3 Old and Middle Scandinavian

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3.1 Introduction

The Scandinavian languages are the North Germanic languages spoken in Scandinavia. Sometimes, and especially in the Scandinavian countries, the term 'Scandinavian' is used in a narrow sense to refer to the mutually comprehensible dialects and standard languages of Denmark, Norway and Sweden (including parts of Finland). The term 'Nordic' is then used in a wider sense to include Icelandic and Faroese. In this chapter 'Scandinavian' will be used in the wide sense.

The first detectable dialect split between East and West Scandinavian is due to sound changes that may have taken place by the seventh century. The common Scandinavian language of the period prior to that is called Ancient Scandinavian. The East Scandinavian dialects were spoken in Denmark and Sweden. West Scandinavian included the dialects spoken in Norway and in the Norse settlements in the West (Iceland, the Faroe Islands, the Shetland and Orkney Islands, the Isle of Man, parts of Scotland, and Greenland). The present-day descendants of West Scandinavian are Icelandic, Faroese and Norwegian. Of these, Norwegian has changed most radically, partly under the influence from neighbouring Swedish and Danish, but mainly as part of a common mainland Scandinavian linguistic development.

We can distinguish three periods in the history of Scandinavian: Ancient Scandinavian, until the seventh century, with no known or significant dialect differences; Old Scandinavian, seventh to fifteenth century, with two main dialect areas, West Scandinavian (Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian) and East Scandinavian (Old Danish and Old Swedish); and the modern Scandinavian languages, from the fifteenth century to the present. Old West Scandinavian is commonly referred to as 'Old Norse'.

Old Norse is by far the best attested variety of Old Scandinavian. 'Classical' Old Norse is the language found in the Icelandic sagas from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There is also a standardized spelling adopted for Old Icelandic, used in edited texts from the classical period. This chapter will be structured primarily as a synchronic description of classical Old Norse: where relevant, I will make diachronic digressions in either direction,

and where there are significant East Scandinavian deviations, those will be dealt with.

Quite frequently, the term 'Middle' Norwegian etc. is used of the last couple of centuries before the Reformation (mid-sixteenth century). This is a chronological term rather than a linguistic one. Linguistically, it was in many ways a period of transition, and it is impossible to define a sufficiently uniform 'middle' stage of Scandinavian. It was a period where many of the changes that led to the modern system took place, but at different times in the different areas of Scandinavia. The changes that took place usually started in Danish, followed by Swedish and East Norwegian, then West Norwegian, and finally Icelandic, which is the most conservative of the Scandinavian languages.

The Scandinavian languages and dialects of today differ mainly in terms of how far they have moved away from Old Scandinavian in various parts of the system. Therefore it is not possible to state the dates where a given change took place. For example, monophthongization of /ai/ to /eː/ had taken place in Jutland by the year 1000, while the diphthong still exists in many Norwegian dialects. Similarly, there are still dialects in mainland Scandinavia that have a separate dative case or number agreement in verbs, although such features started to disappear from the written languages towards the end of the 'middle' period and are now absent from all the standard languages of mainland Scandinavia.

3.2 Phonology

Orthography

Old Scandinavian is recorded in two different scripts, the runic script (the *Futhark*) and the Roman alphabet, which came into use with the introduction of Christianity shortly after the turn of the millennium. With certain additions the latter was made quite suitable as a means of representing the sounds and phonemes of Old Norse. The ‹þ› and later the ‹ð› for the voiced counterpart were borrowed from Old English. The ‹y› for the front, high labial vowel was also borrowed from Anglo-Saxon. Digraphs were used to represent the

Table 3.1   Vowel phonemes of Old Norse

	i	í	y	ý	u	ú	e	é	ø	œ	o	ó	æ	a	á	ǫ
High	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Low	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
Back	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+
Labial	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
Long	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−

rich vowel system of Old Scandinavian. In addition various diacritics were occasionally adopted both for vowel quality and quantity. In the standardized spelling used in edited texts and adopted here, the acute accent ´ is used to denote long vowels. The letters used and their phonetic value can be seen from Tables 3.1 and 3.3.

Vowels

Old Norse Vowel System
The vowel phonemes of Old Norse can be represented as in Table 3.1, where the vowels are given in the standard orthography. The main redundancy in the system is that non-low back vowels are always labial. There are seven pairs distinguished by length only. Early in the period the short /æ/ merged with /e/. The long variant of /ǫ/ merged with /á/ early in the thirteenth century, and is represented by that letter in most of the classical texts. In a later development, in Norwegian and Swedish, the labial /á/ also tended to become higher, and thus it would come closer to /ó/. This vowel would in turn move up and threaten to merge with /ú/, which then would move forward and become a high central vowel.

The /i/ and the /u/ can also occur in a non-syllabic position and function as semivowels, /j/ and /w/ (the latter written ‹v›). In Ancient Scandinavian, /j/ was lost word initially, *ár* 'year' (< **jara*), and /w/ was lost in front of stressed labial vowels, *ulfr* 'wolf' (< **wulfaz*).

This vowel system has evolved from the Ancient Scandinavian system through the process of *umlaut*. Ancient Scandinavian had the five canonical vowels /i, u, e, o, a/, which could be long or short. In stressed syllables preceding unstressed syllables with the vowel /i/ (syllabic or semivowel) the back vowels would have a fronted allophone: /u/ > [y], /o/ > [ø], /a/ > [æ], /au/ > [ey]. Similarly, an /u/ in a following syllable would cause labialization, particularly /a/ > [ɒ], but occasionally also /i/ > [y] and /e/ > [ø] caused by a following semivowel. There was also an *a*-umlaut, which was a lowering of high vowels preceding an unstressed /a/. During the period from *c*. AD 500 to 700, called the 'syncopation period', Scandinavian underwent some important phonological changes, such as the loss of vowels in unstressed syllables. This loss led to the phonologization of certain allophonic variants. For example, the plural of *land* was phonologically **landu*, pronounced with a labialized ('rounded') root vowel, **[lɒndu]*. When the final vowel was lost, the labialized root vowel became the mark of the plural for this class of nouns, and the [ɒ] became a phoneme, written ‹ǫ›.

In general, there are more umlaut effects in the West than in the East. In the eastern dialects of East Scandinavian there is no *a*-umlaut, and only a few traces of *u*-umlaut. The *i*-umlaut, however, seems to have extended throughout Scandinavia. All of these umlaut rules were productive at a period prior to that covered by our written records; therefore it is not possible to describe

the rules accurately. The *i*-umlaut has great consequences for the inflectional morphology of the Scandinavian languages, and is the basis of important morphophonemic alterations, which will be treated in the section on morphology (pp. 45–53). It was – at least during a certain period – sensitive to syllable structure, therefore it did not apply in words with a short root syllable where the /i/ was lost: *staðr* 'place' (< **staðiz*). The *a*-umlaut has mainly affected the lexicon, and plays a less important role in the grammar of the languages.

One umlaut rule is still a synchronic rule of Old Norse, however, namely the so-called younger *u*-umlaut, which changes /a/ to /ǫ/ in front of an unstressed /u/ in an inflectional ending, as in *dǫgum*, the dative plural of *dagr* 'day'. This rule is most consistently applied in Icelandic and in western Norwegian, less so in eastern Norwegian, and in East Scandinavian only in specific environments, such as across a nasal consonant.

Breaking is another effect of unstressed vowels on stressed root vowels. *A*-breaking would change a short /e/ in a root syllable to /ia/ under the influence of a following /a/, as in *hjarta* 'heart'. *U*-breaking is the *u*-umlauted variant of this, caused by an original /u/ in the following syllable: *jǫrð* 'earth' (< **erþu*). By this process, initial /j/ was reintroduced into the language, after the loss of word-initial /j/ in Ancient Scandinavian.

Diphthongs
There are three diphthongs in Old Norse: /æi/, /ǫu/, /æy/. The first one has developed from Ancient Scandinavian /ai/ through a raising of the first element under the influence from the second (some kind of *i*-umlaut): /ǫu/ comes from /au/ through labialization of the first element under influence from the /u/ (some kind of *u*-umlaut); /æy/ is the *i*-umlaut of /au/. /æ/ in /æy/ was furthermore labialized, and the diphthong developed into /øy/. In East Scandinavian the diphthongs were monophthongized early on: /ai/ > /æi/ > /eː/, /au/ > /ǫu/ > /øː/, /ey/ > /øy/ > /øː/. The trend started in Jutland and spread gradually east through Denmark and then north through southern and central Sweden and to parts of eastern Norway. By 1100 the diphthongs were monophthongized in all of Denmark and most of Sweden.

Vowels in Unstressed Syllables
The inventory of vowels in unstressed syllables is much smaller than that in stressed syllables. Instead of the sixteen phonemes of Table 3.1, there is only a contrast of three vowel phonemes in Old Norse, see Table 3.2. There is no length opposition, /a/ is distinguished from the other two by the feature [+ low]. The relevant feature is [± low] rather than [± high], which is shown by the fact that in many manuscripts, especially early Icelandic ones, the unstressed vowels are spelt ‹e› and ‹o› instead of ‹i› and ‹u›. /u/ is distinguished from the other two by the feature [+ labial]. This is shown by the fact that an unstressed /a/ becomes /u/ under *u*-umlaut, as in *kǫlluðu*

Table 3.2   Vowels in unstressed syllables

	i	u	a
Low	–	–	+
Labial	–	+	–

'called (3 pl.)', from *kalla* + *ðu*. (If the distinctive feature were [± back], there would be nothing for the *u*-umlaut to change.)

In Old Swedish and in eastern and northwestern dialects of Old Norwegian the use of *-i/-u* vs. *-e/-o* in unstressed syllables is determined by a principle of vowel harmony. Root syllables with a [+ high] vowel are followed by *i* and *u* in an unstressed syllable, as in *flutti* 'moved' and *bitu* 'bit (3 pl.)'; and root syllables with a [–high, –low] vowel are followed by *e* and *o*: *dœmde* 'judged, sentenced' and *tóko* 'took (3 pl.)'. (After low root vowels the picture is less consistent.)

Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Old Norse are represented as in Table 3.3, where the consonants are given in the standard orthography. The non-strident non-sonorants form three groups of three consonants each: the labials, the velars, and the dentals [–labial, –velar]. Each of these has a voiceless stop (/p, t, k/), a voiced stop (/b, d, g/), and a fricative (/f, þ, h/). In the labials and dentals the feature [± continuant] takes precedence over [± voice]; there is a voice opposition in the stops, and no voice opposition in the fricatives. That means that [f] and [v], and [θ] and [ð] are in complementary distribution. The voiceless fricatives are used word initially, and the voiced ones word medially and finally. The letter ⟨f⟩ is used for both the voiced and the voiceless variant, as in *fara* [fara] 'go' and *hafa* [hava] 'have', whereas there are separate letters for the two dental allophones, as in *þaðan* 'thence'. In the velar series [+ voice] takes precedence over [± continuant]; there is a continuant opposition

Table 3.3   Consonant phonemes of Old Norse

	p	b	f	t	d	þ	k	g	h	s	m	n	r	l
Sonorant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
Continuant	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	0	+	+	–	–	+	+
Velar	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
Labial	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
Strident	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
Voiced	–	+	0	–	+	0	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+

between the two voiceless consonants, /k/ and /h/, while the voiced /g/ may be a stop or a fricative depending on the environment.

By the Old Scandinavian period, the /h/ had been lost in all positions except word initially. Thus an /h/ which was the result of final devoicing of a fricative /g/ would also be lost: *mag > *mah > má 'may, can'. In Norwegian and East Scandinavian the /h/ was lost everywhere except word initially before vowels and semivowels. This created a difference between Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, as in *hlutr* 'part', *hringr* 'ring', *hníga* 'sink', etc. vs *lutr*, *ringr*, *níga*, etc.

A nasal preceding a final stop (which was devoiced) was generally assimilated to that stop in the West, but not in the East. Thus the past tense of *binda* 'bind' was *bant* (< *band* through final devoicing) in the East, but *batt* in the West.

A synchronic rule of Old Scandinavian is the assimilation of /r/ to a preceding /s/, /n/, or /l/. This takes place whenever a suffix starting with /r/ is added to a stem which ends in one of those consonants. In the case of /l/ and /n/ the rule does not apply after short stressed vowels: cf. *stóll* (< *stól+r*) 'table', *ketill* (< *ketil+r*) 'kettle', vs *telr* 'tells'. In most cases /nn/ changes to /ð/ before /r/, as in *maðr* (< *mann+r*) 'man'.

In Danish post-vocalic voiceless stops began to be voiced in the twelfth century, and later the voiced stops would develop into fricatives. Together with the vowel reduction mentioned above, this would lead to the characteristic Danish development: *mata* > *made* > *maðe* 'feed'. (The present-day orthography represents the middle stage.)

Towards the end of the thirteenth century certain consonant clusters began to be unacceptable, in particular final clusters ending in /r/. Since the /r/ in most cases was an inflectional ending, it was not easily dropped. Instead, an epenthetic vowel was inserted, *bœndr* > *bœnder* 'farmers'. The vowel would often be written ‹æ›. In western Norwegian and Icelandic an ‹u› was used.

Prosody

Stress

There is a distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables in Old Scandinavian. As we have already seen, the two kinds of syllables have a different inventory of distinctive vowel qualities. The stress is normally on the root syllable of a word; in most cases that is the first syllable. In compound words, the first element (or sometimes the second) has the primary stress, while the other element has a secondary stress. Certain prefixes may also have primary stress, in which case the root has secondary stress.

Quantity

Syllable quantity plays no significant part in the synchronic phonology of Old Scandinavian, but it did play a certain role in the derivational morphology of

Ancient Scandinavian (see below, pp. 48 and 51), and it has far-reaching consequences for the subsequent development of the sound systems of the Scandinavian dialects. As we have seen, vowels may be short or long, and consonants may occur in clusters or be geminated. In stressed syllables, a short or a long vowel may be followed by none, one, or two (or more) consonants. Stressed syllables may thus be short, long, or 'overlong'.

In eastern Norwegian and western Swedish bisyllabic words have undergone certain phonological processes that are sensitive to the quantity of the root syllable, often referred to as *vowel balance*. On the one hand these processes have created new morphological patterns and distinctions in those dialects, and on the other hand they have set them off from the other Old Scandinavian dialects.

One such process is *vowel reduction*, which in these dialects affects only words with a long root syllable. After a long stressed syllable an unstressed vowel is reduced, while it is maintained after a short syllable. In eastern Norwegian this has led to the so-called 'cleft infinitive', with the ending -*a* after originally short root syllables (*vera* 'be') and -*e* after long root syllables (*kaste* 'throw'). In some of the Norwegian dialects the reduced vowel was completely dropped. In some words with a short root syllable the root vowel assimilated to the final vowel: *gatu* > *gutu* 'road'. The basis for these processes is the fact that a final syllable following a short root syllable receives some of the word stress, and is therefore better preserved. In some dialects such words probably had a 'balanced' stress.

In the further development of Scandinavian an important restructuring of the syllable structures took place. In West Scandinavian and Swedish an interdependency between stress and quantity arose; a stressed syllable had to be long. This means that the short stressed syllables were lengthened, either through lengthening of the vowel or through gemination of the consonant, depending on the actual consonants involved, and on the dialect. This change can be described as follows: The syllable boundary shifted towards the left, so that the last one of post-vocalic consonants can no longer count as part of the preceding syllable, and a long syllable is defined as a bi-moraic syllable. Thus a word like *fé* 'cattle' has still two morae, but now it counts as a long syllable and can still constitute a stressed syllable. /hol/ 'hole' is reanalysed as /ho-l/ and becomes mono-moraic, therefore it changes into /hoːl/ or /holl/, and /koma/ 'come' might become /koːma/ or /komma/. At the same time overlong syllables were also abolished, mostly through shortening of the vowel: *nátt* > *natt* 'night'.

In Danish a different development took place; short vowels in stressed, open syllables were lengthened, /fara/ > /faːre/ 'go, travel'. This did away with one type of short stressed syllables. On the other hand, all geminate consonants were shortened, *þakk* > *tak* 'thanks', which gave rise to a new type of short stressed syllables in monosyllabic words. In monosyllabic words with a short vowel plus a short consonant, the vowel would either remain short or be lengthened, as in /skip/ > /skiːb/ 'ship'.

Tone

In most Norwegian and Swedish dialects there is today a distinction of two word tones in words of more than one syllable. These tones have never been recorded in writing, therefore we have only indirect evidence of their origin. The tonal difference was originally a difference between the pitch contour of monosyllabic and bisyllabic words. The two tones are therefore called 'single' (') and 'double' (") tone, respectively. In the modern languages there are also bisyllabic words with the single tone. These are mainly of three origins: they are loan words; they are monosyllabic roots with the definite article attached to them, /'baːde/ (*bad* + *et*) 'the bath'; or they are words that have become bisyllabic through the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, /'biter/ (< *bítr*) 'bites (pres.)'. Words which were also bisyllabic in early Old Scandinavian have the double tone: /"bade/ 'bathe (inf.)', /"biter/ (< *bítar*) 'bites, bits (m. pl.)'. These facts indicate that the tonal distinction must have arisen before the definite article changed from being a clitic to becoming a suffix, and before the epenthetic vowel was introduced in final consonant clusters ending in an *r*, which means no later than early thirteenth century.

3.3   Morphology

Historically, most nouns and verbs consist of three elements: the root (or a derived stem), a stem suffix and an inflectional ending. The concatenation of the root and the stem suffix is not a productive process in Old Scandinavian; in the verbs it reflects older (mostly Common Germanic) derivational processes. For many classes of words the stem suffix is not even directly discernible on Old Scandinavian; it may have disappeared through phonological development, or it may have merged with the root or the inflectional ending, and hence it plays a role only in determining the inflectional class of the word. In some cases a stem suffix may have left its traces in the form of an umlauted root vowel.

In some of the inflectional categories there are minor differences in the actual forms in the various dialects of Old Scandinavian. The examples and patterns given in this section are from Old Norse. For a complete survey of eastern Scandinavian deviations, the reader is referred to standard historical grammars of those languages.

The Nominal Group

Nouns

Old Scandinavian nouns are divided into stem classes depending on the original Proto-Germanic stem suffix. One possibility was for the stem suffix to end in one of the vowels *a*, *ō*, *i*, *u*. These nouns form the strong declensions. Then the stem suffix might have ended in an *n* preceded by *a*, *ō*, *i*. Those are the weak declensions. In addition there are a few nouns that have stems

Table 3.4   Development of masculine _a_-stem nouns

	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	*armaz	> armr	*armōr	> armar
Acc.	*arma	> arm	*armanz	> arma
Gen.	*armas	> arms	*armō	> arma
Dat.	*armē	> armi	*armumz	> ǫrmum

Note: The Ancient Scandinavian forms of this particular noun are reconstructed.

ending in _nd_ or _r_, as well as roots without stem endings.

There are three genders in Old Scandinavian. The gender of the noun partly depends on its stem class: _a_-stems are masculine or neuter, _ō_-stems are feminine, _i_-stems are masculine or feminine, _u_-stems are masculine (originally also neuter and feminine). The gender of _n_-stems depends on the preceding vowel as in the vowel stems. _nd_-stems are masculine, and _r_-stems and athematic stems are masculine or feminine.

Nouns have two numbers – the original dual having been replaced by the plural – and four cases: nominative, accusative, dative and genitive. The two categories, number and case, are expressed syncretically by one inflectional ending. There are thus at most eight different endings for a given noun. In the plural the ending _a_ is generalized in the genitive and _um_ in the dative for all classes. The forms of the noun _armr_ 'arm' as derived from Ancient Scandinavian are shown in Table 3.4. The stem vowel is _a_, and the noun is masculine. The Ancient Scandinavian forms of this particular noun are reconstructed, but most of the forms are attested with other nouns of the same stem class. As can be seen, the stem vowel _a_ had merged with the inflectional ending in some of the forms as early as Ancient Scandinavian. The major changes from Ancient Scandinavian to Old Scandinavian are the loss of an unstressed short vowel except when followed by a double consonant; the shortening of long unstressed vowels; and the change /z/ > /r/. In the dative plural there is _u_-umlaut (see section 3.2). Neuter nouns have no ending in the nominative/accusative. In the plural the stem vowel appeared as _u_ in Ancient Scandinavian, which caused _u_-umlaut of an /a/ in the root, and was then lost: _land_ 'land', plural _lǫnd_.

The _ō_-stems are all feminine. In Ancient Scandinavian the stem vowel appears as _u_ in the nominative singular, which would cause _u_-umlaut of an _a_ in the root. There is no ending in the nominative singular; the genitive singular ends in _ar_, and the dative singular in _u_ or Ø. In the plural, these nouns have the same ending for the nominative and the accusative.

Masculine _i_-stems have basically the same original inflectional endings as the _a_-stems, the main difference being that whenever the stem vowel is visible, it shows up as _i_. The stem vowel causes _i_-umlaut where possible in

Table 3.5 Declension of masculine *an*-stem

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	granni	grannar
Acc.	granna	granna
Gen.	granna	granna
Dat.	granna	grǫnnum

most nouns with a long root syllable: *gestr* 'guest', pl. *gestir*. Some nouns have a genitive in *ar*: *staðar* 'place's' (no umlaut in a short syllable). Feminine *i*-stems always have the genitive in *ar*.

During and before the transition from Ancient Scandinavian to Old Scandinavian there was a fluctuation between *ō*-stems and feminine *i*-stems. On the one hand, the *ō*-stem pattern without the *r* in the nominative and with the same ending for nominative and accusative in the plural was considered a feminine pattern. On the other hand, several original *ō*-stems adopted the plural ending *ir*, while the feminine *i*-stems developed a specifically feminine declension type. This development continues into modern Norwegian and is still going on, since the plural ending *er* (< *ir*) is being generalized to all feminine nouns, while *ar* is being generalized to all masculines. In the modern dialects, then, the stem vowel, which is now to be analysed as part of the plural ending, is determined by the gender of the noun, while originally the gender of a noun was determined by its stem class.

The *u*-stems make up a minor class in Old Scandinavian, and they are all masculines. The stem vowel shows up only in the accusative plural, but has left its trace in the form of *u*-umlaut in other forms. The genitive singular has the ending *ar* and has no *u*-umlaut. The nominative singular ends in *ir* and the dative singular in *i*, both with *i*-umlaut.

In the *n*-stems the *n* of the stem suffix has disappeared in most Old Scandinavian forms. In the singular, those nouns end in a vowel, and all the oblique cases have the same form. In the plural the nominative is based on the strong declensions, and the dative has the ending *um*. The forms of the masculine *an*-stem noun *granni* 'neighbour' are shown in Table 3.5.

Feminine *ōn*-stems have the ending *a* in the nominative singular (*saga* 'story'), and *u* for the other singular forms (*sǫgu*). Nominative and accusative plural are identical in the feminine gender (*sǫgur*). In the genitive plural the stem consonant *n* shows up (*sagna*). Neuter *an*-stems have the ending *a* throughout the singular (*auga* 'eye'), and *u* in the nominative/accusative plural (*augu*). *in*-stems end in *i* in all cases in the singular (*gleði* 'happiness, joy'), and probably also in the plural except the dative, where there would be an *um*-ending. Most of these nouns are abstracts, however, derived (diachronically) from adjectives (*glað* + *in*), and are therefore rarely used in the plural.

Table 3.6   Personal pronouns proper

	Singular			Dual		Plural	
Nom.	ek	þú		vit	it	vér	ér
Acc.	mik	þik	sik	okkr	ykkr	oss	yðr
Gen.	mín	þín	sín	okkar	ykkar	vár	yðar
Dat.	mér	þér	sér	okkr	ykkr	oss	yðr

Some nouns have originally an *ij* or a *w* preceding the stem suffix *a(n)* or *ō(n)*. In these nouns, any stem vowel that can undergo umlaut does so, also in those forms where the *ij* or *w* is lost. There is therefore no morphophonemic change of stem vowel in these nouns. Thus an original *a* has become *ǫ* in words with *w* (*sǫngr* < **sangwaz* 'song'), and *e* in words with *ij* (*stef* < **stafija* 'refrain' 'verse'). In words with a short root syllable, *ij* was reduced to the semivowel *j*. In these words, the semivowels appear in Old Norse only when they are followed by a vowel with different feature values. Thus *j* appears only in front of *a* and *u* (*stef*, gen. pl. *stefja*, dat. pl. *stefjum*). And *w* appears only in front of *a* and *i* (*sǫngr*, dat. sg. *sǫngvi*, nom. pl. *sǫngvar*). After a long root syllable the semivowel *j* was lost and only *i* remained. This in turn was deleted before another vowel, but was maintained before a consonant and word finally. Thus the neuter *a*-stem *kvæði* 'poem' keeps the *i* in all forms except in the genitive and dative plural, where it is followed by *a* and *u*, respectively.

Pronouns
The set of personal pronouns in Old Scandinavian is made up of three separate morphological systems. First, there is the system of personal pronouns proper, where there is a distinction of three numbers (the dual still exists in this system) and four cases, but no gender distinction (Table 3.6). These are the pronouns used for the first and second person, and for the third-person reflexive. As in other Indo-European languages, there is a high degree of suppletion. The reflexive forms (*sik* etc.) are used also for the dual and the plural. Since pronouns are often unstressed, especially when postposed to the verb, various clitic forms appear. Thus in poetry, the first-person singular may appear simply as a suffix *-k* on the verb. (The cliticization of the reflexive pronoun is treated in the section on verbal morphology.)

In some dialects, especially in western Norway, the nominative of the first and second persons dual and plural following a finite verb were reanalysed, whereby the verbal ending was analysed as an initial consonant of the pronoun: *hafið ér* > *hafi þér* 'have you', similarly *hǫfum vér* > *hǫfu mér* 'have we'. Subsequently, this was restored as *hafið þér*, and the new pronoun form was used also in other positions: *þér hafið*. The first-person plurals in *m* still

Table 3.7   Third-person pronouns

	Masculine	Feminine
Nom.	hann	hon
Acc.	hann	hana
Gen.	hans	hennar
Dat.	honum	henni

Table 3.8   Distal demonstratives

	Singular			*Plural*		
	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.
Nom.	sá	sú	þat	þeir	þær	þau
Acc.	þann	þá	þat	þá	þær	þau
Gen.	þess	þeirrar	þess	þeirra	þeirra	þeirra
Dat.	þeim	þeirra	því	þeim	þeim	þeim

exist in some varieties of Norwegian, and second-person plurals in *þ* or *d* (< *þ*) are general in modern Icelandic and Norwegian. In Old Swedish, the verbal ending for the second-person plural was *in*, which led to the form *ni* for the second-person plural by a similar reanalysis.

Second, there is the system of third-person personal pronouns, with gender distinctions, developed from a common Germanic demonstrative root with the prefix *h-* (Table 3.7). In Scandinavian, this system is used only in the singular, and only for the masculine and the feminine genders. The genitives function as possessive pronouns and adjectives. Third, demonstrative pronouns are used to fill in the gaps: third-person singular neuter and third-person plural all genders.

The demonstratives consist of a distal and a proximal series. The distal series is made up of two stems, *sa*, which is used only for the nominative singular of the masculine and the feminine, and *þa* (Table 3.8). As mentioned above, the neuter and the plural forms are used also to fill in the personal-pronoun system.

The proximal demonstratives were originally formed on the basis of the distal system above with the a suffix *-si* or *-a*, or both, as in the Ancient Scandinavian accusative singular masculine *þansi*. This system is not consistently attested anywhere at any time, and very early the root and the suffix began to merge into a new root with highly irregular declensions. Thus the forms of this demonstrative vary greatly historically and geographically.

Old Scandinavian has a complicated system of interrogative and quantify-ing pronouns. The most important ones can be divided into three groups on

a morphological and semantic basis: the ones formed on the basis of *hver* are either interrogatives ('what, who, which') or universal quantifiers ('each, every'). When a selection is made from a pair, the root *hvár* is used. The existential quantifier is *nokkorr* 'some, any', which is often written as *nǫkkur* (< *nekkvarr* < **ne wait hwarjaz* 'I do not know who' (cf. Lat. *nescio quis*)). The negative quantifier is *engi* 'none' (< *né einn-gi* 'not one at-all'). In addition, *sumr* 'some' and *einn* 'some, one' have adjectival declensions.

The Adjectival Declensions

Originally, adjectives were inflected as nouns, but already in Proto-Germanic some pronominal forms were adopted, which gave rise to the adjectival declension, which therefore is a mixture of a nominal and a pronominal declension. The specifically pronominal forms are the following:

	Singular			Plural		
	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.
Nom.			t	ir		
Acc.	(a)n	a	t			
Gen.		rar		ra	ra	ra
Dat.	um	ri	u			

The other forms are nominal *a*-stems in the masculine and neuter, and nominal *ō*-stems in the feminine. This declension is used when the adjective is a predicate or when it is a modifier in an indefinite noun phrase. This is also called the 'strong declension'. With definite noun phrases, the 'weak declension' is used. This corresponds to the nominal *an*-stems in the masculine and neuter singular, and to the *ōn*-stems in the feminine singular; in the plural for all genders it has *um* in the dative and *u* in all the other cases. With the comparative of adjectives and present participles the feminine singular and the plural of all genders are inflected as nominal *in*-stems.

The adjectival declension is also used for the definite article and for the possessives. The origin of the definite article in Scandinavian is the demonstrative *hin*, originally 'that one over there' or 'the other'. Since this particular root ends in *n*, the assimilations of *r* to *n* apply (see section 3.2): sg. nom. m. *hinn*, dat. f. *hinni*. The *n* of the root assimilates to the neuter ending *t*, whereupon *tt* is shortened (probably due to unstressed position): *hit*.

The definite article has a form without an initial *h* which is cliticized to the noun. This results in a definite form of the noun consisting of a nominal root + nominal case ending + *in* + adjectival case ending, as in *hest-s-in-s* 'the horse's'. In the cliticization process the *i* of the article is lost if the noun ends in an unstressed vowel (*saga-n* 'the story') or in the plural *r* (*sǫgur-nar* 'the stories'). In the dative plural -*um-inum* is generally shortened to *unum* (*hestunum*).

For first- and second-person possessors there are possessives based on the

genitive form of the personal pronouns: *hestr okkarr* 'the horse (nom.) belonging to the two of us'. For third-person possessors the genitives of the third-person pronouns or demonstratives are used without further inflection: *hestr hans* 'his horse' and *hestar þeirra* 'their horses'.

Comparison

There are two regular systems of comparison in Old Scandinavian. Most adjectives add *-ar* for the comparative and *-ast* for the superlative: *ríkr–ríkari–ríkastr* 'powerful'. This is the productive system; but there is a smaller group of adjectives that take *-r* and *-st* with *i*-umlaut (caused by a lost *i* preceding the ending): *langr–lengri–lengstr* 'long'.

The Verbal Group

As in other Germanic languages, there is a distinction between weak and strong verbs. The weak verbs originally consisted of a root plus a stem suffix, and the past tense is expressed by adding a dental suffix to the stem suffix. The strong verbs have no stem suffix, and the past tense is expressed through *ablaut* alternations in the root. The tense system has only one opposition: past vs non-past (present).

Stem Classes

In Proto-Germanic there were three stem suffixes that formed the basis of weak verb stems: *ō*, *ija* and *ē*. In the non-past forms the inflectional ending was added to these stems. In the past tense, the suffix *d* was added before the inflectional ending. This *-d* had various allophonic values depending on the stem class and the environment. The suffix *-ō* was shortened and changed to *a*, and the dental suffix was a fricative: **kall-ō-d-ō > kallaða* 'called (1 sg.)'. The *a* of the *ija*-stems disappeared, and after short root syllables also the *i*. The *j* remains in front of *a* or *u*, otherwise it was lost too, as in all past-tense forms, **wal-i-d-ō > valda* 'chose'. In non-past forms the semivowel caused *i*-umlaut, as in the infinitive *velja*, but also where the *j* was lost, as in the present tense *velr*. After long root syllables *ij* was maintained and caused umlaut throughout, but was subsequently lost: **dōm-ij-d-ō > dæmda* 'judged'. The *ē*-stems developed the same way as the long *ija*-stems, except that there is no umlaut, **wak-ē-d-ō > vakta* 'was awake'.

The strong verbs form their past tense by means of vowel ablaut. In each ablaut series there is one root vowel for the non-past, and maximally three root vowels (or diphthongs) for the past: one for the indicative singular, one for the indicative plural and the subjunctive, and one for the participle. In some series the latter two have the same root vowel. Regular strong verbs are conjugated according to one of the six series shown in Table 3.9.

In West Scandinavian, the *jú* of class II appears as *jó* in front of dental consonants (*skjóta* 'shoot'); and the root vowel of the past participle of most verbs of classes II and III underwent *a*-umlaut and became *o* (*kropinn*). In

Table 3.9   Ablaut series in strong verbs

	Non-past	*Past* ind. sg.	ind. pl.	part.	*Sample verb*
Class I	*ei > í	*oi > ei	i	i	*bíta* 'bite'
Class II	*eu > jú	*ou > au	u	u	*krjúpa* 'creep'
Class III	e	*o > a	u	u	*bresta* 'break'
Class IV	e	*o > a	*ē > á	u	*nema* 'take'
Class V	e	*o > a	*ē > á	e	*gefa* 'give'
Class VI	*o > a	ó	ó	*o > a	*fara* 'go'

class III there are different root vowels in the non-past stem: *i* before a nasal (*vinna* 'win'); some verbs have a *w*-suffix and *u*-umlaut (*slyngva* 'sling'), and some have breaking (*bjarga* 'save').

In addition to these regular classes there are reduplicating and preterite-present conjugations, and some other irregular verbs, such as *vera* 'be'.

Inflectional Categories
The non-past stem is followed by an inflectional ending indicating first of all whether the verb is in a finite or a non-finite form. The inflectional endings of finite forms indicate mood, number and person. There are three moods: indicative, subjunctive and imperative; and there are two numbers and three persons. The plural form of the verb is used also with dual subjects. The vowel of the stem suffix is always deleted in front of an inflectional ending that begins with a vowel.

The infinitive is formed by adding *a* (< *an*) to the stem: *far+a > fara* 'go', *dœmi+a > dœma* 'judge'. If the root ends in *á*, no infinitive ending is added: *fá* 'get, receive'. The present participle is formed by adding *and* to the stem: *farandi, dœmandi*.

The present indicative has the endings shown in Table 3.10. The *-r* of the singular is originally *-iz*, where the *i* has caused *i*-umlaut in the root in West Scandinavian. By analogy, the umlauted root vowel is used also in the first person. In Old Swedish the first-person singular also has the same ending as the second- and third-person singular, and the second-person plural ends in *-in*.

Table 3.10   The present indicative

1 sg.	Ø	kalla	vel	dœmi	vaki	fer
2 sg.	-r	kallar	velr	dœmir	vakir	ferr
3 sg.	-r	kallar	velr	dœmir	vakir	ferr
1 pl.	-um	kǫllum	veljum	dœmum	vǫkum	fǫrum
2 pl.	-ið	kallið	velið	dœmið	vakið	farið
3 pl.	-a	kalla	velja	dœma	vaka	fara

The present subjunctive has the ending *a* for the first-person singular. The other forms are characterized by an *i* (< *ē) which does not cause umlaut: 1 sg. *-a*, 2 sg. *-ir*, 3 sg. *-i*; 1 pl. *-im*, 2 pl. *-ið*, 3 pl. *-i*. The imperative exists only in the non-past, and has a separate form only for the second-person singular, which is the stem of the verb (only the root in the *ija*-class). For the other forms, the imperative forms are the same as the indicative.

In the past tense, as we have seen, the singular indicative of strong verbs has a separate stem. This stem receives no ending for the first and third persons, and *-t* for the second person: 1 sg. *gaf*, 2 sg. *gaft*, 3 sg. *gaf* 'gave'. For the indicative of weak verbs and for the subjunctive of all verbs, the singular endings are the same as in the present subjunctive: *-a*, *-ir*, *-i*: *valda*, *valdir*, *valdi* 'chose (sg. ind.)'. Although the subjunctive endings are the same in the present and the past, they have a different historical origin: in the past tense it is derived from *i*, which therefore has caused umlaut (except in the *ō*-stems): *velda*, *veldir*, *veldi* and *gæfa*, *gæfir*, *gæfi* 'gave (sg. subj.)'. In the plural, for all verbs, the indicative is characterized by the vowel *u*, and the subjunctive by *i*: *gáfum*, *gáfuð*, *gáfum* and *gæfim*, *gæfið*, *gæfi* 'gave'. The past participle of weak verbs has the dental suffix, and that of strong verbs has the suffix *-in*, to which the adjectival declensional ending is added: *valdr*, *gefinn*.

A couple of modal verbs have a past infinitive in *u*, which is used after matrix verbs in a past tense, cf. *Hann kvezk fara vilja* 'He says he wants to go' with the matrix verb *kvezk* and the infinitive *vilja* 'want' in the present, and *Hann kvazk fara vildu* 'He said he wanted to go'. (For the forms *kvezk* and *kvazk*, see below.)

Reflexive Forms

The verb acquired a reflexive or medial form through the cliticization of the reflexive personal pronoun: *kalla sik* > *kallask* 'call oneself, be called'. In the first-person singular the ending *-umk* was used (< *ō + *mik*, where the *ō* did not change to *a* because of the following *m*). Otherwise the ending *-sk* was generalized to all other persons and cases very early on (see section 3.4). Eventually it also replaced the first-person singular ending. In the cliticization process a final *r* of the verbal ending is lost: *kallar sik* > *kallask*; a final *ð* becomes *t*, and the combination *tsk* is usually spelt ‹zk›: *kallið+sk* > *kallizk*. Eventually *sk* was replaced by *st*, and finally reduced to *s* in East Norwegian and East Scandinavian. The reflexive forms also underwent a semantic change, and acquired more and more of a passive-like meaning, until they today are used as regular passive forms.

3.4   Syntax

The Nominal Group

The Structure of the Noun Phrase
The head of the noun phrase is a noun: *þau hin stóru skip, er áðr hǫfðu siglt* (lit.) 'those the big ships, that earlier had sailed'. The head noun may, however be deleted under recoverability; thus the example just given is followed by a sentence with the noun phrase *hit fyrra* 'the former'. In other cases an adjective is the head without any noun being understood or deleted: *snústu frá illu ok ger gott* 'Turn away from evil and do good'.

Old Scandinavian generally has a rather free word order. This is true also at the phrasal level. It is therefore impossible to state absolute rules about the order of the elements of a noun phrase. Certain general principles do apply, however, and certain strong tendencies can be observed. The non-cliticized definite article usually precedes an adjective, and the clitic article can only be attached at the end of common nouns. In general, the noun and the adjective can only be separated by a definite article (the only exception to this is discussed below). It is therefore convenient to treat the head noun together with any modifying adjectives and definite articles as one unit. For reasons of convenience I will refer to this unit as the 'nucleus'. Other parts of the noun phrase are determiners, quantifiers and postnominal modifiers, that is prepositional phrases, clauses and any other extraposed material. The relative order of nuclei, determiners and quantifiers is variable, depending on scope and complexity.

Within the nucleus, the adjective may precede or follow the noun: *eldar stórir* (lit.) 'fires great', *mikinn her* 'big army'. The unmarked order in definite noun phrases is for adjectives to precede appellatives and to follow proper names. Adjectives have a special definite form (the 'weak' form, cf. section 3.3), which has to be used in definite noun phrases. In addition, definiteness is expressed by means of one, both or neither of the definite articles. If the order is noun–adjective, only one article can occur between them. The following structures of definite noun–adjective nuclei can then be found ('+' means cliticization): N ADJ: *Ólafr digri* 'stout Olaf'; N+DET ADJ: *hafit mikla* 'the big ocean'; N DET ADJ: *Vínland hit góða* 'Good Vinland'; ADJ N: *(sá) mildi konungr* '(that) gentle king'; DET ADJ N: *hinn digri maðr* 'the stout man'; ADJ N+DET: *digri maðrinn*; DET ADJ N+DET: *hinn hvíti bjǫrninn* 'the white bear'.

Determiners are demonstratives and possessives. The determiner may precede or follow the nucleus: *sá hinn helgi maðr* (lit.) 'that the holy man', *mínir góðu vinir* 'my good friends', *maðr þessi* (lit.) 'man this', *móðir mín* (lit.) 'mother mine', *þræll konungs* (lit.) 'slave king's'. There is usually at most one determiner in a noun phrase, but a genitive phrase may co-occur with a demonstrative: *þessi orð hans* (lit.) 'these words his'. If the noun phrase

contains a restrictive relative clause, a determiner is obligatory, either preceding the nucleus, *einn sá maðr, er þar var* 'one of the men who were there' (lit. 'one that man who there was'), or immediately preceding the relative clause, *ǫllum hǫfðingjum þeim er váru í ríki hans* (lit.) 'all chiefs those who were in his kingdom'.

Quantifiers may also precede or follow the nucleus: *sumir bœndr* 'some farmers', *tólf ina spǫkustu menn* (lit.) 'twelve the wisest men', *berserki sína tolf* 'his twelve berserks' (lit. 'berserks his twelve'), *þau fylki ǫll* 'all those counties' (lit. 'those counties all'). The word *einn*, which eventually developed into the indefinite article, behaves syntactically and semantically as a quantifier: *son einn* 'a/one son'.

Certain category types always follow the nucleus, determiners and quantifiers. Those are adnominal prepositional phrases, *vitrastr maðr í Svíaveldi* 'wisest man in Sweden', relative clauses, *sá hinn mæti gimsteinn er þú ferr með* 'that costly jewel which you carry'. Other elements may also occupy the final position in a noun phrase, such as conjoined adjectives: *húskytja nǫkkur lítil og auð* 'some small and empty hovel' (lit. 'hovel some small and empty'). A peculiar feature of Old Scandinavian is the possibility of extraposing the second conjunct of a conjoined phrase. When this is done to adjectival phrases, the second conjunct is extraposed to the end of the noun phrase: *einn lítill sveinn ok fátœkr* 'a small and poor boy' (lit. 'a small boy and poor').

Two nouns or noun phrases may combine into an appositive construction, where one specifies or modifies the other. A common type of apposition is the combination of a proper name and a title or the name of a function, as in *Ólafr konungr* 'King Olaf'. The rule is that the name precedes the title in such cases. Other types of appositions are combinations of pronouns with nouns, as in *þeir brœðr* 'the brothers (together)' (lit. 'they brothers'). This construction may also be used with a noun in the singular, or with a name, as in *þeir Ólafr* (lit.) 'they Olaf', which means 'Olaf and his men'. Nominal subordinate sentences introduced by *at* are often appositive to a demonstrative pronoun: *ræð ek þat, at vér vindim segl várt* (lit.) 'suggest I that, that we hoist sail ours'. The case and position of this pronoun serves to indicate the grammatical role of the clause.

Noun phrases may be discontinuous in Old Scandinavian. Those elements that may occur as postnominal modifiers (see above) may also be moved further to the right, so that other material separates them from the rest of the noun phrase, as for example a relative clause: *Fjǫlnar var sá nefndr er son var Yngvifreys* 'the one who was the son of Yngvifrey was called Fjolnar' (lit. 'Fjolnar was that (one) called who son was Yngvifrey's'). Note incidentally that this relative clause also contains a discontinuous noun phrase, since the genitive *Yngvifreys* is separated from *son*. The second conjunct may be moved out of its noun phrase: *Þórir fór eptir um daginn ok hans lið út til skipa sinna* 'Thori and his people went out to his ships the next day' (lit. 'Thori went after

in the day and his people out to ships his').

Noun phrases may also be divided in other ways, for example between the noun and the adjective: *góðan eigum vér konung* 'we have a good king' (lit. 'good have we king'); between the determiner and the noun: *þeirrar skaltu konu biðja* 'you shall ask for that woman' (lit. 'that shall-you woman ask'); or between the quantifier and the noun: *færi sé englar sendir í heim* 'fewer angels be sent to Earth' (lit. 'fewer be angels sent in earth'). In such cases the quantifier is in the normal, unmarked position of the noun phrase, whereas the noun occupies a position further to the right. This is seen most clearly in quantified questions, such as *hversu margar vildir þú kýr eiga?* 'how many heads of cattle would you like to have?' (lit. 'how many would you cattle own?') where the noun phrase (*hversu margar kýr*) contains a question word. It is the quantifier, *margar*, which stays with the question word, *hversu*, in the front position, whereas the noun, *kýr*, occupies what would be a normal object position in a sentence where the object is not questioned.

Zero Anaphora

Old Scandinavian allows empty argument positions when the content of the argument is unspecified. Thus weather verbs are used without subjects, as well as other verbs when they express natural processes: *gerði myrkt* 'it got dark' (lit. 'made dark'). Also other verbs may be used without a subject: *ekki sá skipit fyrir laufinu* 'did not see the ship (acc.) for foliage'. This sentence can only be interpreted as 'one did not see the ship', and not as 'he did not see the ship'. This is because Old Scandinavian is not a true 'pro-drop' language. On the other hand, it does not have an expletive element to fill empty subject positions.

Argument phrases can also be omitted when they are clearly recoverable from the context, as in *þú munt eigi segja hersǫgu, nema sǫnn sé* 'you shall not tell news from the war unless (it) be true', or when they have no reference, as in *hér hefr upp sǫgu Heiðreks konungs* 'here starts King Heidrek's saga' (lit. 'here lifts up saga (acc.) Heidrek's king's'). In Modern Scandinavian, on the other hand, the subject is obligatory in tensed sentences except under certain syntactically specifiable conditions.

Deletion of a noun phrase in the second conjunct is permitted regardless of case and grammatical role of the identical noun phrases. Thus not only subjects are deleted under identity with subjects, as in Modern Scandinavian, but an accusative object in the second conjunct may be deleted under identity with a preceding accusative object: *síðan fluttu þeir líkit upp með ánni ok grófu þar niðr* 'afterwards they moved the corpse up along the river and buried (it) there'; an accusative object may also be deleted under identity with a preceding dative: *Einarr Þambarskelfir fór með líki Magnúss konungs ok flutti til Niðaróss* 'Einar Þambarskelfi transported King Magnus's body (dat.) and moved (it) to Nidaros'.

Reflexives

The reflexive pronoun has the same forms for all numbers and genders, but three cases are distinguished (there is no nominative form). As a general rule, the reflexive is controlled by a nominative subject: *hann nefndi sik Ólaf* 'he called himself Olaf'. In infinitival clauses the reflexive is governed by the matrix subject: *Þórr hugði at verja sik* 'Thor meant to defend himself'. Also in finite clauses a reflexive pronoun may be governed by the subject of a higher sentence: *Sigmundr biðr þá, at þeir mundu hjálpa sér* 'Sigmund asks them, that they shall help himself'.

The reflexive possessive is used mainly with a nominative subject as its antecedent: *var hann kallaðr Ólafr eptir fǫðurfǫður sínum* 'he was called Olaf after his (paternal) grandfather'. This reflexive may also be governed by other noun phrases, as in *Ólafr konungr þakkaði henni vel orð sín* 'King Olaf thanked her very much for her words', where *sín* has as its antecedent the immediately preceding dative phrase *henni*. The reflexive may even occur in a nominative phrase, with a non-nominative phrase as its antecedent, as in *þykkir honum eigi sín fǫr góð* 'his voyage does not seem good to him' (lit. 'seems him (dat.) not his (refl.) voyage (nom.) good'), where the antecedent of *sín* is the dative *honum*. In the modern languages these latter two uses of the reflexive would be ungrammatical.

Instead of the reflexive pronoun, it is more common with certain verbs to use the reflexive form: *hann lagðisk í rekkju* 'he went to bed' (lit. 'he laid-himself in bed'), *Kálfr klæddisk skjótt* (lit.) 'Kalf dressed-himself quickly'. This form has no case distinction; hence it can be used not only with verbs that take an accusative object, as above, but also with verbs that take a dative, *sumir kómusk á ǫnnur skip* 'some made it onto other ships' (*koma* + dative = 'bring'). The same suffix is also used for the second person: *sakask eigi þú* 'don't injure yourself', and eventually also for the first person (instead of the older *mk*): *ek skal giptask bónda einum* 'I shall marry a farmer'.

The Verbal Group

There is no absolute way of defining auxiliaries as a morphosyntactic category in Old Scandinavian. The most obvious auxiliaries are those verbs that are used with a past participle of the main verb to form grammatical categories. *hafa* 'have' is used with the neuter form of the past participle to form the perfect: *vér hǫfum fengit mikinn skaða* 'we have suffered a great injury'. But the participle may also agree with the object: *mik hefir Helgi hingat sendan* (lit.) 'me has Helgi hither sent (m. acc.)'. *vera* 'be' (past tense *var*) is used with the past participle of some intransitive verbs to form the perfect: *nú er hér kominn Egill* 'now Egil has come here' (lit. 'now is hither come (m. nom.) Egil (nom.)'). The subject may also be omitted with such participles: *gengit var á þingit* 'they/one went to the assembly' (lit. 'gone was to the assembly'). This can be analysed either as an impersonal passive or as a subjectless sentence in the perfect tense. Other intransitive verbs are also

used with *vera* without a subject: *lesit er á bókum* (lit.) 'read is in books'. Here only a passive interpretation is possible, since this verb does not take *vera* as an auxiliary in the perfect. The regular passive of transitive verbs is formed with either *vera* as in the former examples, or with its inchoative counterpart *verða* 'become' (past tense *varð*): *senn váru hafrar heim um reknir* 'soon the rams were driven home' (lit. 'soon were rams home (particle) driven'), *af því varð bœn hans heyrð* 'therefore his prayer was heard' (lit. 'of that became prayer his heard').

The auxiliary *munu* combines with the infinitive of the main verb to form the future: *þú munt vera konungr yfir Noregi at eilífu* 'you shall be king of Norway for ever'. Other verbs also mainly combine with a bare infinitive, and may justifiably be classed as modal auxiliaries, such as *kunna* 'can, be able to', *mega* 'be able to', *þora* 'dare', *skulu* 'shall'.

Grammatical Relations

Case Assignment

The major means for marking grammatical relations in Old Scandinavian is by means of morphological case marking. All four cases are used for noun-phrase arguments of verbs. In *hon skyldi bera ǫl víkingum* 'she was to bring beer to (the) vikings', the nominative (*hon*), the accusative (*ǫl*), and the dative (*víkingum*) are represented as governed by the same verb *bera* 'bring, carry'. As will be demonstrated below, there is little evidence that Old Scandinavian has a separate VP node to the exclusion of the subject. All argument phrases seem to be governed by the verb directly, and thereby to be represented at the same level of structure. The change from such a flat structure into a hierarchical NP–VP structure constitutes a major syntactic change in Scandinavian.

The argument phrase and its governor do not need to be adjacent. In *hǫgg þú af tvær alnar hverju stórtré* 'cut two ells off each large tree' (lit. 'cut you (nom.) off two ells (acc.) each big-tree (dat.)') there are two governors, the verb *hǫggva* and the preposition *af*. The verb is specified for nominative and accusative, and the preposition for dative.

It is not implausible to assume that the case systems we know from some Indo-European languages have as their origin a system where each case morpheme (perhaps originally a postposition) corresponds to a particular semantic role. In Old Scandinavian enough remains of such a 'pristine' semantically based case system for there to be a high degree of correlation between morphological case and semantic role. Thus, the dative is regularly used for such roles as instrumental: *þeim reið Goðgestr konungr* 'King Godgest rode (on) it'; recipient: *hon skyldi bera ǫl víkingum* 'she was to bring beer to (the) vikings', *Ólafr konungr þakkaði henni* 'King Olaf thanked her'; and ablative: *þeir fletta hann klæðum* 'they stripped him of his clothes (dat.)'. The accusative generally expresses the theme role: *nú tekr hann hestinn* 'now he takes the horse', *Þorbjǫrn átti fé lítit* 'Thorbjorn had little money'. Some

verbs take a genitive phrase. They are verbs with very many different types of meaning, yet most of them imply a partitive reading of the argument. But since Old Scandinavian has already moved away from a pristine case system, 'partitive' has to be understood in a very wide sense. Besides the genuine partitive meaning which is found in expressions like 'all of us', and 'the king's head', 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 noun phrase is unaware of its role, as with verbs like 'desire', 'look for', 'wait for', 'miss', 'avenge', 'mention', etc. Note that the use of the genitive case is specified in the lexical entry for the verb, and thus does not depend on the role of the argument in each specific instance. A few examples of the use of genitive objects with verbs may include: *hann var ekki skáld ok hann hafði þeirrar listar eigi fengit* 'he was no bard, and he had not received any such skills (gen.)', *heraðsmenn leituðu hennar* 'men from her district looked for her (gen.)'. Thus, with some exceptions, the accusative, dative and genitive cases correspond fairly well to specific semantic roles.

The nominative is of course primarily the case of the agent role, as shown by most of the preceding example sentences. However, the nominative may also correspond to any other semantic role, as in *Þorbjǫrn átti fé lítit* 'Thorbjorn had little money', and of course in common sentence types like *Ólafr var snimma gǫrviligr maðr* 'Olaf was early an accomplished man'. What these and other uses of the nominative case have in common, however, is that the nominative expresses whatever semantic role is highest on a role hierarchy with at least the following steps: agent > recipient > theme. When there is an agent, it of course is the first role. In the sentence above with the verb *eiga* (past tense *átti*) 'possess, own', the owner is recipient, and the object owned is theme. There is thus a certain redundancy in the lexicon of languages like Old Scandinavian. Not only are the semantic roles to some extent predictable from the meaning of the verb, but the cases with which the verb combines are largely predictable from the roles.

Occasionally the nominative phrase may be absent, *bítr vel á um daginn* '(the fish) bites well during the daytime'. Such sentences have verbs that normally would take an agent, but in these cases the agent is not expressed (see the section on zero anaphora, p. 56). But then there are even verbs that hardly ever combine with a nominative noun phrase: *mun þik kala* 'you will be cold' (lit. 'shall you (acc.) freeze'); *minnir mik hinnar konunnar* 'I remember that woman' (lit. 'reminds me (acc.) that woman (gen.)'). Here an understood agent is less easily inferred; therefore some other noun phrase would be the highest role on the hierarchy and thereby be in the nominative. The generalization about the nominative as the case of the highest role can be salvaged if it is possible to imagine some understood agent also in these latter examples, and perhaps that is how our ancestors saw the world. In any case *minna* can be glossed as 'remind' rather than 'remember'. A stative verb like

sofa 'sleep', on the other hand, always has a nominative associated with the theme role; with this verb the theme is the first role since one does not conceive of an outside force being the agent of sleep.

When the predicate of an independent sentence is an adjective, a copula verb is required. The phrase referring to the entity that has the property denoted by the adjective may be said to have the theme role. No adjective combines with the accusative, and it seems that with adjectives the nominative has the same function that the accusative does with verbs: it expresses the theme role. Furthermore, some adjectives combine with other roles and cases as well. Adjectives expressing emotional states often combine with a dative phrase and a role expressing the source of the emotion, that is instrument. This role then is expressed by the dative: *Guðrún varð fegin kvámu hans* 'Gudrun was happy about his arrival (dat.)'. Some adjectives also combine with a genitive with a partitive meaning, corresponding to what we find with some verbs: *er Haraldr konungr varð þessa tíðenda víss* 'when King Harald was informed about this news (gen.)'.

Most varieties of modern Scandinavian have lost the original Scandinavian case system, and the standard languages of mainland Scandinavia all have the same reduced case system that we find in English (cf. chapters 8, 9, 10). There are, however, some dialects in the central regions of Norway, and parts of western Sweden, that have retained a separate dative case. I will refer to these dialects as Central Scandinavian. In these dialects three cases – nominative, accusative, and dative – are distinguished. The nominative is used for the subject; the accusative is used for the direct object of most verbs and some prepositions; the dative is used for the indirect object, the direct object of some verbs, and with some prepositions and adjectives.

The nominative stands out from the other cases in this system, too: it is the only case form that is tied to a specific structural position. This is clearly different from association with the first role, as in Old Scandinavian. In Modern Norwegian, all tensed clauses (except imperative sentences) have a subject, that is, a nominative phrase. If an agent is not expressed, for example, the sentence still ends up having a nominative phrase. All of the nominative-less sentences discussed above therefore have modern equivalents with nominative subjects: *ekki sá skipit fyrir laufinu > skipet kunne ikkje sjåast* 'the ship could not be seen'; *bítr vel á um daginn > det bit godt om dagen* 'the fish bites well in the daytime' (lit. 'it bites well in the day'); *mun þik kala > du vil frysa* 'you (nom.) will be cold'.

Also in Central Scandinavian, the genitive case is generally lost. The genitive governed by verbs, adjectives and prepositions has been replaced by the accusative, which means that the distinction between partitive and non-partitive theme arguments is lost. There has been a considerable redistribution of the functions of the dative and the accusative. In general, the accusative has encroached upon the area of the dative as a direct object. For example, the instrument role is now expressed by the accusative rather than by the dative.

Generally speaking, the dative case is used for the recipient and the ablative, and the accusative for the theme. However, the dative is used for the instrument role when it is the argument of prepositions or adjectives. *Ho var redd bikkjen* 'she was afraid of the dog (dat.)'.

One main difference between Old Norse and Central Scandinavian is that in the latter, subjects of passive sentences are always in the nominative, even those which correspond to datives in active sentences: *han takka foreldrom sine* 'he thanked his parents (dat.)' vs *foreldra vart takka* 'the parents (nom.) were thanked'; *ho lova guta mat* 'she promised the boy (dat.) food' vs *guten vart lova mat* 'the boy (nom.) was promised food'. Apart from the case marking, there are no relevant syntactic differences between these conservative Scandinavian dialects and the modern standard mainland Scandinavian languages.

The Subject

In many languages, including Modern Scandinavian and English, the subject phrase can be shown to have a set of syntactic properties which helps to identify the subject among the argument phrases. In Old Scandinavian, the nominative phrase is not so clearly characterized by such properties; these properties become more evident at later stages and particularly in the modern period. We have already seen, for example, that the nominative subject is not the sole antecedent of a reflexive.

A main characteristic of the subject in the modern Scandinavian languages as opposed to the Old Scandinavian nominative, is its indispensability. In the modern languages every tensed sentence except imperative sentences needs a grammatical subject. In Old Scandinavian, as we have seen, nominative-less sentences are by no means unusual. Besides the examples already cited, such verbs as *vanta* 'lack', *dreyma* 'dream', *þyrsta* 'be thirsty', *fýsa* 'want, desire', etc. take an accusative phrase, and no nominative. Others have a dative phrase referring to the experiencer, such as *líka* 'like', where the source of the feeling is expressed in the accusative or nominative. Since the dative phrase with such a verb (almost) always denotes an animate being, it also tends to have a high degree of empathy and thereby be thematic. Therefore it would most often be topicalized and occur in first position. Such a definite, thematic noun phrase in first position could at some point be interpreted as the subject, and as case marking becomes structural rather than lexico-semantic, the experiencer phrase gets nominative case by virtue of its position. This way we get the modern construction with the experiencer as the subject of the verb 'like'.

In Old Scandinavian, the finite verb is found in first or second position in declarative main sentences (see below, pp. 64–6). The element preceding or immediately following the finite verb is often a nominative noun phrase, as in *Hálfdan hvítbein var konungr ríkr* 'Halfdan Whiteleg was a powerful king' and *hafið þit verit hér um hríð með mér* 'you have already stayed here with me for some time' (lit. 'have you been here for while with me'). However,

we also find other case forms, so this position is not uniquely a nominative position: *var þeim gefinn dagverðr* (lit.) 'them (dat.) was given lunch (nom.)'. Thus if this position is reserved for a certain type of noun phrase, then that noun phrase cannot be defined only as being in the nominative. The constituent order in this example is, however, in accordance with the information structure: the dative phrase is an anaphoric pronoun and thus carries given information, whereas the nominative noun phrase carries new information and comes at the end of the sentence. What this seems to show, then, is that either the order of noun phrases has nothing to do with subjecthood at all, or that noun phrases other than nominative phrases can be subjects.

The main rule seems to be that only nominative phrases can trigger verb agreement. As it happens, however, nominative phrases that lack other subject-like properties do not always trigger verb agreement. In *í þann tíma fannsk í Danmǫrk kvernsteinar tveir* 'at that time there was two millstones in Denmark' (lit. 'at that time found (3 sg.)-themselves in Denmark two millstones (nom.)'), the nominative noun phrase fails to trigger verb agreement since it is rhematic and comes at the end of the sentence. The verb *þykkja*, past tense *þótti*, often does not agree with the nominative either; in *mér þótti vit vera í hellinum* 'I thought we were in the cave' (lit. 'me (dat.) seemed (3 sg.) we (nom.) be in the cave'), the most thematic element is the first person singular *mér*, rather than the dual *vit*. It is true that there is a high degree of correlation between nominative and verb agreement, but it is not absolute. Verb agreement has now practically vanished in mainland Scandinavian, and the kinds of examples we have just seen must have been the first steps in that direction.

When it comes to the possibility of subjects being missing from the sentence/clause, there is also a remarkable difference between the earlier and later stages of Scandinavian. As was shown above, the omissibility of nominative noun phrases in Old Scandinavian differs only minimally from that of other noun phrases.

There is, however, at least one clearly syntactic property whereby the Old Scandinavian nominative stands out from the other cases: it presupposes a finite verb. With non-finite verbs the nominative is regularly omitted, unless it is 'raised' into a higher clause: *hann heitr at gefa þeim bæði ríki ok fé* 'he promises to give them both power and wealth'; *opt hefi ek heyrt yðr þat mæla* 'I have often heard you (acc.) say that'.

The Passive

In Old Scandinavian, the passive is formed with the participle of the main verb and the auxiliary *vera* 'be' or *verða* 'become': *senn váru hafrar heim um reknir* 'soon the rams were driven home'; *af því varð bœn hans heyrð* 'therefore his prayer was heard'. The participles used in passive sentences are verbal adjectives, with a complete adjectival inflection. There is thus no syntactic difference between *bœn hans var heyrð* 'his prayer was heard' with

a participle as a predicate, and *bœn hans var lǫng* 'his prayer was long' with a non-derived adjective.

Only those argument phrases that can be subjects of the copula verb can be subjects in the passive. Those always have the theme role, and thus correspond to accusative objects of active verbs. That is why the subject of passive sentences can only correspond to an accusative of the active counterpart. Other cases remain the same: *fjórir hleifar brauðs eru honum fœrðir hvern dag* 'four loaves (nom.) of bread are brought him (dat.) every day'; *þá er hefnt fǫður* 'then the father (gen.) is avenged'; *lesit er á bókum* 'one reads in books' (lit. 'read (part.) is in books'). Old Scandinavian lacks 'pseudo-passives', where the subject corresponds to the object of a preposition in the active. When the subject later was associated with a structural position rather than with a case form alone, underlying non-subject noun phrases could be moved into that position, and the modern 'pseudo-passives' became possible, such as the Norwegian *han må gjevast fire leivar brød* 'he must be given four loaves of bread', *bøkene vart lesne i* 'the books were read in', etc.

The Sentence
The sentence in Old Scandinavian is characterized by two interconnected properties: it has a 'flat' structure, where all the major constituents are represented at the same hierarchical level, and it has a relatively free word order, in the sense that the relative order of phrases in terms of grammatical function is variable. The order of elements in terms of discourse function, on the other hand, is rather fixed. From this it follows, for example, that a nominative phrase (the subject) may come at the beginning of the sentence and be topical, or it may come at the end and be focused. Sentences of the following kind are very common in Old Norse literature: *fyrst vil hann spyrja ef nǫkkur er fróðr maðr inni* 'first he will ask if there is a wise man (nom.) in there'; *hvernig óxu ættir þaðan* 'how grew families (nom.) out of it'; *en er han fell, þá hljóp svá mikit blóð* (nom.) *ór sárum hans* 'and when he fell, then so much blood (nom.) poured from his wounds'; *í honum miðjum liggr bruðr sá er Hvergelmir heitir* 'in the middle of it there is a well (nom.) which is called Hvergelmi'. This is in clear contrast to the situation at later stages of the language, where the subject is typically definite and carries given information. We see that there is a parallel development of syntactic and pragmatic properties of the subject as it becomes structurally rather than morphologically defined.

Constituent Structure
The lack of hierarchical structure and the entailed free word order shows up also in other ways. For one thing, the object may easily be separated from its governing verb: *felt hefir hon þá menn* 'she has slain those men' (lit. 'slain has she those men'); *sjá má ek þik* (lit.) 'see may I you'. This type of facts

may be interpreted in two ways: either we have discontinuous VPs, or there is no VP-node in Old Scandinavian. If a verb + its object is one constituent, we would expect at least in some instances to find them together in a position where only one constituent is permitted. Since this is a verb-second language, such a position would be in front of the finite verb. Sentences like the modern *Sjå deg må eg* 'see you I must', which are current in Modern Scandinavian, are, however, totally absent from Old Norse.

A most remarkable kind of discontinuity in Old Scandinavian is the separation of prepositions from their objects. When the preposition and its object are not adjacent, the object usually occurs in a position which is typical of a prepositional phrase, whereas the preposition itself is further to the left in the sentence, usually somewhere closer to the main verb. (This, then, has nothing to do with preposition stranding.) *hǫgg þú af tvær alnar hverju stórtré* (lit.) 'cut you off two ells (acc.) each bit-tree (dat.)'; *Snorri brá við skjótt orðsending Guðrúnar* 'Snorri got suddenly startled by the message from Gudrun' (lit. 'Snorri startled at suddenly message (dat.) Gudrun's'). The preposition may even be alone in the preverbal position: *á þykkir mér vera skuggi nǫkkur manninum* 'there seems to me to be some shadow over the man' (lit. 'on seems me (dat.) be shadow some the man (dat.)'). These facts seem to indicate that Old Scandinavian lacks prepositional phrases as well as verb phrases as syntactic constituents.

Constituent Order

Since major syntactic relations are not marked primarily by word order in Old Scandinavian, constituent order is available for other functions, such as pragmatic functions. This does not mean, however, that word order is totally determined by such functions.

In main sentences the finite verb is usually in second position. The position preceding the finite verb consists of at most one constituent, which can be an argument noun phrase: *Ólafr gekk til geitahúss* 'Olaf went to the goat-house', *fé þat alt gaf hann liðmǫnnum sínum* (lit.) 'all that property gave he to his followers'; it can be a predicate complement: *vitr var hann* (lit.) 'wise was he'; it can be an adverbial: *eigi hefir þú lit dauðra manna* 'you don't have the colour of dead men' (lit. 'not have you ...'); it can also be a non-finite verb: *þakka viljum vér yðr* 'we want to thank you' (lit. 'thank will we you'). Furthermore, the topic position can be empty: *hafi þit verit hér um hríð með mér* (lit.) 'have you been here for while with me'.

Sentence questions either have an empty topic position, *ætlar þú at hræða mik?* 'do you intend to frighten me?', or they are introduced by *hvárt*, which, when used in dependent questions (see below p. 68), can be glossed as 'whether', *hvárt eru allir menn í svefni á bœnum?* 'are all men asleep on the farm?' Phrasal questions are introduced by a question word or phrase: *hverr var þessi hinn orðsnjalli maðr?* 'who was this eloquent man?', *hversu mikla frændsemi átt þú við Erling?* 'how close kinship do you have with Erling?'

The question word may also be part of a fronted prepositional phrase: *við hvat fœddisk kýrin?* 'on what did the cows feed?'

A post-verbal subject pronoun may often be a clitic, although it does not show in the spelling. Sometimes, however, the clitic status of the subject pronoun is reflected in the spelling: *áttu engis annars af ván* 'you have no other hope' (lit. 'have-you nothing else of hope'). Non-nominative pronouns may also be cliticized, and thus precede a full nominative noun phrase: *ekki hryggja mik hót þín* 'your threats do not distress me' (lit. 'not distress me your threats'). And there may be more than one pronoun: *máttir þú þat vita áðr* 'you were in a position to known that before' (lit. 'might you that know before'). Non-finite verbs regularly follow the subject, even when the subject is a full noun phrase and thus not cliticized to the finite verb. When the subject is not topicalized, it therefore intervenes between the two verb forms: *skulu vit brœðr vera búnir* 'we brothers shall be prepared' (lit. 'shall we brothers be prepared'). In the space between the finite and the (position of) the non-finite verb we also typically find sentence adverbials: *mun þér þó verða betra til vista en þeim* 'there will though be better conditions for you than for them' (lit. 'shall you (dat.) though become . . .') and time adverbials: *Arinbjǫrn hafði lengi fylgt málum Egils* 'Arinbjorn had long followed Egil's speech'.

Non-topical noun phrases, including nominative noun phrases, sub-categorized adverbials and other focused adverbials follow the (position of) the non-finite verb: *vér hǫfum fengit mikinn skaða* 'we have received great damage'; *var þeim gefinn dagverðr* (lit.) 'was them (dat.) given lunch'; *nú eru brúðir byrgðar í haugi* (lit.) 'now are brides shut up in a mound'.

Hence, the Old Scandinavian sentence can be divided into three parts, delimited by the verbal positions: the first part is the position in front of the finite verb, which contains at most one topical constituent; the second part starts with the finite verb and contains other topical noun phrases, such as subjects and clitic pronouns, sentence adverbials and time adverbials; the third part starts with the non-finite verb, and contains non-topical argument noun phrases and adverbials. This can be represented as in Figure 3.1, where the asterisk means that a category may be represented more than once.

The word order of Old Scandinavian main sentences exhibits two striking features, the verb-second constraint and the VO order, where V in the first instance means finite verb and in the second instance main verb. This is basically also the system of the Modern Scandinavian languages, the difference being that Modern Scandinavian is more consistent: whereas Old

Figure 3.1

Front	Middle	Final
Topic	V[+fin.] NP(nom.) Pron. SAdv.	V[−fin.] NP* Adv.*

Scandinavian allows empty topic positions, the topic position in the modern language is obligatorily filled in declarative sentences, making the V2 requirement absolute, and whereas the modern language always has objects and subcategorized adverbials after the main verb, Old Scandinavian has quite a few sentences with OV structure, as in *vér viljum ekki lof hans heyra* 'we do not want to hear his praise' (lit. '... praise his hear'). This latter pattern is a relic from an older stage where the language was basically OV. The oldest runic inscriptions in Ancient Scandinavian show verb-final order, as in the Danish Gallehus gold horn from *c.* AD 400: *ek hlewagastiz holtijaz horna tawido* (lit.) 'I Hlewagast of Holt horn made'. Auxiliaries would follow main verbs in final position, as in the Swedish Kalleby stone from the same period: *haitinaz was* 'was called'. However, in Old Scandinavian, only non-finite verbs occur in final position in main clauses.

Thus two word-order changes took place in the period from Ancient Scandinavian to Old Scandinavian: the finite verb moved from the final to the first or second position, and the object (and subcategorized adverbials) moved behind the main verb. The first of these changes is complete in classical Old Norse, whereas there are still plenty of exceptions to the second rule. It may be that Old Scandinavian is still underlyingly OV, where V stands for a non-finite verb, since the finite verb is in second (or first) position. All the VO surface structures are then either sentences with only one verb, or sentences where a rule applies to move elements to the right of the verb. Such a rule is easier to motivate on functional grounds, than one moving other elements in the opposite direction. It is also easier to motivate than a rule moving the verb in either direction, since the verb is sometimes found between other constituents, as in *hefir þú nokkura menn hitt í borginni?* (lit.) 'have you any men found in the castle?'

The verb-second constraint can be said to be absolute in Old Scandinavian if we count an empty topic position as a 'position', which would make a sentence-initial finite verb also 'second'. In the course of the fifteenth century, verb-initial sentences became more and more rare in Scandinavian, and at the same time we find the first occurrences of the expletive word *ther/der* 'there' or *det* 'it': *ther kom ey een tijl lande hiem* 'not one came back home to his country' (lit. 'there came not one to country home'). This is an expletive topic, not an expletive subject. Therefore it continues to appear only sentence initially for several centuries after this time. Still in eighteenth century Danish we find *derved er given Anledning til de vidløftige Reyser* (lit.) 'thereby is given opportunity for the extravagant journeys'. And it may co-occur with another subject in the sentence: *der har fire Mænd redet over Broen i dag* (lit.) 'there have four men ridden across the bridge today'. The noun phrase *fire Mænd* is between the two verbs, and must therefore be the subject. In Modern Scandinavian both of these sentences would be ungrammatical, since the expletive word is now clearly a subject. The origin of the expletive subject may be a reanalysis of the expletive topic as a subject.

The use of 'there' or 'it' as an expletive is geographically determined in Scandinavia; 'there' is used in Denmark and in southwestern Norway, 'it' in the rest of Norway and in Sweden. Thus we find *thet* in fifteenth-century Swedish: *thet war en man, ther hafdhe et ilt sar* 'there was a man who had a bad wound' (lit. 'it was . . .').

Subordination

The word-order pattern of subordinate sentences is basically the same as that of main sentences: subordinate sentences obey the verb-second constraint, and the order is optionally VO or OV, *at ek muni eigi geta þessa konu* 'that I will not get that woman', *ef honum væri þat lofat* 'if that had been promised him' (lit. 'if him were that promised'). There are, however, some differences as to the frequency of various patterns. An empty pre-verbal position seems to be possible only when the subject is missing or when it is rhematic; the fronting of a non-subject in subordinate clauses is much rarer than in main clauses; and the OV order is more common in subordinate clauses. In addition there is at least one pattern that only occurs in subordinate clauses, the final position of a finite verb: *at þeir í verǫldu bornir váru* (lit.) 'that they in world born were'. This then is a relic of the original Germanic OV order, where V would stand for the finite verb. This is not very common in Old Scandinavian – it is found only in poetry – whereas a non-finite auxiliary in final position is quite common: *at skipit hafi sét verit* (lit.) 'that the ship has seen been'.

The subsequent development confirms the VO order in subordinate as in main sentences. But the verb-second order is abandoned in subordinate sentences: in the modern mainland Scandinavian languages finite and non-finite verbs are adjacent in subordinate sentences, and they can be preceded only by the subject and a sentence adverbial (and of course the complementizer). *ef honum væri þat lofat* can now only be expressed as the Norwegian *om det var lova honom* 'if that were promised him'. Sentences formed as sentence questions, without a complementizer and the verb first, can – then as now – be used as conditional clauses: *hefði hann lið slíkt, þá mundi hann optar sigr fá* 'had he such an army, then he would have victory more often'.

A constituent can be extracted from a subordinate sentence and placed in topic position of the matrix sentence, although this seems to be much less common than in the modern Scandinavian languages, *þau orð bað Ásta, at vit skyldim bera þér* 'those words Asta asked us to bring you' (lit. 'those words asked Asta that we should bring you'). A more remarkable kind of extraction is the placement of an adverbial in front of the complementizer of the sentence to which it belongs: *þat er sagt um sumarit, at einnhvern dag fór Sigmundr til eyjarinnar Dímun* 'that is said in the summer that some day Sigmund went to the island of Dimun'. This kind of extraction is found in Dano-Norwegian as late as the nineteenth century, but now it seems to have disappeared everywhere.

Nominal sentences are introduced by *at*: *eigi er undarligt, at þú sér kallaðr*

Ólafr digri 'it is no wonder that you are called Olaf the Stout', *hygg ek, at þú ljúgir* 'I think that you are lying', *sídan vil ek gefa lof til, at þú farir yfir land mitt* (lit.) 'then I will give permission that you travel over my land' (lit. '. . . permission to that you travel . . .'). As shown above, clauses introduced by *at* are often appositive to a demonstrative pronoun: *ræð ek þat, at vér vindim segl várt* (lit.) 'suggest I that, that we hoist sail ours'. The clause may also be separated from the demonstrative: *er þat min vili, at svá gørir vér allir* 'that is my wish that we all do so' (lit. 'is that my will, that . . .'). The word *þat* is also the neuter form of the unstressed personal pronoun, 'it'; thus it could be reinterpreted as an expletive subject, which has led to the modern extraposition constructions.

The demonstrative and the *at*-clause may be governed by a preposition, and thus function as an adverbial clause. A purpose clause may be introduced by *til þess at . . .*, where *þess* is the genitive of *þat* governed by *til* 'to, for'; 'because' is expressed by the preposition *af* or *fyrir* + dative of *þat*, which is *því, + at* and the sentence.

Subordinate phrasal questions have the question word as its complementizer: *spurði Fjǫlnir bræðr sína, hvat þeir ætlaði honum af fé* 'Fjolnir asked his brothers what they had in mind for him in terms of money'. Dependent sentence questions are introduced by *hvárt*, which can be used also in independent questions (see above p. 64), or by *ef*: *þat skyldi svá reyna, hvárt Baldr var svá ástsæll sem sagt er* 'it would then be seen, whether Baldr was as popular as is said', *skal ek freista, ef ek mega þik drepa* 'I shall try if I can kill you'. Like its English cognate, *ef* is also used to introduce conditional clauses.

Classical Old Norse does not have relative pronouns; relative clauses are introduced by the complementizer *er*: *Visburr átti son, er Domaldi hét* 'Visbur had a son who was called Domaldi'. The head of the relative clause can also be an adverbial, in which case the relative construction has the function of an adverbial clause: *þá er Hrafnkell hafði land numit* 'when Hrafnkel had taken land'.

As we see from this brief survey, Old Norse does not really have adverbial complementizers. Most adverbial clauses are relative clauses introduced by *er*, with an adverbial head, or they are nominal clauses introduced by *at*, following a demonstrative governed by a suitable preposition. In many instances, however, the demonstrative or the head can be omitted, so that *at* or *er* acquires the meaning and function of an adverbial complementizer; besides the example with *þá er* above, we thus also find simply *er Hrafnkell kom heim* 'when Hrafnkel came home'. More importantly, in a diachronic perspective, the complementizer can also be omitted, leaving the demonstrative or the adverb with the complementizer function. Thus *fyrir því* has developed into the modern Norwegian *fordi* 'because', and *da* (< *þá*) is now both the adverb 'then' and the complementizer 'when'. As a consequence (or perhaps a cause) of this development, the complementizer *er* has disappeared from the language.

In relative clauses, *er* is gradually replaced by *sem*, originally a comparative particle 'as': *eptir því sem Eyvindr segir* 'after (= according to) that which Eyvind says'. By the fifteenth century, this has become the predominant relative complementizer, especially in mainland Scandinavian.

All nominal and most adverbial phrase types are accessible to relativization. Besides subjects and direct objects, indirect objects may be relativized: *Sigurðr, er bræðr mínir at bana urðu* 'Sigurd, whom my brothers killed' (lit. '. . . to death became'); objects of adjectives: *konu þá, er þeir hǫfðu enga sét jafnvæna* 'that woman (to) whom they had seen none equally beautiful'; objects of prepositions: *skip, er hann fór á yfir hǫf stór* 'a ship which he travelled in over big oceans'; instrumental dative: *mjǫðr sá, er hon fyllir skapker hvern dag* 'the mead (with) which she fills a vessel every day'; dative of comparison: *orð, er ek heyrði aldri in hnæfiligri* (lit.) 'words, (than) which I never heard the more taunting'; and of course adverbials, as we have seen already.

There are also non-finite complement clauses. Certain verbs take 'accusative with infinitive', that is complement clauses where the subject is 'raised' into an object position of the matrix verb and is therefore in the accusative, while the verb is in the infinitive: *opt hefi ek heyrt yðr þat mæla* '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*. When the subject of the matrix clause and the infinitival complement are co-referent and in the third person, the reflexive pronoun is used: *kenni maðr sik svá hafa ást guðs* 'a man knows himself thus (to) have God's love'. Only nominative noun phrases become accusative. Subject-like dative noun phrases remain in the dative: *hann sagði sér enn þetta ofljóst þykkja* 'he said he still found this too clear' (lit. 'he said himself (dat.) still this too clear seem').

With *verba dicendi* the reflexive form of the verb is used instead of the reflexive pronoun: *þeir sǫgðusk eigi vilja gjalda tvennar skyldir* 'they said they did not want to pay double debt' (lit. 'they said-themselves not want pay two debts'). The ending *-sk* in *sǫgðusk* represents the subject of the infinitive *vilja* 'want'. When the suffix is used, a predicate adjective is in the nominative, agreeing with the matrix subject: *rammari hugðumk ǫllum vera* 'I thought myself to be stronger than all' (lit. 'stronger (nom.) thought-myself all (dat.) be'). Otherwise it agrees with a full reflexive pronoun: *hann sagði sik vera Ólaf* 'he said himself (to) be Olaf (acc.)'.

The subject of a complement clause may be 'raised' into subject position of the matrix verb. This then results in a 'nominative with infinitive' construction. This is typically found with the verb *þykkja* and its synonyms: *þótti honum hon vel hafa gert* 'it seemed to him that she had done well' (lit. 'seemed him (dat.) she well have done'). The dative phrase may be represented as the reflexive suffix on the verb if it is co-referent with the nominative: *þóttisk hann sjá í svefni mann einn standa þar* 'it seemed to him that he saw in his sleep a man standing there' (lit. 'seemed-himself he see . . .').

The accusative with infinitive constructions now have only a marginal status, and are used almost exclusively with sensory verbs. With other verbs they have been replaced by finite complements. The nominative with infinitive has also been replaced by finite clauses in most cases, and the dative of verbs like *þykkja* has become a nominative subject, as is the case with other subject-like datives. A sentence like *honum* (dat.) *þótti hon* (nom.) *vel hafa* (inf.) *gert* thus becomes modern Norwegian *han* (nom.) *tykte at ho* (nom.) *hadde* (past) *gjort vel* 'he thought that she had done well'.

3.5 Lexis

The major part of the Ancient Scandinavian vocabulary naturally belongs to the common Germanic stock. Some groups of words have, however, taken on specifically Scandinavian shapes, such as the words formed with the suffix *-n*: *bjǫrn* 'bear', *ǫrn* 'eagle' (Ger. *Aar*), *vatn* 'water', etc. More generally, a specifically Scandinavian vocabulary was created by means of productive derivations, such as the *-*in* used to derive nouns from adjectives: *gleði* 'happiness, joy' from *glaðr* 'happy, glad', or *-*nan* to derive inchoative verbs from adjectives: *blána* 'turn blue', etc. On the other hand, most common Germanic prefixes disappeared in Scandinavian, whereby certain words might become vague or ambiguous, as *lúka* 'close, open', corresponding to Old English *belūcan* 'close' and *onlūcan* 'open'. This was often remedied by the use of adverbial particles: *lúka upp* 'open up'. Some verbs became ambiguous between a causative/transitive and an intransitive meaning, such as *gráta* 'weep' or 'weep for, bemoan', through the loss of a transitivizing prefix *be-*. In some words the prefix remains in the form of a single consonant, which then just forms a cluster with the original initial consonant of the root: *granni* 'neighbour' (Go. *ga-razna*), *gnóg* 'enough' (Ger. *genug*).

The earliest loanwords that we know in Scandinavian are cultural loans from neighbouring languages that the Vikings and their predecessors were in contact with: *bátr* 'boat' from Frisian or Old English, *sekkr* 'sack' from Latin; some no doubt came via English, such as *stræti* 'street' (Lat. *strata*). The introduction of Christianity naturally led to an influx of new loanwords. Since the new religion came to Scandinavia via England and Germany, most Christian concepts are expressed by means of loans from or via those languages, such as *kirkja* 'church' and *dop* 'baptism'. Many of the new words are not loanwords in the strict sense, but rather loanshifts, where a native word has had its content modified to perform the same function as a corresponding foreign word; such words are *guð* 'God', *jól* 'Christmas', *dygð* 'virtue', etc.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, during the last century before Reformation, the Scandinavian languages were above all influenced by Low German. This had great impacts, not only on the vocabulary, but on the whole structure of Scandinavian. For one thing, the great number of bilingual and foreign speakers of Scandinavian may have been one of the factors leading

to a simplification in the morphology of Scandinavian during that period. Furthermore, some new grammatical words or function words were introduced, such as *men* 'but', and *bli(va)* 'become', which eventually took on the role of passive auxiliary, replacing the Scandinavian *verða* in many dialects.

Acknowledgements

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