated above, we have different layers of loanwords from Germanic in contemporary Russian: *Kiparsky* (1975, 54–59) lists 55 *Common Slavic loanwords* from Germanic, distinguishing those from

Proto-Germanic: Russ. *glaz*, *duma*, *knjaz*, *skot*, *tyñ*, *chižin*, *chlev*, *cholm*, *šolom*.

Gothic: Russ. *bljudo*, *verbljud*, *kotel*, *kupit*, *-kusit*, *lečit*, *lest*, *lichva*, *osel*, *polk*, *stupa*, *steklo*, *chleb*, *chudožnik*, *car*, *čužoj*.

Balkan-Germanic: Russ. *bukva*, *vinograd*, *smokva*, *userjaz*’/g, *skut*.

West Germanic: Russ. *bondar*, *bočka*, *bronja*, *buk*, *grjadil*, *doska*, *izba*, *klej*, *korol*, *krest*, *luk*, *myto*, *petlja*, *penjaz*, *pila*, *plug*, *pop*, *post*, *remen*, *truba*.

Whereas Forssman (1983², 75–80) lists more than 100 “older Russian loanwords from Old Norse”, *Kiparsky* (1975, 95–7) in his critical survey restricts the number of loanwords from North Germanic in contemporary Russian to 34 „einigermaßen sichere“ (Strumiński 1996, 229–43 has only 30, personal names included); some of them, e. g. *knut*, *seledka*, *šelk*, *jaščik* are commonly used; *varjag*, *stjag*, *vitjaz* are used in historical novels only. The rest belong to a very specialized area of Russian vocabulary, as can be seen from the following list, comprising words used until the end of the 13th century (words occurring only in Russian dialects have been omitted):

berkovec < **birkisk* (*pund*) ‘164 kg (of Birka)’ (see *pud* below); *varjag* < *væringr* ‘confederate’; *vitjaz* < *vikingr* ‘hero’; *gol(u)bec* < *gulf* ‘box, crate, shed’; *grid*, *gridin* < *grīði*, *grimaðr* ‘member of the king’s bodyguard’; *lar* < **lári/lárr* ‘chest, trunk’; *pud* < *pund* ‘16.38 kg’; *Rus* < *Róths(karlar)* ‘Varangians’; *skala* < *skál* ‘scale’; *ti(v)un* < *thíonn* ‘official of Novgorod in the 12th century’; *šelk* < **silki* ‘silk’; *jabeda* < **embætti* ‘office’, NHG *Amt*.

Borrowings from later stages of Swedish and Norwegian (after 1300 A. D.) include:

akula < *hákall* ‘shark’; *vorvan* < *náh-valr* + *hvalrav* (?), ‘dolphin, seal, whale-oil’; *vyt* < *yta* ‘share’; *dorožka, doroga* < *dorg* ‘a kind of fishing-line’; *knut* < *knut(piska)* ‘knout’; *kragi* < *kragar* ‘cuff, gaiter’; *krjuk* < *krókr* ‘hook’; *sel’d* < *sild* ‘herring’; *skat* < *skat(a)* ‘ray’; *stjag* < *stænger* ‘banner, flag’; *šneka* < *snekkja* ‘a little fishing-boat in the Arctic Sea’; *ščery* < *skären* ‘the isles at the Swedish and Finnish coast’; *jakor* < *ankari* ‘anchor’; *jaščik* < **askR* ‘box, case’.

2.4. Old Nordic words borrowed from Old Russian

Strumiński’s list (1996, 246–54) comprises 15 items:

**dyblitsa/dyfliza* < **tīmīnica* ‘dungeon’, **GriikkiR* < *Griky*; **kassa/kaza* < *kaša* ‘gruel’, *læðia* < **lodija* ‘boat’; **LæsiR* < **l’ās’i* ‘Poles’; **poluta* < *polota* ‘palace’; **polyði* < **pol’ud’je* ‘Northmen’s winter tour of East Slavic regions for lodging and provisions’; **sabaló* < **sobolji* ‘sable skin (fur)’; **stóll* < *stol(u)* ‘banquet table’; **taparöks* < **topor-* ‘small war ax’; **torg* < **tuřgu*/torg ‘market’; **tulka* < **tu’l-kovati* ‘to interpret’; **tulkR* < **tūlkū* ‘interpreter’; **Waldimarr* < **Vol(o)dimēr* ‘ruler of peace’ PN; **warta* < **vor(o)ta* ‘gate’.

(Note that traditional Proto-Slavic **o* should be interpreted as the phoneme /ǎ/ in prehistoric Slavic in general; *o* is the historically attested form in Old Russian).

2.5. Morphological and syntactic borrowings?

There are some overt, but superficial, similarities – e. g. the use of the enclitic reflexive pronoun, Nordic *-s*, Russian *-s’(a)* (in its present form in Russian not earlier than the 15th–16th centuries!) as a kind of passive or medium voice form both in Nordic and Slavic languages, which may be due to its common Indo-European origin or to a parallel development on the basis of typologically similar structures and affinities of the semantic and noetic categories involved (cf. not only the well-known morphological, semantic and syntactic relations between mediopassive, reflexive and reciprocal forms, meanings, and constructions in Greek and Sanskrit, but also similar new phenomena in modern Italian, e. g. *vendesi (casa)*, *si apre lo sportello*, *la chiesa*

si chiude, or Spanish, e. g. *estos libros se venden mucho*). Apart from this, there seem to be at least two cases of structural parallels in Nordic and Russian languages or dialects which one might be inclined to attribute to language contact: the *postpositive article* and a special *possessive perfect*.

It is well known that the article in general, which developed from a demonstrative pronoun, is a widespread innovation in modern European languages; it appears in two forms: (a) preceding the noun or noun phrase in (Old) Greek and some of the Romance and Germanic languages (English, German, Dutch); (b) following it (postpositive) in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Rumanian, Albanian, i. e. in the Balkans, forming one characteristic feature of the so-called *Balkan group* (Sprachbund) of languages, and in the North Germanic languages from Old Icelandic through all modern Scandinavian languages. Most Slavic languages do not have an article at all, except those mentioned above with its postpositive variant (Bulgarian and Macedonian). Northwest Russian dialects show rudiments or traces of a development which could have ended up as a regular postpositive article: *reka-ta, izbu-tu, seno-to, otec-ot* ... But a detailed and comprehensive review of the evidence from these forms shows that they do not comprise a full inflectional paradigm of a postpositive article. This phenomenon is certainly independent of comparable structures in the Balkans, but because of its geographical distribution may very well be connected with Nordic language contact.

Even more complicated is the case of the possessive perfect, which is common today in all Romance and Germanic languages, in particular in the North Germanic. The Slavic languages are ‘be’-languages in this respect, i. e. they use the paradigm of *byti* ‘to be’ in order to create new periphrastic tenses (and moods). Only in peripheral dialects of Macedonian, Serbian, Croatian and Czech, which are or have been in contact with Romance or German languages or dialects, are ‘have’-perfects found. In Russian there is the further restriction that *imet’* ‘to have’ cannot be used for the concrete notion of possession nor for periphrastic purposes in general. ‘I have a house’ is *u menja dom*, literally ‘with me (is) house’, in Russian. This way of expressing possession is certainly a loan from Balto-Finnic languages (*minulla on talo*, modern Finnish literally ‘with me is house’). The curious thing is that this way of expressing possession in a

'be'-language combined with a passive participle in *-n-* or *-t-* is used in North Russian dialects for creating a new form of possessive perfect: *u menja proechano* 'with me (is) driven = I have driven', *u nego ženenosja* 'with him married = he has married', *u volkov korovu jideno* 'with the wolves the cow (accusative!) eaten = the wolves have eaten the cow'. These examples show that the object is in the accusative, and even intransitive verbs can be used this way. This seems to provide a strong argument for interpreting these forms as internal (semantic) 'have' perfects, expressed by a morphological (superficial) 'be'-structure (of Finnic origin).

It is true that "morphosyntactic and syntactic interference is of a much more fundamental nature than lexical borrowing" (Ureland 1979), but it is also true that it is much more difficult to prove these influences than lexical ones. Therefore we must restrict ourselves to demonstrating language contact using this more superficial, but clear evidence, refraining from speculative theories about very complicated developments in deeper linguistic structures.

2.6. Law, literature, and folklore

Representatives of the Normannist school of historical research hold the opinion that not only the *Russkaja Pravda* (i. e. a code of 'Russian Law'), but also literary works such as the famous *Slovo o polku Igoreve* ('Tale of Igor') and even the so-called *byliny*, heroic tales from the times of the Old Rus' (Vladimir and his friends and companions), show many traces of Nordic influence (cf. Forssman 1983², 24–7, 80–99), but this seems by no means certain or provable from the evidence of exact or literal parallels in the texts. This may have arisen from the general similarity and parallels of social and political structures of these cognate societies. In any case, they will remain fruitful territory for comparative cultural research in these areas.

3. Conclusion

We do have well-documented evidence of Scandinavian influence on East Slavic in the domains of personal and geographical names as well as in many lexical borrowings, especially concerning local and specialized vocabulary in non-standard varieties of Russian, but much less in the contemporary standard lan-

guage. Deeper impact on the morphological or syntactic structures is restricted to historical or local items and is of a problematic nature. This is due to the enormous influence of and nearly exclusive orientation of the Russian standard language towards Greek, (Old) Church Slavonic, and – in the last three centuries – Western European languages (Latin, French, German, English), whereas the Nordic influence is a nearly forgotten episode from the earliest period of Russian history. This result would, of course, not change with more extensive investigations into toponymic or dialectal materials of North Russian origin.

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117. Language contact during the Old Nordic period III: The impact of Christianity on Old Nordic

1. Introduction
2. Sources, methods and problems
3. The Christian vocabulary
4. Christian imagery
5. Changes to the language of poetry
6. Christianity and types of prose style
7. Literature (a selection)

1. Introduction

The influence of Christianity on Old Nordic began at different times and proceeded at varying degrees of intensity in the different Nordic areas. To some extent, Christianization increased linguistic homogeneity in the Nordic countries. However, there is also evidence that the new religion caused increased linguistic differentiation, as shown in section 3. below. In the West Nordic area the new *religious terminology* was much more influenced by the indigenous vocabulary than was the case in the less tradition-conscious eastern areas. The vernacular gained a new prestige through conveying the message of the Church as well as information about its organizational structure to the people. The use of the mother

tongue in rituals, spiritual guidance, preaching and prayer gave it a new status and new power (Hjelde 1990, 412ff.) and changed people's notions of their own language. The vernacular was adapted in order to function within a new and hitherto little-known area of experience. There was a need for new concepts, and innovations as well as continuities had to be marked.

Necessarily, leading representatives of the new faith came to have a decisive influence on the change in word stock and phraseology. The linguistic changes were reflected in the vocabulary pertaining to Christianity as well as in changes in the way of writing the vernacular. These two fields are focused on below.

2. Sources, methods and problems

Our knowledge of what happened to language in Scandinavia as a result of Christianization comes mainly from extant medieval texts. Written evidence for the period until 1150 is sporadic. In the case of Denmark and Sweden, the lack of contemporary sources for the period before 1225/1250 – with the exception of

the runic evidence – makes it necessary to try to work backwards or to draw on Old Nordic source texts. The latter approach is, however, an uncertain one, since it presupposes parallel developments in Christian influence on East Nordic and West Nordic.

The stock of loanwords and new coinages within the field of religion may tell us something about the role of language in the process of Christianization. However, the method of counting the oldest known recordings of words will be of very limited value because of the scanty and random character of extant source materials. *Religious coinages* based on foreign words are difficult to determine when there is a close relationship between source and target languages and the pronunciations were inaccurately recorded.

A study of the change of word meanings as well as of the disappearance of old vernacular words is important to our theme. A close examination of word contexts may correct our understanding of their original meanings. *Runic evidence* may shed some light upon when, how and why words and phrases were incorporated into vernacular vocabulary. *Scaldic language* is, in this context, of particular interest because of its conservative character. When we arrive at a period that is richer in written sources, we are able to draw safer and more nuanced conclusions about word frequency, change in word stock and word meanings.

It is a problem that many texts are only available in relatively late written versions in which the scribes have altered features of style and text to conform to contemporary conventions. However, increased knowledge of how scribes worked will enable us, to some extent, to reveal aspects of style and expression from earlier periods. Our knowledge of Christian literature in Latin provides valuable background information. However, we need to conduct a number of investigations to translated material, collating it with the original texts to arrive at a clear picture of terminology as well as stylistic nuances.

3. The Christian vocabulary

Early in the process of Christianization the new religion gained ground in plain, popular runic prayers and messages. Such inscriptions frequently reveal influence from the formal ecclesiastical language of the requiem mass and funeral liturgy. We see this in the case when the old domestic word *ljós* 'light' and the bor-

rowed term *paradis* are combined to bless the soul of a dead person.

A number of established words changed or expanded their meanings. Words that formerly described concrete phenomena now acquired abstract meanings. Many words gained new complexities of connotation. The kinship word *faðir* 'father' could now indicate spiritual relations and values. The Old Norse religion lacked the concepts expressed by the verbs 'to venerate' or 'to pray'. The verb *biðja* 'ask for' became a standard word to describe the act of praying to the Christian God.

The extended or new connotation could become the word's central meaning and even express *theological concepts*. This happened with the verb *trúa* 'to put one's trust in', 'to adapt oneself to'. The word could in pre-Christian times indicate a relationship with the ruling "powers". As a central Christian term, this verb gained a new dimension, due to the nature of its new object. However, the semantic content of the word itself remained by and large unchanged. The notion of *trú* 'belief' was also expanded; the noun became a technical term for Christianity as well as for Christian belief, but the word preserved its strictly ethical orientation.

One of the old words that was given an extended meaning was the verb *hjalpa* 'help', 'comfort'. It now came to refer to the divine consolation that lies in the forgiveness of one's sins (Walter 1976, 124f.). The noun *goð* 'god' appears in pre-Christian contexts mainly in its plural form. It was a generic, vague concept. In a Christian context it came to indicate the notion of the Church's one masculine god. Frequently, however, the new or expanded meaning of a term was uncritically confused with the old one. Thus *dís* 'goddess' came to be used to denote females in general.

The new *Christian terminology* was obviously also used by the devotees of the old religion, as when the god Thor was referred to as *hinn almátki áss* 'the almighty god'. Thus Christian terms apparently could be used to defend or even legitimize the old religion.

Another result of Christianization was that expressions referring to heathen mythology were replaced by less loaded terms; the word *blótdrykkja* 'sacrificial feast' was thus replaced by *hátiðardrykkja* 'feast banquet'.

There arose now a need for words to characterize the old cult and its devotees from a Christian point of view. The concept of *heiðinn* 'heathen', 'a dweller of the heath' was a Germanic word most probably coined dur-

ing the time of the spread of Christianity, as a contrast to *kristinn* 'Christian'.

Some vernacular words mirror the Christian *change of values*, such as *hörgrbrjótr* 'breaker of heathen sanctuaries' and *végrimmr* 'cruel to sanctuaries'. These words took on positive connotations expressing courage, strength, will-power and possibly even faith. On the other hand, a number of old words, such as *harðgeðr* 'hard-minded' acquired negative, pejorative meanings. The expression *sitja úti* 'to sit outside', which described behaviour important to the old religious practice of divination, could in a Christian context refer to the behaviour of a harlot.

The meanings of old heathen words were sometimes distorted by their rendering in a Christian context. For example, the pre-Christian noun *gandr* was previously assumed to indicate a stick, but the use of it in scaldic metaphoric language reveals that it originally meant 'a detrimental being' (Marold 1988). The pre-Christian verb *blóta* most probably did not have as its central meaning 'to sacrifice' as indicated in Old Nordic texts, but might better be rendered as 'to honour' or 'to show respect for'.

In order to satisfy the internal linguistic needs of the new religion, new words were coined by using the resources of the existing vocabulary. This was often achieved by coupling two already familiar words. The noun *siðr* 'custom' could thus be used in making a number of such compounds; e.g. together with *bót* 'improvement' it featured in *siðbót* 'reformation of life or religion' as a vernacular equivalent of the Latin word *moralitas*. It was also possible to combine indigenous and borrowed words, as was done in the Christian calendar. Thus the borrowing *messa* 'mass' became an element of a new word indicating a Mass day, e.g. *allraheilagramessudagr* 'All Saints' Mass-Day' and *gauksmessudagr* 'Cuckoo-Mass-Day'.

Suffixes were also employed to help create a local ecclesiastical vocabulary. Derivatives of verbs were particularly productive, especially by the suffix *-ari*, which is to be found in *nomina agentis* such as *græðari* 'healer' and the synonyms *lausnari* 'releaser' and *fjálarsari/frälsare* 'saviour'. The suffix *-else* also served in the production of the new religious terminology, especially in East Nordic, e.g. in the nouns *rögelse* 'incense' and *vighilse* 'consecration'.

Religious prose literature became a flourishing field for *adjective substantivization*, and it

is mainly in such a context that this form of word conversion gained ground in Scandinavia. The suffix *-leikr*, as in *þríflegleikr* 'a thriving condition' frequently was used to create nouns from abstract adjectives. Many of these substantivized forms in the translated texts obviously entered the language because the translators either consciously wished to remain close to the original Latin or were unable to liberate themselves from the texts they were working from. However, from the beginning of the 14th century, we see that words coined in this way were gradually replaced by Low German *loanwords*.

What was new and different with Christianity and the Church was not infrequently expressed by means of borrowings of Latin or Greek origin. Even unassimilated words from these languages became elements of the vernacular, e.g. the word *nón*. Originally referring to one of the canonical hours (*nona hora*), it found its way into everyday language as an indication of mealtime. Many central Christian concepts and ecclesiastical terms thus found expression through loanwords, e.g. *engill* 'angel', *djöfull* 'devil' and *altari* 'alter'. Frequently other Germanic languages were intermediary links. The central term of the Church's doctrine of sin, the Latin *peccatum*, was in Scandinavia usually expressed by the Old Saxon loanword *synd*.

Many words came into East Nordic and West Nordic respectively from different neighbouring languages in somewhat similar forms, e.g. *kross* in West Nordic and *kors* in East Nordic from the Latin word *crux*. In West Nordic many religious borrowings came from Anglosaxon, a process that mainly went on before 1066. This influence is clearly to be observed in the most common dogmatic terms. In eastern Scandinavia, however, the borrowings from German-speaking areas were far more frequent. Thus the noun *þrenning* from *þrennr* 'triple', cp. the Anglosaxon *þrinis*, was chosen for 'the Trinity' in West Nordic, while the corresponding term in Old Swedish became *träfaldoghet*. In West Nordic the old and well-known word *skírn* 'cleansing' indicated Christian baptism, while in East Nordic the vernacular noun *dop* 'dip' was used, its new meaning referring to the Christian act of baptism.

During the process of translation and word formation it became usual to define, explain or supply loanwords by means of synonyms (Berulfsen 1964, 160ff.). Thus a Nordic word and a borrowing might be found side by side.

The loanword *prestr* 'priest' and the Norse *kennimaðr* 'teacher' made such a word pair. The borrowing *skript* 'the Scripture' originating from Latin could be supplemented by and explained with the help of the indigenous *heilög ritning* 'Holy Writ', and the Latin noun *sacramentum* could be used alongside the old Anglosaxon word *húsl* to denote the Eucharist. Even triple renderings occur.

Specific and subtle theological concepts were frequently paraphrased, bringing the risk of oversimplification. Translations were not infrequently inexact, even when efforts were made to increase precision by means of word pairs. This is the case when the expression *kraptr ok tákn heilags holds* 'might and token of the holy body' is used as a rendering of the Latin *virtus sacramenti*. On many occasions it seems that literal *loan translations* or *calques* were created, as e. g. the rendering of Latin *elementa* as *höfuðskepnur* 'head-creations'. One of the translators even managed to produce a rendering that preserved the Augustine distinction between *posse non mori* translated as *mátti maðrinn þat at deyja eigi* 'man had the possibility of not to die', and *non posse mori*, translated as *má hann eigi deyja* 'it is not possible for him to die' (Astås 1993, 153 f.). We see that the vernacular was experimented with, stretched and adapted in order to convey subtle differences and nuances.

Calques could be used to produce vernacular versions of notions of faith or church doctrine. The Nordic adjective *heilagr* 'holy' was coupled with the noun *andi* 'breath' to describe the third element of the Trinity. The compound noun *himinriki* 'the kingdom of heaven', which rendered the Latin *regnum caelorum*, is another example. The prefix *sam-* and the noun *vit* 'sense' were joined in a new compound, denoting 'reason' and 'moral consciousness'. In the 13th century the vernacular loan translation *samvitvka* was coined. This was the last of several attempts to translate the Latin concept of *conscientia* (Widding 1961). In the next century the Old Nordic coinage was exclusively used to convey the meaning of 'moral consciousness'. This development perhaps illustrates the slowness by which new notions gained ground. It would thus seem that it took a long time before the meaning and significance of the new words that came with Christianization were firmly established.

In accordance with ecclesiastical tradition, *legal terminology* often provided a source of *new words*. Thus the legal term *bót* renders the

central Latin term *poenitentia*, and the nouns *lausn* 'release' or *aflausn* 'that which frees one from obligation' render Latin *absolutio*. Through such application to Christian laws and concepts of social order, vernacular legal terms frequently took on *transcendental meanings*.

The struggle of the Church against the old cult was mirrored in legal language by a number of terms with negative connotations for behaviour associated with the old religion. The very language of the law became, through *canonistic literature*, influenced by Roman law. In this way, Christianity contributed to establishing the vernacular as a medium of administration, especially within the area of ecclesiastical law.

Christianization brought a number of words from the cultures represented in the Bible. Among these were botanical words such as *ísópi* 'hyssop' and words describing fragrant substances such as *mirra* 'myrrh'. *Christian names*, first and foremost those of important saints, became known in Scandinavia through Christian missionaries and literature, and came into use from the middle of the 11th century. These names would receive their Nordic variations, so that we have forms such as *Páll* 'Paul' and *Jón* 'John'.

When names of oriental, Greek or Latin origin entered the vernacular, it was not uncommon that the *spellings* and *inflections* of the original text were preserved, giving inflected forms such as the genitives *Simeonis* and *Judae*. The influence of Latin is also to be observed in the use of *abbreviations* that were a feature of Latin writing conventions, e. g. *pp* for *páfi* 'pope'. The name of Jesus Christ is frequently abbreviated in accordance with the impact of Latin scribal tradition or spelled in part with Greek letters (*H, ζ, ρ, ζ*). Greek word endings may occur in group names, e. g. in the form *pigmeos* 'Pygmies'. An evident influence from Latin is that new letter combinations such as *ch* also entered vernacular word forms.

4. Christian imagery

The Church brought the power and the richness of its verbal imagery, illustrating and concretizing its message through vivid and dramatic contrasts such as light/darkness, good/evil, life/death etc. It is evident that these metaphors were easily integrated into the vernacular. We find especially rich examples in popular translations, such as the two homily books and *Elucidarius* (Hallberg 1987, 121).

Christian imagery expanded and enriched the language and led to the formation of new words, such as the many compounds that begin with the genitive *andar-* ‘belonging to the spirit’. Metaphors are frequently expressed by compounds, such as *hugskotsauga* ‘the mind’s eye’ from Latin *acies mentis*, an expression of the soul’s ability to behold the divine (Hjelde 1990, 159, 279). Death may be spoken of as *dauðadyrr* ‘the gates of death’ (Astås 1989, 80). Biblical metaphors are important as models, the most frequent one in extant Old Nordic literature appearing to be that of Christ as ‘the Lamb of God’, cp. John 1:29.

The vast majority of religious *metaphors* in Old Nordic had their counterparts in the Latin originals and show evidence of the influence of the translators on the vernacular. But original contributions inspired by foreign influences are also to be found. Medieval imagery is sometimes further elaborated through translation. Thus in Old Nordic we sometimes find a mix of biblical imagery and domestic ideas, as in the expression *skjaldmær dróttins* ‘the Lord’s shield-maid’, cp. Eph. 6:14–17.

In Old Nordic *religious prose*, life is frequently spoken of by means of images from nature or as a journey. Metaphors appealing to the senses are also used. Sin is depicted by a colourful range of metaphors denoting fear and unhappiness: stains, dirt, arrows, stings, snares, chains, hooks, baits etc. Heroes of the faith may be depicted as crusaders against evil forces, and a martyr may be characterized as ‘a wild warrior of God’. The first compound of the latter imagery is inherited from a pre-Christian age, but its significance is new. The struggle against evil may be seen as a *hólm-ganga* ‘holm-going’, i.e. ‘single combat’.

Such metaphors enriched the language by providing a more nuanced vocabulary for expressing *religious feelings* and *spiritual matters*. Other contemporary Old Norse prose may seem rather poor and simple when contrasted with the imagery of religious texts (Hallberg 1987, 167).

Through metaphorical imagery, words and their contexts were given a different and more elevated significance, and Scandinavians learned to understand Christian allegoric modes of expression.

5. Changes to the language of poetry

In a Christian context much of the traditional linguistic ornamentation of the scalds was unsuitable. Poetic metaphors (*kenningar*) that re-

ferred to heathen gods gradually disappeared, and a degree of stylistic simplification also took place. The scalds now avoided using words that would offend the Christian court. However, traditions were strong and not all *scalds* were willing to put aside the many mythical names that were part of their poetic vocabulary. This was a gradual process, and there were setbacks. Over the course of time many pagan kennings were recast so as to be acceptable in a Christian context. Christian phrases were incorporated into *scaldic poetry* and we can sometimes glimpse the scald’s Christian orientation expressed in his choice of words (Fidjestøl 1993, 100).

In scaldic poetry from an early stage of Christianization we meet the influence of the new religion in the manner in which pagan allusions could be turned against paganism itself (Edwards 1983, 34). Christianity has also left its traces in the language of the poetic Edda, not least in the lay of *Völuspá*, where use is made of words and *theological motifs* from Christianity, cp. e.g. *svört verða sólskin* ‘the sunshine darkens’ in stanza 41 with Rev. 6:12 *et sol factus est niger*.

With their own materials they made their own versions of what they learned from their Christian neighbours. While they were learning, they were also practicing, steadily, subtly and flexibly, their own ... arts (Dronke 1993, 127).

This comment applies not only to the scalds in a time of transition, but to the whole process of the linguistic changes caused by the influence of Christianity in the centuries to come.

In scaldic vocabulary many of the newly-coined or low-frequency words that describe feelings and attitudes stem from the new religion, e.g. the adjectives *mjúklyndr* ‘meek-tempered’, *ást-skýrðr* ‘enlightened by love’ and *almíldr* ‘altogether graceful’.

The influence of Christianity on the formal aspects of scaldic language was felt from an early date. The change from oral to written poetry that followed Christianization led to a breakdown of the traditional system of genders within oral scaldic tradition (Fidjestøl 1991, 33).

But Christianity also led to a renewal of *poetic style*. A new aspect was added to the scaldic conventions when Christian scalds included a prayer to God that He might hear the poem. Other new features from the 1150s onwards are use of direct speech (*Plácítús-drápa* 1) and citations from a written text (*Leiðarvísan* 8).

When the new *runhent metre* with end-rhymes occurred in scaldic poetry, perhaps as early as in the 10th c., it was most probably directly or indirectly inspired by rhymed Latin Christian poetry. However, end-rhyme poetry had only a very limited success during this period. Another scaldic meter that seems influenced by Christian poetry is the *hrynhent*, a variant of *dróttkvætt*, which in the 14th c. became one of the most important metres of Old Norse. This established new rhythmic principle in all likelihood was inspired by octosyllabic Latin hymns or prayers.

6. Christianity and types of prose style

Scholasticism stressed the importance of a clear style, simple exposition and lucid argumentation (Angenendt 1997, 46). Ecclesiastical formula books gave guidance in how textual discourse should be structured and promoted awareness of verbal definitions. Obviously this had an influence on the vernacular in Scandinavia. In texts translated into or written in the native tongue we meet the conscious alternation between general statements and concrete exemplification, a stylistic feature that came with Christianization. We also see how translators and authors could make use of paraphrase as well as free renderings. They knew parallelism, antithesis, prefiguration, isocolon, chiasm, and the use of synonyms as well as other *rhetorical techniques*. All four types of Medieval Latin prose-rhythm (*cursus*) are to be found in the two West-Nordic homily books (Jakob Benediktsson 1968, 20).

The language of preaching was characterized by ecclesiastical rhetoric rooted in the classical tradition. The plain, simple style modelled on Christ's words in the Gospels could be adapted to vernacular sermons and homilies. However, when something unusual was to be conveyed or it was necessary to heighten the attention of an audience, translators could employ a more ornamental, amplified style. The translators clearly understood the importance of *variatio sermonis* as well as *amplificatio*.

Since two stylistic types within Nordic prose, *popular style* and *learned style*, were tentatively identified (Nygaard 1896), there has been a debate on the styles and stylistic features of Old Nordic. This classification and description presupposes that the sagas had been written down on the basis of oral retell-

ings in which people's own stylistic conventions were given expression. Vernacular texts considered to have been influenced by Latin were categorized as "learned style". It was argued that both types of style developed during the 12th c., but in different literary genres. However, it has proved problematic to contrast the styles with each other.

In the case of "popular style", earlier also termed *saga style*, one is today cautious about describing it as an originally indigenous stylistic form. Research suggests the strong probability that influences from Lives of the Saints, translated from Latin, lie behind the masterly narrative style that characterizes the best Icelandic family sagas. Even such a common element in Nordic prose as inversion may have come into use as a result of Latin influence, e.g. *satt mællir þú* from the Latin *verum dicis*. On the other hand, the local oral style has in all likelihood influenced the language of translated works. We may see this in the way in which the long Latin sentences in the Lives of the Saints are broken down.

There are striking differences between the simple, paratactic expression of "popular style" and the elaborate, hypotactic style of translators and authors devoted to "learned style". However, this division did not become marked until the last decades of the 13th and the first part of the 14th c. Basically it is the degree and extent of Latin influence that distinguishes "learned style" from "popular style".

In its oldest form, "learned style" closely adheres to the formulations and constructions of the original Latin texts, which were translated as far as possible word for word and meaning for meaning. Translators even kept the original Latin word order, as far as was possible. This could result in somewhat artificial and ponderous language. However, as time went on, translators became less bound to the original texts and developed renderings that were better adapted to domestic linguistic conventions. On the other hand, features from Latin grammar won legitimacy in vernacular texts. The "learned style" gradually came to be used in the whole of the Scandinavian region.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the Latin influence on Old Nordic style is the frequent use of participial constructions. They may mirror the Latin ablative absolute, as in the formulation *at lifandi dróttningunni* 'while the queen was still alive' or Latin gerundival expressions, as when *þess er oss leitanda* renders the Latin *querendum nobis est*. Other features

that seem to originate from the impact of Latin are the use of the preterite participle as a substitute for a relative construction, and the use of inflected pronouns to express as exact a relationship as possible.

A distinctive trait of “learned style” is the Latin-inspired use of an accusative with the infinitive instead of an independent clause. Also obviously derived from Latin is a frequent use of adjectives as nouns as well as the use of reflexive verbs to express the passive. A predicative use of the present participle of transitive verbs in an active sense is also a characteristic of the “learned style”. The use of the preposition *fyrir* in the meaning ‘through’ or ‘by means of’, corresponding to Latin *per*, is yet another feature of this style. In translated literature using this form, a frequent use of Latin words and phraseology can be noticed. Superlatives and hyperbolic expressions are also common features, and attributive adjectives are numerous.

Today’s researchers generally operate with a four-fold classification, the additional categories of *court style* and *adorned style*, *ornate style*, *florid style* having been suggested. These two latter categories can be regarded as developments of the two original types, developments that conformed to contemporary tastes and needs. Thus, a categorization in terms of periods is preferred to definitions based on literary genre.

“Court style” is the term used to describe a prose style that manifested itself in Norway at the end of the 12th c. In addition to rendering chivalric French poetry and prose, this stylistic form was also used in the translation of religious literature from Latin. Although “court style” has as a rule been regarded as developing from the “learned style”, a number of differences have also been emphasized (Jónas Kristjánsson 1985, 556). Many of the features of “learned style” were employed in a more frequent and advanced manner: e. g. alliteration and assonance as well as the use of synonyms occur more abundantly. Other features were used more restrictively, e. g. antitheses and participles. Although the style can sometimes appear monotonous, its prose rhythms often have a poetic quality. While “court style” was appreciated as exemplifying refined narrative art at the Norwegian court, the Icelanders stuck to their own “popular style”.

“Adorned style” characterizes Nordic religious literature in the period from 1280 to 1380. It has also been termed “the younger

learned style” and has been characterized as an inflated version of the earlier/older “learned style”. However, this style was not merely learned, but also florid (Widding 1979). It was more deliberately applied than was the “learned style”, and in translations it deviated frequently from the original, inspired as it was by the trends of Latin rhetorical prose. It can appear turgid, with a plethora of multisyllable words, long-winded narrative and comprehensive ornamentation. Pathos and rhetorical power are combined here. Striking features of this style are its many new literary words, frequently formed along common Scandinavian patterns, and an abundance of metaphors. The stylistic form was considered elevated and exquisite, capable of increasing the reader’s veneration for the subject dealt with. The development of this style has been linked to the interest of the Benedictines of northern Iceland in disseminating the Saints’ sagas (Sverrir Tómasson 1985); the vast majority of researchers regard it as a distinctively Icelandic phenomenon.

It is evident that religious literature has greatly influenced the development of written Old Nordic (Paasche 1935, 20). The styles and changes in stylistic form referred to above mirror a process within Old Nordic literary language. This process strives to develop a language pregnant with meaning, a language that satisfies the demands of both the Church and the wider lay public. Translators and authors move from copying and imitation to the production of independent vernacular texts. Latin style patterns and vocabulary exert a growing influence on syntax and style in the direction of an artificial and learned form. However, there is a parallel development in which old local words and linguistic features assert themselves. To draw any exact conclusion as to which elements are “foreign” and which are “local” is beyond the scope of our present state of knowledge.

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118. History and development of Old Nordic outside the Scandinavia of today

1. The Viking expansion and its linguistic consequences
2. Linguistic sources
3. Scandinavian outside the Scandinavia of today: characteristic features and development
4. Literature (a selection)

1. The Viking expansion and its linguistic consequences

During the Viking Age (A.D. ca. 750–1050), Scandinavian-speaking peoples migrated to many different parts of Europe. The firmness with which their language became established in the territories they colonized depended on a number of factors: the presence of an indigenous population, the size and density of the Scandinavian settlement and the relations between incomers and natives. In the Faroe Islands and Iceland there was no pre-existing population. When these were settled in the early and late ninth century respectively, chiefly by Norwegians and Norwegian elements in the British Isles, a West Nordic form of speech perforce became totally dominant, notwithstanding a probable Gaelic-speaking presence among the immigrants. West Nordic must also have been the sole language of the small Greenland settlements, established from Iceland at the beginning of the eleventh century, since contact between Norsemen and the native Inuit appears to have been minimal. Shetland, Orkney and north-eastern Caithness, the target of Norwegian invasions and settlements during the ninth century, saw the swift and total replacement of the native Pictish by West Scandinavian language and culture, a process probably complete by the middle of the tenth century, if not earlier. A similar fate has been proposed for the Hebrides and Man, but although a thoroughgoing Norwegianisation of Man and the Isle of Lewis is plausible, accomplished in the first half of the ninth century, most now agree it did not lead to a (temporary) extinction of the native Gaelic. Norse immigration into Ireland in the middle years of the ninth century, which involved Danes as well as Norwegians, appears to have focused chiefly on a small number of coastal settlements, most notably urban centres such as Dublin, Wexford and Limerick. These for a time doubtless resounded to varying forms of

Scandinavian speech, but the impact of Scandinavian on Ireland as a whole was not great. Danish settlement in the eastern half of England, which ultimately led to the establishment of the Danelaw, belongs chiefly to the latter half of the ninth century, and a Norwegian/Danish influx into the north-west to the tenth. Although for a time a large part of the country was under Scandinavian rule, the settlers were too few in number and too thinly spread for their language to gain a dominant position. This is even truer of Normandy, where Scandinavians seem rapidly to have gone native following a period of settlement early in the 900s. Viking activity in the east goes back at least to the eighth century, but it appears to have been in the ninth that Scandinavians, mostly from Sweden, began to navigate the Russian rivers in considerable numbers and establish themselves in towns such as Staraja Ladoga, Novgorod and Kiev. As with the Irish centres, these may have been largely or at least partly Scandinavian speaking for a time, but in the vast hinterland indigenous speech must have continued more or less unaffected by such settlement. An eastern form of Scandinavian also became established in coastal areas of Finland and Estonia, but most see this as the result of a much later expansion, twelfth and thirteenth-century into Finland, thirteenth and fourteenth into Estonia. As such it belongs more properly to the history of Swedish, and will not be discussed further here.

2. Linguistic sources

Our understanding of the Viking settlements and their linguistic consequences is based on a combination of archaeological, historical and linguistic evidence. The linguistic sources take various forms: (1) runic inscriptions of Viking-Age and medieval date found in the Scandinavian colonies; (2) verse composed or supposedly composed in Orkney and Greenland; (3) diplomas written in Orkney and Shetland; (4) records of spoken Scandinavian from Orkney and Shetland; (5) words and phrases of Nordic origin – personal and place-names especially – in vernacular and Latin-language manuscripts from areas of Viking settlement; (6) Scandinavian personal and place-names

still in use in those areas; (7) loanwords and other relics of Scandinavian speech likewise still current.

Inscriptions in Scandinavian runes have been found and are still being found in most of the areas settled by Scandinavian speakers during the Viking Age. Excluding Iceland and the Faroes the latest figures for pre-Reformation inscriptions are as follows (an exact number cannot always be given because of uncertainty about the status of some finds): Greenland ca. 80; Shetland 7; Orkney ca. 50; Scotland 15; Man 33; Ireland 17; England 15. Runic inscriptions have also been found in Russia, but it is harder to put any sort of figure on these, partly because of greater uncertainty about status and partly because not all the material has been fully published. A fragment of a runic stone has recently come to light in Finland, but otherwise this country is devoid of runic inscriptions of certain pre-Reformation date, as are Estonia and Normandy.

The Eddaic poem *Atlamál* is called “the Greenlandic” in the manuscript in which it is preserved and there are suggestions that the twelfth and thirteenth-century Scaldic poems *Krákumál*, *Jómsvíkingadrápa* and *Málshátakvæði* (the latter two attributed to the Orkney bishop, Bjarni Kolbeinsson) contain specifically Orcadian words and linguistic forms of probable Orcadian or “Island” provenance.

Various Scandinavian-language diplomas are preserved, dating from the period 1299–1586, which give either an Orkney or a Shetland locality as their place of origin or whose Northern-Isles provenance can safely be inferred from their content. These are fewer in number than has often been supposed: four from Orkney, eleven from Shetland. Linguistically they are not very informative, their language in most respects differing little from that of contemporary documents in Norway.

Records of spoken Scandinavian from Orkney and Shetland are also sparse. The chief sources are a thirty-five stanza ballad, known as *Hildinakvædet*, a Lord’s Prayer and a list of thirty words, all collected on the Shetland island of Foula in 1774, and an Orkney Lord’s Prayer known only from a printed version published in 1700. Odd snatches of Northern-Isles Scandinavian, ranging in time from the 1500s when the language was still commonly spoken to the late 1800s almost 100 years after it had died out, complete the picture.

From all the areas of Scandinavian settlement, place-names of Scandinavian origin are found. However, their frequency and medium of preservation differ greatly. Such Greenland names as survive come almost entirely from Icelandic and Norwegian manuscripts, the Greenland settlements having left virtually no written record other than the runic. Evidence of Scandinavian place-nomenclature in Russia comes chiefly from written sources including Scandinavian runic and manuscript writings; few of the names seem to have survived beyond the Middle Ages. In Orkney and Shetland in contrast some 90 per cent of current place-names are of Nordic origin, the remaining 10 per cent being later Scots or English. Parts of the Hebrides, especially the more northern islands, still have concentrations of Scandinavian names, and the same is true of north-eastern Caithness, sections of the western littoral of Scotland, Man, Normandy and those areas of England that experienced Scandinavian settlement (in England in particular a great many of the names are also recorded in medieval sources). The position in Ireland is markedly different: there only a few place-names, medieval or modern, betray a Norse origin.

Scandinavian personal names are likewise known from all the areas of settlement. They are preserved as names of people in medieval documents and occasional modern reflexes, and as elements of medieval and/or current place-names. The frequency of their occurrence and medium of preservation parallel quite closely those of the Scandinavian place-names of each area.

Loanwords of Scandinavian origin are widely attested in the one-time Viking colonies. Modern standard and/or dialectal English, French, Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Russian contain Scandinavian loans in varying numbers, and they also occur in written sources from areas where these languages or their forerunners were spoken. The greatest concentration of Scandinavian loanwords found in nineteenth and twentieth-century vernaculars comes from Orkney and Shetland: some 10,000 from the former, 3,000 from the latter. About 600 appear in standard English, and a further 600 can be added if northern dialects are taken into account. Standard French has few, but the dialects of Normandy and the Channel Islands host a greater number. Modern Irish, Scottish and Manx Gaelic show a remarkable paucity of Scandinavian loans, as few as 20–30 in Irish; in Scottish

Gaelic, however, the position is as yet poorly documented and further research may lead to a revised verdict. The occasional Scandinavian loan is found in Russian, but can sometimes be difficult to distinguish from words borrowed from other Germanic languages.

All the above sources suffer from drawbacks. Complete sentences, and thus information on syntax, occur only in the runic inscriptions, the Eddaic and Scaldic verse and the Scandinavian recorded in Orkney and Shetland. Inscriptions of the Viking Age suffer from having been written in the sixteen-character younger *futhork*, which provides only the crudest guide to phonemic contrasts; for this and other reasons interpretation can often be difficult. *Atlamáli* is hard to date and may, despite its manuscript's assertion, have no connection with Greenland. Like the three Scaldic poems of possible Orcadian provenance, it was preserved in Iceland, and all four clearly chiefly reflect Icelandic scribal tradition. None of the spoken Scandinavian of the Northern Isles, as far as we know, was recorded by native speakers, and the important Foula material was copied down by a man who knew no form of Scandinavian at all. Varying degrees of linguistic interference clearly also affect Scandinavian names and loanwords preserved in foreign environments.

3. Scandinavian outside the Scandinavia of today: characteristic features and development

In accordance with the differing quantity and quality of the sources, the following points can sensibly be made about the types of Scandinavian language used outside the Scandinavia of today, about the ways in which they developed, and the manner and the time at which they met their end.

3.1. Greenland

Runic inscriptions (our chief source) exhibit a mixture of Icelandic (e.g. retention of /h/ before /l/ and /r/) and Norwegian features (e.g. /θ/ > /t/, retention of the distinction between /ø:/ and /æ:/). A Greenlandic innovation may have been /θ/ > /t/ initially in some pronouns (e.g. *tana* 'this'), where Norwegian, ultimately at least, came to have /d/, and Icelandic retained /θ/. Norse died out in Greenland with the passing of the last inhabitants of the eastern settlement about 1500.

3.2. Orkney, Shetland and Caithness

Few obviously local features can be found in the runic inscriptions of Orkney, Shetland or Caithness. Of the ca. 50 from Orkney, some 30 are almost certainly the work of visiting Norwegians (and possibly Icelanders). The Scandinavian-language diplomas from the Northern Isles reveal certain phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical peculiarities, e.g. apparent monophthongisation /au/ > /u(:)/, confusion of /m/ and /n/ in final position, an inability by one scribe to master the Old Norse inflexional system, and in a Shetland diploma of 1586 the Scots-inspired phrase *aff theris egitt* 'of their own', and the Scots loans *sergenn* 'sergeant', *cont* 'count', *minister*. In most respects, however, these texts mirror faithfully the development of the written language in the mother country, Norway. Records of the spoken Scandinavian of the Northern Isles, known locally as Norn (from *norrænn* 'Norwegian', 'Norse' or *norræna* 'Norwegian/Norse language'), show phonological and syntactic similarities with Faroese, though some of the phonological features are shared with Icelandic and West Norwegian dialects. Thus /rn/, /n:/ > /dn/ and /rl/, /l:/ > /dl/ (e.g. Norn *fadlin* 'fallen') are general West Nordic, but the intercalation of /g/ (Faroese /gv/) after the reflexes of Old Nordic /o:/ and /u:/ (Norn *sheug* 'sea'), /m/ > /n/ in weakly stressed position (Norn *honon* 'him [dat.]'), and /θ/ > /h/ in initial position in certain pronouns and adverbs (Norn *ita* (< **hitta*) 'this') seem to be restricted to Faroese and the Scandinavian of the Northern Isles. The West Scandinavian and Faroese flavour of Norn phonology is particularly strong in the Foula material from the 1770s; it is less prominent elsewhere, and we probably have to reckon with considerable dialectal variation. In one variety or another, and doubtless increasingly influenced by Scots, the language seems to have persisted in Orkney till about 1750, in Shetland a while longer – perhaps among one or two of the oldest people till ca. 1800. Regarding Caithness we cannot be as precise; estimates place the demise of Scandinavian there in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

3.3. The Hebrides and the Scottish mainland

Sources for the Scandinavian spoken in these areas are sparse and the study of them far from adequate. Eight of the thirteen runic inscrip-

tions from Scotland outside Caithness (all but one from the west) seem likely to have been carved by Norwegians passing through, and the remainder exhibit nothing that can be identified as characteristic of “Scottish” or “Hebridean Norse”. Apart from personal and place-names, often heavily Gaelicised, and loanwords in Gaelic, there is nothing to guide us. From the onomastic evidence we can draw the conservative conclusion that the Scandinavian spoken in Scotland and the Hebrides was a type of West Norse, but theories about the presence of preaspiration, for example, based on the identification of this feature in certain dialects of Gaelic, rest on very uncertain foundations. With evidence so scarce, judgements about the length of time spoken Norse persisted in parts of Scotland have little value: the thirteenth, fourteenth and even the fifteenth century have been mooted.

3.4. Man

Although argued by some that Gaelic became extinct on Man as a consequence of the Norse settlement (to be reintroduced later), most now accept that it survived, resulting in a long period of Norse-Gaelic contact. Some have seen the Scandinavian runic inscriptions as evidence of such contact. Not only do many of those mentioned in them bear names of Gaelic origin, there is here and there evidence of a breakdown in the Old Norse inflexional system (manifested as unexpected case endings or a lack of them altogether), by some attributed to uncertainty following prolonged language contact. Beyond these suggestions of intermixture, the totality of the linguistic evidence from Man does little more than confirm a strong West Norse presence. The date at which Scandinavian finally ceased to be spoken on the island is currently estimated at soon after 1300, but there are indications it may have died out a century or so earlier.

3.5. Ireland

The Scandinavian loan-words and names taken into Irish do little more than confirm a one-time Scandinavian presence. No safe conclusions can be drawn about the type or types of language spoken by the incomers. The runic inscriptions suggest both an East and West Nordic input, which is in accord with the historical evidence, but since the majority are on loose objects from the trading town of Dublin, it is difficult to know whether they were carved

by permanent residents or visitors from abroad. It is generally considered that Scandinavian speech lasted in Dublin and certain other of the Irish towns until shortly after the Norman invasions began in the 1160s. The reasons for this are partly socio-historical – the self-contained nature of many of the Nordic centres – partly linguistic – the observation that most of the handful of Norse place-names found in Ireland seem to have passed directly from Norse into English.

3.6. England

Scandinavian in England was both of the East and West Nordic variety. Linguistic evidence of the dichotomy comes not least from place-name elements, where we find, for example, the predominantly East Nordic *-thorpe* (ON *-þorp*) heavily represented in the Danelaw, and typical West Nordic elements such as *-sett* and *-scale* (ON *-setr*, *-skáli*) in the north-west. The runic testimony is less conclusive: inscriptions with unambiguously East or West Nordic features are few, and one or two of these, like the St Paul’s stone, can probably be ascribed to followers of Knútr the Great – people who had come direct from Scandinavia. There is nevertheless an East Nordic flavour to several of the inscriptions from the south-east, and indications of West Nordic tradition in one or two of those from the north-west. What happened in the language contact situation between Scandinavian and Old English is disputed. Some argue the languages were mutually comprehensible, others that a pidgin was developed, and yet others that there was widespread bilingualism. Some kind of intimate contact seems assured by the hundreds of everyday words borrowed from Scandinavian into English (e.g. *egg*, *window*, *die*, *take*, *ill*, even the pronoun *they*). It is impossible to say for sure when Scandinavian died out in England; doubtless at different times in different places. Several of the runic inscriptions from the north-west seem to be twelfth-century, and are no longer in classical Old Norse: they have sometimes been taken to represent Scandinavian in its final stages of decline in England.

3.7. Normandy

The personal and place-name material points to a Scandinavian of largely East Nordic type. The relatively small number of settlers and their linguistic isolation make it unlikely that

Scandinavian speech survived more than a couple of generations in Normandy. There is no evidence of its existence in the milieu around William the Conqueror.

3.8. Russia

Historical sources indicate that the Scandinavian settlers in Russia came mostly from Sweden. Their language is thus likely to have been of East Nordic type, though this is not immediately obvious from the runic inscriptions or the personal and place-names that have survived. As in Normandy, the thinness of the Scandinavian-speaking population and its linguistic isolation suggest early abandonment of the native idiom, but the fact that settlement was largely in towns, as in Ireland, may have helped Scandinavian to survive a little beyond the first and second generation.

4. Literature (a selection)

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