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MICHAEL P. BARNES

## Standardised *fubarks*

### A useful tool or a delusion?

#### 1. Introduction

Various things I have read recently have caused me to wonder about the role and status of standardised runic alphabets. They are discussed in some detail in Karin Seim's doctoral thesis on the West Scandinavian *fubark* inscriptions (1998), for which I was first opponent. They were also used by Seim as the basis for a rudimentary division of her corpus into "futhark i stavløse runer" 'a *fubark* in staveless runes' (p. 72), "kortkvist-futharker" 'short-twig *fubarks*' (p. 74) and "resten av de vestnordiske futharkene" 'the remainder of the West-Scandinavian *fubarks*' (p. 78). My undergraduates, too, operate with standardised runic alphabets. Not unnaturally, it is from such they learn to read runes. Lacking experience, however, they tend to imagine that what they see on the printed page is a true copy of something that existed at the time runes were in common use. They do not easily grasp that the standardised runic alphabets which appear in our hand-books are abstractions constructed for our convenience. This can lead to odd formulations. One student opined recently of an older *fubark* inscription: "Each sign appears in the same form in the older *fubark*", a statement which presupposes the existence of an older *fubark* norm with which characters in a particular inscription can be compared. Another undergraduate

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**Abstract:** This article deals with the standardisation of runic alphabets by modern scholars. The purposes of standardisation are examined, as well as the uses to which standardised *fubarks* are put (be it for illustration or to support arguments). Consideration is then given to the procedures involved in reducing the wide variation typical of actual usage to a few mutually exclusive sets of forms, and the question asked whether this reflects or obscures reality. Finally, on the basis of the discussion, the development of the younger *fubark* is re-examined.

**Keywords:** runic alphabets, standardisation, the development of the younger *futhark*

sounded a slightly censorious note. Observing that “the older *fubark* † is retained [in three instances]” in the Rök inscription (Ög no. 136), he went on to declare: “In the short-twig *fubark* this *should be* † [my italics].” It is to be hoped the young man concerned has taken to heart my marginal warning: “Beware of demanding that rune carvers adhere to our categorisation of runic alphabets.”

## 2. The purposes of standardised *fubarks*

Although standardised *fubarks* are widely used, few comment on their *raison d'être*. Perhaps this is because as runologists we have become so accustomed to their appearance in hand-books and elsewhere we accept them as an integral part of the discipline. For non-runologists they clearly have a practical purpose. Just as most learners of a foreign language will want to concentrate on a single norm, so those getting to grips with runic script for the first time are likely to find a fixed set of forms more helpful than the diversity and irregularity of the real thing. Standardised *fubarks* are not just employed for the benefit of the uninitiated, however. They commonly accompany runologists' analyses of runic writing systems and their development. There their purpose may be largely illustrative, but sometimes they are used to bolster arguments. Wessén, for example (1957: 16), uses a standardised staveless alphabet reflecting usage on some five stones from Hälsingland and a standardised short-twig alphabet based on the Forsa inscription (Liestøl 1980), as evidence for his belief that the staveless runes were derived from the short-twig (1957: 7–8, 17). Moltke (1985: 367) presents a sanitised version of the Hedeby short-twig *fubark* in which certain features have been altered or suppressed. In particular the **n** and **a** runes, which on the stick have crossing branches, appear in his standardised reproduction with branches on one side only. I do not know precisely how Moltke reasoned here, but it is clear from many of his pronouncements that he considered **n** and **a** with crossing branches to be members of the long-branch alphabet. He may thus have felt they had no place in a short-twig *fubark*, and persuaded himself the carver badly overcut the single-sided branches he had intended — although there is, it must be said, little warrant for such an interpretation in the inscription itself.

Whatever their thoughts about the status of standardised runic alphabets, Wessén and Moltke are here investing them with a reality it is improbable they can have had. To argue that one precisely deline-

ated row of runes is derived from another equally precisely delineated row, implies the primacy of both as prototypes and a concomitant belief that shapes other than the ones given are to be viewed as deviations from the prototype. It is possible, I suppose, that somewhere in Viking-Age Scandinavia there was a model short-twig alphabet that rune carvers could consult if they felt they were straying too far from the “correct” forms. It is perhaps further possible that such an alphabet consisted either of the forms given by Wessén or of those preferred by Moltke — possible even that it was on the Wessén forms a model staveless alphabet was based. But there is no evidence that any of this was so, and I would class it all as improbable surmise. My view, however, carries its own implications. Once the belief in prototypes is challenged, it makes little sense either to amend an attested *fubark* inscription, or to suggest that a particular selection of rune shapes gave rise to another particular selection.

It is beyond doubt, I think, that the staveless runes of the Hälsingland stones are derived from other runes, but we have no way of knowing which these were. The dating of the inscriptions concerned, Malsta, Sunnå, Hög, Hälsingtuna and Hudiksvall (Jansson 1985; Peterson 1994; Hudiksvall now only known from a drawing), is uncertain, but few in recent times have wanted to go further back than *c.* 1050. That seems to make the Hälsingland group roughly contemporary with or younger than the Södermanland inscriptions with staveless runes (*Sö* nos. 106, 137, 148, 154, 159, 164, cf. Peterson 1994: 242–3). It is thus possible that the Hälsingland staveless types are a refinement of those used in Södermanland (as already suggested in respect of **f** and **k** by von Friesen (1933: 164–5)), in which case **l** and **h** (and **t**) at least would ultimately derive from what are generally considered long-branch runes (**\*** and **↑** via the Södermanland forms **\*** and **^**). But even if the Hälsingland shapes should be the more original, or have only a tenuous connection with those in Södermanland, there are very few of them that *must* go back to short-twig prototypes. **l** (**s**) looks to be a short-twig form, it is true, and **h** (**t**) to derive from one, but **h** and **t** (**m** and **n**) are most plausibly seen as modelled on **Y** and **λ** — both normally classed as long-branch; seven of the Hälsingland staveless characters — **l** **l** **l** **l** **l** **l** **l** (**f u p r k i l**) — are derived from runes whose shapes do not vary in an obviously systematic way; two — **l** **l** (**h b**) — could be based on either short-twig or long-branch types; the final two — **l** **l** (**n a**) — may be modelled on graphs with single-sided or crossing branches — a distinction which is in fact immaterial in terms of pinpointing a source

alphabet since many inscriptions classed as short-twig — including the Hedeby *fubark* — have the crossing-branch types. (On the derivation of the staveless runes, see most recently Fridell 2001.)

Two conclusions can be drawn from this preliminary discussion. First, while it may be hard to do away entirely with standardised *fubarks* for the learner, they should, much as cigarettes, be accompanied by an appropriate health warning. The novice needs to be made fully aware that they are modern abstractions and that there is no evidence for their existence at any time when runes were in common use. Obviously those learning to carve runes will have followed models, but we do not have certain examples of such, and they must by their very nature have varied according to time and place; they can in no way be considered comparable to mass-produced printed *fubarks*. Second, the use of standardised *fubarks* to support particular views and arguments is entirely to be deprecated. It can only lead to a series of false premises — amply demonstrated by the two examples cited above.

### 3. The basis of standardised *fubarks*

As Seim makes clear in her thesis (1998: 43–55), standardised *fubarks* are the result of conscious or unconscious choices. Graphic variation in runic writing is enormous, but from this variation a few features are selected for inclusion in the standardised models and the majority rejected. In the case of conscious choice, features will be preferred that are deemed significant in distinguishing one rune from another and in some way typical of the runes thus distinguished. Where little or no thought has gone into the process of selection, the standardised *fubark* is likely to be based on one appearing in an already existing work.

Early runologists, who could not so easily rely on established models, tended to pay more attention to graphic variation than those who followed. Wimmer (1887: 289–91), for example, presents a range of what we would now call short-twig forms from the Rök stone and the Forsa ring, notes a couple of variants on the Kälvesten stone (Ög no. 8, but there incomplete, cf. Jansson 1976: 42–4) and gives a composite (short-twig type) *fubark* based on the characters occurring on various stones from western Norway and the Isle of Man. He does not accord the Rök forms primacy over those on Kälvesten where they differ, although he does declare firmly — apparently on grounds of assumed age rather than typology — that the Forsa runes presuppose those of Rök. The

notion of an *ur*-alphabet — an original short-twig *fupark* from which others are descended — is not to be found here; the forms discussed are presented as related but parallel attempts to simplify the common Viking-Age alphabet, i.e., the one we nowadays call long-branch. While moved to praise Wimmer's lack of preconceptions about what is original and what secondary, I suspect it stems ultimately from an unreflecting approach to the question of runic variation. Nowhere does he explain why he chooses to record certain types of variation and not others. Two forms of l are noted on the Rök stone, for example, the difference between them being whether the branch extends from the very top of the vertical or just below it, yet the same carver's fs are printed only as  $\mathcal{F}$ , although in reality the lower branch of this character can connect with the vertical very close to the base, and both branches show a tendency to curve quite sharply. The different treatment accorded by Wimmer to Rök's fs and ls seems to reflect unconscious or at least unarticulated assumptions about the significance or otherwise of particular types of variation; there is certainly no indication of any underlying analysis.

Those writing after 1887 were equally inexplicit, but exhibited increasing rigidity in their interpretation and presentation of different varieties of Viking-Age runic alphabet. Bugge, for example (e.g. 1910: 172–3), fails to distinguish between the particular forms on the Rök stone and the generality of what he calls “die kurzzweigige Schrift”. Detailing the derivation of eight short-twig characters from long-branch prototypes, he gives only the Rök variants, thereby strongly implying that these are to be seen as the original short-twig forms. Two years later von Friesen (1912a: 5) presents a wholly variationless Swedish-Norwegian (i.e. short-twig) rune row, all of whose forms can be found on Rök, and it is this row (repeated in von Friesen 1933: 146), with the odd minor modification, that finds its way into such standard works as Düwel 1983 (p. 52; in Düwel 2001: 91 the presentation is vastly improved), Elliott 1989 (p. 25), and Jansson 1976 (in Jansson's book, pp. 26–7, the standardised short-twig *fupark* and a long-branch fellow are said to have existed as “fullt utbildade varianter” ‘fully developed variants’ as early as the beginning of the ninth century). Comparison of these standardised rows with the variation presented in Loman 1965 or Sanness Johnsen 1968, let alone with the actual inscriptions that underlie Loman's and Sanness Johnsen's accounts — and those that do not — shows how distorted a view the readers of the standard works are being given.



Since the uncritical use and acceptance of standardised *fubarks* as representations of reality suggests widespread unawareness of the complexities involved in the analysis of written form, it is worth briefly considering at this point what a standardised *fubark* is.

Helge Dyvik (1996) has done us a great service by drawing attention to the need to distinguish four levels in the analysis of runic form: individual graphs, graph types, graphemes and *fubark*-units. Graph types are established on the basis of shape, graphemes on the basis of linguistic function, and *fubark*-units on the basis of alphabet history. Since a *fubark*, as Dyvik stresses (1996: 12), cannot be given a linguistic interpretation, it has no place in graphemic analysis. It is rather a collection of individual graphs, classifiable as graph types, representing the units of an alphabet. On the basis of this analysis a standardised *fubark* should, one would think, be the result of series of choices: choice of alphabet, of graph type and finally of individual shape. None of these is unproblematic.

Runological hand-books regularly depict an older, a long-branch, a short-twig, a staveless and an “expanded” medieval *fubark*. Whereas the first four can be related to actual alphabet inscriptions (though often this is not done), the medieval *fubarks* are almost always modern creations, compiled by scholars on the basis of forms found in a variety of sources. Once this principle has been admitted, however, there is no obvious limit to the number of different *fubarks* that can be displayed. The *Arild Hauge's Runes* web-site (2004), for example, presents an extensive range, classified according to modern Scandinavian country, type, and period. For Norway this yields the following alphabets: “Norwegian-Germanic runes to ca. 500 AD”, “change-over versions after 500 AD”, “Norwegian runes after ca. 600 AD”, “Norwegian-Danish runes from the 800’s”, “Norwegian-Swedish Rökrunes (ca. 800–900)”, “Runes from the 900’s to ca. 1050 AD”, “shorttwigs-runes [*sic*] from ca. 900 AD”, “Norwegian runes ca. 1000–1050 AD”, “Norwegian runes ca. 1050–1175 AD” and “Norwegian runes from ca. 1300–1400 AD”. The lack of an alphabet covering the period 1175–1300 notwithstanding, some may feel Hauge is overdoing it. But are not the hand-books underplaying the variety? And is this for the readers’ benefit or the authors’?

Once the choice has been made of which alphabets to portray, the compiler of a standardised *fubark* has to select particular graph types for each position in the alphabet. This may be relatively straightforward, as in the case of the long-branch runes commonly found on

Danish memorial stones — though even here choices have to be made between features such as curved and straight, open and closed, top, mid- or other meeting point between branch and vertical, etc. — or it may involve a much more complex process of selection, as in the case of the short-twig or medieval runes. Informed choices between graph types can only be made on the basis of a graph-typological analysis, but as Dyvik points out (1996: 8), runology lacks a general analysis of this kind based on strictly graphic criteria. What we get, therefore, are the results of uninformed choices — in reality often the unthinking repetition of earlier scholars' uninformed choices, as I suggest above.

In the selection of the actual graphs to go into standardised *fuparks*, neatness and abstraction are the guiding principles. Printed runes, presumably because of the nature of printing, seem always to be characterised by regularity of form; and being, as it were, common denominators, they are based not on particular graphs in particular inscriptions but chiefly on conceptions of the features that distinguish the characters to be included. Sometimes, of course, a standardised printed rune will coincide almost exactly with one in an inscription, but that is chance, not intention. Ideally, the choosing of forms that incorporate and emphasise distinctive features should rest on graphemic analysis (true, in fact, even of standardised *fuparks*, since although a *fupark* consists of alphabet units, as indicated above, the characters of standardised models derive largely from the occurrence of runes in meaningful inscriptions). In practice, the best that can be said of most standardised *fuparks* is that they reflect greater or lesser awareness of distinctive features. Want of either graphic or graphemic analysis has allowed standardisers freedom of choice within certain bounds, but that it is uninformed choice is amply demonstrated by its lack of consistency and logic. Seim (1998: 52–4) draws attention to the arbitrary treatment accorded to certain features in three representative presentations of standardised *fuparks*: branches may be curved or straight, bows round or angular, open or closed, and connections with the vertical made at different heights, but little or no attempt is made to justify the choices, and they give the impression of being the result of authorial whim. My own cursory examination of fourteen works (hand-books, corpora and lexica) revealed a similar arbitrariness, and a number of inexplicable oddities. In Arntz's short-twig row (1935: 154), for example, **f** and **b** have identical form (𐀛), while **h** appears as 𐀜, and **m** is given as a vertical with a longish horizontal crossing branch at just above mid-height. Short-twig **m**, for whatever reason, is the character runologists seem to

have found most difficult to standardise. Musset's attempt (1965: 229) results in a form similar to that depicted by Arntz, the difference being that here the branch is at exactly mid-height, making the character indistinguishable from the accompanying short-twig **h**; the rune row in which the two are shown is attributed, with more faith than reason, to "la pierre de Rök". Elliott, too (1989: 24), fails to distinguish the **h** and **m** of what he calls "the Rök runes", but in his version both sport a horizontal crossing branch at upper-mid height. Liestøl (1969a: 473) chooses a short-twig **m** defined by a point at the top, as does *NlyR* (V: 238), but in both these works the rune is inexplicably made slightly shorter than its fellows. More stunted still is the short-twig **m** in *DR* (col.771), but here we are back to a horizontal crossing branch at upper-mid height. Oddest of all is the **m** in Moltke's sanitised version of the Hedeby short-twig *fubark* (1985: 367); this appears as a vertical with a triangular blob near the base and is accompanied by the note: "'m' turned upside down". And indeed, in the inscription itself the rune seems to have a point near the top.

Examples of arbitrariness and inconsistency in the standardised *fubarks* can be multiplied at will, but let these suffice. They represent solutions to problems that have not been properly thought through (as well, no doubt, as reflecting the vicissitudes of printing). Provided one recognises such *fubarks* for what they are, they perhaps do no harm, but I am not sure I would go so far as to justify them as a useful tool. In the hands of the unwary, and that seems to include runologists as well as students and interested laymen, they can delude and mislead in a variety of ways.

#### 4. Standardised *fubarks* and the diversity of runic form

Loman's 1965 article on the graphemic system of the "Rök runes" marked a break-through in the analysis of runic writing. Not only was the approach systematic, explicit and thorough, it highlighted the extent of formal variation in the inscriptions analysed. Loman's aim was to "fastställa systemets distinktiva drag" 'establish the system's distinctive features' (p. 4), with the emphasis on "system", and like me he was critical of standardised *fubarks*. "Handböckernas konventionella standardfuthark har uppenbarligen fixerat en föreställning om vissa normaltyper" 'the conventional standardised *fubarks* of the hand-books have clearly created the impression of a series of normalised characters', he complains, and goes on to suggest that preconcep-

tions based on this impression are what have led certain runologists to dismiss as short-twig forms the cross-branch characters: † ‡ † ‡, even though from a systematic point of view they fit into the short-twig system as comfortably as their single-sided counterparts. Seim (1998: 48–9) notes perceptively that, notwithstanding his criticism, Loman is himself a prisoner of the kind of thinking induced by standardised *fuþarks*. Underlying his whole analysis is the idea that there exists a short-twig system with clearly defined parameters. That is what leads him to select a particular group of inscriptions for inclusion and reject others. The data having thus been chosen with a particular aim in view, it is hardly surprising that what emerges are the fundamentals of a highly economic short-twig system. In fact, certain of the characters occurring even in such a carefully delimited corpus have to be rejected to achieve the desired goal. If, as Seim points out by way of example, Sparlösa's 𐌰 𐌱 𐌲 had been included, the system would have been different and less economical. Their exclusion is determined not by the results of the analysis (𐌲, for example, can be described in similar terms to 𐌳), but has clearly to do with preconceptions about what is and what is not a short-twig rune.

It is this kind of thinking, I suspect, that gave us the “Man-Jæren” and the “older Norwegian” runes. The “Man-Jæren” rune row as presented in *NlYR* (V: 240–41) is indistinguishable from a common version of the standardised short-twig alphabet except for the presence of 𐌶. But since 𐌶 — as most runologists seem to think — is a long-branch character, a row that contains it is deemed unsuitable to be called short-twig, and thus requires another name. The “older Norwegian” runes are said to be characterised by the use of † 𐌲 𐌶 𐌰, and sometimes 𐌱 (or variants 𐌱 𐌱), in preference to, respectively, † ‡ (or variants † ‡) 𐌰 and 𐌱 (Olsen 1933: 84; Liestøl 1969a: 475). In reality, however, things are not as simple as this. Some inscriptions defined as short-twig by Sanness Johnsen (1968: 22–31; principally her type C) exhibit † and/or 𐌶, which leaves only the shape of **b** or **r** as possible distinguishing factors. It is the former Sanness Johnsen chooses as the principal criterion of a short-twig inscription: if **b** has branches, the runes are (by and large) classed as short-twig, if bows, as non-short-twig. But **b** (like **r**) is not all that common a rune, and as Liestøl points out (1969b: 177), its frequent absence means that almost exactly half the inscriptions from Norway listed by Sanness Johnsen as short-twig could equally well be characterised as “older Norwegian”. Conversely, following Musset (1965: 230–31), we might consider the selection of characters dubbed

“older Norwegian” as essentially short-twig but incorporating a number of long-branch forms (cf. also Wessén 1969: 24–5).

Unlike the alphabets just discussed, the staveless and the long-branch runes do seem to constitute more or less discrete systems. Even here, though, variation can be found. I have already drawn attention to the divergent staveless forms of Södermanland, generally ignored by standardisers, while the long-branch runes of the so-called Helnæs-Flemløse group (*DR*: cols.1020–22) are different from those in most other Danish inscriptions of the Viking Age. Perhaps more importantly, it is not always possible to distinguish absolutely between either the staveless or the long-branch and other systems. Thus while † and † on the Skarpåker stone (*Sö* no. 154) clearly have verticals or “staves”, they may well be the only forms of these runes the carver of this long-branch and staveless inscription knew or used; that at least is a possible interpretation of their appearance towards the end of a group of staveless characters. Inscriptions from Denmark and Sweden not uncommonly exhibit a sprinkling of what are traditionally considered short-twig characters in otherwise long-branch inscriptions, single-sided **as** and **ns** being particular favourites (*DR* nos. 2, 6, 105, 378; Moltke 1985: 375–6, 378; Wessén 1969: 26–7). Wessén (1969: 28–9) sees this phenomenon, at least in Sweden, as a parallel to the mixture of long-branch and short-twig types in Norway. More unsettling still are artefacts like the Norwegian Dynna stone (*NlyR* no. 68), whose chopping and changing between † and †, † and † and † and † seems to defy classification.

Many of the Scandinavian inscriptions in the British Isles are likewise hard to classify in terms of alphabet type. It was in part the work I did together with Jan Ragnar Hagland and Ray Page on the Dublin inscriptions that persuaded me of the futility of trying to determine the alphabet each and every inscription is written in. Take, for example, the pair of *fupark* inscriptions IR 11. I see from our early drafts that we made tortuous and increasingly desperate attempts to allocate different parts of these *fuparks* to the long-branch and the “older Norwegian” alphabets. In the published version we present the pair, as the other Irish inscriptions, more in terms of diagnostic forms, and speak in the introduction of “our own too-formal classification of runic graphs”, suggesting that different typological groups “may represent not mutually exclusive forms but part of a stock of runic characters which the Norse rune-carver had to choose from, so that he might help himself to a quite arbitrary selection” (1997: 7). More homogeneous than the Dublin runes are those from Maeshowe, Orkney, but they are still not

easy to classify. They include the dotted forms † and ‡ and incorporate † † † † and † as separate graphemes, but are hardly fully “medieval” because there is no evidence † and † (or †) formed part of the system (Barnes 1994: 48–57). These might perhaps be called “younger Norwegian” runes, lending some justification to the otherwise misleading term “older Norwegian”.

Confronted with this diverse material, one is tempted to think of Viking-Age and early medieval Scandinavian runes in terms of an alphabet continuum. At one extreme we have the differing versions of the staveless runes, fairly clearly but perhaps not always completely distinct from other types; then the variety of reduced but less minimal characters that go under the heading “short-twig”, often intermixed with what are generally taken to be long-branch forms; then the “older Norwegian” runes — a supposedly regular intermixture of short-twig and long-branch; then inscriptions that are more long-branch than the “older Norwegian” but still contain forms reckoned to be short-twig; and finally purely long-branch inscriptions. In this hypothetical continuum, it is only the forms at either end that are homogeneous enough to be classified as distinct alphabets, and that is not certainly true even of the staveless runes if those from Södermanland are included. Some carvers may have chosen their characters from within a *system*, but there are few indications outside the long-branch runes of a fixed alphabet.

In fact, even the continuum seems too tidy a way of viewing variety of runic form. It exudes the musty smell of the desk runologist. The evidence, I would suggest, is more compatible with the following scenario: a fair degree of local experimentation, followed by the acceptance of some forms and rejection of others, and the gradual but uneven spread of more popular forms. Together with this, one has to reckon with varying levels of knowledge and sophistication among rune carvers: some will have been familiar with many variant forms, some with few, some will have used the full range known to them purposefully, others unthinkingly, yet others will have prized regularity and consistency.

If one thinks of variation in this light rather than in terms of fixed alphabets, the hotly-debated question of whether the short-twig or long-branch runes were geographical or functional variants loses much of its intensity. We need not be surprised that carvers of messages on loose objects sometimes favoured more elaborate rune types (cf., e.g., the Lindholm knife-haft, the Hemdrup stick (Moltke 1985: 350, 352–

3), the Sigtuna box (von Friesen 1912b: 7–10)), nor that carvers of stone inscriptions could be content with simpler forms. We need not, in the Danish tradition, attribute every occurrence of the simpler runes in Denmark to Swedish-Norwegian influence (e.g. Moltke 1985: 367–78, especially 368, 370), nor think of the appearance of more elaborate rune types in early Viking-Age Sweden and Norway as due to Danish input (Sannes Johnsen 1968: 14 together with 73).

Let me try to flesh out my suggested scenario with a little more detail. In Denmark (using roughly the medieval boundaries) there is to begin with evidence of variety and change. Inscriptions such as the Ribe cranium (Stoklund 1996) and the Helnæs and Flemløse 1 stones (*DR* nos. 190, 192) use older forms, principally one or more of  $\mathfrak{H}$   $\mathfrak{M}$  and  $\ast$  ( $\mathfrak{a}$ ); the Snoldelev stone (*DR* no. 248) has  $\mathfrak{H}$ , both  $\ast$  and  $\dagger$  for  $\mathfrak{a}$ , and  $\ddagger$  for  $\mathfrak{ã}$ ; inscriptions on wood like the Hedeby sticks (Moltke 1985: 367–73) and stone monuments such as Elleköping (today Älleköpinge; Moltke 1985: 377) and Gunderup 2 (*DR* no. 144) use the simpler runes or a mixture of simpler and more elaborate. For a time, if our relative dating is right, the Danes tire of variety and change and adopt a homogeneous set of characters, but fresh innovations soon appear in the shape of dotting.

Viking-Age Sweden (again using roughly the medieval boundaries) is characterised by much greater variety and experimentation than Denmark: quite apart from the staveless runes, there is a wide range of simpler characters, and together with them several forms that became standard in Denmark (e.g.  $\ast$  ( $\mathfrak{h}$ )  $\dagger$   $\ddagger$   $\Upsilon$ ). Whether these latter are to be seen as long-branch or short-twig is a question that has been little discussed, most considering them long-branch because they form part of the rune row in common use in Denmark in the tenth century (cf., however, Loman 1965: e.g. 56–9; Birkmann 1995: e.g. 23–5, 243–5). Clearly  $\ast$  ( $\mathfrak{h}$ )  $\dagger$  and  $\Upsilon$  are simplifications in comparison with the  $\mathfrak{H}$   $\mathfrak{S}$  and  $\mathfrak{M}$  of the older *futhork*, and once the absence of evidence for prototypical or model alphabets is admitted, there is little other than usage to help the modern runologist towards classification. According to our dating of the Swedish corpus, earlier usage here contrasts with later: to begin with  $\ast$   $\dagger$  and  $\Upsilon$  mostly appear together with the simpler rune forms, later they accompany the more elaborate types. Apart from  $\ast$   $\dagger$   $\ddagger$   $\Upsilon$  and sporadic occurrences of forms such as  $\mathfrak{h}$   $\uparrow$   $\downarrow$ , there is little evidence for the use of the more elaborate runes in early Viking-Age Sweden outside Västergötland, though they are to be found in Bohuslän, Blekinge and Skåne, areas bordering on Sweden, and the Rök carver

demonstrates knowledge of a version of the older *fupark*. Towards the end of the tenth century, again if our dating is accurate, variety and experimentation are replaced in Sweden by the homogeneous set of characters then in use in Denmark. The homogeneity, though, is never as absolute as in Denmark, and the simpler forms  $\text{†}$   $\text{†}'$   $\text{†}$   $\text{†}$   $\text{†}$   $\text{†}$   $\text{†}$  are found — some occasionally, some more frequently — as alternatives to their more elaborate counterparts (Wessén 1969: 25–7).

There are considerably fewer inscriptions preserved from Viking-Age Norway than from Denmark and Sweden, but enough to document the use of a wide range of runic forms, and to indicate that the homogeneity at times characteristic of the other two areas never became part of Norwegian tradition. Considerable variety of form is also found in the Scandinavian inscriptions of the British Isles (cf. above on Dublin). What is unclear is how far this reflects local usage and how far differing strands of influence from the Scandinavian homelands.

In the light of the fluidity revealed by this discussion, it is pertinent to ask how far there is need of terms like long-branch and short-twig, designating different kinds of runic alphabet. The astute reader will have noticed that I have already begun to substitute “simpler” and “more elaborate”, descriptions that do not carry the associations of established terminology. Conceivably we could make do with a redefinition of the established terms. As I have been urging throughout this paper, it is the conception of the long-branch, the short-twig, the “older Norwegian”, etc., as model alphabets that needs to be changed. The terms themselves do no harm, I think, provided we can conceive of them as referring to broadly defined types rather than standardised alphabets. Some may find this troublingly vague, but until we have a full graphic and graphemic analysis of runic writing, it is probably as precise as it can or should be. The effort so often expended in trying to determine the alphabet in which individual inscriptions are written can in my view safely be dispensed with. Unless the characters of an inscription conform wholly to a broadly defined type, it is more revealing to draw attention to diagnostic forms, i.e., those that vary in a systematic way. I will mention a couple of illuminating examples.

The Norwegian Valby inscription (*NIyR* no. 140) is generally deemed to be in long-branch runes (e.g. *NIyR* V: 239; Birkmann 1995: 331–2). Examination of the individual characters, however, reveals that only **þ** (one occurrence), **ɑ** (three occurrences) and **ʀ** (two occurrences) are diagnostic. **ʀ** has the more elaborate form  $\text{ʀ}$ , while **þ** sports a bow that extends almost from the top of the vertical to the base — an elaborate



enough type, but one found chiefly in company with simpler runes. **α** is †, a character, as noted above, considered by most to be long-branch; like Ð, however, it often occurs together with the simpler runes and it has been suggested (a) that it has its natural place in the graphemic system of the short-twig runes (Loman 1965: 14-28, especially 26-7), (b) that it represents the second stage in the short-twig development: **h** > \* > †, † > †/† (Birkmann 1995: 23-4). It is odd that Birkmann, who classes † as a “Kurzzweigrune”, nevertheless has no hesitation in declaring Valby an inscription in “Normalrunen” (i.e. long-branch runes) and suggesting it “könnte . . . als Beleg angesehen werden für ein einheitliches Schriftsystem des jüngeren Fupark vor der Ausbildung der Kurzzweigrunen in Schweden und deren Verbreitung nach Norwegen und Dänemark” (1995: 331-2). For my own part I would be content to say Valby has the diagnostic forms: Ð † ‡. What conclusions one could draw from that about the range of characters its carver might have known, I am frankly not sure, though dating would be an important consideration.

The Hedeby 2 (stone) inscription (*DR* no. 2) has been described, over-enthusiastically, as short-twig (e.g. Laur 1983: 13, 17; Nielsen 1983: 95), and more realistically as long-branch with an occasional short-twig character (e.g. Lund 1982: 118-19). The designation of Hedeby 2 as a “short-twig inscription” does not reflect even rudimentary analysis, merely the rarity of simplified forms in tenth-century Denmark: they stand out to such an extent that the inscription as a whole is marked down as “unusual”, and then *pars pro toto* as “short-twig”. What we could sensibly say of Hedeby 2 is that it exhibits the diagnostic forms † and †. These are regularly found in company with simpler characters, but also more widely, as, for example, in inscriptions termed “older Norwegian”. In addition, Hedeby 2 sports an **m** roughly of the form Ÿ. This is not diagnostic in the sense I have defined the term above, since as far as I know the form is without parallel (though cf. the similar Ÿ on *DR* no. 271 Tullstorp). As in the case of Valby, conclusions seem hard to draw. It is possible that † and †, together with various pieces of non-runic evidence, could indicate Swedish influence (as has been widely maintained), but purely runologically the use of these forms suggests nothing more than a choice among available variants different from that made by most Danish rune carvers. If Hedeby 2 really were “Swedish” in the sense “written with the types of runic character apparently in vogue in early tenth-century Sweden (outside Västergötland)”, we would not expect it to contain a preponderance of more elaborate characters.

## 5. Experimentation, change, and the development of the younger *fubark*

The foregoing discussion, it seems to me, invites reconsideration of the development of the younger *fubark*. In several papers, beginning in 1987, I have questioned the view — virtually axiomatic until challenged by Liestøl in 1981 — that the short-twig runes were a simplification of the long-branch. I have not claimed — as too cursory a reading of my text has suggested to some (e.g. Odenstedt 1992: 74–5) — that the short-twig runes were primary, rather that it was a question of definition: the crucial factor was what one meant by long-branch runes. At what point in the development from a twenty-four rune *fubark* to the row found on the Gørlev stone (*DR* no. 239) did one consider the long-branch characters to have arrived? If long-branch was synonymous with the Gørlev *fubark*, as argued, for example, by Moltke (e.g. 1986), then it was likely for both chronological and formal reasons (cf. Birkmann 1995: 22–7, 373–4) that the short-twig characters were primary. If long-branch meant something like the Helnæs-Flemløse characters, the matter was less clear. If one thought there were further, earlier stages of development between the older, twenty-four rune and the younger, sixteen-rune *fubark*, then it was perhaps more likely the short-twig runes would be an offspring of one of these than of the older *fubark* itself.

I am no longer happy with this scenario. I can see there is an urge to conceptualise the development of runic graphs and graphemes in terms of fixed points, even fixed alphabets, but as soon as we do this, we tend to confuse our constructs with reality. I am as guilty as anyone of this. My 1987 view of the short-twig alphabet as the outcome of “the only runic reform [of the period] for which there is any evidence” (p. 42) was based chiefly on Loman’s (1965) graphemic analysis of a small and carefully selected group of inscriptions (see above). The reality is likely to have been considerably messier.

In the present state of our knowledge, I would not like to go further than the following proposal: the younger *fubark* arose as a result of a reform that reduced the number of runes from anything between twenty-four and eighteen (Barnes 1987, especially 42) to sixteen. However and wherever this reform started, it was rapidly adopted throughout the whole of Scandinavia, and by the beginning of the Viking Age virtually all rune carvers were using the same sixteen runes — a remarkable example of unity in the apparent absence of a centralis-

ing authority to promote it. That, though, is as far as the unity went. When it came to the realisation of many of the sixteen *fupark*-units and graphemes, a much more open policy prevailed, with results of the kind that have been discussed above.

This is anything but a radical proposal. Indeed, it may be criticised for stating the obvious and side-stepping the difficulties. I would nevertheless claim it has three advantages. First, it is in accordance with the observable facts. Second, it avoids the problem of how the simpler rune forms can be derived from the more elaborate when the simpler seem originally to have been used in areas where the more elaborate are scarcely documented and may have been largely unknown. Third, by avoiding any reference to “long-branch” and “short-twig”, it frees us from conceptions of fixed alphabets and thus from the need to speculate about their mutual relationships. Since fixed alphabets appear to be at best a modern rationalisation, at worst a delusion induced by the standardised *fuparks* of the hand-books, such freedom ought to make possible greater clarity of vision.

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## Runeinnskriften fra Ødemotland på Jæren

1. For noen år siden (Grønvik 1996: 255–267) gjorde jeg et forsøk på å tolke den vanskelige runeinnskriften på et beinstykke fra Ødemotland på Jæren. Den er behandlet av bl.a. Sophus Bugge (1894 og 1903), Gering (1906), Magnus Olsen (1923), Marstrander (1939) og Krause (1966: 72), se Grønvik 1996: 257. I sin kjente håndbok fra 1966 antar Krause at innskriften er en dårlig kopi av en eldre innskrift, en tanke som også Sophus Bugge og Magnus Olsen hadde vært inne på, etter at de først hadde gjort flere forgjeves forsøk på å tyde innskriften. Dette synes også å være den herskende mening blant dagens runologer.

Antagelsen om at denne innskriften skulle være en kopi av en eldre innskrift har ingen støtte i selve funnforholdene. Beinstykket med runer på ble funnet i en gravhaug på gården Ødemotland på Jæren (gnr. 18 i Nærbø sogn, Hå prestegjeld). Det lå i en urne sammen med endel brente bein og rester av en beinkam, og Shetelig (1914: 37) konkluderer med at “runestykket er en del av det baalbrændte gravgods fra en brandgrav anlagt i en lav gravhaug.” Tiden anslår han til det

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Grønvik, O., dr. phil., professor emeritus, Oslo. “The Runic Inscription from Ødemotland in Jæren”, *ANF 121* (2006), pp. 23–40.

**Abstract:** In this paper the experienced runologist Ottar Grønvik submits a new and very plausible interpretation of the runic inscription on a piece of bone, found in Ødemotland in Jæren (cf. Grønvik 1996). The piece was part of a burial deposit in an urn grave from c. 600. After a close analysis of the inscription's two lines with 22 and 23 runes respectively, including some for the interpretation troublesome bindrunes, the author philologically examines the text bit by bit. The inscription appears to contain an intelligible Norse vocabulary, a free verse with rhythm and alliteration, applicable to the interment of the deceased young woman. The context is compared with what hitherto is known about earlier Nordic burial customs. As regards the history of language the text can be chronologically inserted among other well known inscriptions: it is written in a post-Primitive Norse, yet with features older than common Norse. This is in accordance with the archaeological dating to c. 600. Now the formerly idea of a faulty copy of an older Primitive Norse original probably can be abandoned.

**Keywords:** runology, the Ødemotland inscription, bind-runes, pagan burial custom, Primitive Norse

6. århundre. Til samme tid dateres en rekke lave gravhauger på det samme området; her har vært “en temmelig betydelig Gravplads, paa hvilken der er fundet mange Oldsager” (Bugge 1894: 244).

På denne bakgrunn er det vanskelig å tro at den innskriften som ble lagt ned i urnen til den døde før bålbranningen, skulle være en kopi av en eldre innskrift, til og med en feilfull kopi, som altså avskriveren ikke kan ha skjønt så mye av. Det er rimeligere å tro at nedleggeren selv både har skrevet og forstått innskriften, og at dens innhold gikk inn i det høytidelige gravritualet. Men det er lett å tenke seg at nedskrivningen kan ha gått noe fort for seg, midt i et krevende gravrituale, slik at det ikke ble den skjønnskrift vi av og til ellers kan se i runeinnskrifter (som i Tuneinnskriften).

Når det gjelder tiden for denne gravlegningen, vil det vise seg at språket peker mot siste del av det tidsrom Shetelig tenkte på, kanskje helst til tiden omkring år 600. Det skal begrunnes nærmere mot slutten av denne avhandling.

Selve beinstykket er nå 9,7 cm langt, men var opprinnelig litt lengre, for det er brutt av et stykke i den smaleste enden. Hele stykket er buet, og oversiden er skåret til som et tak, med to skråflater som møtes i et møne. Langs kanten av dette taket er det risset inn to dobbeltlinjer, og mellom dem to rekker med runer, en på hver skråflate. Ingen runer er gått tapt, for i den bredeste enden innledes innskriften med et trekantet ornament fulgt av store, dypt rissede runer, og i den smaleste enden avsluttes hver av runeradene med et pillignende ornament. Alt tyder således på at runeristeren har brukt tid og omtanke på å forberede innskriften. Selve innskriften består som nevnt av to runerader, som vi i det følgende vil kalle A og B.

2. Runene i linje A må her av tekniske grunner (på grunn av begrensede muligheter ved min skrivemaskin) gjengis i en normalisert og noe forenklet form, og alle som høyrevendte. Ligaturer angis ved bindestrek mellom enkeltruner. Leserne må da selv sammenligne den gjengivelse og transkripsjon som gis her, med tegninger og fotografier i min bok fra 1996 s. 256 og s. 290–291, og kontrollere om alt kan godtas.

Runene i linje A kan da gjengis slik:

ᚱ ᚲ ᚦ ᚸ ᚱ ᚱ-ᚦ ᚳ ᚱ ᚻ-ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚦ ᚱ ᚻ ᚾ ᚳ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ

Dette er i alt 22 runer, om vi regner ligaturer som én rune. På originalen er rune 21 stupvendt, og alle er høyrevendte, bortsett fra rune

3. Derfor er det mulig at denne runen har vært en binderune **a-a** med

kvister til begge sider, som foto s. 291 viser spor av. I vanlig translitterasjon kan vi da gjengi linje A slik:

A, 1–22: **u h a ( a ) u r e - a b u k - u i n u a i k - u d þ i n u u i**

3. Her kan første del (rune A<sub>1–12</sub>) leses ut som fire ord av forståelig form og betydning: *ūha aure ab ykwinu*, i norrøn språkform: *Óa, aure af ykvin*, som må bety: 'Unge kvinne, veket bort fra auren (jorden)!' Ordene er formet som en tiltale til den unge kvinnen som begravnes her, og er når det gjelder form og endelser i samsvar med det vi venter i nordisk språk omkring år 600 (etter den første apokope-tida).

Ordet **u h a** er også belagt i sammensetningen *Hari-uha* på Sjelland-brakteaten (KJ 1966: 127). Det forklares vanligvis som et urn. *ūha* m. < germ. *\*junha(n)*-, står i grammatisk veksel med adjektivet norr. *ung-r* < germ. *\*junga-*, og betyr altså 'den unge' (*n*-stammeform i nom. sg. mask., se Krause 1971: 162. Nærmere om selve dannelsen Grønvik 1987: 42). På Sjelland-brakteaten står det således i nom. sg. mask. i svak form, og betegner åpenbart en mann. Her på beinstykket fra Ødemotland har vi en yngre språkform, der urnordisk utlydende *-ō* er redusert til *-a* (se Grønvik 1998: 129), slik at ordet her er et femininum. Et slikt svakt femininum er antagelig også belagt på Noleby-stenen, der i en oblik kasus (se Grønvik 1987: 96 f.). Ordet står således her i Ødemotlandinnskriften i fem. sg. nom. (sml. norr. *gata*, *Gróa* og Noreen 1970 § 407), og i vokativisk funksjon, som fortsettelsen viser.

Ordet *ykwinu* må være nom. sg. fem. av et partisipp urn. *\*wikwinar* (nom. sg. mask.), yngre *\*ykwin(a)<sub>R</sub>*, dannet til verbet norr. *vikja* med en sideform norr. *vikva*, *ýkva* (med *w*-omlyd, se Noreen 1970 § 82,10). Her står det i nom. sg. fem., der *-u* var den regulære endelsen i urnordisk. På det litt yngre språktrinnet vi har her, er dette *-u* falt etter lang stavelse, men bevart etter kort hovedbetont stavelse, og åpenbart også i et trestavelser ord etter kort annenstavelse, som i gammelengelsk (se Grønvik 1998: 260). Ordet viser med all ønskelig tydelighet at ordet foran er et femininum.

Som innskriftens annet ord kan vi lese ut ordet **aure**, etter det velkjente prinsipp i runeskrift, at en og samme rune kan leses ut som siste rune i ett ord og som første rune i neste ord (sml. Tuneinnskriftens *arbija āsijōstēr*, der innskriftens **a**-rune **ʀ** må leses to ganger, se Krause 1966: 163 og Marstrander 1930: 320). Men hvis rune A<sub>3</sub> har hatt kvister til begge sider (se ovf. § 2), så kan ordet *aure* leses ut med sin egen **a**-rune. Det er derfor ganske uproblematisk å lese ut ordet *aure* her. Dette ordet står her i dativ sg., styrt av den følgende preposisjonen *ab*



= norr. *af*. (**b** står her for den stemte labiale spirant). Etterstilt preposisjon er en velkjent ordstilling i eldre språk, og også i senere norrøn diktning (se Heusler 1967: 145).

Ordet *aur-r* m. betyr vanligvis 'aur, grus, sandjord' (se Heggstad 1963: 39), men i religiøs kontekst kunne det ha en mer spesiell betydning og brukes om 'jorden som den klode menneskene bor på'. Det viser *Alvíssmál* 9, der dvergen *Alvíss* svarer på et spørsmål fra guden *Tor* om navnet på jorden: "*hvé sú jörð heitir, er liggir fyr alda sonom, heimi hverjom í?*" Svaret lyder: "*Jörð heitir með mǫnnum ---, kalla aur upp-regin.*" I religiøs kontekst kan altså ordet *aur-r* m. brukes om jorden som jordkloden (i motsetning til *himinn*, *máni*, *sól* osv. i de følgende vers). Det synes å passe godt inn i den kontekst vi har her. Ordgruppen **aure ab ukuinu** må derfor tolkes som *aure ab ykwinu* og bety 'veket bort fra jorden, fra jordkloden'. Hun som har veket bort, er åpenbart den unge kvinnen, som her blir begravet og kremert.

4. Resten av linje A (rune 13–22) kan i første omgang translittereres slik:

#### aik-udþinuui

Her kan man lese ut tre ord (det første et kompositum):

*ai-ku(n)d þīnu wī*

i norrøn språkform: *ei-kund þīnu vé*. Det er velkjent at **n** kan sløyfes foran homorgan klusil i runeskrift (sml. ordene **widu-hudar**, **lada-warijar**, **wada-radas**, **ragina-kudo** hos Krause 1966 nr. 10, 91, 83, 67). Derfor kan runene **aikud** her uten videre leses ut som /ai-kund/. Dette ordets **ai** svarer til norrønt *ei* adv. 'alltid' < germ. \**aiwi-* (se de Vries 1962: 680), sml. got. *aiw-s* m. 'tid, evighet'. Det brukes også i norrøne sammensetninger som *eilifr* adj. 'evig', *ei-lifi* n., *ei-vist* f. 'evig liv', og står her som første ledd i et kompositum med *-kund* som annet ledd. Dette siste er et gammelt partisipp, også brukt i norr. *troll-kundr* adj. 'født av troll, av trolleætt' (Yt. 3), og i gotisk *airþa-kunds* 'jord-født, av jordisk herkomst' og *himina-kunds* 'himmelsk' = geng. *hefon-cund* 'ds.'. Innskriftens ord *ai-kund* (nom. sg. fem.) må derfor bety 'evighetsfødt, gjenfødt for evigheten'. Det passer jo svært så godt om den døde kvinnen, som ved en høytidelig gravritus (med bålrensning) etter deres tro nå blir gjenfødt for evigheten.

Runene **þīnuui** må svare til norrønt *þīnu vé* og bety 'i ditt hellige bosted'. Ordet norr. *vé* betyr oftest 'helligsted' og brukes om gudenes

boliger og templer. Men det kan en sjelden gang også brukes om 'hjem, bosted' ellers også, se Fritzner *vé* 1 og Lokasenna 51,4, der *Skadi* bruker uttrykket *frá minom véom ok vǫngom*. Ordet *vé* står der sammen med et ord av rent profan betydning. I vår tekst betyr ordene **þinu ui** åpenbart 'ditt (hellige) bosted', og betegner det bosted eller hjem som den døde kvinnen nå skal komme til og være i. Dette uttrykket står her i en gammel lokativform, idet **ui** = /wī/ kommer av urn. \**wīhi* (med en endelse urn. *-i* < germ. \**-ī* < ieur. \**-ei*, se Grønvik 1996: 262 med litt.). Uttrykket *þinu vé* er således en ren stedsbetegnelse. I norrøn diktning fins det såvidt spor av en slik kasusbruk (dativ brukt som lokativ), se Nygaard 1905: 126. At rotstavelsens urnordiske *-ī* her ikke er senket til *-ē*- (som i norr. *vé* n.) beror på at det her fulgte et *-i*- i neste stavelse (sml. Noreen 1970 § 111,2).

5. Innskriftens side A kan etter dette leses og tolkes slik:

*ūha, aure ab ykwinu,  
ai-kund þīnu wī*

'Unge kvinne, veket bort fra jorden,  
gjenfødt for evigheten i ditt (nye, hellige) bosted!'

Ordene er altså rettet til den unge kvinnen, som her blir begravet og brent på likbålet.

6. I siste del av innskriften (B 1–23) er alle ikke-symmetriske runer stupvendte og høyrevendte i forhold til A-runene (se tegningen i min bok s. 256 og plansjen s. 292). Snur man beinstykket, slik at B-runene blir oppreiste, skal de derfor leses fra høyre mot venstre. Nedenfor må runene (av tekniske grunner) gjengis som normaliserte, høyrevendte runer, der hver ligatur er oppløst til to runer (en sjelden gang tre runer) med bindestrek mellom.

Rune B 1–9 er ganske tydelige:

**u e a - a l u þ a u - k i**

Om de enkelte runer er å si at rune B<sub>3</sub> er en tydelig binderune **a-a** med kvister til begge sider. Ved rune B<sub>4</sub> har kniven glippet litt for runeristeren, slik at *l*-kvisten fortsetter nedover til venstre som en svakere, uregelmessig strek. Ellers er alle runer tydelige.

Dette må svare til norr. *véa alúþ auki* 'gudenes velvilje øke (vokse)!'  
Sml. norr. *alúð* (*glúð*) f. 'Venlighet, opriktig Velvilje eller Kjærlighet'

(Fritzner I: 49). Dette ordet er (ifølge de Vries 1962: 7) utviklet av et eldre \**al-hugð*, sml. norr. *hugða* f. 'hug, tanke (for noe)'. Ordet er imidlertid dannet med et opprinnelig suffiks germ. *-iþó*, slik at utlyden *-þ* i runeordet er gammel, og ikke beror på noen yngre desonorisering i utlyd (sml. Kluge 1926 § 121). Lignende dannelser er norr. *ástúð* f. 'kjærlighet', og *illúð* f. 'ondskap, fiendskap' (Vfl. 21, 23).

7. De følgende runene B 10–15 kan under noen tvil leses ut som

ᚱ ᚠ-ᚠ-ᚠ ᚠ ᚠ-ᚠ ᚠ ᚠ

i vanlig transkripsjon :

**u i-l-i n i-f þ i**

Nærmere om usikre sider ved denne utlesningen og om de kanskje flertydige ligaturene som forekommer her, se nedenfor § 10.

Dette synes å svare til norr. *vili* \**nifþi* (sml. norr. *nipti*). Denne korte setningen kan kanskje tolkes på to forskjellige måter, idet det i første omgang er uklart om ordet **uili** er et verb eller et substantiv. Nedenfor må vi drøfte begge disse mulighetene.

Det første ordet kan være en form av verbet norr. *vilja*, nemlig 3. pers. pres. konj. sg. eller pl.: norr. *vili* (se Noreen 1970 § 535). Det er i så fall også mulig å lese ut formen *vilin*, som da éntydig ville være den tilsvarende pluralformen, og svare til got. *wileina* og gsv. *wilin* (mot norr. *vili*), sml. Krause 1968: 251.

Setningen må sees i sammenheng med ønsket like foran om at gudenes velvilje må øke, og kan derfor bety: 'måtte de (gudene) ville den (min) kvinnelige slektning!' Verbet *vilja* har i så fall her et akkusativobjekt med konkret betydning, og betyr 'ville ha (ville ta imot)', sml. Fritzner 1954 III: 945,3 med uttrykk som *vilja féit*, *vilja annan mann*, *vilja þenna kost*, og Cl.V 706 med belegget *vildi alþýðan hann til konungs*.

Ordet norr. *nipt* f. < germ. \**nifþi*- f. betyr i norrønt 'kvinnelig slektning' (Heggstad 1963: 491: 'frenka; syster, dotter, kvinna'). Ordet var også i bruk i de vestgermanske språkene og har et indoeuropeisk opphav (se de Vries 1962: 410). Det er derfor overraskende at den gamle konsonant-gruppen *-ft-* (< ieur. \**-pt-*) her møtes som *-fþ-*. Det krever en egen forklaring, så mye mer som *-ft-* eller *-pt-* er en hyppig forekommende konsonantgruppe i norrønt, mens *-fþ-* knapt nok ellers er belagt.

At ordet norr. *nipt* f. brukes med endelsen *-i* i akk. sg. er heller ikke vanlig i norrøn prosa. Men det møtes én gang i et Edda-dikt, nemlig i Hhund. II 30: *ek hef nauðigr nipti grætta*. Denne formen forklarer

Noreen (1970 § 390,3) som analogi fra *ió*-stammene (d.e etter ord som *heiðr*: akk. *heiði*; sml. også norr. *brúðr*, *dis* o.a.). Dermed ligger det nær å anta at kvinnebetegnelsen her er assosiert (ny-assosiert) med mannsbetegnelsen norr. *nefi* m. 'bror- el. søstersønn'. Denne går tilbake på et germ. *\*nefōð-*, sml. lat. *nepos*, *nepōtis*. I det germanske ordet er det suffiksale *-t-* > germ. *-ð-* tidlig falt i ren utlyd, men bevartes lengre i innlyd. Hvis kvinnebetegnelsen tidlig ble oppfattet som en *iō*-avledning til denne mannsbetegnelsen (i dens urnordiske form), kunne den lett bli omdannet til urn. *\*nifidiō*, og oppfattes som 'hun som hører sammen med den mannlige slektningen (brorsønnen e.l.)'. Dermed ville den få en innlydsgruppe urn. *\*-fið-* og måtte senere, etter bortfall av mellomstavelsens *-i-*, bli til *nifpi* (med to stemmeløse frikativer). Det er nettopp den form vi har her i innskriften. Den kan altså se ut som en akkusativform, med den yngre (analogisk dannede) akkusativendelsen *-i*.

Noe senere er denne konsonantgruppen *-fb-* åpenbart omdannet ("normalisert") til *-ft-* (sml. Hhund II 30, sitert ovenfor), vel fordi *-ft-* er en hyppig forekommende konsonantgruppe i norrønt, i motsetning til *-fb-*. Et annet eksempel på at et suffiksalt ieur. *-t* falt i gammel utlyd, men ble bevart i innlyd, har vi i norrønt *halr* m. og *hōldr* m. med omtrent lik betydning, og enda tydeligere i geng. *hæle* m. (nom. sg.) 'mann, helt, kriger' ved siden av *hæleð* (nom. pl.), *hæleþa* (gen. pl.) og *hæleþum* (dat. pl.); se Brunner 1965 § 290 og Noreen 1970 § 319,2. På denne måten kan den akkusativformen vi synes å ha her i runeinnskriften forklares på en rimelig måte, både med hensyn til innlyd og utlyd.

8. Det er imidlertid kanskje mulig å forklare ordene *vili nifpi* på en annen måte. Ordet *vili* kan rent formelt svare til norr. *vili* m. 'vilje, ønske' og være et substantiv. Det går da tilbake på et germ. og eldste urnordisk *\*wiljō* (nom.sg.), der endelsesvokalen *-ō* senere (omkring 200) ble byttet ut med *-a* og tilslutt (omkring 500) med *-i* (se Grønvik 1981: 66 f. og 1998: 127 f., 129). Dette ordet brukes i eldre tekster ikke bare i betydningen 'vilje, viljesakt' (som i moderne norsk), men også i betydningen 'ønske, lyst'. Flere norrøne belegg på dette siste gis i LP s. 616, noen fra Edda-dikt. Særskilt tydelig er denne betydningen i Sigvats lausavisa 8: *Goð láti þik gæta, geðharðr konungr, jarda! Vist hefþ þann ---vilja!* Denne betydningen 'ønske' er sikkert gammel, for ordet går tilbake på et ieur. *\*wel-*, *\*wl-*, som svarer til skr. *vāra-* 'valg, ønske' (med adv. *vāram* 'etter ønske'). I samme retning peker et avledet substantiv norr. *vild* f. 'velvilje' (se LP 616),

og et avledet adjektiv norr. *vild-r* 'villet, kjær, behagelig', brukt med dativutfylling: *lið mildingi vilt þstf 1,2* 'et følge (mannskap), vennlig stemt mot fyrsten'. Endelig kan ordet norr. *vili* m. også brukes i en mer nøytral betydning 'sinn, sinnelag'. Slik brukes det av Egill i Sonatorrek 25: *skalk þó glaðr, með góðum vilja, ok óhryggir heljar biða* 'likevel skal jeg glad, i godt lynde (med godt sinnelag), og ikke bedrøvet, vente på døden'.

Spørsmålet blir så om det er dette ordet vi har i vår runetekst. I så fall skulle ordet *wili* m. her stå som en variant til *alūþ* like foran, og det følgende ordet *nifþi* måtte oppfattes som en regulær dativform (til en *-iō*-stamme, sml. Noreen 1970 § 384): *wēa alūþ auki, wili nifþi* 'gudenes velvilje øke (vokse), deres godvilje (gode sinnelag) overfor den (min) kvinnelige slektning!' Dermed ville det bli god sammenheng mellom de to verslinjene, idet ordene *alūþ* og *vili* ville stå i synonymveksel med hverande.

For å undersøke kritisk om en slik tolkning kan være mulig, har jeg sett nøye gjennom alle de norrøne og gammelengelske beleggene med simpleks norr. *vili*, geng. *willa* m. Jeg kan imidlertid ikke finne et eneste klart eksempel på at dette ord noen gang brukes i betydningen 'godvilje, velvilje'. Dermed blir det vanskelig å forklare ordet *wili* i runeteksten som en variant av (eller et synonym til) ordet *alūþ* like foran. Derfor må jeg bare oppgi den tanke jeg fremsatte her ovenfor og gå tilbake til mitt første forslag: at *wili* her er en verbalform (pres. konj. 3. pers., sg. eller pl.).

Runeinskriptionens setning må vel derfor bety: 'Måtte de (gudene) ville (d.e. ville ha, ville ta imot) den (min) kvinnelige slektning!' Det er en naturlig avslutning på kultlederens bønn til gudene.

9. Rune B 16–23 er med ett unntak (rune B 16) ganske tydelige:

ƒ-ƒ-ŋ ƒ | ƒ-ŋ Ɔ ƒ-ŋ † ŋ ŋ

i vanlig transkripsjon:

**a-a-h a i-k-u d k-u n u e**

(Nærmere om rune B16 nedenfor i § 10.)

Dette kan tolkes som /ā āh ai-ku(n)d kunn wē/, i norrønt språk: *ā* (ey) *ā ei-kund kunn vé* 'for alltid har/eier den evighetsfødte de kjente/berømte boliger (helligsteder, hellige bosteder)'. Det er riktignok også mulig at den siste **u**-runen skal leses ut to ganger, som siste rune i ordet *kunnu* og som første rune i ordet **ue** 'vé'. I så fall får vi som objekt et

ledd norr. *kunnu vé*, med adjektivet i svak form (sml. Noreen 1970 § 433). Det som kunne tale for dette, er at disse bostedene nok var å anse som velkjente og ofte omtalte, slik at vi kanskje kunne vente at adjektivet foran stod i svak form (sml. Heusler 1967 § 385). På den annen side er *kunnu* her bare en mulig, men ingen nødvendig utlesning. Dessuten byr denne formen på visse språkhistoriske problemer, sml. got. ntr. pl. av substantiviske *n*-stammer *augona* og gsv. *ögon* mot norr. *augu*. Endelig må det minnes om at i norrøn diktning brukes ofte sterk form, der man i prosa bruker svak form, se Heusler 1967 § 385. Derfor vil vi i det følgende se bort fra en slik form *kunnu* her, og bare regne med en form *kunn*.

Om enkeltrunene er å si at rune B 17 er en praktrune, en *ƒ* skrevet med seks kvister, d.e. med tre sett av *a*-kvister. Det henger vel sammen med at dette er første rune i ordet /ai-kund/, betegnelsen på den døde slektningen som begravnes her. Dette ordet fremheves altså grafisk på denne måten.

Ellers har vi her et greit og enkelt språk, som ikke trenger mye kommentar. Verbet *āh* kommer av urn. *\*aih*, med monoftongering *ai* > *ā* foran den velare konsonanten /h/ (sml. Noreen 1970 § 54,1). Denne siste faller litt senere (ss. § 230,2). I ordet /ai-kund/ er den urnordiske endelsesvokalen *-u*, som kjennetegnet nom. sg. fem. av vanlige adjektiv, bortfalt (ved *a/u*-apokopen ca. 500; se også Noreen 1970 § 373). Det samme gjelder den gamle endelsen *-u* i ntr. pl. av adjektiv: *kunn vé* 'de kjente/berømte helligsteder/boliger'.

10. Det som er det særegne ved denne runeinnskriften, er den hyppige bruk av binderuner (ligaturer). Det er også de som har voldt de største vanskeligheter ved lesningen og tolkningen av denne innskriften. I rad A er det en moderat bruk av slike runer. Lett forståelig er rune A6 med en ligatur *ᛞ-ᛚ*, der *e*-runens annen stav samtidig er stav for *a*-runens kvister. Noe lignende har vi i rune A9 *ᛚ-ᛞ*, der den loddrette staven både er stav for en *k*-rune av yngre type (som bl.a. brukes i Eggja-innskriften, se Grønvik 1985: 180), og også for en *u*-rune *ᛞ* i lite format, plassert nederst på staven, men begge på samme side (høyre side). Det samme gjelder rune A15, der de samme runene *ᛚ-ᛞ* er plassert på samme (dobbelt-trukne) stav, men på hver sin side: *k*-runen øverst på venstre side, og *u*-runen (i lite format) nederst på høyre side.

Om enkeltrunene er bare å si at runene A20 og A21 begge er *u*-runer, men den siste stupvendt, kanskje for å markere at det her begynner et

nytt ord. Ellers må det nevnes at rune A2 **h** (vanligvis H, men med stigende skråstrek) har en litt spesiell form, idet skråstreken begynner helt nederst på venstre stav og går til toppen av høyre stav, slik at runen kunne oppfattes som en rune *i* pluss en venstrevendt **u**-rune. Men det synes ikke å gi noe passende ord. Derimot kan en lesning A1–3 **uha** = /ūha/ '(den) unge (kvinne)', som er foreslått ovenfor (§ 3), støttes av innholdet i B-radene, som viser at det her dreier seg om en ung kvinnelig slektning (i akk. sg. *nifþi*, sml. norr. *nipt* f.), slik at det er hun som begraves og kremeres her. Derfor passer ordet **uha** 'unge kvinne' godt som førsteord i denne innskriften, og det må oppfattes som tiltale til den døde (sml. possessiv-adjektivet **þinu** = /þīnu/ i det følgende, behandlet ovf. § 4.). Dermed ser vi at rad A inneholder velkjente ord i en meningsfull sammenheng.

I rad B er det en god del ligaturer. De er for det meste av samme type som i A-radene, men noen er vanskeligere. Rune B3 er en binderune **α-α**, med *a*-kvister på begge sider av en enkel stav. Den neste runen (B4) er en enkel *l*-rune, der kniven har glippet litt for runeristeren, slik at *l*-kvisten har fått en uregelmessig fortsettelse nedover mot venstre. Rune B8 er derimot en tydelig binderune **u-k**, der **u**-runen er plassert nederst på staven til venstre, mens **k**-runen (av den yngre typen *ʃ*) er plassert på øverste del av staven, også den på venstre side. Leser man de to runene i denne rekkefølge, gir runene B 7–9 et velkjent ord norr. *auki* (pres. konj. 3. sg.), som passer godt inn i hele sammenhengen. Rune B11 er kanskje en venstrevendt ligatur **i-l-i**, der de to **i**-runene er forbundet ved hjelp av en skråstrek, som når fra toppen av den første runen til foten av den andre runen. Denne skråstreken er altså forlenget i forhold til en vanlig *l*-kvist, antagelig for å binde sammen de tre runene til en ligatur **i-l-i**. Derved får vi her frem et ord B 10–11 **u i-l-i**, som går godt inn i konteksten, mens andre tenkelige utlesninger ikke gjør det. Likevel må denne ligaturen betegnes som uvanlig og derfor noe usikker, men jeg ser ingen annen utvei. (Det er å merke at denne runen har fallende kvist eller skråstrek, og dermed er helt forskjellig fra rune A2 **h** med stigende skråstrek.) Rune B12 er en loddrett stav med en skråstrek, som går nedover fra høyre mot venstre. Den er lengre enn skråstreken på en vanlig **n**-rune *ʃ*. Hele runen kan derfor se ut som en **g**-rune *X*, bare at hovedstaven er loddrett og litt kraftigere enn skråstreken. Derfor må den vel likevel oppfattes som en **n**-rune *ʃ* med en litt for lang skråstrek. Den følgende runen B13 ser ut som en (venstrevendt) rune **f** med en kraftig stav og med litt svakere kvister oppover mot venstre. Den kan derfor kanskje oppfattes som

en venstrevendt binderune **i-f**. Eller man kan anta at dette beror på en psykologisk lett forståelig skrivefeil, idet runeristeren tok den allerede skrevne **i**-staven som første del av **f**-runen. Deretter følger rune B14, som er en kraftig (venstrevendt) rune **p**; rune B15 er en **i**. Rune B16 er temmelig komplisert (se tegningen 1996 s. 290 og foto s. 291). Den må vel være en binderune **a-a-h**: først et **f** med høyrevendte **a**-kvister, og dermed forbundet en **h**-rune med fallende kvist mot venstre. Dertil er det to **a**-kvister til venstre på den første staven (nedenfor **h**-kvisten). Men det er også en liten kvist lenger nede på høyre side av den høyre staven, som synes overflødig. Alt i alt er det vel ingen annen utvei her enn å lese ut hele tre runer, en binderune **a-a-h**.

Rune B17 er en praktrune: en **a**-rune med tredobbelt sett av **a**-kvister nedad mot venstre. Forklaringen på det er antydnet ovenfor: runen fremhever ved sin form første lyd (vokalen /a/) i betegnelsen på den døde, hovedpersonen i denne innskriften. Rune B18 er antagelig en tredobbelt ligatur **i-k-u**, med en loddrett hovedstav **i** fulgt av buene for runene **k** og **u** på venstre side av staven. Rune B20 er en ligatur **k-u** med **k**-buen øverst og **u**-buen nederst, begge på høyre side av staven. B21 er derimot en enkel **n**-rune med en litt lang **n**-kvist (nedad mot venstre), omtrent som rune B12. De to siste runene **Ń** og **Ŧ** er to enkeltruner, noe svakt risset, men ellers tydelige.

11. Når man skal lese, transkribere og tolke en runeinnskrift, pleier man først å bestemme alle runetegnene så nøyaktig som mulig, og deretter prøve en tolkning. Her har jeg måttet gjøre det på en litt annen måte. Fordi endel runer er vanskelige å bestemme ved første blick, særlig endel av binderunene, valgte jeg å behandle innskriften bit for bit, og hele tiden undersøke om min transkripsjon ga kjente ord og en forståelig tekst. Først dernest kunne jeg, som i § 10 ovenfor, gi en samlet beskrivelse av alle runetegnene. Skulle man ha gjort det på en annen måte, måtte man ha begynt med å stille opp mange alternativer, uten å ha holdepunkter for å velge mellom dem.

Ved denne fremgangsmåte har det vist seg at innskriften inneholder klart nordiske ord i en forståelig tekst. De har form av et temmelig fritt dannet vers med stavrim og rytme, og et innhold som passer godt inn i et gravlegningsrituale. Formelt er de rettet til den døde, som innledningsordene viser. I fortsettelsen inneholder de et ønske eller en bønn om at gudene for alltid må ta imot den unge kvinnen i sine hellige og velkjente bosteder, og så avsluttes de med en forsikring om at så vil skje:



*Ūha, aure ab ykwinu,  
 ai-kund pīnu wī!  
 wēa alūþ auki,  
 wili nifbi!  
 ā āh aikund  
 kunn wē.*

“Unge kvinne, veket bort fra jorden,  
 gjenfødt for evigheten i ditt helligsted!  
 Gudenes velvilje øke,  
 måtte de ville (ta imot) den (min) kvinnelige slektning!  
 For alltid eier den evigfødte (den for evigheten gjenfødte kvinne)  
 de kjente helligsteder (hellige bosteder).”

12. Etter sitt innhold stemmer denne innskriften godt med det lille vi fra før mente å vite om det hedenske gravritualet i Norden. De viktigste gamle kilder til kunnskap om dette skal kort nevnes i det følgende.

(a) En araber Ibn Fadlan har gitt en skildring av en hedensk begravelse i Russland i året 922 (i det følgende kort gjenfortalt etter Birkeland 1954: 22 f.). Han forteller om en nordisk høvding (handelsmann) som døde der østpå, og ble brent på bål sammen med sin tjenestekvinne. Før hun ble avlivet, løftet de henne høyt opp i været tre ganger, og hver gang sa hun noe: at hun første gangen så sine avdøde foreldre og andre gangen sine døde slektninger. Tredje gangen sa hun: “Se der! Jeg ser min herre sitte i paradiset, og paradiset er fagert og grønt, og sammen med ham er menn og unge gutter. Han kaller på meg. La meg gå til ham!” Deretter ga de henne tre begere med sterkt øl som hun måtte drikke, la henne ved siden av sin døde herre, og drepte henne. Så tente de på likbålet og skipet med de døde i. Det kom straks en sterk vind, ilden blusset kraftig opp, og på en time var alt blitt til aske og askestøv.

En nordbo som stod nær ved beretteren, sa han mente araberne var dumme, som tok den de elsket mest og begravde ham i jorden, “der jorden og krypdyrene og markene fortærer ham. Vi derimot brenner ham opp på et øyeblikk, så han går til paradiset på samme tid og stund.” Så lo han høyt og føyde til: “Hans herre har av kjærlighet til ham sendt vinden, så den tar ham bort på timen.”

Dette viser hvilket inntrykk en fremmed kunne få av en hedensk begravelse ennå mot slutten av hedendomen, og at nordboene den gang trodde for visst (som også i senere kristen tid) at den døde kom til sin gud etter døden og fikk et godt liv der.

(b) Men vi har også en mye eldre hjemlig kilde som viser det samme. På Einangsteinen i Valdres (fra det 4. årh., se Krause 1966: 143) står det en innskrift som kan leses slik (se Grønvik 2001: 259):

[Go] *ða-gastir : rūno faihiðō*

Her blir den døde (som er begravet her) etter min tolkning tiltalt med ordet *gōðagastir* 'gude-gjest'. Kultlederen eller runemesteren er altså sikker på at den døde nå er gjest hos sin gud. Dette kaller han samtidig 'et religiøst mysterium', idet han, som han her sier, 'skrev en *rūnō* (akk. sg.)'. Betydningen av dette ordet ser man av got. *runa* f., som Wulfila bruker til å oversette det greske ordet *mystērion*; det betegner nettopp den hemmelige viten om gudene og om livet hinsides som bare de innvidde kjente til, 'a secret revealed by god'. Denne betydning mener Finnur Jónsson (LP 473) også foreligger i et par gamle Edda-dikt (Vafþr. 42, 43; Vsp. 60), likeså bl.a. Gering 1915: 145 og Cl-V 1957: 504, og det har de sikkert rett i.

Også i Opedal-innskriften (Krause 1966 nr. 76) henvender runeristen (broren) seg direkte til den døde, med ordene *Birgingu, swestar mīnu liubu*. Ordet *swestar* kan bare være en vokativform (se Stiles 1984, spesielt s. 22). Opedalinnskriften støtter således, ved sin vokativform, den nye tolkning av Einang-innskriften som jeg har gitt ovenfor, og som viser at den døde ble oppfattet som en gjest hos gudene.

(c) Endelig må vi nevne innskriften fra Myklebostad, ifølge Krause (1966: 178–80) en klart urnordisk innskrift fra omkring år 400. Den begynner på lignende måte, med ordet *asugasdir* (med *sd* for *st* som av og til i gamle tyske håndskrifter, se Krause) og betyr i så fall 'gude-gjest'. Det kan her være tiltale til den døde, akkurat som i Einanginnskriften. Resten av innskriften er meget usikker både når det gjelder lesning og tolkning. Krause gjør spesielt oppmerksom på at det følgende ordet (*hlaiwa* ?) blir vanskelig å passe inn i en velformet setning, hvis *asugastir* skal være subjekt, og at det vil gi en klossete setning ("eine sehr ungeschickte Satzfügung"). Dette tar jeg som et indisium på at det første ordet står syntaktisk isolert og som tiltale til den døde. Dermed har vi her antagelig et nytt belegg på at den døde tiltales som 'gudegjest' (her hos Odin). Det er da enda et bevis på at man i hedensk tid i Norden mente den døde kom til sin gud i himmelen og fikk opphold der.

(d) Snorre forteller i sagaen om Håkon den gode kap. 32, at da kongen var død, bygde de en haug og la ham i den med fullt våpenutstyr og i hans beste klær: *mæltu þeir svá fyrir grepti hans sem heiðinna manna*

*siðr var til, visuðu honum til Valhallar.* Hva de ved den anledning sa, får vi ikke vite noe mere om, hverken der eller andre steder i sagaene. I den runeinnskriften vi her har fra Jæren fra omkring år 600, får vi for første gang et lite innblikk i dette. Ordene inneholder et ønske og en bønn om at gudene må være velvillige og ta imot den døde hinsides, i et bosted hun skal ha for evig.

Dette er et ønske og en bønn som vi ellers ikke har maken til i norrøn litteratur. Norrøne dikt har gjerne et profant innhold og handler mest om verdslige høvdinger og deres heltegjerninger. Dikt preget av den gamle religion og brukt som del av religionsutøvelsen i gammel tid, ble åpenbart tidlig fortrent, og ikke nedtegnet av de nye kristne skriftkyndige. Innskriften fra Ødemotland er derfor av en type og et innhold som ellers ikke er bevart for ettertiden, og som hittil har vært ukjent både for filologer og for religionshistorikere. Det er vel en av grunnene til at tidligere forskere ikke har greid å tyde den.

13. Når det gjelder tiden for denne innskriften, må vi holde oss til Shetelig's arkeologisk baserte datering til det 6. århundre, kanskje helst til årene omkring 600 (se ovf. §1). Tidligere har man ment at innskriftene fra Stentoften og Björketorp var typiske for det 6. årh., med former som *borumR*, *gestumR* (dat. pl.), *rūnō* (gen.pl.) og *lausR* (nom. sg. m.), sml. Krause 1966: 215. Da det ikke er noen slike former i innskriften fra Ødemotland, må den være noe yngre. Settes den med Shetelig til omkring år 600, må runeinnskriftene fra Stentoften og Björketorp dateres litt lenger tilbake, antagelig til første del av det 6. århundre. Eggja-innskriften, som ble funnet i 1917, har vist at språkformer som er vesentlig yngre enn urnordisk, kan dateres så langt tilbake som til det 7. årh. Nå viser denne siste innskriften at de kan være enda noe eldre, fra tiden omkring år 600.

Språkformene i Ødemotland-innskriften passer godt med denne dateringen. Her skal bare pekes på enkelte språklige trekk som viser dette, først på ordene **uea** = /wéa/, gen. pl. 'gudenes' (§ 6), og **uha** = /ūha/, nom. sg. fem. av en *n*-stamme 'den unge (kvinne)' (§ 2). Begge viser utlydende *-a* for eldre (urnordisk) *-ō*, slik det også er i senere norrønt. Dertil kommer partisippformen *ykvinu* (nom. sg. fem.) med fremdeles bevart *-u* etter kort trykklett mellomstavelse (§ 3). Dette siste er en eldre form enn i norrønt, der det siste *-u* er tapt. I ordet *aure* (dat. sg.) står den gamle (urnordiske) dativendelsen *-ē* med uforandret kvalitet, men antagelig forkortet. Derimot i verbalformen *auki* (§ 6, pres. sg. konj. 3. pers.) er en gammel endelse urn. *-ē* (sml. got. *bairai*

< ieur. \*-oi-t, se Krause 1968: 260) hevet til -i. I dette ligger det ingen stor motsetning. Dette er nemlig etter *i*-omlydens tid, og da kan -e i utlyd heves til -i uten at dette får noen videre følger. Det er akkurat som i senere norrønt språk. Når det én gang står -e (*aure*) og én gang -i (*auki*), kan det skyldes konsonanten foran, idet klusilen /k/ lett palataliseres foran en palatal vokal, uten at det betegnes nærmere i skrift (sml. Noreen 1970 § 263). Om lokativformen **ui** = /wī/ < eldre *wīhi* (ntr. sg.), se § 4. Den står i motsetning til gen. pl. **uea** = /véa/, som viser normal senkning -\*ih- > -ē foran en følgende lav vokal (urn. -ō), se § 4. I verbet **ah** = /áh/ av eldre \**aih* er diftongen forenklet til -ā- på vanlig måte foran -h- (sml. Noreen 1970 § 54,1), men den utlydende konsonanten -h- er ennå bevart (mot norr. *á*). Ordene *ai-ku(n)d* (fem. sg. nom.) og **kun** = *kunn* adj. 'velkjent' (ntr. pl. akk.) har samme utlyd som i senere norrønt, med bortfall av urn. -u etter lang stavelse. Om *wili* pres. konj. 3. pl. av verbet norr. *vilja* og spesielt *nifbi* akk. sg. av en *iō*-stamme, se ovf. § 6 (B 10–16), der den siste formen forklares nærmere.

14. Denne oversikten viser at språket i Ødemotlandinnskriften står på omtrent samme utviklingstrinn som Eggja-innskriften. Det er et tydelig etter-urnordisk språk, men med enkelte trekk som er eldre enn i vanlig norrønt. Det passer godt med Sheteligs datering av gravanlegget til omkring 600.

Tidligere språkforskere var ikke forberedt på at språket i denne innskriften kunne stå på et såpass ungt utviklingstrinn, og mente hele innskriften måtte være en feilfull kopi av en eldre (urnordisk) innskrift. Det er nok den viktigste grunnen til at de ikke greide å tolke og lese denne innskriften. Men de var nok heller ikke forberedt på at den kunne ha et slikt hedensk-religiøst og samtidig fromt innhold, i slekt med de forestillinger folk flest (utenom teologenes krets) antagelig har gjort seg om dette også i senere tider og like opp til våre dager.

## Litteratur

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MICHAEL SCHULTE

## The transformation of the older fuþark

Number magic, runographic or  
linguistic principles?

### Introduction

Despite untold explanatory efforts, the development from the older twenty-four-grapheme fuþark to the younger sixteen-grapheme fuþark still remains disputed. In his brief discussion, Düwel (2001: 88 f. [based on Birkmann 1995]) mentions four overall factors, which — in isolation or combination — contributed to the change from the older to the younger fuþark: (1) number magic (including gemetrics), (2) graphological simplification, (3) linguistic factors (particularly language change) and (4) the alteration of the rune names (i.e. the acrophonic principle coupled with Nordic sound changes). A further issue to be addressed here is (5) language contact both with Latin and with the Fenougric languages. In reassessing these five factors, the present paper

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**Abstract:** The present paper addresses different approaches to the younger fuþark. Taking the Ribe cranium (ca 725 AD) as primary evidence, I argue that the reduction in the number of runes predates certain graphic simplifications by a considerable span of time. The crucial factor which paves the way for the sixteen-grapheme fuþark is multifunctionality. In brief, the failure to invent new runic symbols to accommodate the new phonemes is partly based on the lack of contact with other scripts in the transitional period. Thus in contradistinction to the augmented Anglo-Frisian rune row, the Scandinavian fuþark is a fundamentally conservative writing system. In conclusion, the loss of eight runes (including the consonant symbols **g** and **d**) is not a groundbreaking reform — rather a logical recognition of the widespread multifunctionality that already obtained in Scandinavian runic writing before 700 AD.

**Keywords:** Anglo-Frisian fuþorc, Scandinavian fuþark, older fuþark, younger fuþark, Fenougric-Nordic contact, Latin-Nordic contact, Roman script, transitional inscriptions, Ribe cranium, Eggja stone, Blekinge group, multifunctionality, acrophonic principle



intends to shed new light on the problem. Wide-ranging inferences can be drawn from the inscription on the Ribe cranium, which will be scrutinized in the following.

Methodologically, the present focus rests on the long-branch runes alone, thus leaving the short-twig runes aside (cf. Birkmann 1995: 217).<sup>1</sup> There are two reasons for doing so. Firstly, in a typological perspective, the long-branch types of the younger fuþark directly continue the older rune shapes, and secondly, in a chronological perspective, the period under investigation is confined to the 6th and 7th centuries, where no short-twig runes are attested yet. For graphological and/or linguistic reasons, this period has been labelled 'transitional' (see Barnes 1998, also Schulte 2006a, forthcoming). On the basis of its dendrochronological dating to 725 AD, the above-mentioned cranium inscription from Ribe indicates an upper time limit for the rise of the younger fuþark (see section 2 below).

### 1. The Nordic restructuring of the older fuþark: a general outline

The evidence suggests that the marginal runes were falling out of use in a chronological succession. In particular the runes **ᵼ** (**ᵼ**), **ᵿ** (**ᵿ**), **ᵿ** (**ᵿ**) were used on a limited basis already in the older runic inscriptions including the so-called fuþark inscriptions (see Düwel 1998; Düwel and Heizmann 2006). Briefly, the reduction in the number of runes from the older to the younger fuþark can be sketched as follows. Note that this classification involves certain overlaps.

1.1. The three above-mentioned older runes **ᵼ** **ᵿ** **ᵿ** (**ᵼ**, **ᵿ**, **ᵿ**) were falling out of use early on. On their marginal status in the older fuþark, see Derolez (1998) and Schulte (2004) with further references.

1.2. The voice contrast with the plosives /p, t, k/ vs. /b, d, g/ was filtered out of the system: **ᵿ** (**k**) in the younger fuþark represents /k, g, nk, ng, ʀ/, **ᵿ** (**t**) represents /t, d, nt, nd/, and conversely (due to point 1.1

<sup>1</sup> In this regard, the present approach differs from Liestøl (1981a, 1981b) and Barnes (1987) who include the short-twig runes and the inscription on the Rök stone for methodological reasons. However, taking the Ribe cranium as an upper time limit (ca 725 AD), all runic data postdating this inscription will be regarded merely as secondary evidence in the following presentation. On the evaluation of the short-twig runes, see particularly Barnes (2001) and Fridell (2000).

above) **ᚢ** (**b**) represents /p, b, mp, mb/. This part of the restructuring, which has puzzled many researchers, attracts the particular attention of Fennougrists (cf. 6.2 below).

1.3. The semi-vowels /j, w/, formerly written **ᚿ** and **ƿ**, are designated by the vowel runes **ᚲ** (**i**) and **ᚷ** (**u**), respectively (see section 5.5 below).

1.4. The mid-high vowels /e, o/, formerly written **ᚱ** and **ᚲ**, are represented by the runes for high vowels **ᚲ** (**i**) and **ᚷ** (**u**), such that the old **e**- and **o**-rune are lost (see again section 5.5 below).

1.5. Mutated vowels are generally represented by their etymological counterparts, which means that phonemic umlauts remain unmarked, e.g. the initial **ǣ** in Stentoften's and Bjørketorp's **ARAGEU** in relation to ON *ergi* *īn*-stem fem. 'baseness' (see Schulte 2004: 47 f.). It may be noted that Stentoften's **-gestumr** apparently conflicts with this 'etymological notation principle', although this form is probably due to an erroneous segmentation of the sequence **niuhagestumr** (cf. below note 13 and 15 with literature).

1.6. With respect to its internal structuring, the older fuþark contains thrice eight runes. This tripartite structure, later known as *ættir*, is found on certain bracteates, viz. IK 260 Grumpan-C and IK 377,1 Vadstena-C (see (1)–(2) below). However, the fuþark on the Kylver stone, which is datable to the early 5th century, shows no such divisions (see (3) below).

(1) Grumpan C-bracteate (Västergötland, Sweden; dating ca 475–500)<sup>2</sup>

**fuþarkgw.....hniǰip??[...].tbeᚱlǰod.....**

(2) Vadstena C-bracteate (Östergötland, Sweden; dating ca 500–530)<sup>3</sup>

**tuwatuwa.fuþarkgw:hniǰiᚱ[*sic*]rs:tbeᚱlǰod:**

<sup>2</sup> IK 260; see Düwel and Heizmann 2006: no. 5 with references.

<sup>3</sup> IK 377,1–2; see Düwel and Heizmann 2006: no. 15 with references.



Fig. 1: Drawing of the Grumpan bracteate IK 260. (From IK II, p. 47)



Fig. 2: Drawing of the Vadstena bracteate IK 377,1. (From IK II, p. 157)

(3) Kylver stone (Gotland, Sweden; dating early 5th century)<sup>4</sup>  
 [I] **fufarkgwhnijpirstbemiḡdo** [fir-tree like figure] [II] **sueus**

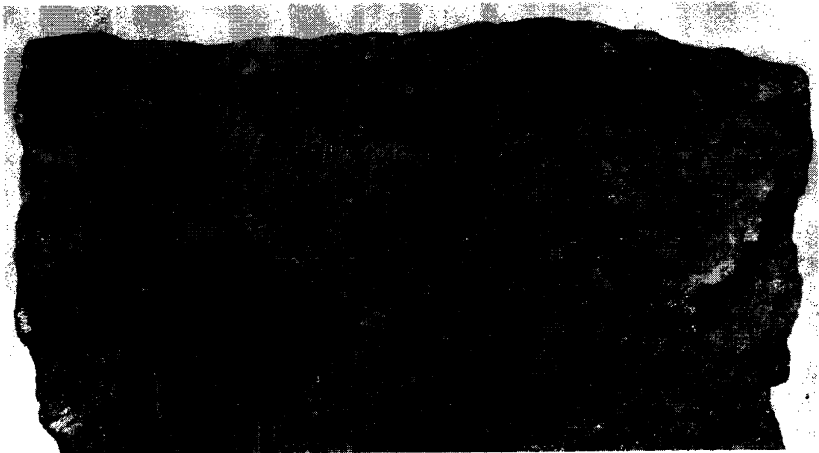


Fig. 3: Retouched photograph of the Kylver stone. (From G, pl. 15)

1.7. To sum up, the younger **fufark** excluded the runes **X (g)** and **ƿ (w)** from the first *ætt*, the runes **l (ī)** and **Ʒ (p)** from the second *ætt*, and the **ʀ(z)**-rune (**Y**) was moved to the end of the third *ætt*, such that only five runes remained in what was originally the second group. In the third *ætt*, the runes **Ṣ ḡ ʀ (e ḡ d o)** were excluded and the **ʀ(z)**-rune which is a 'word-final marker' was attached at the very end,

<sup>4</sup> KJ 1; see Düwel and Heizmann 2006: no. 9 with references.

meaning that this group was likewise reduced to five runes.

But the resulting ratio 6:5:5 was odd and in theory interpretable as 8:8 with the primary focus on the number 'eight' (cf. section 3 on number magic approaches). It remains to be investigated whether the number 'eight' continued to be the lowest common denominator of the younger fuþark which would link it up with its precursor, the older one. However, as far as I can see, bipartite structures are neither attested directly by the fuþark inscriptions, nor indirectly by the various systems of cryptic runes, the so-called *lønruner*. Therefore, it seems that despite the new uneven ratio, the tripartite fuþark was unchallenged (for the attested tripartite fuþarks, see section 3). In general, divisions and spacing like those of the older fuþark inscriptions on the Grumpan and Vadstena bracteates are not met on a regular basis. See, for instance, the younger fuþark inscriptions on the Gørlev stone (4) and on the Malt stone (5).



Fig. 4: Drawing of the Gørlev fuþark. (From DR, col. 770; fig. 576)

(4) Gørlev stone (Sjælland, Denmark; dating 9th century)<sup>5</sup>

**f u þ a r k h n i a s t b m l r**

(5) Malt stone (Middle-Jutland, Denmark; dating 9th century)<sup>6</sup>

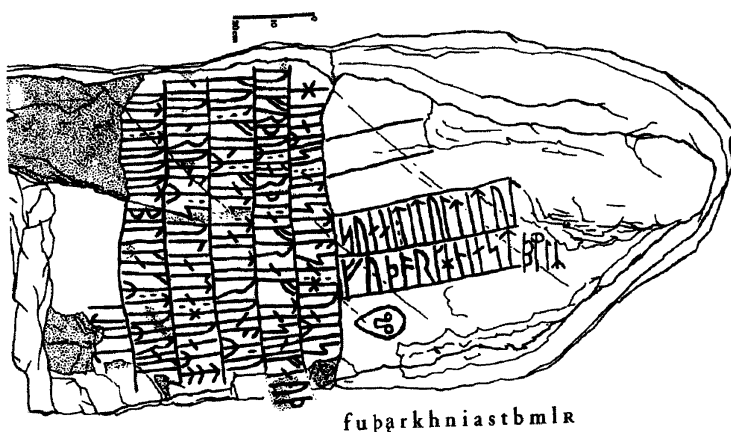


Fig. 5: Drawing of the Malt stone. (From Stoklund 1994: 180)

<sup>5</sup> See DR no. 239; also Birkmann (1995: 356–60).

<sup>6</sup> See Stoklund (1994: 180); also Birkmann (1995: 361–72).

## 2. The central role of the Ribe cranium

The Danish inscription on the skull fragment from Ribe, which was not discovered until 1973, plays a prominent role in this discussion. It has previously been felt that the hole in line B (between rune 23 † **n** and rune 24 þ **b**) indicated use as an amulet, but after Benner Larsen's technical examination of the cranium and casts of it made in 1973, this can be safely dismissed:

It can in fact be rejected that the skull fragment was worn by someone as a kind of amulet hanging from the bored hole. High magnifications of the upper edge of the hole show a slight upward curling of the *lamina externa* and there is no indication of wear or polishing as a result of the passage of a cord through the hole. (Benner Larsen 2004: 45)

The fact that the Ribe cranium was deposited in the soil in 725 AD means that the inscription must be prior to that date. This upper time limit on a dendrochronological basis ensures its central position in a historical perspective. The inscription reads as follows (see (6)):

(6) Ribe cranium inscription (South Jutland, Denmark; dating ca 725 AD)<sup>7</sup>

[A] **ulfuraukupinaukhutiur hialbburiisuiþr**  
 [B] **þaimauiarkiauktuirkunin [hole] buur**

[A] *Ulfr auk Óðinn auk Hō-tiur. Hjalp buri es viðr*  
 [B] *þæima værki. Auk dverg unninn. Bōurr.*

[A] 'Ulfr (=Fenrir?) and Odin and High-tiur (=Týr?).  
**huri** is help against

[B] this pain. And the dwarf [nom. sg.?] (is) overcome. Bóurr.'

Chronologically, the Ribe cranium marks the end of the transitional period. In his monograph *Von Ågedal bis Malt*, Birkmann (1995: 230 f.) suggested that we are dealing here with a Common Scandinavian prototype of the younger fuþark with 15/16 runes ("Gemeinnordisches jüngeres Fuþark"),<sup>8</sup> whereas Stoklund (1996) was more reserved as to

<sup>7</sup> See Stoklund (1996: 201, 205); also Stoklund (2003).

<sup>8</sup> See Birkmann (1995: 207, 231): "Wenn man die archäologische Datierung des Knochens akzeptiert, dann hätten wir hier wie vielleicht auf Skabersjö und dem Kupferblech von Hallbjäns einen der frühesten Beleg [sic] für das ausgebildete Jüngere Fuþark

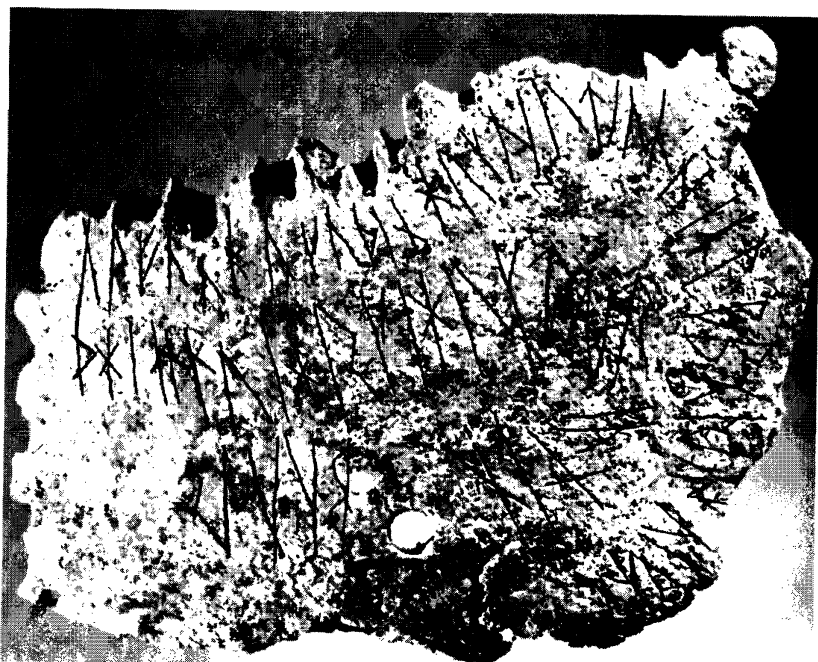


Fig. 6: Retouched photograph of the Ribe cranium. (From Moltke 1985: 346)

Ribe's actual graphological status (see also Stoklund 2003; McKinnell and Simek 2004: 50 f. with further references). As might be expected, the diagnosis depends on reading and interpretation, where at least three different levels must be kept apart in terms of a linguistic, phonemic-graphemic and runographic/graphological assessment (see 2.1–2.4).

2.1. Regarding its general linguistic status, Ribe represents a post-transitional inscription since it has undergone several Nordic sound changes (for detail, see Nielsen 2000: 257–63). Most importantly, it shows the loss of /w/ before /u/ (**unin**, **ulfur** as compared to the name element °wulf-/wolf- in the Blekinge group), *i*-umlaut (digraphic spelling **-ia-** for /æ/ in **uiarki** /wærki/ < \*/warki-/, cf. ON *verk-r* 'pain')<sup>9</sup>, breaking (**hialb** = ON *hipl̥p* *ō*-stem 'help' with *u*-umlaut), and last but not least syncope (e.g. **upin** < Gmc. \*/wo:ðinaz ~ °anaz/, ON *Óðinn*). It may be

in der von von Friesen postulierten gemeinnordischen Form [...] (Birkmann 1995: 231; my emphasis).

<sup>9</sup> Following DR (col. 945), Grønvik (1999: 112 f.) regards **-ia-** in **uiarki** as an incidence of breaking. For a critical discussion, however, see Stoklund (2001: 114, 119 f.).

noted that **ulfur** 'wolf' furnishes an early example of vowel epenthesis; cf. Icel. *ulf-u-r* in relation to ON *ulf-r* (cf. Birkmann 1995: 180, 230; Marold 2003: 405).

2.2. With regard to the phoneme-grapheme relationships, Ribe reflects the multifunctional system of the younger fupark (on this issue, see section 5.6 below). Obviously, the runographer of the cranium inscription used only 15 runes: **b** designates /p/ and /b/, **t** designates /t/ and /d/, **k** represents /k/ and /g/ (**tuirk**, ON *dverg-* 'dwarf'), **þ** represents voiceless /θ/ as well as voiced [ð] (see Nielsen 2000: 258 f.), **i** stands for /i/, but possibly also for mid-high /e/ in **is** aux. 'is' (ON *er, es*) and **tuirk** (ON *dverg-*), **u** designates /u/ as well as long /o:/ (e.g. **uþin**, ON *Óðinn*) and the semi-vowel /w/ (**uiarki**, ON *verk-r* 'pain', **uiþr** as opposed to Danish Runic **wiþr** Valby, Gothic *wiþra*, G *wider* 'against'), **-ia-** is a breaking diphthong in **hialb**, but most probably a digraphic spelling for unlauded /æ/ in **uiarki**, ON *verk-* 'pain' (cf. point 2.1 with note 9). Thus, despite several interpretational problems at hand (in particular the alleged endingless form **tuirk** = *dverg* lacking the masculine nominative marker *-r*), the phoneme-grapheme relationships point to an early representative of the younger fupark with the older runes **g**, **d**, **e**, **o**, **w** (as well as **ī**, **ŋ** and **þ**) removed. In addition, the *ansuz*-rune **ᚦ** (**ǫ**) is not present in the Ribe inscription, such that the grapheme inventory consists of only 15 (instead of 16) used symbols.<sup>10</sup>

2.3. In terms of the runographic diagnosis as presented by Barnes (1998), Ribe is definitely post-transitional. Barnes' main criterion for a 'transitional inscription' is the use of the starlike rune (✱) with the primary value /a/ (as opposed to its original value /j/) in conjunction with the presence of one or more older runes that are lost in the younger fupark (Barnes 1998: 450; also Schulte 2006a; cf. section 1.7). As Barnes points out, this yields a clear result with respect to Ribe and other Danish inscriptions like Helnæs, Flemløse I and Snoldelev: "None of the above conform to my explicit criteria for transitional inscriptions, and several (e.g. Ribe, Helnæs, Flemløse I, Snoldelev) exhibit forms or usages that indicate they are written in the younger fupark" (Barnes 1998: 454).

<sup>10</sup> But this may be a coincidence because Ribe (at least in Stoklund's interpretation, see (6) above) exhibits no instance of nasal /a/, whether in stressed or unstressed position.

2.4. Last but not least, regarding the graphic shapes, Ribe still has the complex forms for **h**, **m** and **A**, viz.  $\mathbb{H}\mathbb{M}\mathbb{A}$ , predating the transitions  $\mathbb{H} \rightarrow \mathbb{h}$ ,  $\mathbb{M} \rightarrow \mathbb{m}$ , and  $\mathbb{A} \rightarrow \mathbb{A}$ . It may also be noticed that the further developments of the runes  $\mathbb{H}$  (**h**) and  $\mathbb{A}$  (**A**) must be interlinked to avoid graphemic merger. This indicates that the establishment of multifunctional runes, as discussed in section 5.6, predates particular simplifications of rune shapes and that both processes in principal are independent of one another. In this light, the Ribe skull fragment invalidates the claim of a graphologically driven process urging the reduction of the older fupark by aiming to ease the writing process (e.g. Odenstedt 1992). I am aware that this conclusion depends to a great extent on the exclusion of the short-twig runes from consideration as primary evidence. (See the introduction with note 1 above.) For further discussion of the graphological argument, see section 4.

### 3. Magico-numerical approaches

Arguments in terms of number magic, numerology and cryptography have been put forward by some scholars to explain the structure of the younger sixteen-grapheme fupark in relation to its forerunner, the older fupark.<sup>11</sup> Among the classic works in this field is Olsen's *Om Trolldrøner* from 1917. Incidentally, Düwel (1998: 275) mentions five approaches to the fupark involving magic elements: 1. number magic, 2. gemetrics (numerical structure), 3. rune name magic, 4. astro-magic, and 5. symbol magic.

Inferences have been drawn from the fact that the older and the younger rune row contain multiples of the number eight: thrice or twice eight respectively (cf. point 1.7 above). Magnus Olsen, for instance, argued that the numbers 24 and 16 (possibly 8 itself) "predominantly belonged to runic inscriptions that were intended to have supernatural, magic connotations" ["... vorzugsweise Inschriften angehört haben, in die man eine übernatürliche, magische Kraft hineinlegen wollte"] (Olsen 1908: 21; my translation).

In a later study on the Setre comb, Olsen characterizes the common feature of the older and younger fupark as follows:

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<sup>11</sup> For a research report, see Nielsen (1985: 79 f.); cf. critically Morgenroth (1961) and McKinnell and Simek (2004: 36 f.). The pioneering work in refuting the magical theory is Bæksted (1952). For further discussion, see Birkmann (1995: 217–19).



To all appearances, the runic reform was radical. But the vital element of the old runic script remained unchanged: the usefulness of the fupark for magic purposes was not affected because the fupark in its new shape (cf. the intended numerical structure of younger inscriptions based on the number 16) continued to contain the products of the number eight. (Olsen and Shetelig 1933: 85 f.; my translation and emphasis)<sup>12</sup>

According to Olsen, the magic value of the number 'eight' and its products is vital not only for meaningful (i.e. semantically readable) runic inscriptions like Setre, but also for the fuparks themselves. This view is supported by the fact that several fuparks are embedded in magic formulaic texts or spells (see, for instance, the Gørlev stone, fig. 4 above). Apart from readable inscriptions and fuparks, a third category is provided by enigmatic sequences like **gāgāgāginuga** on the Kragehul spearshaft (KJ 27) which makes up the number eight by counting each bind-rune **gā** as one unit. Different numerical and gematric approaches have been put forward by other scholars like Agrell (1932) and Klingenberg (1973); for a more detailed account, see Nielsen (1985) as well as Düwel and Heizmann (2006).

In essence, the fupark in its entire representation with 24 (or later 16) runes symbolizes completeness as well as order, and by means of the object which the runes were inscribed on, this notion was passed on to the human (also dead) or non-human addressee in order to take effect *in bonam* or *in malam partem* (cf. Düwel 1998: 275 with reference to Flowers 1986: 348 and Düwel 1992: 97 f.).

However, one problem with the number 'eight' is that the medieval fuparks directly continue the three-ætt-system of the older fupark: **fupark:hniast:tbmlr**, in particular B17 rune stick [side B] **f-upork:hniast:tbmly** and B490 cattle shoulder bone **fupork:hniast:tblmy (e)** as well as B26 rune stick [side B] **fup(ō)rk|hniast:tb(m)ly** (for the material from Bryggen in Bergen, see Knirk 1994: 179; furthermore Seim 1999: 88 f., 114 with B26 as an additional possible example). Mention must also be made of the early Danish inscription from Schleswig 12 (19), published by Lerche Nielsen *et al.* (2001: 220 f.); a correct interpretation

<sup>12</sup> "Reformen var, utvortes betraktet, radikal, men der blev ikke rørt ved det som var livsnerven i den gamle runeskrift: futharkens anvendelighed i magisk øiemed led intet avbrekk, idet den også i sin nye skikkelse (jfr. senere innskrifters 'tilsiktete tallforhold' bygget på 16-tallet) kom til å inneholde et multiplum av 8. Ad indirekte vei får vi således en bekreftelse på at ikke bare 24-tallet, men også 8-tallet fra gammelt har vært hellig" (my emphasis).

of this inscription (it is incorrect in Moltke 1976: 383 f., 1985: 479) was published by Stoklund (1997). The significance of the inherited *ætt*-structure is also supported by the use of cryptic runes (including the later Rök inscription) which are not based on an alleged bipartite (or four-part) system of 8:8 runes, viz. **fuþarkhn:iastbmlr**, *vel sim*.

Another objection concerns the status of 'eight' in Germanic. The holy number in Old Germanic would not be the 'eight' but rather the 'nine', as for instance twice mentioned in the introductory line of the Stentofthen inscription from Blekinge and in the Eddic poem of *Vǫluspá*.<sup>13</sup> As McKinnell and Simek critically remark in their *Sourcebook*,

[a]part from the number nine, which does not feature prominently in these speculative calculations, no number can be shown to have had religious/magical importance in heathen Germanic antiquity. (McKinnell and Simek 2004: 37)

Still, this general observation does not preclude the possibility of a structuring principle by means of the number 'eight'. Düwel and Heizmann (2006), in their recent contribution, focus on the magic function of the older fuþark inscriptions, with number lore playing a subordinate role. But even if it was true that number magic could explain the attested tripartite and later (allegedly) bipartite structure of the runic alphabet, its explanatory force must be doubted when it comes to a diachronic assessment. Strictly speaking, this approach cannot contribute to the historical dimension because there is no reason why the perfect numerical order of the older fuþark should have been abandoned. To put it differently, the number magic element, if valid at all, cannot be considered a driving force in the process of alphabet reduction, whereas it may well be a concomitant of the systematic restructuring.

<sup>13</sup> The opening lines [I–II] of the Stentofthen inscription invoke the 'holy' number nine (*niu*) as follows:

[I] **niuhaborumr** [II] **niuhagestumr** [III] **habuwolafrgaf j** (=9)

'with nine rams, with nine stallions Haduwolf gave a [good] year'; note the ideographic use of the rune 9 = Gmc. *jāra* 'year' (for a research report, see McKinnell and Simek 2004: 54 f., also Schulte 2006c, forthcoming). On the numerical significance of the number nine (*niu*) in the texture of *Vǫluspá*, see Schulte (2005a: 208–13).

## 4. Graphological driving forces?

In the course of research history, several scholars made the claim that graphic simplification plays a major role as a process in its own right. Andersen (1947; 1984), Moltke (1985; 1986) and Odenstedt (1992), among others, invoked the immanent tendency towards simpler graphic shapes with the removal of several runes as a by-product (for more detail, see Birkmann 1995: 200–06).

It may be recalled that the discovery of the Ribe cranium in 1973 was a touchstone of the graphological claim, but in fact it took decades to acknowledge the significance of the Ribe skull fragment in this debate (see section 2 above). Advocates of the graphological approach stress the need to ease the runic writing process in solid material (particularly stone) by using simpler and more standardized graphic forms. This would explain the general tendency to write all runes with only one vertical staff, viz. ✱ for ᚱ (**h**) and ǀ for ᚠ (**m**), but also ʃ for < (**k**). Accordingly, ✱ (**h**) had to be simplified to † with only one crossing side-staff to avoid graphemic merger with the new star-rune ✱ (**h**) for older ᚱ.<sup>14</sup> It may also be noticed that the shape of the **s**-rune is standardized with respect to the vertical line: ʒ (ʒ) → ʒ.

In brief, the complex graphic shapes are said to entail the removal of the following eight runes (see (7)):

(7) Removal of eight older runes with complex shapes<sup>15</sup>

◊	ᚢ	ᚦ	ᚨ	ᚩ	ᚱ	ᚷ	ᚹ
ᚱ	ᚳ	ᚴ	ᚵ	ᚶ	ᚷ	ᚸ	ᚹ
ᚱ	ᚳ	ᚴ	ᚵ	ᚶ	ᚷ	ᚸ	ᚹ

This would be the general reason why these eight runes were abandoned. But obviously the argument involves an oversimplification. Although the graphic claim is valid in a general perspective, I want

<sup>14</sup> In this connexion, further simplifications with the short-twig runes, particularly concerning the runes **s**, **b** and **z**(**r**), are entirely disregarded here as they are beyond the scope of this investigation (cf. note 1 above).

<sup>15</sup> Note that the older runes **d**, **g**, **w**, **e** and **o** are still present in the Stentofte-Björketorp group (ca 600–650 AD) as well as in the Eggja inscription (ca 700 AD), while **ᚢ**, **ᚦ**, **ᚩ** do obviously not occur. In particular, note **hagestumr** dat. pl. 'stallions' for /hangestumR/ and **sba** for /spɔ:/, ON *spó* 'prophecy' in the Stentofte inscription (cf. note 13 with references).

to contest it being a triggering factor or a driving force for the loss of runes. The objection must be made that it would certainly have been possible to simplify all the shapes rather than to abandon these particular runes.

In a general assessment, the graphic approach cannot explain why certain complex runes are abandoned (*viz.* ᚷ, ᚢ, ᚦ, ᚫ, ᚱ, ᚴ, ᚷ, ᚹ, ᚺ, ᚻ), while others are only reshaped and partly restructured with respect to their phoneme-grapheme relationships. This applies in particular to the starlike rune ᚦ (✱) which takes over several new values in the transitional inscriptions.<sup>16</sup> It may also be noticed that the complex rune ᚫ withstands its removal and even the tendency towards reshaping. This triggers the question: Is the shape ᚫ really simpler than ᚦ?

More specifically, as noted already in section 2.4, the Ribe skull fragment invalidates the graphological claim since it reveals complex forms in the case of ᚦ ᚦ ✱ (instead of modernized ✱ ᚦ ᚦ) coupled with the parsimonious grapheme-inventory of the younger futhorc and its typical multifunctionality, e.g. ᚦ denotes /k/, /g/, /x/ as well as /nk, ng/ (with the nasal omitted before obstruents). In principal, the graphic developments stand in their own right, such that a general tendency toward simpler shapes cannot explain the reduction in number of the graphemic system from twenty-four to sixteen units.

## 5. The linguistic dimension: internal factors

As demonstrated, neither magico-numerical nor purely graphic arguments can be made responsible for the rise of the parsimonious younger futhorc. This is why most investigators turn to language-internal arguments (for a general account, see Schulte 2004 and 2006b). The crucial linguistic point is that the original fit between the runographic and the phonological system is disrupted by several sound changes. The period under investigation is the transitional period between 500 and 700 AD, which is characterized by processes like umlaut, breaking and reduction (including syncope) together with the introduction of new phoneme-grapheme relationships. This general notion is expressed by Elmer Antonsen:

Not until there were major disruptions in this fit would the possibility of various spellings for the same phonological unit arise, and

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<sup>16</sup> See section 5.6 with respect to multifunctionality.

this is precisely what happened during the transitional period beginning around AD 500, which is graphically reflected in the peculiar renditions found in the Blekinge inscriptions [...] and which is the basic cause for the whole development of the parsimonious younger futhorks. (Antonsen 1996: 11; cf. Antonsen 2002: 115 f.)

This concept is central as it provides the background for several more elaborate approaches that will be addressed in the following. Diverse linguistic arguments including structural (hierarchical) data have been invoked in this connexion (see 5.1–5.6).

### 5.1. *The unstressed triangular vowel system of Old Norse*

In a stimulating paper ‘On the parsimony of the younger futhork’, Einar Haugen (1969) took the unstressed phonological system as the point of departure (see also Haugen 1976a). In his view, a focus shift from the stressed to the unstressed system is responsible for the loss of several runes (cf. (7) above). As for chronology, there is a consensus that the triangular system of unstressed vowels /a, i, u/ is attested already in the Blekinge inscriptions around 600–650 AD (see also Nielsen 2000: 97 f.). This ties in nicely with the rise of the younger futhork as attested on the Ribe skull fragment around 725 AD. But the crucial point is how such a new guiding principle should be motivated. Reviewing Haugen’s concept, Barnes takes a rather critical stance; for further criticism, see Birkmann (1995: 198–200):

Is it plausible that the attention of speakers and rune carvers was directed so firmly at the unstressed syllables that not only the vowel symbols of the younger futhork, but, as Haugen also suggests, the consonant symbols too reflect this ‘minimum phonemic system’ (1969: 57)? The stressed syllables, after all, must still have conveyed the heaviest burden of information. One imagines it was at least as important to distinguish between, say, *tæma* and *dæma* as between *(hann) gørdi* and *(bau) gørdi*, and yet Haugen would have us believe that **ᚱ** was dropped from the runic alphabet because only the system in unstressed syllables, with its simple two-way opposition between stop and spirant, was taken into account. (Barnes 1987: 36)

It may also be noted that the Eggja inscription which is dated to 700 AD conflicts with Haugen’s approach since it shows both | (i) and **ᚱ** (e) in the endings, whether this variation is due to vowel harmony or not, cf. **wiltir, huni, skorin** vs. **sakse, made, galande**. For problems of

evaluation, see Barnes (1998: 458) with reference to Grønvik (1985: 175 f. and elsewhere).

Similarly, the somewhat earlier inscriptions from Blekinge (ca 600-650 AD) show both **i u** and **e o** as the representations of their thematic vowels (or reflexes thereof) such that the graphemes **ᛞ** and **ᚯ** are still in use (cf. also Nielsen 2000: 97). In summary, there are no good grounds to assume that the parsimony of the younger *fupark* is motivated by the reduced phonological oppositions in unstressed syllables. This will further be illustrated by the process of final devoicing.

### 5.2. Final devoicing

Final devoicing in Proto-Norse is also regarded as a motivating factor by Haugen (1969) to account for the loss of the runes **ᚾ** and **ᚿ** for the mediae /d/ and /g/. A prominent role in this discussion plays the form **lqt** in the Eggja inscription. Barnes (1998: 452, 458), commenting on Grønvik (1985: 169 f. and elsewhere), expresses considerable concern about the diagnostic value of this form:

If **lqt** does denote [lant], it is odd that no example of *\*latt* is to be found in later Scandinavian (cf. *binda* – *batt* < *\*bant*) — unless runic spellings such as **iklati**, **oklati** etc. show analogical extension of this form into the dative. But should Grønvik be wrong and Eggjum in fact have been written by someone with knowledge of the younger *fupark*, it is still the case that we have here a rune carver using **ᚠ** for [w], **ᛞ** for [e] and **ᚯ** for /o/ at a time when, to judge by the language of the inscriptions he carved, the names of the first two cannot have begun with [w] and /e/ respectively [...], and the initial sound in the name of the third may have been mutated. (Barnes 1998: 458)

Other examples mentioned, for instance, by Makaev (1996: 75) are equally problematic. In particular, the form **warb** (ON *varp*) on the Eggja stone provides no direct evidence as it can be explained by the early substitution of the rune **p** by **b** as foreshadowed on the Vadstena bracteate (see fig. 2 above). On the marginal status of the **p**-rune in the older *fupark*, see particularly Odenstedt (1990: 79, 93–94). Neither does the proclitic **ob** (in the sequence **ob kam**) form the expectation of signalling this neutralization process as clitics tend to ‘lean’ on their host, meaning that the word boundary is lost (see Schulte 2006d).

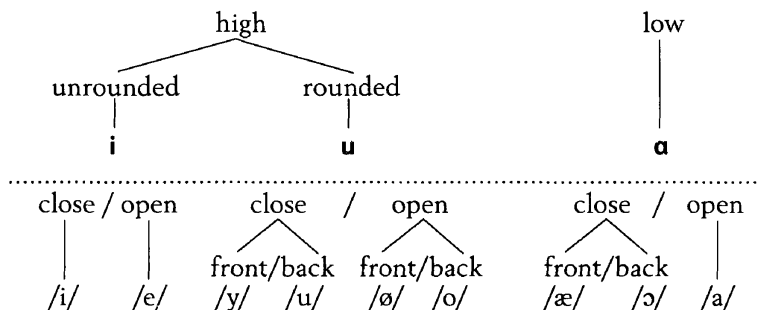
A more general concern regards the orthographic representation of final devoicing in a cross-linguistic perspective. In Modern German, for instance, this neutralization process is overshadowed in spelling

by a morphophonemic writing principle, e.g. G *Rat* ‘council’ [ra:t], gen. sg. *Rates* [ra:təs] vs. *Rad* [ra:t] ‘wheel’, gen. sg. *Rades* [ra:dəs] (cf. Brockhaus 1995; Schulte 2006d). As runic orthography too obeys morphophonemic spelling principles, it cannot adequately reflect this process. It follows that the direct impact of final devoicing on the younger fuþark remains unproven.

### 5.3. *The principle of maximum phonemic contrasts*

Imagining a deliberate runic reform, Rischel (1967/68) acknowledges an interplay between two or more decisive factors. His particular focus rests on the hierarchy of distinctive features which underwent restructuring in the younger fuþark. The relevant features of the graphemic system are to be ranked in a hierarchical order as follows: 1. [+/-high], 2. [+/-rounded] with the subordinate distinctions 3. [+/-close] and 4. [+/-back]. As a consequence, these two contrasts are not mirrored in the runography of the younger fuþark (see (8)).

(8) Hierarchical features of the younger fuþark (according to Rischel 1967/68: 12)



In Rischel's view, the outcome of this conscious repatterning is a system of maximum phonemic contrasts, which is a characteristic of broad morphophonemic scripts.<sup>17</sup> Antonsen too makes this point:

The younger fuþark, to my mind, represents a unique solution to the dilemma of too many phonemes with too few symbols. This solution was a further simplification of the orthographic system which must have been based on the premise that since the five symbols available

<sup>17</sup> See Rischel (1967/68: 12 f. with fig. 3). For further discussion of this model, cf. Birkmann (1995: 196–98).

did not accurately represent the sound system of the language in any case, that sound system could be expressed by an even simpler orthography in which only the crassest oppositions were taken into consideration. (Antonsen 1963: 201; my emphasis)

In brief, it must be objected that this approach is purely descriptive. Thus it remains unclear how this hierarchical restructuring should be motivated. Though valid from a synchronic (static) point of view, the model lacks explanatory force when it comes to the driving forces of what Antonsen and Rischel regard as a 'unique solution' or 'conscious reform' respectively. Besides, Rischel himself expresses some vagueness about this ideas when remarking: 'We are faced with a problem of considerable complexity, and we must not overestimate the explanatory power of structural statements' (Rischel 1967/68: 5).

#### 5.4. Phonotactic neutralization of voicing after /s/

Another factor which is made responsible for the loss of the voice distinction /p, t, k/ : /b, d, g/ in runic script is phonotactics. The second element of **asu-gasdiz** on the Myklebobostad stone (KJ 77; 5th or 6th century) reflects the neutralization of the voice distinction /t/ : /d/ after /s/. For a parallel case in South Germanic epigraphy, see the belt buckle of Weimar II: **isd** for /ist/ is interpretable as an auxiliary verb 3rd sg. pres. ind. 'is' (see Nedoma 2004: 350 f.).

Miller (1994: 97) notices that the spelling **asu-gasdiz** 'Ansgasti-' captures the non-aspiration of stops after /s/, given that voiceless stops are usually aspirated in Germanic and other languages, while their voiced counterparts are not. Technically, [t] and [t<sup>h</sup>] are positional variants or allophones and, therefore, usually not distinguished in spelling (cf. **hlewa-gastiz** on the Gallehus horn, ca. 400–450 AD, reflecting PGmc. \*/gastiz/, ON *gestr* 'guest').<sup>18</sup>

Likewise, the Björketorp form **sba** (KJ 97; 7th century) in relation to ON *spô* 'prophecy' (Gmc. \*/spahu/) is sometimes connected with this phonotactic rule (cf. Derolez 1998: 113; Williams 1992: 203). But apart from the fact that the runic evidence is only sporadic and late, the argument turns out to be circular because the **p**-rune is replaced by **b** early on in runic writing. On the *fupark* inscriptions, see again Odenstedt (1990: 79, 93 f.). Thus, despite the suggestion made by Derolez (1998: 112), among others, there are no cogent reasons to link the early loss of the rune **p** (as well as the later substitutions of **d** and **g**) to this phonotactic rule.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Krause (1971: § 20) and Antonsen (1975: § 4.6), also Antonsen (2002: 9 f.).



### 5.5. *The acrophonic principle*

Ever since Aslak Liestøl published two closely related papers in 1981, the acrophonic principle has been regarded as a determining factor for the shortening of the Nordic fuþark.<sup>19</sup> In fact, scholars had pointed at this principle already since Wimmer (1887: 218), but Liestøl's coherent approach was new. The basic arguments shall not be repeated here in detail (see, for instance, Barnes 1987; Schulte 2004). Historically, we are dealing with a common, cross-cultural principle to denote sounds by means of logographic or pictographic symbols (see Dürscheid 2004: 129, 279). This is widely applied in ancient writing, e.g. in Semitic and in the hieroglyphic script (cf. Coulmas 2003: 126, 194).

From the Nordic point of view, Barnes (1998: 458 f.) makes the following points in support of the 'acrophonic necessity':

1. The fate of the \**jāra*-rune which comes to denote the primary value /a/ due to the transition \**jāra* > *ār(a)* underpins the significance of this concept.
2. The fourth rune with the original name \**ansuz* designates nasal /ǣ/ and partly /o/ which is in tune with the development \**ansuz* > \**āss* > *óss*.
3. The original fifteenth rune, which primarily stands for /r/ (< /z/), later also denotes /y/ (coupled with its rune name *ýr*) as well as /æ/ and /e/ (due to the name forms \**ælgr*, *elgr* 'elk, cervus alces' which are the expected developments of \**algiz*).<sup>20</sup>
4. The younger seventh rune, *hagall* 'hail' from \**hagalaz*, comes to denote /a/ in certain areas of Sweden where loss of initial /h/ was common (cf. the Sälma stone, U 323).

The very fact that ideographic runes or *Begriffsrunen* are attested at least from the 6th or 7th century on (notably in the Stenotoften and Gummarp legends), underpins their relevance in the transmission process of the fuþark. In the manuscripts rune names are attested from the 8th century on. This is therefore no scholarly invention of the scribes of the later manuscript traditions, but rather part of a genuine tradition. (For different manuscript traditions and their rune names, see Nedoma 2003.) Another critical point mentioned by Makaev (1996: 55 f.) is that

<sup>19</sup> See Liestøl (1981a) and (1981b). Among his principal followers are Barnes (1987, 1998), Quak (1982) and Schulte (2004, 2006b). For a discussion, cf. also Birkmann (1995: 208–17).

<sup>20</sup> See particularly Larsson 2002.

the notion of initial ideographs has been invoked rather haphazardly when reading runic inscriptions.<sup>21</sup> Inscriptions that clearly convey this notion centre on the transitional group from Blekinge (see (9)).

(9) Use of ideographic runes in the Blekinge group

Gummarp, KJ 95: **hāþuwolafa sate staba þriq fff**  
(triple  $\mathfrak{V}$  = \**jehu* n. 'cattle, wealth')

Stentoften, KJ 96 [line III]: **hāþuwolafR gaf j**  
(old shape  $\mathfrak{S}$  = \**jāra* n. '[good] year')

When the initial sound of the rune-names \**wunjō*, \**ehwaz* and \**ōþila* was altered by *w*-loss, breaking and umlaut, the formerly well-established phoneme-grapheme correspondences were gone: \**wunjō* (G *Wonne*) > \**yn* (cf. ON *yndi* 'bliss'), \**ehwaz* > \**johwR* (ON *jór* 'stallion'), and \**ōþila*- (side-form of *ōþala*, ON *óðal* 'property, real estate') > \**ēþil*. Incidentally, relics of the form \**ōþila* (with suffixal \*-*ila*-) survived both in North and West Germanic. Shetland Norn, in particular the Northern dialect of Unst, had the umlauted form *ødal* [ødal, ødəl], pointing at a precursor with the \**ila*-suffix (see Jakobsen 1921: 944, s.v. *udal*, *udel*), and Old English too exhibits umlaut in *æþel*, *ēþel*. This is the strongest part of the acrophonic approach, as exemplified by several scholars (cf. Birkmann 1995: 217).

It has already been noticed that the runes **ī**, **ŋ** and particularly **þ** were used to a limited extent in the older fuþark with the functional load, among other factors, playing a prominent role (see Derolez 1998; Schulte 2004). In particular, the low frequency of initial *p*- in Germanic (e.g. Kuhn 1961) coupled with the disputed name of the **þ**-rune (e.g. Gmc. \**perþō*- f. 'fruit tree' or \**pezdō*- f. 'sinew?') point at its marginal position in the older fuþark (see Nedoma 2003: 559). The possibility of a Celtic loan-word is considered by Birkhan (1970: 175–77); cf. also Birkhan (2006) where he now denies this derivation of the **þ**-rune's name. As with **e**, **o** and **w**, the acrophonic principle may have sealed the fate of the runes **ī** and **ŋ** as well. These rune names were

<sup>21</sup> One basic problem with the alleged use of ideographs in readable inscriptions, e.g. Kragehul KJ 27, is their formal integration into compounds and case forms, e.g. **gā** for \**g(ebō)* \**a(nsumz)* 'gift to the gods', or (as Antonsen 1980: 5 f. would have it) **ūg** for \**ansu-gebō* 'god-gift'. Thus, Williams (2001: 156) takes a critical stance to such an interpretation: 'Just because the name of the **α**-rune was \**ansuz*, could it therefore be used for any case form of that word, in the case of the Kragehul inscription probably \**ansumz* [. . .]?' — But neither does this problem affect the instances mentioned under (9) below, nor does it invalidate the principal argument of acrophony.

affected by velar mutation: \*īwaz > ýr (ON ýr, gen. pl. ífa) 'yew-tree'; \*ingwaz > yngr (ON Yngvi).

To conclude, while it is true that the 'acrophonic approach' evidently accounts for the destabilization of **w**, **e**, **o** (as well as **ī**, **ŋ**, **p**) in the Nordic fuþark, its direct impetus on the loss of the runes **d**, **g** is much less obvious; cf. Birkmann (1995: 212–14) commenting on Quak (1982). It is the loss of the consonantal runes **d** and **g** which has defied a sound phonological explanation and which led many scholars to the notion of a conscious runic reform as the final stage of the graphemic reduction. Alternatively, the possibility of language contact with the Fennougric languages will be addressed shortly in section 6.2.

### 5.6. Systematic multifunctionality

Another crucial issue is the early multifunctionality of runes (cf. Schulte 2004; 2006a). This is a common notion with respect to the younger fuþark, but it remains to be investigated when complex grapheme-phoneme relationships were first established. In a historical perspective, there is an increasing imbalance in the functional load between 'new' multifunctional runes (e.g. \***A**) and the 'old' place holders like **p**, **ī**, **ŋ** within the older fuþark already, particularly in the transitional period of the 6th and 7th centuries.

A case in point is the starlike rune (**A**) in the Blekinge inscriptions, which represents maximally five different sounds, i.e. the primary value /a/ (due to the transition \*jāra > \*ār; see 5.5 above), the secondary values (umlaut products) /æ/ and /ɔ/ as well as a central unit 'schwa', and finally the on-glide of the breaking diphthong **ae** in Istaby **haeru-**, Björketorp **haerama-** (ON *ia*, *iþ* < tonic \*/e/). For the runic evidence concerning umlaut and breaking, see Schulte (2004: 50) and Nielsen (2000: 121, 261 f.). Despite the interpretational problems at hand, two important points must be made:

1. A reduced vowel unit 'schwa' reflecting original theme vowels \*/a, i, u/ (whether its status be phonemic or subphonemic at this stage) must be posited for the Blekinge group on internal grounds; see Boutkan (1995: 37) and Schulte (2003: 393 f.), both adducing different arguments. In support of schwa, see in particular Björketorp **gina-** 'mighty' < \*/gin:u-/; **falahak** 'I hid' < \*/falh-eka/. The Old Norse form suffered syncope on a regular phonological basis: ON *gin(n)-*, *fal-k*.
2. As for the phonemicization processes, this weakening of theme vow-

els \*/a, i, u/ (centralization) triggered phonemic umlauts and breaking since the inducing factors were no longer distinct from other units, and mergers occurred (see Schulte 1998: 237 ff.). Umlaut and breaking processes were thus phonemicized, before the inducing elements \*/a, i, u/ were entirely lost. Nielsen (2000: 262 and elsewhere) mentions structural arguments in support of early phonemicizations.

It follows that the umlaut products /æ/ and /ɔ/ (both denoted as **ǫ**) as well as the breaking product (denoted as **ǣ**), whatever its exact phonetic value, are phonemic at this stage (see Schulte 1998: 237; cf. also Nielsen 2000: 121). Besides, the syncopated form **barutr** 'breaks' in the Björketorp inscription lends further support to the phonemic status of umlaut. The phonological form is /bry:tr/ from \*/breutiθ/ with the umlaut-inducing factor lost (cf. the older form **bariutip** in the Stentofte inscription). This yields the following complex phoneme-grapheme relationships of the **ǫ**-rune in the Björketorp and Istaby inscriptions (see (10)).

(10) The multifunctional *jāra*-rune in two transitional inscriptions<sup>22</sup>

Indicated change:	Grapheme	Basic phoneme					
		r loss of j	r	ri-uml.	u-uml.	red.	break.
Björketorp (KJ 97)	* <b>ǫ</b> →	/a/	/æ/	/ɔ/	[ə]	[j]	* <b>ǫ</b>
Istaby (KJ 98)	𐌺 <b>ǫ</b> →	/a/	/æ/	/ɔ/	–	[j]	𐌺 <b>ǫ</b>
	𐌺 <b>ǫ</b> →	–	–	–	[ə]	–	

Given that vowel reduction, umlaut and other sound changes made persistent headway in the transitional period, it seems obvious that the 'ideal' 1:1-phoneme-grapheme relationships (corresponding to Derolez' 'perfect fit') were disrupted early on. This must have been a crucial factor for the rise of the younger fuþark. In Barnes' graphologically based model (Barnes 1998), inscriptions like Stentofte or Björketorp are central as they still show the older inventory of runes (though with the non-occurrence of **þ**, **ī**, **ŋ**) together with the starlike rune used for **ǫ** (i.e. Barnes' main criterion for 'transitional', see section 2.3 above). Yet, there are further indications that the grapheme-phoneme correspondences are disrupted. A case in point is the use of **e** in **arageu**

<sup>22</sup> See Schulte (2004: 50, with fig. 6).

which — due to the ‘acrophonic necessity’ — points at breaking in the rune name *\*ehwaz* being complete (see Schulte 2004: 49). As mentioned above, breaking is directly evidenced by **haerama-** ‘rest-’ (Gmc. *\*herma-*) in the Björketorp inscription. This is apt to explain why **e** is used to denote /j/ in **arageu**: phonological form /ærgju/.

To conclude, the general inertia of writing systems, which was noted already in connexion with the Ribe cranium (in section 2.4), makes it likely that language change (coupled with the distortion of the ‘perfect fit’ and the establishment of multifunctional runes) predates the systematic restructuring of the grapheme inventory by a considerable span of time. In consequence, multifunctionalism at least from the 6th century on paves the way for the rise of the younger sixteen-grapheme *fupark*.

### 5.7. *Phonetic awareness.*

Runic writing was not based on a strictly phonological consciousness, as has sometimes been claimed, but rather on a ‘phonetic awareness’. Miller outlines as a general statement:

writing systems are attempts at representing different ‘competing’ aspects of language (more specifically, language knowledge), some phonetic (noncontrastive), some phonemic (contrast and opposition), some lexical/morphological (root or affix unity), some morpho-phonemic (in the broad sense). Such competing goals are apt to yield discrepancies and irregularities in graphic conventions. (Miller 1994: xiv)

On closer inspection, the above-mentioned form **asu-gasdiz** ‘Ansu-gasti-’ on the Myklebostad stone (from the 5th or early 6th century) in contrast to **hlewa-gastiz** on the Gallehus horn (datable to the early 5th century) captures a phonetic, non-distinctive feature: the non-aspiration of /p, t, k/ after /s/ (cf. section 5.4). Miller (1994) compares to this English children’s spellings like SBUN *spoon*, SDOV *stove*, SGIE *sky*, etc. (see Miller 1994: 97 with references).

Another proof of ‘phonetic awareness’ is furnished by the abundant representations of epenthetic vowels in the transitional inscriptions which I have dealt with in more detail elsewhere (see Schulte 2005b: 173 f.). Reverting to the problem of the multifunctional *jāra*-rune in the Blekinge inscriptions, this is a striking result of the runographers’ phonetically based working methods. Intuitively, these rune carvers

realized the existence of a central vowel schwa, e.g. in **gina-**, which is a remarkable fact (see 5.6 above). This gives us an idea of how strict the runographers' principles were (each operating in his own synchronic system) to establish adequate phoneme-grapheme (or phone-graph) relationships. On the whole, there is not much space for arbitrariness and even the notion of idiosyncratic spellings. Though this label is sometimes used in conjunction with the Blekinge inscriptions (e.g. Braunmüller, forthcoming), it is rather vacuous and even misleading, unless diagnostic criteria of idiosyncrasy are specified.

### 5.8. *Interim conclusion*

Summarizing the results so far, serious reservations have to be made about number-magic and graphological approaches. Despite the explicit claim made by Moltke (1986), among others, the notion of graphic driving forces is called much in question by the general inertia of writing systems. Graphologically, the moment of inertia was demonstrated with regard to the Ribe cranium (see section 2.4). Magico-numerical approaches to the fuþark, on the other hand, correlate with structuring principles centred on the number 'eight', even though its central status in the younger fuþark inscriptions remains unproven. Like the graphological argument, this concept cannot provide a direct impetus for the loss of runes.

Linguistic arguments turn out to be central, albeit that several structural approaches lack explanatory force. The crucial argument is unquestionably linked up with acrophony and the development of multifunctional runes in the late phase of the older fuþark (6th–7th centuries). But while it is true that these factors sufficiently account for the exclusion of vowel-symbols (incl. semi-vowels), the loss of **g** and **d** still defies a sound solution. This is even so when the restructuring between spirants and plosives in the Nordic consonant system is taken as a point of departure (e.g. Trnka 1939; Quak 1982; Barnes 1987; also Stroh-Wollin 2002). In search of further triggers, the discussion will finally focus on language contact, especially with the Finnic language group (see section 6.2).

## 6. Language contact: the 'external influence hypothesis'

Two possible sources for an 'external influence hypothesis' must be surveyed here: 1. Latin with its alphabet, and 2. the Fennougric languages. But as will be seen, neither of these two scenarios can be said

to provide a marked impetus for the transition from the older to the younger futhork.

### 6.1. *Latin and its alphabet*

Language contact with Latin has been considered in several cases. The evidence suggests that Latin exerted an influence on the younger futhorks during the Viking Age, e.g. in connexion with the dotted runes (cf. Haugen 1976b; Barnes 1996 and Derolez 1998). An example of clear influence is provided by the inversion of **ml** → **lm** which is a feature of younger futhork inscriptions from the Middle Ages, e.g., the medieval futhork from the church of Mønsted, North Jutland, which could be characterized as a bastard futhork due to its corruptness (see (11)). Further examples are mentioned by Seim (1999) and Düwel (2001: 93 f. with references).

(11) Mønsted, windowsill (North Jutland; Middle Ages)  
**futhorkhniastblmy**



Fig. 7: *Mønsted window stone.* (From Moltke 1985: 399 [no. 5])

In his alphabet-historical framework, Moltke (1986) claimed that the rise of the younger futhork was partly triggered by the Latin alphabet. In this scenario, an overall factor is the proximity of Denmark to the Carolingian Empire at around 800 AD, when according to him the younger futhork came into existence (see Moltke 1985: 182 f.; 1986: 33). But as signalled by the Ribe cranium, the decisive changes must have occurred at least one hundred years earlier (see section 2). Equally important, the loss of **w** and **j**, which is one of Moltke's cornerstones, can be directly accounted for by internal factors, viz. changes of the rune names *\*wunjō* and *\*jāra* (see section 5.5).

Already Trnka (1939) argued that the support of Latin scribal traditions was a crucial factor for the extension of the Anglo-Frisian *futhorc* in relation to the Nordic counter-movement. For Looijenga (2003: 273), too, "[r]unic writing in England became closely connected with the Latin scriptoria, demonstrated by ecclesiastical runic monuments and an abundant use of runes in manuscripts." On the whole, the situa-

tion in Scandinavia around 500–700 AD must have been fundamentally different. Following Düwel (1994: 232 ff.), a direct impact of the Latin script on runic epigraphy is hard to ascertain even on the continent. Thus, it seems unproven that Latin exerted a strong influence on runic writing in the transitional period which would have triggered the arrival of the younger fuþark. Moreover, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, Braunmüller's scenario of Latin-Nordic contact in this period does not stand close scrutiny.<sup>23</sup>

## 6.2. Fennougric languages

In view of the above, it remains to be seen, whether Nordic contact with Fennougric speaking people provides the missing link. As noted above, the loss of the runes **g** and **d**, which appears to be subsequent to the disappearance of **p** in the older fuþark, is hard to be accounted for in terms of a language-internal approach. There are however several immediate objections against this approach.

- First of all, Finnish-speaking traders probably did not use runes extensively, if at all. The earliest birch bark documents from Novgorod, datable between the end of the 12th and the middle of the 13th century, are written exclusively in Cyrillic script (see Laakso 1999; 2005).<sup>24</sup>
- Second, the Fennougric approach would necessitate an Eastern innovation centre. Yet, inscriptions such as the Ribe cranium (ca 725 AD) and the short-twig runes from Hedeby around one hundred years later indicate that Denmark played a prominent role in the transmission process and the rise of the younger fuþark (cf. Barnes 2001).
- Third, in a chronological perspective the alleged Eastern contacts, if directly relevant to the losses of runes, must be no later than, say,

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Schulte (2005b) in response to Braunmüller (2004). Unfortunately, it has to be noted that one of Braunmüller's basic arguments in favour of Latin-Nordic contact, viz. *eka*-cliticization, conflicts with Nordic grammar: passivization by means of *eka*-clitics in early and later Runic is an ad hoc assumption (see Schulte 2005b: 169 f.). It may further be noticed that Braunmüller (forthcoming) neglects any kind of oral traces in runic epigraphy. Needless to say, my present approach is incompatible with the general view expressed by Braunmüller. As mentioned already, I consider some of his arguments regarding runic spellings as vacuous or, what is worse, even as faulty. Cf. in particular sections 5.4–5.8 above and the conclusion.

<sup>24</sup> I owe the information to Prof. emeritus Jorma Koivulehto who provided me with the relevant literature in an e-mail dated 2005-05-18.



700 AD. This focus on the pre-Ribe period (6th and 7th centuries) implies that considerations concerning Birka-Swedish or Hedeby-Nordic have no bearing on the issue (for discussion, see Stoklund 2001 and Lerche Nielsen 2001, with further references).

This preliminary assessment points at severe difficulties when trying to put this external approach on a solid footing. Finally, there is an interesting detail to support East Scandinavian traces in the extended fuþarks after 1000 AD. The rune names (concerning **r**, **k**, **n**, **m**, and **l**) in the medieval manuscript traditions show particular features that point to an East Nordic provenance (for the acrophonic principle of rune names, cf. section 5.5). Page and Hagland remark on East Scandinavian traces in a manuscript from the early 1100s:

The forms *reð*, *con*, *noð* can be looked upon as East Scandinavian monophongized forms contrasting with West Norse *reid*, *kaun*, and *nauð*. The form *mander* rather than *maðr* is a manifest expression of East Scandinavian — perhaps Old Swedish or Danish rather than unambiguously Danish as assumed by Wrenn (1932: 33) (cf. Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–74: §§ 241 Anm. 1, 350 and 467,2). The form *loer* for West Norse *lǫgr* might be explained as a loss of fricative /x/ as in East Scandinavian (Brøndum-Nielsen 1928–74: §§ 309, 392). (Page and Hagland 1998: 67).

To sum up, language contact with Fennougric languages in the 6th and 7th centuries, though appealing at first sight, probably does not provide the key to the loss of the runes **g**, **d** in the younger fuþark. Rather, these restructurings must be assessed language-internally in a framework of early multifunctionalism, as outlined in section 5.6.

## Conclusion

Surveying various approaches to the younger fuþark, it seems clear that phonological arguments centred on the rune name theory play the most important part (see section 5.5). On the whole, there are clear indications that runographers linked their spellings up with an underlying canon of rune names. This is what we sporadically still do today to ensure a correct spelling, e.g. stating ‘*a* as in *April*’, or ‘*a* wie *Anton*’, etc. In sum, the runographers did not undertake a strict phonemic analysis in the modern linguistic sense, otherwise they would have

aimed at close 1:1 correspondences between phonemes and graphemes and they would certainly have marked phonemic umlauts, which they did not do. This would, from necessity, have led them to the creation of an extended fuþark similar to the Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc*.

Obviously, other forces and principles prevailed. Neither did the Scandinavian runographers of the 6th, 7th and later centuries have the same theoretical skills as the First Grammarian, who was versed in classical grammar, nor did they have the same intentions as he had for early 11th century Icelandic (cf. Barnes 1987: 35). But it has often been noticed that runic orthography, both regarding the older and younger runes, is remarkably correct and reliable in many regards (cf., e.g., Williams 1994 and 2007, forthcoming). Thus, the luxury of two *a*-runes which at first arose out of purely 'acrophonic necessity' was obviously supported by the functional load of the distinction /a/ : /ǣ/ in the Nordic languages and by the later quality change /ǣ/ > /o/ over wide areas of Scandinavia (cf. also Icel. *óss* < ON *ǫss* < \**ansuz*). In the First Grammarian's phonology, the opposition between nasal and non-nasal (long) vowels (incl. *á*) is still reflected in the minimal pair *hár* 'hair' : *hǫr* 'shark'. (Originally, this contrast pertained both to the stressed and to the unstressed subsystem of vowels.)

To conclude, an interplay of several factors and guiding principles paved the way for the restructuring of the younger fuþark in relation to its forerunner, the older rune alphabet. In a long-term perspective, they were overriding the orthographic conservatism (cf. in particular the Eggja inscription from around 700 AD with its seemingly intact older fuþark). Most of these factors consisted in constant principles which were obeyed over the centuries:

1. the primary guiding principle of achieving an adequate and hence readable representation,
2. consistency of writing principles to establish regular phoneme-grapheme relationships,
3. the general reliance on the rune names within each given synchronic system,
4. the early use of multifunctional runes, initiated by etymological umlaut notations and vowel weakenings (see in particular Schulte 1998),
5. a general phonetic awareness,
6. the functional load as a supportive or eliminative force for the fate of runes,

7. the need for a memorizable, and thus ordered, fuþark which was in tune with the prevailing structuring principles, in particular numerical ones (e.g. Liestøl 1960).

In my view, this reliance on consistent principles largely determined the fate of the Scandinavian fuþark. Finally, the minimalist sixteen-grapheme solution, as depicted on the 9th century Gørlev stone or Malt stone (fig. 4–5), was not the result of a conscious reform, but rather the product of an established consensus over wide areas of Scandinavia of what had evolved stepwise in a long-term transformation process at least from the 6th century onward. Yet, the loss of the problematic runes **g** and **d** in the Scandinavian runic traditions is in need of further investigation (to be continued).

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ELDAR HEIDE

## *Rus* 'eastern Viking' and the *viking* 'rower shifting' etymology

In Heide 2005 I argued that Old Norse *viking* f. and *vikingr* m. belong to the same root as *vika* f. 'nautical distance unit', originally 'the distance between two shifts of rowers' (from the root \**wīk-* 'receding'). The feminine *viking*, which may be compared to Modern English *-ing* derivations like *running* or *cycling*, would then literally mean 'shifting', and originally refer to the shifting of rowers on sea-voyages. From this word denoting an activity, the masculine *vikingr* referring to a person performing this activity could be derived. I also argued that Old Frisian forms like *witzing* indicate that a word "Viking" existed in the Frisian-English proto-language before the migration to England in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, because the palatalization of *k* before front vowels is that old. (The modern English form is a late borrowing.) In that case, the word Viking originated in a pre-sail culture, which fits the 'rower shifting' etymology. A long-distance sea-journey undertaken by rowing would be dominated by the shifting of rowers. Therefore possibly it could be referred to as "shifting", like "fishing" in Scandinavia is referred to as "rowing", because in pre-engine times, a fishing trip would be dominated by rowing.

Here I would like to add a point to this reasoning. The terms *Russia*

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**Abstract:** This paper supplements the etymology for Viking suggested by Heide in ANF 2005: Old Norse *viking* f. and *vikingr* m. belong to the same root as *vika* f. 'nautical distance unit', originally 'the distance between two shifts of rowers', and *viking* f. originally refers to the shifting of rowers on sea-voyages. The supplement is that this etymology parallels the etymology of *rus*, the term for the Vikings in Eastern Europe. *Rus* is derived from the Old Swedish genitive *rōps*, in the borrowing process separated from compounds and made into a word of its own. The nominative of *rōps* is *rōper*, which essentially means 'rowing'.

**Keywords:** Old Norse, Old Swedish, etymology, *viking*, *rus*.

and *Russian* originally did not refer to Russia's Slavic people, but to the Scandinavian ruling class of the oldest Russian state (cf. Melberg 1951: 195 ff.), in the oldest Russian sources called *rus*. Thomsen's (1877: 92 ff.) etymology of this word is generally accepted by serious scholars: *Rus* is a borrowing from Old Swedish through Finnic, cf. Modern Finnish *Ruotsi* 'Sweden'. The origin is the Swedish genitive *rōþs*<sup>1</sup>, in the borrowing process separated from compounds and made into a word of its own. The dental (*þ*) is reflected in the Finnic forms, and according to Melberg (1951: 196, referring to Jacobsohn 1918: 309–12), the "early Russian form seems to have been *ruts*- and not *rus*-, to judge from the testimony of Finno-Ugrian tongues that must have adopted the word directly or indirectly from Russian — the Zyrian *rōts* and Votjak *džuts*".

The nominative of the Swedish *rōþs* is *rōþer* m., which has a basic sense 'rowing' (derived from the verb *rōa* 'to row'), and the derived senses 'warlike sea journey', 'fleet of conscripted warships' (= OSw *lēþunger*, ON *leidangr*), and 'the coast areas that fit out the conscripted warships' (cf. present day *Roslagen* in Uppland. After Söderwall 1884 II: 263). People associated with *rōþer* / *Rōþer* could be called *rōþskarlar*, *rōþsmæn*, *rōþsbyggjare* etc. (Thomsen 1877: 96, Granlund 1969), literally 'men of rowing' ('... of the sea journey districts'). The semantic development of *rōþer* is parallel to what I suggested for *viking*:

1. The original meaning is 'rowing',
2. from this meaning a secondary meaning 'warlike sea journey' is derived, and
3. a word for 'sea-farer' is formed.<sup>2</sup>

The differences are that in the first stage, *viking* would not literally mean 'rowing', but 'shifting at rowing', and that in stage 3, the word for sea-farer is formed in a different way. From the feminine *viking* is formed a masculine *vikingr* instead of \**viking(ar)karl* or the like. (But the masculine with the sense 'pirate' is derived from the feminine with the sense 'warlike sea-journey', cf. Heide 2005: 45–46.) A fourth step is also parallel: Both *rus* and *vikingr* came to be the neighbouring

<sup>1</sup> I mark the vowel length, like in standardized Old Norse, although it was not done in Old Swedish.

<sup>2</sup> Norwegian has a development parallel to this: *Ror* m. (< *rōðr*), originally 'rowing', has a secondary meaning 'fishing, fishery' — which is a peaceful sea journey, in contrast to the Old Swedish version — and from this sense, a term for people performing fishing is formed: *Rorsfolk* n. pl., *rorskar*, *rorsmann* m. sg. (Aasen 1873: 612).

peoples' term for the Scandinavians that came to them across oceans in ships. The term *vikingr* / *wīcing* / *witzing* seems to be a North Sea word; Old Swedish has no example of it referring to Vikings going east from Sweden (cf. Hellberg 1980: 54 ff., 80). The explanation for this is probably that the Vikings of the east were called *rōpskarlar*, *rōpsmæn* / *\*ruots-* / *\*ruts*.

Conclusion: If we accept the 'rower shifting' etymology for *viking(r)*, the development is parallel in eastern and western Europe. Then Viking as well as *rus* originally means 'man of rowing' or 'man of rowing journeys'. In the west, it is on phonological grounds possible to date the feminine *viking* (*\*wīking[ō]*) to the 5<sup>th</sup> century or earlier, and in that way connect it with pre-sail sea-faring technology. In the case of the eastern *rōþr*, we can go straight to this dating, because the essential meaning 'rowing' indicates that it was in pre-sail times that *rōþr* became a word for 'sea-journey'. (Later rowing on the Russian rivers could hardly generate such a semantic development in the Swedish homeland.) The phonology of the root *\*ruots-* in the different Finnic languages suggests an equally early dating of the borrowing from Swedish (Melnikova and Petrukhin, 1990–91: 207).

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TATJANA N. JACKSON

## Navigare necesse est, vivere non necesse

‘To sail the seas is a necessity, to live is not’

The popular ancient saying “*Navigare necesse est, vivere non necesse*” expresses, to my mind, the very spirit of the dissertation work presented by Kristel Zilmer. These words were pronounced in the year 56 B.C. by the proconsul of ancient Rome Gnaeus Pompeius in the following situation described by Plutarchus: being busy to supply the Romans with bread, the proconsul was ready to start with his ship full of grain towards Rome, but the weather suddenly changed, and there was a great storm. His sailors were in doubt whether they should sail off, or not, for the fear of losing their lives in the stormy sea. This was the moment when Gnaeus Pompeius pronounced the words that were to become famous for the centuries to come. In the Middle Ages these words served as a motto of the Hanseatic League, and even today we can read them on the pediment of the Seaman House in Bremen; in the twentieth century Stefan Zweig (1881–1942) opened the first chapter of his book on Magellan with these words, designating them as an old sailor’s saying that constantly gains power over human souls.

Travel in various forms and to increasingly remote and challenging destinations is taken for granted in contemporary society. But in the Middle Ages it was an indispensable (*sine qua non*) condition of life. Travel was a substantial part of mediaeval life. It is undoubtedly true

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Jackson, T. N., dr., leading research fellow, Institute for Universal History, Russian Academy of Sciences; professor II, University of Tromsø. “*Navigare necesse est, vivere non necesse* ‘To sail the seas is a necessity, to live is not’”, *ANF 121* (2006), pp. 79–100. **Abstract:** This article is a review of the thesis presented by an Estonian scholar Kristel Zilmer for defense for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (in Scandinavian Studies) at the University of Tartu. The thesis is entitled “‘He drowned in Holmr’s sea — his cargo-ship drifted to the sea-bottom, only three came out alive’: Records and representations of Baltic traffic in the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages in early Nordic sources”. The thesis had been written under the supervision of prof. Terje Spurkland and prof. Stig Örjan Ohlsson. The thesis was successfully defended at the University of Tartu on June 27, 2005. The author of this article was one of the reviewers of this work. The text appeared in 2005 in the series *Nordistica Tartuensia* 12.

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that a great many people may have been born, lived and died in the same place. However, there were groups of people who did travel, and given the conditions of the time, they traveled most adventurously and sometimes very far. Traders, warriors, fortune hunters, missionaries, ambassadors and many others moved from one place to another trading, harrying, carrying out their missions of different kinds. These people served as vital links, connecting distant corners of the world and spreading both fables and news.

### Subject-matter

Kristel Zilmer's work is an engaging and well-researched account of records and representations of Baltic traffic in the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages in early Nordic sources. The purpose of this study is not only the evaluation of particular facts and events related to raiding, trading, traveling, but "the discussion of the complex modes of expression that runic inscriptions, skaldic poetry and saga literature apply, as well as the general manner in which these significant monuments of the Nordic verbal culture understand and interpret the motive of traveling" (p. 329). These are not the facts that she is interested in, but their fixation in the texts: "what we explore is thus not so much the history of events and actions as such, but their records and representations through texts" (p. 36).

It was her lucky choice of the subject-matter, of a certain chronological period, a particular geographical region and a set of sources that enabled her to create this impressive work.

Baltic traffic was in fact the core of life within one of the European subcontinents, namely within the vast territories of Northern and Northeastern Europe around the Baltic Sea. The peoples who lived there belonged to different families of languages — they were of Germanic, Slavic, Baltic and Finno-Ugric origin, but there had always been manifold economic, social, political and cultural connections among them, and the Baltic Sea played the role of communication means. In the 8th and the 9th centuries people living in this subcontinent witnessed the period of formation of a network of international routes that connected typologically similar trade centers. The exchange of goods, the so-called "Baltic trade", increased on the basis of common currency — first this currency being glass beads, then Arabic silver, and later German and English silver coinage. Proto-urban centers of the Baltic Sea region (such as Kaupang, Birka, Hedeby, Ladoga and others)

developed the “Baltic urban culture” which was at most uniform. This “community” of towns, peoples and countries of the Baltic region in the 8th through the 11th centuries is referred to in Russian research literature as “Baltic subcontinental civilization” (Lebedev 1985).

Kristel Zilmer uses a different notion to designate the same region, and this is the geographical concept of “the Baltic Sea drainage basin”. The application of this concept proves really useful, and enables her to broaden the scope of her material. Thus, studying runic inscriptions, she considers runic references to inter-regional Scandinavian connections as evidence of Baltic traffic. According to this broader perspective, references to *Gardar* (Old Rus) are also understood in the similar manner. Kristel Zilmer explains that “the importance of *Gardar* also comes from its central position in the crossing of major trade routes that led from the Baltic down to southern and southeastern Europe. Extensive historical and archaeological research has proven that the Old Rus was a common arena for Scandinavian travelers — they even came to settle in these territories” (p. 147).

To support this idea I can suggest the following example. Snorri Sturluson narrates in his “*Heimskringla*” that “King Jarizleif and Queen Ingigerth had invited King Ólaf to take up residence with them and establish himself in the realm which is called *Vúlgáriá* which is a part of Garthariki where people were heathen” (ÓsH, k. 187 — Hollander 1964). If one reads this text literally and tries to obtain some bits of direct information, he is likely to be a failure. But the indirect information behind this passage is a background knowledge of the route that led to Bulgaria on the Volga via Old Rus (Jackson 1999). This example proves that *Gardar* was the nearest destination beyond the Baltic Sea, and to go further Scandinavian travelers had to traverse this country. In fact, there were two great water routes that traversed the East-European Plain — the Baltic-Volga route and the named by the Russian Primary Chronicle route “from the Varangians to the Greeks”.

## Methodology

I am really impressed by the fact that Kristel Zilmer’s thesis contains “a warning against building up naïve historical connections”, that she emphasizes that already “in the selection of sources there lie clear limitations to the overall nature of evidence” (p. 27). Unfortunately, we often come across the opposite treatment of source material.

I completely approve of her general methodology — the adapted



hermeneutical approach, which presupposes 1) the examination of each text from various angles and viewpoints, 2) focus on identifying different levels of contextuality, and 3) application of perspectives and knowledge from different disciplines. She is well aware of the limitations and the validity of the analysis, and she knows (which is a positive moment) that “there are no means of reaching absolute objectivity, and there will always be an element of subjectivity and personality present in the study” (p. 31).

I must confess, I am charmed by this *personality*. Kristel Zilmer has a rare gift of a cautious, critical and, as she herself calls it, “conservative approach” to her sources. I cannot help quoting at least some of the examples of her theoretical statements that, as further reading proves, are in full accord with her practical source criticism:

- This may seem as too conservative an approach, but it is necessary to underline that no analytical argumentation should be built upon dating one’s material on uncertain (and maybe even false) grounds (p. 51);
- a certain general conservatism in the applied approach is a sound device (p. 66);
- it is wise to follow the so-called “cautious interpretation strategy”, leaving the disputed words uninterpreted, but taking into consideration various alternatives that have been suggested (p. 66).

I am happy to find in Kristel Zilmer’s work a harsh rebuff to falsifiers of historical sources. Studying the Forsheda stone (Sm 52) she points to existing views and stresses that “although it remains a possibility that the three men from Finnveden participated in a battle at Garðstangir around the same time, the evidence for connecting them with that particular event is non-existent. What we see here is instead the desire of scholars to connect authentic pieces of evidence recorded by runic inscriptions to historically known occasions, without having direct evidence that would speak in favour of that particular understanding” (p. 99). This criticism is absolutely correct from the point of view of methodology. For instance, when one asserts that “Yngvarr stones” prove that *Yngvars saga víðfjara* is based on a real historical fact (Glazyrina 2002: 190), I have a strong feeling that the stones are overrated: we could assert something on the basis of runic inscriptions only in case the runic inscriptions in question contained this information, in our case if they mentioned the existence of *Yngvars saga*.

## Runic evidence

Runic inscriptions constitute the core of the analysis. The number of Baltic traffic inscriptions studied here is 64. But alongside with them supplementary runic evidence is studied here that refers to: 1) travels to the east without specifying the destination(s), and 2) personal names constructed on the basis of names of ethnic origin. The “primary group” of inscriptions is also examined in a wider context of inscriptions mentioning travels to other destinations that lie outside the Baltic region — leading further to the east and to the west.

Kristel Zilmer points out that not all the preserved rune stones that belong to the “primary group” have been studied *de visu* (‘experienced on a first hand basis’), and claims that “this is a shortcoming that can naturally be criticised” (p. 64). No one would ever dare criticize a scholar for not being able, for time-wise or financial reasons, to travel along the routes of mediaeval sailors and to visit every memorial stone. On the contrary, this scholar who does not conceal her disability to study everything on a first-hand basis, deserves our respect.

Again I have to stress that Kristel Zilmer’s methods of runological research are marked by real thoroughness, criticism and caution. I am going to illustrate this with a couple of examples.

Thus, on p. 66 she claims that “in case there is no widely accepted reason according to modern runological standards for considering suggested alternatives as correct, the names have been left uninterpreted and corresponding inscriptions have not been included in the primary analysis group”.

A good example is her analysis of the Stenkumla stone (G 207) on pp. 94–96. In her opinion, **ulfshala** mentioned in the inscription is on the trade route from Gotland to Jutland. She quotes here an alternative interpretation of Melnikova (1998: 650), who proposed that the place name had to be identified with one of the Dnieper rapids, her only ground for that reading being the adverb **sunarla** (‘south’). Here Kristel Zilmer critically explains that “the adverb **sunarla** does not connect with the place of death” and so asserts that the commemorated man met his death at Ulfshala, but, when still alive, he was engaged in fur trade somewhere “in the south”: “perhaps the arena of such southern activities was somewhere around Hedeby and Schleswig — Denmark is in early Nordic sources often referred to as located in the south”.

When analyzing on pp. 118–21 the Hällestad stone 1 (DR 295), she explains that this inscription and DR 279 “have often been analyzed as

potential evidence of a battle on the river Fyrisån” which is supposed to have taken place around 980. And again her critical attitude helps her to find the right solution. She writes: “It is our conclusion that when assessed critically, the question of possible connections between the above mentioned runic inscriptions and skaldic/saga evidence must remain open, as well as the question as for which exact battle the men from Skåne participated in”. And still more: “Attempts to establish connections between bits of history that are known can prove useful, but it has to be remembered that history consists also of the unknown. The mere fact that the name of one locality/region is repeated on a couple of occasions does not automatically connect the circumstances around their description. Furthermore, when we find parallel formulations in the sources it may simply reflect how similar vocabulary was applied in certain types of depictions”.

I would like to illustrate the opposite methods of “research work” and give just two examples from a recent publication of *Yngvars saga víðförla* carried out by Glazyrina (2002). Having compared the saga information that the daughter of the Swedish king Eiríkr was married to a provincial king from *Garðaríki* who was later killed by the Swedish chieftain called Aki and the statement of the Russian historian Vasilij Tatishchev that, according to Ioakim chronicle, Russian prince Vladimir happened to have a wife in Scandinavia whose name is unknown to us, Glazyrina suggests the following research method: “Let us suppose, with great cautiousness, that Tatishchev’s information in connection with Vladimir’s stay in Scandinavia reflects a real fact. Then we can try to ascertain a connection between the saga mention of a marriage of a provincial Russian king to the daughter of the king of Svealand and this fact” (Glazyrina 2002: 76, my translation). And she manages to “ascertain” this “connection” and marry prince Vladimir to the daughter of Eiríkr sigrsæli by means of a flat explanation that the murder of the Russian son-in-law of Eiríkr, which never ever occurred in reality, is a “literary device” (Ibid.).

No less sensational is her “discovery” in the field of Scandinavian history. According to *Yngvars saga víðförla*, the devil informs a man called Soti that Yngvarr will suffer the same fate as “Haralldr Sviakongr”. Wondering who that Haraldr is, Glazyrina formulates in so many words her methodological foundations: “brevity of saga mention does not offer an opportunity to undertake a thorough investigation, so we can only *try and guess* [my italics. — T.J.] on the basis of available sources, which

of the Haraldrs living before mid-eleventh century — the supposed time of Yngvarr's death — could be called *Haralldr Sviakongr*". This guesswork gives its fruit: bringing in an equally unreliable historical source, *Hervarar saga ok Heidreks*, she claims that "Haraldr Bluetooth was thought to have been the first king of *sviar*" (Glazyrina 2002: 352–53, my translation), correspondingly it was he who drowned in "Raudahafs suelg". As far as it is known from relevant sources, he did not!

I would like to point to one more important observation made in the dissertation work. Kristel Zilmer stresses that "certain localities that nowadays may seem to be of minor importance nevertheless figure among the recorded destinations in runic inscriptions", as they "could be considered important enough in the context of the 11th century" (p 137). The example is that of *Bógi* mentioned on the rune stone from Vidbo church (U 375), "since it was situated along a common sailing route" (Ibid.).

What also impresses is her constant attention to layout patterns (the placement of different content elements on the stone) and design. I completely agree with Kristel Zilmer that "once the text was brought onto the stone, the layout would nevertheless start influencing the event of experiencing a runic inscription in a very direct and expressive manner. Here lies the reason for why the potential visual meaning of inscriptions should not be ignored — it can in fact modify our understanding about the focal points of the inscription" (p. 203). She is quite right to notice that her study "distinguishes itself from most previous research in which the visual dimension of recorded messages is not brought into focus" (p. 327). It is really valuable that "the analysis of Baltic traffic inscriptions was consciously combined with studying the communications around the preserved monuments, in an attempt to reconstruct at least part of the routes that the people may have followed" (p. 328). It is true that "the inscriptions gain broader cultural-historical significance when regarding the textual evidence in combination with what we know of the communicative setting and the sites of runic monuments" (p. 216). We see, due to it, that the traffic in question used to be the traffic employing major water routes, along with lakes, rivers and inter-regional land roads. Still, the communication was in the Viking age and Early Middle Ages mostly dependent on waterborne traffic.

The observed in the dissertation work pattern of traffic routes in the Baltic Sea region is in accordance with the scheme of early settlements

that were concentrated around central waterways and land roads. The same picture can be observed on the Russian material of the Old Norse sources. Studying the main rivers of the East-European Plain in these sources I come to the conclusion that the main settlements in this territory were situated along the main water routes (Jackson 2003).

There is no doubt about Kristel Zilmer's general conclusion that, "viewed as a whole, the Baltic traffic inscriptions, for one, demonstrate mobility both on a regional level (within and between different Scandinavian districts) and an inter-regional level (i.e. on the level of different countries). Secondly, they present information about names/identification labels that belonged with the geographical repertoire of Scandinavian communities, and as such they express shared knowledge" (p. 218).

The analysis of contemporary runic evidence widens the background understanding of the primary inscriptions. Among the former there are 230 inscriptions with personal names that contain elements referring semantically to the peoples of the Baltic region. Kristel Zilmer explains that it is not so easy "to make claims about the actual motivation behind the application of personal names". Mentioning as an example Melnikova and Petrukhin's article (1991) where they prefer to treat personal names beginning with *Eist-* as traces of matrimonial contacts, she has all the reason to stress, following Enn Tarvel, that "it is possible that they were ordinary personal names without any connotations to special ethnic connections" (p. 222).

Speaking about the eastern direction (pp. 223 ff.), Kristel Zilmer claims that "with inscriptions that leave the precise destination open, we have at least a theoretical possibility that the recorded events unfolded somewhere in the Baltic area" (p. 224). One can also assume that they are connected with Baltic traffic. She exemplifies this statement with the help of inscriptions commemorating people who were killed "in the east with *Yngvarr*". I have a strong feeling that those inscriptions had to have been included into the primary group, as those who went from Scandinavia to the east in the direction of *Serkland* could not have escaped traveling in the Baltic. As far as other destinations, such as Byzantium and Jerusalem, are concerned (pp. 226 ff.), again I can see no reason for not having included the inscriptions bearing these names into the primary group. If one moves *austr* in order to go there, he is very likely to travel in the Baltic as well.

In this connection I would like to discuss the adverb *út*. On p. 226

we read about a woman who, according to U 605, “planned to travel to the east, to Jerusalem: *hn · uil · austr · fara · auk · ut · til · iursala*”. In my understanding, this is a wrong translation. I would rather say: “planned to travel to the east *and further* to Jerusalem”. As I have written somewhere else, the way to Jerusalem and Constantinople had no designation in terms of cardinal points: a traveler from Old Rus, be that Ladoga or Kiev, moved no longer *austr* “to the east”, but merely *út* “out, towards the outer side”. In old Scandinavian consciousness that was really keen on the problems of orientation in space three destinations, lying far away from Norway and significant each in its own way, namely Jerusalem and Constantinople (in the east) and Rome (in the south), lacked orientational specification, and in this sense were “marked” on the “mental map”, very much like Iceland (in the west) was (Jackson 2003a).

On p. 228 we read that “G 280 refers to the *southern route* along the Dnieper river — the inscription commemorates a man who must have died south of Rofstein (*sudr fyrir Rofsteini*) while traveling in Eifor” [my italics]. I would not recommend asserting here that this is a *southern route*. A route towards the Dnieper and along the Dnieper could be nothing else but the *eastern route* on the “mental map” of medieval Scandinavians. What is said in G 280 is that the place of his death was to the south of a certain geographical object, namely to the south of Rofstein.

And now, probably, is the right time and place to describe this “mental map”. This is going to be a rather long excursus, based on my own research work (Jackson 1994, 1998 and 2001), but I must say that reading carefully through Kristel Zilmer’s thesis I found a good number of source material not yet studied by me, but proving my previous conclusions.

Terms of cardinal direction were not monosemantic in Iceland: their meaning depended on the context in which they were used. Directions expressed by them could either correspond or not correspond to the compass. This means that the terms of direction could be used by the Icelanders with both “correct” (better to say, “approximately correct”) and “incorrect” meanings. Einar Haugen (1957) distinguished two types of orientation in space, which he called “proximate” and “ultimate”.

“Proximate” orientation is the one that is based on visual experience, both in the vicinity (cf. phrases like *fyrir norðan kirkjuna*, ‘north of the church’) and in the open sea, where celestial observation is the

only possible way of defining one's location and of finding one's way. Cardinal terms are used in this case "correctly".

"Ultimate" orientation in space developed in land travel and in coastal navigation between the four Quarters (*fjórðungar*) that Iceland was divided into in 965 and which were named after the four cardinal directions. Going "west" (from any geographical point within Iceland) meant movement towards the Western Quarter, going "north" towards the northern part of Iceland, and so on. Accordingly, cardinal terms are used here "incorrectly".

While studying the "mental map" of the early Scandinavians, as it was reflected by skaldic poetry, runic inscriptions, sagas and geographical treatises, I came to a conclusion that in describing concrete geographical objects, distant voyages, sea routes, in practical orientation in space, Scandinavians put to use the idea, traditional among them, as well as among the other Germanic and even Indo-European peoples, of the world divided into four segments in accordance with the four cardinal points.

The set of lands in each segment of this "mental map" is invariable. The western quarter includes all the Atlantic lands such as England, Iceland, Orkney and Shetland Islands, France, Spain, and even Africa. The eastern lands are the Baltic lands and the territories far beyond the Baltic Sea such as Russia. The southern lands are Denmark and Saxony, Flanders and Rome. The northern quarter is formed by Norway itself, but also by *Finnmörk* and, sometimes, by *Bjarmaland*, which is described as a territory lying on the borderline of the easterly and northerly segments, since it was thought to belong to the easterly quarter, but to get there one had to travel northwards<sup>1</sup>. Me and my colleague suggested that the centre of this "wind-rose", as it may be called, was situated somewhere in the south of Scandinavia, or in Northern Jutland, or in the northern part of the Danish islands, in the focal point of trade communications of Northern Europe already at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. (cf. Jackson, Podossinov 1997; Jackson 1998).

In the light of all this, when I read in the dissertation work that *Svíþjóð* "is a common destination when heading to the east from Norway" (p. 288, *passim.*), I have a feeling that our connotations still differ. We both share a view that *Svíþjóð* is in the east, but for Kristel

<sup>1</sup> Of course, there are no rules without exceptions. In case of spatial orientation, it is the notion of Icelanders that Norway is situated *austr* "in the east". This is what Kristel Zilmer calls "the approach of the Icelandic skalds" (p. 268).

Zilmer it is in the east because it is in fact to the east of Norway, but for me it is in the east because it belongs to the eastern quarter of the world.

Here follow some more points of my disagreement with Kristel Zilmer.

1. A serious drawback is the inconveniency in correspondence between the main section (3.1) and two parts (A and B) of the Appendix III, as the inscriptions themselves, as well as the translations, can be found only in part B, but the order in which the inscriptions are organized in the Appendix differs from the one in the main body of the thesis. One needs the texts of the inscriptions while reading the commentary, so one has to turn to the Appendix all the time. When, for instance, I am reading about the Stenkumla stone in section 3.1.4 on pp. 94–96, I go, in search of the text, to pp. 369–380, but the stone in question is not that easy to find. The description of the stone bears a title “Stenkumla stone, G 207”, but the inscription in question can be spotted in part A of the Appendix under the code “G 207F” (p. 371), and in part B under the number 47 and the title “G 207, Stenkumla” (p. 378). I wish there was a concordance of these three parts of the dissertation.

2. Not every stone, not every inscription has a dating. I do realize that “the nature of the material and the available methods do not allow for establishing precise decades for most of the inscriptions” (p. 209), still I think that in every particular case the problems should be highlighted.

3. Formal description of every inscription should be, in my opinion, more formalized. If we have an abbreviation that of MMF for the “main memorial formula”, why not introduce such notions as PF “prayer formula”, CSF “conventional sponsor formula”, and some others?

4. Turinge rune stone (Sö 338) commemorating a man who “fell in battle in the east in *Garðar*, commander of the retinue”. A commentary “*Porsteinn* thus appears as the commander of a campaign that ended with a battle somewhere in *Garðar*, during which he died”, sounds to me, a historian of Old Rus, somewhat abrupt. I would have appreciated finding either a date of this inscription, or a reference to some works where suggestions as to the nature of these military activities had been made (for instance, Melnikova 2001, 314: “One can suppose that he and his warriors were at service with one of the Russian princes” — my translation).



5. Alstad rune stone (U 62), the second inscription commemorating Þóraldr “who died in Vitaholmr — between Ustaholmr and Garðar” (pp. 154–55). While discussing the three place names it is worth paying attention to the work overlooked by Kristel Zilmer, namely “Bredsideinskripter på Alstadstenen” by C. J. S. Marstrander published in 1947 in a “Festskrift til Olaf Brock”. The scholar thinks that the third line was added later as a specification of what had been written earlier and the second name was a repetition of the first one. He reads both place names as **ustaulms** and understands the name as a designation of some place in the Eastern Baltic, taking into consideration the Latvian word *uosts*, *uosta* “a firth, a river mouth”. In his reading *Garðar* has the same meaning as in all other cases, and I am prone to share this part of his statement.

I do agree with Kristel Zilmer that “it is wise to follow the so-called “cautious interpretation strategy”, leaving the disputed words uninterpreted, but taking into consideration various alternatives that have been suggested” (p. 66), and I don’t insist on Marstrander’s reading as a whole. But I would strongly recommend to refrain both from sticking to Boris Kleiber’s interpretation, as it is based on a number of false presumptions,<sup>2</sup> and from asserting that the inscription bears an “identification of some southern border region of *Garðar*” (p. 155).

6. Sjusta boulder (Sö 171). The accepted and discussed in the dissertation work (pp. 161–62) reading of the phrase **an uar tauþr i hulmkarþi i olafs krika** is “He died in Hólmgarðr in Óláfr’s church”. However, there have been suggested different interpretations of it (by R. Dybeck, O. Montelius, S. Bugge, A. Noreen and E. Brate), and I am surprised that Kristel Zilmer, being at most critical, cautious and conservative, leaves these views without attention.

I can hardly agree with Kristel Zilmer that “the occurring reference to Óláfr’s church from around that time documents *Scandinavian influences* in the Novgorod region” (p. 162, my italics). This is not the question of “influences”, but a question of intense and brisk trade connections. Here I would love to remind her her own wise words that reading and understanding runic inscriptions cannot be achieved “in total isolation and ignorance of contextual matters — any kind of interpretation depends upon an understanding of the meaning of the

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<sup>2</sup> To name at least one, fire signaling was familiar to different peoples, including the Slavs, and could not have been brought (together with the term designating it) to the Dnieper region by the Scandinavians. For the criticism of his phonetic constructions see Melnikova 2001: 282–84.

inscription as a whole" (p. 57). In this particular case "ett rimligt socio-kulturellt sammanhang" 'a reasonable socio-cultural context' (in terms of Gun Widmark) is as follows.

Óláfr's church is mentioned in a number of Old Norse sources of the late 12th and 13th centuries, as well as in the Chronicle of Novgorod (telling *s.a.* 1152, 1181, 1217, 1311 about the fire in the market place, about burning down churches, the Varangian one among them). The analysis of some 13th century sources (Novgorodian Schra; Latin and German versions of a treaty of 1270 between Novgorod and German towns and Gotland; Russian chronicles) enables the scholars to conclude that since the late 12th century there existed in Novgorod two foreign trade yards, the German one with the church dedicated to St. Peter, and the Gotlandic one with the church dedicated to St. Óláfr (Svahnström 1970). The existence of a Scandinavian trade yard in Novgorod points to the fact that by the 12th century trade relations between Rus and Scandinavian countries had already been quite permanent.

Written sources demonstrate that the church of St. Óláfr was being built in the time of *posadnik* Dobrynja, that is on the eve or at the beginning of the 12th century (Rybina 1978). The dating of the runic inscription on the Sjusta boulder is, as we learn (p. 162), "the latter half of the 11th century", and in this case the Scandinavian sources give a somewhat earlier date of the foundation of the church. Naturally, one prejudices either the date of the inscription on the Sjusta boulder, or its reading.

I have to confess that the excellent analysis of runic inscriptions carried out by Kristel Zilmer has crucially undermined my conclusions as to the volume of East-European toponymic nomenclature of Old Norse sources. I happened to write elsewhere (Jackson 1993) that the general analysis of the Old Icelandic toponymy of Eastern Europe demonstrates that each source (or a group of sources) has its own toponymic nomenclature. The chronology of written fixation of place names reflects the sequence of their emergence into the language of the early Scandinavians. However, this is not a one-to-one correspondence. It just shows the general line of the development of Scandinavian place names of Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, the study of the whole complex of place-names on each chronological level is, of course, of certain interest. The first toponymic stratum, that of skaldic poetry and runic inscriptions, as I understand it, includes several hydronyms: the names of the Baltic Sea (*Austmarr*, *Eystrasalt*) with the Gulf of

Finland (? *Hólms haf*), the White Sea or the Arctic Ocean (*Gandvik*), the two Dvinas — the Western (*Duná*) and the Northern (*Vína*). Here we also meet a number of ethnic names, or place names derived from ethnonyms, in the territory from the Western to the Northern Dvina: *sæmgallir*, *Lifland*, *eistr*, *eistnesker*, *Estland*, *Virland*, *Finland*, *Tafeistaland*, *bjarmskar kindir*. The Baltic toponymy is related to the sea: these are the names of islands Ruhnu and Saaremaa (*Runö*; *Sýsla*, *Eysýsla*), of Cape Kolkasrags (*Domesnes*), as well as the expression *allar Sýslur* which was left by the skald undeciphered but was read already by Snorri Sturluson and is now read by scholars as the name for both *Eysýsla* and *Adalsýsla* (part of Estonia mentioned in the kings' sagas).

Unfortunately, the book on which I relied and where from I borrowed my information concerning runic inscriptions (Melnikova 1978; reproduced in: Melnikova 2001) has kind of misled me. This is my negative profit:

- Saaremaa in the inscription on the Västra Ledinge rune stone (U 518): **i silu nur**. It is a designation of neither Saaremaa (Sophus Bugge, Elena Melnikova), nor the Finnish harbor and trading site Salo (Erik Brate), but of *the sound of Sila* (Selaön in lake Melaren), “a passage between Selaön and the mainland, now known as Kolsund” (Otterbjörk) (pp. 114–16).
- The Gulf of Finland on the Rune stone from Vallentuna church (U 214). Elena Melnikova, while discussing this inscription, as well as that on Högby stone (Ög 81), mentions different readings, but the text is organized so that you feel which of these readings (connected with *Hólmgardr*) is preferable, whereas the index includes only one reading, namely “the Gulf of Finland” (2001: 322, 345, 384). Kristel Zilmer explains that the reference **a holms hafi** “could have also been made to the seawaters around Bornholm” (pp. 127–29).
- Runö on the Ulvsta rune stone (Vs 22): “it is apparent that the grounds for connecting **runo** with the place name Runö are not convincing” (p. 172).
- Western Dvina on the lost rune stone from Bönestad (Sö 121): “the identification of **i : tuna : asu** has to remain uncertain” (p. 178).
- Semgallir on the missing Grönsta rune stone (Sö 110): the reading of Sophus Bugge “han drog til Semland” “rearranges runes in a lost inscription, and can therefore by no means be considered a qualified alternative” (p. 179).

## Skaldic poetry

The survey of skaldic poetry is a useful part of the dissertation work. Kristel Zilmer is quite right when she points to the fact that there exist no special studies on skaldic depictions of Baltic traffic. I have here just a couple of comments.

On p. 248, when discussing *Gráfeldardrápa* by Glúmr Geirason, Kristel Zilmer expresses her disagreement with me (Jackson 2003) as to “that *Austrlond* and *austr* function as parallel references in this case”. I must confess that I accept her argumentation that “skaldic poems often demonstrate how separate stanzas concentrate on different events at different localities”, which is why my conclusion is not self-evident.

Note 654 mentions *Bjarmaland*: “The river *Vina* may in this connection indicate the Northern Dvina, although it is also possible that in skaldic poetry it served as a general designation for any river and was only later taken to stand for a proper name . . .” I happened to write elsewhere (Jackson 1992) that the most serious ground for reading *Vina* as “the Northern Dvina” is still the phonetic similarity of this river’s names in the Russian (*Двина*), Finnish (*Viena*) and Old Icelandic (*Vina*) languages. Nevertheless, the Icelandic skald Glúmr Geirason, who was the first to “connect” the *Bjarmar* and the *Vina* in his poem, could mean something completely different, as *Vina* in skaldic poetry was used as a metaphoric description of a river in general (cp. *Vina* as a “river” in the strophe by the 10th century skald Egill Skallagrímsson and *Vina* in a complicated *kenning* of poetry in a strophe by the 10th century skald Einarr skálaglamm). The correlation of the skaldic *Vina* with the real river — the Northern Dvina — could have been achieved in the process of Vikings raids to the White Sea region.

On p. 251 Kristel Zilmer discusses *Erfidrápa Óláfs Tryggvasonar* by Hallfreðr vandræðaskáld. Snorri Sturluson in the accompanying prose text ascribes this strophe to the 12th century Icelandic skald Hallarstein, but since the time of Finnur Jónsson this strophe has been ascribed to Hallfreðr. However, it has been thought to be a borrowing from another skald, namely Arnórr jarlaskáld (Finnur Jónsson) and even a spurious importation from the tradition about Magnús to that of Ólafr Tryggvason (Bjarne Fidjestøl). Diana Whaley (1998) has recently put forward a convincing argumentation in support of this opinion. Although Kristel Zilmer is familiar with this view, it is difficult to see from her account, whether she shares it or not.

All in all, this section of the dissertation work is a brilliant critical

analysis of skaldic material, and it leads to a sound conclusion that “on the general level of depicting travels outside Scandinavia, skaldic poetry shares some similar features with runic inscriptions in that the eastern route seems to extend all the way from the Baltic to Byzantium” (p. 268).

### Saga literature

I was surprised to find that, regardless of the traditional research requirements, the two different sub-genres (or groups, as Kristel Zilmer calls them) of sagas, namely the kings’ sagas and the sagas of Icelanders were not analyzed as separate source categories, but there was given a joint description of them.

In spite of the fact that *Íslendingasögur* “may be seen as a logical extension of the interest in family genealogies referred to already at the end of the twelfth century and blossoming in the thirteenth century in various redactions of *Landnámabók* (an account of Iceland’s colonization)” (Andersson 1978: 148–49) and *konungasögur* exist only within the boundary lines of the Old Norse historiography of the 12th and 13th centuries, and that it is considered necessary for the historical study to take this genre subdivision of the sagas into consideration, this joint description brought its fruit.

Kristel Zilmer is quite approved of her choice of this method by the fact that “both the sagas of Icelanders and the kings’ sagas present themselves as “historical sagas about the past” — to use the formulation of Meulengraht Sørensen” (p. 271). She is aware of the proven earliness of the kings’ sagas, she uses modern classification (developed by Vésteinn Ólason) of the sagas of Icelanders, she is well read in voluminous research literature on the sagas, she gives a qualified review of the latest literature dedicated to the reliability and historicity of the sagas. Her conclusion is not absolutely new, but it is reasonable and well-founded: it is “essential to realize the manifold levels of meaning in sagas, as well as the necessity to combine different approaches in their study” (p. 276).

As her source material she chooses the total corpus of known sagas of Icelanders (about 40) and two major works among the kings’ sagas — the 13th century *Heimskringla* by Snorri Sturluson and *Knýtlinga saga* that might have been written by Snorri’s nephew Óláfr Þórðarson. Limiting her source base to the works of the 13th century, she is aware of the fact that she is going to get a rather static picture, that she won’t

be able to study saga depictions of Baltic traffic in transition. Still, she finds her choice reasonable, as it enables her to compare the kings' sagas' material with that of the sagas of Icelanders also representing the context of the 13th century (p. 279).

To my mind, however, the early kings' sagas (*Ágrip af Nóregis konunga sögum*; *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* by Oddr Snorrason; *Morkinskinna*) should have been studied as well. These sagas, as I have shown elsewhere (Jackson 2003), are of vital importance for the understanding of place-names with the root *aust-*, as they have preserved this toponymy on the intermediate stage of its development, between the early sources and the great compendia of the 13th century. In these sources, as the analysis shows, *austr* is no longer used as a geographical term, but only as a locative adverb; compounds *Austrvegr* and *Austrlond*, as well as *Austrriki*, are used to denote the lands along "the route from the Varangians to the Greeks". For example, we read in *Ágrip* that after the fall of Óláfr Haraldsson his step-brother Haraldr Sigurðarson *flyði ... braut yr landi ok í Austrvega ok svá til Miklagarðs* ('fled the land, and to the Eastern ways, and thereafter to Constantinople' — *Ágrip*, 33), and some time later he sailed *heim ór Gardi (Miklagarði. — T.J.) um Austrveg* ('home from Constantinople, through the Eastern way' — *Ágrip*, 38). *Morkinskinna*, describing Haraldr's trip from Miklagarðr, states that *þaðan fer hann um avstrriki til Holmgarðs* ('therefrom he traveled through the Eastern state to Novgorod' — Msk, 85).

It is evident that Byzantium is excluded from a number of lands denoted by these place names. On the contrary, the names imply only Rus: Oddr in his saga calls Visivaldr *Austruegs konungr* ('the king of the Eastern way' — ÓsTÓddr, 107), while in *Heimskringla* he is *Visivaldr austan ór Gardariki* ('Visivaldr from Rus in the east' — ÍF, xxvii, 436); it is said in *Ágrip* that Ingigerðr, the daughter of Óláfr scenski, was married to *Jaritláfi Austrvegs konungi* ('Jaroslav, the king of the Eastern way' — *Ágrip*, 27), who is named by Snorri as *Jarizleifr konungr austan ór Hólmgarði* ('Jaroslav, king from Novgorod in the east' — ÍF, xxvii, 147); *Ágrip* also tells of the noble men from Norway, who sailed to Rus to fetch the young King Magnús who had been brought up there, how they *sóttu í Austrvega til Jaritláfs konungs* ('went to the Eastern ways to king Jaroslav' — *Ágrip*, 34); the heroes of *Morkinskinna*, discussing whether it is worth traveling *í Austrveg* ('to the Eastern way'), come to the conclusion that the absence of trade peace between kings Jaroslav and Svein could be a hindrance in this enterprise (Msk, 3).

To say more, the great compendia are based on the early sagas, they

had used them as sources and often borrowed from them, which why, analyzing such works as *Heimskringla* or *Knýtlinga saga*, one has to check his material with the help of earlier sagas.

I also think that the only known to us Swedish saga, the 13th century *Guta saga*, should have also been taken into consideration. This would have proved useful for the discussion of *Gotland*, “the Viking age news center” (p. 291). The saga describes the history of Gotland, mentions such islands as *Faroy* (Fårö) to the north of Gotland, and *Dagaiþi* (Dagö) in the mouth of the Riga Bay, along with the Western Dvina (*Dyna*). The saga also tells that *þan tima var wegr oystra vm ryzaland oc gricland fara til ierusalem* (‘at that time the route eastwards was to cross through Rus and Greece to Jerusalem’).

In the discussion of saga representation of *Svíþjóð* Kristel Zilmer notices that in the sagas “the heathen background of *Svíþjóð* is brought into focus” (p. 289). I would recommend here to pay attention to the “heathen image” of the Eastern Baltic lands as well (see my paper on heathens and Christians on the Eastern way — Jackson 1995).

When reading what Kristel Zilmer has written about *Austrvegr* (p. 291), I get a strong impression that for her this *vegr* still means “way”, so that *Austrvegr* serves as a designation of a certain route, but not a territory. I happened to write elsewhere (Jackson 1976) that this place name only then became a place name when the root *veg-* lost its original meaning. *Vegr* means ‘a road to be used from one place to another’, while *Austrvegr* no longer contains in its meaning indications of a departure point and a destination.

As far as *Vik* (Viken) is concerned, I agree with Kristel Zilmer that this region should have been included into the sphere of studies (on the basis of saga material), as in the sagas it functions as an important station for the kings’ travels, not only inside the country (Norway), but in distant voyages as well (p. 282). However, it is difficult for me to accept that part of her argumentation where Kristel Zilmer says that Viken “is determined as situated in the east”, and that this image is created in skaldic poetry as well, in which way “the poetic narrative of skaldic poems and the prose narrative of the sagas differ from the brief statements of runic mini-narratives”. This notion (*austr í Vik*) is, to my mind, expressed in terms of “proximate” orientation, and has to do with the mediaeval idea of the geographical position of Norway and its subdivision (Jackson, Podossinov 1997). Viken is merely the eastern part of Norway, but not a part of the “eastern world” (cp. her own example on p. 287 where Óláfr is going north

to Viken from *Konungahella*). Still, this geographical broadening is quite reasonable.

In connection with Kristel Zilmer's discussion of *Gardariki* in the sagas (pp. 296 ff.) I would again express my regret that in this direction the research area has not been broadened. Going *austr* from Scandinavia implied going further along the rivers. Sagas (and early sagas among them) contain valuable information on the river routes from the Baltic to the Black Sea (strangely enough the famous route "from the Varangians to the Greeks" has never been mentioned in the dissertation work). They also include data on the conditions under which foreign travelers were allowed to proceed deeper into the land, on the summer and winter traffic along the rivers. They are in good accordance with archaeological material that in Ladoga travelers from Scandinavia had to change from sea ships to ships of different kind.

By the way, note 799 on p. 287 mentions "nine *austrfararskip*", but there follows no commentary. This ship is twice mentioned in *Sverris saga* as well. In ch. 24 it is described how King Sverrir seized a farmstead, burnt down all buildings and war ships, but took away the newly constructed *austrfararskip*. In ch. 86, in the description of the ships participating in some military activities of Magnús Erlingsson, his *gestir* are said to have a ship called *Fleyit micla*, and it is an *austrfararskip*. It is further explained that on low-tide this ship failed to leave the seaside with all other ships. These mentions enable us to assume that there existed a special type of ships — *austrfararskip* — that was supposed to sail in the Baltic Sea, and that differed from a war ship, *langskip*, most likely by its big size and bad mobility. It had to have been a merchants' ship. I think that more attention should have been paid in the dissertation work to ships and navigation as such.

Still, Kristel Zilmer has achieved a really deep research into the saga material. Her "overall study of corresponding sources has revealed the importance of travel motive for the saga narrative" (p. 317). She has managed to spot "the so-called focal arenas for Baltic traffic" (p. 318).

## Conclusion

I must stress that the concluding discussion (pp. 321 ff.) is really competent from the point of view of methodology. Kristel Zilmer explains that references provided by the sources cannot "be set into a comparative relation to each other in a mechanical manner" (p. 323), as these groups of sources (runic inscription, skaldic poetry, kings' sagas and



sagas of Icelanders) have had varied nature and biases. They should have been and were in fact studied separately, and the conclusions each time were made on the basis of one group of sources. In fact, “the generally accepted authentic nature of runic messages provides a suitable point of departure, whereas skaldic and saga evidence proves helpful in understanding the broader meaning of applied practices” (p. 326).

Kristel Zilmer realizes that sagas “are considerably later and more distant representations of the studied matter” (p. 323), but, in my opinion, not the sagas, but the runic inscriptions, should be united in the discourse with skaldic poetry, since the skalds created their poems at a time when people erected rune stones, while the sagas are still of much later origin (be they the reflection of the voices of the narrators or that of the tradition).

The results achieved in this dissertation work go far over the formulated aims of the research. Baltic traffic has been presented through the agency of early Nordic sources in a broad cultural-historical perspective. It is a high quality research work carried out by a real professional.

Not so long ago there had been no scholar named Kristel Zilmer on the Old Norse studies horizon, but then she came, came as a real winner. The ancients would say: “Veni, vidi, vici”. Her dissertation work is, to my mind, a real success, and I have no doubt that she deserves the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (in Scandinavian Studies).

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ÁRMANN JAKOBSSON

## Where Do the Giants Live?

### Once upon a time, in the forest

Bragi the Old, a renowned ninth century court poet and perhaps even the inventor of the *dróttkvætt* metre, is travelling through a certain unspecified forest (“þa er hann oc vm skog nokqvorn”) late at night (“sið vm qveld”), when a certain unspecified troll-wife without even a name (“trollkona”) throws a verse in his direction and asks who is there. Bragi replies with a stanza filled with metaphors (*kenningar*) and poetic synonyms (*heiti*) about poets — she replies in kind and explains who she is, starting with “Traill kalla mic” and ending in “hvat er traill nema þat” (Troll they call

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**Abstract:** This article examines ideas about the whereabouts of giants in the Edda of Snorri Sturluson, where it is not only difficult to distinguish between giants and e.g. trolls, but even more difficult to determine where they live. Giants may be found in forests, in the mountains and on the shores. Living on the outskirts of the known world, the giants seem to be located on all points of the compass, but are also particularly associated with the East and the North, perhaps reflecting the fact that from the point of view of 13th century Icelanders, these were the directions where heathen and somewhat unfamiliar races like Finns and Permsians are to be found. There is some confusion as to whether or not all giants live in Jötunheimar, a place that is sometimes in the East and sometimes in the North. At the time of the twilight of the Gods, the giants arrive from all directions and perhaps that is our best clue as to the giants' whereabouts in Snorri's Edda. — The confusion in the Edda may be more systematic than it seems to be at first sight. Evil is not unified but divided, perhaps reflecting the chaos originally associated with the primeval giant Ymir, which was then replaced by the order established by the gods. In accordance with this system, it is logical to expect that the giants are going to attack from all directions and that giants and their kin will be found everywhere, in the East and the West, the forests and mountains and in every unfamiliar place in the world.

**Keywords:** giants, trolls, Edda Snorra Sturlusonar, Old Norse mythology

me ... what is that but a troll) (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 164–65).<sup>1</sup>

Explains is a not really the best word for what the troll-wife is doing, because even after having heard the verse, we cannot really be sure what she is. There is still the problem of what exactly a troll is supposed to be. Ironically we can no longer be quite sure either about who Bragi is, whether our protagonist is indeed Bragi Boddason the ninth century poet or some other Bragi the Old, or what exactly the relationship is between the court poet and the other Bragi, the god of poetry (see Mogk 1887; Bugge 1888; Mogk 1889; Turville-Petre 1964: 185–86; Clunies Ross 2006). But in this narrative, Bragi seems to be well-known indeed, so that it is sufficient for the narrator to merely mention his name. The nameless troll-wife, on the other hand, represents the unknown, the nature of which we may only catch a glimpse of.

The verse reveals some facts about her: that she has a friendly relationship with “volur” (sibyls or witches), and some relations with the dead and the giants (“iotvns”). Last but not least, she is antagonistic to the sun (“solar bał”). In fact, the only thing we may be sure of is that she is entirely negative. She is a creature of the night and of death, an Other, and likely to possess otherworldly powers. And she can be found in a certain forest late at night. As the narrative ends with her verse, we do not even know how the encounter ends, whether Bragi and the troll-wife parted amicably or if one killed the other.

Although this ogress is a “trollkona”, neither Bragi nor we can be entirely sure that she might not also qualify as a “iotvnn” or even a “risi”, since these words are often used as synonyms, not only in modern Icelandic but also in late mediaeval literature (see esp. Schulz 2004: 29–52). For example, in the 15th century *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis*, one of the leading character spots a “risi” but two sentences later, this creature speaks and is now a “jötunn”. The next two times he speaks, he is “risinn” again, but then he is the “jötuninn” (Rafn 1830: 486–88). In another legendary saga, king Hrólfur Gautreksson encounters a terrible “risi”, whom he calls a “tröll” to his back (Rafn 1830: 121–26), and in *Egils saga ok Ásmundar*, the words “jötunn” and “tröll” seem almost interchangeable (Rafn 1830: 394–402).

A similar confusion is present in the *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* (c.

<sup>1</sup> Actually, not all manuscripts of *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* include the verse of the troll-wife. Of the four main manuscripts, Codex Regius has it but not Codex Upsalensis, Codex Wormianus or Codex Trajectinus. In this article, all translations from the *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* are my own.

1220), where the anecdote about Bragi and the troll-wife is found. According to Snorri Sturluson, the very first being is called Ymir. He and all his family are “hrimþvrsar” (frost-giants) at first, although Ymir in fact has “mannz likandi” (the shape of a man), but soon he is also referred to as a “iotvnn” (giant) and when he is killed and all his family, one escapes who is the father of the “hrimþvrsar” family, and called Bergelmir by “iotnar” (giants). These “iotnar” continue to play a large role in the narrative. Soon we are also introduced to something called “Iotvnheimar” (giantland) and a “gygr” (giantess) who lives in the forest Ironwood in the east, along with a band of “traðllkonvr” (trollwives) called “Iarnviðivr”, who breed giants and wolves (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 12–18). Some beings called “bergrisar” (mountain-giants) also make an appearance before long, whose mortal enemy Þórr is and against whom Bifröst must be defended, should they wish to cross it, perhaps along with the frost-giants. These mountain-giants may be identical with “iotnar” (giants), since at least one of them “færiz . . . iotvnmóð” (changed into giant shape) when provoked (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 23, 29, 33 and 47).

Defining a giant in 13th and 14th century sources is thus far from unproblematic. Lotte Motz (1987) made a brave attempt, arguing for four distinguishable categories of giants in some unspecified pre-history.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, even those mediaeval sources which wish to make such a distinction are unable to sustain it (see Ármann Jakobsson forthcoming). In this article I will not discuss the terminology any further but focus instead on where such beings may be found. I will also limit myself to one source, the *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*.

This particular single source is, of course, much more than that. It is the main mythological work of the 13th century, and it is thus of some worth to ascertain whether the mythologist Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) had a clear notion of where giants lived. Furthermore, I do think it is worth the effort to demonstrate how even a single source presents us with conflicting information of the whereabouts of giants. Of course, reviewing other sources would add further examples and increase the ambiguity. However, as I will demonstrate, that is not really necessary.

Do giants, trolls and ogres live in the forest? In this instance, yes. If travelling through the forest at night, you may run into a troll-wife.

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<sup>2</sup> These four classes of beings, each with its own role, were lords and guardians of nature (“jötunn”), mythical magicians (“tröll”), hostile and monstrous beings (“þurs”) and “heroic and courtly beings” (risi).

But as a closer inspection of Edda reveals, they also live in the mountains and on the shore, in the East and in the North. John Lindow is more or less right when he says: “Scandinavian mythology places the *jötnar* in two different remote locations: on the beach, and to the east” (p. 18). This is close enough to the truth, but, apart from the fact that the term “Scandinavian mythology” is somewhat vague (he actually means Snorri), the whereabouts of the giants actually turn out to be even more uncertain than this. In fact, once you get out of that familiar place that Snorri calls “Miðgarðr” (Finnur Jónsson: 16), who knows where you might run into one.

## In the periphery

Acute readers of the *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* are bound to become infuriated with what seems to be Snorri’s unconventional sense of mythological geography. According to his *Gylfaginning*, the first part of his *Edda*, there are two worlds besides the one which we inhabit, Niflheimr in the North and Múspell in the South. Both are cruel in their excesses, one excessively cold, the other hot. Our own world seems to be an amalgamation of the two. When elements from these two worlds drip into the emptiness of Ginnungagap, the clash of heat and cold make the first man (“manz likandi”) but this first “man” is not a man but the aforementioned frost-giant (“hrimþvss”) or a giant (“iotvn”) called Ymir, who in Snorri’s version turns out to be the ancestor not of men (cf. Meyer 1907), but of all giants and frost-giants (Finnur Jónsson: 12–14). Óðinn and his brothers descend from another first man, — but, according to Snorri’s *Gylfaginning* they are not the forefathers of man either, but create a third “first man” of their own out of driftwood, along with his wife (Finnur Jónsson: 16).

When Ymir has been killed by Óðinn and his brothers, he also ends up as the matter of which our world is made and man (or at least the giants) thus precedes the world, which is essentially created out of him. It remains unclear how to define this founding father of the world, man or frost-giants or giant, as well as his race, the giants (see Schulz 2004: 65–72; Ármann Jakobsson forthcoming). In fact, the terms giant and frost-giant seem interchangeable in the first Chapters of the *Gylfaginning*, and the vagueness about the terms “iotvnn” and “hrimþvss” (and to what degree they should be considered human) eventually translates into confusion about where the giants live.

The first place that Snorri Sturluson mentions is the outskirts of the world: “Hon er kringlott vtan ok þar vtan vm ligr hin divpi siar, ok með þeiri siavar strændv gafv þeir laund til bygþar iotna ættvm” (It is circular round the edges and the deep sea surrounds it, and along the shore they gave lands to the families of giants to settle) (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 15). This seems to suggest that the geographical demarcation between the gods and the giants is one of centre and periphery.<sup>3</sup> The civilized world is called “Miðgarðr” (Middle-Earth being a tempting translation), and only considerably later in *Gylfaginning* is it revealed that at least some giants live in the city called “Vtgarðr” (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 53) which literally would translate into “outskirt city”. As Clunies Ross has argued (1994: 50–56) this is somewhat of an over-simplification (see also Schulz 2004: 99–106). According to her, the idea of “Miðgarþr” and “Vtgarþr” nevertheless reveals how all the myths are narrated from the point of view of the gods, and thus the giants can be said to live “away” or “out there”.

In accordance with this first statement about the giants’ whereabouts after the slaughter of Ymir, when the god Þórr goes on one of his hunts for the giant serpent “Miðgarþz ormr” that lives in the deep sea that surrounds the world, of course he finds giants on the shore: “Geck hann vt of Miðgarþ sva sem vngr drengr ok kom ein aptan at qveldi til iotvns nockvrs” (He went out of Miðgarðr having assumed the guise of a young boy and came one evening at a certain giant’s) (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 61). Of course, that may have seemed puzzling to Snorri’s original Icelandic audience, since Iceland tended to be mostly inhabited along the shore even at that time, and central Iceland would be more likely to be their role-model for the wilderness. In fact, that is not the only peculiar thing about the centre and periphery binary in Snorri’s Edda, if we take into account that 13th century Icelanders are more likely to have regarded themselves as being in the periphery rather than the centre (see Sverrir Jakobsson 2005: 161–88). Nevertheless, this is at least one of Snorri’s versions of where the giants live. For those who would prefer symmetry, it is unfortunately not the only one, and in fact it is close to impossible to conceive of one single location for the giants in Snorri’s mythical world.

If the civilized world lies in the Middle and the world is a globe

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<sup>3</sup> See examples collected by Motz (1984). On the binary of Miðgarðr and Útgarðr as centre and periphery, see Gurevich (1969) and Hastrup (1985: 145–51). Stewart (1993: 71) characterizes the relationship between us and giants as us being “enveloped by the gigantic, surrounded by it, enclosed within its shadow”.



(“kringla heimsins” is a word famously used by Snorri in the prologue to his *Heimskringla*), the outskirts lie in all directions so that if you travel for long enough, sooner or later you will find the place where the giants live. On the other hand, Snorri seems to favour some directions as more likely than other to lead to the whereabouts of the giants.

## North or East?

Not every giant seems to live on the shore. Snorri frequently assumes that the giants live in *Iotvheimar* (giantland) (see e.g. Finnur Jónsson 1931: 17, 20, 46 and 65), and while that may very well be on the shore or close to it, there is no explicit statement to that fact.<sup>4</sup> This suggests a fixed space, a terrain governed and inhabited by giants and home to every possible kind of ogre, including the monstrous children of Loki: the giant wolf Fenrir, the giant serpent Miðgarðsormr and Hel (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 34). On at least two occasions, it is indicated that the region of *Iotvheimar* is to the north: “flygr hann norðr i Iotvnheima” (flies north to giantland) (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 80; see also p. 104). As we will see, this idea does not run through *Gylfaginning* — but if *Iotvheimar* are indeed to the North, we might infer that the natural abode of the giants is the coldness of the North, which fits in with the notion of frost-giants. However, as it turns out, North is not always the direction where giants can be found.

Leaving the exact location of *Iotvheimar* aside for the moment, the gods certainly do not need to go north to find their enemies. The tale of the wicked giant Hrungnir starts when Þórr has gone east to thrash trolls but Óðinn goes to *Iotvheimar*: “Þor var farin i A/strvega at beria tra/ll, en Oþin reið Sleipni i Iotvnheima” (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 100). While trolls and giants are not quite as inseparable as giants and frost-giants, the demarcation between them is nevertheless far from clear (see Schulz 2004: 45–46; Ármann Jakobsson forthcoming). In this instance, the gods travel in two separate directions to encounter ogres. Þórr goes east but Óðinn goes to *Iotvheimar*, which presumably lie in the North. Are they seeking the same enemy?

If we are supposed to regard trolls (*tra/ll*) and giants (*iotnar*) as one

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<sup>4</sup> While *Iotvheimar* is usually translated as “giantland” in the singular, the Old Norse word is in the plural, which explains the use of the plural in this article. *Iotvheimar* actually do not figure strongly in Eddic poems. They are only mentioned in *Skirnismál*, *Völuspá* and *Prymskvíða* (Kellogg 1988: 575).

and the same, their race presumably lives both in the North and in the East. And while *Iotvnheimar* sometimes seem to lie in the North, it turns out that the land of the giants may also lie in the East. When Þórr visits the giant Útgarða-Loki, he “byriapi ferþina aþstr i Iotvnheima ok alt til hafþins, ok þa for hann vt yfir hafit þat it divpa; en er hann kom til landz, þa geck hann vpp ok með honvm Loki ok Þialfi ok Ravþqva. Þa er þa hþþv litla hrið gengit, varð firir þeim mork stor” (started on the journey east to giantland and all the way up to sea and then he crossed the deap sea. But when he reached land, he went ashore and Loki, Þjálfi and Ravþkva with him. When they had only walked for a short while, they came to a great forest) (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 50). Here Þórr is not only heading east to find giants but the region he is heading for is even called *Iotvnheimar*, apparently somewhat contradicting Snorri’s later statement that while Þórr is going to the East, Óðinn travels north to *Iotvnheimar*.

It may not be a coincidence that the East and the North should be replete with giants since from the 13th century Icelanders’ point of view these directions would have been full of strange and unfamiliar races of men, such as Finns and Permians (Lindow 1995; McKinnell 2005; Sverrir Jakobsson 2005: 217–76). Locating the giants in the East and the North may indeed seem to reflect a somewhat archaic and Norway-centric view of the world, as East and North to Norwegians would mean heathen and somewhat unfamiliar races whereas to the West and South were Christians and more Norwegians.<sup>5</sup> Not that giants are always presented as unfamiliar. In fact, Snorri also reveals that the family of the gods includes their daughters, their ally Loki is a fosterbrother of Óðinn and the great god himself is the grandson of a giant. The relationship of the gods and the giants is thus far from simple (see e.g. Ciklamini 1962; Motz 1982; Mundal 1990, Steinsland 1991; Schulz: 256–86), although Snorri attempts to simplify it by carving out a separate territory for these troublesome relatives of the gods, the giantland.

However, even in Snorri’s *Gylfaginning*, there is great uncertainty where the Land of the giants lies. *Iotvnheimar* turn out to not always

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<sup>5</sup> This would not be the only instance of a Norway-centric world view surviving in 13th-century Iceland (the Irish are frequently referred to as “Vestmenn” in 12th and 13th century sources, although Ireland is not to the West of the Iceland, see Sverrir Jakobsson 2005: 217 note 3). Neither is this type of colonial archaism unique to 13th century Icelanders (21st century Australians refer to the countries to the far north-west as “the Middle East”).

lie in the North. Sometimes the gods must go to the East. And in the East there is a great forest.

## Forests and mountains

Is this the same forest that Bragi was crossing when he met his troll-wife? There seem to be many forests in the East, including the Ironwood where a giantess raises wolves: “Gygr ein byr firir [av]stan Miðgarþ í þeim skogi, er [I]arnviðr h(eitir). Í þeim skogi byggja þær trálkonvr, er Iarnviðivr h(eita). En gamla gygr fær þir at sonvm marga iotna ok alla ivargs likivm” (A giantess lives east of Middle-earth in a forest called Ironwood. This forest is inhabited by those trollwives called Ironwoodesses. But the old giantess raises as sons many giants and all in wolf shapes) (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 18). And forests figure in more giant narratives of the *Edda*: When the goddess Iðunn is abducted to *Lotvnheimar*, she, too, travels through a forest (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 79).

Perhaps readers of *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* were expected to make a distinction between the trolls and troll-wives in the forests of the East and the giants of *Lotvnheimar* in the mountains of the North. When Þórr meets the huge Skrímir in the forest he tells them to go east to Útgarðr while he is heading north to the mountains: “þa stefnit þer iavstr, en ek á nv norðr leið til fialla þesa” (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 53). And East is the place where Þórr goes to thrash his trolls: “þa var hann farin i Austrveg at beria tráll” (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 46; see also p. 121). In this particular episode, it is possible to argue for a distinction made between trolls, forests and the East on one hand, and on the other giants, mountains and the North. But unfortunately, in *Gylfaginning* as a whole, this distinction is at best hazy and we cannot so easily resolve the controversy or overlook the fact that in *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, *Lotvnheimar* are sometimes in the East but sometimes in the North.

In the beginning of the *Edda*, giants are more frequently known as frost-giants (“hrimþvssar”) rather than giants (“iotnar”) or trolls (“tráll”). Once Snorri claims that these frost-giants now live where that great void Ginnungagap used to be (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 22). There is no further depiction of that particular place, apart from the fact that there is a well there, guarded by the extremely wise Mimir who probably is a frost-giant, although that is not explicitly stated — Snorri merely says that his well is located where the frost-giants live, adding “heitir sa Mimir, er a brvnninn” (the owner of the well is named

Mímir) (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 22). Giants thus may be found near a well, as well as on the shore and in the forest. It is unclear how that may be a foundation for the closeness of giants and mountains, or a relationship with forests.

However, Snorri soon starts producing examples of giants who inhabit the mountains — influenced perhaps by giant kennings where their relationship with mountains seems overwhelming (Meissner 1921: 256–58). The giantess Skaði who marries the god Níorðr turns out to be used to mountain landscape (which contributes to the wreckage of their marriage) (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 30). Óðinn also finds the giant Suttungr in a mountain (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 83–84) and when Loki assumes the form of the party-pooping giantess Þavck he, too, dwells in a cave (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 67). But while Snorri seems to be aware of the fact that giants may be located in mountains, also reflected in the word “bergrisar” (mountain-giants) (see e.g. Finnur Jónsson 1931: 23, 29 and 33), in his *Gylfaginning*, mountains nevertheless do not to have more prominence as a dwelling place for giants than the shore or the forest (cf. Motz 1984).

## Surrounded by evil

When the twilight of the gods (the “*ragna ra/kr*”) is near, their enemies attack from all directions. The frost-giants arrive from the sea while the sons of Múspell cross the rainbow of Bifravst (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 71). The gods seem surrounded, which might fit in with a world-view where the civilization lies at the centre, in the Mitgarðr. But this centre is surrounded by outskirts, a shore in an undisclosed direction, a North with mountain-giants and an East replete with forests and trolls.

Possibly, there is no real discrepancy — gods and humans are simply surrounded by “*iotnar*” and “*tröll*” and “*hrímþvrsar*” and “*bergrisar*”. They live on the shore and in the East and in the North and in the forest and in the mountains. They are, indeed, everywhere.

In Snorri’s presentation of the twilight of the gods in *Gylfaginning*, it is revealed that the giants very much outnumber the gods, and it thus almost seems like an act of destiny that they have to surround the centre and seem to be everywhere: in the forests and caves and mountains and sea-shores — in the East and the North and perhaps everywhere if you venture far enough. Snorri also presents them as being more fertile. Before the gods kill him, Ymir can multiply by

rubbing his feet together and by sweating, which seems in the end bound to produce a lot of “hrimþvrsar” (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 13), and enable them to attack from all directions in the twilight of the gods.

When the old giant Ymir was killed and his body transformed into the world, cosmos succeeded chaos — the gods arrange the new world to their own liking. The killers of Ymir are not presented as creators *ex nihilo*, instead they are the makers of the world order and thus the slayers of the chaos that preceded it (see e.g. Clunies Ross 1994: 197–98, 262–63; Kroesen 1996: 59). In this binary, the giants and frost-giants and all their family represent chaos. Thus it is perhaps only logical that they should have many names and that they should be grouped into hazy sub-categories with vague demarcation between the various classes. They are after all the enemies of order and method. Perhaps it is also their chaotic nature which allows them to triumph in the twilight of the gods. It needs only one tiny thing to be out of order for chaos to replace unity.

And it seems to be equally logical that the gods should live together and be united while the giants can be found in all directions. While good is unified, evil is divided. While harmony can be found in a single place, discord is everywhere. And so, indeed, are the giants. They are in the East and in the North, on the shores and in the forest and in the mountains. To pin them down is to deny the giants their very chaotic essence.

As the encounter between Bragi and the troll-wife demonstrates, it is impossible to be quite sure of how to classify the creatures you might encounter in the dark forest of the night. There are frost-giants, mountain-dwellers, trolls, ogres and all sorts of evil creatures lurking in the unfamiliar places of the world. And you may encounter them anywhere.

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ULLA ASMARK

## Magikyndige kvinder i islændingesagaerne — terminologi, værdiladning og kausalitet

Der optræder et stort antal magikyndige personer i islændingesagaerne, hvoraf størsteparten (ca. tre fjerdedele) er kvinder. De udpeges ofte som årsag til hændelsernes udfald, hvilket betyder, at de er stærkt forbundne med forestillinger om skæbnen. Heraf følger endvidere, at de har afgørende indflydelse på den narrative struktur (se også Raudvere 2002: 83).

Den oldislandske betegnelse for en kvinde der er kyndig i magi, d.v.s. har stærke psykiske kræfter, er *fjölknunnigr kona*. Drejer det sig om mænd, omtales de blot som *fjölknunnigr*. Den oprindelige betydning af det oldislandske adjektiv *fjölknunnigr* er "meget kyndig" eller "kyndig i mange ting", idet ordet er sammensat af *fjöl*, som er et præfiks, og adjektivet *kunnigr*, kyndig, af *kunna* (= kunne, forstå, forstå sig på). Ordet *fjölknunnigr* bruges synonymt med *margkunnandi*, sammensat af adjektivet *margr* = mange og *kunnandi* = kundskab, kyndighed, en

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**Abstract:** In many sagas of Icelanders the dramatic story line seems to stem from magic. Most practitioners of magic are women, and for instance the central character kills a woman who is skilled in magic. Before she dies she curses him in order to inflict a bad destiny on him. In the following the curse comes true. Apparently the woman's evil deeds justify that she was killed. But this attitude is probably due to Christian influence, as the sagas also imply another layer of causality that refers to heathen belief: According to this violence towards a woman makes a man loose his honour and thus leads to unhappiness and even death. From this point of view it is the killing rather than the curse, that causes the man's disaster. It supports this theory that the view of magic varies, depending on which side the woman is on, and that the general term in the sagas for a woman who practices magic, *fjölknunnigr kona*, has a neutral meaning: "Woman who is skilled in many things/very skilled". However in Scandinavian tradition this term is translated into *troldkyndig kvinde*, "woman who is skilled in sorcery", thereby loading it and indicating that all saga-women, who have magic powers, must be evil. The suggestion of this article is that these women are important examples of the way two different sets of ethical values overlap. If this dynamic aspect shall also appear in translation we need a more neutral term like *magikyndig kvinde*, "woman who is skilled in magic".

**Keywords:** Sagas of Icelanders, female magic, terminology, loading, causality



ubøjelig participiumsform af verbet *kunna* (= kunne, forstå, forstå sig på) (Halvorsen 1974: 657; OO: 135).

Som det fremgår af betegnelsens betydningsindhold, er der ikke noget fordømmende i den. Der er ikke noget der tyder på, at kendskab til magi er blevet anset for negativt i sig selv, snarere tværtimod. I *Föstbrædra saga* siges f.eks.: "Nu fyrir þvi, at kristni var ung ok vanger, þá syndist þat mörgum mönnum atgervi, at maðr væri fjölkunnigr" ('Fordi kristendommen endnu var ung og ikke havde fået rigtig fat, betragtede mange mennesker det som et udtryk for dygtighed, at en person var magikyndig') (*Föstbr.*: 37). Kun i de tilfælde hvor udøveren af magi skader andre, eller beskytter nogle, der skader andre, fordømmes og straffes vedkommende. Disse tilfælde er imidlertid problematiske set i sammenhæng med 1: At det anses for niddingsdåd at straffe kvinder, 2: At magi ikke fordømmes. Meget tyder på, at det skyldes kristen påvirkning, at det fremstilles som acceptabelt at dræbe en magikyndig kvinde på grund af hendes "trolddom". En nærmere undersøgelse viser da også, at accepten kun er tilsyneladende. Under overfladen kommer den gamle livsopfattelse, at niddingsdåd eller vanære altid følges af ulykke, til udtryk i sagaernes kausalitet (jf. Grønbech 1909: 139). F.eks. skyldes de frygtelige konsekvenser Arnkell goði i *Eyrbyggja saga* rammes af efter alt at dømme drabet på Katla mere end den forbandelse, hun udstøder. Her følger en redegørelse for den komplicerede, men illustrative handlingsgang — en af flere sideløbende i sagaen:

Geirriðr er Arnkell goðis søster og kyndig i magi. Hun underviser Gunnlaugr, en nevø til Snorri goði, heri. I nærheden bor enken Katla og hendes søn Oddr; Oddr rider ofte med Gunnlaugr. Katla taler nedsættende om Geirriðr og vil gerne have Gunnlaugr til at blive om natten, men han siger nej. En dag advarer Geirriðr Gunnlaug mod at ride sent hjem sammen med Oddr, fordi han er i fare. Da han alligevel gør det, og som sædvanlig afslår at blive hos Katla og Oddr om natten, kommer han ikke hjem, men findes helt sanseløs og blodig udenfor. Kødet er ligesom revet af hans knogler rundt om skuldrene, og han kommer til at ligge hele vinteren af disse sår. Oddr udbreder det rygte, at Geirriðr må have "redet" ham, og Gunnlaugs far, Þorbjörn, stævner hende for Þórsnesspinget for at have forårsaget Gunnlaugs skade og være *kveldriða*, i.e. "kvindeligt Væsen som man forestillede sig ridende omkring i Mørket og tilføiende Mennesker Skade eller Døden" (OGNS: 369). Snorri goði støtter sin svoger Þorbjörn, men Arnkell goði fører sagen for sin søster Geirriðr og aflægger sammen med elleve andre ed på alterringen på, at hun ikke har skadet Gunnlaugr, hvorefter hun bliver frikendt.

Senere strides Þorbjörn, hans sønner og andre mænd, heriblandt Oddr, med Geirriðs søn, Þórarinn svartí, og hans mænd om nogle heste. Þorbjörn med flere bliver dræbt. Da Þórarinns kone Auðr samler kvinderne og sammen med dem smider klæder over våbnene for at standse kampen, hugger Oddr hånden af hende. Þórarinn, Arnkell goði og deres mænd rider hen til Katla efter Oddr, men narres tre gange af Katla, som forblænder deres syn, så de ikke kan se Oddr. Først tror de, han er en rok, derefter en buk og til sidst en orne. Først da Geirriðr kommer med, finder de Oddr. Arnkell goði siger til ham, at hans onde mor er skyld i hans ulykke. Katla svarer, at da han ikke har en mor i live, han kan få ondt fra, ønsker hun, at han får meget mere ondt fra sin far, end Oddr har fået fra hende. Derefter hænger de Oddr og stener Katla ihjel. Hun når dog at tilstå, at hun er skyld i Gunnlaugs ulykke.

Arnkell goðis far, Þórólfr bægifót, bliver ondsindet da han bliver gammel og deres forhold dårligt. Efter sin død går han voldsomt igen og hærger hele egnen, så mange dør. Arnkell flytter liget og bygger et højt gærde oven for dyssen, hvilket standser spøgeriet i den tid, han lever. Men Snorri goði stræber Arnkell efter livet, fordi han fortsætter en strid med ham, som startede i hans fars tid, og til sidst dræber han ham. Herefter begynder Þórólfr bægifót igen at spøge, indtil nogle mænd brænder liget. En af dem bliver dræbt af en gal tyr, født af en ko som har slikket stenene, hvor ligbålet var. Alt dette forårsager Katla, ifølge sagaens fremstilling (*Eyrb.*: 17–119).

Eksemplet viser både hvordan og hvorfor skadelig magi bliver straffet. Geirriðr, som tilhører en fornem slægt, får sin sag op på Tinget, og vinder den på grund af mange mænds opbakning, mens Katla og hendes søn, som tilsyneladende er fattige og slægtsløse, blot dræbes. Parallelt hermed ligger sagaens synsvinkel hos den slægt Geirriðr og hendes bror Arnkell goði tilhører, og man kan ikke undgå at få det indtryk, at konflikten skildres mest mulig fordelagtigt for dem. Modsat søges de ulykker forskellige personer kommer ud for forklaret ud fra den magi Katla udøver, hvormed drabet på hende retfærdiggøres.

Går man imidlertid et spadestik dybere og betragter Arnkell goðis rolle, gemmer der sig en anden forklaring bag magien. Kvinder er under alle omstændigheder fredet efter de gamle leveregler, selv hvis de optræder voldeligt — det ses bl.a. af et eksempel fra *Gísla saga*, hvor Auðr slår Eyjólfur på næsen med en pung, der indeholder en bestikelsesessum, han vil give hende. Eyjólfur vil dræbe hende, men hans følgesvend forhindrer ham i det, idet han kalder det *nidingsverk*, niddingsdåd (*Gísl.*: 57–58). Drabet på Katla medfører, at Arnkell pådrager sig

vanære og sætter sin lykke over styr. Denne grundlæggende kausalitet er stadig gennemgående i sagaens fortællestruktur og har en stærkere gennemslagskraft end den ret, der kan vindes via slægtens magt. Hertil føjer sig endvidere en kristen påvirkning, som modsat den gamle neutrale og relative opfattelse af magi betragter magi som absolut ondskab og magikyndige kvinder som onde hekse, man har lov til at forfølge og dræbe. På overfladen fremstilles drabet på Katla som berettiget, fordi hun tidligere har udøvet magi, og også i den aktuelle situation forsøger at skjule sin søn med dette middel. Arnkell fordømmes eller straffes altså ikke direkte, fordi det han gør er i overensstemmelse med den nye kristne tankegang. Men indirekte får han sin straf for at forgribe sig på en kvinde, hvilket viser, at sagaen er komponeret i overensstemmelse med de gamle regler. Sagaen indeholder således et interessant eksempel på, hvordan gammelt og nyt mødes, og det gamle tilsyneladende, men kun på overfladen, former sig efter det nye.

Den almindeligt anvendte oversættelse af *fjölknungr*, "troldkyndig", ser ud til at have vundet hævd, idet dette udtryk bruges både i KLNMs artikler, som er henholdsvis på svensk, norsk og dansk, og i de danske oversættelser af islændingesagaerne. N. M. Pedersen bruger det og ligeledes oversætterne i *De islandske sagaer*, f.eks. Gunnar Gunnarsson, Hans Kyrre, Vilhelm Andersen, Thøger Larsen, Johannes V. Jensen og Tom Kristensen (IS: 428, 626, 752; DIS: 155). I *Kormaks saga* oversætter Tom Kristensen endda udtrykket *fjölknungr kona* med "troldkælling" (DIS: 248).

Ord som er sammensat med *tröll* = trold optræder altid i negativ betydning i islændingesagaerne og i hele den norrøne litteratur. Halvorsen nævner en række eksempler i KLN under artiklen "Troll" og siger: "I alle disse kildene er t. farlige og uhyggelige fiender av menneskenes verden, de hører mørket til og kan skabe sig om" (Halvorsen 1974: 655). Når noget f.eks. betegnes som trolddom = *tröllskapr* eller *trölldömr*, har det en fordømmende klang. Det gælder både på de nordiske sprog og på oldislandsk. Da den magikyndige Ljót, som er hovedpersonernes fjende, dræbes i *Vatsdælasaga*, siges det eksempelvis: "Siðan dó Ljót kerling i móð sinum ok trölldómi, (. . .)" ('Siden døde kællingen Ljót i sin vrede og trolddom') (*Vatsd.*: 61). Alligevel bruger Halvorsen udtrykket "trolddom" om alle former for psykiske og magiske kræfter, positive som negative (Halvorsen 1974: 657–61). På samme måde bruger Raudvere ordet *trölldömr* som den generelle term for magi (Raudvere 2002: 88). Dette indebærer en risiko for at begreberne forvirres."Magi" er et mere neutralt ord, som kan bruges både positivt og negativt.

Virkningen af at bruge udtrykket "troldkyndig" i oversættelserne er, at teksten får en misvisende negativ farvning, når der optræder kvinder med stærke kræfter, hvilket er uheldigt, da den positive eller negative betydning af *fjólkunnigr* ikke er givet på forhånd. I *Kormaks saga* optræder f.eks. to forskellige kvinder, Þorveig og Þórdís, der begge betegnes som *fjólkunnigr kona*, magikyndig kvinde. Kormaks forhold til Þorveig udvikler sig på en fjendtlig måde, mens Þórdís først skaber problemer for Kormakr, men senere prøver at hjælpe ham (*Korm.*: 9–12 og 47). Samme Þórdís spákona optræder i *Vatsdælasaga* på en ovenud positiv måde: "Þórdís spákona (...) bjó at spákonafelli, hon var mikils verð ok margs kunnandi (...) Þar reid með þeim Þórdís spákona ok átti ein sér búð ok hennar menn; (...) Þórormr hitti Þordisi ok ræz um við hana, því at hon var forvitna ok framsýn ok var tekin til þess at gera um stórmál" ('Þórdís spákone boede på spákonefjeld, hun var meget værdsat og kyndig i magi (...) Med dem red Þórdís spákone, og hun havde sin egen bod sammen med sine folk; (...) Þórormr opsøgte Þórdís, fordi hun var forudvidende og fremsynet, og blev brugt af mange til at afgøre deres store sager') (*Vatsd.*: 102–3). Þórdís iklæder Þorkell krafla en sort kappe, giver ham en stav og siger, han skal slå sin modstander, Guðmundr ríka, 3 gange på venstre kind med den. Dette får ham til at miste mæle og initiativ, så vatsdælerne vinder sagen. Bagefter sender Þórdís Þorkell hen for at slå Guðmundr på højre kind, hvorved han bliver sig selv igen (*Vatsd.*: 103–5).

Man skal ikke overse, at Kormakr selv er ansvarlig for, at forholdet til føromtalte Þorveig udvikler sig så negativt, at hun lægger hans livs forbandelse på ham. Hendes sønner lægger sig i baghold for ham, og han dræber dem begge. Derefter opsøger han hende og siger, hun skal flytte bort fra egnen, og at han ikke vil give bøder for hendes sønner. Hun svarer: "(...) því skal ek þér launa at þú skalt Steingerðar aldri njóta". ('Jeg vil give dig den løn, at du aldrig skal få et samliv med Steingerðr') (*Korm.*: 12).

Det gør en markant forskel om *fjólkunnigr kona* oversættes med "troldkyndig kvinde/troldkælling", som er negativt ladede, eller et udtryk der, ligesom på oldislandsk, er mere neutralt, som f.eks. "magikyndig kvinde". Dette udtryk er endvidere parallelt med det, der bruges i den engelske oversættelse af islændingesagaerne *The Complete sagas of Icelanders* fra 1997: "skilled in magic".

I de følgende tre passager gengives to linier fra *Kormaks saga*, først den oldislandske tekst, derefter i Tom Kristensens oversættelse. I tredje afsnit oversættes *fjólkunnigr* med "magikyndig kvinde".

Þorveig hét kona, hon var mjök fjölkunnig; hon bjó á Steinstöðum i Miðfirði; hon átti ij sonu (...) Þorveig hin fjölkunniga fór at finna Hólmbersa ok sagði honum sin vandræði (...) (*Korm.*: 9, 13).

Thorveig hed en Troldkælling. Hun boede i Steinstad i Midfjord og havde to Sønner. (...) Hos Holmgangsberse var det, at Troldkællingen Thorveig søgte Hjælp. (DIS: 248, 252).

Þorveig hed en kvinde, som var meget magikyndig. Hun boede i Steinstad i Midfjord og havde to sønner. (...) Þorveig den magikyndige op-søgte Holmgangsberse og fortalte ham om sin ulykke."

Ved brug af det negativt ladede udtryk "troldkyndig" om de kvinder der er kyndige i magi, sniger der sig en fordømmelse ind i teksten, som foregriber den senere stærke fordømmelse af alle former for magi fra kristent hold, som kommer til udtryk i lovgivningen fra middelalderen vedrørende "trolddom":

I alle de eldste kristenrettene er det tatt med detaljerte forbud mod t. av alle arter. Etter Gragas (I a 22, II 27) er det straffbart å blote til hedenske vetter, drive el. la drive t., *fjölkyngi*, til fordel for seg selv, el. bruke trolddomsmidler til vern, og straffen er den mindre fredløshet (...); *fordæðuskapr* derimot, det å drive t. til skade for andre, straffes med full fredløshet, *skóggangr*. (Halvorsen 1974: 658)

For en nutidig nordisk læser lægger ordet "troldkyndig" et filter ind i forhold til at opleve den ægte stemning i sagaen, da det for de flestes vedkommende er en dybtliggende og delvis ubevidst del af den kristne kulturelle påvirkning at tage afstand fra trolddom. Herved mister beskrivelserne deres oprindelige neutralitet, og muligheden for, som læser, at opleve en anerkendelse af og en positiv identificering med de stærke, magtfulde kvinder i sagaerne, som netop ofte er kyndige i magi, mindskes betydeligt. Konsekvensen heraf er, at sagaernes balance mellem det mandlige og det kvindelige udtryk for styrke forrykkes.

Eksempler på overbetoning af den negative, fjendtlige side af de magiske forekomster i sagalitteraturen, kan også ses uden for Skandinavien. I artiklen "Hostile Magic in the Icelandic Sagas" omtaler H. R. Ellis Davidson alle med psykiske evner, selv dem der helbreder andre, som *witches*; deres handlinger kaldes under et for *hostile magic* (Ellis Davidson 1973: 20–21). Denne helt vildledende betegnelse mod-siger forfatteren selv på s. 35, hvor det anføres, at mange typer magiske

hændelser kunne bruges både til godt og ondt. Trods det bruger hun *hostile magic* om en lang række eksempler af begge typer, også sådanne som i den pågældende sagakontekst helt udpræget beskriver magiske fænomener som positive; det gælder bl.a. fremtalte Þórdís spákonas hjælp til Þorkell i *Vatsdælasaga* og fostermødrene som kan mærke på personernes krop, om de bliver såret i kamp (Ellis Davidson: 24, 27). Konklusionen lyder: "The general assumption in the sagas, (...) is that the powers of witches were in general put to hostile use." (Ellis Davidson 1973: 37). Dette kan dog næppe siges at være bevist gennem de talrige, men tilfældig valgte udsnit af psykiske fænomener, der anføres. Selv om artiklen tager udgangspunkt i *sejd* (den stærkeste form for spådomskunst og magi) udelades de mest markante og udpræget positive beskrivelser i islændingesagaerne af vølver og deres sejd, som findes i *Vatsdælasaga* og *Eiriks saga rauða*, uden begrundelse.

Magi anvendes oftest som led i fjendtlige opgør, og ud fra den førkristne opfattelse vil det afhænge af hvilken side den ses fra, om den anses for skadelig. Men som kristendommen vinder frem, forsvinder tolerancen over for anvendelsen af denne slags metoder. Som læser med en kristen kulturbaggrund lader man sig da også let overbevise om, at det er ganske forfærdeligt når Þorbjörn öngulls magikyndige fostermøder bedriver skadelig magi mod Grettir i *Grettis saga*. Udførelsen af magien beskrives detaljeret:

Hon lét telgja litinn flatveg, þar (sem) gniðat var. Síðan tók hon knif sinn ok reist rúnar á rótinni ok rauð i blóði sinu ok kvað yfir galdra. Honn gekk öfug andsælis um tréit ok hafði þar yfir mörg römm um-mæli. Eftir þat lætr hon hrinda trénu á sæ, ok mæli svá fyrir, at þat skyldi reka út til Drangeyar, ok verði Gretti alt mein at (*Grett.*: 233).

(Hun lod en lille plet glatte. Derefter tog hun sin kniv og ristede runer på roden, gned dem med sitt blod og kvad galdrer over dem. Hun gik avid om træstykket og sagde mange magiske formler over det. Derefter lader hun træstykket kaste i søen og siger, at det skal drive ud til Drangø og gøre Grettir al mulig skade.)

Det hører imidlertid med til historien, at før hun kan ramme Grettir, må hun provokere ham verbalt til at øve vold imod hende; han kaster en stor sten på hende, så hendes lårben brækker. Da han rammes af hendes magi, siger han: "(...) ok mun kerling ætla at hefna steinshöggs-ins" ('(...) og kællingen agter nok at hævne stenslaget') (*Grett.*: 236). Uanset hvad hun siger til ham, berettiger det ikke Grettir til at opføre

sig voldeligt over for hende. Stenslaget er en niddingsdåd, som betyder, at han pådrager sig ulykke og død.

Ifølge sagaen medførte retssagen efter Grettis død, at loven blev strammet og fik det indhold, der er angivet ovenfor: "Var þá i lög tekit, at alla forneskju menn gerðu þeir útlæga" ('Det blev da indført i loven, at alle som dyrkede gammel skik og brug blev landsforvist') (Grett.: 251).

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ANNETTE LASSEN

## Gud eller djævel?

### Kristningen af Odin<sup>1</sup>

De norrøne kilder til den nordiske mytologi er, som bekendt, skrevet flere hundrede år efter kristendommens indførelse af kristne forfattere. Som Anne Holtsmark påpegede i 1964, bestod omvendelsen til kristendom ikke alene i antagelsen af den nye tro, men også i en revurdering af de gamle guder (1964: 9). Forestillingen om nordboernes hedenskab opfandtes så at sige med kristendommens indførelse. Alt efter hvad målet med de forskellige tekster har været, har den enkelte forfatter måttet finde en løsning på, hvordan man — i betragtning af sin kristne samtid — kunne beskæftige sig med eller fremstille de hedenske guder. I det følgende skal jeg primært se på den kristne fremstilling af det nordiske panteons øverste gud, Odin, i et udpluk af de norrøne middelaldertekster.

Inden for den hagiografiske litteratur eksisterede allerede længe før Nordens omvendelse til kristendom en række gængse løsninger på, hvordan man kunne præsentere eller omtale de hedenske (græsk-romerske) guder. Disse løsninger overtog man med kristningen inden for det

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Lassen, A., Ph.D., lektor, Hugvísindadeild, Háskóli Íslands. "God or Devil? The Christianization of Odin", *ANF 121* (2006), pp. 121–138.

**Abstract:** This article surveys the different Christian methods of describing heathen gods, using Óðinn as the chief example. In the Old Norse texts, Óðinn is alternately euhemerised, demonised or christened, i.e. described as a king, a demon or as a heathen counterpart to the Christian God. The general methods of understanding heathen gods in the middle ages naturally had their origin in the Christian church and the Christian theology of heathenism effected great influence on the descriptions of Óðinn we find in Old Norse texts. The Christian influence on the heathen material in Old Norse texts must accordingly be taken into account when reading these texts as sources for understanding Old Norse heathen religion. The article ends by proposing a contextual method with an emphasis on reception history in the study of Old Norse paganism.

**Keywords:** Odin, Christianization, Old Norse mythology



norrøne kulturområde.<sup>2</sup> Allerede i Det gamle Testamentes apokryfe tekst *Visdommens bog* (*Liber Sapientiae* 14, 12–21), som man mener går tilbage til 2. årh. f.Kr. (*Det Gamle Testamentes Apokryfe Bøger*, 1998: 8; Friis-Jensen 1993: 224), fremstilledes afgudsdyrkelsen som en billeddyrkelse.<sup>3</sup> I nogle af kongesagaernes totter ser man også dyrkelsen af de hedenske guder fremstillet som en dyrkelse af billedstøtter.<sup>4</sup> I de aktuelle totter finder man dyrkelsen af Thor og Frej fremstillet på denne måde, men det er værd at bemærke, at Odinsdyrkelsen i de norrøne tekster kun sjældent fremstilles som en dyrkelse af billedstøtter.<sup>5</sup>

En anden løsning var at euhemerisere de hedenske guder. Billeddyrkelsen, som den fremstilles i *Visdommens bog* er i virkeligheden en form for euhemerisme, da den if. dette værk udspringer af en fars sorg over hans døde søn. På grund af den store sorg lod faren fremstille et billede af sønnen, som han begyndte at ære som en gud. Han gav ceremonier og ritualer videre til sine undergivne, og efterhånden blev gudebillederne dyrket på magthavernes befaling (*Visdommens bog* 14: 15–16). Euhemerismen er imidlertid endnu ældre end *Visdommens bog* og har oprindeligt fået sit navn efter en rejseroman af den græske Euhemeros fra Messina (som var aktiv o. 300 f.Kr.). I hans rejseroman *Den hellige indskrift* (*Hiera anagrafe*), som i øvrigt kun er fragmentarisk bevaret, berettes der om en rejse til det indiske hav, hvor Euhemeros på en ø, Panchaea, finder en hellig indskrift, der legitimerer dyrkelsen af afdøde hellenistiske konger ved afsløringen af de græske guder som afdøde konger. Selvom værkets mål var at idealisere det hellenistiske

<sup>2</sup> Hvornår disse kristne tolkninger af de hedenske guder blev kendt i Island, ved man ikke. Baetke antager, at man har fået kendskab til dem i 1100-tallet (1950: 22), men det anser Holtsmark for for sent, idet hun antager, at den nye og kristne vurdering af guderne må have spillet en rolle i missionstiden (1964: 9). Grundlaget for at overføre kirkens teorier om de græsk-romerske guder til de nordiske har muligvis været oversættelsen af de græsk-romerske dagenavne til deres nordiske pendanter.

<sup>3</sup> I *Mythographi Vaticani*, 3 Proemium: 134, fortælles det, at den hedenske billeddyrkelse stammer fra en ægyptisk far, der i sorg over sin søns død fremstillede og dyrkede en billedstøtte af ham. *Mythographi Vaticani* er en kristen tekst sandsynligvis fra det 4. eller 5. århundrede e.Kr.

<sup>4</sup> Jævnfør *Rögnvalds þáttur ok Rauds* (overleveret i *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*) og *Þáttur af Ögmundi dytt ok Gunnari Helming* (ligeledes overleveret i *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*). Jævnfør også passagen, hvor Dala-Guðbrandr kommer anstigende med en Thorsfigur over for Olav den Hellige (*Heimskringla* 2: 233–34).

<sup>5</sup> I Saxos *Gesta Danorum* (I, 7) lader Odinsdyrkerne derimod fremstille en statue af guld af Odin for at vise deres ærefrygt for ham. Som i totterne går det imidlertid ikke godt med denne dyrkelse, idet Frigg piller guldet af statuen for at pynte sig med det. Jævnfør også Adam af Bremens beskrivelse i *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesie pontificum* af helligdommen i Uppsala, hvor der netop dyrkes billeder af Thor, Odin og Frej (IV: 26). I *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* nævnes i øvrigt en billedstøtte af Odin.

kongedømme, blev det senere brugt som en religionskritik.<sup>6</sup> Ophøjelsen af de romerske kejsere til guder gjorde denne teori om gudernes væsen meget plausibel. Senere brugte kirkefædrene ligeledes det, at Hercules, Castor, Pollux og Asclepius if. den græsk-romerske tro havde været mennesker, som belæg for, at de hedenske guder også havde været mennesker, og at de forblev mennesker, som uretmæssigt blev dyrket som guder (Cooke 1927: 398). Dertil kommer selvfølgelig kejserkult.

I *Divinae institutiones* argumenterede den tidlige kirkefader Laktants (ca. 240–320) for euhemerismen på baggrund af Euhemeros og *Visdommens bog*. I oldkristne værker rendte den euhemeristiske teori om gudernes oprindelse imidlertid sammen med en identifikation af de græsk-romerske guder med dæmoner, en dæmonlære eller dæmonologi. I Laktants værk er læren den, at de hedenske guder i virkeligheden er dæmoner (“dæmones”), som har tilranet sig afdøde kongers navne og på det grundlag lader menneskene dyrke sig som guder (*Divinae institutiones* 4, xxvii: 15–18).

I overensstemmelse med Laktants tilskriver Augustin (354–430) sig både den euhemeristiske og dæmonologiske opfattelse af guderne i *De civitate Dei*.<sup>7</sup> Det var imidlertid Isidor af Sevilas (575–638) euhemeristiske og dæmonologiske beskrivelse af de hedenske guder, der især fik betydning for middelalderens forfattere.<sup>8</sup> I *Veraldar saga*, som findes fragmentarisk bevaret i håndskrifter fra o. 1200, citeres Isidors *Etymologiæ*, så man har kendt i det mindste dele af værket på Island (Benediktsson (udg.) 1944: xlv).

De kendteste steder, man finder den euhemeristiske fremstilling af de førkristne guder i de norrøne tekster, er prologen til Snorris *Edda* (hvor gudernes oprindelse i Troja og udvandring til Skandinavien beskrives),<sup>9</sup> rammefortællingen i *Gylfaginning* i samme værk (hvor de troldkyndige asiater giver sig ud for at være de guder, som de selv dyrker) og *Ynglinga saga* (hvor gudernes oprindelse i Asien, og deres udvandring til Sverige, hvor svenskerne tror, at de er guder, beskrives).

<sup>6</sup> *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*: 567. I *Mythographi Vaticani* 2, Proemium (74), omtales afgudsdyrkelsens oprindelse i dyrkelsen af afdøde konger ligeledes.

<sup>7</sup> Jævnfør fx *De civitate Dei* II, 10; VI, 6, 8; VIII, 22. I kapitel VI, 7 priser Augustin i øvrigt Euhemeros for hans udeladelse af fablernes snak og hans historiske indfaldsvinkel.

<sup>8</sup> *Etymologiæ* VIII, 11. Cooke 1927: 403. Blandt Isidors kilder er bl.a. Augustins *De civitate Dei* og Laktants *Divinae institutiones*. Macfarlane 1980: 7.

<sup>9</sup> Se Ursula og Peter Dronke 1977 og Faulkes 1978–79 ang. mulige forbilleder for Snorris prolog.

Jeg vil opholde mig lidt ved *Ynglinga saga*, hvor Odin beskrives som en konge eller præst.

I en nylig udgivet artikel diskuterer Clunies Ross *Ynglinga sagas* fremstilling af ritualer og argumenterer for, at Odin fremstilles som en hedensk præst (Clunies Ross 2003: 294). Clunies Ross bemærker, at *Ynglinga sagas* ritualer både fungerer som et politisk og religiøst fundament for kongeslægterne, og at ceremonierne i forbindelse med bl.a. død og begravelse spillede en vigtig rolle i opretholdelsen af kongehusenes dominans.<sup>10</sup> Dette tolker Clunies Ross som en projektion af den tætte forbindelse mellem kirke og kongemagt tilbage til førkristen tid (Clunies Ross 2003: 295), men det kan også tolkes som et led i den euhemeristiske fremstilling af de hedenske guder. Ifølge Euhemeros var gudedyrkelsen netop en dyrkelse af konger, som man ser det i *Ynglinga sagas* fremstilling af Odinsdyrkelsen, og denne ide videreførte Laktants i læren om dæmonerne, der tog sig kongenavne og på det grundlag lod sig dyrke som guder. Kongen Odin, som indfører ceremonier og ritualer, bliver efter sin død dyrket som en gud.<sup>11</sup>

Der er imidlertid en særlig norrøn vinkel på fremstillingen af denne gudedyrkelse i kraft af, at den finder sted i Sverige.<sup>12</sup> Ifølge de norrøne tekster var svenskerne nogle værre hedninge: De omvendtes senere til kristendom end islændinge og nordmænd, og deres dyrkelse af de hedenske guder og deres skikke fremstilles flere steder som ekstreme.<sup>13</sup> Det er næppe tilfældigt, at dyrkelsen af Odin og andre guder i *Heims-*

<sup>10</sup> "In *Ynglinga saga* ritual is both religious and political and is the fundamental means by which royal lineages established their dynastic grip on the peoples of Scandinavia in the pre-Christian period. In articulating a theory of ritual so closely connected with the royal houses of early medieval Scandinavia, Snorri makes it clear that ceremonies relating to death and blood sacrifice were of the greatest importance in both establishing the dominance of the Scandinavian royal houses over the common people and celebrating their own eminence both in life and after death." Clunies Ross 2003: 295.

<sup>11</sup> *Ynglinga saga* kap. 9. Jævnfør også beskrivelsen af Odinsdyrkelsen i *Chronicon Æthelweardi* 1: 3, hvor det hedder, at Woden var barbarernes konge. Efter hans død ærede hedningene ham som en gud ved at ofre til ham for sejre eller kampmod.

<sup>12</sup> Dette harmonerer med Lönnroths tolkning af *Ynglingatal's* fremstilling af kongedofringer. Ifølge Lönnroth beskriver digtet i højere grad den negative holdning over for svenskere og deres påståede hedenskab, end det giver et sandfærdigt billede af hedensk kult. Lönnroth 1996: 148.

<sup>13</sup> Svenskernes hedenskab er en rimelig udbredt topos i norrøne tekster. Se fx *Pátr af Ögmundi dytt ok Gunnari Helming* overleveret i *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta og Gautreks saga*. Jævnfør Foote 1993: 19; Lönnroth 1996; Clunies Ross 2003: 292–93. I sit foredrag ved The Twelfth International Saga Conference 2003 viste Henrik Janson imidlertid, at *paganes* i latinske tekster kan bruges om folk, der egentlig er kristne, men anses for ulydige mod deres retmæssige konge. Måske kan der således nogle gange ligge (kirke)politisk propaganda bag stereotypen 'den svenske hedning'.

*kringla* er henlagt til Sverige, og at der gentagne gange gøres opmærksom på, at svenskerne troede, at Odin, Njord og Frej var guder.<sup>14</sup> Sagaskriveren har her anvendt en velkendt stereotyp. Det er således sandsynligvis heller ikke tilfældigt, at *Eddas Gylfi* er en svensk konge.

Brugen af de førkristne guder i genealogier har ligeledes en snert af euhemerisme, og traditionen kan stamme fra kristen tid.<sup>15</sup> De nordiske guder stilles her op i slægtsrækker (bl.a. for historiske personer) sammen med helte fra Troja-krigen og personer fra Det Gamle Testamente. Endelig finder man ikke overraskende den euhemeristiske model i oversættelser af hagiografi, fx i den oldengelske *De falsis diis*, som er oversat i *Hauksbók (Um þat hvaðan ótrú hófst)*. *De falsis diis* er på sin side Ælfrics oversættelse af Martinus Bracarensis (ca. 515–579) prædiken (*De correctione rusticorum*). I *De falsis diis* præsenteres Merkur, som lidt senere i teksten gengives med Odin, som en mand ("sum man wæs gehaten Mercurius on life"; *De falsis diis*: 684). I den norrøne oversættelse, som er baseret på Ælfrics tekst, følges dette ("En var einn maðr sa er Mercuríus het"; *Um þat hvaðan Ótrú hófst*: 158). I dette eksempel er det imidlertid interessant, at den latinske tekst ikke selv har anvendt euhemerismen i sin rene form som løsningsmodel. Den latinske tekst præsenterer nemlig Merkur som en *dæmon* ("Alius deinde dæmon Mercurium se appellare voluit"; *De falsis diis*: 684), hvilket viser, at euhemerisme og dæmonologi blev opfattet som to sider af samme sag. Dette eksempel bringer mig videre til den tredje løsningsmodel, som kirken så at sige havde kanoniseret, nemlig fremstillingen af førkristne guder som dæmoner.

Som nævnt, var euhemerisme og dæmonologi allerede gledet sammen i de oldkristne tekster.<sup>16</sup> I Laktants *Divinae institutiones* så vi, at dæmonerne anvendte afdøde kongers navne, hvilket legitimerede deres

<sup>14</sup> "Nú hugðu Svíar, at hann [Óðinn] væri kominn í inn forna Ásgarð ok myndi þar lifa at eilífu. [...] Svíar trúðu því, at Njörðr réði fyrir ári ok fyrir fésælu manna. [...] Lét hann ok marka sik Óðni, áðr hann dó. Svíar brenndu hann ok grétu allmjök yfir leiði hans. [...] Á hans [Freys] dögum hófsk Fróðafriðr. Þá var ok ár um þll lönd. Kenndu Svíar þat Frey". *Ynglinga saga* kap. 9–10, *Heimskringla* 1: 22–24.

<sup>15</sup> Baetke 1950: 25. Mens det er usikkert, om man i førkristen tid førte genealogier tilbage til guderne, blev det i kristen tid nærmest reglen. I slutningen af 1200-tallet eksisterede der genealogier for hver af de regerende familier i Skandinavien, ynglingerne, skjoldungerne og ladejarlerne. Faulkes 1982 [1978–79]: 98–99. Alle genealogier, der stammer fra kristen tid og går tilbage til førkristne guder, indeholder et element af euhemerisme. Faulkes 1982 [1978–79]: 106.

<sup>16</sup> Nogle gange blandes dæmonologi og euhemerisme videre med dyrkelsen af billedstøtter, hvilket er tilfældet i *Þátr af Ögmundi dytt ok Gunnari helming*. Jævnfør Clunies Ross 2003: 281.

dyrkelse som guder. Fremstillingen af hedenske guder som dæmoner er videre knyttet til opfattelsen af de ikke-kristne religioner som billeddyrkende, idet man forestillede sig, at de dyrkede billedstøtter beboedes af dæmoner, hvilket man også finder eksempler på inden for det norrøne område.<sup>17</sup>

De ældste norrøne håndskriftsoverleverede tekster, hvor Odin overhovedet nævnes, er norrøne oversættelser af latinsk hagiografi. Her optræder Odin i sydeuropæisk kontekst som oversættelse for en række græsk-romerske guder: Merkur, Jupiter, Mars og Saturn (jf. Battista 2003; Lassen 2005b). I den latinske hagiografi identificeres de hedenske guder bl.a. med "dæmon" (dæmon)<sup>18</sup> og "immundus spiritus" (uren ånd),<sup>19</sup> som vi også så i eksemplet fra *De falsis Diis*.

Identifikationen af Odin med dæmoner eller onde ånder i nogle norrøne tekster minder om Laktants dæmonologi. Sagaerne om de to missionskonger, Olav Tryggvason og Olav den Hellige, er en tekstgruppe, hvor der er en oplagt kristen vinkel på stoffet.<sup>20</sup> De første sagaer om disse konger blev skrevet på latin af munke, som må have haft kendskab til de nævnte latinske teorier. I sagaerne om de to Olaver optræder Odin som en frister og identificeres med en ond ånd, "illr andi". Substantivet "andi" i dets negative betydning af ond ånd, kan være en oversættelse af bl.a. spiritus, diaboli, Beelzebub og dæmon på latin (*Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog* 1: a-bam. 1995: 434–35). De to sagaer, hvor Odin oftest spiller en rolle i handlingen, er *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*<sup>21</sup> og *Den store saga om Olav den Hellige*.<sup>22</sup> Det er i særdeleshed i totterne i den førstnævnte af disse sagaer, at man møder Odin.

I en af passagerne i denne saga opsøges Olav Tryggvason af en ukendt mand ved navn "Gestr". Gest er veltalende og kan en mængde viden om tidligere tiders konger. Olav Tryggvason kan ikke løsrive sig

<sup>17</sup> Jævnfør atter *Pátr af Ógmundi dytt ok Gunnari Helming*.

<sup>18</sup> *De falsis diis*: 684. Som diskuteret ovenfor gengiver den oldengelske oversættelse *dæmon* med "man" (*De falsis diis*, 684), hvilket ligeledes er tilfældet i den norrøne oversættelse ("maðr") (*Um þat hvaðan ótrú hófst*: 158). Jævnfør Faulkes 1982 [1978–79]: 110.

<sup>19</sup> *Passio sancti Clementis*: 69. I den norrøne oversættelse gengives dette med "fianda" og "ohreinan anda" (*Klements saga*: 67). Jævnfør Faulkes 1978–79: 110.

<sup>20</sup> Det kan således diskuteres, om Olavssagaerne skal klassificeres som kongesagaer eller hagiografi. Sverrir Tómasson 1992: 145.

<sup>21</sup> Sagaerne om Olav Tryggvason udviklede sig fra passager i de ældste kongesagaer (fx *Ágrip*). Den ældste deciderede saga om Olav Tryggvason, som er bevaret i islandsk oversættelse, blev skrevet af Oddr Snorrason munk på latin o. 1190. *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* blev sandsynligvis skrevet o. 1300. *Flateyjarbóks* saga om Olav Tryggvason er en redaktion af *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*. Ólafur Halldórsson 1993: 448–49.

<sup>22</sup> Den ældste saga om Olav den Hellige blev skrevet 1160–80. *Den store saga om Olav den Hellige* er den version, man finder i *Heimskringla*.

fra gæstens tale og nægter at gå i seng om aftenen, selvom biskoppen opfordrer ham til det gentagne gange. Først sent og modvilligt lægger kongen sig til at sove på biskoppens råd, men vågner kort tid efter, hvor gæsten er forsvundet sporløst. Umiddelbart efter at eftersøgningen af gæsten er begyndt, står biskoppen op, og det kommer da bag på Olav Tryggvason, at det *allerede* var tid til bøn. Da det lidt efter viser sig, at en ukendt mand gav køkkenfolkene to store og fede stykker kød, indser kongen langt om længe, at den ukendte mand ingen anden var end djævelen i skikkelse af Odin. Køkkenfolkene får derpå ordre til at brænde maden, for ingen af dem skal spise djævlens giftige mad. Kongen forstår videre, at djævelen ("fiandin"; *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* 2: 88) havde i sinde at holde ham vågen om natten, så han ville sove over sig om morgenen og derved forsømme gudstjenesten (*Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* 2: 86–90).<sup>23</sup>

I *Flateyjarbóks* redaktion af *Den store saga om Olav den Hellige* bliver Olav den Hellige under et gilde i Vig også opsøgt af en ukendt mand ved navn "Gestr". Selvom Gest er spydig, uvenlig og overmodig, lader kongen ham kalde til sig, da han er gået til sengs, for at høre, om han kan underholde. Gest er klog og fortæller meget om de tidligere konger og spørger Olav, hvilken hedensk konge han helst ville være. Olav den Hellige svarer, at han slet ikke ville være nogen hedensk konge (hvilket selvfølgelig er det rette svar for en kristen konge), men da Gest bliver ved at presse ham, svarer han til sidst, at han da ville foretrække at

<sup>23</sup> Passagen findes også i *Flateyjarbóks* redaktion af *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* (1: 375–76). Episoden findes også i A- og S-redaktionen af Oddr Snorrason munks *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* (131–36), og her identificeres Odin ligeledes med djævelen. I *Heimskringla* finder man ligeledes episoden, men her er identifikationen med djævelen udeladt. Fra *editio princeps* af dette værk (Stockholm 1597) har man ment, at Snorri Sturluson skrev værket, men if. Louis-Jensen kan dette ikke bevises. Hun har argumenteret for, at Snorris nevø, Óláfr hvítaskáld, kan have skrevet værket kort før sin død i 1259 (Louis-Jensen 1997). Hvem der end har skrevet værket, er udeladelsen interessant, for den kan give et indtryk af, hvordan han arbejdede, for Oddr Snorrasons *Olavssaga* udgør den primære kilde til *Heimskringla* (Ólafur Halldórsson 1993: 449). Forfatteren synes at gøre episoden mere hedensk ved at udelade det kristne element.

I en anden episode i *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* sættes Odin ligeledes i forbindelse med djævelen. Episoden er interpoleret i *Flateyjarbóks* redaktion (*Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* 2: 173–74 (variantapparatet)). Her dukker Odin op under navnet "Forni" og præsenterer sig som kongens gamle ven. Han giver Olav Tryggvasons skibsbyggere et stykke træ, der er stort nok til kølen, men i det træ er der gemt en slange. Kongen konstaterer, at Forni var 'den onde Odin' ("hinn ille odinn"; 173), og at det havde været hans mening, at slangen skulle sno sig ud gennem træet, når de sejlede, hvorved skibet ville synke. Olav Tryggvason beslutter overraskende at vie træet og bruge det, selvom det var en ondsindet gave fra den onde Odin. Skibet bliver endda opkaldt efter slangen og skibets længde og får navnet: 'Ormen hin Lange'.

være Rolf Krake, som i sin saga netop afviser Odin. Gest er imidlertid stadig utilfreds og spørger nu, hvorfor Olav ikke vil være præcis som den konge, der altid havde sejr, var smuk og lige så god til digtning som andre til at tale (osv. osv.; *Flateyjarbók* 2: 134–35) — karakteristika, der passer til Odin, som han beskrives i *Ynglinga saga*. Nu forstår Olav den Hellige omsider, at han står over for ‘den onde Odin’ (“hinn ille Odinn”), en uren ånd (“vhræinn ande”) — og han vil da slå ham i hovedet med sin tidebog, men Odin synker i jorden, som den dæmon, han er (*Flateyjarbók* 2: 134–35).

Det er ikke tilfældigt, at kongen netop vil anvende sin tidebog, eller *breviarium*, som våben over for Odin. Tidebogen indeholdt bl.a. liturgiske forskrifter og psaltaren opdelt efter ugens bønnetider og repræsenterer således plejen af den kristne tro. I *Den store saga om Olav den Hellige* lever kongen et fromt liv: Han står tidligt op, vasker sig og går i kirke, hvor han lytter tilottesang og morgenbøn (*Den store saga om Olav den Hellige*: 104). Olav truer kun Odin med tidebogen, men det, at han lægger an til at slå ham med den, er nok til, at Odin må synke i jorden.

Et andet sted i den norrøne litteratur, i *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, finder man en på nogle punkter lignende passage. Her dukker Odin op og taler om hedenskab for en præst, der dog ikke bryder sig meget om ham. Præsten griber kristendommens stærkeste symbol for at lukke munden på Odin, nemlig korset. Han slår endda Odin i hovedet med korset, og da forsvinder Odin for aldrig mere at vende tilbage (*Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*: 39–40).

Når Odin identificeres med djæveln selv, den øverste i dæmonernes hierarki, er skikkelsen ikke den førkristne gud, men en kristnet Odin, som primært fungerer som kristendommens fjende. Det er djæveln selv, der opsøger Olaverne, men han antager et udseende og en opførsel som den øverste gud i det nordiske panteon.<sup>24</sup>

Vi har nu set på fremstillingen af Odin i kongesagaer og en enkelt islændingesaga. Hvis man betragter fremstillingen af Odin i fortidsagerne, må man konstatere, at der i de fleste sagaer ikke finder en lige så åbenlys *interpretatio Christiana* sted, hvilket ikke er overraskende i kraft af, at disse sagaers handling udspilles før kristendommens indførelse.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Odin identificeres ikke med en dæmon eller ond ånd i alle beretninger, der involverer guden. Et andet sted i *Flateyjarbók*-redaktionen af *Den store saga om Olav den Hellige*, i *Styrbjarnar þáttur*, optræder Odin ligeledes, men er her ikke negativt valoriseret. *Flateyjarbók* 2: 72.

<sup>25</sup> I “Den prosaiske Odin: Fortidssagaerne som mytografi” (2003) opridser jeg Odins fremstillingen i alle fortidssagaer.

I fire fortidssagaer er Odins rolle imidlertid præget af sagaernes kristne budskab. Dette gælder *Hrólfs saga kraka*, *Orvar-Odds saga*, *Ketils saga hængs* og endelig *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*.

I *Hrólfs saga kraka* vender Odin sig mod sagahelten efter dennes afvisning af en våbengave fra ham. *Hrólfs saga kraka* er den eneste fortids-saga, hvor Odin eksplicit identificeres med en af djævlens udsendinge. Odin optræder i skikkelse af en bonde, Hrani, som Rolf og hans mænd overnatter hos. Denne Hrani beskrives som meget glad og kan svar på alle spørgsmål. Gennem forskellige prøver (en udsættelse for kulde, varme og tørst), som han udsætter Rolf og hans mænd for, foranstalter Hrani en udvælgelsesproces blandt Rolfs mænd, så han til sidst råder Rolf til ikke at angribe Adils med andre mænd end sine tolv kæmper. På hjemvejen, efter en vel overstået kamp, møder Rolf og hans mænd Hrani endnu engang, og nu tilbyder han Rolf en stor våbengave, som denne imidlertid afslår at tage imod. Hrani bliver vred og siger, at Rolf nok ikke er så klog, som man ellers skulle tro. Først på vej derfra bliver Rolf og Bødvar Bjarki klar over fejltagelsen, da de indser, at Hrani nok har været Odin — for manden var ganske vist enøjet (“ad vijsu var madurinn einsyn”; *Hrólfs saga kraka*: 109). Da de forsøger at rette fejlen ved at finde Hrani igen, er det selvfølgelig for sent: Hranis gård er forsvundet. Rolf opgiver eftersøgningen, for der er jo tale om en “ond ånd” (“jllur andi”; *Hrólfs saga kraka*: 109). Det er sandsynligvis på grund af denne afvisning, at Rolf og hans mænd mister deres krigslykke.<sup>26</sup> I det sidste slag møder de en fjende, som de ikke kan besejre. Da de står over for fjenden siger Bødvar Bjarki til Rolf Krake:

Ödinn kann eg ecki ad kienna hier, enn mier er þö mesti grunur á ad hann muni hier sueima j möti oss herianz sonurinn enn fvle og ötrúe, og ef nõckur kynni mier til hanz ad seigia, skyllða eg kreysta hann sem annann vesta og minnsta misling, og það jlla eyturkuykindi skyllði verða suývirdiliga leykid ef eg mætti hann \*hõndum taka [...] *Hrólfs saga kraka*:122.

Odin får det glatte lag i Bødvar Bjarkis verbale udfald imod ham. Tidligere i sagaen identificeredes han af Rolf Krake som en “jllur andi”, men det synes nu ganske nedtonet. Odin er nu på den ene side Fandens urene og utro søn (“herianz sonurinn enn fvle og ötrúe”) og en giftig skabning (“jlla eyturkuykindi”), men tilsyneladende alligevel ikke

<sup>26</sup> I Arngrímur Jónssons *Rerum Danicarum fragmenta* (1596) indser Rolf Krake efter afvisningen af Odin, at han ikke vil være sejrrig i fremtiden (*Danasaga Arngríms lærða* 1982: 33). Arngrímur Jónssons værk er bygget på den tabte *\*Skjöldunga saga*.



farligere end at Bødvar ønsker at knuse ham som den værste og mindste lille mus ("vesta og minnsta misling"). Omend citatet er fyldigere, minder dette om beskrivelsen af Odin i sagaerne om missionskongerne. Med denne tolkning af Rolf Krakes fald gives der i øvrigt mulighed for at fremhæve denne konge i kristen kontekst, hvad der muligvis har været tradition for, for det er, som nævnt tidligere, netop denne konge, som Olav den Hellige vælger at ville ligne, da djævelen i Odins skikkelse presser ham så hårdt (Weber 1981: 475–76).

I enkelte håndskrifter af *Ørvar-Odds saga* er Odds kommentar, da han bliver døbt, at han vil opføre sig som før og vedblive ikke at blote til Odin og Thor.<sup>27</sup> Her findes ligeledes interpoleret en passage, hvor Odd møder en mand ved navn "Rauðgrani", som har en række negative karakteristika. Han fraråder Odd at søge hævn (hvilket er et brud på den norrøne kulturs mandsidealer og krav om hævn), giver mange gode råd, men holder sig væk, så snart der er fare på færde (*Ørvar Odds saga*: 125–37). Denne beskrivelse af Odin synes at være en karikatur af den Odin, man ellers ofte møder i fortidssagaerne: Odin gør alt forkert. Han som ellers er fuld af gode råd, fraråder Odd at søge hævn, og skyer selv fare.

Både Ørvar-Odd og Rolf Krake kan p.g.a. deres afvisning af hedenskaben tolkes som ædle hedninge, skikkelser, der, omend de lever inden kristendommens indførelse i sagaerne, fungerer som forgængere for denne (Lönnroth 1969: 2). Forestillingen om den ædle hedning stammer fra kirken selv. I det ældste værk, der beskriver Islands omvendelse til kristendom, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, skriver Adam af Bremen fx om islændingene, at de hedenske islændinge levede i overensstemmelse med en slags lov, der ikke var meget i uoverensstemmelse med den kristne tro (IV, 36).<sup>28</sup>

Et lignende eksempel på en uduelig Odin ser man i *Ketils saga Hængs*. Odin har gjort heltens modstander, Framar, uimodtagelig over for jern og tilmed døvet Ketils sværd. Men det lykkes ikke desto mindre for Ketil at dræbe sin modstander, hvilket i sammenhængen kan demonstrere en sejr over for hedenskaben, idet Odin mange steder fungerer som den fremmeste repræsentant for denne.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> A, B og E. *Ørvar Odds saga*: 115 (variantapparat).

<sup>28</sup> Jævnfør også Paulus' Brev til Romerne 1, 18–21, hvor det hedder, at Guds væsen og guddommelighed har ligget åbent for hedningene.

<sup>29</sup> *Ketils saga Hængs*: 132, 135, 137, 139. Med hensyn til Odin som repræsentant for hedenskaben henviser jeg til brugen af ham i den oversatte hagiografi og i de to nævnte Olavssagaer.

Et anderledes eksempel finder man i *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*. I underverdenen møder troldkvinden Arinnefja en enøjet mand (hvorfor hun mener, at der må være tale om Odin). Arinnefja skal hente en kappe, men før hun kan få den med sig, skal hun springe over et bål og gå i seng med den enøjede. I passagen kaldes han "höfðingi myrkvanna" (*Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*: 63), 'mørkets herre'. Ifølge Lagerholm er episoden sandsynligvis inspireret af den traditionelle kristne identifikation af Odin med djævelen (*Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*; Lagerholm 1927: 63, n. 3. 4). Andre passager med Odin i denne saga synes imidlertid ikke påvirket af kristne forestillinger (*Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*; Lagerholm 1927: 37, 83).

Udover at fremstille Odin som en dæmon kunne man forklare den hedenske religion som en misforståelse eller fordrejning af den kristne. Også denne model stammer fra kirken. I *Paulus' Brev til Romerne* (1, 18–25) hedder det, at Guds væsen, kraft og guddommelighed lå åbent for hedningene, men at de dyrkede skabningen frem for Skaberen og ombyttede Guds sandhed med løggen. I *Hálfðanar þátr svarta*, som findes i *Flateyjarbók*-redaktionen af *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* fremstilles den hedenske jul som et vrangbillede af den kristne (man dyrker Odin i stedet for Kristus), og Odinsheitiet "Þriði" som en fordrejning af den hellige treenighed:

þeir hallda sin iol af hingatburd uars herra Jesu Cristi en heidnir menn gerdu ser samkundu j hæidr ok tignn vit hinn illa Odin. en Odinn heitir morgum nöfnum. hann heitir Uidrir ok Hárr ok Þride ok Jolnir. þui er hann kalladr [. . .] Þride af þui at þeir höfðu auita ordit at sa er einn ok þrir er bazstr er ok höfðu þa spurnn af þrenningunne ok sneru þui j uillu.<sup>30</sup>

I 1964 argumenterede Anne Holtsmark for, at Snorri i sin *Edda* fremstillede hedenskaben som et vrangbillede af kristendommen. Den svenske kong Gylfi møder de tre troldkyndige, som alle bærer Odinsnavne, nemlig Hár, 'Høj', Jafnhár, 'Jævnhøj' og Þriði, 'Tredje', og det er selvfølgelig det sidste navn, der indikerer, at de tre skikkelser repræsenterer en treenighed (Holtsmark 1964: 23). Samtidig er alle tre navne Odins-heiti, hvilket må hentyde til den kristne treenighed. På bag-

<sup>30</sup> *Flateyjarbók* 1: 564. Man finder også denne passage i *Ágrip* i en anden form, der ikke inkluderer hedenskabens forvrængning af kristendommen. *Ágrip af Noregs konunga sögum* er overleveret i et håndskrift, som dateres til o. 1200–25. Man mener, at *Ágrip* kan være blevet skrevet i slutningen af 1100-tallet.

grund af de tre heiti og dertil passagen i Det gamle testamente, hvor Gud åbenbarer sig for Abraham i skikkelse af tre mænd (Første Mosebog 18), hvilket man i middelalderen tolkede som en præfiguration af treenigheden, har Heinz Klingenberg fremsat den hypotese, at Gylfi får en åbenbaring (1986: 641–43). I prologen til Snorris *Edda* beskrives hedenskaben, som omtalt ovenfor, som en naturlig religion, hvor hedningen har mulighed for at fornemme den sande Gud. Derfor kan Gylfi ifølge Klingenberg have fået en sand åbenbaring af den kristne treenighed (1986: 654). Men når Snorri anvender den nordiske hedenskabs hovedrepræsentant — udspaltet i tre skikkelser — som en åbenbaring af treenigheden, synes der at være tale om falsk eller pervers åbenbaring i overensstemmelse med hedningenes begrænsede evne til at forstå verden. Ifølge prologen til Snorris *Edda* forstår hedningen verden *carналiter*, han har “jarðlig speð”, i modsætning den kristne, som har evnen til at forstå verden *spiritualiter*, med “andlig speð”.

Man ser ikke desto mindre Odin fremstillet i et kristent, mono-teistisk lys, som den øverste gud. I Snorris *Edda* præsenteres Odin som Alføðr, Alfader, en skikkelse, hvis navn minder om den kristne gud.<sup>31</sup> Selv Odins mange navne, som vi kender dem fra især *Grímnismál*, Snorris *Edda* og *pulur*, kan måske have givet associationer i retning af den kristne Gud, som også har mange navne.<sup>32</sup>

Men Snorris fremstilling af Odin i den kristne Guds billede er vel at mærke ironisk. Det første Gylfi lærer om Alføðr i *Gylfaginning* er i meget god overensstemmelse med den kristne gud, men til slut får man at vide, at før verdens skabelse var denne Alføðr hos rímturserne, en ækvivalent til jætterne, som flere steder repræsenterer de antagonistiske kræfter i mytologien (jf. Holtsmark 1964: 17). Denne afsløring viser, at der med Odin er tale om et vrangbillede af den kristne gud

<sup>31</sup> Som overskrift i begyndelsen af *Gylfaginning* har U (DG 11): “her hefr Gylva ginning fra því er Gylfi sotti heim Alfaþr i Asgarþ [...]”. *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar, Gylfaginning*, 8 (variantapparat). Da den forklædte Gylfi spørger, hvem den øverste gud er, er Hárs svar Alføðr (rettet fra allföðr). *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar, Gylfaginning*: 10. Baetke 1950: 44; Peter og Ursula Dronke 1977: 174. Det er værd at bemærke i denne sammenhæng, at man også finder denne betegnelse for Odin i navneremsen i *Grímnismál* (str. 48) og Alfadír i *Helgakvíða Hundingsbana 1*, str. 38 *Den ældre Edda*. Baetke anser fremstillingen af Odin som den øverste gud og de andre guders fader for en konsekvens af beskrivelsen af den nordiske mytologi som en slags urmonoteisme (1950: 57).

<sup>32</sup> Snorri bruger *Grímnismál* som kilde for sin navneremse. I *Flateyjarbók* nævnes *Alma chorus Dei* eller *Alma Chorus Domini*, som indeholder 56 navne for Gud (*Flateyjarbók* 2: 584). Holtsmark 1964, 18; Foote 1981: 142–46. I Isidors *Etymologiæ* (VII, 1) hedder det, at Gud havde 10 navne. Laktants fortæller i øvrigt, at Jupiter fik mange navne via sine rejser til forskellige steder. *Divinae institutiones* 1, 22. Faulkes 1983: 293. Jævnfør Lindow 2003: 95.

(Holtmark 1964: 24).<sup>33</sup> Odin styrer måske nok himmel og jord, men han indledte sin karriere i underverdenen.<sup>34</sup>

Ved siden af disse tolkninger af den hedenske Odin, som alle kan betegnes som forskellige former for *interpretatio Christiana* (Clunies Ross 2003: 280), findes endnu to løsningsmodeller i de norrøne tekster: For det første, kan man helt undlade at beskæftige sig med hedensk materiale eller nedtone det hedenske, selvom man skriver om tiden før kristendommens indførelse (Lassen 2005a/b). For det andet kan man undlade kristne tolkninger af det hedenske materiale. Det sidste ser man først og fremmest eksempel på i eddadigtene og dertil nogle af fortidssagaerne (*Volsunga saga*, *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*, *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*, *Sogubrot af fornkonungum* og *Gautreks saga*).<sup>35</sup> Det skal således ikke betvivles, at disse tekster overleverer hedensk materiale i større eller mindre grad. I en af versionerne af passagen fra Olav Trygvasons saga, hvor Odin opsøger kongen som Gest, ser man et interessant eksempel på dette. I *Heimskringla* er identifikationen af Odin med djæveln (som ellers findes i Oddr Snorrasons version, som *Heimskringla* bygger på) udeladt.<sup>36</sup> Om dette eksempel havde Walter Baetke følgende at sige i *Die Götterlehre der Snorra Edda*:

... wenn man daraus folgern wollte, dass Snorri dem Heidentum nähargestanden habe als Oddr, würde man ihm sehr unrecht tun. Wahrscheinlich hat er sich in der Auffassung des Vorgangs überhaupt nicht von seinem Vorgänger unterscheiden; [...] Der Unterschied liegt nur im Stil; zu Snorris sachlicher und objektiver Erzählweise passt die erbauliche Rede nicht. (Baetke 1950: 17.)

Ifølge Baetke står vi således i dette tilfælde over for en *interpretatio pagana*, der ikke har andet end stilmæssig betydning. Men de steder, hvor Odinsfremstillingen tilsyneladende er renset for kristne tolkninger, viser, at der i norrøn middelalder ved siden af den kristne

<sup>33</sup> Jævnfør imidlertid Peter og Ursula Dronke 1977: 176.

<sup>34</sup> Når Snorri fremstiller Odin som en art forkert kristen Gud, åbnes der for muligheden af at indlemme hedenske elementer. En stor del af fortællingerne om Odin forekommer således ikke at være inspireret af kristendommen. Jævnfør Baetke (1950: 66): "Wenn es so aussieht, als habe Snorri das Bild Odins mit christlichen Zügen austatten und ihn neben den christlichen Gott oder gar an seine Stelle setzen wollen, so trügt dieser Schein. Snorri hat Odin nicht verchristlichen wollen; wohl aber wird in der Art, wie er von ihm handelt, ein Bestreben sichtbar, ihn in einem anderen Sinne über die übrigen Götter zu erhöhen."

<sup>35</sup> I nogle af disse sagaer findes Odin imidlertid som stamfader i genealogier, hvilket, som nævnt, indikerer en grad af euhemerisme.

<sup>36</sup> Jævnfør omtalen ovenfor.

fremstilling af Odin har fandtes en fremstilling af ham, som har været opfattet (eller skullet opfattes) som hedensk. Eksemplerne på eksplicit kristen tolkning af Odin er dog dominerende. Men selv hvor han tolkes efter kristent forbillede, kan der være en førkristen kerne, som dog er påvirket af den kontekst, som den indgår i.

Afslutningsvis vil jeg rejse spørgsmålet, hvor man i øvrigt skal trække grænsen for identifikationen af fremmed eller kristen påvirkning. Har man tænkt sig at lede efter en førkristen kerne, må man overveje, hvad man forestiller sig om denne, for at forsøge at undgå, at tolkningen i for høj grad bliver farvet af ens fags og samtids metode og ideologi. Er den nordiske mytologi fx nødvendigvis væsensforskellig fra kristendommen? Inden for forskningen har der været argumenteret for, at fx Baldermyten og Odins selvhængning er kristent påvirket (Bugge 1881–89). I 1964 tolkede Holtsmark Odin i Hliðskjálf som inspireret af den tronende Kristus, Midgårdsormen af Oceanus, Loke af djævelen og Balder af Kristus (1964, 33, 41–42, 65–68, 75).

Forskningshistorien i Odin viser med al tydelighed, at den førkristne Odin oftest antager en form, der harmonerer med ideologi og metode bag forskningen. I 1600- og 1700-tallet tolkedes Odin som et menneske. I 1800-tallet fandt man, under inspiration fra Rasmus Rasks sammenlignende sprogvidenskabelige studier, at Odin havde en mængde træk til fælles med guder fra andre indoeuropæiske kulturer. Den dominerende teori i begyndelsen af århundredet var, at Odin og Buddha var den samme skikkelse. Studiet af Vedaerne i den samme periode førte videre til 'fysisk-allegoriske' tolkninger, ifølge hvilke Odin var solen, vinden eller andre naturfænomener. Endelig i begyndelsen af 1900-tallet finder man teorien om, at Odin er en særlig døds gud. I 1930'erne tolkes Odin på etymologisk grundlag som en ekstatiske gud, der passer som hånd i handske med nazisternes ekstatiske mandeforbund.<sup>37</sup> Den ekstatiske gud passer videre i en anden af 1900-tallets populære Odins-tolkninger, nemlig tolkningen af Odin som en shaman. Og sådan kunne man blive ved. Meget tyder på, at Odinsforskningens divergerende resultater har rod i de norrøne teksters forskellige fremstilling af figuren. Men de norrøne teksters forskellige fremstillinger skyldes i vid udstrækning de enkelte teksters ideologi og genre (Lassen 2005a/b). Som metodisk løsning foreslår jeg

<sup>37</sup> I den etymologiske tolkning betones, at ordet er beslægtet med adjektivet óðr med betydningen 'rasende'. I 1800-tallets etymologiske tolkning af navnet lagde man derimod vægt på betydningen 'fornuft' eller 'sind' af adjektivet óðr.

en receptionshistorisk kontekstualisme, så man undgår disse eksotiske tolkninger. Man må lade tolkningen af førkristne figurer foregå under iagttagelse af de enkelte eksemplers særlige kontekst, genre og ideologi, og acceptere teksternes placering i middelalderen.

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MARTEINN H. SIGURÐSSON

*bera tilt með tveim*

On *Lokasenna* 38 and the One-Handed Týr

I. In the eddic poem *Lokasenna*, the deities attend a feast hosted by the sea-giant Ægir. The mischievous Loki, who arrives unwelcome, insults each of the guests in turn, and the altercations between him and them constitute an extensive caricature of the pantheon. *Lokasenna* is preserved only in the Codex Regius of the *Elder* or *Poetic Edda*, an Icelandic vellum written c. 1270.<sup>1</sup> The poem's 65 stanzas are all in dialogue form, but a prose preface describes the setting of the feast and lists the gods and goddesses present. Among them is Týr, who is described as follows: 'Týr var þar, hann var einhendr. Fenrisúlfr sleit hönd af hánum, þá er hann var bundinn.'<sup>2</sup> Týr quarrels with Loki in stanzas 37–40, and we shall review their exchange before turning to the main topic of this study, which is stanza 38 and the meaning of the phrase *bera tilt með tveim* in particular. Týr is a relatively minor god in the extant mythology, and *Lokasenna* 38 raises basic questions about his nature and place within the Norse pantheon as it was perceived by medieval Christians and their pagan forbears. Loki is the speaker in stanza 38, and the subject of the stanza's first half is Týr's alleged inability to *bera tilt með tveim*, whereas the latter half alludes to Týr's loss of his

<sup>1</sup> For more information on the Codex Regius see Einar G. Pétursson 1993, 100–1.

<sup>2</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 96. 'Týr was there. He was one-handed; Fenrisúlfr tore a hand from him when he was bound.'

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**Abstract:** In stanza 38 of the eddic poem *Lokasenna*, Loki insults the god Týr. The subject of the stanza's first half is Týr's inability to *bera tilt með tveim*, and the latter half alludes to his loss of the *hægri hönd* 'right hand (or arm)' to the wolf Fenrir. The sense of *bera tilt með tveim* is reconsidered here along with the problem of how the stanza's two halves relate to each other and whether the stanza pertains to Týr's martial aspect or his alleged role as a 'law-god'. It is argued that *Lokasenna* 38 concerns Týr's martial nature and that it relies on a wordplay whereby it is implied that Týr is unable *bera* 'bear, carry' peace between two parties or foes since his 'more peaceable' hand is wanting.

**Keywords:** *Lokasenna*, Týr, the Poetic Edda, Old Norse mythology

right hand to the wolf Fenrir. The meaning of *bera tilt með tveim* is disputed as is the question of how the stanza's halves relate to each other. Does the first half concern Týr's martial nature, which is illustrated in *Snorra Edda* (see below) and evidently reflected also in the equation of Týr with Mars in Old Norse (ON) literature and *týsdagr* = *dies Martis* (Tuesday)? Or can the stanza be construed in such a way as to support the prevalent theory that Týr was something of a 'law-god' and a god of oaths or legal contract in particular? And how exactly might Týr's maiming pertain to his martial or (supposed) legal aspect?

II. In *Lokasenna* 37, Týr interjects in defense of the god Freyr:

[37] Týr *quað*:

'Freyr er beztr	mey hann né grœtir
allra ballriða	né mannz kono,
ása gǫrðom í;	oc leysir ór hǫptom hvern. <sup>3</sup>

In response, Loki taunts Týr for his loss of the right hand; the wolf Fenrir tore it off, and since Loki is Fenrir's father,<sup>4</sup> his words might in part be a malicious boast:

[38] Loki *quað*:

'Þegi þú, Týr!	handar innar hœgri
þú kunnir aldregi	mun ec hinnar geta,
bera tilt með tveim;	er þér sleit Fenrir frá. <sup>5</sup>

Týr then concedes he has lost a hand, but he is quick to add that Loki has lost his son Hróðrsvitnir (Fenrir), who must await in bonds the 'twilight of the gods':

[39] Týr *quað*:

'Handar em ec vanr,	úlfgi hefir oc vel,
enn þú Hróðrsvitnis,	er í þöndom skal
þú er beggia þrá;	biða ragna rǫcrs. <sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 104. [37] 'Týr said: "Freyr is the best / of all bold riders / within the Æsir's walls; / he makes no maiden weep, / nor any man's wife, / and he frees everyone from their bonds."'

<sup>4</sup> In *Lokasenna* 10 (as well as *Haustlǫng* 8), Loki is defined as *úlfs faðir* 'the wolf's father'. He is also said to be the father of Fenrir in *Gylfaginning* 34 and *Skáldskaparmál* 16 of *Snorra Edda*. Chapter numbers in *Gylfaginning* and *Skáldskaparmál* follow the editions of A. Faulkes (see bibliography).

<sup>5</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 104. [38] 'Loki said: "Be silent, Týr! / You could never / *bera tilt með tveim*; / the right hand, / that one I shall mention, / which Fenrir tore from you."'

<sup>6</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 104. [39] 'Týr said: "I lack a hand, / and you Hróðrsvitnir

Finally, Loki insults Týr by claiming to have sired a son on his wife, adding that Týr never received the slightest compensation for this disgrace:

[40] Loki *quað*:  
 ‘Pegi þú, Týr!                      ϕln né penning  
 þat varð þinni kono,           hafðir þú þess aldregi  
 at hon átti mög við mér;       vanréttis, vesall.’<sup>7</sup>

The alleged adultery is not known from other sources, and neither Týr’s wife nor her son is provided with a name or mentioned elsewhere. Indeed, false accusations and boasts are not uncommon in ON slanging matches (*sennmur*) and libel verses (*níð* or *flím*),<sup>8</sup> and so Týr may be an uncompensated cuckold simply for the sake of satire, as some critics have suggested.<sup>9</sup> The poet could in this respect have invented freely, but Týr’s maiming is another matter. Týr acknowledges his loss of a hand, and the myth of his maiming is related in *Snorra Edda* (see below), where Týr’s lack of one hand appears to be his primary distinction as in *Lokasenna* (with its prose preface).

III. Aside from *Lokasenna* with its prose preface, Týr’s maiming is only explained in *Snorra Edda*, a treatise on the art of poetry ascribed to the Icelander Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241). Snorri recounts the myth twice in his *Edda*, in *Gylfaginning* 25 and 34, and Týr is otherwise a rather obscure figure in the mythology.<sup>10</sup> Snorri appears to have known

[‘Fame’s wolf’ = Fenrir] / — both of us suffer a loss; / nor is the wolf at ease, / who must in bonds abide / the twilight of the gods.” There is a lapse in the alliteration of the 4th and 5th lines. For emendations see von See et al. 1997, 464 and Dronke 1997, 341 and 365–6.

<sup>7</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 104. [40] ‘Loki said: “Be silent, Týr! / It befell your wife / that she had a son with me; / neither an ell [of woolen cloth] nor a penny piece / did you ever get / for this injustice, you wretch.”’

<sup>8</sup> The general accuracy of Loki’s accusations is discussed in McKinnell 1987–88, 234–37.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example: Olsen 1960, 33–4; McKinnell 1987–88, 248; and Dronke 1997, 365. Regarding standard fines for such marital offences in the Saga Age see Jochens 1996, 147–53. A pun on *ϕln* (‘ell’, but also ‘forearm’) in *Lokasenna* 40 has been suggested by Söderberg 1987, 29. For further comments on the stanza see von See et al. 1997, 379 and 465–66.

<sup>10</sup> The one-handed Týr is associated with only three or four other mythic events: 1) Týr is simply listed among the gods who entertain Ægir to a feast at the beginning of *Skáldskaparmál*; 2) he is also present at Ægir’s own feast in *Skáldskaparmál* 33 and *Lokasenna*; 3) in *Gylfaginning* 51, Týr fights alongside the gods at Ragnarøk, when he and the monstrous hound Garmr will slay one another; and 4) Týr is also assumed to be

*Lokasenna* in some form or another, and most probably its prose preface too, but it remains in dispute how much older than his treatise *Lokasenna* can be.<sup>11</sup> In any case, since the Codex Regius was written some fifty years after *Snorra Edda*, and Snorri was writing some 220–30 years after the Christian conversion of Iceland, it is of course doubtful to what extent these sources reflect *pagan* ideas about Týr.

‘Týr’ replaces Mars in ON translations of Latin literature as well as in *týsdagr* = *dies Martis* (Tuesday).<sup>12</sup> Týr is defined as an *einhendr áss* ‘a one-handed áss [god]’ and *viga guð* ‘battle-god’ in *Skáldskaparmál* 9 of *Snorra Edda*, and he is moreover portrayed as a one-handed and distinctly martial god in *Gylfaginning* 25:

Hár segir: ‘Sá er enn Áss er Týr heitir. Hann er djarfastr ok bezt hugaðr ok hann ræðr mjök sigri í orrostum. Á hann er gott at heita hreystimönnum. Þat er orðtak at sá er “týhraustr“ er um fram er aðra menn ok ekki sésk fyrir. Hann var vitr svá at þat er mælt at sá er “týspakr“ er vitr er. Þat er eitt mark um djarfleik hans, þá er Æsir lokkuðu Fenrisúlfr til þess at leggja fjöturinn á hann, Gleipni, þá trúði hann þeim eigi at þeir mundu leysa hann fyrr en þeir lögðu honum at veði hönd Týrs í munn úlfsins. En þá er Æsir vildu eigi leysa hann þá beit hann höndina af þar er nú heitir úlflíðr, ok er hann einhendr ok ekki kallaðr sættir manna.’<sup>13</sup>

the son of the giant Hymir in the eddic poem *Hymiskviða*, i.e. the *týr* of stanza 4 who helps Þórr obtain Hymir’s cauldron, but there are reasons to suspect that this *týr* is the common noun meaning ‘god’ and that Þórr’s companion is in fact Loki. On this last point see Marteinn H. Sigurðsson, ‘Þórr’s Travel Companion in *Hymiskviða*’, *Gripla* 16 (2005), 197–208.

<sup>11</sup> For further discussion of the poem and its dating see von See et al. 1997, 363–84. One indication that Snorri knew and used *Lokasenna* is a stanza in *Gylfaginning* 20 that apparently stems from the poem though it looks like a conflation of sts. 29 (lines 1 and 4–6), 21 (lines 1–2) and 47 (line 3); the discrepancies may be due to Snorri’s faulty memory or familiarity with a different version of the poem, though it might perhaps also be argued that Snorri adapted these lines from the poem as we know it. See Dronke 1997, 348.

<sup>12</sup> There is no need to list here all the instances where ‘Týr’ translates Mars in ON literature. For a discussion of the Germanic weekdays see Green 1998, 236–53. Also Seip 1957, 611–16.

<sup>13</sup> Faulkes 1988, 25. ‘Hár said: “There is also an Áss called Týr. He is the boldest and most courageous, and he has much command over victory in battles; it is good for men of prowess to invoke him. There is the expression that he who surpasses other men and does not falter is “Týr-brave”. He was so intelligent that he who is intelligent is said to be “Týr-wise”. One sign of his bravery is that when the Æsir were enticing Fenrisúlfr to get the fetter Gleipnir on him, then he did not trust them to release him until they laid Týr’s hand into the mouth of the wolf as a gage; and when the Æsir would not release him he bit the hand off at what is now called the wolf-joint [= wrist], and he is one-handed and not called a reconciler of men.’

*Gylfaginning* 34 gives a far more detailed account of Fenrir's binding, but very little of all the information added concerns Týr directly. Týr's courage explains why only he was willing to feed the wolf: 'Úlfrinn fœddu Æsir heima, ok hafði Týr einn djarfleik til at ganga at úlfnum ok gefa honum mat.'<sup>14</sup> When the wolf agrees to try on the fetter Gleipnir, he demands: 'leggi einhverr hönd sína í munn mér at veði at þetta sé falslaust gert',<sup>15</sup> and only Týr is willing (or brave enough) to wager his hand:

En hvern Ásanna sá til annars ok þótti nú vera tvau vandræði ok vildi engi sína hönd fram selja fyrr en Týr lét fram hönd sína hægri ok leggr í munn úlfnum. En er úlfrinn spyrnir, þá harðnaði bandit, ok því harðara er hann brauzk um, því skarpara var bandit. Þá hlógu allir nema Týr. Hann lét hönd sína.<sup>16</sup>

Týr offers his hand to Fenrir as a *veð* in both of Snorri's accounts. ON *veð* (like *veðjun*) means 'pledge, gage, wager, stake (in a wager), pawn',<sup>17</sup> and to *leggja (eitthvat) at veði* means simply 'to wager, pawn, pledge (something)', as does the verb *veðleggja* (note also *veðja* 'to wager, bet').<sup>18</sup> It is difficult to detect anything martial about the episode, and yet Snorri presents Týr's maiming as the prime example of his *djarfleikr* 'courage, valour', which Snorri appears to regard as an aspect of Týr's martial nature. The final sentence of *Gylfaginning* 25 may reflect this connection between Týr's maiming and martial nature: 'ok er hann einhendr ok ekki kallaðr sættir manna' ('and he is one-handed and not called a reconciler of men'). The link is somewhat tenuous, to be sure, and some critics have in fact postulated a very different connection between Týr's maiming and reputation as no reconciler of men, but before turning to these theories one might consider whether Snorri was influenced here by *Lokasenna* 38 and the words *bera tilt með tveim* in particular.

<sup>14</sup> Faulkes 1988, 27. 'The Æsir brought the wolf up at home, and Týr alone had the courage to approach the wolf and give it food.'

<sup>15</sup> Faulkes 1988, 28. 'someone should place his hand into my mouth as a gage that this is done without deceit'.

<sup>16</sup> Faulkes 1988, 27–9. 'But each of the Æsir looked at another and found that their troubles had now doubled, and none would offer their hand until Týr put forth his right hand and placed it in the wolf's mouth. And when the wolf kicked, the band grew harder, and the harder he struggled, the tougher became the band. Then they all laughed except for Týr; he lost his hand.'

<sup>17</sup> Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 1112; Fritzner III 1886–96, 882–3; and Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1957, 687. Also Sigfús Blöndal 1920–4, 917.

<sup>18</sup> Note also *veðmáli* 'pledge, mortgage', which has the corresponding verbs *veðmæla* and *veðsetja*. On medieval Norse gages or sureties see Hamre 1975, 608–11.

IV. The meaning of *bera tilt með tveim* is uncertain since *tilt* is not found in other ON texts. The word is usually thought to be the neuter of *\*tilr*, an adjective related to Old English (OE) *til*, which could mean ‘good, kind, gentle’, but also ‘apt, capable, competent’ as well as ‘excellent’, and whose neuter appears in the sense ‘use, service, convenience’ as well as ‘goodness, kindness’.<sup>19</sup> Stanza 34 of the eddic poem *Helgakviða Hundingsbana I* contains another instance of *bera e-t með e-m*,<sup>20</sup> where the preposition *með* means ‘between’ or ‘among’ and the verb *bera* ‘carry, bear’ is used figuratively with the object *sakrúnar* ‘runes of strife’:

einn veldr Óðinn  
 øllo þölví,

þviat með sifiungom  
 sacrúnar bar.<sup>21</sup>

This recalls ‘þorðuz ér bræðr ungir, / báruz róg milli’<sup>22</sup> in *Atlamál in grænlenzku* 97 (another eddic poem), and the phrase *bera e-t milli/millum e-ra/e-rra* is commonly used in ON prose in the meaning ‘convey, carry (lies, slander, settlement proposals, etc.) from (sby) to (sby) or backwards and forwards between (people)’.<sup>23</sup>

The object of *bera* can hardly mean anything like ‘strife’, ‘spite’ or ‘slander’ in *Lokasenna* 38. On the contrary, if *tilt* is the neuter of an adjective *\*tilr* and related to OE *til*, then Loki’s accusation must rather mean (essentially) ‘du konntest niemals etwas Gutes zwischen zweien vermitteln’.<sup>24</sup> However, since *með tveim* ‘between (or ‘among’) two’ implies the mediation of ‘something good’ between two persons or parties or foes, a more specific sense like ‘goodwill’ or ‘peace’ seems more apposite, and that is how many critics have understood *tilt* in its context.<sup>25</sup>

In stanza 37, Týr enters an argument between Njörðr and Loki where Týr comes to the defense of Njörðr’s son Freyr, and so Loki’s riposte might be taken to mean something like: ‘Du bist nicht geeig-

<sup>19</sup> See Bosworth and Toller 1898, 984. On Gothic *ga-tils* see Köbler 1989, 526. Also Kousgård Sørensen 1958, 121–2.

<sup>20</sup> As pointed out in von See et al. 1997, 460–61.

<sup>21</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 158. ‘Óðinn alone causes / all the suffering; / for he brings runes of strife / between kinsmen.’

<sup>22</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 261. ‘you young brothers fought each other, / brought strife between yourselves’.

<sup>23</sup> *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog. A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* 2, 197.

<sup>24</sup> von See et al. 1997, 460.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, Bugge 1881–1896, 119; Gering 1923, 180; Finnur Jónsson 1926, 476; Guðni Jónsson 1954, 152; Ólafur Briem 1985, 236; Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 1041; Page 1995, 199; Gisli Sigurðsson 1998, 128.

net, zwischen mir und Niðrðr zu vermitteln, denn du hast nie einen Streit schlichten können'.<sup>26</sup> The general accusation 'you could never bring goodwill (or peace) between two men (or foes)' agrees in any case remarkably well with the final sentence on Týr in *Gylfaginning* 25 (see above), which *Lokasenna* 38 might in fact have elicited since Loki appears to be speaking of Týr's inability to reconcile two foes in conjunction with his lack of one hand: 'Þú kunnir aldregi / bera tilt með tveim; / handar innar hægri [...]']'.

V. Týr's reputation as no *sættir manna* can hardly be divorced from his martial nature. Snorri appears to conclude *Gylfaginning* 25 with an understatement to the effect that Týr is a promoter of strife, a characteristic that of course befits his bellicose nature, but Dumézil has construed Snorri's words rather differently. Dumézil would have us think that Týr lost his hand in a necessary perjury and that his maiming reflects his function as the primal Germanic *dieu juriste* in 'a pessimistic view of the law, directed not toward reconciliation among the parties, but toward the crushing of some by the others. Tyr "is not called a peacemaker."<sup>27</sup> Týr's injury is thus taken to be symbolic of his function as a 'law-god', and Dumézil regards Týr's reputation as no *sættir manna* as an aspect of this (alleged) function of the god within a culture whose legal procedures were (allegedly) governed by the pessimistic attitude that might is right, that law is essentially a form of war.<sup>28</sup>

A peace-maker or umpire could be called *sáttarmaðr* or *sættarmaðr* in ON, and such men were collectively referred to as *góðviljamenn* or *góðgjarnir menn* 'men of goodwill'.<sup>29</sup> In *Skáldskaparmál* 53, Snorri lists *sættir manna* as a poetic periphrase or kenning for *hǫldr* 'yeoman' and *hǫfðingi* 'chieftain', which no doubt reflects the idea that free farmers and chieftains could by virtue of their station settle disputes and uphold peace,<sup>30</sup> and *sættir* + the genitive of a poetic noun meaning

<sup>26</sup> von See et al. 1997, 461.

<sup>27</sup> Dumézil 1973, 45.

<sup>28</sup> Dumézil seems to believe that the pagan Germani perceived some sort of analogy between legal meetings and battle, or that they even confused the two activities, but the 'evidence' adduced for this peculiar theory appears flimsy and wilfully interpreted (as in appeals to the kenning *sverðþing* 'sword-meeting' = 'battle'). See Dumézil 1973, 44–5.

<sup>29</sup> For further discussion of such arbitrators and terms used for them see Byock 1982, 110, 218–19, and 260.

<sup>30</sup> One might also note Snorri's comment on the term *ljónar* in *Skáldskaparmál* 65: 'Ljónar heita þeir menn er ganga um sættir manna.' Faulkes 1998, 106. 'Men who undertake settlements of disputes are called *ljónar*'.



'men' (like *sættir fira, gumna, bragna* etc.) was indeed used to denote 'king, ruler' in ON poetry, where the referent could be a saintly bishop or Christ as well as a secular ruler.<sup>31</sup> Clearly, *sættir manna* could therefore define a patron of goodwill or peace and law and order, but Snorri avers that Týr is *not* called a *sættir manna*, and so it seems unlikely that he considered law and order to be Týr's special domain.

Lorenz has tried to reconcile Snorri with Dumézil's theory that Týr was the original Germanic law-god. He seems to think that the (supposed) law-god lost his legal capacity when he lost his hand to Fenrir: 'Die Bemerkung, daß Týr *er ekki kallaðr sættir manna* hat für die Mythologie zentrale Bedeutung — gerade der Gott, der für den Bereich des Rechts zuständig ist, vermag seine Funktion nicht (mehr) zu erfüllen'.<sup>32</sup> Dumézil does indeed suppose that Týr 'slipped' at some early stage from the function of 'sovereign-lawyer' to mere 'warrior', though he does not (or so it seems) imagine this supposed demotion to be the result of the god's mutilation: 'Perhaps it was not *in order* to become the divine lawyer that Tyr lost his right hand, but it was at the very least *because* he was the lawyer that he, alone among the gods, was the one who did in fact lose his hand.'<sup>33</sup> Strutynski seeks to elucidate Týr's alleged *glissement* from law to war by postulating a transformation of Germanic morality: 'Apparently the moral consciousness of the Germans was developed to so high a point that they would not tolerate a god of justice who violated the precepts of his own function.'<sup>34</sup> Understandably, von See is skeptical about the Dumézilian treatment of Týr: 'Die Gegensätzlichkeit dieser Begründungen führt allein schon die ganze Theorie ad absurdum.'<sup>35</sup>

As previously noted, Snorri presents Týr's injury as the prime example of his courage, which Snorri evidently regards as an aspect of the god's bellicose character, and it appears only natural that such a brave and belligerent god is no *sættir manna*. That seems to go without saying, in fact, and so Snorri appears to have rounded up his account of the god with an understatement or litotes. One might consider here for comparison the description of one Tannr Bjarnason in Sturla Þórðarson's (d. 1284) *Íslendinga saga*: 'Sa maðr var í Miðfirði, er Tannr het [...] hann var orð-illr, ok orti, ok niðskar; enngi var hann manna sætir.'<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> For examples of such kennings see Sveinbjörn Egilsson 1931, 558.

<sup>32</sup> Lorenz 1984, 343.

<sup>33</sup> Dumézil 1988, 143.

<sup>34</sup> Strutynski 1974, 36.

<sup>35</sup> von See 1988, 60–61.

<sup>36</sup> Kålund 1906, 320. 'There lived in Miðfirðr a man by the name of Tannr [...] he spoke evil of others, made verses, and was libellous; he was no reconciler of men.'

The final words are clearly litotic: Tannr is a troublemaker — an inciter of conflict.<sup>37</sup> Sturla uses a similar litotes in his *Hákonar saga gamla Hákonarsonar* when Kolbeinn Dufgusson arrives in Iceland and plots an attack on Gizur Þorvaldsson: ‘þotti hann ecki mikill manna-lættir er hann kom vt.’<sup>38</sup>

The significance of Týr not being called a *sættir manna* seems therefore plain: the intrepid battle-god is no pacifist, of course, but on the contrary a promoter of hostility, and Týr thereby resembles Mars, who was considered a ‘litigiorum et discordiae comissor’.<sup>39</sup> Snorri’s litotic conclusion of *Gylfaginning* 25 appears therefore to support the usual interpretation of *Lokasenna* 38.2–3, that is: ‘you could never / bring peace (or goodwill) between two men (or foes)’.

VI. Týr is only said to have lost his *right* hand in *Lokasenna* 38 and *Gylfaginning* 34. Snorri may well have drawn on the poem in this particular, but it has at all events contributed to the impression that Týr lost his hand in an act of perjury. Dronke observes, for example: ‘His deed demonstrates the cost of oath-breaking, and the need, sometimes, to incur that cost. The scanty evidence of Týr links him with covenants and law. He loses his right hand, the hand that pledges faith.’<sup>40</sup> Speaking of the loss of a ‘Schwurhand’, de Vries remarks: ‘Die Bedeutung des Mythos von Týr ist also diese, daß er zeigt, wie ein Gott zur Sicherung der kosmischen Ordnung eine notwendige Lüge mit dem Verlust seiner

<sup>37</sup> In his study of litotes in ON, Hollander classifies this statement about Tannr as a litotes of the type ‘denied compound noun’ and he glosses the words simply ‘a troublemaker’. See Hollander 1938, 12.

<sup>38</sup> Mundt, 1977, 156. ‘he was not considered a great reconciler of men when he came to Iceland.’ One might also consider the description of Þórarinn svartí Þórólffson in *Eyrbyggja saga* (ch. 15): ‘Hann var mikill maðr ok sterkr, ljótr ok hljóðlyndr, vel stilltr hversdagliga; hann var kallaðr mannasættir [...] Svá var hann maðr óhlutdeilinn, at óvinir hans mæltu, at hann hefði eigi síðr kvenna skap en karla.’ Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson 1935, 27. ‘He was a big and strong man, ugly and taciturn, and usually well tempered; he was called a reconciler of men [...] He was so unmeddlesome that his enemies said his disposition was no less like that of a woman than a man.’ This may be contrasted to the description of the neighbouring troublemaker Oddr (also in ch. 15): ‘[Oddr] var mikill maðr ok knár, hávaðamaðr mikill ok málugr, slysinn ok rögsamr.’ ‘[Oddr] was a big and hardy man, boisterous and talkative, mischievous and slanderous [?or contentious].’ Þórarinn proves that he has the heart of a man by slaying Oddr, and it seems doubtful that the author is thinking in particular of the legal arbitration of freeholders when he says that Þórarinn was called a *mannasættir* — Þórarinn’s pacifism must surely be associated instead with the implication that he is a coward.

<sup>39</sup> Caspari 1886, 8. ‘perpetrator of disputes and discord’.

<sup>40</sup> Dronke 1997, 341 translates lines 2–3 of *Lokasenna* 38: ‘you never had the talent / for settling two factions fairly.’

Hand bezahlen will.<sup>41</sup> No evidence has apparently been adduced for such a perjury-talion among the pagan Germani or Norsemen, and though such a talion was known among some Germanic Christians on the Continent (a Christian rationale may be found in Matthew v, 30),<sup>42</sup> there is no apparent reason to interpret the *veð* of Týr's right hand along such lines and much less assume that he was a god of law, oaths or legal contract on account of his maiming.

It should be noted in this connection that *Lokasenna's* metre (*ljóða-háttir*) requires no alliteration (on two words) in the fourth line of its stanzas, and it so happens that there is also inessential alliteration on *hægri* and *hønd* in line four of *Lokasenna* 61, where Þórr threatens Loki with his hammer:

Þórr *quæð*:  
 'Pegi þú, röð vættr!                      hendi inni hægri  
 þér scal minn þrúðhamarr,              drep ek þic Hrungnis bana,  
 Miðllnir, mál fyrnema;                  svá at þér brotnar beina hvat.'<sup>43</sup>

One might compare this to *Ragnarsdrápa* 15, where Þórr wields his hammer over Jǫrmungandr with his *hægri hønd*, but in this case the alliteration is essential:

Hamri fórsk í hægri                      ægir Qflugbarða  
 hønd þar er allra landa                  \*endiseiðs \*of kendi.<sup>44</sup>

It seems questionable to attach any symbolism to Þórr's threat of battering Loki with his right hand rather than the left. This specific seems more likely to exemplify the poet's taste for inessential (that is, purely artful or ornamental) alliteration,<sup>45</sup> and the same caveat must surely apply to the loss of Týr's *hægri hønd* in stanza 38.

There happen to be many places in ON verse and prose where *hønd*

<sup>41</sup> de Vries 1970 II, 24.

<sup>42</sup> Such a talion in early medieval and Germanic law-codes like *Lex Chamavorum* and *Lex Saxonum* is noted in Páll Sigurðsson 1992, 100.

<sup>43</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 108. 'Be silent, you unmanly creature! / My mighty hammer / Mjöllnir shall deprive you of speech. / With my right hand / I'll strike you with the bane of Hrungnir [= Mjöllnir], / so that your every bone is broken.'

<sup>44</sup> Faulkes 1998, 15–16. 'The terrifier of Qflugbarði [= Þórr] wielded the hammer in his right hand when he felt the coalfish that encircles all lands [= Jǫrmungandr (the Midgard-serpent)].' This stanza is only preserved in Snorri's *Edda* and the poem is attributed to the 9th-century Norwegian Bragi Boddason.

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, sts. 2, 3, 11, 12, 13, 16, 25, 26, 30, 33, 43, 48, 49, 50, 55 and 65. The inessential alliteration may sometimes be accidental, but the tendency to artful alliteration is clear.

is evidently qualified with *hægri* simply for alliterative effect. Another eddic example is perhaps found in *Völuspá* 5, where *hond* seems to be used metaphorically of the sun's rays:

Sól varp sunnan,                      hendi inni hægri  
sinni mána,                              um himiniþður<sup>46</sup>

The following stanza from *Landnámabók* is attributed to the 10th-century Icelander Helgi dýr Skefilsson, but whether or not Helgi was actually wounded in his right hand, the poet does obviously take advantage of the fact that *hægri* alliterates with *hond*:

Band's á hægri hendi,                      – lýgk eigi þat – leygjar,  
hlautk sör af Tý þöru                      linnvengis Bil, minni.<sup>47</sup>

Whether or not Snorri drew on *Lokasenna* 38 when he specifies that Týr lost his right hand, it must be borne in mind that ON prose also contains many instances where *hægri* qualifies *hond* simply for artful alliteration. For example, in *Bjarnar saga Hítödelakappa* (ch. 12), when Oddný incites Þórðr by ordering him to clean out the stables, we learn that he 'drap hendi sinni hægri á kinn henni.'<sup>48</sup> In *Fjótsdæla saga* (ch.

<sup>46</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 2. 'From the south the sun, / partner of the moon, / threw her right hand / round the rim of heaven.' It is possible, however, that the right hand is specified because the sun is imagined to turn her right side towards earth (as has sometimes been suggested).

<sup>47</sup> Jakob Benediktsson 1968, 379. A translation might run as follows: 'A band is on my right hand [or arm], woman; I received a wound from the man — I do not lie.' The Týr or appellative *týr* 'god' of *þöru leygr*, where the last two words form a kenning for gold ('wave of the fire'), is a typical man-kenning, that is 'god of the gold'. Also conventional is the woman-kenning *linnvengis Bil*, where Bil (the name of a goddess) is qualified by 'land of the serpent (= gold)', which yields 'goddess of the gold'. Since the mention of Týr/*týr* coincides here with the poet's claim of being wounded on the *hægri hond*, some readers might at first want to detect some allusion to Týr's maiming, but three things should be noted in this connection: 1) *hond* may here be qualified by *hægri* for purely alliterative reasons — the alliteration is essential and there are (as we have noted) many examples of *hægri* qualifying *hond* for a purely euphonic effect; 2) Týr/*týr* is one of the most common elements in man- or warrior-kennings where a common noun meaning 'god' (like *týr*), or else the name of a particular god, is used as a base-word; and 3) the referent of the kenning based on Týr/*týr* is *not* the one who sustains the injury to his hand (or arm) but the opponent who is responsible for the injury (who is Sigurðr Ljótsson according to *Landnáma*). This last point makes any allusion to the one-handed Týr seem exceedingly suspect, and yet it is not easy to imagine that the poet could have avoided thinking of the one-handed Týr if he was aware of the idea that Týr was one-handed.

<sup>48</sup> Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson 1938, 140. 'struck her on the cheek with his right hand.'

19), we are told that Gunnsteinn wrested a knife from Helgi's right hand: 'Hann seilist upp yfir borðit ok þrífir hönd hina hægri fyrir ofan úlfliðinn ok kreistir höndina svó fast, at hann lýr alla hana ok ór hrýtr knífrinn ok niðr á borðit.'<sup>49</sup> One need hardly search for some symbolism in these specifics, and the same may be said, for example, of King Haki losing his *hægri hönd* in battle in *Þátr af Ragnars sonum* (ch. 5); King Heiðrekr wielding a sword with his *hægri hönd* in *Heiðreks saga* (ch. 6); Þórir hundr wearing a gold ring on his *hægri hönd* in *Ólafs saga helga* (ch. 165 (*Heimskringla*)); King Ólafr's bleeding from his *hægri hönd* in *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* (ch. 108 (*Heimskringla*)); or Egill chopping off a giant's *hægri hönd* in *Egils saga einhenda* (ch. 10).<sup>50</sup> Two examples from Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* have just been cited, and two might be added from his *Edda*. In *Gylfaginning* 45, we are told how Þórr and his companions dwelt for the night in a hall that turned out to be the glove of a giant. When they suddenly felt the earth quake: 'Þá stóð Þórr upp ok hét á lagsmenn sína ok leituðusk fyrir ok fundu afhús til hægri handar í miðjum skálanum ok gengu þannig.'<sup>51</sup> In *Skáldskaparmál* 44, Snorri relates how Hrólfr kraki delayed the Swedish host that pursued him: 'Tók Hrólfr kraki hægri hendi gullit ofan í hornit ok sóri alt um gøtuna. En er Svíar sjá þat, hlaupa þeir ór sǫðlunum ok tók hverr slikt er fekk [...]'.<sup>52</sup>

Hence the question arises as to whether Týr's *hægri hönd* in *Gylfaginning* 34 does not merely manifest the same alliterative or euphonic habit irrespective of whether Snorri relied here on *Lokasenna* 38, where *hægri hönd* is suspect for the same reason. The case of Týr might well be exceptional, but is it sensible to work in a circle and presume that Týr is exceptional *because* he is said to lose his *hægri hand* — that is, because of the talion-hypothesis which is underpinned by the qualifying *hægri*? Of course not. Snorri's wording gives moreover no reason

<sup>49</sup> Jón Jóhannesson 1950, 280. 'He reaches up over the table and grasps the right hand above the wrist and squeezes the hand so firmly that he bruises it all and the knife falls down on the table.'

<sup>50</sup> The *vinstri hönd* is by contrast rarely specified. *Gylfaginning* 5 contains a notable instance where the primordial pair of *hrímþursar* or 'frost-giants' is born under the left *hönd* of Ymir and this specific might well reflect the 'sinister' nature of the race. ON *vinstri* 'left' could sometimes harbour a sense like 'worse' or 'evil' (see below).

<sup>51</sup> Faulkes 1988, 37. 'Then Þórr stood up and summoned his companions and they searched about and found a side-room on the right hand side half-way down the hall and entered.'

<sup>52</sup> Faulkes 1998, 59. 'Hrólfr took the gold out of the horn with his right hand and strewed it all over the road. And when the Swedes saw this, they leapt from their saddles and each took what he could get [...]'

to suppose that he was thinking in terms of perjury, and his use of the phrase *leggja e-t at vèði* strongly suggests that he was not. In fact, it seems entirely fitting to view Týr's *vèð* as a stake or gage in a simple wager or bargain with the bound wolf, and it appears even more difficult to extract any allusion to a perjury-talion from *Lokasenna* 38.

VII. McKinnell imagines that Týr is seeking reconciliation in *Lokasenna* 37: 'Whether or not Týr is a competent arbitrator, that appears to be the role he is trying to play here; and as there is no other clear motive for him to intervene, I would suggest the possibility that he has an official function as arbitrator, just as Bragi is the official orator and Sif may be the official hostess'.<sup>53</sup> And McKinnell suggests that Loki is accusing Týr of being an *unworthy* arbitrator in stanza 38: 'To Loki, Týr's lost hand is the sign of a broken oath, and how can one trust an arbitrator who is himself an oath-breaker? No wonder Loki accuses him of not being 'even handed'. Seen in this light, Týr's reply is pure cynicism (st. 39); it amounts to saying: "Well, we may have tricked the Wolf and I lost my hand as you say, but it worked."<sup>54</sup>

As to Loki's claim to have sired a son on Týr's wife, McKinnell observes that 'the only sort of arbitration that is appropriate for a warlike god like Týr is the *hólmganga* ['duel'], the arbitration of force'.<sup>55</sup> So since the purported cuckold is one-handed and therefore (supposedly) unable to seek redress by challenging Loki to a duel, Loki has (supposedly) turned Týr's (supposed) argument that might is right against Týr himself: 'The allegation about Týr's wife functions as a moral supposition, to show the inherent injustice of the *hólmganga*, in this casual assumption that whoever succeeds must be justified', and Týr's (supposed) argument has thus been shown up 'as morally bankrupt in a way that makes him appear disgraced and ridiculous himself'.<sup>56</sup>

McKinnell's interpretation relies on some disputable assumptions. To begin with, it might be questioned whether we must think of a

<sup>53</sup> McKinnell 1987–88, 247.

<sup>54</sup> McKinnell 1987–88, 248.

<sup>55</sup> McKinnell 1987–88, 248.

<sup>56</sup> McKinnell 1987–88, 248. McKinnell (1994, 50) has summed up his interpretation of the exchange between Loki and Týr: 'Týr is reminded why he lost his right hand: Fenrir bit it off after the gods broke their oath to release him if their rope succeeded in binding him (st. 38) [...] Týr is accused by implication of injustice in arbitration: first because he should be disqualified as an oathbreaker himself (st. 38, see above); second because, as patron of duels, he stands for a code which equates might with right. This is ludicrously illustrated by his own case: Týr's wife has had a child by Loki, but Týr can get no compensation, because he cannot fight for it, having only one hand (st. 40).'

*hólmganga* when Loki compounds the cuckold's disgrace by claiming that he received no compensation. This may imply unmanliness on Týr's part, but Týr is nowhere, as far as we know, associated with the practice of *hólmganga*. It may be objected that this is a pedantic objection; Týr is a warlike god, but to surmise that Loki never paid a fine for the alleged adultery and bastard offspring since the alleged cuckold and patron of arbitration and duels was deemed unfit to engage himself in the 'arbitration of force' on account of his loss of one hand in a broken oath does seem a rather far-fetched train of thought. More importantly, it remains very doubtful whether Týr was imagined to have lost his hand in an act of perjury — and why indeed should a one-handed oath-breaker be the official patron of oaths or arbitration or judicial duels? Furthermore: it is not at all clear that Týr has any conciliatory pretensions when he remonstrates in favour of Freyr, and Loki's riposte hardly requires us to think that arbitration is Týr's particular field of patronage. On the contrary, Loki seems to be saying that Týr could never bring about goodwill or peace, and such a charge is clearly consistent with Týr's militant nature, which is evidently the aspect of Týr that Loki is criticizing. And while Týr may have no special motive to intervene at this juncture on Freyr's behalf, the satirizing poet has good reason to let him do so as it is of course ironic to see the patron of battle and strife intervene to applaud the kindnesses of the patron of peace,<sup>57</sup> and the alliterative emphasis on *þú* ('Þegi þú Týr!, / þú kunnir aldregi [...]') underscores this irony if *bera tilt* means in fact the furtherance of goodwill or peace.

VIII. Many other stanzas of *Lokasenna* begin with a statement that is somehow explained, illustrated or extended in the stanza's latter half (cf. sts. 13, 17, 20, 22, 26, 30, 34, 37, 39, 54 and 60).<sup>58</sup> For comparison, one might consider stanza 22, where Loki alludes to a notorious characteristic of Óðinn and begins his invective with the phrase *þú kunnir aldregi* 'you could never' (as in stanza 38):

*Loki* qvað:

Þegi þú, Óðinn!	opt þú gaft,
þú kunnir aldregi	þeim er þú gefa scyldira,
deila víg með verom;	inom slævorom, sigr. <sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> See note 65 on Freyr's image as the patron of peace.

<sup>58</sup> This characteristic has been noted in von See et al. 1997, 375 and 461, as well as Jakobsen 1979, 36–7.

<sup>59</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 101. 'Loki said: "Be silent, Óðinn! / You could never /

In their search for a similar coherence in stanza 38, critics have sought to explain how Týr's alleged inability to *bera tilt með tveim* might relate to the loss of his right hand. To this end, Ruggerini has suggested that Loki is taunting Týr for being unable to keep two fighting men apart as he has only one hand to do so.<sup>60</sup> Such an irony is possible, but Jakobsen appears to have found a more likely solution.<sup>61</sup> He takes the preposition *með* to mean in this case 'with' (instead of 'between' or 'among'), and he furthermore takes *tilt* to be adverbial and *bera* in its *literal* sense 'carry, bear'.<sup>62</sup> Jakobsen thus gets the reading:

Ti du, Týr!	den høyre hånden,
Du kunne aldri	den vil jeg omtale,
bære godt med (eventuelt:	som Fenrir sleit ifra deg. <sup>63</sup>
mellom) to (hender);	

Plainly, the literal sense of *bera* cannot be ignored in conjunction with *með tveim* and the mention of Týr's loss of a hand, and the statement 'you could never carry well with two (hands)' would naturally call for the reason why Týr's powers of handling are impaired. Jakobsen's reading offers thus an attractive link between the stanza's halves, and yet he may be wrong in thinking that Snorri misunderstood Loki's words to mean that Týr is no reconciler of men.<sup>64</sup> It seems more likely that Jakobsen has exposed an intended lexical ambiguity; for Snorri's supposed understanding of the stanza gains considerable support from Týr's martial image and the aforementioned uses of *bera e-t með e-m* and *bera e-t milli/millum e-ra/e-rra*, where *bera* is used *figuratively*. Furthermore: Jakobsen's reading does by no means elucidate why Týr (of all gods) should intervene in defense of Freyr, whereas Snorri's supposed understanding has the additional merit of providing an ironic contrast between the god of peace (Freyr) and the god of battle (Týr).<sup>65</sup>

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divide the slaying among men; / often you gave / whom you should not have given / — the faint-hearted — the victory."

<sup>60</sup> Ruggerini 1979, 64.

<sup>61</sup> Jakobsen 1979, 36–9.

<sup>62</sup> A literal sense of *bera* in *Lokasenna* 38 was in fact supposed by some scholars in the 19th century. See von See et al. 1997, 461 and Jakobsen 1979, 39.

<sup>63</sup> Jakobsen 1979, 36.

<sup>64</sup> Jakobsen 1979, 36 takes the view that Snorri misconstrued the stanza's first half (with most modern critics) as referring to the battle-god's inability to reconcile men and added therefore 'ok er hann ekki kallaðr sættir manna' as an afterthought once he had finished his description of the maiming and turned his thoughts from the stanza's latter half to the first.

<sup>65</sup> Freyr is defined as a god of peace and plenty in *Gylfaginning* 24 and elsewhere.



IX. The result of the discussion so far has been to cast doubt on the prevalent theory that Týr lost his *Schwurhand* or 'the hand that pledges faith' in some kind of oath-taking or judicial ordeal or 'legal' contract with the wolf Fenrir. It should be plain that the accounts of Týr's maiming in *Gylfaginning* 25 and 34 do neither need nor even lend themselves kindly to such an interpretation, and one must for obvious reasons be wary of building overmuch in this respect on the specific detail that Týr lost his *hægri* hand. The alleged legal symbolism is, of course, even more elusive in *Lokasenna* 38, and Jakobsen has provided a more prosaic and plausible reading of the stanza. For reasons previously noted it seems likelier, however, that Loki is criticizing Týr's bellicosity and that *Lokasenna* 38.2–3 means in the first instance essentially: 'You could never bring goodwill (or peace) between two men (or foes)'. Loki's subsequent comment on Týr's maiming has struck some readers as an oddly disjointed sequel to such a charge, and yet the loss of Týr's *hægri hǫnd* may in fact offer an explanation (of sorts) for why Týr should himself be incompetent in the department of goodwill or peace, as I shall presently seek to explain.

X. The ON adjective *hægr* can mean 'apt, competent, expedient, skilful, agile, easy' (much like OE *til*), and *hægri hǫnd* does accordingly denote 'right hand' or literally the 'more expedient (or 'dextrous' or 'adroit') hand'. Týr's loss of his 'handier' hand might thus support Jakobsen's reading, that is help explain how Týr could never 'bære godt med (eventuelt: mellom) to (hender)', and yet it might be recalled here that *hægr* also possessed a sense in the region of 'kindly, docile, affable, peaceable, mild' (again rather much like OE *til*: 'good, kind, gentle').<sup>66</sup> In point of fact, the comparative form *hægri* does sometimes possess a sense like 'better, more beneficial, kinder, benevolent' or even 'blessed' in conjunction with *hǫnd*. One example is a rendering of Rom.viii, 28 in *Jóns þátrr Halldórssonar byskups*, where it

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This image is presumably also alluded to in *Lokasenna* 35, where his father Njǫrðr says: 'þá ec mög gat, / þann er mangi fiár' (Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 103) 'when I begot the son / whom no one hates'. Dronke is no doubt correct when she comments on *Lokasenna* 37 (1997, 364): 'Freyr is now praised as a chivalrous knight in almost Arthurian terms, bringing comfort to ladies and magnanimously freeing prisoners.' Dronke adduces here a verse from *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka* in which these same knightly virtues are extolled, as do von See et al. 1997, 458–9.

<sup>66</sup> See La Farge and Tucker 1992, 131; Sveinbjörn Egilsson 1931, 307; Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1957, 305; Fritznér 1886–96, 159; Sigfús Blöndal 1920–4, 379; and Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989, 406.

is said of Bishop Jón: 'vel fylltiz með honum þat sem postulinn segir, at þeim er Guð elskar snýz allt til hægri handar [= 'omnia cooperantur in bonum']'.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, it is said of St. John Damascene in *Jóns saga postula iv* that 'ollom gíofum ser logðum af guði vikr hann til hægri handar',<sup>68</sup> and in Arngrímur Brandsson's saga of St. Guðmundr (*Guðmundar saga D*), we are told how a starving woman cooked moss in water drawn from the saint's well and this was transformed into food 'fyrir hægri handar skipti græðara várs Jesu Christi'.<sup>69</sup> This traditional and figurative significance of *hægri hönd* squares rather well with the aforementioned senses of *hægr*, but it has no doubt gained currency mainly on account of the pervasive Christian symbolism of *dexter* and *sinister* whereby ON *vinstri* 'left' can by contrast mean 'worse' or 'adverse' and even 'sinful' or 'evil' when it qualifies *hönd*.<sup>70</sup>

This figurative use of *hægri hönd* appears in various contexts in poetry and prose where the ordinary understanding is obviously inadequate so that the reader must reconsider the sense of the adjective. But then it has indeed troubled readers how the loss of Týr's *hægri* hand relates to his inability to *bera tilt með tveim*, and hence arises the question of whether *hægri* is in the ordinary sense suitable to the context.

Now OE *til* suggests that ON *\*tilr* possessed a similar range of meaning as *hægr*, and *\*tilr* and *hægr* define two shortcomings in *Lokasenna* 38, one in each half of the stanza: Týr cannot 'bear' *tilt*, and he has lost his *hægri* hand. The latter fault (in the latter half) is evidently meant to explain the former fault (in the first half), but precisely how is a problem. We cannot, of course, ignore the coincidence of *bera* 'carry,

<sup>67</sup> Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir 1998, 448. 'the words of the apostle were truly fulfilled in him, that all things turn *til hægri handar* ['to the right hand', i.e. 'turn out well'] for those who love God'. *Jóns þáttur* dates from around 1350.

<sup>68</sup> Unger 1874, 497. 'he turns all the gifts he received from God *til hægri handar* ['to the right hand', i.e. towards good (?deeds)]'. The saga is usually dated to c. 1300. Variations of this type of phrase are discussed in Jón G. Friðjónsson 1997(a), 91–100, at 96–7, as well as in the same author's *Rætur málsins* 1997, 303–4.

<sup>69</sup> Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1878 II, 135 'through the *hægri handar* exchange of our healer Jesus Christ.' The saga dates from around the mid-fourteenth century.

<sup>70</sup> See examples listed and discussed in Jón G. Friðjónsson 1997(b), 303–5. One example of *vinstri (hönd)* with a sense in the region of 'sinful' or 'evil' may be found in *Páls saga postula II* (Unger 1874, 237), where it is explained why St. Paul sits 'til hægri handar a innsigli páfvans' ('on the right hand side of the Pope's seal'): 'síðan er hann trúði aa Jesum Kristum, giorði hann allðri hofuðsynd, at því er lesit er. En þær giora manninn vinstri handar mann.' ('it is read that he never committed a cardinal sin once he believed in Jesus Christ; for they [i.e. cardinal sins] make the man a left-handed man [for 'a man of the left hand'].')

bear' *með tveim* and the mention of Týr's loss of a *hǫnd* (as Jakobsen has urged), but can we ignore the apparent synonymy of \**tilr* and *hægr*, the words that define *bera* and *hǫnd* respectively?

Hardly. The idea that Týr lost his *right* hand has no clear bearing on his alleged inability to *bera tilt með tveim* in the sense 'bring goodwill (or peace) between two men (or foes)', and this perplexity is all the more notable given Loki's emphasis on which hand it was that Týr lost ('handar innar hægri, / mun ec hinnar geta [...]') ('the *hægri* hand, / that one I shall mention [...]'),<sup>71</sup> where the alliteration on *hægri* and *hǫnd* is moreover at variance with the alliteration required by *Lokasenna*'s metre. The inessential alliteration on *hægri* and *hǫnd* is (or so it seems) merely an euphonic effect in *Lokasenna* 61, but stanza 38 would seem to differ in that its very coherence appears to depend on how we interpret *hægri hǫnd*.

The ordinary sense of *hægri hǫnd* appears inadequate in *Lokasenna* 38. It was, however, customary in certain contexts (as we have seen) to attach to these words a figurative sense whereby *hægri* in the region of 'more beneficial, benign, kindlier' replaces the ordinary sense 'right', and this may be a case of it. If *tilt* meant in fact something like 'kindness' or 'goodness' (like the OE neuter of *til*) or more specifically 'goodwill' or 'peace', as the context suggests, then *hægri* with a sense close to 'more beneficial, benign or kindlier' can clarify in what way Freyr's advocate is perceived as being himself unable to *bera tilt* because of his lack of the *hægri* hand:

Pegi þú, Týr!	– and for this reason:	handar innar hægri
þú kunnir aldregi		mun ec hinnar geta,
bera tilt með tveim; <sup>72</sup>		er þér sleit Fenrir frá. <sup>73</sup>

Týr (of all gods) has just extolled the goodwill of Freyr, the benign patron of peace, but the left-handed god of battle and strife is in turn ironically reminded that he himself (note the alliterative emphasis on *þú*) could never extend kindness (or goodwill or peace), and here one should appreciate both the literal and figurative senses of *bera* underscored by the ambiguity of *með tveim* ('between two men (or foes)' or 'with two hands'), which prepares us for further wordplay in *hægri*

<sup>71</sup> It may be noted that the demonstrative pronoun *hinn* (gen. fem. sing. *hinnar*) is here obviously used in the sense 'that (one)' as opposed to 'the other' since the latter sense has apparently confused some modern Icelandic editors.

<sup>72</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 104.

<sup>73</sup> Neckel and Kuhn 1983, 104.

*hond*. In short, *Lokasenna* 38 appears to involve a play on words linking Týr's martial nature to his distinctive injury and whereby he is essentially told that he (himself) could never *bera* kindness (or goodwill or peace) between men because his *hægri hond* — in the sense 'kindlier' or 'more benign' or 'more peaceable' hand — is wanting.

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WILLIAM SAYERS

## Death Abroad in the Skalds' Sagas

### Kormák and the Scottish *blótrisi*

In the medieval Icelandic poets' sagas, similarities in character, plot structure, the repertory of motifs, and what will be seen as the over-reaching ideological objectives of these works suggest a dominant model, copied with variations.<sup>1</sup> In these stories of the poets Kormák, Gunnlaug, and Hallfreð, of Þórð and Björn from the latter's saga, and Þormóð from *Fóstbröðra saga*, one of the common motifs, hitherto unrecognized, is that the poets generally die far from their main locus of activity, poetic and social. In order to situate the discussion of death abroad, rather than at home, in the skalds' sagas, it will be useful to establish some oppositions and complementarities of a larger order.

First, in formal compositional terms we have the conjoining or juxtaposition of prose and verse, both shot through with unhistorical elements. The critical issues here are well known. The poets' sagas are further characterized by contrast in their conceptions of the poetic personality, and of deviant and normative behavior. Saga authors saw versifying as a potential threat to social ecology. Poetry's potential for

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<sup>1</sup> As suggested in Bragg 2004, Ch. 4, The Saga Skalds.

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**Abstract:** A little noted feature of the Icelandic skalds' sagas is the protagonist's death abroad. The study focuses on Kormák and his fatal encounter with the Scottish *blótrisi* ('sacrifice giant,' as it has been called). Affinities with the giant rustics of Celtic tradition, who often accompany the goddess of territorial sovereignty in events leading to the death of a failed king, are explored. Kormák's several personal weaknesses are projected against the mythic grid of the king's responsibilities. The pagan deity Cromm Crúaich, associated with many standing stones in Ireland, is also reviewed. The poets' sagas offer a troubled but ultimately controlled ground against which to view and appreciate the collective accomplishment of skaldic poetry. The motif of the poet's death abroad underlines that verse is his sole heritage and that the disruptive poetic personality, after having been contained at home, is literally buried abroad. Kormák's death may be seen as both paradigmatic for the skalds' destinies and one of the richest in allusion, bringing the Celtic-inflected Kormák back to his extra-Icelandic origins.

**Keywords:** Medieval Iceland, skaldic poetry, Celtic affinities, human sacrifice, giants

public ill is allegorized in both the temperament and the life of the poet type, with its multiple, often trivial or unnecessary, conflicts. Like feud and its gradual resolution in the family sagas, the poets' sagas are similarly about containment.

A brief discussion of the temperament and behaviour of the poets will lay the ground for closer examination of their destinies. The saga protagonists from the 10th and early 11th centuries are multifaceted — poets, fighters, wits, raiders and traders — but they also have personalities shot through with contradiction and ambiguity. Key descriptors of personality are often introduced early in the sagas in community-assigned nicknames or are delivered in judgmental scenes between protagonists and their fellows. Kormák is judged impetuous. Gunnlaug is called indecisive and snake-tongued; Hallfred, malicious, temperamental, the difficult skald. Enthusiastic but irresolute, Kormák, Hallfred, and Þormóð court young women but inexplicably stop short of marriage, while Björn and Gunnlaug allow circumstance to intervene. But they then persist in jealousy and bitterness, their stoic posturing infused with self-pity.

Poets' relations with their communities seldom run smoothly and, short-tempered and impatient, they are prone to take bad advice. Their lives, caught at an adolescent stage, often appear to lack a larger purpose. The irresolution of the artistic personality and its uneasy interface with the community are generative of poetry that must be seen as an active expression of the poet's social agency. The impromptu stanzas are speech acts of courting, defamation, or self-advancement that are intended to affect their surroundings. The verses do not encapsulate the moment so much as give it its edge.

A different kind of containment is the division of the poet type into several figures or even into separate *personae* depending on locality. The protagonist often has an antagonist who suggests an alter ego, a man who is also both poet and fighter, typically a man more successfully integrated into his social circumstances. This brother may also be the deceiver and betrayer. Despite armed duels, contention between men culminates in its most stylized form, in alternating poems with the ratchet effect of feud. The flyting between Björn and Þórð in *Bjarnar saga Hitdælakappa* is perhaps the best known. With the two poets so similar in ability, the rival is an exteriorization of the poet's own incompleteness. With the woman — not loved until lost — a middle ground between the two antagonists, the rival is no less a prerequisite than the beloved for poetic creation.



Another important dimension of the splintered effect is the contrast between the poet at home in Iceland and abroad. Whatever his assessment by the community in Iceland, the Icelander's performance as warrior in Norway, the Baltic, and the British Isles is unquestioningly recognized. It establishes that the poet suffers no gender inadequacy, despite his irresolution in marriage matters. Generally the poet is successful abroad when he had been frustrated at home and is an effective warrior and king's man. The instability he generates is not exported, underlining its exclusive relevance to Iceland. Once abroad, the poet becomes the man of his verses.<sup>2</sup>

In two important ways the destiny of the poetic personality is also extra-Icelandic. To grasp the significance of this we must return to saga beginnings. The history of Norwegian contacts with the remainder of Europe and Iceland's particular ethnogenesis made the Celtic lands prime candidates to embody alterity. Kormák bears an Irish name and is described as dark-haired and -eyed. Like Hallfreð, Þormóð has curly dark hair. Gunnlaug is characterized by light chestnut hair, dark eyes, an ugly nose. These aberrations from the ethnically homogeneous west Norse are the physical homologues of differences in temperament. With their suspect origins, the poets are not fated to die in Iceland (Björn from Hítardal the one exception). Hallfreð perishes in the Irish Sea and is buried in the Hebrides. Björn Ásbrandsson, the Breiðavík Champion, ends his days as a respected but not entirely secure leader among the overseas Irish in *Írland it mikla*, the Greater Ireland that lay somewhere in the North Atlantic. Þormóð falls in battle in Norway at Sticklestad near Trondheim when just returned from Sweden; Gunnlaug is treacherously killed in a duel near the Norwegian-Swedish border.

As for Kormák, after a last interaction with Steingerð and her second husband, he and his brother Þorgils leave Norway for the British Isles and we immediately sense a major shift in the narrative away from conventional saga naturalism. Kormák is successful as a raider although no specific events are cited. The brothers found the city of Scarborough, whose name echoes Þorgils's nickname *skardi* 'cleft-lip.' Kormák meets his end in combat, but not the formal duel in which he engaged in Iceland. The laconic account of this final and fatal encounter is worth quoting in its entirety.

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<sup>2</sup> This line of thought is further developed in Sayers 2003, under the title "Fracture and Containment in the Icelandic Skalds' Sagas."

Eitt sinn, er þeir höfðu herjat, rak Kormákr flóttu, en liðit var tils skips farit; þá kom at Kormáki ór skógi blótrisi Skota, ok tóksk þar atgangr harðr. Kormákr var ósterkari, en risinn trollauknari. Kormákr leit til sverðs síns, ok var rennt ór slíðrum. Kormákr seildisk til ok hjó risann banahogg. Risinn lagði þó svá fast hendr at síðum Kormáks, at rifin brotnuðu, ok fell Kormákr ok risinn dauðr ofan á hann, ok komsk Kormákr eigi upp. Í annan stað fara menn at leita hans, ok finna ok fluttu hann til skipa.<sup>3</sup>

Although exception will be taken to the rendering of some key terms, this passage in the most recent and authoritative translation reads as follows:

On one occasion, after they had been raiding, Kormak was pursuing the enemy as they fled, but his troops had gone to the ship. Then a giant whom the Scots worshipped as an idol came out of a forest in pursuit of Kormak, and a bitter struggle ensued. Of the two, Kormak was the weaker; the giant had more of a troll's strength. Kormak felt for his sword, but it had slipped from its scabbard. Kormak stretched out his hand for it and struck the giant his deathblow. The giant gripped Kormak's sides so firmly, however, that his ribs broke, and Kormak fell with the dead giant on top of him, and could not get up. His men, meanwhile, went to look for him; they found him, and brought him to their ships.<sup>4</sup>

Kormák's opponent is known only under the nonce word *blótrisi*. 'Sacrifice-giant' has been a common, literal if not explanatory, rendering; the most recent translator provides a kind of gloss ("a giant . . . worshipped as an idol") but it is difficult to understand just what this should mean. Earlier suggested identities are a tall druid and a standing stone. A more specific identity or allusion is considered below but the epithet *trollauknari* 'more troll-eked', that is, augmented in strength like a troll or through troll-dom, points to the supernatural or, at a minimum, to a non-human opponent. But first, in attempting to relate this death to Kormák's life and career and to refer it to other skalds' deaths abroad, there are a number of questions that must be addressed: do the final four skaldic stanzas, which apostrophize an absent woman assumed to be Steingerð, contain some misunderstood allusion, a kenning perhaps, that may have prompted the creation of the Scottish

<sup>3</sup> *Kormáks saga* (1939: 299).

<sup>4</sup> *Kormak's Saga* (1997: 223).

giant in the prose text? Is there any blurred reflection of Celtic belief or cult? Does the saga conclude with a couple of random anecdotes or are these final incidents consonant with the themes and motifs that inform the saga?

To address the first question, the only lexical candidate as a possible source for the giant figure is the phrase *strengmarr stýrir* 'steersman of the cable-steeds' (1939: 299, st. 82), a kenning for a Viking.<sup>5</sup> Although there are no significant manuscript variants that might suggest another allusion, if this phrase were taken as a Hibernicism, it could be seen as OIr. \**srengmar* 'great-cabled' or 'greatly-pulled' (OIr. *sreng* actually deriving from ON *strengr*), but unless we imagine the erection of a standing stone, this leads nowhere and we are still far from the giant. The short answer to the question is then that the final verses seem not to have generated, directly or indirectly, the death scene in the prose. At most there is mention of a sword and, perhaps a bit more telling, the motif of the embrace (1939: 299, st. 82), where we may imagine that thoughts of Kormák hugging Steingerð, or of her in her husband's arms, might have prompted the prose author to invent the fatal embrace with the Scottish giant. We now turn to the other questions.

One rewarding approach to Kormák's fatal encounter, one that reveals it as thematically consistent with the main thrust of the saga, is to view it as an exploitation of the Celtic paradigm of the death of a failed king (or, occasionally, hero). One of the best known examples of these royal deaths is that of King Conaire in the Irish *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (*The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel*). The great king's sin has been partiality in the legal judgment of criminal conduct. As the involuntary infractions of a series of tabus takes him to the hostel and feast where he will die, he encounters a hag, the goddess of territorial sovereignty in her guise of loathly lady and harbinger of royal death. She is in the company of a giant rustic male, what translators have often called a 'churl.' The Irish term is *bachlach*.

Is ed ro gob Conaire cona lúagaib da Áth Cliath. Is and dosn-árrid in fear maeldub co n-ocnúil 7 oenláim 7 oenchois. Mael garb for suidiu. Cía fo-certa míach di iadublaib for a mullach ní foichred uball for lár, acht ro giúlad cach uball dib for a findiu. Ó fo-certa a rub ar géscoe

<sup>5</sup> McTurk translates "rigging-steeds" but *taug*, not *strengr*, was generally used of most of the standing and running rigging, and *reip*, when lines, e.g., the halyards, were made of hide, preferentially walrus hide because of its strength. *Strengr* should then be seen as a reference to the anchor cable.

ima-tairisfeadh doib. Sithremir cuing n-imeachtair ceachtair a dá lurgan. Mét mullaig for got cech meall do mellaib a dromai. Gaballorg iairn ina láim. Muc mael gearr dub dóiti for a muin 7 sí oc síréighim, 7 ben bélmar már dub duabais dochraid ina diaid.<sup>6</sup>

Conaire was still making for Áth Cliath when there overtook him a man with short, black hair and one eye and one hand and one foot. His hair was rough and bristling—if a sackful of wild apples were emptied over it, each apple would catch on his hair, and none would fall to the ground. If his snout were thrown against a branch, it would stick there. As long and thick as an outer yoke each of his shins; the size of a cheese on a withe each of his buttocks. In his hand a forked iron pole; a singed pig with short, black bristles on his back, and it squealed constantly. Behind him came a huge, black, gloomy, big-mouthed, ill-favoured woman.<sup>7</sup>

The man, who identifies himself as Fer Cailli or Man of the Woods, addresses Conaire in friendly fashion but this is surely mocking or ironic, since he knows that by accompanying Conaire to the hostel he will force him to break yet another of his tabus. The squealing, singed pig is intended for the fatal feast. With his huge, forked iron staff, this dark, bristly-haired figure is seen elsewhere in Celtic narrative and, indeed, in French and English romance derivatives, as a Lord of the Animals, a master of the natural world — but also a psychopomp. The description of the *vilain* ‘churl’, whom Yvain meets in Chrétien de Troyes’ romance, shows how cohesive this set of motifs remained.<sup>8</sup>

Without subscribing to Dumézil’s conception of a tripartite archaic Indo-European society, it is undeniable that early Irish narrative offers innumerable sets of three’s, linked through homology. In the death of kings these play out as follows. Offences against the principal functions of the king, which are the exercise of justice and the maintenance of productive relations with the supernatural (these two linked), are punished with injury to the head, either fatal or sufficient to disbar him from rule: forced tonsure or scalping, blinding, strangulation/

<sup>6</sup> *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (1975: 11).

<sup>7</sup> *The Destruction of Da Derga’s Hostel* (1981: 71).

<sup>8</sup> *Le chevalier au lion (Yvain)* (1967: vv. 286–324), which seems to have a more direct parallel in the Fenian tale called *Tóraighecht in ghilla dhecair (The Pursuit of the Troublesome Servant)*. For an English treatment, see *Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle*. On a point of detail, the giant herdsman in *Yvain* imposes his will on his herd of bulls by brute physical force, seizing their horns in his hands, much as the *blótrisi* crushes Kormák’s ribs in his arms.

choking, dying of thirst. This is the aerial dimension. Cowardice and inadequacy as a military leader is punished by wounds with weapons — terrestrial dimension. Sins in the somatic dimension of fertility, sexuality, the husbandry of the land and stock are punished, without weapons it should be noted, by injury to the lower body and limbs. Here we may situate Chrétien's Fisher King and numerous Irish figures who die from wounds with domestic tools in maritime environments or by drowning or interment — subterranean and submarine dimension.<sup>9</sup> Just as the goddess is polyfunctional, so the failed king could sin in all three spheres, and then be caught in the paradigm of the triple death — by hanging, wounding, and drowning, a long-lived motif in European story.<sup>10</sup>

As an aside and making allowances for the rather different circumstances, closer to real life on the land, Steingerð, in her outspokenness and degree of empowerment, is a good proxy for the Great Queen, and, indeed, a statement such her declining to replace one knife with another ("Steingerðr kvazk ekki skyldu kaupa um knifa" [1939: 298]), with its overt sexual imagery of blade and sheath, is not too distant from (although an inversion of) Irish Medb's programmatic remark that she always had a man waiting in the shadow of her current lover. With Steingerð in this role, we can assign Bersi to the quasi-royal function, in light of his social, legal and economic successes, Þorvald *tinteinn* to the function of those who lived off the land and sea, and Kormák to the warrior function, in which he will be judged. But we should not look for too rigorous an application of the Irish paradigm in the saga.

The range of "sins" (to stay with the Irish conception) for which Kormák must atone in the British Isles includes indecisiveness, rashness, and, more categorically, 1) too little respect for the supernatural (especially in the handling of iron and weapons), 2) nonchalance in judicial matters (attitudes toward divinely overseen judicial dueling), and 3) willed or unwilled dysfunction in sexual matters, especially in the social dimension that might be expected to lead to offspring via socially condoned marriage. That the recourse to judicial dueling does not lead to a true resolution of contention may also been viewed as dysfunction in the legal sphere. Lastly, his poetic gift is squandered in narcissistic verses of self-promotion that do not advance the community's agenda, let alone grace a Norwegian *jarl's* or king's rule. Our

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<sup>9</sup> See Picard 1989.

<sup>10</sup> See Sayers 1992.

attention is recalled to these inadequacies when Kormák faces the *bachlach*, as we may provisionally name him, and initially suffers his sword falling from its sheath before he can mount his attack. While he does inflict a fatal wound, the giant, without weapons and in his death throes, clutches Kormák in a last embrace, and falls forward in a dark parody of sexual congress, crushing Kormák's ribs and bearing him to the ground in a quasi-burial. This is not the warrior's death, hardly even a judicial duel of the kind Kormák had earlier willingly engaged in, because the opponents are not con-specific and one is unarmed. Such a death is also extra-legal, since Kormák has no standing in the British Isles and he and the giant are not legal peers. Death is subject not to human and social law but to natural law in its embodiment of human relations with the divine and supernatural. At the same time, it is a lonely death, outside the community and so many other categories, noted above.

Kormák's "death abroad" exhibits links with his life in Iceland but also shows how his genetic heritage, if we may mix conceptual worlds, prepares for a destiny in his temperamental home in the Celtic realms. Irish kings and heroes typically die at Samhain at the divide of the light and dark half years, our Hallowe'en, and perhaps we may think of Kormák's fate as realized, in quasi-historical terms, at the end of the summer raiding season somewhere on the Scottish coast.<sup>11</sup>

I now return to the term *blótrisi* in the context of this conception of the Irish *bachlach*. The earlier notion of a "sacrifice giant" is steered by the word *blót* which does, indeed, refer to sacrificial offerings. But, as the sacrifice of living beings was a feature that distinguished heathen cult from Christianity (Christ's sacrifice excepted), we should rather see it as a metonymical expression for 'pagan' and then view Kormák's opponent as a 'heathen giant' or 'giant heathen', while still letting some notion of human sacrifice resonate in the background. As for *bachlach*, the Irish term meant 'peasant, rustic', literally one carrying a staff, likely a herdsman's staff or crook, and originated in Latin *baculus*. It appears in Old Norse as *bagall* and is more likely to have been loaned from Irish in the first settlement years of Iceland than from Latin. But in Latin and Norse the word was used of the bishop's crozier or staff. I suggest that some notion of the Irish *bachlach* figure, characterized in both name and appearance by his staff, plus the religious association of Norse *bagall*, led to the use of the word *blót* in our nonce compound

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<sup>11</sup> See Hicks and Elder 2003.

*blótrisi*: heathen, staff-bearing, implicated in religious belief, but I must concede that our saga makes no mention of a staff. Still with etymology, explicating the poet's name *Kormák/Cormac* as *Corb-mac* 'raven's son' fits well enough into this context of the final battleground and the poet's second from last stanza (st. 84) has warm blood falling on the raven's beak. This matching on points of detail should not draw attention from the fact that the incident must also be situated in the medieval pan-European culture of the monstrous, where, I would suggest, physical aberrancy is the vehicle for a variety of ideological, psychological, and sociological concerns, and reflexes of the monster range from brutish, earth-oriented Norse trolls to Celtic divinities in their trickster roles disguised as cantankerous ill-favored servants.

In recognition of the fact that the mute Scottish giant does indeed have much that suggests a Celtic standing stone, a second strand in the identity of *Kormák's* opponent may be explored. These stone installations were called *menhir* in Breton, *cromlech* in Welsh, *cromm-liac* in Irish. *Cromm* is generally understood as 'bent, bowed, crooked, aslant' but since the stones seem not to have been erected out of line with the perpendicular (whatever their current alignment) *cromm* might better be understood in this context as 'overbearing', even 'prostrating', in a combination of height advantage and menace or demand for respect. A great number of still preserved stones are called *Cromm Dubh* (*dubh* = 'black') or *Cromm Crúach* in Irish tradition, for example, a principal stone in the circle at Grange Lios. Local folklore associated with the last Sunday in July (*Domhnach Chromm Dubh*, Garland Sunday) and a proliferation of uncritical assertions about Celtic mythology have made *Cromm Dubh* into a fertility god, bent under the weight of the harvest, an interpretation in which *crúach* is read as 'stack of corn'.<sup>12</sup> The story-telling tradition also made the deity into a pagan chieftain who opposed Patrick's proselytizing and was then turned into a sea stack or other natural feature. The carved head, broad-browed but narrow-chinned and thus a rather beetling figure, until recently part of the church wall at Cloghane, Co. Kerry, was also called *Cromm Dubh*, and was associated with now Christian ritual of ascending Mount Brandon.

Our earliest evidence for this figure is a good deal sparer. Medieval Irish narrative, while giving pride of place to mythological and legendary characters and events, however contrary to nominal Christian

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<sup>12</sup> See MacNeil 1962.

conduct, reveals next to nothing about pagan Celtic cult. At the very most we have a poem from the *dindshenchas* or “lore of prominent places” devoted to Mag Slecht. The poem is written from a Christian perspective, deploring the pagan practices of the past, when the Irish “slew their hapless firstborn with much wailing and peril, to pour their blood round Cromm Cruaich” (“marbtais a claind toisig trúaig / conimmud guil ocus gáid / a fuil do dáil ’mon Cromm Crúaich”).<sup>13</sup> The expected return on this sacrifice was milk and corn, or the fertility of the land and stock. Mag Slecht was the scene of such worship and this name is etymologized as ‘plain of adoration’ or ‘genuflection.’ Consistent with this etymology, the verb *sléchtaid* ‘kneels, bows down, prostrates’ figures in the poem and this, in turn, is consonant with the name of the idol, based on *cromm*. But, given the cluster of related motifs, there is reason to believe that the place-name might originally have been based on *slecht* ‘cutting, hewing’, and thus have referenced the acts of human sacrifice. Similarly, while the second element of *Cromm Crúaich* is understood as deriving from *crúach* ‘stack of corn’, an adjectival homonym meant ‘gory, bloody’ and the nominal form ‘slaughter, carnage.’ This, too, is consistent with the interpretation of the deity as originally one to which sacrifices were made. According to this tradition, Mag Slecht was the site of twelve standing stones (“ranged in rank stood idols of stone four times three”), while the figure of Cromm was made of gold (conceivably an Old Testament touch). The poem ends with the coming of Patrick who drove out the “strengthless goblin” with a sledgehammer.

The lore associated with standing stones makes this an attractive identification of the tall, erect figure that, wounded (or dislodged), falls forward over the poet. The Scottish *blótrisi* can be seen as offering a fairly close parallel, in both the appearance of the figure and the semantics of the term, to Cromm Dubh/Cruaich, with *blót* ‘sacrifice’ matching *crúach* ‘slaughter’ and *cromm* as ‘overbearing’ matching *risi* ‘giant.’ Even the contrast of the weaker (*ósterkari*) Kormák with the giant augmented in strength through sorcery (*trollaukinnari*) seems inversely matched in the victorious Patrick and the “strengthless” Cromm Crúaich. Since both the fatal incident and the relevant term *blótrisi* are without other reference in Icelandic texts, this may well be as far as this argument can be carried. At a minimum, we do have in the *bachlach* of story and the bloodthirsty deity and stone representa-

<sup>13</sup> *Metrical Dindshenchas* (1924–35: 4.18–23).



tions two threatening figures with overtones of the psychopomp that invite the consideration of Kormák's death scene in a wider, richer context, both geographical and religious/ideological.

In conclusion, I return to the skalds and their stories as an ideologically cohesive group of narratives. The disruptive potential of court- and slanderous verse is cast as a whipping boy for other abuses of power on a far greater scale that were being experienced at the time of the sagas' composition. Situated in an ideal past, the sagas show the anti-social menace of poetry to be ultimately containable and thus, for Iceland's longer-term prospects, without consequence. In their combination of individual virtuoso verse and community-voiced judgmental prose, they offer the reconciliation in art and in the past that was judged difficult to achieve in society and in the present. The poets' sagas offer a troubled but ultimately controlled ground against which to view and appreciate the collective accomplishment of skaldic poetry. The occasional verses, spur-of-the-moment, ironically prove the most long-lasting and, like the medieval Icelander abroad, are projected as Iceland at its best. The motif of the poet's death abroad underlines that verse is his sole heritage and that the disruptive poetic personality, after having been contained at home, is literally buried abroad—a little like a burial in unhallowed ground beyond the churchyard. Despite the problems still attendant on Kormák's fatal encounter in Scotland, his death may now be seen as both paradigmatic for the skalds' destinies and one of the richest in allusion, bringing the Celtic-inflected Kormák back to his extra-Icelandic origins.

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KIRSTEN WOLF

## Some Comments on Old Norse-Icelandic Color Terms\*

I. It has been argued that the human eye can distinguish no fewer than 7.5 million color differences (Brown and Lenneberg 1954: 457; *Science of Color* 1953: 129). This enormous range of visible colors has three basic components. One is hue, the wavelength of reflected light. Another is luminosity or tone, the amount of white or black that is mixed with a hue. And the third is saturation or chromatic purity, the amount of grey that is mixed with a hue. Since each of the three components constitutes an even continuum, there is no physical foundation for the boundaries between distinct color categories. Nonetheless, distinct color categories are perceived and identified, though languages differ greatly with regard to the number of color terms they possess and with regard to the manner in which they classify the color continuum (Taylor 1995: 3). Bassa, a language of Liberia, has only two terms for classifying colors, *hwi* (covering black, purple, blue, and green) and *ziza* (covering white, yellow, orange, and red) (Gleason 1961: 5; McNeill 1972: 21). Zunian, the language of the Zuni (a tribe of North American Indians of western New Mexico), to cite another example, uses the

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\*This article is dedicated to Kim Nilsson, friend and colleague.

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**Abstract:** The article gives an overview of Old Norse-Icelandic color terms. More specifically, it assesses the applicability of the theory of Brent Berlin and Paul Kay (*Basic Color Terms* [Berkeley, 1969]) to Old Norse-Icelandic as an evolutionary stage in the history of the Icelandic language. It is demonstrated that the theory is eminently applicable. The analysis shows that Old Norse-Icelandic has eight basic color terms and may thus be designated a stage VII language. In modern Icelandic, one additional basic color term (for pink) has been added. Icelandic differs from most of the stage VII languages examined by Berlin and Kay in that it has no basic color terms for purple and orange.

**Keywords:** color terms, language history, linguistic categorization.

same term for yellow and orange (Brown and Lenneberg 1954: 461). And Homeric Greek (as well as the Greek spoken by the majority of the current inhabitants of Cyprus), to cite a third example, has no word equivalent to brown (Berlin and Kay 1969: 28), whereas French has two: *brun* and *marron*. Several linguists have drawn attention to the fact that each language seems semantically arbitrary relative to every other language in the way it segments the three-dimensional color continuum. Ray (1952), for example, claims that “there is no such thing as a ‘natural’ division of the spectrum. Each culture has taken the spectral continuum and has divided it into units on a quite arbitrary basis” (258). And in what is (or was) one of the most widely used linguistic textbooks, Gleason (1961) writes:

Consider a rainbow or a spectrum from a prism. There is a continuous gradation of color from one end to the other. That is, at any point there is only a small difference in the colors immediately adjacent at either side. Yet an American describing it will list the hues as *red, orange, yellow, green, blue, purple*, or something of the kind. The continuous gradation of color which exists in nature is represented in language by a series of discrete categories. . . . There is nothing inherent either in the spectrum or the human perception of it which would compel its division in this way. (4)

In 1969, however, the linguist-anthropologists Berlin and Kay challenged and contradicted this view with their publication *Basic Color Terms*. In this, they argue that “semantic universals do exist in the domain of color vocabulary”, and that “these universals appear to be related to the historical development of all languages in a way that can properly be termed evolutionary” (1). Berlin and Kay’s theory is based on an experimental study of 20 genetically diverse languages and an investigation of the literature on color-term semantics for 78 additional languages.<sup>1</sup> The analysis focuses on the categorization of terms for focal colors or what Berlin and Kay call “basic color terms”. The characteristic features of a basic color term, according to Berlin and Kay, are that a basic color term

(i) is monolexemic and its meaning is not predictable from the mean-

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<sup>1</sup> The 20 languages are: Arabic, Bulgarian, Catalan, Cantonese, Mandarin, English (U.S.), Hebrew, Hungarian, Ibibio (Nigeria), Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Pomo (California), Spanish (Mexico), Swahili, Tagalog (Philippines), Thai, Tzeltal (Southern Mexico), Urdu, and Vietnamese.

ing of its parts. (Color terms like “reddish”, “yellowish-brown”, and “salmon-colored” are excluded.)

(ii) is not subsumed under another color term. (Color terms like “crimson”, “scarlet”, or “vermilion” are excluded, since they are all hyponyms of red.)

(iii) is not restricted to a narrow class of objects. (A color term like “blond” is contextually restricted, since it is used only about human hair, and so it is excluded.)

(iv) must be of frequent use and psychologically salient for informants. (Rare color terms like “puce” and “mauve” are excluded.)

In Berlin and Kay’s report, a total of eleven basic color terms are identified, located in the color space where English speakers place the most typical examples of black, white, red, orange, yellow, brown, green, blue, purple, pink, and grey. They further determine that the languages do not select randomly from this inventory, but that in the history of a given language, encoding of perceptual categories into basic color terms follows a fixed partial order. The two possible temporal-evolutionary orders are:

black		purple
	> red > green > yellow > blue > brown >	pink
white		orange
		grey
and		
black		purple
	> red > yellow > green > blue > brown >	pink
white		orange
		grey

According to this rather simple rule,

(I) if a language contains only two color terms (and no language supposedly has fewer than two), these are terms for black and white.<sup>2</sup>

(II) if a language contains three terms, then it contains a term for red.

<sup>2</sup> Witkowski and Brown (1977: 50–51) argue that glossing these terms by use of “black” and “white” is misleading and that the terms label macrocolors (see n. 34).

(III) if a language contains four terms, then the fourth term will be either yellow or green (but not both).

(IV) if a language contains five terms, then it contains terms for both yellow and green.

(V) if a language contains six terms, then it contains a term for blue.

(VI) if a language contains seven terms, then it contains a term for brown.

(VII) if a language contains eight or more terms, then it contains a term for purple, pink, orange, grey, or some combination of these.

Berlin and Kay conclude that “color lexicons with few terms tend to occur in association with relatively simple cultures and simple technologies, while color lexicons with many terms tend to occur in association with complex cultures and complex technologies (to the extent that complexity of culture and technology can be assessed objectively)” (104).

It is the aim of this article to give an overview of Old Norse-Icelandic color terms, which, with the exception of Arthur Laursen’s *The Colour-Sense in the Edda* (1882), have not been the object of comprehensive analysis; more specifically, it seeks to assess the applicability of Berlin and Kay’s theory to Old Norse-Icelandic as an evolutionary stage in the history of the Icelandic language. The data for Old Norse-Icelandic are drawn from Fritzner’s *Ordbog over Det gamle norske sprog*; Hødnebo’s supplement to Fritzner’s *Ordbog*; Cleasby and Vigfusson’s *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*; Heggstad, Hødnebo, and Simensen’s *Norrøn ordbok*; the three volumes of The Arnarnagaeian Commission’s *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog* that have appeared so far; the slips of the Arnarnagaeian Commission’s *Ordbog* for color terms identified in Cleasby and Vigfusson’s, Fritzner’s, and Hødnebo’s dictionaries;<sup>3</sup> and Finnur Jónsson’s *Lexicon Poeticum*. In the following, translations of the Old Norse-Icelandic color terms into English are given (with the help of the above-mentioned dictionaries), though with the understanding that what is intended is the spectral loci of the range to which the English

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<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Eva Rode for making xeroxed copies of these slips available to me.

color term refers and not the English color term as such.<sup>4</sup>

II. Although Old Norse-Icelandic color (*litr*) appears to denote hue alone, the three-dimensionality of human color perception is given verbal expression.

Luminosity or tone is indicated by the adjectives *dökk*/*myrkr* ('dark'), *ljóss* ('light'), and *bleikr* ('pale').<sup>5</sup> These adjectives qualify adjectives of hue to produce descriptive phrases, such as *dökkblár/myrkeblár* ('dark blue'), *ljósgulr* ('light yellow'), and *rauðbleikr* ('light/pale red'). Old Norse-Icelandic does not have different single lexemes to indicate and differentiate luminosity, and the data suggest that the above adjectives are used only with the following adjectives of hue: blue (*dökkblár*, *myrkeblár*, *ljósblár*), brown (*dökkbrúnn*, *myrkebrúnn*, *dökkjarpr*, *ljósjarpr*), fawn (*ljósbleikr*), green (*dökkgrænn*), red (*dökkrauðr*, *rauðbleikr*, *rauðljóss*, *ljósráuðr*), and yellow (*ljósgulr*). It is likely that also *svartr* ('black') in the compounds *svartblár*, *svartrbrúnn*, and *svartjarpr*, *hvítr* ('white') in the compound *bláhvítr* ('bluish white'), and *fagr* ('fair') in the compounds *fagrblár*, *fagrgrænn*, *fagrgulr*, and *fagrrauðr* are indications of luminosity and should, perhaps, be translated as 'dark' (= *svartr*)/'light' (= *hvítr*, *fagr*), respectively.

Saturation or chromatic purity seems less clearly defined. The adjectives *bjartr*/*bjartlitadr*/*litbjartr* ('bright') and *skírr* ('clear/pure') are not used in combination with a hue adjective. The adjective *fagr*, which, as noted above, is used to qualify blue, green, yellow, and red, may be translated as 'bright', but in combination with hue adjectives it is generally believed to translate 'fair' or 'light'. The adjective *heiðr* ('bright'), which is used to qualify blue (*heiðblár*), would seem to indicate a fully saturated hue. The prefix *al-* ('completely'), which is used to qualify black (*alsvartr*), white (*alhvítr*), red (*alrauðr*), green (*algrænn*), and grey (*algrár*), may also indicate a fully saturated hue, though in most cases it seems to imply that no other colors are present. Its use with grey suggests that *al-* does not refer to saturation, but it may possibly refer to other optical variables, such as lustre or texture. Unsaturated hues are expressed by the prefix *í-* ('-ish'), conveying a diminutive notion, which

<sup>4</sup> As McNeill (1972) points out: "Since colour names in various languages are not easily translatable, non-English colour names should ideally be expressed in terms of some non-linguistic system of notation, e.g., Munsell colour numbers or spectral wavelengths" (23).

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of *bleikr*, see below. The adjective *þólr* ('pale') / *þóllitadr* ('pale-colored') is not used with adjectives of hue.

is used to qualify the following adjectives of hue: blue (*iblár*), grey (*igrár*), green (*igrænn*), and red (*irauðr*). In the case of *igrænn*, however, the prefix may convey intensity or iteration; Cleasby and Vigfusson, s.v., translate *igrænn* as 'evergreen.'<sup>6</sup> In the case of blue, an unsaturated hue is also indicated by compounding it with the hue adjective grey: *gráblár* ('greyish blue').

In order to determine the number of basic color terms in Old Norse-Icelandic, the four primary criteria suggested by Berlin and Kay for recognizing focal color terms need to be considered.

(i) One is that the term is monolexemic. This requirement excludes the following color terms (the translations given in parentheses are only approximate):

varieties of black: *alsvartr* ('completely black'), *blásvartr* ('bluish black'), *hrafnsvartr* ('raven-black'; occurs in poetry only), *kolsvartr* ('coal-black'; occurs in poetry only), and *sótsvartr* ('soot-black');

varieties of white: *bláhvitr*, *blikhvitr* ('gleaming white'), *blómhvitr* ('flower-white'), *drifhvitr* ('snow-white'; occurs in poetry only), *fannhvitr* ('snow-white'), *gullhvitr* ('gold-white'; occurs in poetry only), *línhvitr* ('linen-white'; occurs in poetry only), *mjallhvitr* ('snow-white'; occurs in poetry only), *silfrhvitr* ('silver-white'), *skjallhvitr* ('white as the white membrane of an egg'; occurs in poetry only) *snjóhvitr* ('snow-white'), *sólvitr* ('sun-white'; occurs in poetry only), and *svanhvitr* ('swan-white'; occurs in poetry only);

varieties of red: *blóðrauðr* ('blood-red'), *brandrauðr* ('fire-red'; occurs in poetry only), *dreyrrauðr* ('blood red'), *dökkrauðr* ('dark red'), *fagrrauðr* ('light red'), *glóðrauðr* ('fiery red'; occurs in poetry only), *irauðr* ('reddish'), *mórauðr* ('peat-red'), *mosrauðr* ('moss-red'), *rauðbleikr*, *rauðljóss* ('light red'), *sótrauðr* ('soot-red'; occurs in poetry only), *tandrauðr* ('fiery red'; occurs in poetry only), and *valrauðr* ('blood-red'; occurs in poetry only);

varieties of green: *algrænn* ('completely green'), *dökkgrænn* ('dark green'), *eigrænn* ('ever-green'), *fagrgrænn* ('light green'), *grasgrænn* ('grass-green'), *íðjagrænn* ('ever-green'; occurs in poetry only), *igrænn* (see above), *laufgrænn* ('leaf-green'), *rauðgrænn* ('reddish green'), *sma-ragðligr* ('emerald-like', a non-color lexeme involving color by implication; occurs in poetry only), and *vetrgrænn* ('winter-green'; occurs in poetry only);

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also Finnur Jónsson in *Lexicon Poeticum* (s.v. *igrænn*).



varieties of yellow: *fagrgrulr* ('light yellow'), *fótgrulr* ('foot-gold' [that is, with yellow feet]; occurs in poetry only), *ljósgrulr*, and *rauðgrulr* ('reddish yellow');

varieties of blue: *dökkblár*, *fagrblár* ('light blue'), *gráblár*, *heiðblár*, *helblár* ('Hel-blue'), *himinblár* ('sky-blue'), *hrafnblár* ('raven-blue'; occurs in poetry only), *íblár* ('bluish'), *indíblár* ('indigo'; a dye term), *kolblár* ('coal-blue'), *ljósblár* ('light blue'), *myrkblár*, *rauðblár* ('reddish blue'), and *svartblár* ('blackish blue');

varieties of brown: *dökkbrúnn* ('dark brown'), *gulbrúnn* ('yellowish brown'), *móbrúnn* ('peat-brown'), *myrkbrúnn* ('dark brown'), *rauðbrúnn* ('reddish brown'), *skolbrúnn* (swarthy; literally 'scullery-brown' or 'scalp-brown', see Cleasby and Vigfusson s.v.), *skjölbrúnn* (occurs only twice and is probably an error for *skolbrúnn*),<sup>7</sup> *sólbrúnn* ('sun-brown') *svartbrúnn* ('blackish brown'), *dökkjarpr* ('dark brown'), *hvítjarpr* ('light brown'; occurs in poetry only), and *svartjarpr* ('blackish brown');

varieties of grey: *algrár* ('completely grey'), *apalgrár* ('dapple-grey'; literally 'apple-grey'), *ígrár* ('greyish'), *járngrár* ('iron-grey'; occurs in poetry only), *kinngrár* ('cheek grey' [that is, pale]; occurs in poetry only), and *úlfrgrár* ('wolf-grey');

and some other color terms compounded with names of objects or substances or feelings that are less easily identified in terms of hue: *blóðslitr* ('blood-color'), *brennusteinslogalitr* ('color of a sulphur flame'), *döggslitr* ('dew-color'; occurs in poetry only), *eirligr* ('copper-like', a non-color lexeme involving color by implication), *eldslitr* ('fire-color'), *fastulitr* ('fasting-color'; translated by Heggstad, Hødnebo, and Simensen as 'facial color during fasting'), *gullslitr* ('gold-color'), *hermðarlitr* ('color of anger'; occurs in poetry only), *hǫrunðslitr/hǫrunðarlitr* ('flesh-color'), *járnslitr* ('iron-color'), *sænautilitr* ('sea-cow color'), *váðablár* ('danger-blue'), and *vatnslitr* ('water-color').

(ii) A second requirement is that the color is not subsumed under another color term. Here it is difficult to determine if *rjóðr* is synonymous with the more frequently used *rauðr* ('red'), or if it is a hyponym of red. Certainly, *rjóðr* seems contextually more restricted than *rauðr* in that it is used almost exclusively about facial color as in, for example, the following phrases: "hun var bædi vitur og væn lios og rið j andliti þuilikast sem en rauda rosa væri samtemprad við sniohuita lileam" (*Nítíða saga* [ed. Loth 1962–1965], 5:3.7–9) and "guðs engill stendr æ annan veg riðr ok reiðr af meingiorðum þessa mannz" (*Michaels saga*

<sup>7</sup> Eva Rode, personal correspondence (19 May 2005).

[ed. Unger 1877], 1: 685.17–18). Indeed, of the 20 occurrences listed by the Arnarnaganaean Commission's *Ordbog*, only one does not refer to facial color or complexion: "allr þeirra búnaðr var rjóðr af gulli" (*Karlamagnúss saga*, 181.2).<sup>8</sup>

(iii) A third requirement is that the term is not collocationally restricted. This excludes *jarpr/jarplitaðr* ('brown') (as well as, of course, *dökkjarpr* and *svartjarpr*), which is used only about hair; *litfjórótr* (translated by Cleasby and Vigfusson, s.v., as 'strawberry-colored' and by Heggstad, Hødnebø, and Simensen as 'dappled, red mixed with white hairs which shed during the summer'), *ljósbleikir* (see below), and *móskjótr* (translated by Cleasby and Vigfusson, s.v., as 'piebald'), which are used about horses only;<sup>9</sup> *mókollótr* (translated by Cleasby and Vigfusson as 'of dusky colour' and by Heggstad, Hødnebø, and Simensen as 'greyish brown and without horns'), which is used about sheep only;<sup>10</sup> and most likely *rjóðr* (see above). This category also includes some of the terms listed in the previous categories: *apalgrár*, which is used about horses and oxen only; *járnslitr*, which is used about stones only;<sup>11</sup> and *skolbrúnn*, which is used about facial color or skin tone only.<sup>12</sup>

(iv) A fourth requirement is that the term is of frequent use. This excludes *høss* ('grey', especially the color of a wolf), which occurs in poetry only, *purpuralitr* (see below), *blakkr* (in the Arnarnaganaean Commission's *Ordbog* translated as '?pale, tawny'),<sup>13</sup> as well as several of the terms listed in the above categories, including *brandraudr*,<sup>14</sup> *brennustein-*

<sup>8</sup> The occurrences listed in Finnur Jónsson's *Lexicon Poeticum* also suggest that *rjóðr* is used mostly about facial color.

<sup>9</sup> *Litfjórótr* occurs only once: "þat var litforotr hestr med liosum rossvm" (*Gull-Þóris saga* [ed. Kålund 1898], 21.6–7).

<sup>10</sup> The term occurs only once: "Ein ær mókollótt var þar með dilki, sú er honum þótti mest afþragð i vera fyrir vaxtar sakar" (*Grettis saga*, 200.6–9).

<sup>11</sup> The term occurs only twice: "Par finnz ok sa steinn sem abeston heitir hann hefir iarns lit" (*Stjórn* [ed. Unger 1862], 86.1–2) and "Hann [adamas] er af kyne kristallo, iarns litr er æ honum" (*Alfræði islenzk* 3 [ed. Kålund 1917–18], 84.7–8).

<sup>12</sup> As Biggam (1997) points out: "The most common semantic areas in which colour sub-sets occur are human hair, human skin, and economically important animals such as horses and cattle" (19). Cf. also Barley (1974), 21–22.

<sup>13</sup> The *Ordbog* lists eleven occurrences. Several of these are by-names, two describe the color of horses, one describes the color of vellum, and one describes the color of brass. Finnur Jónsson (*Lexicon Poeticum*) notes that in poetry it is once used about a horse, once about a wolf, once about a ship, and once about blood.

<sup>14</sup> The term occurs only once: "ilt er i borghlið baugi / brandraudum framm standa" (*Ragnars saga loðbrókar* VI: 1 / *Skjaldedigting* [ed. Finnur Jónsson 1912–1915], B: 2, 257).

*slogalitr*,<sup>15</sup> *doggliotr*,<sup>16</sup> *eigrænn*,<sup>17</sup> *eldslitr*, *føstulitr*,<sup>18</sup> *indiblár*,<sup>19</sup> *járnsliotr*, *lit-fjórótt*, *ljósbleikr*, *mjallhvitr*, *mókollótt*, *móskjóttr*, *smaragðligr*, *sólhvitr*, *sótrauðr*, *svanhvitr*, *sænautalitr*,<sup>20</sup> *váðablár*,<sup>21</sup> and *vatnslitr* (see n. 15).

Having eliminated all secondary or non-basic color terms according to Berlin and Kay's definitions,<sup>22</sup> we are left with the following eight color terms:

(1) *svartr*. The term is monolexemic and not subsumed under another color term. It is of frequent use and not contextually restricted. The approximately 180 occurrences listed by the Arnarnagnaean Commission's *Ordbog* cover a very wide range of objects, including animals (in particular horses, but also cows and bears),<sup>23</sup> birds (ravens), fish, supernatural beings (especially devils, but also elves, giants, and spirits), eyes, shields, water, clothing, sails, tents, and textiles in general, and it is also used about the sun and the darkness of the night. It is frequently used about human hair and complexion, as in, for example, "Manna var hann svartastr bæði á brýnn ok hár" (*Svarfdæla saga* [ed. Jónas Kristjánsson 1956], 162.16–17) and "Eysteinn konungur var svartr maðr ok dökkliðaðr" [*Heimskringla* [ed. Finnur Jónsson 1893–1901]: 3:379.12]. It is probably for this reason that it often appears as a by-name. *Svartr* is equated with

<sup>15</sup> The term occurs only once: "A Regn boga ero þrir litir. vatnz litr oc ældz litr oc brenno steins loga litr" (*Hauksbók* [ed. Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson 1892–1896], 174.30–31). Cf. *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* (ed. Finnur Jónsson 1931), in which the rainbow is also said to have three colors: "Hon er með .iii. litvm."

<sup>16</sup> The term occurs only once: "Nú em ec svá fegin fundi ocrom / sem átfrejur Óðins haucar, / er val vito, varmar bráðir, / eða dogglitir dags brún síá" (*Helgakvíða Hundingsbana II* (ed. Neckel 1962), st. 43).

<sup>17</sup> The term occurs only once: "þar falla hunangsflíotande loker. a éi grønom vællom" (*Old Icelandic Homily Book* [ed. de Leeuw van Weenen 1993], 66r11).

<sup>18</sup> The term occurs only once: "Ðeir ryggvasc sva sem skimenn er fyrir manna augliti syna fæsto lit a sér. til þes at þær róse goð-gerninge sinum fyrir mænnum" (*Old Norwegian Homily Book* [ed. Indrebø 1931], 76.27–77.1).

<sup>19</sup> The term occurs only once: "pund sinopur fyrir 6 aura, meniu fyrri 2 aura ok brunt ok indiblatt, hvit fyrri 5 aura, gult 3 aurum" (*Alfræði íslensk 3* [ed. Kälund 1917–18], 74.5–8).

<sup>20</sup> The term occurs only once: "Þá reis upp í Krossavík þjórr nökkurr, ok var sænautalitr á" (*Vápnfirðinga saga* [ed. Jón Jóhannesson 1950], 48.26–27).

<sup>21</sup> The term occurs only once: "þeir verða hræddir og felmz fullir, og villdi huer giarnan leita sier lijfz; enn þad er þó ecki hoglegt, þuiad vötn voru tueimmeigin, en vóða blár síór fjirir framann" (*Þjalar-Jóns saga* [ed. Tan-Haverhorst 1939], 29.20–22).

<sup>22</sup> No doubt, more secondary color terms will emerge with the publication of the remaining volumes of the Arnarnagnaean Commission's *Ordbog*, and the above list does not presume to be exhaustive.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Viðar Hreinsson *et al.* (1997): "the Icelandic word *svartur* which nowadays means 'black' seems at this period to have referred mainly to a brown-black colour, as when it is used to describe horses" (5:406).

tar in, for example, “honum sýndisk hann svartr sem bik” (*Njáls saga* [ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1954], 321.2); with soil in, for example, “hví ertu svá bleikr, en stundum svartr sem jörð” (*Heimskringla* [ed. Finnur Jónsson 1893–1901], 1:353.16–17); with coal in, for example, “hann uar suartur sem kol” (*Hektors saga* [ed. Loth 1962–1965], 1:107.10); with ravens in, for example, “þat it boluada kuikendi uar suart sem hrafn” (*Duggals leiðsla* [ed. Cahill 1983], 75.6–7), and with the darkness in a house on a midwinter night in “myrkr sua mikit enn fyrsta dag vti sem þa er suartazst er i husum a hævetri vm nærtr” (*Flateyjarbók* [ed. Guðbrandur Vigfusson and Unger 1860–1868], 3:559.20–22). It is contrasted with *bjartr*, *bleikr*, *hvitr*, *rauðr*, *grœnn*, *gulr*, *blár*, and *brúnn*.

(2) *hvitr*. Like *svartr*, the term is monolexic and not subsumed under another color term. The roughly 200 occurrences listed by the Arnarnaganaean Commission’s *Ordbog* cover a wide range of objects, including human hair, teeth, eyes, and skin, horses, sheep, clothing, fur, armor, weapons, wine, flowers, and bread. It is used about silver to designate that it is pure (as opposed to grey silver) and about food (*matr*) to describe religious fasting, that is, a diet of milk, curds, and the like (as opposed to a diet that includes meat). The term is commonly used as a by-name, and Christ is often referred to as “Hvíta-Kristr”. It is equated with snow in, for example, “hann [hestrinn] var huitr sem snior” (*Strengleikar* [ed. Cook and Tveitane 1979], 224.12) and “þær systr satu a þverpalli, ok la linklæþi nysaummat a meþal þeira, hvitt sem faunn” (*Orkneyinga saga* [ed. Sigurður Nordal 1913–1916], 126.6–7); with a dove in, for example, “Mikill er hann oc gamall hvitr sem dvfa með langv hari oc siðv skeggi” (*Piðriks saga af Bern* [ed. Bertelsen 1905–1911], 223.9–11); with the white membrane of an egg in “allir lvtir, þeir er þar koma ibrvninn, verþa sva hvitir sem hina sv, er skiall h(eitir)” (*Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* [ed. Finnur Jónsson 1931], 24.24–26); with costly stuff in “grausin huit sem purpuri” (*Eiriks saga viðförla* [ed. Jensen 1983], 74.3); and with quartz in “sæ uar þedi har og digur. hofudit þuijlijct sem hraunklettur. augun huijt sem hiegeitlar” (*Hektors saga* [ed. Loth 1962–1967], 1:111.15–17). It is contrasted with *svartr*, *rauðr*, *grœnn*, *gulr*, *blár*, and *grár*.

(3) *rauðr*. The term is monolexic and not subsumed under another term. The roughly 210 occurrences listed by the Arnarnaganaean Commission’s *Ordbog* show that it is used to describe facial color, hair color, as well as, for example, the color of blood, honey, silk, cows, horses, fire, weapons, clothing, fabric, gold, wine, and the color of the sun and

the rose. It is commonly used as a by-name. It is frequently equated with blood, as in, for example, “Erlingr var þá rauðr sem blód í andliti” and “var þá rauðr sem dreyri” (*Heimskringla* [ed. Finnur Jónsson 1893–1901], 2:259.13 and 3:27.16), and once it is equated with the color of a carp: “hon sá á honum mikla reiði fyrir því at hann var rauðr sem karfi” (*Flóress saga ok Blankiflúr* [ed. Kölbing 1896], 11.2–3). It is contrasted with *svartr*, *bleikr*, *hvítr*, *grœnn*, *gulr*, *blár*, and *grár*.

(4) *grœnn*. The term takes Old Norse-Icelandic beyond a stage II language, according to Berlin and Kay’s definitions. The approximately 65 occurrences listed by the Arnarnagnaean Commission’s *Ordbog* shows that it covers a wide range of objects, including grass, trees, fruit, fields, fabric (silk), clothing, tents, swords, helmets, ale, and bodily fluid and wounds. It is also used about meat and fish, but obviously in the meaning “fresh”. *Grœnn* is equated with grass in, for example, “hjálmr þinn er grœnn sem gras, gerr af inu bezta stáli ok settr gimsteinum” (*Karlamagnúss saga* [ed. Unger 1860], 311.8–9), with the sea in “vm haustet er hann grœn sem sior” (*Hauksbók* [ed. Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson 1892–1896], 151.25), and with leeks in “var sú hin auma [sála] grœn sem graslaucr” (*Old Norwegian Homily Book* [ed. Indrebø 1931], 148.21–22]). However, it seems that emerald is the ultimate representative of *grœnn*: “gimsteiN, er smaragdvs heitir, ok sigrar með sini fegrd alan bloma grasa, þeirra er grenst erv ok fegrst” (*Konráðs saga keisarasonar* [ed. Cederschiöld 1884], 78.35–37). The term is contrasted with *svartr*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, *gulr*, *blár*, and *brúnn*.

(5) *gulr*. The term is monolexic and not subsumed under another color term. The roughly three dozen occurrences listed by the Arnarnagnaean Commission’s *Ordbog* show that *gulr* is used especially to describe human hair color, and in this connection it is often likened to silk, as in “hann var allra manna fríðastr, hárit mikit ok gult sem silki” (*Orkneyinga saga* [ed. Sigurður Nordal 1913–1916], 41.5–6). It is also used about, for example, shields, clothing, stones, tents, chapels, teeth, and eyes.<sup>24</sup> It is contrasted with *svartr*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, *grœnn*, and *blár*.

(6) *blár*. The term takes Old Norse-Icelandic to a stage V language in which, according to Berlin and Kay, “the focus of blue emerges from the GREEN area” (19). In the Arnarnagnaean Commission’s *Ordbog*, it

<sup>24</sup> Yellow eyes are likened to the eyes of a cat in, for example, “augun gul sem i ketti” (*Sprla saga sterka* [ed. Rafn 1829–1830], 3:411.9).

is translated as “blue, blue-black, black” with the comment that “a distinction between the two can often not be drawn”.<sup>25</sup> The approximately 90 occurrences listed by the *Ordbog* cover a wide range of objects, including eyes, bruised flesh, skin color, clothing and tapestries, stones and marble, armor and weapons, smoke and flames. The flower Iris is described as blue in “Yris hefir blann lit” (*Medicalia* [ed. Larsen 1931], 95.12), and the term is equated with Hel in, for example, “Hann var dauðr ok blár sem hel, en digr sem naut” (*Grettis saga* [ed. Guðni Jónsson, 1936], 112.9–10), with cold iron in “tennr bláar sem nætrkalt jarn” (*Blómstrvalla saga* [ed. Möbius 1855], 20.22–23), and with a flame in “sam ver elld brenna . . . hann var blar sem einn logi” (*Hemings þátrr Áslákssonar* [ed. Fellows Jensen 1962], 41.18–20). It is contrasted with *svartr*, *bleikr*, *hvitr*, *rauðr*, *grœnn*, *gulr*, and *brúnn*.

(7) *brúnn*. The term takes Old Norse-Icelandic to a stage VI language, the last at which a single focus appears.<sup>26</sup> In the Arnarnaganaean Commission’s *Ordbog*, it is translated as “brown, dark brown, ?brownish-violet”. The 40 occurrences listed by the *Ordbog* concern mostly the color of horses and clothing, but *brúnn* is also used about human hair, weapons, and armor. The term is further used to describe the color of flowers in, for example, “Uiola . . . ma kenna af sino blome. firir því ath sumar ero brunar. sumar hvitar. enn sumar svartar” (*Medicalia* [ed. Larsen 1931], 93.5–7) and “Napaver er svefn gras. valmuga frær æ nor-rænu . . . þat er þrenna kyns. eitt hefir hvit blomstr. enn annath rautt. hit þridia er minst ok vex j okrum. ok hefir bruntt blomstur” (*Medicalia* [ed. Larsen 1931], 84.18–20). It is contrasted with *svartr*, *hvitr*, *rauðr*, *grœnn*, *gulr*, and *indiblár*.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Viðar Hreinsson *et al.* (1997): “Nowadays, the Icelandic word *blár* means ‘blue’. However, it is clear that the sense of the word has changed over time. The closest translation for *blár* as it was used at the time of the sagas is ‘black’, as can be seen from the fact that the word was used to describe, amongst other things, the colour of ravens. It should be borne in mind that at this time it was impossible to create a dye that was jet-black. The nearest thing was a very dark blue-black colour, and it is clearly this colour that *blár* refers to. Translating this with the word ‘blue’ would create the wrong impression, especially in those cases in the sagas when a man intending to slay somebody deliberately dressed in *blá* clothes” (5:406). Cf. also Finnur Jónsson (*Lexicon Poeticum*), s.v., *blár*. My study of *blár/svartr* in Old Norse-Icelandic literature is forthcoming in *Scripta Islandica*.

<sup>26</sup> Interestingly, in his study of the color terms in the *Poetic Edda*, Laurensen (1882) makes the observation that brown appears only in the younger poems: “In the Elder Edda we find mention of the following specific colours: – (1) black; (2) white; (3) red; (4) gray; (5) blue; (6) green; (7) golden; and (8) (in one or two instances only, and these in poems of the later period) brown” (2–3).

(8) *grár*.<sup>27</sup> With *grár*, representing, according to Berlin and Kay, “simply the encoding of mid-brightness neutral hues between black and white” (22), the Old Norse-Icelandic color lexicon has expanded beyond stage VI. The approximately five dozen occurrences listed by the Arnsmagnaean Commission’s *Ordbog* show that it is used about a fairly wide range of objects, including skin, cloth, clothing, human hair, cats, oxen, horses, steel (armor), silver (see above), stones, and boulders. The term is used as a by-name, and it is contrasted with *svartr*, *hvitr*, *bleikr*, and *rauðr*.

Berlin and Kay argue that “[w]hen the color lexicon expands beyond Stage VI, there is a rapid expansion to the full roster of eleven basic color categories . . . Apparently, at Stage VII, the remaining basic categories, purple, pink, orange, and grey are quickly added to the lexicon and . . . in no particular order” (20, 22). In the case of Old Norse-Icelandic, it seems safe to maintain that purple (*purpuralitr*), which, according to Berlin and Kay, arises from red and occasionally black, succeeds grey (*grár*) in the temporal-evolutionary order proposed by Berlin and Kay (see, however, n. 27), although, as argued below, *purpuralitr* does not fit the criteria for a basic color term. *Purpuralitr* is a Latin (ultimately Greek) loan word,<sup>28</sup> and Berlin and Kay argue that “[c]olor terms that can be shown on linguistic grounds to be loan words are likely to be more recent additions than native color terms” (37). They further maintain that “[c]olor terms that are analyzable are likely to be more recent additions than unanalyzable terms” (37). Analyzability can, in their view, take five forms, four of which apply to *purpuralitr*. One is that the term contains more than one stem (which makes it a more recent addition than a color term containing a single stem). Another

<sup>27</sup> Witkowski and Brown (1977) emend Berlin and Kay’s evolutionary sequence. They alter it so that grey, the only achromatic basic color term added from stage II onwards, is made a ‘wild card’ that can be placed at any point after the early stages.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. McNeill (1969): “Originally, purple derived from shells (*Purpura*) found on the coast of the eastern Mediterranean Sea. The animals gathered into shoals in spring time; abrasion produced a milky white fluid from which purple dye was obtained. When the shells were broken, the white substance oozed out. Upon exposure to the air and light this substance passed through a series of colours: first citron-yellow, then greenish yellow, then green, and finally, purple or scarlet. The juice obtained from *Murex brandaris*, a kind of *Purpura*, changed photochemically into a deep blue-violet, but that of *Murex trunculus*, another kind of *Purpura*, gave a scarlet red hue . . . According to *O[ld] E[nglish] D[ictionary]*, in the middle ages *purple* applied vaguely to various shades of red but now it applies to ‘mixture of red and blue in various proportions’. The purple dye industry goes back into the preclassical period. However, its heyday was reached during the classical period” (27–28). It is difficult to know when *purpuri* was adopted and if the meaning “purple” precedes the meaning “costly stuff”.

is that the term has an analyzable stem and/or affix (which makes it a more recent addition than a color term containing an unanalyzable stem and/or affix). A third is that the term contains an affix whose gloss is “color/colored/color of” (which makes it a more recent addition than a term not containing such an affix). And a fourth is that the term is also the name (or contains the name) of an object characteristically having the color in question (which makes it a more recent addition than a color term which is not or does not contain such a name).<sup>29</sup> *Purpuralitr* appears not to have been widely used; it is not listed in Finnur Jónsson’s *Lexicon Poeticum*, and the Arnarnagnaean Commission’s *Orðbog* has only five occurrences. In three of these, the term is used about precious stones, all non-native objects. One concerns the jacinth: “margar huitar byflugur sem snior flugu ok foru utan af seiminum. enn sumar af þeim hófdu raudan purpura lit sem iacinctus” (*Stjórn* [ed. Unger 1862], 210.117–19). Two concern the amethyst, and in both *purpuralitr* is equated with the color of a drop of wine, also a non-native item: “Ematistvs hefir pvrpvralit sem vindropi” (*Hauksbók* [ed. Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson 1892–1896], 227.1) and “Amatistus hefir purpura lit sem vin-dropi” (*Alfræði Íslenzk* [ed. Kålund 1908], 1:81.1). Although *purpuralitr* still exists as a color term, it is archaic and rare; *Orðabók Háskólans* lists only six occurrences dating from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth century.<sup>30</sup> The current term for purple in modern Icelandic is *fjólublár* (‘violet-blue’), a secondary color term, which first occurs in the late eighteenth century.

Orange, according to Berlin and Kay, “usually becomes isolated from YELLOW but there is some evidence to indicate that in some cases it may have arisen from RED” (22). In Old Norse-Icelandic, it appears that this isolation did not take place; there is no basic color term for orange. The term *raudgulr* appears not to have been widely used; indeed, the Arnarnagnaean Commission’s *Orðbog* lists only three occurrences.<sup>31</sup> The term still exists in Icelandic, but, like *purpuralitr*, it is now rarely used. The current term for orange in modern Icelandic is *appelsínugulur* (‘orange-yellow’), a secondary color term, which, like *purpuralitr* and *fjólublár*, is derived from a concrete object, here

<sup>29</sup> The fifth criterion for analyzability is that “color terms containing derivational affixes are more recent additions than color terms not containing derivational affixes” (37).

<sup>30</sup> Here and in the following, the references to *Orðabók Háskólans* are to the dictionary’s website: <http://www.lexis.hi.is/cgi-bin/ritmal/leitord>.

<sup>31</sup> In one of these, *raudgulr* is used to describe the color of cloth; in the other two, the term is used to describe human hair color.



a (non-native) fruit. According to *Orðabók Háskólans*, *appelsínugulur* first occurs in the mid-twentieth century.

The modern Icelandic term for pink is *bleikur*. Old Norse-Icelandic has no term for pink; yet *bleikr* certainly exists but denotes different colors according to its context. Although the term appears most frequently in the meaning “pale (♁: of weak or reduced color), wan, ?bleached” (the Arnarnagnaean Commission’s *Ordbog*, s.v., *bleikr*), as in, for example, “gevr hon [sólin] af ser litit lios oc bendir firir með bleikum lit margs mannz feigð” (*Alexanders saga* [ed. Finnur Jónsson 1925], 70.32–71.1) and “stundum var hann raudr sem blod en stundum bleikr sem bast edr blarr sem hel edr fölr sem nárr suo at ymsir þessir litir færduzt j hann suo bra honum vid” (*Flateyjarbók* [ed. Guðbrandur Vigfusson and Unger [1860–1868], 2:136.35–37), the term appears not uncommonly in the meaning “blond, fair, light-coloured” (translation offered by the *Ordbog*) as in, for example, “Alexannder s(on) Priami var huitr ahaurunnd hær madr herdimikill. sterkr oc storradr harid bleikt oc bla augun” (*Trójumanna saga* [ed. Louis-Jensen 1963], 66.11–12) and “Føgr er hliðin, svá at mér hefir hon aldri jafnføgr sýnzkr, bleikir akrar ok slegin tún” (*Njáls saga* [ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1954], 182.20–22). When used to describe the color of horses and cows, the term seems to mean “light-coloured, ?fawn, ?pale yellow, ?dappled” (translation offered by the *Ordbog*) as in, for example, “Því næst riðu fram or konungs fylking Riker ok Marant, annarr á bleikum hesti en annarr á grám” (*Karlamagnúss saga* [ed. Unger 1860], 302.38–39) and “ek sá hér upp risa at Hofi uxa bleikan, mikinn ok skrautligan” (*Vápnfirðinga saga* [ed. Jón Jóhannesson 1950], 48.18–19).<sup>32</sup> In two instances (both in *Stjórn*), *bleikr* may, according to the Arnarnagnaean Commission’s *Ordbog*, denote “?(light) red”: “fyrir þann skyllt er ertrnar þær sem hann keypti uaru raudar edr bleikar. þa uar hann þar af kalladr Edom” and “Hafdi hann .iii. nófn . . . hann het Esau sua sem raudr. ok Seyr þat er lodinn. ok Edom þat er bleikr edr blodligr” (*Stjórn* [ed. Unger 1862], 161.4–6 and 161.7–9).<sup>33</sup> It is quite possible that *bleikr* should be regarded as a macrocolor covering, at least partly, the category of pale or light colors.<sup>34</sup> Evidently, the term lost some of its semantic portfolio in the

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Barley (1974), 22–23.

<sup>33</sup> For a discussion of the meaning of *bleikr* in this passage, see Wolf (2005).

<sup>34</sup> Biggam (1997) describes macrocolors as follows: “Not every language has a single colour lexeme per colour category, that is, a word such as N[ew] E[nglish] *green* for the green category. To Modern English speakers, red, orange, brown and purple are separate categories with separate lexemes denoting them, but speakers of other languages, although perfectly capable of seeing these four colours, may denote them with a single

course of the history of the Icelandic language. It is difficult to determine when the semantic change took place. The 88 occurrences listed by *Orðabók Háskólans* suggest that it was not until the mid-twentieth century that *bleikur* appears in the meaning pink and that it continued to denote also pale until the late twentieth century, though here it is, of course, important to bear in mind that writers — and especially Icelandic writers — often have a tendency to archaize. Certainly in the spoken language, *bleikur* is no longer used in the meaning pale, but it continues to be used to describe the color of horses and cows.

III. Berlin and Kay's groundbreaking study has not been immune to criticism. McNeill (1972), for example, outright rejects the implicational hierarchy, arguing that "there is no universal sequence in which colour terms arise, because this order is determined by the function of colour terms in a culture" (22). Using the linguistic communities of Navaho, Pukapuka, and Japanese, she maintains that "the development of colour names and their foci are specific to the culture in which the name developed and have much to do with the available natural resources and the range of colours they provide" (28–29).<sup>35</sup> Kay and McDaniel (1978) are less severe in their judgement; they call for a reinterpretation of the evolutionary sequence of basic colors and view "the development of basic color-term lexicon not as the successive encoding of foci, but as the successive differentiation of previous existing basic color categories" (640). Similarly, Crawford (1982), who maintains that "Berlin and Kay's criteria for defining basic color terms pose insoluble problems for scholars trying to apply their model", only goes so far as to propose a new definition of the basic color term concept "in order to eliminate contradictory and ambiguous criteria" (338). He suggests the following definition:

A basic color term occurs in the idiolects of all informants. It has stability of reference across informants and across occasions of use. Its signification is not included in that of another color term. Its application is not restricted to a narrow class of objects. (342).

Wylter (1984) is one of the scholars for whom Berlin and Kay's criteria pose problems. He examines "whether Berlin and Kay's theory of basic colour terms can be verified in the case of Old English" and con-

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lexeme. Such a colour concept is a macrocolour" (18).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Sampson (1980): 100.

cludes that the formula is only “partly applicable” (55).<sup>36</sup> Finally, Taylor (1995), who is favorably disposed towards Berlin and Kay’s study, argues that the proposal that all languages in the world select from a universal inventory of just eleven focal colors needs “relaxing” (12).<sup>37</sup> He also notes that there are languages whose inventory of color terms do not conform to Berlin and Kay’s generalizations about the distributional restrictions of color terms. He mentions, for example, that “[l]anguages which do not have separate terms for blue and green, but which nevertheless have terms to the right of blue [i.e., brown, grey, orange, purple, or pink], are by no means infrequent” (13).

Despite these and other criticisms, which have led to some modifications of Berlin and Kay’s two basic claims, subsequent research has largely substantiated their findings and supported their arguments. Indeed, as demonstrated above, Berlin and Kay’s theory is eminently applicable to Old Norse-Icelandic as an evolutionary stage in the history of the Icelandic language, and it seems unnecessary to turn to Crawford’s revised definition of “basic color term” as, for example, Biggam (1997) chose to do in her study of the color blue in Old English. The analysis reveals that Old Norse-Icelandic has eight basic color terms: *svartr*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, *grœnn*, *gulr*, *blár*, *brúnn*, and *grár*. For lack of data, it is, of course, impossible to assess the evolutionary sequence of these terms. With its eight basic color terms, Old Norse-Icelandic may be designated a stage VII language, which in Berlin and Kay’s study is represented by 20 of the 98 languages in their sample. The most frequently occurring stage VII systems exhibit all eleven basic color terms, but at least two of the languages in the experimental sample, Urdu and Cantonese, possess, like Old Norse-Icelandic, only eight basic color terms.<sup>38</sup> Urdu has terms for black, white, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, and purple, but lacks terms for orange, pink, and grey, and Cantonese has yet to add brown, purple, and orange to its basic inventory. Berlin and Kay treat these languages as early stage VII systems,

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<sup>36</sup> He claims that “the absence of a generic term for blue and the position of grey and the existence of non-specified abstract colour terms make it much less strong a rule than it might be supposed to be” (55). In his view “[i]t is therefore doubtful whether basic colour terms can be semantic universals or are a reliable means to characterize the evolutionary processes in the history of a language or of civilizations” (55). Cf., however, Biggam (1977), who maintains that “Wyler shows evidence of major misunderstandings of Berlin and Kay’s theories” (71).

<sup>37</sup> He draws attention to Russian, which, with its terms for light and dark blue, has twelve basic color terms.

<sup>38</sup> Berlin and Kay further note that “Tagalog lacks a term for orange as does Vietnamese” and that “Catalan lacks pink and orange terms” (35).

noting that most of the stage VII languages tend to possess all of the four remaining color terms, that is, purple, pink, orange, and grey. In modern Icelandic, one additional basic color term — *bleikr* — has been added. With its nine basic color terms, Icelandic therefore differs from most of the stage VII languages examined by Berlin and Kay, which have basic color terms also for orange and purple.

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HALLDÓR ÁRMANN SIGURÐSSON

## The Icelandic Noun Phrase

### Central Traits

#### 1 Introduction

In this paper I describe central traits of the Icelandic noun phrase, NP (or “determiner phrase”, DP). The presentation is ‘analytically descriptive’ rather than theoretical. That is to say, I do not address deeper theoretic-

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**Abstract:** Since Abney (1987), generative syntax has invested much interest in the structure of the Noun Phrase, producing numerous theoretical as well as descriptive studies. Within the field of Scandinavian Noun Phrase studies, Delsing (1993) was a groundbreaking work that has since been followed up by several important studies, including Vangsnes et al. (2003) and Julien (2005). This field of inquiry is enormous and largely unexplored, so, in spite of much progress, it still suffers from both too limited general understanding and much too limited knowledge of facts. This paper purports to partly improve this situation by describing the most central traits of the Icelandic noun phrase, mostly in fairly theory-neutral terms. Three phenomena are studied in particular. First, the order of elements in the NP, partly effected by two distinct leftward (Modifier+)Noun movements, to a Spec,G(enitive) position, yielding the type ‘*old books her*’, and/or to a higher, more leftward Spec,D(eterminer) position, yielding e.g. ‘*old books.the*’. Second, the adnominal genitive construction, which usually has the order Noun-Genitive, ‘*book her*’, instead of the general Germanic Genitive-Noun order, ‘*her book*’. While the head noun in the Genitive-Noun Construction is blocked from being definite across the Germanic languages considered in this article (\*‘*the her book*’ / \*‘*her the book*’ / \*‘*her book.the*’), this Genitive Definiteness Blocking often disappears in the Noun-Genitive Construction, which frequently either allows or requires the definite article (‘*book.the her*’). Third, the preproprial article, both in the Noun-Genitive Construction (‘*book.the her Mary*’ = ‘Mary’s book’) and elsewhere. The plural preproprial articles (or pronouns) are of special interest, because of their rather unusual properties (‘*we Mary*’ = ‘Mary and I’, etc.). I illustrate in some detail that the use of both the definite article in the Noun-Genitive Construction and of the preproprial article is triggered and conditioned by fine grained semantics, suggesting that the NP may have even richer structure than often assumed.

**Keywords:** adnominal genitive, familiarity, definite article, identifiability, kinship term, name, N-movement, noun-genitive construction, preproprial article, relational noun

cal issues, such as what might be the universal structure of NPs, why NPs are structured as they are, etc. Also, the comparative perspective of the paper is rather narrowly Scandinavian/Germanic. However, I do analyze much of the variation seen in the Icelandic NP/DP, and many of the facts discussed have not been previously noticed or analyzed in the literature (e.g. Magnússon 1984, Delsing 1993, Sigurðsson 1993, Vangsnes 1999, 2004, Vangsnes et al. 2003, Julien 2005).<sup>1</sup> This applies above all to the Noun Genitive Construction, discussed in section 3, and to the proprial article constructions, discussed in section 4.

Much as in related languages, Icelandic noun phrases are variously complex, as illustrated (in part only) in (1):

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (i) a. <b>Hún</b> hló.                 | pronoun                                   |
| she laughed                            |   |
| b. <b>Kona</b> sat á bekk.             | bare (indefinite) noun                    |
| woman sat on bench                     |   |
| ‘A woman sat on a bench.’              |   |
| c. <b>Konan</b> hló.                   | noun + definite article ( <i>kona-n</i> ) |
| woman.the laughed                      |   |
| d. <b>Kona með grænan hatt</b> hló.    | noun + PP                                 |
| woman with green hat laughed           |   |
| e. <b>Konan sem sat á bekknum</b> hló. | noun + definite article + clause          |
| woman.the who sat on bench.            |   |
| the laughed                            |   |
| f. <b>Sælir eru fátækir.</b>           | adjective                                 |
| blessed are poor (people)              |   |

The core constituent or the HEAD of an NP, is either a pronoun, as in (1a), or a (bare) noun, such as *kona-* in (1b–e). Exceptionally, the NP contains no overt noun or pronoun head, as in (1f) (where the NP may however be analyzed as containing a null noun head: [Adjective [Noun = Ø]]).

In addition to a head, the NP may contain a COMPLEMENT, such as the PP *með grænan hatt* ‘with a green hat’ in (1d) or the relative clause *sem sat á bekknum* ‘who sat on the bank’ in (1e). Also, an NP often contains one or more MODIFIERS, as the underlined words in (2):

- (2) a. [Allir þessir duglegu vísindamenn] eru málfræðingar.  
all.NOM these efficient scientists are linguists

<sup>1</sup> However, I do not discuss the order constraints on stacked adjectives and adverbs within the NP (see Scott 2002 on stacked adjectives).



- b. Ég þekki [þá alla] mjög vel.  
I know them all.ACC very well

In (2a), the noun head *vísindamenn* 'scientists' takes three modifiers to its left, that is: the indefinite pronoun or the universal quantifier *allir* 'all', the demonstrative pronoun *þessir* 'these', and the adjective *duglegu* 'efficient'. In (2b), the pronominal head *þá* 'they.ACC' takes the universal quantifier *alla* 'all.ACC' to its right. The definite article, such as *-n* in *konan* in (1d), is a DETERMINER, see section 2.1.

Icelandic has *no indefinite article*:<sup>2</sup>

- (3) a. **Maður** kom gangandi.  
man came walking  
'A man came walking.'  
b. Ég keypti **skemmtilega bók** í morgun.  
I bought interesting book in morning  
'I bought an interesting book this morning.'  
c. Ólafur er **prófessor**.  
'Ólafur is a professor.'  
d. Það er **maður** í garðinum.  
there is man in garden.the  
'There is a man in the garden.'

In contrast, Icelandic has *two definite articles* (mutually exclusive), a suffixed one and a preposed free one. The *suffixed definite article*:

- (4) a. Maðurinn kom gangandi.  
man.the came walking  
'The man came walking.'  
b. Ég keypti skemmtilegu bókina í morgun.  
I bought interesting book.the in morning  
'I bought the interesting book this morning.'

In passing, notice that adjectives *agree in definiteness* with their noun: indefinite *skemmtilega* 'interesting' in (3a) but definite *skemmtilegu* in (4b). See further below.

The *preposed free article* is mostly confined to abstract nouns in formal written style; the minus sign in front of an expression indicates

<sup>2</sup> This might be one of the reasons why complex nominalizations have a rather limited domain in Icelandic as compared to the other Germanic languages (see e.g. Teleman et al. 1999, 3: 59 ff. on Swedish). However, this is but a hunch, so I shall not discuss it further.

that it is strictly speaking grammatical but marked or dispreferred in most situations:

- (5) a. ??**Hinn** nýi bill var dýr.  
the new car was expensive  
b. –**Hinn** aldraði þingmaður var uppgefinn.  
the aged Congressman was exhausted  
c. Ég aðhyllist **hina** athyglisverðu hugmynd um færslur.  
I adhere-to the interesting idea about movements

Remarkably, the preposed article is only possible as preposed to an adjective, i.e. it is ungrammatical if the noun phrase contains no adjective:

- (6) a. –hinn aldraði þingmaður                      vs.                      \*hinn þingmaður  
the aged Congressman  
b. hina athyglisverðu hugmynd                      vs.                      \*hina hugmynd  
the interesting idea

Many other factors affect the distribution of the articles, but I shall not detail here. Most importantly, the preposed free article is almost nonexistent in common everyday language.

Icelandic nominals inflect for *CASE* (nominative, accusative, dative, genitive). This is illustrated below for pronominal subjects, in (7), and pronominal objects, in (8):

- (7) a. **Hún** las bókina.  
she.NOM read book.the.ACC  
b. **Hana** vantaði bókina.  
her.ACC lacked book.the.ACC  
'She lacked the book.'  
c. **Henni** leiddist bókin.  
her.DAT bored book.the.NOM  
'She found the book boring.'  
d. **Hennar** gætti lítið á fundinum.  
her.GEN noticed little at meeting.the.DAT  
'She was hardly noticeable at the meeting.'
- (8) a. Öllum leiddist **hún**.  
all.DAT found-boring she.NOM  
'Everybody found her boring.'  
b. Mig vantaði **hana**.  
me.ACC lacked her.ACC  
'I lacked her.'



- (13) a. bókin **hennar** / bókina **hennar** / bókarinnar **hennar**  
 book.the her.GEN, i.e. 'her book'  
 b. hesturinn **hennar** / hestinum **hennar** / hestsins **hennar**  
 horse.the her.GEN, i.e. 'her horse'

The agreeing possessives are *minn* 'my', *þinn* 'your', the reflexive *sinn* 'his, her, its, their' and the archaic and honorific *vor* 'our'. Other adnominal relations of possession are expressed by non-agreeing genitive forms of the corresponding personal pronouns. This gives rise to the following split system of adnominal possessors (a split of this sort is a general trait of the Scandinavian languages, and similar splits are found in many other Indo-European languages):

(14) SINGULAR, NON-REFLEXIVE POSSESSORS:

- |    |           |                     |   |
|----|-----------|---------------------|---|
| a. | 1sg:      | <i>minn</i> 'my'    | Agreement ( <i>minn, min, mínir</i> , etc.) |
| b. | 2sg:      | <i>þinn</i> 'you'   | Agreement ( <i>þinn, þin, þínir</i> , etc.) |
| d. | 3sg.masc: | <i>hans</i> 'his'   | Genitive                                    |
| e. | 3sg.fem:  | <i>hennar</i> 'her' | Genitive                                    |
| f. | 3sg.neut: | <i>þess</i> 'its'   | Genitive                                    |

(15) PLURAL, NON-REFLEXIVE POSSESSORS:

- |    |                |                       |                                       |
|----|----------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. | 1pl:           | <i>okkar</i> 'our'    | Genitive                              |
| b. | 2pl:           | <i>ykkar</i> 'your'   | Genitive                              |
| c. | 3pl:           | <i>þeirra</i> 'their' | Genitive                              |
| d. | 1pl.honorific: | <i>vor</i> 'our'      | Agreement ( <i>vor, vorir</i> , etc.) |
| e. | 2pl.honorific: | <i>yðar</i> 'your'    | Genitive                              |

(16) REFLEXIVE POSSESSORS:

- |              |                                    |   |
|--------------|------------------------------------|---|
| 3refl.sg/pl: | <i>sinn</i> 'his, her, its, their' | Agreement ( <i>sinn, sín, sínir</i> , etc.) |
|--------------|------------------------------------|---|

This system was more regular in Old Norse (see Guðmundsson 1972), where only the non-reflexive third person made use of genitives (*hans, hennar, þess, þeirra*). It is rather peculiar that the 'possessor system' splits like this, between agreeing forms vs. non-agreeing genitive forms (for further discussion, see Julien 2005).

## 2 Noun phrase word order

### 2.1 *An overview*

The Icelandic NP may contain *prenominal* determiners and modifiers as well as *postnominal* genitives and complements:

## (1) Determiners/modifiers – noun – genitives/complements

We can thus distinguish between the PRENOMINAL NP FIELD and the POSTNOMINAL NP FIELD. The order of elements in the Prenominal NP Field is normally Quantifier – Definite determiner – Numeral – Adjective(s) [– Noun], as illustrated in (2):

## (2)

Quantifier	Definite determiner	Numeral	Adjective(s) (+ potential modifiers of As)	Noun
<i>Allar</i> all	<i>hinar</i> the	<i>þrjár</i> three	<i>frægu</i> famous.DEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
<i>Allar</i> all	<i>þessar</i> these	<i>þrjár</i> three	<i>frægu</i> famous.DEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
<i>Allar</i> all	<i>þær</i> those/the	<i>þrjár</i> three	<i>frægu</i> famous.DEF	<i>greiningar sem ...</i> analyses that
<i>Allar</i> all	<i>þínar</i> your	<i>þrjár</i> three	<i>frægu</i> famous.DEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
<i>Allar</i> all	<i>hinar</i> the	<i>þrjár</i> three	<i>snjöllu og mjög frægu</i> clever.DEF and very famous. DEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
<i>Allar</i> all	<i>þessar</i> these	<i>þrjár</i> three	<i>mjög frægu</i> very famous.DEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
<i>Báðar</i> both	<i>þessar</i> these	---	<i>frægu</i> famous.DEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
<i>Sumar</i> some	---	---	<i>frægar</i> famous.INDEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
---	<i>þessar</i> these	<i>þrjár</i> three	<i>frægu</i> famous.DEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
---	<i>þessar</i> these	---	<i>frægu</i> famous.DEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
---	---	<i>þrjár</i> three	<i>frægar</i> famous.INDEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
---	---	---	<i>Frægar</i> famous.INDEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
<i>Allar</i> all	<i>þessar</i> these	<i>þrjár</i> three	---	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
<i>Allar</i> all	<i>þessar</i> these	---	---	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
---	<i>þessar</i> these	<i>þrjár</i> three	---	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
---	<i>þessar</i> these	---	---	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
---	---	<i>þrjár</i> three	---	<i>greiningar</i> analyses
---	---	---	---	<i>Greiningar</i> analyses

Let us refer to this as the FULL CONCORD CONSTRUCTION, as all the modifiers of the noun agree with it in case, number and gender. Not all Icelandic NP constructions have concord or agreement of this sort, and hence it comes handy to have a term that distinguishes this construction from other NP constructions (see below).

Notice that Icelandic is unlike e.g. Swedish, but like Danish, German, English and so on, in not having two definite determiners in one and the same NP: *Rauða bókin* 'red book.the' (or possibly in literary or archaic style *Hin rauða bók* 'the red book', but definitely not \**Hin rauða bókin*). I'll return to this fact in section 2.2.

The initial Quantifier position and the Definite determiner position will here be referred to as the Q-POSITION and the D-POSITION, respectively. As seen in the table in (2), the D-position can be filled by several elements: the preposed free definite article *hinn*, *hinar* etc., the demonstratives *þessi*, *þessar* etc. or *sá*, *þær* etc., and possessive pronouns *þinn*, *þínar* etc. When the D-position is filled by some of these elements, the (non-genitive-containing) NP as a whole is definite, and, as seen, the adjective must then usually agree in definiteness; otherwise, the adjective is usually indefinite, like the whole NP.<sup>3</sup>

Notice that the demonstrative *sá* 'he.MASC (who), the one.MASC (who), the.MASC', *þær* 'they.FEM (who), those.FEM (who), the.FEM', etc., often requires that the noun head take a relative clause complement, *sem* ... 'that ...' or 'who ...':

- (3) a. Allar þær þrjár frægu greiningar **sem** ...  
       all those/the three famous analyses that ...  
    b. Sá **sem** segir þetta hlýtur að vera gáfaður.  
       the-one who says this must to be intelligent  
       'He who says this must be intelligent.'

However, the 'explanation' or specification of the reference of the demonstrative is sometimes found in the preceding linguistic context, and then the demonstrative can be used on its own, as in (4a); in addition, as discussed by Julien (2005), it is used in elliptical NPs, as in (4b):

<sup>3</sup> However, there are two constructions where this correlation between an overt definite article (preposed or suffixed) and the definiteness marking of the adjective does not hold. First, in formal language, indefinite adjectives can be used in even definite NPs if they express a non-restrictive meaning: *raudur bilinn* 'red.INDEF car.the', i.e. 'the car, which (by the way) was red'. Second, definite NPs with a definiteness marking of only the adjective are sometimes heard in colloquial Icelandic (where it seems to be gaining ground): *nýja plata Bjarkar* 'new.DEF record Björk.GEN' (i.e. Björk's new record').

- (4) a. *Sá hlýtur að vera gáfaður!*  
 that-one must to be intelligent  
 'He must be intelligent!'  
 b. *Sá rauði er bestur.*  
 the red is best  
 'The red one is the best one.'

Personal pronouns cannot usually head a complex NP in Icelandic (as opposed to e.g. English and Swedish), at least not in formal language, but they can do so rather freely in colloquial Icelandic if they are modified by a deictic particle like *hérna* 'you know' (lit. 'here') or *þarna* 'there; you know':

- (5) a. *Sá/??Hann sem er að tala er Íslendingur.*  
 the-one/he who is to talk is Icelander  
 'The one/He who is talking is an Icelander.'  
 b. *Sá/??Hann í græna jakkanum segir þetta.*  
 the-one/he in green jacked.the says this
- (6) a. *Hann þarna sem er að tala er Íslendingur.*  
 he there who is to talk is Icelander  
 b. *Hann hérna í græna jakkanum segir þetta.*  
 he here in green jacked.the says this

Personal pronouns cannot usually take modifiers either:

- (7) a. *\*Þessar þrjár frægu þær*  
 these three famous they  
 b. *\*frægur hann*  
 famous he  
 c. *\*hann frægur*  
 he famous

Numerals like *þrír* 'three' and quantifiers like *allir*, *báðir*, *sumir* and *flestir* 'all, every, whole; both; some; most' are exceptional in this respect, that is, they can easily modify pronouns.<sup>4</sup> As illustrated in (8), however, the pronoun shows a different behavior from that observed for nouns in that it must usually *precede* the quantifier (except when the quantifier is topicalized, in formal style, as in (8d) – as before the minus sign in front of an expression indicates that it is strictly speaking grammatical but marked or dispreferred in most situations):

<sup>4</sup> Quantifying adjectives like *margir* 'many' and *fáir* 'few' can also modify pronouns, albeit more reluctantly.

- (8) a. Ég hef kosið þá báða. vs. \*... báða þá  
 I have chosen them.ACC both.ACC  
 'I have voted for/chosen both of them.'
- b. Þeir hafa báðir verið kosnir. vs. \*Báðir þeir ...  
 they.NOM have both.NOM been chosen  
 (but: ?Þeir báðir ...)
- c. Því hafa þeir báðir verið kosnir. vs. ... \*báðir þeir ...  
 thus have they.NOM both.NOM been chosen
- d. – Báðir hafa þeir verið kosnir.  
 both.NOM have they.NOM been chosen
- (9) a. Þeir börðu mig allan. vs. \*... allan mig  
 they hit me.ACC all.ACC  
 'They hit me all over.'
- b. Ég var allur barinn. vs. \*Allur ég ...  
 I.NOM was all.NOM hit  
 'I was hit all over.'  
 (and: ?\*Ég allur ...)
- c. Því var ég allur barinn. vs. \*... allur ég ...  
 thus was I.NOM all.NOM hit
- (10) a. Ég kaus þá þrjá. vs. \*... þrjá þá  
 I chose them.ACC three.ACC  
 'I voted for/chose the three of them.'
- b. Þeir þrír voru kosnir. vs. \*Þrír þeir ...  
 they.NOM three.NOM were chosen  
 'The three of them were voted for/chosen.'

Thus, it seems that the Q-position can be preceded by a Person position, hosting personal pronouns only.<sup>5</sup>

## 2.2 *Movement to the D-position*

As we shall discuss shortly, possessive genitives in Icelandic usually follow their head noun, giving rise to orders like 'opinion bishops.the' = 'the bishops opinion', very typical of Icelandic among the Germanic languages. The same usually also holds for possessive pronouns: 'analyses your', and so on:

- (1) a. Allar hinar þrjá frægu greiningar þínar eru réttar.  
 all the three famous.DEF analyses your are correct

<sup>5</sup> This tallies well with the ideas developed in Platzack (2004). Notice that it suggests that third person is a 'true person' in personal pronouns only (cf. Sigurðsson 2004a).



- b. Allar þær þrjú frægu greiningar þínar sem ég þekki eru réttar.  
all the three famous.DEF analyses your that I know are correct
- c. Báðar þessar tvær frægu greiningar þínar eru réttar.  
both these two famous.DEF analyses your are correct

As seen (by the underlined elements), the definite determiner position is filled in all these cases, and therefore it cannot be filled by the possessive pronoun too:<sup>6</sup>

- (2) \*Allar þínar hinar þrjár frægu greiningar [ \_\_ ] eru réttar.

Thus, the possessive pronoun has no other alternative than to stay in its postnominal position.

Even though *indefinite* NPs do not have any overt element in the determiner position, a possessive pronoun (or a possessive genitive) has to stay in its postnominal position; as indicated, the underlined adjectives take an indefinite form here:

- (3) a. Greiningar þínar eru ekki endilega réttar.  
analyses your are not necessarily correct  
'Your analyses are not necessarily correct.'
- b. Frægar greiningar þínar eru ekki endilega réttar.  
famous.INDEF analyses your are not necessarily correct
- c. Allar frægar greiningar þínar eru ekki endilega réttar.  
all famous.INDEF analyses your are not necessarily correct
- d. \*Allar þínar frægar greiningar eru ekki endilega réttar.  
all your famous.INDEF analyses are not necessarily correct

However, if the NP is *definite* and contains no (other) element in the D-position, then the possessive pronoun may or must move there (notice the definite form of the underlined adjective):

- (4) a. \*Allar [ \_\_ ] þrjár frægu greiningar þínar eru ekki endilega réttar.  
all three famous.DEF analyses your are not necessarily correct
- b. Allar þínar þrjár frægu greiningar [ \_\_ ] eru ekki endilega réttar.  
all your famous.DEF three analyses are not necessarily correct

This is perhaps not surprising, as possessive pronouns are *inherently definite*. Similarly, the definite suffixed article – along with its noun

<sup>6</sup> However, the order possessive pronoun or demonstrative – article – adjective – noun, *þau hin stóru skip* 'those the large ships', etc., is attested in Old Norse (Nygaard 1906:51), one of many facts that suggest that the Old Norse NP/DP may have been structurally different from the Modern Icelandic one. For a critical discussion, though, see Rögnvaldsson (1995).

– preferably shows up in the D-position or in the specifier position of D (see below), i.e., in the second position, after the initial quantifier:

- (5) a. ?Allar þrjár greiningarnar eru réttar.<sup>7</sup>  
 all three analyses.DEF are correct
- b. Allar [greiningar]nar þrjár [ \_\_ ] eru réttar.  
 all analyses.DEF three are correct  
 ‘All the three analyses are correct.’
- c. [Greiningar]nar þrjár [ \_\_ ] eru réttar.<sup>8</sup>  
 ‘The three analyses are correct.’

Moreover, definite adjectives also preferably show up between the initial quantifier and a numeral:

- (6) a. ??Allar þrjár frægu greiningarnar eru réttar.<sup>9</sup>  
 all three famous.DEF analyses.DEF are correct
- b. Allar [frægu greiningar]nar þrjár [ \_\_ ] eru réttar.  
 all famous.DEF analyses.DEF are correct  
 ‘All the three famous analyses are correct.’
- c. [Frægu greiningar]nar þrjár [ \_\_ ] eru réttar.  
 ‘The three famous analyses are correct.’

Notice also that attributive adjectives must always be adjacent to their noun:

- (7) a. \*Allar frægu þrjár greiningarnar eru réttar.  
 b. \*Allar greiningarnar þrjár frægu eru réttar.

Thus, instead of the order in (8), NPs that contain a suffixed article have the order in (9), where the ‘definite determiner’ is the suffixed article:

- (8) Quantifier – Definite determiner – Numeral – Adjective(s) – Noun  
 (all – the(se) – three – famous – analyses)
- (9) Quantifier – Adjective(s) + Noun + Definite determiner – Numeral  
 (all – famous+analyses+the – three)

<sup>7</sup> This word order is degraded for me, but it is accepted by some speakers (see Vangnes 2004).

<sup>8</sup> In the absence of the universal quantifier, the order *þrjá greiningarnar* gets a partitive reading, ‘three of the analyses’.

<sup>9</sup> This order becomes more acceptable with focal stress on the numeral, suggesting, in my view, that the numeral then moves to the left of the adjective and the noun (this increased acceptability with focal stress on the numeral is one of many facts that indicate that NP structure is more elaborated than assumed in the present, simple study).

One way of accounting for this variation is to assume that both adjectives and nouns move to a specifier position in front of the definite determiner in (9), as opposed to (8).<sup>10</sup> This is illustrated below, where the arrows indicate the source positions of the moved elements:

(10)

Quantifier	(Adj(s)+Noun) – Def det	Numeral	Adj(s)	Noun	X
<i>allar</i> all	----- ----- the	<i>þrjár</i> three	<i>frægu</i> famous.DEF	<i>greiningar</i> analyses	<i>á málinu</i> of matter.the
<i>allar</i> all	<i>frægu greingarnar</i> famous.DEF analyses.the	<i>þrjár</i> three	←	←	<i>á málinu</i> of matter.the

As a matter of fact, the suffixed article, *-nar* etc., is historically derived from the free article, *hinar* etc., by truncation of *hi-* (or sometimes of only *h-*). As we shall see, however, there are indications that the suffixed definite article takes a 'higher' (a more leftward) position than other definite determiners, that is, the table in (10) needs further refinements.

Movement of adjectives along with nouns is, to my knowledge, unattested in most or perhaps all other Germanic languages.<sup>11</sup> Also, as mentioned in section 2.1, the Germanic languages show considerable variation with respect to overt definiteness marking, Icelandic being like Danish, German, English and so on, but different from Swedish, Norwegian, and Faroese, in not having two definite determiners (in one and the same NP). Swedish: *Den röda boken* 'the read book.the'. Danish: *Den røde bog* 'the red book'. Icelandic: *Rauða bókin* 'red book.the' (or possibly in literary or archaic style *Hin rauða bók* 'the red book').

Consider the Swedish facts in (11)–(12), where definite determiners are boldface:

- (11) a. **alla dessa** tre röda böcker  
all these three red books

<sup>10</sup> In Sigurðsson 1993, I argued that the movement is a complex head movement of A-N (for a related approach to certain word order patterns in the Hebrew NP, see Pereltsvaig 2006). In contrast, Julien (2005) and Vangsens (2004) argue for a remnant movement analysis. We need not take a stand on this issue here (both types of analyses have pros and cons that are irrelevant for our purposes).

<sup>11</sup> However, northern Swedish dialects have A-N compounds (*gammhuse* = old-house.the, i.e. 'the old house') that might be analyzed as undergoing movement in certain constructions (as pointed out to me by Marit Julien).



### 2.3 Partitivity

When the Full Concord Construction (FCC) is headed or introduced by the universal quantifiers *allir* 'all, every(body)' or *báðir* 'both', it has an exhaustive, non-partitive meaning. However, when non-universal elements occupy the Q-position, FCC gets a *partitive reading*. Three types of non-universal placeholders of the Q-position may be distinguished:

- A. A limited number of **existential quantifiers** in the plural, like *einhverjir* 'some', *sumir* 'some', *nokkrir* 'some, several'
- B. **Quantifying adjectives** like *margir* 'many', *fáir* 'few' (sometimes referred to as 'midscalar quantifiers', see e.g. Haspelmath (1997:11) – but with many adjectival properties)
- C. In addition, the **numerals** may be preposed to the quantifier position in case the adjective is in the superlative (or, more marginally, in the comparative)

The partitive reading of these types of FCC is illustrated below (the nouns and all their modifiers are in the nominative in all three examples):

- (1) a. **Sumar** þessar frægu kenningar eru rangar.  
some these famous.DEF theories are wrong  
'Some of these famous theories are wrong.'
- b. **Margar** þessar frægu kenningar eru rangar.  
many there famous.DEF theories are wrong  
'Many of these famous theories are wrong.'
- c. **Fjórar** frægustu kenningarar eru rangar.  
four famous.most.DEF theories are wrong  
'Four of the most famous theories are wrong.'

As a partitive construction, however, FCC is rather marked. More frequently, partitivity is either expressed by the PREPOSITIONAL PARTITIVE CONSTRUCTION or by the GENITIVE PARTITIVE CONSTRUCTION; notice that there is no case agreement or concord between the initial quantifier and the rest of the NP, i.e. these constructions differ from the Full Concord Construction with respect to case concord:

- (2) a. **Sumar** af þessum frægu kenningum eru rangar.  
some.NOM of these.DAT famous.DEF.DAT theories.DAT are wrong

- b. *Sumar þessara frægu kenninga* eru rangar.  
 some.NOM these.GEN famous.DEF.GEN theories.GEN are wrong  
 'Some of these famous theories are wrong.'

Notice that partitivity does not arise in FCC, when the NP is indefinite (has no overt definite determiner):

- (3) a. *Sumar frægar kenningar* eru rangar.  
 some famous.INDEF theories are wrong  
 'Some famous theories are wrong.'  
 b. *Margar frægar kenningar* eru rangar.  
 many famous.INDEF theories are wrong  
 'Many famous theories are wrong.'

These clauses are just general statements about some and many famous theories, i.e. only one set of theories is involved in each clause, whereas a partitive statement is necessarily a statement about a subset or a sub-part of another larger set or entity.

Swedish and German frequently apply no marking in the so-called PSEUDO-PARTITIVE CONSTRUCTION (see Delsing 1993:185ff.), as illustrated in (4):

- (4) a. *drei Flaschen wein, zwei Schachteln Zigarretten*  
 b. *tre flaskor vin, två paket cigaretter*  
 three bottles wine, two packets cigarettes

Icelandic, in contrast, is like English in usually requiring a preposition here (the preposition, in turn, triggering dative case):

- (5) *þrjár flöskur af víni, tveir pakkar af sígarettum*  
 three bottles of wine.DAT, two packets of cigarettes.DAT

Genitive marking (found in e.g. Russian) is only marginally possible here, and no marking at all (as well as dative marking without a preposition) is ungrammatical:

- (6) a. *?þrjár flöskur víns, ??tveir pakkar sígarettna*  
 three bottles wine.GEN, two packets of cigarettes.GEN  
 b. *\*þrjár flöskur vín/víni, \*tveir pakkar sígarettur/sígarettum*  
 three bottles wine.NOM/DAT, two packets cigarettes.NOM/DAT

It is interesting that Swedish needs neither case nor a preposition in this construction, while Icelandic is like English in requiring a preposition, in spite of its robust case system.

## 2.4 The postnominal field – and a closer look at the prenominal structure

It was mentioned above that possessive genitives usually follow their head noun in Icelandic. Various complements of nouns also follow the noun and also the genitive, if there is one. The normal order of elements in the Postnominal NP Field is thus as follows:

- (1) [Noun – ] Genitive – Noun complement

The genitive canonically expresses the possessor, while the head noun expresses the possession, that is, the ADNOMINAL GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION canonically expresses a POSSESSOR-POSSESSION RELATION (i.e. *Jón's car* expresses a relation between (the genitive) *Jón* as an owner and *car* as his possession). Possessor-Possession is only one of many types of semantic relations expressed by the Adnominal Genitive Construction, though.<sup>13</sup>

Noun complements are of various types, commonly prepositional phrases, relative clauses, declarative clauses or infinitives:

- (2) a. allar þessar þrjár frægu hugmyndir **um** málfræði  
all these three famous ideas about grammar  
b. allar frægu hugmyndirnar þrjár **sem eru um** málfræði  
all famous ideas.the three that are about grammar  
c. allar þær frægu hugmyndir **að** málfræði sé líffræðileg  
all the famous ideas that grammar is biological  
d. öll sú fræga hugmynd **að** kenna málfræði í háskólanum  
whole the famous idea to teach grammar in university.the

PP complements of nouns can be headed by any preposition, depending on the noun and its semantic relation to the complement. Some random examples:

- (3) bók **um** málfræði 'a book about grammar'  
bók **eftir** málfræðing 'a book by a linguist' (lit. 'after')  
greining á vandamáli 'an analysis of a problem' (lit. 'on')  
greining í málfræði 'an analysis in grammar'  
vandamál í málfræði 'a problem in/of grammar; a grammatical problem'  
samtal **við** Chomsky 'a conversation with Chomsky'  
samtal **um** Chomsky 'a conversation about Chomsky'

In at least some nominalization constructions, however, *á* 'on' is a contentless, functional element, like English *of*:

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of this issue in English, see Vikner and Jensen (2002).

- (4) eyðileggingin á borginni, lesturinn á bókinni, kaupin á landinu  
 destruction.the on city.the, reading.the on book.the, purchasing.the on  
 land.the  
 'the destruction of the city, the reading of the book, the purchasing of  
 the land'

However, genitive marking is also possible here (but then the head noun must be formally indefinite, see below):

- (5) eyðilegging borgarinnar, lestur bókarinnar, kaup landsins  
 destruction city.the.GEN, reading book.the.GEN, purchasing land.the.GEN  
 'the destruction of the city, the reading of the book, the purchasing of  
 the land'

Genitives usually intervene between the noun and its complement. This is illustrated below. The noun and its complement is underlined, whereas the genitive is boldface (elements that belong to the Prenominal NP Field are within parentheses; as usual, all nominals are case-marked, but only relevant case-marking is indicated):

- (6) a. (allar þessar þrjár) hugmyndir Jóns um málfræði  
 (all these three) ideas.NOM Jón's.GEN about grammar  
 b. (þær þrjár) hugmyndir Maríu sem reyndust réttar  
 (the three) ideas.NOM María's.GEN that proved right  
 c. (sú) ályktun sjöundu ráðstefnunnar í París að fallmörkun sé mikilvæg  
 (the) conclusion.NOM seventh.DEF.GEN conference.the.GEN in Paris that  
 case-marking is important 'the conclusion of the seventh conference  
 in Paris that case-marking is important'  
 d. aðlögun Íslands að skilyrðum Evrópusambandsins  
 adaption.NOM Iceland's.GEN to conditions.DAT European Union's.GEN  
 'Iceland's adoption to the conditions of the European Union'

Having *general* noun-genitive order, Icelandic differs sharply from most other Germanic varieties. Compare:

- |        |  |           |
|--------|--|-----------|
| (7) a. | <b>Peter's</b> solution of the problem | English   |
| b.     | <b>Peters</b> Lösung von dem Problem   | German    |
| c.     | <b>Pers</b> lösning av problemet       | Swedish   |
|        | Per's.GEN solution of problem.the      |           |
| d.     | Lausn <b>Péturs</b> á vandamálinu      | Icelandic |
|        | solution Pétur's.GEN of problem.the    |           |

Exceptionally, Icelandic allows the general Germanic order, mostly if the genitive gets a special focus (see below), but also in e.g. poetic lan-



guage: *Íslands fögru fjöll* 'Iceland's beautiful mountains.' Conversely, German has not only the general Germanic Genitive-Noun order *Peters Lösung* but also the 'Icelandic' Noun-Genitive order *Die Lösung des Professors* 'the solution the professor's.GEN'.<sup>14</sup>

A noun and its complement arguably make up a constituent, a complex NP: *Lausn á vandamálinu* 'a solution of the problem', *Aðlögun að skilyrðum* 'an adaption to conditions' and so on. Thus the Icelandic Noun-Genitive order is presumably derived by movement of the noun away from its complement (if there is one) to a position in front of the genitive,<sup>15</sup> as shown below for the example in (6a) above = (8):

- (8) Allar þessar þrjár **hugmyndir** Jóns [ \_ ] um málfræði  
 (all these three) ideas.INDEF Jón's about grammar

I shall here refer to the landing site of the shifted noun as the specifier of the genitive or the SPEC/G POSITION.<sup>16</sup> If the noun is modified by an adjective, the adjective must move along with the noun into Spec/G, leading to the order Adj+Noun-Genitive ('red car Jón's), as will be illustrated shortly.

This movement to Spec/G is different from the movement of N discussed in section 2.2. above, as in (9):

- (9) Allar [**greiningar**]nar þrjár [ \_ ] eru réttar.  
 all analyses.DEF three are correct  
 'All the three analyses are correct.'

That is, the movement in (9) is to a position in front of the D-position, a much higher (more leftward) position than the landing position in (8). I shall refer to this position as the SPEC/D POSITION (again in lack of a better term).

Movement of indefinite nouns to Spec/D (or to the D-position) is impossible:

<sup>14</sup> The 'Icelandic' Noun-Genitive order is also found in formal, written Faroese (see Thráinsson et al. 2004) and in some Mainland Scandinavian varieties (Vangsnes et al. 2003, Julien 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Sigurdsson 1993. A movement approach to word order patterns of this sort was suggested already in Taraldsen 1990.

<sup>16</sup> In lack of a better term. For our limited purposes, the nature of the position in question, as well as the label assigned to it, is immaterial. What matters here is only the simple fact the order Noun-Genitive is derived by raising of the noun to a position, P, to the left of the genitive. For ease of exposition, I refer to P as 'Spec/G'. However, in minimal feature syntax as developed in Sigurdsson 2004a, 2004b, X-bar theoretic notions like 'head' and 'specifier' are meaningless.

- (10) \*allar [hugmyndir] þrjár [ \_ ] Jóns [ \_ ] um málfræði  
all ideas three Jón's.GEN about grammar

In one (very interesting) respect, however, the two movements (of nouns in front of genitives and of definite nouns in front of determiners) are similar, namely such that an attributive adjective must precede N in both positions (i.e. in Spec/D as well as in Spec/G):

- (11) a. Allar [frægu hugmyndir]nar þrjár [ \_ ] eru réttar. Spec/D  
all famous.DEF ideas.the three are correct  
b. \*Allar [hugmyndir]nar þrjár [frægu \_ ] eru réttar.
- (12) a. Allar þessar þrjár [frægu hugmyndir] Jóns [ \_ ] eru réttar. Spec/G  
all these three famous.DEF ideas Jón's.GEN are correct  
b. \*Allar þessar þrjár [hugmyndir] Jóns [frægu \_ ] eru réttar.  
c. [Frægar hugmyndir] Jóns [ \_ ] eru réttar. Spec/G  
famous.INDEF ideas Jón's.GEN are correct  
d. \*[Hugmyndir] Jóns [frægar \_ ] eru réttar.

The Icelandic order in (12a) and (12c) = (13d) differs sharply from the normal order in most other Germanic varieties:

- (13) a. Jón's famous ideas are correct. English  
b. Jóns berühmte Ideen sind richtig. German  
Jón's.GEN famous ideas are right  
c. Jons berömda ideer är rätta. Swedish  
Jón's.GEN famous ideas are right  
d. [Frægar hugmyndir] Jóns [ \_ ] eru réttar. Icelandic  
famous ideas Jón's.GEN are correct

As indicated in (13d), the cross-linguistic variation is accounted for if *both* the noun and its attributive adjective are moved to Spec/G, in front of the possessive genitive, in Icelandic (cf. Sigurðsson 1993; for different approaches, see Julien 2005, Vangsnes 2004).

The order of elements in the whole NP, including both the prenominal and the postnominal fields, is thus as sketched in (14):

- (14) Q – Spec/D – D – Num – Spec/G – G – (Adj+) Noun – Compl
- Q = Quantifier position (Q-position)  
D = Definite determiner position (D-position)  
Num = Numeral  
G = Genitive position (G-position)  
Compl = Complement position

As we have seen, (Adj+)Noun usually must move to Spec/G in genitive constructions, ('new+book teacher's.the's'), and in most definite non-genitive constructions (Adj+)Noun moves into Spec/D ('new+book.the').

### 3 Variation in the Noun Genitive Construction

As we have seen Icelandic has a NOUN GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION, whereas most other Germanic varieties have a general GENITIVE NOUN CONSTRUCTION. That is:

- (1) a. Most Germanic varieties: Genitive Noun (the teacher's book).  
 b. Icelandic Noun Genitive (book teacher's.the)

Definite nouns are normally excluded from the pre-genitive position, Spec/G, as opposed to indefinite nouns:

- (2) a. \*allar hugmyndirnar kennarans um málfræði  
 all ideas.the teacher's about grammar  
 b. allar hugmyndir kennarans um málfræði  
 'all the teacher's ideas about grammar'

However, the head-noun may be definite given that *the possessor is a pronoun or a name*.

- (3) a. Allir bílarnir þínir eru gulir.  
 all cars.the your are yellow  
 'All your cars are yellow.'  
 b. Allir bílarnir hans Jóns eru gulir.  
 all cars.the his Jón's are yellow  
 'All Jón's cars are yellow.'

This will be discussed more closely below.

As we saw in section 2.2, there are reasons to believe that possessive pronouns may (and sometimes must) move to the D-position. Consider the contrasts in (4):

- (4) a. Allir þessir þrjár bílar þínir eru rauðir.  
 all these three cars your are red  
 'All these three cars of yours are red.'  
 b. Allir þínir þrjár bílar [ \_\_ ] eru rauðir.  
 all your three cars are red

- c. Allir bílarnir þínir þrír [ \_\_ ] eru rauðir.  
 all cars.the your three are red  
 'All your three cars are red.'

As before, we take examples like (4b) to indicate that the possessive pronoun may move from the genitive (G) position (the slot position) to the D-position. If so, however, examples like (4c) indicate that the suffixed definite article takes a position that is even higher (farther to the left) than the D-position. I assume that this higher position is the Spec/D position, also attracting nouns and adjectives. In contrast, *hans* 'his' in (3b) forms a constituent with the genitive *Jóns* (see below on the proprial article).

In (4a), then, the possessive pronoun occupies the normal genitive position, with the indefinite noun *bílar* moved to Spec/G, in the usual manner, whereas the possessive pronoun has been raised to the D-position in (4b) and (4c).

Given that the order of elements in the "full NP" is as sketched at the end of the previous section, we can analyze the variation in (3)-(4) as in (5), where the arrows show the source position of the moved elements. As stated above, I assume that the suffixed definite article is generated in Spec/D, to where it attracts (Adj+)Noun (alternatively, there is a 'head' position between D and Spec/D, hosting the suffixed article).<sup>17</sup>

(5)

Q	Spec/D	D	Num	Spec/G	G	(Adj+)Noun	Compl
allir	bílar <sub>i</sub> -nir	þínir <sub>k</sub>	---	---	← <sub>k</sub>	← <sub>i</sub>	---
allir	bílar <sub>i</sub> -nir	---	---	---	hans Jóns	← <sub>i</sub>	---
allir	---	þessir	þrír	bílar <sub>i</sub>	þínir	← <sub>i</sub>	---
allir	---	þínir <sub>k</sub>	þrír	bílar <sub>i</sub>	← <sub>k</sub>	← <sub>i</sub>	---
allir	bílar <sub>i</sub> -nir	þínir <sub>k</sub>	þrír	---	← <sub>k</sub>	← <sub>i</sub>	---

Next consider the variation in (6)–(7); as before, the minus sign in front of an expression indicates that it is strictly speaking grammatical but marked and avoided in most situations:

- (6) a. –Bók þín er athyglisverð.  
 book your is interesting  
 'Your book is interesting.'

<sup>17</sup> In all the examples in (5), Spec/D could be occupied by an Adj+Noun, e.g. *nýju bílar-nir* 'new cars-the'.

b. **Bókin þín** er athyglisverð.

book.the your is interesting

'Your book is interesting.' / 'The book of yours is interesting.'

(7) a. **ÞÍN bók** er athyglisverð.

your book is interesting

'YOUR book is interesting (as compared to some other book(s)).'

b. \***ÞÍN bókin** er athyglisverð.

your book.the is interesting

As indicated by capitals, the word order in (7a) requires contrastive, focal stress on the possessive pronoun, for many or most speakers in many or most cases. – There are cases where no contrastive stress is required, though, but I shall not detail here.

In (6a), the possessive pronoun is arguably in the G-position, with *bók* moved into Spec/G, in the usual 'Icelandic manner'. In (6b), on the other hand, the possessive pronoun has presumably moved from the G-position to the D-position, with both the definite article and its noun in Spec/D. Evidence that both the pronoun and the suffixed noun take a 'high' position comes from the fact that they must both precede the numeral in examples like (4c). In (7a), the stressed possessive pronoun has also moved from G to D, leaving the noun behind in Spec/G. The order in (7b), in contrast, is ungrammatical, as the obligatory raising of the suffixed noun to Spec/D (cf. (6b)) does not take place. The grammatical orders in (6a,b) and (7a) are illustrated in (8):

(8)

Q	Spec/D	D	Num	Spec/G	G	(Adj+)Noun	Compl
---	---	---	---	bók <sub>i</sub>	þín	← <sub>i</sub>	---
---	bók <sub>i</sub> -in	þín <sub>k</sub>	---	---	← <sub>k</sub>	← <sub>i</sub>	---
---	---	ÞÍN <sub>k</sub>	---	bók <sub>i</sub>	← <sub>k</sub>	← <sub>i</sub>	---

As we have seen, the Possessor-Possession Relation (*Mary's book*, etc.) is canonically expressed by the Noun Genitive Construction. There are however, many other ways of expressing the relation between a possession and a possessor and the Noun Genitive Construction also expresses many other semantic relations than the Possessor Possession Relation. Irrespective of which semantic relation it expresses, it shows substantial variation with respect to two factors: 1) the use of the *definite article* (suffixed to the noun), and 2), the use of the (*pre*)*proprial article* with the genitive.<sup>18</sup> The examples in (9) illustrate the basic possibilities:

<sup>18</sup> I adopt this term from Delsing 1993.

- (9) a. *Þetta er bók kennarans.*  
 this is book teacher.the.GEN  
 'This is the teacher's book.'
- b. *Þetta er bókin mín.*  
 this is book.the my.NOM  
 'This is my book.'
- c. *Þetta er bókin hans Jóns.*  
 this is book.the his Jón.GEN  
 'This is Jón's book.'

English has no comparable variation, that is, one does not say, e.g., *my the book* or *his Jón's the book* (whereas some other Germanic varieties have similar constructions, as discussed by e.g. Vangsnes 1999, Vangsnes et al. 2003, Julien 2005). The 'genitive' is a plain *common noun* in (9a), a (case agreeing) *possessive pronoun* in (9b), and a *name* in (9c). Thus, we may distinguish between the COMMON-NOUN-GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION, the PRONOMINAL-GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION and the NAME-GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION.<sup>19</sup>

The type in (9a), with either Noun-Genitive or Genitive-Noun order, is common to all Scandinavian languages (although nearly extinct in colloquial Faroese and largely absent from some Mainland Scandinavian varieties), cf. e.g. Swedish *lärarens bok* 'the teacher's book'. Generally, in this construction, the genitive is incompatible with definite marking on the head noun, irrespective of whether or not the genitive itself is definite. This is illustrated for Swedish in (10) and for Icelandic in (11):

- (10) a. *lärarens bok* / \**lärarens boken*  
 teacher.the's book / book.the
- b. *en lärares bok* / \**en lärares boken*  
 a teacher's book / book.the
- c. *Islands fjäll* / \**Islands fjällen*<sup>20</sup>  
 Iceland's mountains / mountains.the
- d. *Sveriges regering* / \**Sveriges regeringen*  
 Sweden's government / government.the

<sup>19</sup> More exactly: the Noun Common-noun-genitive Construction (book teacher's), the Noun Pronominal-genitive Construction (book.the my/his) and the Noun Name-genitive Construction (book.the his Jón's).

<sup>20</sup> However, this would be a possible compound: *Íslandsfjöll*. Similarly in Icelandic: *Íslandsfjöll(in)*.

- (11) a. *bók kennarans* / %*bókin* kennarans<sup>21</sup>  
b. *bók kennara* / \**bókin* kennara  
c. *fjöll Íslands* / \**fjöllin* Íslands  
mountains Iceland's / mountains.the Iceland's  
d. *rikisstjórn Svíþjóðar* / \**rikisstjórnin* Svíþjóðar  
government Sweden's / government.the Sweden's

Even though the head is not marked for definiteness (with the suffixed article), the whole NP has a definite reading in all the examples except the b-examples (inasmuch as such examples are possible, they usually get a generic reading). The semantic relation between the head noun and the genitive is that of possession in the a- and b-examples, but the more general relation of location or belonging in the c- and d-examples. These relations are often expressed by non-genitive constructions, and when this is the case, the head noun must normally be marked for definiteness, if the NP has a definite reading, whereas it must commonly or generally not be so marked in adnominal genitive constructions. This applies to all the Germanic languages, and this is illustrated in (12)-(14) for English, Swedish and Icelandic:

- (12) a. **the** book of the teacher / vs. the teacher's (\***the**) book  
b. **the** mountains of Iceland / vs. Iceland's (\***the**) mountains
- (13) a. *boken* som läraren har / *lärarens bok*(\*en)  
book.the that teacher.the has / the teacher's book(.the)  
b. *fjällen på Island* / *Íslands fjäll*(\*en)  
the mountains of Iceland / Iceland's mountains(.the)
- (14) a. *bókin* sem kennarinn á / *bók*(%in) kennarans  
book.the that teacher.the owns / book(.the) teacher.the  
b. *fjöllin* á Íslandi / *fjöll*(\*in) Íslands  
the mountains of Iceland / mountains(.the) Iceland's

The generalization that emerges is the following GENITIVE DEFINITENESS BLOCKING:

- (15) Even if the whole NP has a definite reading, the noun head in the adnominal genitive constructions is generally blocked from being marked for definiteness

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<sup>21</sup> This is allowed in some dialectal varieties, above all in Vestfirðir, I believe. This is indicated by the % sign.

However, there are some exceptions in the Noun Genitive Construction (as opposed to the Genitive Noun Construction). Inasmuch as German makes use of postnominal genitives, it escapes this definiteness blocking: *Islands* (\**die*) *Gebirge* 'Iceland's mountains', but *die Gebirge Islands*. Also, as we saw in (9b,c), Icelandic (as some other Scandinavian varieties) can escape or circumvent this blocking in the *Pronominal-genitive Construction* and in the *Name-genitive Construction* (and also dialectally in the Common-noun-genitive Construction, as we saw in (11a) and (14a)). Perplexingly, however, the properties of the head noun also matter: Definiteness marking is generally only possible for *concrete* nouns.

**First**, consider the Pronominal-genitive Construction:

- (16) a. *Þetta er bókin mín / ? ... bók mín.*  
 this is book.the my / ... book my  
 'This is my book.'
- b. *Þetta er skoðun mín / \* ... skoðunin mín*  
 this is opinion my / ... opinion.the my  
 'This is my opinion.'

As seen, the concrete noun *bók* 'book' normally requires the suffixed definite article, whereas the abstract *skoðun* 'opinion' normally disallows it.

**Second**, consider the Name-genitive Construction:

- (17) a. *Þetta er bókin hans Jóns / ? ... bók Jóns.*  
 this is book.the his Jón's / ... book Jón's  
 'This is Jón's book.'
- b. *Þetta er skoðun Jóns / \* ... skoðunin hans Jóns.*  
 this is opinion Jón's / ... opinion.the his Jón's  
 'This is Jón's opinion.'

If the head noun is concrete, both a definite article and a genitive proprial article are usually required, whereas neither is allowed if the head noun is abstract.

Short forms for family relations behave like names in the Name-genitive Construction: *mamma* 'mom', *pabbi* 'dad', *bói / brói* 'brother', *systa* 'sister' (as opposed to the more formal *móðir*, *faðir*, *bróðir*, *systir*).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The same is true of fully spelled out words for family relations that are expanded by an epithet, like *stóri bróðir* '(my/our) big brother' and *litla systir* '(my/our) little sister'.



- (18) a. Þetta er bókin hans pabba / ? ... bók pabba.  
 this is book.the his dad's / ... book dad's  
 'This is dad's book.'
- b. Þetta er skoðun pabba / \* ... skoðunin hans pabba.  
 this is opinion dad's / ... opinion.the his dad's  
 'This is dad's opinion.'

Third, consider the Common-noun-genitive Construction:

- (19) a. bók kennarans / % bókin kennarans / \*bókin hans kennara(ns)  
 book teacher's.the
- b. skoðun kennarans / \*skoðunin kennarans / \*skoðunin hans kennara(ns)  
 opinion teacher's.the

In contrast to simple names, full names do not generally take the proprial article, neither in the Noun Genitive Construction nor elsewhere:

- (20) a. ?hún María Pétursdóttir  
 she María Pétursdóttir
- b. ?bókin hennar Maríu Pétursdóttur  
 book.the her María Pétursdóttir

In general, full names behave much like common nouns in the Noun Genitive Construction:

- (21) bók Maríu Pétursdóttur / %bókin Maríu Pétursdóttur  
 /? bókin hennar Maríu Pétursdóttur

The generalizations that emerge from the preceding observations are as follows:

- (22) If the noun in the (definite) Noun Genitive Construction is *abstract*, there is generally only one option. That is, the noun may usually not take the suffixed definite article and the proprial article is also excluded, irrespective of the properties of the genitive:
- a. skoðun mín / \*skoðunin mín
- b. skoðun Jóns / \*skoðunin hans Jóns
- c. skoðun kennarans / \*skoðunin kennarans
- (23) If the noun in the (definite) Noun Genitive Construction is *concrete*, there are basically three sub-constructions, depending on whether the genitive is a pronoun, a simple name (or a short form for some kinship term) or a common noun (or a full name):



present speech situation both the suffixed noun article and the proprial article may be left out, usually preferably so (recall that the minus sign in front of an expression indicates that it is grammatical but marked or dispreferred in most situations):

- (26) a. *Bók Maríu um íslenska málfræði er athyglisverð.* / –**Bókin hennar**  
*Maríu um . . .*  
 book María's on Icelandic grammar is interesting
- b. *Allar bækur hans um listir hafa selst vel.* / –**Allar bækurnar** hans um  
*listir . . .*  
 all books his on arts have sold well

As stated in (22) and (23), definiteness marking in the Noun Genitive Construction is above all sensitive to the distinction between *abstract* vs. *concrete* nouns: Pronominal genitives and simple name-genitives usually call for a definite marking of concrete nouns (book.the my, book.the her Mary), as opposed to abstract nouns (opinion my, opinion Mary). The distinction between 'abstract' and 'concrete' is not always crystal-clear, though. Certain nouns that basically denote an abstract social or personal relationship, so-called **RELATIONAL NOUNS**, can also have a more concrete meaning, referring to an individual that participates in the relationship in question (that is, these nouns become referential when they stand in a relation to another referent). This applies to e.g. kinship terms and notions like *boss*, *teacher*, *friend*, etc. If I say *Jón and Pétur are friends*, I am describing a relationship between two individuals, but if I say *My friend is visiting me over the weekend*, I am talking about a particular individual (who, in addition, stands in a certain relation to me).

Relational nouns show a heterogeneous behavior with respect to definiteness marking in the Noun Genitive Construction. Many such nouns behave like concrete head nouns in allowing or requiring the definite article and the proprial article:

- (27) a. *kennarinn þinn, kennarinn hans* Jóns  
 teacher.the your, teacher.the his Jón's  
 'your teacher', 'Jón's teacher'
- b. *yfirmaðurinn minn, yfirmaðurinn hennar* Maríu  
 boss.the my, boss.the her María's
- c. *konan hans, konan hans* Jóns  
 woman.the his, woman.the his Jón's  
 'his wife', 'Jón's wife'

In examples of this sort, the article is a marker of uniqueness. If I say *Hún er kennarinn minn* 'she is my teacher' she is either my only teacher or the only one of my teacher's that comes into question in some particular situation. Otherwise, I have to specify further by saying e.g. *Hún er málfræðikennarinn minn* 'She is my grammar teacher'. — In contrast to *kennarinn minn*, *nemandinn minn* 'student.the my' is usually odd, as one usually has more than one students, whereas *besti nemandinn minn* 'best student.the my' is natural.

Kinship terms, in contrast, generally resist the definite suffixed article:<sup>23</sup>

- (28) a. *faðir minn*, *systir mín*, *pabbi minn*  
 father my, sister my, dad my  
 b. \**faðirinn minn*, \**systirin mín*, \**pabbinn minn*
- (29) a. *faðir (hennar) Maríu*, *systir (hennar) Maríu*, *pabbi (hennar) Maríu*  
 father (her) María's, sister (her) María's, dad (her) María's  
 b. \**faðirinn (hennar) Maríu*, \**systirin (hennar) Maríu*, \**pabbinn (hennar) Maríu*

As seen, it does not matter if the kinship noun is a short form (*pabbi*, etc.) or not (*faðir*, etc). As also seen, the proprial article is optional when the head noun in the Name-genitive Construction is a kinship term. Simplifying a bit, we can say that kinship term head nouns largely behave like abstract head nouns in the Noun Genitive Construction: *pabbi minn*, like *skoðun mín*, while they behave like names as genitives: *bókin hans pabba*, like *bókin hans Jóns*.<sup>24</sup> Other relational nouns that behave like kinship terms in this respect include *vinur* 'friend', *vinkona* '(female) friend', and the formal *eiginmaður* 'husband' and *eiginkona* 'wife' (in contrast to the less formal *maður* and *kona*, lit. 'man' and 'woman').

However, the suffixed article may be taken by even those relational nouns that otherwise resist it, if it can be interpreted as marking uniqueness. This is perhaps most natural with a superlative adjective or an ordinal number (such elements also marking or signalling uniqueness):

<sup>23</sup> This is also true of many Norwegian dialects (Marit Julien, p.c.).

<sup>24</sup> This is an interesting 'split', which is arguably a reflection of the split or complex semantics of kinship terms: they are labels for specific individuals (as seen from another individual's viewpoint), as well as terms for abstract relations.

- (30)a. Hún var fyrsta ástin mín.  
 she was first.DEF love.the my  
 'She was my first love.'  
 b. Þú ert besta systirín mín.  
 you are best.DEF sister.the my  
 'You are my best sister.'

Let me summarize the most central observations and generalizations of this subsection:

- The Icelandic NOUN GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION is derived by raising of the noun (or Adj+Noun) across G to Spec/G:  
*skoðun kennarans* [←\_\_] 'opinion teacher's.the'.
- The general Germanic GENITIVE NOUN CONSTRUCTION shows a GENITIVE DEFINITENESS BLOCKING, GDF:  
*\*Iceland's the mountains*;  
 GDF is not observed outside genitive constructions:  
*the mountains of Iceland*.
- The Icelandic Noun Genitive Construction shares this definiteness blocking in case the head noun is an *abstract* one:  
*skoðun(\*in) mín* 'opinion my', etc.
- However, in case the head noun is a *concrete* one, three sub-constructions can be discerned:
  - The Common-noun-genitive Construction, generally observing the definiteness blocking:  
*bók(%in) kennarans* 'book teacher's.the'.
  - Pronominal-genitive Construction, generally requiring the definite article suffixed to the head noun:  
*bókin mín/hans* 'book.the my/his'.
  - The Name-genitive Construction, generally requiring both the suffixed article on the head noun and the proprial article with the genitive name:  
*bókin hans Jóns* 'book.the his Jón's'.

Finally, some apparent exceptions to these generalizations were discussed. Many of these apparent exceptions involve kinship terms and other relational nouns as head nouns, that is, such nouns tend to behave like abstract head nouns, even when they refer to specific

individuals: *pabbi minn* 'dad my' (but *kennarinn minn* 'teacher.the my'). Conversely, concrete head nouns disprefer the article (suffixed to themselves) as well as the genitive proprial article in case the Noun Genitive Construction denotes an event or a situation that is abstract or absent from the present speech situation: *bækur(-nar) (-hans) Jóns um listir* 'books Jón's on arts'.

#### 4 The proprial article

The proprial article is a very distinguishing trait of the Icelandic NP/DP, so a brief discussion of its distribution and properties is in place here. It is often taken by simple names and short forms of kinship terms, as we have seen:

- (1) (hann) Jón, (hann) pabbi, (hún) María, (hún) amma  
 he.NOM Jón.NOM, he.NOM dad.NOM, she.NOM María.NOM, she.NOM  
 granma.NOM

It follows that both simple names and short forms of kinship terms take the genitive proprial article in the Noun Genitive Construction, as we saw in the last section:

- (2) bókin hans Jóns, bókin hans pabba  
 book.the his.GEN Jón.GEN, book.the his.GEN dad.GEN

As this suggests, the proprial article always agrees in case with the noun taking it. Also, as indicated by the parentheses in (1), the proprial article is usually optional in Icelandic (whereas proprial articles are obligatory in some Norwegian and Swedish dialects, see Delsing 1993:54, Vangsnes et al. 2003). The one exception is the Name-genitive Construction, where the genitive proprial article is obligatory in the presence of the suffixed article on the head noun but excluded in its absence:

- (3) a. bókin hennar Maríu / \*bókin Maríu<sup>25</sup>  
 book.the her María's / book.the María's  
 b. \*bók hennar Maríu / bók Maríu  
 book her María's / book María's

<sup>25</sup> This is acceptable to some speakers, though, at least in the Vestfirðir part of Iceland. Importantly, these varieties illustrate that there is no relation of necessity between the regular definite article and the proprial article in the Noun Genitive Construction.

In contrast to short forms of kinship terms, other common nouns do not usually take the proprial article:

- (4) ??hann kennari, \*hann yfirmaður, \*hann vinur, \*hann faðir, \*hún systir,  
\*hún bók  
he teacher, he boss, he friend, he father, she sister, she book

The same naturally applies to full names, the proprial article being a marker of familiarity or givenness:

- (5) ??hann Jón Sigurðsson

However, if someone, as for instance the president, is commonly known by his or her full name, the proprial article is possible (but not always felicitous):

- (6) hún Vigdís Finnbogadóttir, hann Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson

NPs with the proprial article can have various functions, as subjects, objects, etc.:

- (7) a. **Hún** María kom í gær.  
she María came yesterday  
'Mary (you know) came yesterday.'  
b. Við sáuum **hana** Maríu í gær.  
we saw her María yesterday  
c. Er þetta ekki **hún** María?  
is this not she María  
d. Bréfið er frá **henni** Maríu.  
letter.the is from her María  
e. **Hún** Anna sendi **hann** Jón til **hennar** Maríu.  
she Anna sent him Jón to her Mary

As seen in (7c), the proprial article is available in many predicative constructions, but, being a marker of familiarity or givenness, it is naturally excluded from naming constructions, nomination constructions and the like (cf. Delsing 1993:55, Matushansky 2004), as illustrated below:

- (8) a. Leikarinn heitir (\*hann) Jón.  
actor.the has-the-name (he) Jón  
b. Hún er kölluð (\*hún) Sigga.<sup>26</sup>  
she is called (she) Sigga

<sup>26</sup> This example is grammatical on a reading where "hún Sigga" is understood as a quotation.

- c. Drengurinn var skírður (\*hann) Pétur.  
 boy.the was baptized (he) Pétur
- d. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson var útnefndur (\*hann) Ólafur ársins.  
 Ó. R. G. was nominated (he) Ólafur year's.the  
 Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson was nominated the Olaf of the year.'
- e. Nafnið (\*hann) Jón er algengt á Íslandi.  
 name.the (he) Jón is common in Iceland

As seen in the translation in (8d), the exceptional use of the definite article with names in English is not compatible with the use of the proprial article in Icelandic (and other Scandinavian varieties). Yet another basic fact worth noting is that the article is always preproprial, i.e. postproprial usage is never possible: *hún Anna*, but \**Anna hún*.<sup>27</sup> In contrast, the definite article can be suffixed to names, exceptionally, as in (9):

- (9) a. Þú ert fyrsta Maríann sem ég kynnist.  
 you are first.DEF María.the who I get-to-know  
 'You are the first María I get to know.'
- b. Báðar Maríurnar eru íslenskar.  
 both Marias.the are Icelandic  
 'Both the Marias are Icelandic.'

The familiarity signalled by the proprial article is a deictic feature, relating to the speaker and the addressee. Speakers use it to signal that both they and the addressee are familiar with the person in question. Interestingly, the domain of the proprial article can be extended beyond names and short kinship terms if the NP in question contains features that refer to the speaker or the addressee, that is, either a 1<sup>st</sup> or a 2<sup>nd</sup> person feature:

- (10) a. hún systir þín, hann vinur þinn, hann faðir minn  
 she sister your, he friend your, he father your
- b. Það er bara hann ég.  
 it is only he I  
 'It is just me (myself).'

Even so, the 'extra possibilities' provided by the person features are only limited.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, the marked order *litla Anna* 'little Anna' is possible alongside of the more neutral *Anna litla*.

<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, one finds 'similar' examples with the suffixed article, *hann*



- (11) ??hann yfirmaður þinn, ??hann kennari minn, \*hún bók þín  
 he boss your, he teacher my, she book your

In passing, notice that using both a singular proprial article and the definite suffixed article with one and the same noun leads to sharp ungrammaticality.<sup>29</sup> Compare (12) to (10) above:

- (12) \*hún systirin þín, \*hann vinurinn þinn, \*hann faðirinn minn

It is also worth noting that there is *no neuter singular* proprial article, much as there are no neuter person names. This holds true even in cases where the use of a neuter proprial article would not be illogical, as illustrated by the following contrast:

- (13) a. Hún dóttir þín kom hingað.  
 she daughter.FEM your came here  
 'Your daughter (you know) came here.'  
 b. \*Það barn þitt kom hingað.  
 it child.NEUT your came here

So far, we have only considered singular proprial articles. Third person plural pronouns may also be used as proprial articles, even in the neuter:

- (14) a. (**Þau**) Jón og María eru vinir.  
 they.NEUT Jón og María are friends  
 'Jón and María are friends.'  
 b. (**Þær**) Anna og María eru báðar kennarar.  
 they.FEM Anna and María are both teachers  
 c. (**Þeir**) Jón og Gunnar fóru saman út.  
 they.MASC Jón and Gunnar went together out

As indicated by the parentheses, the plural proprial article is usually only optional (much as in the singular).

Like the singular proprial article, the plural one is a marker of familiarity or givenness, but it does not alter the meaning or reference of the nouns it stands with. *Þau* in *þau Jón og María* indicates that the speaker assumes the addressee to know and easily identify the referents of *Jón and María*, but in all other respects *þau Jón og María* in (14a) means the same as the simple *Jón og María* would have meant.

*kennarinn okkar* (= he teacher.the our), etc., but such examples usually involve dislocation: 'He (you know), our teacher'.

<sup>29</sup> In the plural, on the other hand, using both articles is fully possible, see below.

However, Icelandic also has another closely related construction with less common and more striking properties. Compare (15) with (14a) above:

- (15) a. *María fór út. Þau Jón ætla að hittast.*  
 María went out. they.NOM Jón.NOM intend to meet  
 'María went out. She and Jón are going to meet.'
- b. *Hvar er María? Ég hugsá oft um þau Jón.*  
 where is María? I think often about them.ACC Jón.ACC  
 'Where is María? I often think about her and John.'
- c. *Hún fór heim. Þeim Jóni leiddist.*  
 she went home. her.DAT Jón.DAT were-bored  
 'She went home. She and Jón were bored.'

As seen in the English translation, *þau Jón* / *þeim Jóni* 'they Jón' refers to 'María and Jón' or 'she/her and Jón'. Plausibly, the construction involves deletion (Josefsson 1993). One way of deriving the overt order of elements in the construction would be to assume [[*hún* [og Jón]] *þau*] ('she and Jón they') with deletion of the string *hún og* and subsequent raising of the pronoun or the article. For simplicity, however, I assume only deletion, as in (16):<sup>30</sup>

- (16) [*þau* [~~*hún*~~ [og Jón]]]

This deletion construction is quite different from the plain proprial article construction:<sup>31</sup>

- (17) [*hann* [Jón]]

If so, *þau* in (16) is more of a usual plural pronoun than an article, referring to or anticipating the constituent 'she and Jón', similarly as in examples like (18), with a right dislocated constituent (the underlined *hún og Jón*):<sup>32</sup>

- (18) *Anna er hérna. Þau komu hingað í gær, hún og Jón.*  
 'Anna is here. They came here yesterday, she and Jón.'

However, the same applies to many instances of the singular proprial article:

<sup>30</sup> This indicates that the deletion applies to a constituent and a part of a different constituent (the coordinator *og* being part of the second conjunct *og Jón*).

<sup>31</sup> Again, the analysis is probably too simple, but it serves to give a rough idea about the relevant differences between the constructions.

<sup>32</sup> On Dislocation in Icelandic, see Thráinsson (1979).

- (19) **Hann** kom hingað í gær, Jón.  
 he came here yesterday, Jón

For ease of reference, I thus follow Delsing (1993:55, fn. 36) in referring to the pronoun in (14) as a proprial article, using the term 'proprial article' in the following descriptive sense:

- (20) The ICELANDIC PROPRIAL ARTICLE is a personal pronoun that stands next to the left of a name or a relational noun, without there being any intonation break between the two.

When the need arises, we may distinguish between the different constructions in (16) and (17) by referring to them as the GAPPED PROPRIAL ARTICLE CONSTRUCTION vs. the PLAIN PROPRIAL ARTICLE CONSTRUCTION. Common to both constructions is that the proprial article indicates that the speaker assumes the addressee to know the referent(s) of the NP and thus to be able to easily identify *Jón* in both (16) and (17) without any previous mention.

The gapped and the plain constructions can look exactly the same:

- (21) a. **Þau** Jón og María eru vinir. PLAIN  
 they.NEUT Jón og María are friends  
 'John and Mary are friends.'  
 b. Anna kemur líka. **Þau** Jón og María eru vinir. GAPPED  
 Anna comes too. they Jón and María are friends  
 'Anna is coming too.  
 She, John and Mary are friends. / She and John and Mary are friends.'

Usually, however, the gapped construction contains only one name: *Þau Jón, þær Anna, þeir Ólafur*.

In case the 'antecedent' of the proprial article is a conjoined phrase, the construction may become ambiguous, in examples like the following one:

- (22) Anna og Pétur koma líka. **Þau** Jón eru vinir.  
 Anna and Pétur come too. they.NEUT Jón are friends  
 a. 'Anna and Pétur are coming too. **She** and John are friends.'  
 b. 'Anna and Pétur are coming too. **They** and John are friends.'

In the b-reading, the proprial article is closer than otherwise to being just a usual personal pronoun (referring to 'Anna and Pétur'), the coordinator *og* being the only deleted element. The structural difference between the two readings can be described as follows:

- (23) a. [þau [[hún {og Jón}]]]  
 b. [þau {og Jón}]

In the b-reading, however, there is a preference for spelling out the conjunction, thereby avoiding the ambiguity: *Þau og Jón eru vinir* ('they (she and Peter) and Jón, are friends').

The singular proprial article is confined to the third person, for natural reasons: *hann Jón*, *hún Anna* and even *hann ég* 'he me' or *hún ég* 'she me', but not, of course, *\*þú ég* 'you me' or *\*ég þú* 'I you'. In the plural, on the other hand, first and second person proprial articles are common:

- (24) *Við Jón erum ekki eins gamlir og þið Pétur.*  
 we Jón are not like old and you Pétur  
 'I and Jón are not as old as you and Pétur.'

Using a plain coordinated structure like *ég og Jón* 'I and Jón' is grammatical too, but the corresponding proprial article construction is often or usually the preferred one.

Much as in the third person cases we have looked at so far, the deletion approach is easily applicable here:

- (25) a. [við [ég {og Jón}]]  
 b. [þið [þú {og Pétur}]]

Similarly:

- (26) *Hún heilsaði okkur Jóni.*                      [okkur.DAT [~~mér.DAT~~ {og Jóni.DAT}]]  
 she greeted us.DAT Jón.DAT  
 'She greeted me and Jón.'

However, the deletion approach is not as straightforward in examples like the following ones, where the proprial article is taken by a plural relational noun, both the article and the noun being ambiguous between a singular and a plural reading:

- (27) *við bræðurnir*  
 we brothers.the  
 a. 'I and my brothers'  
 b. 'I and my brother'  
 c. 'we and our brother's'  
 d. 'we and our brother'  
 e. 'we, you (SG/PL) and I/we, who are brothers'

Similar multiple ambiguity is also found in the second and third persons, *þið bræðurnir* 'you brothers.the' and *þeir bræðurnir* 'they.MASC brothers.the', *þið systurnar* 'you sisters.the', *þeir feðgarnir* 'they fathers-and-sons.the', and so on. It is clear that more than one simple deletion is needed to account for the relations between these overt structures and the many underlying structures they represent.

I concluded section 2.4. by suggesting the following order of elements in the Icelandic DP:

(28) Q – Spec/D – D – Num – Spec/G – G – (Adj+) Noun – Compl

Q	=	Quantifier position (Q-position)
D	=	Definite determiner position (D-position)
Num	=	Numeral
G	=	Genitive position (G-position)
Compl	=	Complement position

It is not entirely clear where the proprial article and the names and nouns they modify fit into this description. At the end of section 2.1, we saw that the Q-position can be preceded by personal pronouns. Possibly, the proprial article takes this 'Person position', but I would not want to claim this to be the case.<sup>33</sup> NPs headed by names and name-like expressions have a reduced and a very special syntax, so it is not clear that they have the same structure as NPs in general (for discussion, see e.g. Anderson 2004, Matushansky 2004). Hopefully, future research will increase our understanding of this and many other aspects of NP structure that are still poorly understood.

## 5 Concluding remarks

In part, the NP shows a remarkable congruity across the Germanic languages. Consider the 'basic' order of elements within the Germanic NP, illustrated below:

<sup>33</sup> While *Þeir Jón* 'they Jón' is perfectly grammatical, as we have seen, *Þeir allir þessir frægu málfræðingar*, 'they all these famous linguists' is odd, to say the least (except with an intonation break after *þeir*), as opposed to *þeir ... allir* 'they ... all'.

(1)

	Q	D	Num	Adj	Noun	Complement
<i>English</i>	all	these	three	famous	linguists	from Germany
<i>German</i>	all	diese	drei	berühmte	Linguisten	aus Deutschland
<i>Swedish</i>	alla	dessa	tre	berömda	lingvister	från Tyskland
<i>Icelandic</i>	allir	þessir	þrír	frægu	málfræðingar	frá Þýskalandi

There are more similarities. Thus, pronouns generally either must or at least can precede quantifiers, as illustrated for English, German, Swedish, and Icelandic in (2):

- (2) a. I know **them all**.  
 b. Ich kenne **die alle**.  
 c. Jag känner **dem alla**.  
 d. Ég þekki **þá alla**.

Strikingly similar facts are found for Romance languages, cf. e.g. the following ordering facts in French and Italian (the order noun-adjective is the unmarked one, but adjective-noun is also possible):<sup>34</sup>

- (3) a. tous ces trois linguistes fameux de l'Allemagne  
 all these three linguists famous of Germany  
 b. tutti questi tre linguisti famosi della Germania  
 'all these three famous linguists from Germany'

Some of these and other similarities in NP syntax across the Germanic languages and their Romance cousins may have general, principled explanations, and some of them may perhaps be traced back to ancient parametric options. Present day knowledge of the putative principles and parameters that may be responsible for NP structure and NP structure variation is, however, extremely limited. Even the widely adopted assumption (Abney 1987 and many since) that NP structure obeys X-bar theoretic principles is inevitably going to meet the same scepticism as X-bar theory itself (Collins 2002, Sigurðsson 2004a, 2004b and others).

Icelandic shows two deviations from general Germanic/Romance NP ordering patterns that are quite special and are therefore of particular interest. First, in adnominal genitive constructions, both nouns and their modifying adjectives, **(Adj+)Noun**, move in front of the genitive:

- (4) Allar þessar þrjár **snjöllu hugmyndir** Jóns [ \_\_\_ ] um málfræði  
 all these three clever ideas Jón's about grammar

<sup>34</sup> Thanks to Verner Egerland for these examples.

Thus, Icelandic usually has a NOUN GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION (*hugmyndir Jóns*) instead of the general Germanic GENITIVE NOUN CONSTRUCTION (*Jón's ideas*).

Second, in NPs that contain the suffixed definite article, the (Adj+)Noun moves still farther to the left, to a position in front of the article, between Q and D:

- (5) Allar **snjöllu hugmyndirnar** þrjár [ \_\_ ] um málfræði  
 all clever ideas.the three about grammar

A question that immediately arises is whether there is any correlation between these two very similar movements. It is suggestive that both target a position in front of a special morphology, the genitive vs. the definite suffixed article, and it is also suggestive that adnominal genitives generally lead to a definite reading of NPs, but I refrain from speculating further here.

In this connection, it is nonetheless interesting to notice that the Germanic languages have a general DEFINITENESS BLOCKING in their Genitive Noun Construction; this is true of Icelandic to the extent it allows this construction (recall that the minus sign indicates that an expression is grammatical but dispreferred in most contexts):

- |                                |                                     |           |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| (6) a. Iceland's (*the) nature | (but: <b>the</b> nature of Iceland) | English   |
| b. Islands (*die) Natur        | (but: <b>die</b> Natur auf Island)  | German    |
| c. Islands natur(*en)          | (but: <b>naturen</b> på Island)     | Swedish   |
| d. -Íslands náttúra(*n)        | (but: <b>náttúran</b> á Íslandi)    | Icelandic |

In the Noun Genitive Construction, this blocking either may or must be relaxed, as in German *die Natur Islands* 'Iceland's nature', *die Meinung des Professors* 'the Professors opinion'. In the Icelandic Noun Genitive Construction this relaxation is, however, subject to complex interactions of features like abstractness, specificity and identifiability, discussed in section 3. The major generalizations are a stated in (7):

- (7) Overt definiteness marking is either preferred or required in the Icelandic Noun Genitive Construction if:
- a. the **head noun** is *concrete*, **and**
  - b. the **genitive** is either *pronominal* or a *simple name* (including short forms of kinship terms) – in this latter case, when the genitive is a simple name / short form of a kinship term, it usually has to take the *proprial article*

The proprial article is one of the hallmarks of the Icelandic NP, discussed in section 4. In particular, the GAPPED PROPRIAL ARTICLE CONSTRUCTION, as in (8), has interesting and rather unusual properties:

- (8) a. **Þau Ólafur** eru vinir.                    (i.e. [they [[~~she~~ {and Ólafur}]]] ...)  
       they.NOM Ólafur.NOM are friends    'She and Ólafur are friends.'  
       b. Þú þekkir **okkur Ólaf** ekki.            (i.e. ... [us [[~~me~~ {and Ólafur}]]])  
       you know us.ACC Ólafur.ACC not  
       'You don't know me and Ólafur.'<sup>35</sup>

While these 'simple' examples seem to be derived by a rather plain deletion, [þau [[hún-~~og~~ Ólafur]]], etc., more powerful tools are needed to account for multiply ambiguous NPs where the proprial article is taken by a plural relational noun: *við bræðurnir* 'we brothers.the', etc. Other very characteristic traits of the NP in Icelandic, as compared to most other Germanic varieties, are its lack of an indefinite article and its extremely rich *quantifier-determiner-numeral-adjective-noun* concord in gender, number and case.

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<sup>35</sup> The reading 'us and Ólafur' is marginal only (for that reading *okkur og Ólaf* 'us and Ólafur' is preferable).



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## *Skemptan og Eliminatio*

Et bidrag til kritikken af den fornsvenske tekst  
*Hær sigx aff abotum allum skemptan mykla*  
(med et udblik til andre tekster)

### 1. *Eliminatio*

*Eliminatio codicum descriptorum* er den tekniske term for ét af leddene i den traditionelle tekstkritiske procedure: udskydningen af de bevarede tekstvidner der er afskrifter af andre bevarede tekstvidner, og som derfor ikke kan afgive selvstændigt vidnesbyrd om arketypens ordlyd.

Paul Maas, der har kodificeret tekstkritikkens metodiske principper (1927 og senere), opstiller i § 8a det kriterium for at udpege et bevaret tekstvidne, J, som *codex descriptus* at det indeholder alle de samme fejl som et andet bevaret tekstvidne, F, og desuden mindst én

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**Abstract:** The famous Old Swedish satire on abbots, *Skemptan [aff abotum allum]*, is preserved in only two manuscripts: Cod. Holm. D 4 a (Cod. Verelianus or Lady Märta's Book), probably to be dated to ca. 1448, and Cod. Holm. D 3 (Lady Elin's Book), probably to be dated to ca. 1488. The received opinion is that the text in D 3 is copied from D 4 a. In the present article it is first pointed out that no positive (physical or codicological) evidence has been produced in support of this hypothesis, although such evidence is required according to the principles of textual criticism, *in casu* the rule of *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*. Secondly, it is demonstrated that in two cases there is fairly weighty evidence to the contrary, *viz.* that D 3 could not be derived from D 4 a. Finally, it is emphasized that rather thin evidence has hitherto been produced for the view (adopted by David Kornhall among others) that D 4 a and D 3 as witnesses to a further four texts (*Erikskrönikan*, *Flores och Blanzefflor*, *Namnlös och Valentin* and *Hertig Fredrik*) are mother and daughter, respectively. Of course, this also applies to Kornhall's argumentation regarding *Namnlös och Valentin*, which would seem to have been generally accepted as conclusive.

**Keywords:** textual criticism; critical method; Old Swedish texts; Old Swedish manuscripts; Old Swedish language

særfejl (Maas 1927: 3); med fejl, herunder særfejl, menes vel at mærke novationer eller sekundære læsemåder der er tekstkritisk signifikante (jf. fx nærmere Haugen 1992: 61–64). Allerede i § 11 erkender Maas dog at den nævnte fejlfordeling også kan tolkes som udtryk for at de to tekstvidner udgår fra ét og samme forlæg, som F's skriver blot modsat J's har afskrevet uden at begå nye fejl (jf. Maas 1927: 5).

Selv om fejlfrie afskrifter sikkert var sjældne i middelalderen, i al fald hvis de afskrevne tekster havde en vis længde, er det derfor tvivlsomt at udpege en middelalderlig *codex descriptus* alene ud fra fravær af særfejl i det ene tekstvidne (F), dvs. ved rent negativ bevisførelse. Som pointeret af Maas selv (§ 11, 1927: 5) bør der også fremlægges positivt bevis, gerne fysisk eller kodikologisk. Det kan fx være en tilsyneladende grundløs tekstmangel i J der viser sig at svare til en tekstmangel i F som er opstået ved fysisk beskadigelse af netop dette håndskrift, eller det kan omvendt være en tilsyneladende umotiveret sekvens af bogstaver eller ord i J som viser sig at svare til netop de bogstaver eller ord der kan læses gennem et hul i pergamentet på det pågældende sted i F. Jf. Maas 1927: 3, Haugen 1992: 83–87 og først og fremmest Reeve 1989: 11 ff., som indeholder en formelig katalog over forskellige typer positivt bevis.

## 2. *Skemptan*

Anledningen til denne lille metodologiske repetition er de følgende overvejelser over forholdet mellem vidnerne til én af den fornsvenske litteraturs klassikere, det korte prosastykke der bl.a. er kendt under titlen *Satiren om abbederne* (jf. fx Noreen 1954: 103). Da teksten i 1997 blev gjort til genstand for tværvideenskabelig behandling i samlingsbindet *Master Golyas and Sweden. The Transformation of a Clerical Satire* (ed. Olle Ferm & Bridget Morris), fik den korttitlen *Skemptan* (efter indledningsordene *Hær sigx aff abotum allum skemptan my | kla*, citeret efter D 4 a l. 1–2<sup>1</sup>), og sådan vil den også blive betegnet nedenfor.

Selv kalder teksten sig fabel i ét af håndskrifterne (D 4 a l. 83). Den kunne dog med større ret klassificeres som repræsentant for den med fablen beslægtede genre ætiologien (jf. Nøjgaard 1964: 102–103) for så vidt som udgangsordene antyder at dens funktion er at forklare hvorfor alle abbeder er flenskaldede. Svaret er som bekendt ikke smigrende for

<sup>1</sup> Der citeres her og i det følgende fra Per-Axel Wiktorsson og Lars Wollins udgave af teksten 1997: 226–231.

abbedstanden, men absolut originalt: at abbedernes hår er ætset bort af den dunst de udsender når de har indtaget dagens rundeligt tilmålte kvanta af føde, fast såvel som flydende. Yderst ude har den svenske tekst rødder i en noget længere latinsk pamflet, *Magister Golyas de quodam abate*, der almindeligvis tilskrives den engelske prælat Walter Map (Mapes) (ca. 1135 – ca. 1210) (jf. Wollin 1997: 332–350).<sup>2</sup>

Der findes kun to tekstvidner til *Skemptan*, det ene i Stockholm-håndskriftet D 4 a, også kaldet Codex Verelianus eller Fru Märtas bok, det andet i Stockholm-håndskriftet D 3, Fru Elins bok. Begge håndskrifter er særdeles velkendte fornsvenske samlingshåndskrifter, der overvejende indeholder underholdningslitteratur (rimkrøniker, ridderromaner m.m.) og overvejende de samme tekster (se fx Åström 1997: 247). Vidnet i D 4 a daterer Patrik Åström til ca. 1448 (1997: 242, 249) og vidnet i D 3 til ca. 1488 (1997: 246, 249). Per-Axel Wiktorsson (1997: 262, 265) identificerer hypotetisk de to håndskrifers eponymer med et par damer fra 1400-tallets svenske højadel, fru Märta Ulfsdotter (Sparre af Hjulsta og Ängsö, død mellem 18/10 1448 og 9/2 1449) og hendes datter fru Elin Gustavsdotter (Sture, af Sjöblad-slægten, død før 2/6 1496).

### 3. Den hidtidige hypotese

At også de to vidner til *Skemptan* skulle være henholdsvis mor og datter (dvs. forlæg og afskrift, *codex descriptus*), er en tanke som Lars Wollin tager op til nærmere prøvelse i sit bidrag til *Master Golyas and Sweden* (1997: 322–324). Dermed blev der langt om længe rådet bod på en af de mangler som David Kornhall påpegede da han i 1959 gjorde status over i hvilket omfang D 3 er afhængigt af D 4 a (1959: 58–61). Ifølge Kornhall var det ad empirisk vej bevist at et stort sammenhængende parti i D 3 (p. 213–542) forud for den serie kortere tekster som *Skemptan* tilhører, udgik (direkte?) fra D 4 a, og han fandt det bl.a. af den grund nærliggende at regne med afhængighed også for de kortere teksters vedkommende; samtidig slog han dog fast at der her manglede “den bevisning som bara grundliga filologiska undersökningar kan avkasta” (Kornhall 1959: 60).

I sin undersøgelse af forholdet mellem de to *Skemptan*-vidner synes

<sup>2</sup> Den latinske tekst er nyudgivet og forsynet med oversættelse og uundværlige kommentarer af Anders Piltz i 1997. At dømme ud fra kommentaren hos Piltz (1997: 213 med henvisning til Morris 1991: 202 f.) har tekstens forklaring på abbeders skaldethed intet litterært forbillede.

Lars Wollin snarest tilbøjelig til at tilslutte sig Kornhalls formodning idet han konkluderer at “[t]he most reasonable hypothesis is, after all, that even the *Skemptan* text in Cod. D 3 is copied — and copied rather hastily — from Cod. D 4 a” (Wollin 1997: 324).

Den forbeholdne udtryksmåde (“after all”) skyldes utvivlsomt at Lars Wollin i praksis kun når frem til at dokumentere at Paul Maas’ først opstillede betingelse for afledning af et bevaret tekstvidne fra et andet bevaret tekstvidne er opfyldt: at J, in casu D 3, har fejl som F, in casu D 4 a, ikke har, og at F ikke har fejl som J ikke også har (i hvilket omfang de to tekstvidner faktisk har fælles fejl, er vanskeligt at afgøre, bl.a. fordi der er betragtelig afstand mellem *Skemptan* og den mest nærliggende kontrolinstans, den latinske kilde, jf. nærmere ndf.). Ydre indicier for afskriftforholdet, som Paul Maas senere stillede krav om, fremlægger Lars Wollin ikke. Ganske vist nævner han eksempler på læsemåder i D 3 der efter hans mening er lette at forklare som misforståelser af læsemåder i D 4 a, således *ey* D 3 l. 47 for *j* D 4 a l. 54 og (*super*) *with* D 3 l. 27 for (*super*) *aff* D 4 a l. 30–31 (Wollin 1997: 322–323); men han påberåber sig ikke bogstavernes konkrete fremtrædelsesform eller andre ikke-tekstlige træk som forklaring på de mulige fejllæsninger. Når han alligevel ender med at foretrække D 4 a → D 3-hypotesen, lægger han da heller ikke skjul på at det udelukkende skyldes hans modvilje mod at operere med tænkte tekstvidner (et fælles udgangspunkt for D 4 a og D 3 og eventuelle mellemlid mellem dem) ved siden af de to eneste bevarede (jf. Wollin 1997: 324).

#### 4. Et alternativ

Som forholdet mellem de to vidner til *Skemptan* hidtil er udredt, forbliver hypotesen om D 3-tekstens afhængighed af teksten i D 4 a altså en blot og bar mulighed uden støtte i positivt bevismateriale.<sup>3</sup> Hvis man inddrager sproghistorien i de tekstkritiske overvejelser, som det nu skal forsøges, synes der imidlertid at kunne fremlægges et positivt bevis i sagen, om end til støtte for den modsatte hypotese, at D 3 er uafhængigt af D 4 a.

I l. 26 læser D 3 *thæsker* svarende til *tæfkar* i D 4 a l. 29. Som manifestation af verbet fornsvensk *bæfka* i betydningen ‘smage, anvende eller opfatte med smagssansen, prøve smagen af ngt, nyde lidt af ngt’

<sup>3</sup> Der er derfor ingen grund til at gøre den til en kendsgerning, som det er sket i den redaktionelle oversigtsartikel der indleder *Master Golyas and Sweden* (Ferm 1997: 14).

passer den sidste form utvungent ind i konteksten, her citeret efter D 4 a (l. 28–32):

Siden læter han sla thet j en disk och tæfkar ther aff och siden sæter han thet a mun sin och super aff hwan supa fyræ thy thet war goth feth spadh 'siden lader han det [afkog af flæsk] hælde i en tallerken og smager på det, og siden sætter han det for sin mund og drikker deraf hver slurk fordi det var en god fed suppe'

Hvis D 4 a's *tæfkar* er udgangspunkt for D 3's *thæsker*, hvilket den hidtidige hypotese postulerer, må *tæfkar* have været udsat for nogle udtryksmæssige modifikationer fra D 3-skriverens side.

En af dem er udskiftningen af *f* med det meningsforstyrende *s*. Den er let forklarlig som resultat af grafisk forveksling af bogstaverne *f* og højt *s*, hvis udseende generelt ligger tæt på hinanden. Det specifikke udseende af *f* her i D 4 a er ikke til umiddelbar støtte for tanken om at netop D 4 a skulle være udgangspunkt for forvekslingen, idet der for den blot minimalt opmærksomme er tydelig forskel at se mellem D 4 a-skriverens *sk* i fx *disk* og *mylskæ* og hans *fk* i *tæfkar* (jf. faksimilerne hos Ferm & Morris 1997 henholdsvis p. [220] l. 9, [221] l. 3 og [220] l. 9). Som utvetydigt vidnesbyrd om en skriver der har skrevet tanke- og skødesløst af, stemmer denne modifikation under alle omstændigheder nøje med D 3-skriverens almindelige omdømme (jf. bl.a. Wollin 1997: 323 og Kornhall 1959: 45, 61 m. henvisn.; om skriverhænderne i D 3 Kornhall 1959: 43, Åström 1997: 244 m. henvisn.).

En anden ændring som må være indtruffet i henhold til den hidtidige hypotese, er udskiftningen af *tæfkar*'s forlydskonsonant *t* med *th*'et i *thæsker*. Den kan principielt tolkes som udtryk for bevidst etymologisering eller arkaisering fra D 3-skriverens side (jf. den fornsvenske normalform *bæfka*) eller — mere søgt — som tilfældigvis etymologisk korrekt udtryk for almindelig sammenblanding af oprindeligt trykstærkt *p*- og *t*- i forlyd, forårsaget af de to lyds sammenfald i *t*- (ret almindeligt fra ca. 1400 og næsten fuldt gennemført ca. 1450 ifølge Noreen 1904: 202), subsidiært som tilfældigvis etymologisk korrekt udtryk for ekspanderende rent grafisk / dekorativ brug af *h* som anden digrafkomponent.

Den første mulighed må anses for udelukket fordi *s*'et i *thæsker* til fulde beviser skriverens ligestyldighed over for ordet og dets betydning, og den anden mulighed må kaldes meget lidt sandsynlig. Nok kan man finde potentielle eksempler i D 3 på hvad der ud fra sproghistorisk syns-

vinkel er sammenblanding forårsaget af den hastige yngre fornsvenske sprogudvikling — et sådant er dativ *sinom* for ventet akkusativ *sin*, som D 4 a har (l. 30), i konteksten *sidhen sætter han thet a mwn sinom* l. 26–27, jf. omvendt (*aff abotum*) *alle* D 3 l. 1 over for (*aff abotum*) *allum* D 4 a l. 1. Nok kan man også finde overordentlig talrige eksempler på videre brug i D 3 end i D 4 a af *h* som rent grafisk / dekorativ anden digrafkomponent — fx *gangher* l. 2, *k[læd]* | *dhe* l. 3–4, *hætthen* l. 4, *ath* l. 5 over for D 4 a *ganger* l. 2, *klæ* | *dda* l. 3–4, *hættæ* l. 4, *at* l. 5 etc. etc.; men lige netop m.h.t. gengivelsen af oprindeligt *p-* og *t-* i forlyd hersker der samme gode orden i D 3 som i D 4 a. Materialet er ikke stort hvad angår oprindeligt trykstærkt *p-*, men antagelig tilstrækkeligt til at være signifikant.

For oprindeligt *p-* i forlyd bruger D 4 a *th-* gennemført i pronominer og pronominaladverbier (hvor *p-* p.gr.a. tryksvaghed blev til *ð* og senere *d*, jf. Noreen 1904: 202 f.) og ellers kun i *thakker* 'takker' l. 70 og *thry* (nt.) 'tre' l. 75; den hyppigste korrespondens til bevaret trykstærkt *p-* er *t-* (*tæskar* l. 29, *tæfflæs* 'uden smag, fad' l. 34, *Tridhiæ* 'tredje' l. 61 og *trangbrystader* 'trangbrystet' l. 74). For oprindeligt *t-* i forlyd gennemfører D 4 a *t-* (*til* 'til' l. 7 bis, 14, 27, 49, 52, *twa* (mask./fem.) 'to' l. 10, 43, *tunga* (subst.) 'tunge' l. 15, *talt* (ptc.) 'talt' l. 16, *tio* 'ti' l. 24 ter, *taker* 'tager' l. 46, (*siw*)*tigi* '(syv)ti' l. 68, *tiider* 'tider' l. 72). D 3 har også *th-* i talordet 'tre' svarende til D 4 a's *thry* (*thry* l. 68),<sup>4</sup> men indfører vel at mærke *t-* i 'takker' (*takker* l. 63) og forholder sig i øvrigt akkurat ligesom D 4 a m.h.t. oprindeligt *p-* og *t-*, bortset fra formen *thæsker* (jf. *tæfflæs* l. 30, *Tri[dhiæ]* l. 53–54 og *tranh* | *brystadher* l. 66–67 og *ti(i)l(l)* l. 7 bis, 13, 24, 43, 45, *twa* l. 10, 38, *twnghe* l. 14, *tio* l. 21, 22 bis, *taker* l. 41, (*siw*)*tio* l. 60, *tiidher* l. 65; til *talt* D 4 a l. 16 savner D 3 modsvarende p.gr.a. beskadigelse af håndskriftet). I dette mønster, hvor *th-* er forbeholdt oprindeligt *p-*, og *t-* er ensidigt ekspanderende, er der ingen som helst støtte for tolkningen af *thæsker*'s *th-* som resultat af

<sup>4</sup> I forlængelse af Per Erik Wahlund's forslag (1979: 66) om at *thesso thry* D 4 a l. 75 / *thessæ thry* D 3 l. 68, der egentlig sigter til 'vin, peber og ingefær' i den foregående sætning, er en paradisk allusion til Paulus' berømte ord fra 1 Kor 13,13 om "tro, håb og kærlighed, disse tre", kunne man måske forklare det ekstraordinært bevarede *th* i talordet her som betinget af at det indgår i et fast udtryk med det foregående pronomen. Allusionen er dog noget tvivlsom, bl.a. fordi de tre substantiver på den ene side og pronomen + talord på den anden står i hver sin sætning i *Skemptan* modsat i 1 Kor 13, 13. — Uetymologiske eksempler som *thwem* og *thwe* (former af talordet 'to') i konteksterne *I thessom thwem biscopomen* og *hwi thesse thwe* i det nedennomtalte fragment Uppsala C 835 a, der ellers skelner konsekvent mellem oprindeligt *p-* og *t-* (jf. Gussgard 1961: 12), gør det nærliggende at tro at *th'*et i *thry* / *thry* under alle omstændigheder er afhængigt af det foregående pronomens forlyd.



generel sammenblanding af oprindeligt trykstærkt *þ*- og *t*- eller rent grafisk brug af *h* som en slags pyntebogstav.

Hvis ikke D 3's *thæsker* lader sig forklare tilfredsstillende ud fra D 4 a's *tæfkar*, og det ligger navnlig tungt m.h.t. forlydskonsonanten, så må man antage at *th*'et i denne form går tilbage til et forlæg der ikke er identisk med D 4 a, dvs. acceptere den alternative hypotese at de bevarede tekstvidner til *Skemplan* ikke er mor og datter, som i dette stemma:

$$(1) \quad \begin{array}{c} D_4 a \\ | \\ D_3 \end{array}$$

men snarest søstre (eller kusiner el. lign.), som i dette stemma:

$$(2) \quad \begin{array}{c} x \\ \hline D_4 a \quad D_3 \end{array}$$

Med Paul Maas' terminologi kan man sige at *t* i D 4 a's *tæfkar* er en mulig særfejl — in casu en novation som D 3-skriveren efter omstændighederne vanskeligt kan tænkes at have villet rette tilbage til *th* — og at en F (D 4 a) → J (D 3)-hypotese dermed er udelukket, idet den nødvendige forudsætning herfor jo er fravær af særfejl i F. Tekstkritisk relevante fejl plejer ganske vist at være af indholds-, ikke udtryksmæssig art; men alle midler kan selvfølgelig tages i brug når slægtskabsforholdet mellem tekstvidner skal udredes, også sproghistoriske, og brug af netop *t*-/*th*-fordelingen i den tekstkritiske argumentation har endda et fortilfælde. I sin redegørelse for forholdet mellem det lille Birgittafragment Uppsala C 835 a og det lidt større Stockholm A 5 b afviser Jostein Gussgard den ved første øjekast indholdsmæssigt mulige, men ikke nødvendige tolkning at C 835 a skulle udgå fra A 5 b, fordi det første stort set opretholder skellet mellem *t*- og *th*- i overensstemmelse med etymologien mens det andet blander oprindeligt *t*- og *th*- sammen (jf. Gussgard 1961: 48).

En skeptiker vil muligvis indvende at *thæsker*'s *th* alene udgør et usikkert fundament for en hel hypotese.

Skal den alternative hypotese funderes yderligere, er der imidlertid kun ét sted at henvende sig: ved den latinske kilde, og større håb er der

ikke at sætte til denne mulighed eftersom den svenske tekst generelt karakteriseres som en parafrase af den latinske (jf. Wollin 1997: 342, 349); det er sikkert derfor Lars Wollin har afstået fra at inddrage latinen i sin undersøgelse af slægtskabet mellem de svenske tekstvidner (1997: 322–324). Ved hjælp af sin fremragende model til oversættelsesanalyse har han dog samtidig dokumenteret at de typer relation mellem den latinske og svenske tekst som han kalder fri og bunden ækvivalens (modsat tom korrespondens og intet slægtskab), trods alt dækker mere end 50 % af *Skempton's* ordmasse, den sidste type alene endda knap en tredjedel (jf. Wollin 1997: 342–350). Derfor kan det ikke på forhånd anses for helt forgæves at prøve at appellere til latinen.

Vover man forsøget, finder man i al fald et enkelt muligt indicium til støtte for den alternative hypotese; forsøget lader sig vel at mærke kun gøre i ganske få tilfælde da der kun findes ganske få tilfælde af regulær divergens mellem de to tekstvidner.

Om den måde hvorpå abbeden omgår Benediktinerreglens forbud mod at spise firfodede dyr (jf. Piltz 1997: 183 ad 26), hedder det i den latinske tekst (Piltz 1997: 190, med engelsk oversættelse *ibid.* p. 191):

Ipsum [dvs. en flæskeside, *baco*] uero non comedit, quia de quadrupedibus est. Uerumtamen, quia caro ipsius dulcis est et pinguis, diligentissime commentatur super textum ipsius, et tandem hanc de eo exponit sententiam: ut scilicet tam diu torqueatur et agitur in patella, quoad totus conuertatur in liquorem, et sic, quod non datur illi posse comedere, detur illi posse bibere 'He does not eat it, for it comes from a quadruped animal. However, since its meat is delightful and especially fat, he gives extremely careful consideration to the wording of its text and finally produces the following exegesis: it should be turned and shaken on the dish for such a long time that it is completely turned into liquid, and in this way he is allowed to drink what he is forbidden to eat'

I den svenske tekst springes det subtile mellemlid med abbedens studium af flæskesidens "tekst" over, idet oplysningen om at han ikke må spise flæsk fordi det er fra et firfodet dyr, straks følges af oplysningen om at han lader flæsket tilberede (modsat i den latinske tekst her ved kogning) så at han i stedet kan drikke det. Overgangen fra den ene oplysning til den anden er formuleret således i D 3 (l. 22–25, med enkelte retoucheringer):

flæsk ma han ey æthe thy ath thet [ær] fyræføth thogh lather han wellæ thet i pannu ther tiill aldher mosther ær wr thy sidhen læther han sla thet i en disk [..]

I D 4 a hedder det tilsvarende (l. 25–29):

Flæsk ma han ey ætæ thy at thet ær fyræføt / tha læter han wellæ thet j pannu ther til alder moster ær wr thy Siden læter han sla thet j en disk [..]

Her indleder D 3's adversative adverbium *thogh* nok et senere led i handlingen end det ensbetydende *Uerumtamen* i den latinske tekst; men det følger efter akkurat samme led (*thy ath thet ær fyræføth / quia de quadrupedibus est*) og står i den forstand på samme plads som i den latinske tekst. Dette må kaldes påfaldende hvis vejen til *thogh* skulle være gået over D 4 a's temporaladverbium *tha*, der er mindst lige så naturligt som *thogh* i sammenhængen; for det er blot et nyt led i den konkrete handling den svenske tekst her bringer, ikke som den latinske en tilsnigelse på tankeplanet. D 4 a's *tha* i l. 26 er altså også en mulig særfejl.

## 5. Sammenfatning og udblik

Ovenfor er det forsøgt at vise at den etablerede mening om forholdet mellem de to *Skemptan*-vidner — at D 3's tekst udgår fra D 4 a's — saverner fodfæste i det positive bevismateriale som tekstkritikkens kodeks foreskriver for sådanne tilfælde. Det foreslåede alternativ — at D 3 og D 4 a's tekster uafhængigt af hinanden udgår fra et (begge nærstående) fælles forlæg — kan funderes på et par indicier, hvoraf i al fald *th-* i *thæsker* må bedømmes som tungtvejende. Et enkelt indicium eller et par stykker forekommer ganske vist ikke at være noget imponerende antal; men man bør betænke at teksten er af yderste korthed. Den indeholder 568 ord i D 4 a (Wollin 1997: 342) og strækker sig over et par sider i samme håndskrift, hvorimod de nedenfor nærmere omtalte tekster *Erikskrönikan*, *Flores och Blanzefflor*, *Namlös och Valentin* og *Hertig Fredrik* fylder henholdsvis 111, 54, 55 og 72 sider (jf. fx Kornhall 1959: 25 og tilsvarende *ibid.* p. 32 om teksternes udstrækning i D 3).

Det er begrænset hvor meget den alternative hypotese rykker for *Skemptan*-kritikkens vedkommende, da de to vidner ikke opviser større indbyrdes variation; en af dens fåtallige konsekvenser er at D 3's

læsemåde *super with* bliver muligt primær på lige fod med D 4 a's *super aff* i det af Lars Wollin (1997: 322) nævnte eksempel på vanskeligt prioriterbare læsemåder inden for tekstoverleveringen (hentet fra den ovf. citerede passage om abbedens delikate drik). Hypotesen har imidlertid også betydning i videre perspektiv. Hvis den er sand, så forøges på ingen måde antallet af de grundigt undersøgte tekster der ifølge Kornhall (1959: 60) støtter sandsynligheden af at de uudforskede D 3-tekster med paralleller i D 4 a er afskrifter af dette håndskrift, og som der her til slut skal gøres rede for, er disse teksters antal i forvejen lavere end Kornhall i sin tid antog.

Ifølge Kornhall (1959: 58 ff.) var der seks grundigt undersøgte tekster i alt: *Herr Ivan, Karl Magnus, Erikskrönikan, Flores och Blanzefflor, Namnlös och Valentin* samt *Hertig Fredrik*. D 3's vidner til de to første tekster kan umuligt udgå fra D 4 a, hvorimod Kornhall anser afskriftforholdet D 4 a → D 3 for bevist for de fire sidste; men han argumenterer udtrykkelig med at disse fire tekster er "grundligt *textkritiskt* undersökta" (1959: 59), selv om et afskriftforhold som sagt kun kan anses for sandsynliggjort hvis der kan opdrives en eller anden "peculiarity of a witness *other than its readings* that accounts for an innovation in another witness" (Reeve 1989: 10) (tekstfremhævelserne er foretaget her).

Da Patrik Åström gjorde status i *Master Golyas*-bogen, var antallet af tekster som der til gavns var ført bevis for, reduceret fra fire til én, ironisk nok den af Kornhall selv behandlede tekst *Namnlös och Valentin*: "The relationship between the texts in the two manuscripts is such that generally speaking it cannot be proven beyond all doubt that D 3 is a direct copy of D 4 a. In other words, there are no such omissions [...] or additions in D 3 that may be explained by the external shape of the text in D 4 a, with one exception, viz. *Namnlös*" (Åström 1997: 248).

Om Kornhalls bevis for *Namnlös och Valentin's* vedkommende (1959: 57) må det imidlertid siges at det ved nærmere betragtning hænger i en temmelig tynd tråd (hvilket Kornhall er mere bevidst om i begyndelsen end i slutningen af sit ræsonnement, til skade for konklusionen). Hans bevis er baseret på den iagttagelse at flertallet af mulige tekstoverspringelser i D 3 omfatter sekvenser på seks eller syv ord, og at den gennemsnitlige længde af D 4 a's linjer er på knap syv ord. De formodede overspringelser skulle ifølge Kornhall kunne forklares med at D 3-skriverens øje er hoppet fra et sted i en foregående linje til det tilsvarende sted i den umiddelbart følgende linje i D 4 a.

Udeladelse af linjer nævnes ganske vist blandt Reeves kategorier af positivt bevis (jf. ovf.); men den slags linjer som han tillægger bevis-

kraft, og som man med rette kan tillægge en sådan, er utvivlsomt forlæggets konkrete linjer — dvs. sekvenser af bogstaver og mellemrum der strækker sig fra margen til margen i en vis højde på siden — og ikke bare sekvenser af bogstaver og mellemrum der strækker sig fra et hvilket som helst punkt (inde) i en linje til det tilsvarende punkt (inde) i den følgende (jf. Reeve 1989: 16 f.). Hver gang en skriver skal gå fra slutningen af en linje i sit forlæg til begyndelsen af den næste, har han lejlighed til at bevæge øjnene nedad, mens han jo kun behøver at bevæge øjnene til siden når han skal gå fra det ene bogstav eller ord til det andet inden for samme linje. Derfor er der kun overhængende risiko for at øjnene hopper for langt ned, når han skifter linje.

Kornhall påberåber sig i alt ni bevissteder i *Namnlös och Valentin* (1959: 57 m. henvisn. til Werner Wolfs udgave af teksten efter D 4 a); det er Wolf 1934: 12 note 20 (~ D 4 a p. 352 l. 42–43), 1934: 56 note 24 (~ D 4 a p. 367 l. 28–29), 1934: 76 note 92 (~ D 4 a p. 374 l. 19–20), 1934: 116 note 94 (~ D 4 a p. 388 l. 38), 1934: 120 note 29 (~ D 4 a p. 390 l. 18), 1934: 130 note 90 (~ D 4 a p. 393 l. 16–17), 1934: 146 note 73 (~ D 4 a p. 398 l. 23–24), 1934: 148 note 81 (~ D 4 a p. 399 l. 9–10) og 1934: 154 note 25 (~ D 4 a p. 401 l. 34–35).<sup>5</sup> Efterser man disse steder i D 4 a, fremgår det at fravær af D 3-tekst kun to steder svarer til en konkret linje (fra margen til margen) i D 4 a (p. 388 l. 38 og p. 390 l. 18), og begge steder kan forskellen mellem de to håndskrifter lige så vel tænkes at have tekstlig som fysisk årsag. Det er naturligvis en betingelse for at godtage en tekstmangel som sandsynligt resultat af linjeoverspringelse at den ikke er afhængig af indholdet ved fx at danne en meningsmæssig enhed eller omfatte et *saut du même au même* (jf. Reeve 1989: 16).

Det første sted behandler håndskrifterne en indholdstom sætning i den nedertyske tekst på hver sin frie måde: *desser dinge sit bericht* 'vær forvisset om disse ting' Wolf 1934: 117 v. 1912 svarer til ingenting i D 3 (jf. Wolf 1934: 116 note 94), men til sætningen *thy rader iach ider, at j hæden riden* 'derfor råder jeg jer til at I rider herfra' i D 4 a (Wolf 1934: 116 l. 18) (om *Namnlös och Valentin*'s kildeforhold fx Ronge 1967: 212 f.).

Det andet sted mangler D 3 rigtig nok en tilsyneladende vilkårligt afgrænset sekvens i D 4 a: ordene *wid sinæ hand och ledde henne litith* i sætningen *Namnlös tok iomfrvnæ wid sinæ hand och ledde henne litith fra Falantin vnder enæ skønæ lindh* 'N. tog jomfruen ved sin hånd og

<sup>5</sup> Henvisningerne til D 4 a er tilføjet her. Repro- og fotoenheden på Kungl. biblioteket i Stockholm takkes for at have leveret fotokopier som har muliggjort eftersyn af Kornhalls eksempler fra håndskriftet.

førte hende lidt (bort) fra Valentin (hen) under en skøn lind' Wolf 1934 120: 24–26 m. note 29; til gengæld bringer D 3 efter *Falantin* ordene *och gik medh henne* 'og gik med hende' Wolf 1934: 120 note 31, hvorved formuleringen bliver lige så fuldstændig i D 3 som i D 4 a. Kun hvis sekvensen *och gik medh henne* var en senere tilføjelse i D 3, ville den kunne tages til indtægt for Kornhalls idé, og Wolf (1934) antyder intet herom i sit variantapparat skønt en oplysning som fx note 74 på p. 88 ("klubbo] kubbl (*durchgestrichen*) B. (*darnach:*) klubbæ BC") skaber forventning om at han ville have gjort det i påkommende tilfælde (B er Wolfs sigel for D 3). Uanset hvornår sekvensen *och gik medh henne* er indført i D 3 — under den oprindelige nedskrivning eller som senere tilføjelse — indeholder den for øvrigt en tekstlig detalje der er foruro-ligende for D 4 a → D 3-hypotesen: ordet *gik* svarende til *gink* i den nedertyske parallelsætning *Namelôs nam se bi der hant, / he gink nicht verne, dar he vant / ene grote linde breit* 'N. tog hende ved hånden, han gik ikke fjernt (derfra), hvor han fandt en stor bred(kronet) lind' Wolf 1934: 121 v. 1983–1985. Selv om D 4 a's læsemåde på dette sted vel som helhed står nedertysken nærmere end D 3's, kan man vanskeligt se bort fra at D 3 med *gik* har bevarer et primært træk som er tabt i D 4 a. Diskussionen om hvorvidt D 4 a virkelig indeholder særfejl, eller det ikke gør, hvilket sidste Kornhalls derivationshypotese (1959: 56 f.) forudsætter, skal dog ikke føres videre her end til omtalen af denne i sig selv uvisse detalje.

Af Kornhalls øvrige syv belæg, som alene omfatter passager af en gennemsnitslinjes længde, ikke konkrete linjer, er det kun en enkelt mulig overspringelse i D 3 der svarer nøjagtigt til strækningen fra et punkt inde i en linje til det tilsvarende punkt inde i den næste i D 4 a (p. 374 l. 19–20), og også her kan overspringelsen lige så vel forklares tekstligt som fysisk, nemlig som resultat af et *saut du même au même*, in casu fra *iach wil* til *iach wil* i sekvensen *iach wil her ey nw lengre dweliæes. iach wil (faræ . . .)* Wolf 1934: 76 l. 10–12. Endnu fire af Kornhalls syv ikke enkeltlinje-dannende belæg kan ydermere forklares på samme måde: med spring fra *thet* til *thet* i sekvensen *thet ær mik ekki liufft, och thet (skal . . .)* Wolf 1934: 146 l. 4–5, fra *kommo* til *kommo* (?)<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Det er kun hvis skriveren har foretaget en senere tilføjelse i D 3 fordi han evt. har "märkt att något är på tok" (Kornhall 1959: 57), at der her, med Kornhall 1959: 57, kan være tale om en overspringelse på syv ord i forhold til D 4 a. Wolfs variantapparat melder imidlertid heller ikke i dette tilfælde om nogen form for modifikation i D 3, hvad selvfølgelig kan skyldes at det ikke har den detaljeringsgrad som man ud fra det oven citerede eksempel fra udgavens p. 88 må tiltro det. Synderlig plausibel er tanken dog ikke i betragtning af at samme skriver øjensynlig ikke foretager tilføjelser af andet

i kommo in j Ispanien obestriddæ. tha the kommo (pa ...) Wolf 1934: 56 l. 14–15, fra *ther* til *ther* i *ther war hans manhet medh ærom skiin. ther* (medh ...) Wolf 1934: 130 l. 4–5 og fra *thu niwter* til *thu niwter* i *thu niwter tik ekki siælffuer at, men thu niwter (enæ ...)* Wolf 1934: 154 l. 22–23.

Alt i alt er der således ingen mulige overspringelser i *Namnlös och Valentin* i D 3 som med større sandsynlighed kan forklares ud fra D 4 a's linjelayout. Dermed synes det positive bevis m.h.t. denne tekst ikke at stå stærkere end det stærkeste af de beviser der er søgt gennemført over for de tre øvrige tekster, og det er som sagt beviser som Patrik Åström har underkendt.

Hvad angår *Erikskrönikan*, har der vist aldrig været tale om positiv bevisførelse for afhængigheden D 4 a → D 3. Rolf Pipping, der som udgiver (1921, med optryk 1963) er den der har beskæftiget sig mest indgående med teksten, fastholdt da også at der kunne fremlægges regulært modbevis mod at udlede D 3 af D 4 a, dvs. påvises særfejl i D 4 a. Erik Noreen (1927: 14 f.), som Kornhall henviser til (1959: 58 f.), dokumenterede ganske vist at Pippings oprindelige modbevis beroede på en fejltagelse, men afviste uden argumentation et muligt alternativt modbevis; tilmed gjorde han øjensynlig gyldigheden af det alternative modbevis (læsemåden *føræ mæn* i D 4 a v. 1464 over for *styre mæn* i den øvrige overlevering) afhængig af at Pipping (1926: 457 f.) havde en anden mening om *føræ mæn* end at denne læsemåde skulle være uoprindelig, hvilket han (loc. cit.) selvfølgelig ikke havde. Det er formentlig derfor at Pipping ikke har følt sig forpligtet til at argumentere yderligere da hans udgave af *Erikskrönikan* blev optrykt i 1963. Det der kan indvendes mod Pippings stemma, er ikke at beviset mod at aflede D 3's tekst af D 4 a's ikke dur, men i det højeste at det står alene (jf. Jansson 1992: 119).

Hvad de to Eufemiaviser angår, *Flores och Blanzeflor* og *Hertig Fredrik*, har begges udgivere forsøgt at dokumentere D 3's afhængighed af D 4 a ad fysisk vej.

Udgifveren af *Hertig Fredrik*, Erik Noreen, har dog ikke andet at anføre end sammenfaldende versalbrug i begyndelsen af vers (jf. Noreen 1927: 13). Havde sammenfaldet været vidtgående, havde man nok kunnet tilskrive det en vis betydning når teksten består af over 3 000 vers; men intet i Noreens fremstilling tyder på at eksemplerne,

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end enkeltord (og orddele) i D 3's Karl Magnus-tekst, jf. noteapparatet hos Kornhall 1957: 3–111 (ulige sider).

hvoraf han i alt kun nævner tre, er andet end ganske sporadiske og dermed muligt tilfældige. Det er værd at bemærke at dette fænomen ikke omtales af Reeve til trods for at han netop er "more concerned to illustrate categories than to amass examples" (1989: 11).

*Flores och Blanzeflor's* udgiver, Emil Olson, påberåber sig to potentielle indicier. Det drejer sig i begge tilfælde om forvanskninger i D 3 — *clade* for *clage* og *skall* for *skil* — som ifølge Olson (1916: 134 f.) kan forklares ud fra grafiske forhold i D 4 a, og hvis han har ret i sin formodning om at *g'*et i D 4 a's *clage* er utydeligt fordi det er rettet fra et oprindeligt *d*, må der vel endelig siges at foreligge et indicium af samme høje karat som tekstmangler der svarer til (konkrete) linjer i andre håndskrifter; udeladte linjer og misforståede rettelsers synes at høre blandt de kategorier som Michael D. Reeve regner for de sikreste indikatorer for det ene håndskrifts afhængighed af det andet (jf. Reeve 1989: 20 f.). Det har blot den ulempe at det står alene (i en tekst af omtrent samme omfang som *Namnlös och Valentin*, jf. ovf.).

De hidtidige formodninger om D 3-teksters afhængighed af de tilsvarende tekster i D 4 a synes kort sagt at hvile på et ret spinkelt grundlag, og spinklere end hidtil antaget. Så meget større interesse knytter der sig til de for de to håndskrifter fælles tekster som endnu ikke er grundigt undersøgt: *Tungulus*, *Lilla Rimkrönikan* og *Prosaiska Krönikan*. Det må være en indbydende opgave for fremtidens filologi at få rettet op på denne unndladelssynd.

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## En text är en text är en text?

### Om en terminologisk tredelning av textbegreppet

#### Vad är en text?

I många fall, kanhända de allra flesta, vållar det inga som helst problem att tala om eller för den delen också för vetenskapliga syften handha en *text*. Vi är för det mesta skäligen överens om vad vi egentligen menar när vi säger att vi läst en text om det eller det eller att vi analyserat en text eller jämfört olika texter med varandra. Att begreppet ändå lätt låter sig problematiseras är uppenbart. Inom språkvetenskapen görs det väl oftast i en absolut, textlingvistisk mening: vad är en text, och vad är inte en text? Vilka språkliga och innehållsliga egenskaper krävs det av ett antal samförekommande meningar för att vi alls skall uppfatta dem som tillsammans utgörande en text? Närmast ett delproblem inom denna övergripande frågeställning gäller frågan om hur mycket språkligt material det egentligen krävs för att det skall bli tal om en text: kan en enda mening vara en hel text, rentav ett enda ord

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Wendt, B.-A., fil. dr, forskare, Department of Scandinavian Languages, Lund University. "A text is a text is a text? On a terminological partition in three of the notion of text", *ANF* 121 (2006), pp. 253–274.

**Abstract:** In this article a terminological partition in three of the notion of text (in the countable sense) is proposed, above all in order to handle texts that occur in more or less different versions, the suggested terms being: text work, text witness and text carrier. The text work is the abstract entity that by (a given group of) text users is identified as one and the same each time it occurs (even so in quite heterogenous versions), whereas the text witnesses are those specific different versions in which the text work is actually represented. As long as such a version is exactly the same word by word, it is indeed the same text witness although it might occur in different physical appearances, that is: different text carriers. The text work is not the ideal (or original) version, instead it is the essential summary of all its text witnesses — in some sense thus corresponding to the phoneme within phonology, whereas the text witnesses then correspond to the allophones. This notion might change the focus of interest in dealing with a text work, from that of (reconstructing) the original to that of the most widespread text witness as the one best representing the text work in actual use.

**Keywords:** text, work, version(s), variation, text use, terminology

(i en icke satsformad mening på till exempel en skylt)? En helt annan fråga gäller om man vill uppfatta text i inskränkt språklig mening eller se begreppet som en grafisk helhet där språket bara är en del, om än vanligtvis den viktigaste.

Allt detta är ytterligt intressanta frågor, men det är inte denna sida av textbegreppet som skall bli föremål för behandling här (om än jag återkommer till skillnaden mellan text i inskränkt och utvidgad mening). Det skall istället handla om hur en text skall avgränsas i förhållande till andra mer eller mindre avvikande textvarianter. Om det i det förra fallet gäller att avgränsa alla verkligt och möjligt förekommande texter från allt som är icke-text, gäller det i detta senare, här ifrågakommande fall att avgränsa de texter som vi är överens om att de verkligen uppfyller kraven för att vara texter — från varandra. Att denna uppsats är en text och Paulus' brev till romarna en helt annan är givetvis ett invändningsfritt förhållande, men problem uppstår när en text börjar uppträda i exemplar med större eller mindre avvikelser från ursprungstexten och sinsemellan, vare sig dessa avvikelser är ouppsåtliga eller uppkomna genom medveten bearbetning. Är de olika varianterna då olika texter? Ja, i en viss mening är de givetvis det, i en annan däremot bara just varianter av en och samma text. Det jag ämnar försöka i det följande är att bringa terminologisk reda med hänsyn till denna textbegreppets flertydighet, påtagligt besvärande när man går att undersöka en texttradition som rymmer sådan variation. Det skall därvid sägas att jag gör det med en renodlat språkvetenskaplig och filologisk infallsvinkel.

### Vad är en och samma text?

Att själva textbegreppet behöver förtydligas vid handhavandet av en texttradition med varianter ligger i öppen dag, och terminologiska preciseringar har förstås också gjorts, vanligen så att ordet *text* förbehålls endera storheten i den begreppsliga tudelningen text som abstrakt enhet : text som specifik (eller till och med fysisk) yttring (variant). Så skiljer bibelfilologen Vinton A. Dearing (1959, s. 1) på *text* ("the patterns of ideas", "works of literature") och *records* ("manuscripts (or printed books)"), medan litteraturvetenskapligt skolade textkritiker gärna vänder på det hela och talar om *verk* gentemot *text*, så till exempel Johan Svedjedal (1991, s. 44 f.). Bland nordiska filologer har enligt Odd Einar Haugen (1990, s. 135) textbegreppet ofta "kunna blivit ståande som eit såvidt uproblematisk omgrep", men *text* får ändå (i lik-

het med hos Dearing, men i motsats till inom litteraturvetenskapen) snarast stå för den abstrakta enheten, medan de konkreta yttringarna omtalas som *textvittnen*. Vanligtvis handlar det då förstås om handskrifter, och oftast har det för traditionell filologi gått ut på att utifrån dessa med textkritisk metod försöka hitta tillbaka till den ursprungligaste textvarianten, *arketypen*,<sup>1</sup> av Haugen (2000) beskriven som "den form av teksta som kjem så nær opp til originalen som råd er" (s. 18) men utan "nokon identitet mellom dei to (utanom dei tilfelle der originalen er bevart)" (s. 20). Inom sentida filologi har visserligen en till dels omvälvande uppvärdering av de enskilda handskrifterna ägt rum, varvid man bland annat velat sätta in dessa i sitt eget funktionella sammanhang, men ännu torde det finnas kvar en benägenhet att uppfatta texten bakom textvittnena som ytterst identisk med ursprungstexten. För den företrädesvis litteraturvetenskapliga termen *verk* tycks det hur som helst otvetydigt vara så; den danskspråkiga motsvarigheten *værk* definieras således (i förbigående) i Ólason & Guðjónsson 2000 (s. 97 not 1) rätt och slätt som just 'original'.

För att tydligare lyfta fram texten i bruk, oberoende av hur ursprunget en gång kan ha sett ut, tror jag att vi kunde ha god nytta av att skapa en terminologi i analogi med de strukturalistiska begreppen *fonem* : *allofon* (*grafem* : *allograf* och så vidare).<sup>2</sup> Om vi då skulle tänja analogien ända till uttryckssidans, finge vi ett begreppspar *textem* : *allotext*.<sup>3</sup>

Nu har förvisso termen *textem* förekommit inom strukturalistisk

<sup>1</sup> Den textkritiska grundsatsen *recentior non deterior* är ju typiskt nog ett försvar för yngre handskrifter bara i deras tänkbara egenskap att bättre återge arketypen — och samtidigt ett tydligt uttryck för att avvikelser från denna arketyper i sig gör en handskrift sämre.

<sup>2</sup> Jag har själv kommit att arbeta med ett par olika texttyper som var för sig i rätt påfallande grad präglas just av en förekomst av många varianter av något vi ändå vill uppfatta som en och samma text: medeltida lagtexter med en vidlyftig handskriftstradition och psalmtexter som förekommer dels i otaliga tryckta upplagor, dels i medvetet omarbetad form i olika stadfästa psalmboksutgåvor. Det är också i anslutning till min avhandling om senmedeltida lagspråk (Wendt 1997, närmare bestämt kap. II avsnitt A och däri behandlade handskrifter av Magnus Erikssons landslag; jfr med de kritiska synpunkterna i Wollin 1998, s. 181 f., 184 f.) som jag först gjordes uppmärksam på en möjlig parallell med fonemet och dess allofoner, av Cecilia Falk och Lars-Olof Delsing. Jag har också mött den i en föreläsning (om textutgivning vid Lunds universitet, ht 1997) av latinisten Birger Bergh, som en pedagogisk parallell till den sedvanliga filologiska tudelningen i *text* och *textvittne*.

<sup>3</sup> För de högre språknivåerna utnyttjas väl sällan eller aldrig motsvarande *allo-*termer. Till lexemet skulle då höra *allolexer*, som torde få förstås som de olika graford som företräder ett och samma lexem: *bok(en(s))* och *böcker(na(s))* skulle därmed vara *allolexer* till lexemet *bok*. Till sememet skulle vi så kunna tänka oss *allosemer*, snarast väl synonymmer, som ju i någon mening företräder samma betydelse, samma semem.

språkvetenskaplig teoribildning (fr. *textème*, eng. *texteme*, ty. *textem*), och då — naturligt nog — som en beteckning på den högsta nivån i den språkliga strukturen i en generell beskrivning av texter som sådana. Det handlar därmed framförallt om textemet i absolut mening, om vad som strukturellt gör en text till en text. Så sätter till exempel Walter A. Koch (1966, s. 385, 1969, s. ix) texten i förhållande till de lägre språknivåerna och redovisar därvid följande räkka: *morfem* – *logem* ( $\approx$  ord) – *syntaktem* ( $\approx$  sats) – *textem*. Han dryftar sedan möjligheten av att beskriva strukturella särdrag hos olika texttyper genom olika uppsättningar av "Abweichungsregeln oder Umformungsregeln" i förhållande till en allmängillare textstruktur (Koch 1966, s. 386). Användningen av *textem* blir därmed, såvitt jag förstår, mest ett sätt att få en term fri från luddigheten och olika ovidkommande eller störande konnotationer hos det allmänspråkliga ordet *text*. Många textstrukturalister klarar sig också utan termen, så Peter Hartmann (1964), fastän denne enligt Koch (ibid.) sägs skissera just textembegreppet. Möjligen skall varje enskilt textem förstås som en strukturellt mönsterbunden typ av text; det är kanhända så man skall uppfatta Kochs (1966, passim)  $\tau_{allt}$  (= "Durchschnittliche Alltagssprache", s. 384) och  $\tau_{poet}$  (= poetiska texter) — att dessa utgör varsitt textem. Den andra termen i paret, *allotext*, tycks ingen ha tagit upp i sammanhanget. Den skulle då kunna nyttjas om alla de enskilda texterna av en viss typ eller kanhända hellre om de olika tänkbara sammanställningarna av de utbytbara beståndsdelar som textemet rymmer.

Det jag är ute efter här är, som framgått, istället en terminologi för enskilda texter. Detta faller helt utanför strukturalisternas strävan att systematisera beskrivningen av den generella språkförmågan; i denna ingår givetvis bara (på sin höjd) typer av textmönster. Kunskap om dessa kan i någon mening sägas ingå i språkförmågan, den passiva, i det att vi känner igen ett visst textmönster när vi möter det i en given text, och den aktiva, i det att vi kan tillämpa olika typmönster när vi skriver i olika sammanhang (jfr med Josephson 2001). Därmed är det förstås enbart i denna betydelse av texttypsmönster som termen *textem* är helt parallell med *fonem* och de övriga. Dessa mönster ingår visserligen inte i något slutet, uttömmande beskrivbart system, men det är ju en egenkap de delar med till exempel morfem och semem. Vi kan därför inte förvänta oss att finna minimala par för dessa texttyper. Ansatser därtill kan det väl likväl finnas, i den meningen att det kan vara meningsfullt att undersöka vilka ändringar av texttypernas särdrag som medför övergång till en annan typ. Däremot ingår det givetvis inte i själva

språkförmågan att känna igen, än mindre att kunna återge, en given enskild text. (En helt annan sak är det att ingående kännedom om ett antal för en kultur väsentliga texter i och för sig utgör en viktig del av den kulturella självbilden.)

Det handlar alltså om en entydig artskillnad, men detta hindrar inte att man kan se vissa paralleller ändå, om också de närmast bör ses som metaforiska: för sådana texter som uppträder i olika varianter är det möjligt för textbrukarna att trots olikheterna känna igen en och samma text bakom dessa, på liknande sätt som vi igenkänner ett och samma fonem bakom olika allofoner. Av ovan sagda skäl bör vi givetvis välja en annan term än *textem* — men utan att för den skull glömma parallellen, *mutatis mutandis*, med fonemet. För denna den enskilda textens "allofon" finns det alla skäl att välja den sedan länge nyttjade termen *textvittne*. För dess "fonem" finns det däremot en termlucka. Att tillgripa *text* rätt och slätt är efter min mening inte så lyckat — också textvittnena kan ju kallas texter. Bokhistorikern Rolf E. Du Rietz talar om *idealtext* gentemot *actual texts* eller *realtexter*, men i det förra ligger då en föreställning om "an 'ideal' form, more or less perfectly known to us" (1974, s. 11) och om realtexten som "ett försök att återgiva en idealtext" (1991, s. 228). Med fonem-parallellen (eller -metaforen) måste ju däremot varje textvittne fattas som en fullgod återgivning av den därav företrädda texten. Den besvärande mångtydigheten hos ordet *text* föranleder Patrik Åström (2003, s. 32) att i sin avhandling om senmedeltida laghandskrifter etablera termparet *verk* och *textvittne* (eller bara *vittne*). Man kan säga att han helt enkelt valt den entydigaste termen ur vardera begreppsparet *verk* : *text* och *text* : *textvittne*. Med det förra avser han "en abstrakt, avgränsbar och sammanhängande följd av ord, med en eller flera upphovsmän" (ibid.), i vilken definition det i och för sig är möjligt att läsa in litteraturvetarnas original-föreställning. Han utnyttjar dock termen på ett sätt som åtminstone liknar det jag far efter. Dock skulle jag för tydlighets skull föredra att tala om *textverk*; sedan må detta liksom *textvittne*<sup>4</sup> i ett givet sammanhang elliptiskt omtalas utan specificerande förled (eller för den delen med en förled som istället närmare anger texttypen, till exempel *romanverk* med *romanvittnen*, *lagverk* med *lagvittnen* och *essäverk* med *essävittnen*). Sammansättningen med *text-* kan också tjäna syftet att något litet skilja termen från litteraturvetarnas *verk* med dess inskränkta

<sup>4</sup> Strängt taget borde *textvittne*, som Cecilia Falk påtalat för mig, nu få kallas *textverksvittne*, men att förlederna tillåts uppvisa den flertydighet hos *text* som sammansättningarna råder bot på kan vi nog leva med.

betydelse. Att *verk* också som efterled osökt kan leda tankarna till upphovsmannens skapelse ligger förvisso redan i dess allmänspråkliga betydelse, och en renare term vore därför kanhända *textabstrakt*. Lika fullt kommer jag i det följande att hålla mig till *textverk* i anslutning till Åström.

Textverket skall sålunda fattas som en abstrakt textuell storhet som av (en given grupp av) textbrukarna (vid en given tid eller i ett givet sammanhang) mer eller mindre samstämmigt uppfattas som en och densamma varje gång den tar form. Inom traditionell textfilologi har den storhet man velat ringa in bortom textvittnena som sagt nästan alltid varit den ursprungliga varianten, textverkets *arketyp*. Denna är för det mesta en historisk rekonstruktion i förhållande till textvittnena, medan textverksbegreppet istället avser den samtida textuppfattningen (hur snävt eller vitt man nu än väljer att avgränsa denna samtid). Eller annorlunda uttryckt: arketypen är (den i sig synkrona) utgångspunkten för textens diakroni, textverket den abstrakta sammanfattningen eller essensen av den i bruk varande textens synkroni (med en något överdriven renodling av sistnämnda begrepp). Därmed kan man föreställa sig (något) olika uppfattning av ett textverk vid olika tider i historien, beroende på vilka textvittnen som är i omlopp vid en given tid. Inget hindrar å andra sidan att man föreställer sig ett textverk oberoende av tid, textverket under hela den tid det varit i bruk, alltifrån sin tillkomst intill nuet. Till detta skall genast sägas att det ingalunda är tal om något slags tolkningsinriktat mentalt synsätt, såtillvida att det skulle handla om texten i subjektiv mening, hur textbrukarna uppfattar eller föreställer sig att den ser ut — i släkt med den textsyn som vissa (post)moderna litteraturteoretiker gjort till sin, utmynnande i "ei full oppløysing av tekstmogrepet" för att tala med Haugen (1990, s. 132). Mitt textverksbegrepp avser alltjämt texten som verkligt, objektivt språkligt alster.

När det sedan gäller termen *textvittne*, tror jag inte att det alltid blir klart i filologernas termbruk om detta avser bara en specifik variant av ett textverk eller själva den konkreta bäraren av en sådan variant, det fysiska föremålet. För ett handskriftsmaterial blir en sådan åtskillnad i verkligheten föga påträngande, och det är väl också därför som termen, sådan den faktiskt nyttjas, synes oscillera. För mig (liksom av allt att döma för Åström, fastän han beskriver yttringen som "fysisk") är däremot textvittne endast det förra: en specifik uppenbarelsform av ett textverk, en variant av texten där *text* skall fattas i snäv språklig mening. För boktrycksmaterial föreligger således samma textvittne i



alla textuellt likadana exemplar av ett textverk. En tredje term blir därmed av nöden, och jag vill föreslå *textbärare*. (Jämför med Du Rietz (1976, s. 137), som beskriver boken såsom "en 'materiell textbärare', alltså ett konkret föremål, i vissa fall en del av ett sådant föremål", eller Haugen (1990, s. 148), som omtalar handskrifterna såsom i "siste instans [...] ikkje anna enn ein *berar* av teksta", ävensom Svedjedal 1991, s. 50, som säger att "verket förmedlas av en text som i sin tur förmedlas av en bok" och att böcker alltså är "textbärare".) Detta är den rent fysiska yttringen av ett textverk eller rättare sagt av ett textvittne, den konkreta materia som bär texten.<sup>5</sup> (Jag påminner om (den metaforiska) analogien med fonemet, vars allofoner uppträder om och om igen — liksom ett textvittne genom trycktekniken kan göra det —, men som i ett yttrande av en specifik talare vid ett specifikt tillfälle uppträder som ljud, som en fon — motsvarigheten till textens bärare.) För tryckta böcker är det väl därvid oftast vad vi kan kalla *textbärartypen* som kan vara av intresse: en samgruppering av alla textbärare som (i allt väsentligt) ser likadana ut. Textbärartypen utgör alltså en variant av texten där *text* skall fattas i vidaste (typo)grafisk, multimedial eller bokhistorisk mening. Ställer vi därmed *textvittne* mot *textbärartyp*, får vi sålunda på köpet ett termpar för att hålla isär texten i inskränkt (språklig) mening och i utvidgad — med hela utanverket av typografi, bilder, sidformat, pappersslag och så vidare som en del av texten.<sup>6</sup>

### Vartill tjänar då en tredelning av textbegreppet?

Det övervägande flertalet av textverk föreligger bara i en enda variant. I sådana fall kan hela den ovan skissade begreppsapparaten synas överflödig, men jag menar att den kan ha ett rent principiellt värde också då, om inte annat så för att ställa ett visst slags textverk mot andra

<sup>5</sup> Man kunde förstås här helt enkelt ha tänkt sig (*text*)*exemplar*, men ett exemplar är väl alltid ett lösföremål (en bok, ett häfte, ett lössblad och så vidare), medan textbäraren, som jag vill uppfatta det, också kan vara en del av en bok, bärande textvittnet till ett kortare textverk, eller flera böcker eller häften, bärande textvittnet till ett enda mer omfattande textverk. Se vidare i följande avsnitt. Med samma stränga logik som nämndes (och tillbakavisades) i not 4 skulle det egentligen heta *textverksvittnesbärare*, men en så otymplig sammansättning ger ytterligare skäl för att vi bör kosta på oss lyxen att tillåta ett flertydigt *text*- som förled i de sammansatta termerna (ju 'textvittne' (eller möjligen 'textverk') i *textbärare*, 'textverk' i *textvittne* och dividuativt 'text' i *textverk* (där sistnämnda innebörd är den jag lämnat kvar åt det osammansatta *text*)).

<sup>6</sup> Om denna helhetssyn på texten se ur bokhistorisk synvinkel till exempel Ridderstad 1999 och ur språkvetenskaplig till exempel Melin 1995, s. 80 ff., eller Ledin 2000, särskilt om begreppet *semiotiskt rum* (s. 17 f.).

med hänsyn till just förhållandet mellan textverk, textvittne(n) och textbärare. Vi kan till exempel föreställa oss följande olika sammanställningar härvidlag:

Ett handskrivet brev (som ingen skrivit eller tryckt av — eller fått för sig att ge ut): ett textverk, företrätt av ett textvittne, förekommande i en textbärare.

En handskriftstradition av större eller mindre omfattning: ett textverk, företrätt av flera textvittnen, förekommande i varsin (och alltså lika många) textbärare.

En tryckt, men aldrig omtryckt, bok: ett textverk, företrätt av ett textvittne, förekommande i många textbärare, men endast en textbärartyp.<sup>7</sup>

En omtryckt, textuellt oförändrad, men grafiskt ändrad bok: ett textverk, företrätt av ett textvittne, förekommande i många textbärare fördelade på två textbärartyper.

En tryckt och i olika utgåvor omarbetad bok: ett textverk, företrätt av flera textvittnen, förekommande i varsin textbärartyp med vardera många textbärare.

En bok som omarbetats textuellt men med bibehållen typografi osv.: ett textverk, företrätt av två textvittnen, förekommande i vad vi kunde kalla nästan samma (!?) textbärartyp (vilket har sin betydelse för hur svårupptäckt bearbetningen kan vara).

Sedan är det ändå tillräckligt ofta som ett sådant tillstånd av textvariation föreligger att den här upprättade tredelningen gör god tjänst rent praktiskt, när man går att reda ut denna variation. Den variation den är ägnad att handha kan sedan vara större eller mindre, och den förekommer förvisso inte bara bland handskrifter. Synnerligen stor variation inom ett och samma textverk återfinns till exempel i sådana i stor utsträckning muntligt vidareförda verk som folksagorna (varom mera nedan). Inom en endast skriftburen, tryckt texttradition är väl variationen för det mesta ojämförligt mycket mindre, ja, kanhända så liten att de flesta textbrukarna är omedvetna om den, men det gör

<sup>7</sup> Vi bortser här och i följande fall från att det kan föreligga skillnader mellan tryckta böcker inom en och samma upplaga, "förr i tiden oftare än man tror" (Ridderstad 1991, s. 193); då uppstår förstås också (något) olika textvittnen.

ingalunda textverksbegreppet mindre användbart i beskrivningen av den variation som verkliga föreligger — till exempel mellan en föga spridd förstaupplaga och senare, lätt förändrade mängdupplagor.

När det gäller textverkets avgränsning från andra verk kan detta rent teoretiskt uppfattas sålunda: hur mycket kan ändras i ett textvittne utan att textbrukarna uppfattar det som (tillhörigt) ett nytt textverk? I praktiken är och förblir avgränsningen — till följd av att den i verkligheten inte över huvud taget låter sig prövas — allt annat än självklar. Några minimala par kan vi givetvis inte ställa upp, inte ens något som tillnärmelsevis kunde påminna om det. Därtill är textverkligheten alldeles för mångskiftande. Att fråga sig hur mycket man kan ändra i *Robinson Crusoe* innan vi istället uppfattar textvittnet som företrädande exempelvis *Den hemlighetsfulla ön* kan förstås aldrig bli annat än en lätt absurd tankelek. Det är i själva verket så att det individuella textverket måste fattas som en alltigenom relativ storhet, beroende av de förhandenvarande brukarnas mer eller mindre svävande uppfattning om vad som utgör just ett och samma verk. Den bedömningen kan, som redan antytts, skifta från tid till annan, men också vid samma tid från sammanhang till annat eller från (typ av) brukare till annan. Många vanliga bokläsare torde utan vidare anse sig ha läst samma textverk också när de vet att den ene läst en något förkortad och moderniserad upplaga av en klassiker, den andre däremot en faksimilutgåva av förstaupplagan. En strängare bedömare, kanhända en litteraturvetare med tveklös inriktning på författarens originalitet och föga eller inget till övers för receptionshistoria, skulle därvid kunna invända att den förkortade versionen minsann inte längre är samma verk. Samma slags uppfattning kan en författare tänkas ha när han upptäcker att förläggaren gjort i hans tycke långtgående ändringar i förhållande till hans egen text. Däremot är det förmodligen så att en rätt annorlunda variant av ett verk kan bedömas som intrång i upphovsrätten — och alltså i ett rättsligt sammanhang ses som ett textvittne av samma verk. Hur man i ett vetenskapligt sammanhang vill se på gränsdragningsfrågan med avseende på vad som är ett textverk får därmed bli avhängigt av vilket slags undersökning det handlar om (jfr med Du Rietz' ord (1974, s. 11) om att varje version av ett verk kan upphöjas till "a subordinate kind of literary work itself, if the critic, for some reason, wants to regard and treat it as such (e. g., because of the historical significance or some interesting peculiarity of some particular version)").

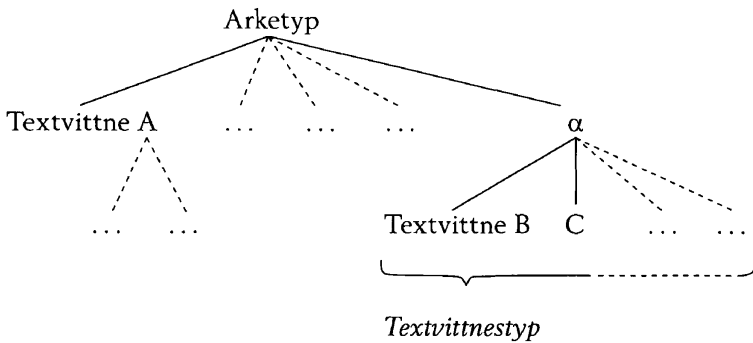
Mer principiellt kan man ändå fråga sig om två av varandra oavhängiga översättningar av samma textverk från ett annat språk är två skilda

textverk eller bara två textvittnen inom samma verk. En hierarkisering av textverksföreställningen vore sannolikt välgörande i ett dylikt fall; de båda översättningarna ses lämpligtvis som skilda *andrahandstextverk* med var sina egna textvittnen och underordnade ett och samma *första-handstextverk*. Underordningen kan ibland tänkas bestå av flera steg, för det fall att en översättning av en urprungstext i sin tur legat till grund för andra översättningar, till exempel de folkspråkliga bibelöversättningarna av den latinska *Vulgata*-texten. En hierarkisering kan förvisso också vara tillämplig för påtagligt åtskilda versioner av ett verk på ett och samma språk — sådana som någon eller många eller rentav de flesta textbrukare är tveksamma till att utan invändningar se som samma verk (till exempel starkt omarbetade klassiker som åtminstone mer kräsna läsare kan tänkas se njuget på). Här kan man då, åtminstone i fall av mindre omedelbar textöverföring, hellre tala om *underordnade textverk* (jfr med Du Rietz ovan) i förhållande till ett *överordnat textverk*.

Ett helt annat principiellt spørsmål gäller överföringen av ett textverk till ett annat medium än det enbart språkliga — filminspelningar, teateruppsättningar med mera. Är detta också textvittnen av samma verk? Svaret är förstås avhängigt av vad vi menar är text över huvud taget. För min del skulle jag vilja inskränka bruket till just enbart språkliga, i praktiken skriftliga, texter (med möjligt tillägg av textbärens utanverk) och då svara nej, men ytterst måste bedömningen återigen stå i förhållande till det textbruk som det i ett givet sammanhang handlar om. (Kanhända kan den förledslösa termen *verk* bli till nytta här, inte minst då i fråga om sådana textverk som från början är avsedda att iscensättas. Man kunde då kunna uttrycka sig sålunda: verket *Mäster Olof* är förvisso ett textverk men är främst avsett att upplevas som ett skådespelsverk.) Eftersom det faller utanför mina syften med framställningen här, lämnar jag hur som helst nu detta textbegreppets gränsländ — åt den som för egna syften önskar staka ut gränserna i det.

För mer omfattande handskriftstraditioner låter sig inte så sällan variationen uppdelas i grupper av textvittnen som inbördes företer sådana likheter att de tillsammans skiljer ut sig från övriga (grupper av) textvittnen. Det kan exempelvis handla om språklig ålderdomlighet eller nymodighet eller om förekomst eller avsaknad av någon innehållslig enhet. När ett sådant förhållande är förhanden i en texttradition (och det kan givetvis lika gärna gälla tryckta verk), kan man lämpligen tala om *textvittnестyper*, på en nivå mellan textverket och de enskilda textvittnena. Därvidlag räcker det förstås att det bara är

en textvittnestyp som företräds av flera än ett textvittne. Redan om endast textvittnena A, B och C föreligger i ett stamträd som detta (och inte någon enda av de med streckade linjer antydda grenarna) torde termen vara till gagn i beskrivningen:



Gränsen mellan fall av textvittnestyper och fall av underordnade textverk enligt ovan är givetvis flytande — och måste så förbli. Det är den förhandenvarande infallsvinkeln i en given undersökning som får avgöra hur man vill se på sakernas tillstånd i detta hänseende.

Som framgick ovan av not 5 är textbäraren inte utan vidare att förstå som det lösa föremål som textvittnet finns i eller på. Ofta är den i och för sig just ett sådant, vanligen då en bok eller ett häfte, men den kan lika gärna utgöra bara en del av ett lösföremål, när textvittnet nämligen uppträder tillsammans med andra textverks vittnen. Allra vanligast är väl detta i en tidning. En enskild artikel däri är givetvis ett textvittne företrädande ett textverk, skilt från andra artikelverk i tidningen, och textbäraren är den fysiska del av tidningsexemplaret som bär detta textvittne. Sedan är hela tidningen att uppfatta som ett större textverk bestående av ett stort antal olika delverk, den är ett *sammeltextverk* (eller *samlingstextverk*, om man föredrar den förledsformen) med sina textvittnen (olika upplagor) och många textbärare.<sup>8</sup> I de allra flesta

<sup>8</sup> Ett sammeltextverks textvittne är som sådant en enhet, men vi kan förstås utifrån de ingående delverkens vittnen också se det som ett sammeltextvittne, vilken företeelse i fråga om handskrivna text torde vara densamma som den Åström (2003, s. 46, 49 ff.) omtalar som en *komplex primär skriftföljd* av det slag härav som består av flera primära skriftföljder; *skriftföljd* definierar han som "en kodikologiskt, paleografiskt och textuellt avgränsbar enhet, vilken har framställts för ett bestämt syfte, med bestämt innehåll inom en bestämd tidsperiod av en eller flera skrivare", och den är *primär* om den tillkommit i producent- eller distributionsleden i det litterära kretsloppet (a. a., s. 34).

fall förekommer inte den enskilda artikelns textvittne i någon annan textbärartyp, men vissa tidningsartiklar gör sig förtjänta av att tryckas om, inte så sällan i en annan tidning och kanhända i särskilt förtjänta fall så småningom i en samling med textverk av en viss skribent eller om ett visst ämne. Textvittnet — antingen detsamma eller ett annat (om nämligen det ursprungliga omarbetats inför den nya utgivningen) — uppträder nu i en helt annan textbärartyp och ingår i ett helt annat sammeltextverk, vilket givetvis kan ha betydelse för hur vi kommer att uppfatta textinnehållet, också om det skulle vara fråga om alldeles samma textvittne.<sup>9</sup>

Sedan förekommer det givetvis också att ett (kortare) textverk kommer att ingå som en mer eller mindre väl inlemmad del i ett annat textverk utan att detta senare har prägel av (och därför inte uppfattas som) ett sammeltextverk. Så till exempel kan ett från början självständigt artikelverk arbetas in (kanhända utan någon (nämnvärd) omarbetning alls) som ett kapitel bland många i ett bokverk. Har detta inte någon antologiprägel, uppfattas det fordom självständiga textverket av textbrukarna, i synnerhet av dem som inte känner till dess förhistoria, som en lika osjälvständig del av detta nya verk som övriga delar däri. Noga räknat är denna del likafullt ett textvittne av det ursprungliga kortare verket — samtidigt som det nu ingår som bara en del bland flera av ett annat textvittne (av det nya längre verket). Återigen är det värt att framhålla ett textverks relativa ställning; det som av vissa brukare eller i visst sammanhang uppfattas som ett sammeltextverk, kan av andra brukare eller i annat sammanhang uppfattas som ett enda helgjutet textverk. Det är förstås också i hög grad en fråga om upphovsmannens syften. Inom handskriftstraditioner svarar de två begreppen helt enkelt mot termerna *sammelhandskrifter* och *kompilationer*, och den filologiska vikten av att skilja mellan dessa har eftertryckligt framhållits av Karl G. Johansson (1997, s. 3 f.), som skriver:

En kompilation är en bearbetning och redigering av ett antal texter med syfte att bilda en enhet, utförd av en medvetet arbetande *redaktör*. Ofta skrev denne sammanbindande textavsnitt mellan texterna

<sup>9</sup> Det textverk vi endast ägnade förströdd uppmärksamhet när vi läste det i sammeltextverket 'Dagens Nyheter av den och den dagen', läser vi kanhända så mycket uppmärksamare när det så småningom möter oss i sammeltextverket *Texter om Tredje världen*, uppenbarat i en påkostad textbärartyp med glättat papper och tillagda färgbilder. Denna synpunkt är också helt i linje med en av nyfilologiens käpphästar: att det spelar stor roll för förståelsen av ett deltextverk i vilken sammelhandskrift — tillsammans med vilka andra delverk — det förekommer.

för att deras enhetliga karaktär skulle förstärkas. [---] En kompilation [...] är alltså mer att betrakta som en självständig text skapad av redaktören. Den som redigerade en samlingshandskrift arbetade sannolikt efter något annorlunda principer. Han kombinerade medvetet sina texter i en viss ordning och försökte därmed åstadkomma en logisk enhet i sitt manuskript. Han ändrade sannolikt ordval eller ensstaka textavsnitt men bearbetade inte texterna för att åstadkomma en ny textenhet.

Likafullt kan något som var en sammelhandskrift vid sin tillkomst med tiden ha kommit att uppfattas som en kompilation av brukarna.

Ovan nämndes de ytterst variationsbenägna folksagorna, där det mesta utöver de mest grundläggande innehållsliga beståndsdelarna kan varieras. Av litteraturvetaren Boel Westin (1998, s. 32) beskrivs en sagotext som omfattande "en rad olika berättarpotentialer", och hon menar att "folksagan kan betraktas som en form av flytande text, vars egentliga berättarpotential ligger i dess inbyggda föränderlighet". För att vi skall hänföra ett textvittne till textverket *Rödluan* torde det i stort sett räcka med följande inslag: utöver huvudpersonen hennes mormor, bosatt i en stuga i skogen, och vargen, och så att den senare äter upp och klär ut sig till den förra för att också kunna äta upp Rödluan. Därutöver kan enskildheterna växla en hel del, inte minst i absolut förekomst — och ändå uppfattar de flesta av oss det som samma textverk, ytterst sammanhållet av det väletablerade sagonamnet.<sup>10</sup> Ett väsentligt skäl till att vi verkligen är redo att göra det också med två ytterligt olika sagovittnen återfinns rimligen i det förhållande att det mellan dessa ytterpunkter finns ett så stort antal mellanvarianter att vi med rätt små steg åt gången kan förflytta oss mellan ytterpunkterna. Det omvända torde också vara skälet till att vi har så mycket svårare att godta en starkt avvikande variant av exempelvis en roman som ett textvittne bland de andra; dessa andra återfinns förmodligen väl samlade kring ursprungstexten, på långt, för många brukare på alltför långt, håll från den ensamma avvikaren. Av samma skäl är det bland romanerna typiskt nog de äldre klassikerna som vi medger störst variation hos utan att ifrågasätta verkidentiteten. Många av oss säger sig ha läst *Robinson Crusoe*, men ytterligt få har läst det oavkortade textvittnet (med dess vidlyftiga beskrivningar av överlevnadsknepen

<sup>10</sup> Skulle man underkasta Rödluetexten en närmare granskning är det likväl tydligt att begreppet *underordnat textverk* skulle vara av nöden för att handha det högst ombytliga textverket (i synnerhet som oberoende översättningar torde föreligga i rik mängd). Jämför också med not 11.

och rätt utförligt skildrade äventyr efter hemkomsten till Europa), och skillnaderna mellan de vittnen vi läst torde också vara betydande — utan att det rubbar oss i föreställningen om att det är ett och samma textverk vi talar om.

En annan påtagligt ostadig muntlig texttyp — och i detta fall i verkligt bruk endast muntlig — är vandringsäggen. I sin jämförelse av olika varianter av i grunden samma vandringsägen utnyttjar Lisa och Robert Christensen (2001, s. 75 f.) de ryska formalisternas begreppspar *fabula* och *sjuzet* (ursprungligen uppställt av Viktor Sklovskij ([1925] 1966)). Det handlar enkelt uttryckt om det verkliga kronologiska händelseförloppet, *fabulan*, och hur någon sedan valt att framställa detta i en föreliggande berättelse. Tudelningen avser alltså företrädesvis textinnehållet — på djupet och (anordningen av det) på ytan.<sup>11</sup> När det gäller berättande textverk är det visserligen sannolikt att en samfällid *fabula* starkt bidrar till att vi uppfattar olika *sjuzet*-varierade textvittnen som samma verk (jämför med Rödluveexemplet). Likväl tar begreppsparen fasta på helt väsensskilda nivåer i texten; texter med samma *sjuzet* kan mycket väl vara olika textvittnen genom språkliga skillnader ända nere på stavnings- och böjningsnivå. Sedan skall det också eftertryckligt framhållas att den tredelade terminologi jag här föreslår i första hand är avsedd för texthistoriska och i viss mån intertextuella problem, inte för innehållsanalys. Den avser textvarianter som i filologisk mening hör genetiskt samman, det vill säga ytterst återgår på en och samma arketyper. Två av varandra oavhängigt tillkomna skildringar av en och samma verkliga händelse (med litet eller mycket olika *sjuzet*) utgår från samma *fabula* — men det föreligger entydigt två helt åtskilda textverk; de må dela samma innehåll, men språkligt-textuellt har de inget som helst med varandra att göra.

### Vilken text vill vi komma åt?

Inom den nya filologien (presenterad i Nichols 1990) har man som sagt givit den enskilda handskriften ett mycket större egenvärde, oberoende av dess möjliga arketyplighet. Man har velat undersöka handskrifter på deras egna villkor och försöka utröna sändar- och mottagarstrategier i anslutning härtill, på svensk nordistisk botten särskilt i Andersson 1993

<sup>11</sup> Inom sagoforskningen har för övrigt också en annan innehållsanalytiskt grundad indelning förekommit, nämligen i *sagotyper* (grundläggande tematiska motiv), ådagalagda i *sagoversioner*, som kan varieras i *sagovarianter* (beskrivet i Ehrenberg 2003, s. 56 f.).



och Carlquist 1996 och 2002. Därigenom intresserar man sig alltså för textverket sådant det tedde sig för samtida brukare, istället för — som inom äldre filologi — textverket sådant det ursprungligen bör ha sett ut. Forskningen har bland annat kommit att gälla skillnader mellan (mer eller mindre) samtida handskrifter och vad dessa skillnader har att säga om skriftmiljöer, tillverkningssyften och målgrupper. Den innebär en både rimlig och angelägen förskjutning av den länge förhärskande synvinkeln, den arketypinriktade ursprungs- eller upphovs-mannasynvinkeln. När varje handskrift behandlas i egen rätt, inställer sig istället en tidigare försummad brukarsynvinkel (visserligen jämte ett intresse för den enskilda handskriftens upphovsman).

Den textterminologi som utvecklats här är i sig neutral i förhållande till valet av filologisk infallsvinkel. Den tar inte ställning till om (det förkomna) arketyptextvittnet eller ett verkligen bevarat enskilt textvittne är det intressantaste föremålet för forskning. Likväl är själva grundpoängen med mitt terminologiska förslag den analogi med fonembegreppet som definierar textverket som i lika mån företrätt av vart och ett av sina textvittnen, alls inte bara det ursprungligaste. Därför är det ofrånkomligen väl ägnat att sätta just brukarsynvinkeln i brännpunkten. Det handlar då i första hand om en litet annan och allmänare brukarsynvinkel än nyfilologernas. Vid en inringning av textverket i hela dess variation är det ju nämligen inte fråga om bruket (och brukaren) av ett specifikt textvittne — utan fastmer om hur texten som abstraktion har tett sig för alla dess olika brukare (vid en viss tid). Sätillvida att jag urskiljer denna den översta rent abstrakta textnivån i min tredelning, ansluter jag kanhända snarare till den traditionella filologien än till den nya. Istället för de enskilda textvittnena är det, om man väljer att sätta textverket i fokus, återigen textskepnaden bakom dessa som hamnar i centrum. Skillnaden är bara den — i och för sig allt annat än oväsentliga — att det nu, istället för ett försök att rena fram en ursprunglig text, handlar om att abstrahera fram den för textbrukarna mest typiska. Det är textverket sådant de flesta textbrukarna är vana att möta det som ur en sådan synvinkel blir det mest intressanta. Mot den traditionella filologiens ursprungliga läsart ställs då den mest utbredda läsarten, också om denna skulle innehålla förvanskningar av den ursprungliga. Den intressantaste läsarten blir alltså i första hand den som flest textbrukare möter eller har mött. Är det textverket i bruk vi vill komma åt i fråga om till exempel en medeltida lagtext, blir därmed måhända inte de allra äldsta handskrifterna de mest betydelsefulla. Istället bör vi i första hand söka de läsarter som har mest utbrett

stöd inom texttraditionen (vid den tid vår undersökning gäller). Om vi går framåt i tiden till tryckta textverk, blir förstaupplagan på motsvarande sätt kanhända mindre intressant, försåvitt denna nämligen i upplagetal entydigt överflyglas av en senare, något omarbetad utgåva (vare sig denna verkställts av författaren eller någon annan<sup>12</sup>). Denna torde ju i så fall bättre svara mot de flesta textbrukarnas kännedom om textverket i fråga. Vi skulle därmed närma oss det slags historiska textsociologi som litteraturvetaren Johan Svedjedal (1991, s. 70) har efterlyst (och också själv bedrivit).

### Vilken text skall vi ge ut?

Vilket textideal en utgivare har är givetvis avhängigt av utgåvans syften. Med olika syften och inriktningar kan självklart helt olika textutgivningsmål komma i fråga och vara berättigade vart och ett för sig. För den språk- eller rättshistoriker som söker det språkligt och innehållsligt äldsta skiktet i en medeltida lagtradition eller för den litteraturvetare som söker författarens egen avsikt med ett verk bör förstas arketyper eller allra helst originalet<sup>13</sup> (eller kanhända "Ausgabe letzter Hand") vara det textvittne som utgåvan så långt möjligt tar fasta på.

Som ett specifikt exempel kan i detta sammanhang nämnas den pågående textkritiska utgivningen av August Strindbergs samlade verk. Bärande grundsats för detta utgivningsprojekt är just den ursprungliga författarintentionen, och textidealet är alltså författarens original (Dahlbäck 1991). Man har lagt ned mycken och noggrann forskarmöda på att hitta tillbaka till Strindbergs eget textvittne bakom de förläggarnas ibland förhandenvarande ändringar som författaren bara motvilligt, om alls, gått med på vid utgivningen; textutgåvorna beskrivs (på omslagsfliken) som "hela Strindbergs författarskap i oförvanskat skick".

<sup>12</sup> Kanske skulle man mot strävan efter den ursprungliga författarintentionen som alternativ — med ett större inslag av brukarsynvinkel — kunna ställa upp vad vi då kunde kalla *den sekundära författarintentionen*. I en tryckt, välspredd och välkänd text vore denna då sådan den ter sig med stöd i de verkligt föreliggande textvittnena, oberoende av om dessa genom någon textändring avviker från sin författares ursprungliga intention. Det blir helt enkelt fråga om intentionen hos författaren sådan denne kommit att framträda i de mest välspredda textvittnena istället för hos författaren som skapande konstnär.

<sup>13</sup> För handskrifter är arketyper den handskrift från vilken alla de andra leder sitt ursprung, och textkritiker sätter inte likhetstecken mellan denna och det egentliga originalet. Överfört till tryckt text skulle då arketyper, så länge senare upplagor bygger på de föregående, snarast svara mot det som brukar kallas sättningsförlagan, som mycket väl kan skilja sig från författarens eget original (se härom i det följande).

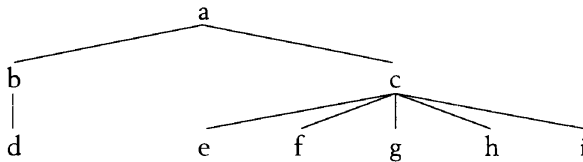
Detta leder till att man ibland upprättat en text som aldrig tidigare funnits i tryck, aldrig tidigare mött läsarna. Särskilt påfallande kan det bli i de mest kända verken, så till exempel på sina ställen i *Fröken Julie*, i vars text förläggaren av förstaupplagan, mot Strindbergs vilja, gjorde ett flertal ändringar. Utifrån originalmanuskriptet har rekonstruktioner gjorts i flera sentida utgåvor, och den nu aktuella nationalupplagans utgivare har med hjälp av infraröd belysning slutgiltigt lyckats särhålla Strindbergs och förläggarens ändringar i manuskriptet (Ollén 1984, s. 312 ff., och 1991). Genom detta tekniska framsteg har man således återställt Strindbergs ursprungliga ordalydelse, men därmed har man också valt ett för omvärlden hittills helt okänt textvittne av textverket *Fröken Julie*, ett rekonstruerat författaroriginal.

Också ett textverks reception(s)historia har — eller borde åtminstone ha — ett stort språkhistoriskt, rättshistoriskt eller litteraturhistoriskt intresse (eller vad annat slags historiskt intresse det vara må), och med en inriktning mot textverket i bruk blir då istället dess mest spridda utformning målet för en textutgåva. Den som till exempel vill studera Strindbergs påverkan på annan litteratur eller bruket av Strindbergcitat är förstas föga betjänt av en utgåva som rekonstruerat ett författarens originaltextvittne som aldrig nått allmänheten — lika litet som den som vill kartlägga Strindbergs själsliga eller stilistiska utveckling är betjänt av en förkortad och språkligt omarbetad skolupplaga (jfr med Svedjedal 1991, s. 62).

Arketypen som eftersträvat mål för en textutgåva är inom den nordiska filologiens verksamhetsfält — de medeltida handskrifterna — i många fall ett ouppnåeligt mål. Arketypen är som sådan inte en abstraktion; den återskapas med en uttalad föreställning om att den verkligen har funnits som ett ursprungligt textvittne. Och ibland kanske den ännu finns kvar. Den som arbetar med tryckt text kan ofta komma åt den genom förstaupplagan, men någon gång har ju också en ursprunglig handskrift bevarats. I de fall arketypen har försvunnit — och det är ändå det vanligaste för handskriftstraditioner — utgör den en konstruktion bara på grund av att källäget är som det är. Skulle vi däremot sätta upp textverket som mål för en textutgåva, vore detta per definition ett ouppnåeligt mål — om det inte skulle vara så att det bara finns och har funnits ett enda textvittne (och då skulle vi strängt taget också kunna kalla det en arketyputgåva!). Eljest är och förblir textverket en ren abstraktion utan egen förefintlighet, ej heller — väl att märka — lika med summan av textvittnena. Den bästa, mest prototypiska företrädaren (men ändå bara en företrädare, ett

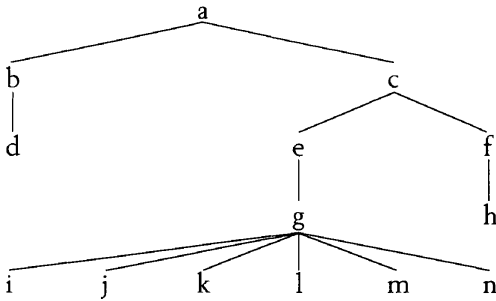
slags närmevärde) är inte arketypen (som sådan) utan istället det vanligaste, mest spridda och mest lästa textvittnet, *standardtextvittnet* eller *huvudtextvittnet* (som i och för sig ibland kan vara lika med arketypen). Det är detta huvudtextvittne som bör vara mest intressant för den textutgivare som ger försteg åt textverket för sin utgåva.<sup>14</sup> Ju mer förhärskande huvudtextvittnet varit i bruket av ett textverk, dess bättre återspeglar det givetvis verket. Ja, i det fall det varit fullständigt förhärskande (vid sidan av några andra nästan helt okända textvittnen) blir det rentav nästintill lika med själva textverket.

En förutsättning är förstås att det någorlunda entydigt framträder ett huvudtextvittne i texttraditionen. För ett tryckt textverk är det, som redan framhållits, rimligen den mest spridda upplagens textvittne, eller annorlunda uttryckt: det textvittne som förekommer i störst antal textbärare om vilka vi tror oss veta att de varit jämförelsevis mycket lästa. (Något huvudtextvittne är ju inte det som i och för sig förekommer i otaliga textbärare, men där alla dessa blivit kvarliggande på tryckeriet.) För ett endast handskrivet textverk torde huvudtextvittnet snarast vara ett företrädesgillt vittne av den textvittnestyp som omfattar störst antal textvittnen (och textbärare) om vilka vi tror oss veta att de varit jämförelsevis mycket lästa. Textvittnet i den handskrift som fått flest omedelbara avskrifter i en handskriftstradition bör därvidlag vara en mycket god kandidat, alltså handskrift c i ett tänkt stamträd av detta utseende:



<sup>14</sup> Den forskare som vill lägga denna synvinkel på en redan utgiven text kan få räkna med stora bekymmer, särskilt för ett handskriftsmaterial, eftersom förefintliga utgåvor gärna har arketypen som ideal (jfr med Carlquist 1996, s. 14). Huvudtextvittnet kan därmed finnas mycket väl dolt i notapparaten, om alls möjligt att utläsa. För tryckt text ställer sig saken oftast enklare; här gäller det vanligtvis bara att hitta fram till en lämplig mängdupplaga. Vi skulle med en (viss typ av) textverksinriktad utgåva också kunna åstadkomma det som litteraturvetaren Stina Hansson (1991, s. 219) framkastat som "en radikalare variant" av inriktningen på receptionsforskning, en utgåva som "kunde fokusera på mottagandet av en text vid en helt annan tid än då den tillkom".

I följande stamträd torde då istället textvittnet i handskrift g få ses som huvudtextvittne:



Givetvis beror denna bedömning också på hur avskriften förhåller sig till sin förlaga och till varandra. Finns det inbördes likheter mellan handskrifterna i–n som inte finns i g, får vi antaga ett nu förkommet mellanled mellan dem och g. I så fall bör istället en företrädesgill handskrift bland i–n ligga bäst till som huvudtextvittne.

För andra textverk, både tryckta och enbart handskrivna, kan det istället vara så att det finns ett antal spridningsmässigt jämbördiga textvittnen. Man kunde då som ett rent tankeförsök föreställa sig en textverksutgåva uppbyggd av ett hopplock från dessa på så sätt att man på varje punkt väljer den läsart som har störst spridning hos dessa textvittnen. Utgåvans text bleve då, liksom vissa arketyputgåvors, en ren konstruktion på grundval av flera textvittnen, en text som aldrig tidigare förelegat i verkligheten — alltså något helt annat än en utgåva av ett enda verkligt textvittne för dess egen skull, som den nya filologien förordar. Ett dylikt tilltag, att plocka samman ett slags textverkstillnärmning på ovan antytt sätt, ter sig givetvis som ett oting, hårresande spekulativt. När något liknande görs i arketypåterskapande syfte, kan det ändå hävdas att man försöker återskapa ett textvittne som man tror verkligen har funnits en gång i tiden. En motsvarande textverksskapelse avser däremot en text som aldrig funnits annat än möjligen på något slags obestämd överindividuell mental nivå. Och vad en sådan uppenbart spekulativ textskepnad skall kunna användas till kan man med all rätt undra! Däremot vill jag som en avrundande tankeutmaning framkasta möjligheten av en utgåva grundad på ett enda (väl valt) huvudtextvittne som man kunde tillåta sig att tillrättalägga på några enstaka (och i variantapparaten tydligt redovisade!) punkter där huvuddelen av dess efterföljare avviker till fördel för en mer

känd läsart — lika väl som när något motsvarande görs i en arketyp-återskapande utgåva. Om vi för ett ögonblick återvänder till det sista stamträdetsfallet ovan, kunde då en textverksinriktad utgåva ha handskrift g som bastext men ändra denna där alla dotterhandskrifterna avviker.

## Slutord

Textverksbegreppet kan säkert tyckas vara en pressad och långsökt analogi till det ytterligt funktionsdugliga och användbara fonem- (grafem- och så vidare) -begreppet, i och med att vi med tillämpningen på enskilda textverk helt och hållet rör oss på *parole*-sidan av språket och dessutom med specifika yttringar därav. Ändå menar jag att det har ett värde som teoretiskt redskap när vi behöver resonera kring ett mer eller mindre invecklat textläge, redan eftersom det enkla ordet *text* därvidlag är hopplöst mångtydigt. Den här föreslagna tredelningen i *textverk* (eller *textabstrakt*, om en text som överordnad abstraktion), *textvittne* (om en specifik uppenbarelseform av ett textverk) och *textbärare* (*typ*) (om ett textvittnes konkreta skepnad) kan därför ge nödig tankereda åt ett sådant resonemang. Det överordnade textverksbegreppets värde kan därutöver ligga i de ovan antydda praktiska följder som dess tillämpning skulle kunna få för hur vi ser på vilket textvittne som är mest intressant att undersöka eller för den delen kanhända att ge ut — om vi med textverket för ögonen tar fasta på textbrukarnas synvinkel i mer generell mening.

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# Litteraturkrönika 2005

Av Lars-Erik Edlund, Göran Hallberg och Christer Platzack

Krönikans avdelningar åtskiljs av asterisk. De är ämnesvis ordnade från allmänt till specifikt: allmänspråkligt (indoeuropeiska, (ur)germanska) \* skandinaviskt (ur-, fornnordiska) \* särspråkligt: fornvästnordiska, isländska, färöiska \* norska \* danska \* svenska \* egennamn: ortnamn, personnamn, övriga namn. Inom avdelningarna redovisas arbetena i alfabetisk följd. Artiklarna signeras L.-E.E., G.H. eller C.P.

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*Claudia Bornholdt, Engaging Moments. The Origins of Medieval Bridal-Quest Narrative. vi + 237 s., Berlin-New York 2005 (Walter de Gruyter). (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 46.) ISBN 3-11-018450-8.* Detta supplementband av Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde behandlar de medeltida germanska och nordiska berättelser där en "hjältes" sökande efter en brud utgör det bärande strukturella elementet (eng. *bridal-quest*, ty. *Brautwerbung*). Den tidigaste nedskrivna berättelsen på germanskt område återfinns i Gregorius' *Historia Francorum* (cirka 575-590) och är berättelsen om Attalus, och på nordiskt område möter berättelser av denna typ i den poetiska Eddan, i Snorres Edda och i Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*. Ett problem som tas upp i denna studie är huruvida de äldsta germanska berättelserna är utlöpare från andra traditioner, något som inte är ett nödvändigt antagande. Kanske kan de äldsta nedskrivna germanska berättelserna istället ha sin grund i muntlig tradition som baseras på verkliga händelser. Att uttala sig med någon större säkerhet i dessa avseenden går emellertid inte. Indelningen av berättelserna i en medeltida germansk typ och en medelhavstyp är svårt att upprätthålla, och det är nog också svårt att invändningsfritt plädera för att de skandinaviska berättelserna reflekterar ett äldre "utvecklingsstadium" av dessa berättelser. Klokt är konstaterandet i det resumerande kapitlet (s. 219) att "[t]he German bridal-quest epics must be understood as part of a mainly oral and partly written bridal-quest tradition that is

documented in Franconia [---]. It is quite possible that, in connection with the crusades and with the growing interest in the Orient, this narrative pattern was revived in the twelfth century to relate the adventures of a hero abroad". Många forskningsproblem behandlas i monografen, vilken också på ett intressant sätt belyser relationen mellan muntlig och skriftlig trädning. I denna del av undersökningen hänvisas bl.a. till artiklar av Hans Kuhn och Walter Haug som enligt författaren "allow for oral influence on the literary corpus and acknowledge a diverse non-linear oral and written transmission of literary works, stories, and tales" (s. 218 f.).

L.-E. E.

*Gerhard Rasch, Antike geographische Namen nördlich der Alpen. Mit einem Beitrag von Hermann Reichert: „Germanien in der Sicht des Ptolemaios“. Herausgegeben von Stefan Zimmer unter Mitwirkung von Hasso Heiland. xviii + 284 s. + 4 kartor, Berlin · New York 2005 (Walter de Gruyter). (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 47.) ISBN 13: 978-3-11-017832-6. ISBN 10: 3-11-017832-X.* Boken berör egentligen inte nordisk filologi, men den ger en intressant bakgrund till centraleuropeisk språk- och kulturhistoria speglad i det sköra och svårhanterliga ortnamnsstoff som kan vaskas fram ur antika källor. Huvuddelen är en publicering av Gerhard Raschs hittills otryckta doktorsavhandling från 1949, framlagd 1950. Rasch, som avled 1985, var elev till Hans Krahe, vilket i viss mån präglar arbetet. Originalets titel, "Die bei den antiken Autoren überlieferten geographischen Namen im Raum nördlich der Alpen vom linken Rheinufer bis zur pannonischen Grenze, ihre Bedeutung und sprachliche Herkunft", konkretiserar den geografiska ramen. Genom utgåvan får nu envar tillgång till det ur källorna framvaskade och av Rasch kommenterade materialet i tre avdelningar: 1. En alfabetisk förteckning över de aktuella ortnamnen inklusive beläggsredovisning. 2. Analyser av bebyggelsenamnens etymologier, namngivningsmotiv och språkliga ursprung, fördelat på avsnitten romerska, keltiska, germanska, "illyriska" och osäkra namn, vartill kommer särskilda avsnitt med till vattendragsnamn respektive folkslagsbenämningar bildade namn, ickeindoeuropeiska, fellokaliserade och osäkert belagda namn. Texten illustreras med utbredningskartor och avslutas med litteratur- respektive namnregister. — I bokens andra del, betitlad "Germanien in der kartographischen Sicht des Ptolemaios", redogör Hermann Reichert för geografen Ptolemaios främst på andrahandsuppgifter grundade kartografiska verksamhet i Alexandria vid slutet av det andra århundradet

e. Kr. Identifieringar av de belagda namnformernas faktiska namnbärare är ofta osäkra och ibland rentav omöjliga. Namnförrådet presenteras i två tabeller med Ptolemaios punktsystem samt på fyra kartbilagor.

G.H.

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*Lars-Olof Delsing och Katarina Lundin-Åkesson, Håller språket ihop Norden? En forskningsrapport om ungdomars förståelse av danska, svenska och norska. IX + 196 s., Köpenhamn 2005 (Nordiska ministerrådet). (Tema/Nord 2005:573.) ISBN 92-893-1221.* Med stöd av Nordiska kulturfonden genomfördes 2003-2004 en undersökning om grannspråksförståelse i Skandinavien, den första sedan Øivind Mauruds undersökning 1972. Inom projektets ram har ungdomar i hela Norden testats med avseende på hur väl de förstår talad och skriven danska, svenska och norska. I den här boken beskriver förf. hur undersökningen har genomförts, och resultaten presenteras bland annat mot bakgrund av ungdomarnas attityder till grannländerna och en jämförelse mellan språkförståelse hos två generationer. Bokens sista mening besvarar frågan i bokens titel: "Ja, språket håller ihop Norden, men inte lika bra som för trettio år sedan".

C.P.

*Grammar & Beyond. Essays in honour of Lars Hellan, red. Mila Vulchanova & Tor A. Åfarli. 195 s., Oslo 2005 (Novus). ISBN 10: 82-7099-406-5. ISBN 13: 978-7099-406-9.* Denna festskrift till Lars Hellan på hans 60-årsdag innehåller, förutom sedvanlig Tabula Gratulatoria och redaktörernas presentation av festföremålet, åtta artiklar på mellan 15 och 30 sidor som berör olika sidor av Hellans intressesfär. Bidragsgivarna är alla internationellt välkända lingvister, som Felix Ameka, Nana Aba Appiah Amfo, Torstein Fretheim, Guglielmo Cinque, Joseph Emonds, K. A. Jayaseelan, Christer Platzack, Henk van Rioemsdijk och Stephen Wechsler.

C.P.

*Literacy in Medieval and Early Modern Scandinavian Culture. Ed. Pernille Hermann. 355 s., Odense 2005 (Syddansk Universitetsforlag). (The Viking Collection. Studies in Northern civilization 16.) ISBN 87-7674-040-4. ISSN 0108-8408.* Literacy har uppmärksammats under de senaste decennierna, inte minst inom medeltidsforskningen. I april 2002 hölls vid universitetet i Aarhus en konferens i ämnet, och de föredrag som där hölls utgör stommen i denna volym. Syftet med boken

är att presentera ett brett spektrum studier om skandinavisk literacy för en internationell publik. Bland annat finns här en del för skandinaviska förhållanden speciella forskningsteman, nämligen studier som relaterar till runor och skaldedikter. Här presenteras undersökningar som rör literacy-förhållanden ända från cirka 500 fram till cirka 1600. Studier av "visual literacy" inkluderas. I bokens första sektion, som just heter "Literacy and Vision", finns en artikel av Michael Clanchy med titeln "An Icon of Literacy. The Depiction at Tuse of Jesus Going to School", och där lyfts inte minst kvinnornas betydelse som förmedlare av literacy fram. Bilder och texter på anglosaxiskt område behandlas av Leslie Webster. I den följande avdelningen, "Literacy, Orality and 'Runacy'", finns en lång artikel av Stefan Brink som ger en analys utifrån en omfattande empiri bestående av runor, isländska sagor och landskapslagar, och fokuserar på förhållanden i ett "Early Scandinavian Oral Society". Frågan om runstenarna verkligen manifesterar literacy uppehåller Terje Spurkland, och han föreslår i detta sammanhang en ny term för runliteracy, nämligen *runacy*. Runor står också i fokus i Jakob Povl Holcks artikel om dansk literacy till 1300. En grupp föredrag har samlats under rubriken "Literacy and Poetry" med bidrag av Karl G. Johansson ("On Orality and the *Verschriftlichung* of *Skírnismál*"), Judith Jesch ("Skaldic Verse, a Case of Literacy *Avant la Lettre?*") och Guðrún Nordal "Attraction of Opposites: Skaldic Verse in *Njáls Saga*"). Uppsatserna i denna avdelning ger mersmak. I en fjärde avdelning om literacy och kommunikation diskuterar Wolfert S. van Egmond hagiografen som källa till tidig medeltida literacy och Marco Mostert literacy som en aspekt av socialhistorien, där literacy på ett intressant sätt placeras i relation till andra former av kommunikation. Arned Nedkvitne diskuterar skandinavisk literacy under perioden 1000–1350 och visar därmed att den skandinaviska empirin verkligen har något att bidra med ur ett vidsträcktare medeltidshistoriskt perspektiv. Den sista avdelningen behandlar förhållanden under något senare tider. Klaus-J. Lorenzen-Schmidt skriver här om senmedeltida och tidigmodern literacy i Schleswig-Holstein med tidig literacy i bondesamhället, och Charlotte Appel behandlar literacy i 1600-talets Danmark. Boken har samlat viktiga uppsatser om medeltida och tidigmodern skandinavisk literacy, och utgör därför en självklar utgångspunkt för fortsatt forskning på detta område.

L.-E. E.

*Marit Julien, Nominal Phrases from a Scandinavian Perspective. xv + 348 s., Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2005 (John Benjamins). (Linguistik Aktuell/*

*Linguistics Today* 87.) ISBN 90-272-3351-9. De skandinaviska språkens nominalfraser visar en förbluffande hög grad av syntaktisk och morfologisk variation, både mellan språken och mellan de enskilda språkens olika dialekter. De utgör därför ett intressant forskningsområde för syntaktiker som vill förstå inom vilka ramar språk kan variera. I den här monografin presenterar förf. en omfattande analys av dessa nominalfraser. Efter en inledande diskussion av nominalfrasernas syntaktiska struktur ägnas ett kapitel åt definithet, där bl.a. den dubbla definitheten uppmärksammas. Den här presenterade analysen appliceras sedan på determinerare, relativsatser, demonstrativer och starka kvantifierare. Monografins andra del är centrerad runt olika sätt att uttrycka ägande. Postnominala och prenominala possessorer får var sitt kapitel. I bokens två avslutande kapitel behandlas först predikativt använda nominal under jämförelse med argumentellt använda, och slutligen ger förf. några utblickar mot andra språks nominalfraser. Boken avslutas med ett ämnesregister och ett register över de 79 språk och dialekter som tas upp i boken. Juliens bok är ett välkommet och intressant bidrag till debatten om hur nominalfrasens struktur och dess syntaktiska och morfologiska variation ska förstås i ljuset av modern syntaxforskning. På köpet ger monografin oss en inblick i hur en specifik del av syntaxen kan variera inom ett förhållandevis begränsat geografiskt område.

C.P.

*Læsemåder. Udgavetyper og målgrupper. Bidrag til en konference afholdt af Nordisk Netværk for Editionsfilologer 10.–12. oktober 2003. Red. af Per Dahl, Johnny Kondrup & Karsten Kynde. 260 s., København 2005 (C. A. Reitzels Forlag). (Nordisk Netværk for Editionsfilologer. Skrifter 6.) ISBN 87-7876-447-5. ISSN 1601-1562.* Denna volym innehåller bidrag som framlades vid en konferens, arrangerad av "Nordisk Netværk for Editionsfilologer" 2003. Temat var "udgavetyper og målgrupper", och åtta bidrag har samlats i denna bok. Tone Modalslis inledande översikt redovisar olika typer av utgåvor och är en värdefull genomgång som inte minst riktar uppmärksamheten mot frågan vilken målgrupp en viss utgåva har. En kritisk granskning av *tysk editionsteori* presenteras av Paula Henrikson. Hennes uppsats utmynnar i ett ställningstagande där utgivningsverksamheten knyts till en hermeneutik som bl.a. reflekterar sina målgrupper. Torill Steinfeld skriver om skolutgåvor. Anne Mette Hansen tar sig an "Faksimileudgaver og diplomatriske udgaver", medan Alois Pichler och Odd Einar Haugen i sitt bidrag "Fra kombinerte udgaver til dynamisk utgivelse" redovisar erfarenheter av

det editionsfilologiska arbetet med att ge ut Ludwig Wittgensteins filosofiska skrifter respektive nordiska medeltidstexter. Bidraget formar sig till ett spännande vetenskapligt möte mellan forskare som arbetar med i varje fall ytligt sett mycket olika material. I övrigt finns i volymen Christian Janss' redogörelse för arbetet med att göra Friedrich Hölderlins verk tillgängliga och Klaus Bohnens artikel om utgivningen i serien *Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker*. Under rubriken "Editionsfilologins potentialer" argumenterar Mats Malm framgångsrikt för att 1600- och 1700-talets utgåvor och översättningar av Snorres Edda haft betydelse för etableringen av nya poetiska former. "Vad som växte ur den vetenskapliga utgivningen var dels romantikens metod att översätta troget mot originalet i stället för att stöpa om det. Dels var det också romantikens vidgade repertoar, där den fria versen och prosadikten blev etablerade versformer" (s. 43). Även om den nordiska utgivningen självfallet inte var den *enda* förklaringen till dessa estetiska landvinningar, var "den nordiska verksamheten [...] en betydelsefull del i en betydelsefull process" (s. 43). Volymen avslutas med ett ambitiöst begreppsregister, vilket baseras på de danska termerna, men som även tar upp termer på andra språk (svenska, norska, tyska, engelska) då dessa avsevärt avviker från dansk terminologi.

L.-E. E.

*Ordenes slotte. Om sprog og litteratur i Norden. Hyldest til Vigdís Finnbogadóttir, Íslands præsident 1980-1996, red. Audur Hauksdóttir, Jørn Lund, Erik Skyum-Nielsen. 207 s., Haslev 2005 (Stofnun Vigdísar Finnbogadóttur i erlendum tungumálum). ISBN 87-990710-0-2.* Vigdís Finnbogadóttir tillägnades denna festskrift på sin 75-årsdag den 15 april 2005. Festskriften är nordisk, med 19 bidrag på danska, norska och svenska. Därtill kommer ett foto av festföremålet, en Tabula gratulatoria, och en artikel av Vigdis själv med titeln "Nordens sprog — kulturelle værdier".

C.P.

*Papers on Scandinavian and Germanic Language and Culture. Published in Honour of Michael Barnes on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday 28 June 2005, red. H. F. Nielsen. 273 s., Odense 2005 (University Press of Southern Denmark). (Nowele 46/47.) ISBN 87-7674-037-4. ISSN 0108-8416.* Denna festskrift till den brittiske skandinavisten Michael Barnes på hans 65-årsdag innehåller 19 vetenskapliga bidrag, en inledande presentation av festföremålet och en Tabula Gratulatoria. Bland författarna märks flera av de idag ledande skandinavistiska forskarna, som Kurt Braunnmüller, Lars-Erik Edlund, Jan-Terje Faarlund, Peter Foote, Jan Rag-

nar Hagland, Odd Einar Haugen, Anatoly Liberman, Helge Sandøy, Karin Fjellhammer Seim och Eivind Weyhe. Bidragen, som ganska väl speglar festföremålets egna vetenskapliga intressen, tar bl.a. upp frågor rörande syntax, morfologi och ordbildning. Det finns också bidrag som belyser ortnamn och runologiska frågor. C.P.

*Semiotics from the North. Nordic approaches to systemic functional linguistics, red. Kjell Lars Berge, Eva Maagerø. 264 s., Oslo 2005 (Novus). ISBN 10: 82-7099-418-9. ISBN 13: 978-82-7099-418-2.* Denna bok kan ses som en skandinavisk hyllning till Michael A. K. Halliday, vars undervisning och forskning har inspirerat en mängd lingvister världen över. Boken innehåller 16 bidrag av danska, norska och svenska forskare, som alla, trots delvis olika bakgrund, på ett eller annat sätt tar sin utgångspunkt i Hallidays arbeten. Bidragen, som är speciellt skrivna för denna bok, spänner över ett vitt ämnesområde. Här finns diskussioner av olika grammatiska frågor, artiklar om barns språkliga utveckling och analyser av olika slags texter ur skolans och samhällets perspektiv. Samtliga bidrag är skrivna med den systemiska funktionella lingvistik som bas. Volymen ger en god överblick över den forskning som bedrivs i Skandinavien inom detta område. C.P.

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*A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture. Edited by Rory McTurk. xiii + 567 s., Malden 'Oxford' Carlton 2005 (Blackwell Publishing). (Blackwell companions to literature and culture 31.) ISBN 0-631-23502-7.* Companion-seriens nr 31 innehåller förutom en inledande författarpresentation och redaktörens trevligt essäistiska introduktion hela 29 bidrag skrivna av 32 internationellt kända forskare främst från Island, England och Nordamerika, men även från Norge, Danmark, Sverige, Tyskland och Schweiz. Huvudsakligen rör det sig om litteraturvetenskapliga aspekter, vartill kommer några bidrag med mera historievetenskaplig eller filologisk inriktning, medan arkeologi, etnologi och religionsvetenskap representeras av vardera en författare. Ett utförligt person- och sakregister avslutar denna allsidiga och tilltalande fornvästnordiska kulturhistoria med den oskattbara litteraturens texter i centrum. Allsidigheten realiseras för läsaren inte minst genom det att redaktören medvetet presenterar innehållet alfabetiskt enligt bidragens för ändamålet något manipulerade titlar (från *Archaeology of ...* till *Women in ...*). Förfarandet kompletteras med de kors-

hänvisningar efter varje bidrag, som leder till närbesläktat material i övriga bidrag. G.H.

*Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana a Jón Helgason condita. Vol. XLIV. Opuscula Vol. XII. Redaktör Britta Olrik Frederiksen. [vii]+ 459 s. + 36 planscher, København 2005 (C.A. Reitzels forlag). ISBN 87-7876-451-3.* Denna del i serien innehåller en rad kommentarer till tidigare publicerade texter respektive kommenterade utgåvor av några smärre handskrifter i anslutning till Den Arnamagnæanske Samling. Till de förra hör en svit texthistoriska bidrag kring Egilssagan, författade av Jón Helgason, Alex Speed Kjeldsen och Michael Chestnutt, vidare Rolf Stavnems analys av det poetiska språket i Ynglingatal, med dödsmetaforiken i blickpunkten. Grethe Jacobsen skriver om keltiska element bland islänningar och om kvinnornas ställning. Jonna Louis-Jensen meddelar dels en konjektur till Grettisfoersla, dels en Sankt Olofs-tolkning i en marginalnotis på 1560-talet av Helvig Hardenberg, maka till kungens ståthållare på Bergenshus. Michael Chesnutt kommenterar dels den latinska texten i ett löst breviareblad, dels isländskt inflytande på färöisk balladtradition, medan Jóhannes B. Sigtryggsson tar sig an ett nytt manuskript till Mírmanns Saga, och Tove Hovn Ohlsson brottstyckena av äldre texter i sex pappersstrimlor som utgjort ryggförstärkning i ett bokband. Jens Eike Schnall redovisar ett forskningsprojekt om traditionerna kring s.k. olycksdagar, speglade i senmedeltida nordeuropeiska handskrifter. Finn Hansen undersöker bruket av kontakt- respektive distansställda *þvi*, *af þvi*, *fyrir þvi* och *med þvi* i komplexa kausalssubjunktioner i norrönt språk. Redaktören, Britta Olrik Frederiksen, tillrättalägger innebörden av en till Arne Magnusson attribuerad handskriftsnotis, varpå Jonna Louis Jensen skriver en kort notis om adjektivet *ielda* 'antänd i begränsad omfattning' och Jóhan Hendrik W. Poulsen likaså om en redan på 1960-talet konstaterad felläsning *um vetrar meginbyri* 'under vinterns stormar', som skall läsas *unz vetrarmegin þyrri* 'tills vinterstormen bedarrat'. Avslutningsvis följer en handskriftsförteckning, ett kombinerat person- och sakregister och 36 fotografiska handskriftsplanscher, varav tio i färg. G.H.

*Patricia Pires Boulhosa, Icelanders and the Kings of Norway. Mediaeval Sagas and Legal Texts. xv + 256 s., Leiden-Boston 2005 (Brill). (The Northern World. North Europe and the Baltic c. 400–1700 AD. Peoples, Economies and Cultures 17.) ISBN 90-04-14516-8. ISSN 1569-1462.* Författaren till denna väldokumenterade monografi — litteraturlistan omfattar



mer än femton tättryckta sidor, och noterna är många och innehållsrika — är Ph.D. i "Mediaeval Icelandic Literature and History" från Cambridge. Här griper hon sig an en analys av relationen mellan den norska kronan och islänningarna, och hur relationen beskrivs i olika källor från de första århundradena av den nordiska medeltiden. Analysen av lagtexterna visar att islänningarna inte var så oberoende av den norska kronan på 1200-talet som man ibland förstår sig, och vi ser att de norska kungarna hade administrativ och rättslig makt på Island. I själva verket är det fråga om "a continuous process of negotiation" parterna emellan. Såsom viktigt ser jag det första kapitlet som på ett intresseväckande sätt diskuterar de medeltida isländska sagornas källvärde. Bl.a. argumenterar författaren för att det närmast är anakronistiskt att upprätthålla distinktionen mellan historia och fiktion då det gäller de aktuella medeltida texterna. "They are complex social products of a manuscript culture, not merely the works of a single individual", framhålls resumerande (s. 210). Kap. 2 och 3 behandlar bl.a. *Ólafslög* och *Gizurarsáttmáli* och *Gamli sáttmáli*, de senare överenskommelser som slöts mellan islänningarna och den norska kungen på 1260-talet. Intressanta resonemang om dessa källor förs, resonemang som här av utrymmesskäl inte kan återges. I sista kapitlet behandlas bokens huvudtema genom en granskning av *Möðruvallabók*. Detta är, visar det sig, ett gott metodiskt grepp. Författaren citerar påpassligt Már Jónsson som i en principiellt viktig uppsats (2000) framhållit "we have an abundance of excellent orthographic, palaeographic and morphological descriptions of single manuscripts, more or less from a linguistic point of view and the goal is always to illuminate some aspect of the text and transmission. An overview of the knowledge provided by these studies is badly needed, but there is an even greater need to supplement them with research on the manuscripts as such from a historical point of view, concentrating on the concepts inherent in the work of the persons involved in making, preparing, writing and illuminating them" (s. 211). Detta kan ge intressanta perspektiv på medeltida texter. L.-E. E.

*Klaus Bödl, Eigi einhamr. Beiträge zum Weltbild der Eyrbyggja und anderer Isländersagas. IX + 306 s., Berlin-New York 2005 (Walter de Gruyter). (Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 48.) ISBN 3-11-018582-2.* I denna undersökning står *Eyrbyggja saga* i centrum, även om också andra islänningasagor på många ställen dras in i resonemangen. Efter ett inledande kapitel som behandlar Eyrbyggja sagas struktur, källor och den omdiskuterade författarfrågan, följer ett

mycket omfattande kapitel (s. 27–85) som anlägger viktiga antropologiska och historiska perspektiv på sagorna. Denna översikt har stort värde. *Eyrbyggja sagas* världsbild blir föremål för en mångsidig behandling i kap. 3, och i det följande kapitlet behandlas ur skilda aspekter den beskrivning av landnamet som ges av sagan och andra medeltida källor. Här belyses exempelvis namngivningens roll i landnamet, för att nu bara nämna en aspekt. I det sista kapitlet diskuteras frågor som hänför sig till offer och andra "religiösa" motiv i den norröna traditionen. Det intressanta med Böldls studie är att frågor om sagornas eventuella historiska "kärna" samt om sagorna som källor till den religionshistoriska forskningen, återigen lyfts fram. Beträffande detta senare sägs att "Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit ist es nicht zuletzt aufzuzeigen, daß religiöse Motive nur an ihrem Ort im Erzählkosmos erkannt und verstanden werden können" (s. 257). I bokens resumerande avslutning diskuteras två för författaren centrala områden, landnamet och människooffret. Dessa avsnitt ger mersmak.

L.-E. E.

*Herzort Island. Aufsätze zur isländischen Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte. Zum 65. Geburtstag von Gert Kreutzer. Mit Fotografien von Horst Schmeck. Herausgegeben von Thomas Seiler. 422 s., Köln (Seltmann+Söhne). ISBN 3-934687-28-8.* Professor Gert Kreutzer vid Institut für Nordische Philologie mit Finnischer Abteilung an der Universität zu Köln fyllde 65 år den 5 augusti 2005 och emeriterades strax därefter. Som framgår av titeln behandlar de 22 festskriftsbidragen centrala arbetsfält för jubilarer. Till bidragen hör både essäistik och strikt vetenskaplig analys, från kortare artiklar, t.ex. kring ett hapaxords etymon (*eyjarepli*), till längre utredningar, såsom analysen av Steinunn Sigurðardóttirs roman *Hjartastadur* ('Herzort' Island), om den yttre och inre resan. Inledningsvis finns jubilarerens porträtt, tabula gratulatoria, förord och Sigurðardóttirs fina hyllningsdikt på fri vers, *Einu-Sinni-Var Landið* 'Det-var-en-gång-landet', inklusive tysk översättning. Sedan följer uppsatserna, fördelade på tre sektioner: fornnordistik, isländsk kultur-, litteratur- och språkhistoria samt litteratur- och kulturvetenskap. Boken illustreras med ett drygt tiotal fristående isländska landskapsvyer i svartvitt och omslagsbilden i färg (fotograf: Horst Schmeck). Den avslutas med en författarpresentation och en bibliografi över jubilarerens skrifter.

G.H.

*Íslensk tunga, 1. bindi, Kristján Árnason, Hljóð. Handbók um hljóðfræði og hljóðkerfisfræði. Meðhöfundur: Jörgen Pin. XIX + 554 s. II. bindi,*

*Guðrún Kvaran, Orð. Handbók um beygingar- og orðmyndunarfræði. xvii + 469 s. III. bindi, Höskuldur Þráinsson, Setningar. Handbók um setningafræði. Meðhöfundar: Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson, Jóhannes Gíslí Jónsson, Sigríður Magnúsdóttir, Sigríður Sigurjónsdóttir og Þórunn Blöndal. xix + 732 s. Reykjavík 2005 (Almennna Bókafélagið). ISBN 9979-2-1901-7, 9979-2-1902-5, 9979-2-1903-3. Íslensk tunga I–III: ISBN 9979-2-1900-9. Efter Norsk Referansegrammatikk 1997, Svenska Akademiens grammatik 1999 och Faroese. An Overview and Reference Grammar 2004 har nu också isländskan fått en modern utförlig grammatik. Till skillnad från den norska och svenska grammatiken innehåller den isländska förutom morfologi och syntax också en utförlig beskrivning av ljudsystemet.*

C.P

*Margrét Eggertsdóttir, Barokkmeistarinn. List og lærdómur í verkum Hallgríms Péturssonar. vi + 474 s., Reykjavík 2005 (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar). (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, rit 63.) ISBN 9979-54-663-8. Diktningen på Island under renässans- och barocktid står i centrum i denna presentation av prästen och skalden Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–1674). Innan förf. går igenom Hallgríms verk tecknar hon som bakgrund en bild av Islands samhälle och kultur efter 1500, där hon bl.a. porträtterar Hallgríms litterära föregångare Magnús Ólafsson í Laufási (1573–1636) och Stefan Ólafsson í Vallnesi (1618/19–1688); vi får också en översikt över tysk och skandinavisk forskning runt barocken. Efter ett kapitel där förf. placerar in Hallgrímur Pétursson i det dåtida isländska samhället gör hon en översikt av hans verk och presenterar sedan hans diktning efter genre. Boken avslutas med en fyllig engelsk summary, samt register över namn, handskrifter och bilder.*

C.P.

*John McKinnell, Meeting the Other in Norse Myth and Legend. ix + 291 s., Cambridge 2005 (D. S. Brewer). ISBN 1-84384-042-1. I den fornnordiska litteraturen finns en mängd exempel på berättelser där förbindelser mellan gudar eller män å ena sidan och exempelvis jättinnor och sieskor å den andra beskrivs, det som i denna monografi karakteriseras som "cross-gender encounter". Här redovisas i kap. 4–14 en mängd konkreta exempel på detta. En gud eller konung kunde konsultera en fientligt sinnad spåkvinna, en man kunde ha en förbindelse med en jättinna som föder honom en son etc. Det är i många av dessa berättelser helt uppenbart att gudarna och männen representerar den rationella världen, medan jättinnorna står för det kaotiska och irrationella i tillvaron. De texter där dessa berättelser möter oss är säkerligen nedtecknade av*

kristna skribenter, vilka knappast haft något intresse av att med berättelsernas hjälp vidmakthålla hedniska mönster. Texterna måste därför ha fyllt andra funktioner. En psykologisk läsning av texterna kan göras, liksom fältet ligger öppet för sociala förklaringar av berättelserna. De tjänar, menar författaren, som mönster "to function as open-ended investigations of human problems". Vidare framhålls: "Myth is about problems and contradictions, and it has no 'right answers'; often, it does not even have any 'right' questions, and the problems it seemed to address may have varied from one hearer to another" (s. 234). De inledande kapitlen behandlar metoder och källor, och tjänar som värdefulla utgångspunkter för studiet av dessa myter. En drygt tjugo sidor lång bibliografi och ett innehållsrikt namn- och termregister avslutar boken, som på en del ställen har ett mycket personligt tilltal. L.-E. E.

*Margaret Clunies Ross, A History of Old Norse Poetry and Poetics. x + 283 s., Cambridge 2005 (D. S. Brewer). ISBN 1-84384-034-0.* Med denna bok har vi fått en utmärkt introduktion till den fornnordiska poesin och en beskrivning av dess litterära, kulturella och historiska kontext från mitten av 1100-talet fram till 1300-talet, liksom en initierad översikt över den behandling som redan i samtiden gavs av poesins terminologi, genrer, subgenrer etc. Efter att inledningsvis ha presenterat "Eddic-Type Poetry", "Skaldic-Style Poetry" samt de metriska runinskrifterna, går författaren över till att behandla den inhemska fornnordiska typologin med avseende på terminologi och genrer, och behandlar dessutom i ett särskilt kapitel "Old Norse Poetic Aesthetics". Kristendomens påverkan på den fornnordiska poesin behandlas i ett annat kapitel. Därefter dryftas i de kapitel som nog är de mest givande (kap. 7–11) poesin i relation till den "grammatiska" litteratur som framläggs på Island under medeltidens lopp, vilken i olika mått behandlar ortografi, fonologi, retorik och metrik och visar främmande inflytande, "but also have independent value" (s.150). Här behandlas förutom de tidigaste grammatiska arbetena, Snorres Edda och de tredje och fjärde grammatiska avhandlingarna. Genom hela Clunies Ross' monografi understryks den kulturella och litterära kontext där poesin skapas med inhemska handböcker som produceras på Island, handböcker som skapas av praktiserande poeter "thereby confirming the status of their native poetry not only to themselves but in comparison with the rhetorical and grammatical tradition of medieval European Latinity" (s. 233). I det konkluderande kapitlets sista mening fastslås behovet av att "the Old Icelandic grammatical literature needs to be made more

accessible to scholars of medieval European poetics and grammatical rhetoric generally, so that the undoubted importance of this corpus of texts may be recognised more widely" (s. 235). Clunies Ross' monografi redovisar forskningsläget och målar dessutom upp intressanta utmaningar för dem som vill forska vidare på detta spännande område.

L.-E. E.

*Elizabeth Ashman Rowe, The Development of Flateyrbók. Iceland and the Norwegian Dynastic Crisis of 1389. 486 s., 2005 Odense (The University Press of Southern Denmark). (The Viking Collection. Studies in Northern civilization 15.) ISBN 87-7838-927-5. ISSN 0108-8408.* Denna inträngande studie av *Flateyrbók* är ett litteraturvetenskapligt och textfilologiskt arbete som beskriver själva handskriften, inplacerar den i samtidens historiska och litterära miljö, och följer den fram till nutid. Det huvudsakliga syftet är att undersöka det redaktionella projekt som bedrevs av handskriftens två kompilatorer, prästerna Jón Þórðarson 1387–88 och Magnús Þórhallsson, som 1388 övertog och fullföljde uppdraget. Jón kopierade *Eiriks saga víðförla*, *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* och nästan hela *Ólafs saga helga*, och interfolierade texterna med ett stort antal andra textavsnitt. Magnús infogade i Jóns texter ett förord och en rad smärre dikter och berättelser, och tillade sedan kopior av *Noregs konungatal*, *Sverris saga*, *Hákonar saga gamla*, med ytterligare i texten infogade excerpter och berättelser. Han illuminerade och rubriksatte också texten, som under 1400-talets slut utvidgades med *Magnúss saga góða ok Haralds hardráða*, interfolierad med elva smärre berättelser. Huvudsakligen beskrivs alltså de norska regenternas tid 850–1263. Författaren visar hur de båda kompilatorernas verk trots handskriftens till synes motsägelserfulla innehåll ändå kan ses som ett målmedvetet och enhetligt inlägg i en turbulent samtid, som skulle innebära slutet på isländsk självständighet med direkt individkontakt med den norska kungamakten och början på 400 års dansk suveränitet. I appendix listas alla texttillägg, schematiskt illustrerade. Boken avslutas med 16 valda färgreproduktioner av handskriftssidor, samt källförteckning och register.

G.H.

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*Den kirkehistoriske utfordring, red. Steinar Imsen. 199 s., Trondheim (Tapir akademisk forlag). (Senter for middelalderstudier, Skrifter nr. 19.) ISBN: 82-519-2009-4. ISBN 13: 978-82-519-2009-4. ISSN 0807-4798.* Det

starka betonandet inom norsk historieforskning fram till 1970-talet av att den nationella utvecklingen i Norge under medeltiden huvudsakligen borde förstås som en inhemsk företeelse har gjort det svårt att skriva medeltidens norska kyrkohistoria, särskilt i beaktande av att den medeltida kyrkan på en gång var både nationell och internationell. Detta har lett till att norska historiker undvikit att befatta sig med religion och andligt liv i medeltidens Norge. Det föll sig därför naturligt att ägna det första nationella medeltidssymposiet 2004 åt kyrkohistoriska frågor. I den här volymen presenteras de elva föredragen från mötet. Av dessa har särskilt Jan Ragnar Haglands bidrag "Kyrkja og den folkespråklege skriftkulturen" särskilt språkvetenskapligt intresse.

C.P.

*Jan Ragnar Hagland, Literacy i norsk seinmellomalder. 117 s., Oslo 2005 (Novus). ISBN 10: 82-7099-424-3. ISBN 13: 978-82-7099-424-3.* Senmedeltiden, perioden mellan digerdöden och början av 1500-talet, har allmänt ansetts vara en nedgångsperiod i norsk historia. Detta gäller också skriftkulturen, eftersom antalet läs- och skrivkunniga antas ha minskat under denna tid. I den här boken vill förf. syna detta antagande genom att undersöka om den språkform vi finner i olika dokument kan säga något om vilken ställning skriftspråket hade i Norge i tiden efter 1300-talets mitt. Genom att undersöka de skriftliga källorna från denna tid kan förf. påvisa att det knappast kan sägas vara riktigt att den utveckling mot ett samhälle grundat på skriftlig kommunikation som hade påbörjats skulle ha brutits i och med digerdöden. Litterariseringprocessen verkar ha fortskridit också i Norge, trots avsaknaden av centrala riksskapande institutioner.

C.P.

*Mot rikare mål å trå. Festskrift til Tove Bull, red. Gulbrand Alhaug, Endre Mørck, Aud-Kirsti Pedersen. XIII + 361 s., Oslo 2005 (Novus). ISBN 10: 82-7099-422-7. ISBN 13: 978-82-7099-422-7.* Denna festskrift till Tove Bull på hennes 60-årsdag innehåller 27 bidrag av forskare från Norge och från andra länder; därtill kommer biografiska uppgifter om festföremålet, en Tabula Gratulatoria och en förteckning över hennes vetenskapliga arbeten. Bidragen är sorterade under följande rubriker: Ämneshistoria, Språklig ideologi, Språknormering och språkplanering, Samiska språkförhållanden, Språkliga minoriteter, Engelskspråklig påverkan, Språklig variation och flerspråkighet, Språk och kön och Språket i bruk. Grovt sett speglar dessa rubriker Tove Bulls vetenskapliga intressen.

C.P.

*Shamanhood — an endangered language*. Ed. Juha Pentikäinen and Péter Simoncsics. 251 s., Oslo 2005 (Novus Forlag). (The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. Serie B: Skrifter 117.) ISBN 10: 82-7099-391-3. ISBN 13: 978-82-7099-391-8. Shamanismen som begrepp skapades under påverkan av en kristen världsbild, men ses inom de nordliga (cirkumpolära och subarktiska) områden, där vi möter företeelsen, inte som en religion i västerländsk mening. Studiet av shamanismen sätter sökljuset också på den muntliga kunskap som inbegriper ett helt begreppssystem, folklöre, mytologi och musik. I denna bok återfinns sjutton uppsatser, jämte en "Introduction" signerad Juha Pentikäinen och Péter Simoncsics, vilka belyser shamanismen i olika miljöer. Man blir av studierna varse den betydelse som de geografiska kontexterna haft för shamanismen. För vårt vidkommande är de lingvistiska perspektiven mest intressanta. Dessa belyses i flera uppsatser, bl.a. i Juha Janhunens artikel om lingvistiska perspektiv på den eurasiatiska shamanen, som visar den betydelse språket har för rekonstruktionen och dateringen av shamanismen men också för att shamanismen skall kunna överleva. Hit hör även Tapani Salminens uppsats "Religious Terminology in Forest Nenets and Tundra Nenets". I den senare uppsatsen behandlas bl.a. tabuföreställningar. I Risto Pulkkinens bidrag möter vi skogsfinnarna. Vetenskapshistoriskt intresse har Juha Pentikäinens uppsats "Northern Ethnography — Research on the Forgotten Paradigm in Fieldwork on Shamanhood", vilken redovisar viktiga antropologiska studier bland de finsk-ugriska folken bedrivna av M. A. Castrén och Lars Levi Læstadius långt innan antropologiska fältpionjärer som Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski och A. R. Radcliffe-Brown var verkamma. Detta är ett tankeväckande bidrag. L.-E. E.

*Hilde Sollid, Språkdannelse og -stabilisering i møtet mellom kvensk og norsk*. xv + 302 s., Oslo 2005 (Novus Forlag). (Tromsø-studier i språkvitenskap 24.) ISBN 10: 82-7099-410-3. ISBN 13: 978-82-7099-410-6. Mot bakgrund i teorier om kreolspråk och språkinläring studerar Hilde Sollid i denna monografi, som baseras på hennes doktorsavhandling, uppkomsten och utvecklingen av den nya norska dialekten i Sappen i nordnorska Nordreisa. Nordreisa har varit mötesplatsen för tre språk, finska (kvensk), norska och samiska, men här studeras några syntaktiska drag som uppstått när finsktalande lärde sig norska som andraspråk. (Det får i det här sammanhanget noteras att den härledning av inbyggjarbenämningen *kven* som återges tyvärr knappast träffar rätt.) Det språkliga materialet har insamlats genom en frågelista, som efter-

frågat fyra valda drag i syntaxen, samt uppföljningsintervjuer bestående av strukturerade samtal med ett urval informanter. Den första avdelningen gör reda för den tidigare forskningen om nordiska, särskilt norska, språkkontaktdialekter, Sappen som språksamhälle och det teoretiska ramverk inom vilket författaren arbetar. Vidare redogör författaren här för dialektsyntax samt för vissa metodologiska problem som rör användningen av frågelistor. Den nya norska dialekten studeras både i vad som kallas "dannelsesfasen" och under "stabiliseringsfasen". Genom stabiliseringsprocessen utjämnas en del av den variation som finns under den första fasen. Allteftersom blir norskan mer central i Sappen, detta genom skolan eller genom att allt fler norsktalande bosätter sig i bygden. Transferdrag försvinner under stabiliseringsfasen, och sådana drag etableras inte som en del av språkbrukarnas "internaliserade grammatikk. Til tross for dette er transfertrekk kjent i de språklige omgivelsene, for eksempel gjennom en bestemor eller en onkel, og yngre informanter kan derfor vurdere dialektsetningene positivt selv om de ikke selv nødvendigvis bruker setningene" (s. 274). Studien har inte minst metodologiskt intresse. L.-E. E.

*Kjell Venås, Sigurd Kolsrud. 325 s., Oslo 2005 (Novus forlag). ISBN 10: 82-7099-421-9. ISBN 13: 978-82-7099-421-2.* Författaren, professor i nordisk språkvitenskap i Oslo 1972–97, har tidigare biograferat Ivar Aasen (1996), Marius Hægstad (1992), Gustav Indrebø (1984) och Olav Beito (2004). Här föreligger nu en allsidig, inträngande och mycket läsvärd biografi över en annan välkänd företrädare, Sigurd Kolsrud (1888–1957), som i hela 35 år (1923–57) innehade lärostolen i Oslo efter Marius Hægstad och efterträddes av Olav Beito. Biografins kapitelrubriker speglar mannens liv och verk: "Vokstertid" (fram till professorsutnämningen), "Formidlare og målmann" (bl.a. som flitig medarbetare i nynorskans språkrör *Den 17de Mai*), "Rettskrivingsnorma" (Kolsrud var bl.a. engagerad i Noregs Mållag och Norsk språknemnd), "Innføring i språkvitenskap" (fr.a. om arbetena *Maal og maalgransking* 1922, *Norsk ljoskrift* 1950 och *Nynorsken i sine målføre* 1951), *Norsk Målførearkiv* (Kolsruds avgörande insatser för arkivets tillkomst och senare utveckling), Norsk ordbok (ett digert ordboksprojekt över ordförrådet i norska dialekter och nynorsk litteratur, med start 1930, åren 1931–41 under Kolsruds ledning, som han dock sedan drog sig ur), "Austlandsmål" (om fältarbetet i hembygden Austlandet och dialektpublikationerna och källskriftsutgivningen därifrån), "Opponent" (Kolsrud som sakkunnig och fakultetsopponent), "Utgjevar" (hans kommenterade utgivning av his-



toriska och samtida texter, bl.a. utgivare av serierna *Norske maalføre* och *Skrifter frå Norsk Målførearkiv*, "Skriftgranskar" (hans arbeten om skriftspråk), "Forskar og menneske" (slutkapitlet om forskaren och människan är på sitt sätt den mest föredömliga och läsvärda delen av biografien, samtidigt som det utgör ett nödvändigt avrundande sammandrag). Till sist följer som sig bör "Litteratur og andre kjelder" och "Namn på personar" (d.v.s. förteckning över utnyttjade arkiv, bibliografi och litteratur samt ett personregister). G.H.

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*Robert Zola Christensen, Lisa Christensen, Dansk Grammatik. 304 s., Odense 2005 (Syddansk Universitetsforlag). ISBN 87-7674-042-0.* Denna välskrivna och användbara grammatik består av fyra huvuddelar, morfologi, ordklasser, syntax och semantik; ingen annan av de grammatikor som för närvarande används i det danska utbildningssystemet täcker in ett så brett område. Också för forskningen är denna grammatik ett värdefullt tillskott, särskilt som vi ännu inte har en dansk motsvarighet till *Norsk Referansegrammatikk* 1997, *Svenska Akademiens grammatik* 1999, *Íslensk tunga* 2005 och *Faroese. An Overview and Reference Grammar* 2004. I bokens inledning besvaras frågorna "hvad er sprog?" och "hvad er grammatik?" och den avslutas med ett fylligt register.

C.P.

*Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen, Michael Fortescue, Peter Harder, Lars Heltoft, Michael Herslund och Lisbeth Falster Jakobsen, Dansk Funktionell Lingvistik. En helhedsforståelse af forholdet mellem sprogstruktur, sprogbrug og kognition. ii + 159 s., København (Københavns Universitet, Handelshøjskolen i København, Roskilde Universitetscenter). ISBN saknas.* Syftet med denna bok är att ge en samlad bild av det funktionellt baserade språkprogram som flera lingvister i Danmark ansluter sig till. Inom ramarna för detta program vill man bl.a. revidera och inarbeta de bästa delarna av den danska språkvetenskapliga traditionen.

Boken innehåller 8 kapitel, av vilka Peter Harder svarar för tre, därav introduktionen och en avslutande översikt. Hans tredje bidrag handlar om "lagdelt sætningsstruktur", d.v.s. den från bl.a. Simon Dik övertagna tanken att satsens struktur består av olika lager, motiverade av de olika uppgifter som ett yttrande ska lösa för att vara ett funktionellt komplett bidrag till den språkliga interaktionen. Övriga författare bidrar med ett kapitel var. Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen skriver om innehållssubstans

och innehållsstruktur, Lisbeth Falster Jakobsen om valens, predikation och realisationsmönster, Michael Herslund om komplexa predikat, Lars Heltoft om topologi som teckensystem och Michael Fortescue om hur Whiteheads distinktion mönster och process kan användas i språkbeskrivningen. Volymen ger en mycket välkommen presentation av de språkföreställningar som med ett citat från förordet "for tiden var gængse hos funktionelt orienterede lingvister på den østlige del af Sjælland". C.P.

*Henrik Galberg Jacobsen, På sproglig grund. Dansk Sprognævn fra a til å 1955–2005. 298 s., Odense 2005 (Syddansk Universitetsforlag). (Dansk Sprognævns skrifter 35.) ISBN 87-7674-031-5. ISSN 0415-0155.* Syftet med denna bok är att ge en översikt över Dansk Sprognævns verksamhet under de 50 år som förflutit sedan nämnden inrättades 1955. På de inledande tio sidorna ger förf. en kortfattad översikt över nämndens arbete. Huvuddelen av boken utgörs av en räckta kortare eller längre artiklar om olika språkliga och organisatoriska ämnen, bl.a. en om kampen mellan *aa* och *å* och en där nämndens olika ordförande kortfattat presenteras. Den tredje delen, Dataöversigter og dokumenter, omfattar ett antal kronologiska och alfabetiska listor över händelser och personer i Sprognævnets historia. Boken avslutas med en fyllig litteraturlista och ett alfabetiskt sak-, namn- och ordregister. C.P.

*Ordbog over det danske sprog. Supplement. Femte bind. Maabe — Øvrigheds-. Redaktører af femte bind: Henrik Andersson, Else Bojsen og Vibeke Winge. I–II s. + 1804 spalter, København 2005 (Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab og Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag A/S). ISBN 87-02-02002-5.* Ordbog over det danske sprog (ODS) 1–28 utkom 1919–56 som en lexikografisk beskrivning av det danska riksskriftspråket 1700–1955. Med femte delen av Supplement til Ordbog over det danske sprog är projektet ODS-S 1–5 avslutat. Förarbetet pågick 1956–93, då det första supplementbandet publicerades (med historik i ODS-s 1, s. x–l). Till grund för avslutningsbandet ligger ett större material än i övriga delar. Detta har krävt en stramare redigering av stoffet (redogörelse i förordet ODS-S 1, s. I–II). I det stort upplagda datoriseringsprojektet *ordnet.dk* ingår bl.a. planerna på att göra inte bara de 28 ODS-banden och de fem ODS-S-banden elektroniskt tillgängliga, utan också det kompletterande, opublicerade materialet i Det danske sprog- og litteraturselskabs (DSLs) samlingar. I datoriseringen ingår även DSLs uppföljande projekt Den Danske Ordbog 1–6 (tryckt

2003–05) som täcker tiden efter 1955; det första bandet anmäldes i ANF 119 (2004). G.H.

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*Att anlägga perspektiv*, red. Staffan Hellberg, Göran Rossholm. 271 s., Stockholm, Stehag 2005 (*Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion*). ISBN 91-7139-719-1. I en inledning och i nio artiklar behandlas i den här boken begreppet *perspektiv* från olika ämnesmässiga utgångspunkter, litteraturvetenskap, konstvetenskap, filosofi, semiotik och lingvistik. Av särskilt intresse för språkvetaren är den inledande utredningen av Staffan Hellberg och Göran Rossholm om betydelseutvidgningen i svenskan hos ordet *perspektiv* under 1900-talet, samt artiklarna av Peter Pagin, Staffan Hellberg och Östen Dahl. Pagins artikel är en kritik av vissa åsikter som Staffan Hellberg tidigare framfört i artikeln *Satsens subjekt och textens*, och Hellbergs artikel i den här anmälda antologin är ett svar på Pagins kritik. Boken avslutas med ett personregister och en kort presentation av författarna. C.P.

*Carl Linnæus Iter Lapponicum. Lappländska resan 1732. Vol. III. Facsimileutgåva. Utgiven efter dagbokshandskriften av Roger Jacobsson och Sigurd Fries. xxiv + 191 s., Umeå 2005 (Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet). (Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundets Handlingar 54:C.) ISBN 91-86438-30-1. ISSN 0560-2416.* Linnés lappländska "ungdomsresa" 1732 utkommer nu för första gången i en diplomatarisk utgåva, som är frukten av tjugo års noggranna förarbeten. I utgåvan, som har dagbokens stora format och återger Linnés teckningar i exakt mått, placeras text och rubriker per sida enligt originalet. Den ersätter därmed den engelska versionen från 1811 (Smith) och de svenska 1889 (Ährling) och 1913 (Fries), inklusive senare populärutgåvor. Utgångspunkten är Linnés egen handskrift, förvarad i biblioteket vid The Linnean Society of London. Textdelen (volym I) och kommentardelen (volym II), båda med utförlig engelsk sammanfattning, följs nu 2005 av en facsimilutgåva av handskriften (volym III). Volym I tecknar bakgrund och editionsprinciper, ger textkritiska fotnoter, och Linnés egen karta över färdvägen. Volym II innehåller en ovärderlig svit av kompletterande material, så t.ex. handskriftsbeskrivning, jämförelser med äldre utgåvor, översikt över resan dag för dag, kommenterar till dagbokstextens termer och begrepp, aspekter på färdväg, färd sätt och omkostnader, Linnés ansökan till Vetenskaps societeten och hans reserapport, Linnés Lapplandsherba-

rium, hans i förväg uppgjorda resplaner och hans listor över besökta platser och personer — kartor, källor, litteratur och en rad register inte att förglömma. Volymerna I–II (2003) anmäldes utförligt i ANF 119 (2004). Kronan på verket är den nu avslutande facsimileutgåvan i färg av originalet i The Linnean Society of London. Projektet är därmed med all heder slutfört.

G.H.

*Lotta Collin, Variation i webbdiskussion. En fallstudie av kontext, funktion och form i diskussionsforum om diabetes. VIII + 246 s. (Åbo Akademis förlag). ISBN 951-765-226-7.* Att det språk som används vid datorförmedlad kommunikation är mycket varierat är en relativt ny insikt. Ett studium av den variation som vi finner här gör det bl.a. möjligt att undersöka människans sätt att agera i nya situationer, samtidigt som det ökar vår kunskap om den mänskliga kommunikationen. I den här avhandlingen analyseras 1 000 inlägg på ett diskussionsforum om diabetes med avseende på kontext, funktion och form. Mer precist vill förf. undersöka dels kombinationen av och förhållandet mellan informationsförmedling och socialt kontaktskapande i gruppdiskussioner på nätet, dels hur det datorförmedlade skriftspråket avviker från traditionella skriftspråksnormer. Beträffande den sista punkten konstaterar förf. att det skriftspråk hon undersöker inte på något radikalt genomgripande sätt skiljer sig från annat skriftspråk. Kanske ligger skillnaden främst i att det privata språket i och med att det används i webbdiskussioner får ökad offentlighet. En följd av detta och av den snabbhet som kännetecknar den skriftliga kommunikationen på nätet är att texterna innehåller långt fler slarvfel än vad som är vanligt i mera traditionella skriftspråksgenrer.

C.P.

*Den gamla översättningen. Karl XII:s bibel och dess receptionshistoria. Föredrag vid en konferens i Lund den 21–25 februari 2003 anordnad av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, red. Tord Larsson och Birger Olsson. 350 s., Stockholm 2005 (Almqvist & Wiksell International). (Acta Regiæ Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis.) ISBN 91-22-02127-2.* Den svenska reformationsbibeln från 1541 påverkade trots sitt ålderdomliga språk kyrka, samhälle och stat ända in på 1900-talet, eftersom Gustav II Adolfs bibel 1618 och Karl XII:s bibel 1703 närmast är nytryck av 1500-talstexten. I den här volymen presenteras 20 artiklar som från olika håll, bl.a. bibelvetenskap, nordiska språk, teologihistoria, litteraturvetenskap, etnologi, rättshistoria och konstvetenskap, belyser bruket av denna bibel och dess effekter på samhället. De språk-

liga bidragen är författade av Christer Platzack, som skriver om "Karl XII:s bibel 1703 och svenska språket" samt Ulf Teleman, vars bidrag har titeln "Karl XII:s bibel och den svenska stavningens standardisering". Boken avslutas med ett personregister. C.P.

*Fiktionens texter — och verklighetens. Skisser från ett projekt, red. Lars Wollin, Maria Sarén. 92 s., Åbo 2005 (Åbo Akademi. Institutionen för språk och kultur: svenska). (FILIS rapport 1.) ISBN 952-12-1539-9. ISSN 1795-7222.* Detta häfte är en första rapport från ett språk- och tvärvetenskapligt forskningsprojekt kring tidig modern svensk fiktionsprosa i Sverige och Finland, som sedan 2003 bedrivs inom ämnet svenska vid Åbo Akademi. Huvuddelen av häftet upptas av projektledaren Lars Wollins bidrag, som utgör en skiss av projektets bakgrund, problemställning, teoriförankring, material och metod. Artikeln ger också glimtar av vilka resultat som hittills har uppnåtts och möjliga tillämpningar. I det andra bidraget, signerat Maria Sarén, diskuteras genreproblem vid urvalet av material för den databas som projektet vilar på. C.P.

*Per Fröjd, Att läsa och förstå svenska. VIII + 272 s., Göteborg 2005 (Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för svenska språket). (Göteborgsstudier i nordisk språkvetenskap 3.) ISBN 91-87850-27-3. ISSN 1652-3105.* I denna avhandlings empiriska del presenterar förf. en undersökning av läsförmågan hos elever i årskurs 9 i Borås under tre år, 2000, 2001 och 2002. Resultatet visar att läsförmågan sjönk. Även om inte förf. har haft möjlighet att undersöka läsförmågan hos elever på andra orter i Sverige kan han åberopa undersökningar som antyder att denna försämring speglar en nationell tendens. Bland de tänkbara orsakerna till denna försämring pekar förf. på nya läroplaner, minskade resurser, allt färre utbildade och erfarna lärare samt att eleverna lägger allt mer tid på att se på TV, video och spela datorspel. Undersökningen av läsförmågan hos elever i årskurs 9 i Borås föregås av ett längre avsnitt där förf. presenterar moderna teorier och resultat om läsning samt visar hur dessa kan bidra till förståelsen av skriftspråkligheten i Sverige. Som bilagor publiceras de texter som använts vid undersökningen av läsförmågan. C.P.

*Yvonne Lindqvist, Högt och lågt i skönlitterär översättning till svenska. 192 s., Uppsala 2005 (Hallgren & Fallgren). (Ord och stil. Språkvårds-samfundets skrifter 36.) ISBN 91-7382-806-8. ISSN 0347-5379.* Detta är

en populärvetenskaplig version av författarens doktorsavhandling från 2002, *Översättning som social praktik. Toni Morison och Harlequinserien Passion på svenska*, som anmäldes i ANF 118, s. 156 f. Omdömet att "Lindqvists avhandling är en mycket intressant studie av hur fiktionsprosa av olika slag idag översätts till svenska" kan oreserverat användas också för den populärvetenskapliga versionen. C.P.

MISS. Meddelanden från institutionen för svenska språket [vid Göteborgs universitet]. ISSN 1102-4518. Nr 48. Rickard Melkersson, *I begynnelsen af majo. Om kodväxling i Linnés Iter Lapponicum 1732*. 52 s. — Nr 49. Ida Larsson, *Språk i förändring. Adjektivändelserna -a och -e från fornsvenska till nysvenska*. 100 s. — Nr 50. Stina Andréasson, "Svär man eller så, så låter det ju inte så jävla bra". *Hur språklig identitet konstrueras av fyra pojkar vid en gymnasieskolas elprogram*. 51 s. — Nr 51. Mathias Tistelgren, *Det vilsne statsrådet och den första konungen. Om adjektivens böjning i bestämd form singularis*. 41 s. — Nr 52. Emilia Sturm, Ingefrid, Halim och 450 andra namn. *En sociolingvistisk studie av skönlitterär förnamnsvariation*. 38 s. — 53. Kerstin Norén, *Semantisk variation — lexikalisk eller kontextuell? Två samverkande modeller för betydelseanalys*. 38 s. Nr 50–53 Göteborg 2005. De båda under 2004 utgivna häftena 48 och 49 upptas här, eftersom de inte redovisades i Litteraturkrönikan 2004, tryckt i ANF 120 (2005). Samtliga meddelanden är förtjänstfullt strikt disponerade och lättillgängligt introducerande forskningsrapporter som speglar institutionens aktuella ämnesområden. Genomgående presenteras inledningsvis bakgrund, syfte, teoriram, material, metod och forskningshistoria, innan aktuella forskningsuppgifter, i form av fallstudier eller motsvarande, beskrivs och sammanfattas i avslutande diskussion, åtföljd av vederbörliga käll- och litteraturreferenser och eventuella bilagor. G.H.

Jenny Nilsson, *Adverb i interaktion*. XII + 231 s., Göteborg 2005 (Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för svenska språket). (Göteborgsstudier i nordisk språkvetenskap 4.) ISBN 91-87850-28-1. ISSN 1652-3105. I denna avhandling undersöker förf. hur ett femtiotal adverb används i samtal. Det rör sig om ord som *nog, kanske, alltså, säkert, i alla fall, egentligen, faktiskt, bara* m.fl. Totalt har förf. undersökt omkring 20 timmars tal. Syftet är att definiera de funktioner som adverbena har i materialet, vad som påverkar ett adverbs funktion och vilka faktorer som kan realisera olika funktioner hos ett adverb, samt beskriva i vilka typer av sekvenser som adverbena återkommande uppträder. Undersökningen

visar att de studerade adverbena vanligen används på mer än ett sätt i samtalen. Vissa användningar ligger nära ordets grundbetydelse, andra ligger längre ifrån. Adverbet *nog*, t.ex., är i sin grundbetydelse sannolikhetsgraderande (*det är nog bara tondöva som lyssnar på sånt*), men det kan också markera osäkerhet (*jo de har ja nog hört namnet*) eller uttrycka ironiskt medhåll och stark protest. Genom att tillämpa en samtalsanalytisk metod kan förf. fördjupa den förståelse av hur adverb används som tidigare forskning erhållit genom att studera lösryckta, ofta konstruerade exempel, eller adverb i skrift. C.P.

*Catharina Nyström Höög, Teamwork? Man kan lika gärna samarbeta. Svenska åsikter om importord. 190 s., Oslo 2005 (Novus Forlag). (Moderne importord i språka i Norden 9.) ISBN 10: 82-7099-411-1. ISBN 13: 978-82-7099-411-3. Projektet "Moderne importord i språka i Norden", lett av Helge Sandøy, startade 2001 och har avkastat flera rapporter. Catharina Nyström Höögs rapport är en av dem. Här redovisas resultat av en brett upplagd undersökning som haft som syfte att beskriva attityder i Sverige till moderna importord. I fokus står sambandet mellan livsstil och inställning till importorden, och med denna uppläggning ges i rapporten prov på ett intressant metodiskt nytänkande. Efter att ha presenterat hypoteser som ligger till grund för studien, en forskningsöversikt och material och metod, redovisas och diskuteras så i kap. 5–9 resultaten. Här finns en enkät- och en intervjuundersökning, och de gemensamma frågorna redovisas i kap. 5, i avsnitt som behandlar bruk av engelska, inställning till importord, engelska som internationellt språk och som arbetsspråk i Sverige. Kap. 6 tar sig mer specifikt an importorden, kap. 7 redovisar vad som diskuteras beträffande importorden i olika grupper, medan kap. 8 redovisar de attityder som kommer fram i meddelarnas spontana berättelser. I kap. 9 söker författaren ringa in olika ideologiska profiler som finns bland några av informanterna beträffande importord. Detta kommer bl.a. till synes genom rubriker som "Per-Erik: Språk är kulturbärare", "Susanna: Det är fånigt att säga teamwork när man lika gärna kan samarbeta" och "Patrik: Om det inte finns svenska ord kan man använda engelska". Detta kapitel avslutas med ett försök att i skissform kategorisera de olika hållningar man kan ha till engelska inslag i svenskan. Det är uppenbart att det trots allt finns stora likheter mellan olika positioner, och skissen fångar mer in skillnader som finns i argumentation och ideologisk grundhållning. Den avslutande diskussionen sammanfattar studien, men indikerar också områden för fortsatt forskning. L.-E. E.*

*Tore Otterup, "Jag känner mej begåvad bara". Om flerspråkighet och identitetskonstruktion bland ungdomar i ett multietniskt förortsområde. x + 281 s., Göteborg 2005 (Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för svenska språket). (Göteborgsstudier i nordisk språkvetenskap 2.) ISBN 91-87850-26-5. ISSN 1652-3105.* Syftet med denna avhandling är att belysa flerspråkighetens betydelse för barn och ungdomar i ett multietniskt förortsområde i Sverige. För att nå sitt mål genomför förf. två undersökningar, en kvantitativ enkätundersökning och en kvalitativ intervjuundersökning. Enkätundersökningen ger data om informanterna och deras språkliga bakgrund, deras språkanvändning och deras attityder till språk, men också hur skolan bidrar till att göra dem till flerspråkiga individer samt i vilken utsträckning de kommer i kontakt med sina språk via skönlitteratur, tidningar och media. Intervjuundersökningen, som bygger på intervjuer med 8 ungdomar och genomfördes med s.k. grundad teori, hade som yttersta mål att svara på frågan vilken betydelse flerspråkigheten har för informanternas liv. Förutom de kapitel där resultaten av de två undersökningarna presenteras innehåller boken forskningsöversikter, teoretiska genomgångar, redogörelser för material och metod samt en sammanfattande slutdiskussion där de kvantitativa och kvalitativa delarna knyts samman. C.P.

*Kristina Persson, Svensk brevkultur på 1800-talet. Språklig och kommunikationsetnografisk analys av en familjebrevväxling. 218 s., Uppsala 2005 (Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet). (Skrifter utgivna av Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet 68.) ISBN 91-506-1830-X. ISSN 0083-4661.* I den här avhandlingen beskriver förf. den vardagliga brevskrivningen inom tre generationer av en svensk högreståndsfamilj under 1800-talet, och ger därmed ett bidrag till en textsorts historia. Två perspektiv är aktuella, dels brevskrivningen och brevväxlingen som en vardaglig aktivitet, dels brevskrivningen och brevväxlingen som en social aktivitet. Den situationella kontexten ringar förf. in genom att analysera familjens samlade korrespondens, med syfte att undersöka vad man genom den samlade brevväxlingens struktur och metakommentarer i breven kan utläsa om den situationella kontexten. Ett anslutande syfte är att klargöra de språkliga förutsättningarna för familjebrevskrivningen. Ett andra syfte med avhandlingen är att analysera breven som materiella objekt, något som kan ge viktiga ledtrådar till hur brevskrivningen fungerade som en skriftspråklig aktivitet i vardagen. Det tredje och mest centrala syftet är att undersöka brevens språkliga utformning, för att härigenom kunna



belysa bl.a. motsättningen muntlighet — skriftlighet. En särskild studie ägnas tilltalsbruket. Den språkliga undersökningen tar sin utgångspunkt i de enskilda skribenterna, och resultaten redovisas därför i form av ett avsnitt per skribent.

Efter ett inledningskapitel där förf. ger en kort bakgrund till 1800-talets brevskrivande, presenterar syftena med undersökningen och ger en översikt över avhandlingens disposition följer ett kapitel om tidigare forskning runt brev, brevspråk och 1800-talets språkutveckling. De teoretiska utgångspunkterna för studiet av materiella och ideologiska betingelser för privatbrev under 1800-talet ägnas ett eget kapitel, och därpå följer en genomgång av avhandlingens metod, material och databehandling. Förf. ger här bl.a. en utförlig redogörelse för hur det delmaterial omfattande 7 skribenter som ligger till grund för den språkliga analysen har valts ut; detta material omfattar 13% av det totala brevmaterialet. Den situationella kontexten för den undersökta brevkorrespondensen beskrivs i ett särskilt kapitel. De språkliga undersökningsresultaten presenteras i tre på varandra följande kapitel. I det första ger förf. en beskrivning av breven utifrån yttre kriterier (format, textmängd, datering, handstilar etc.). Det andra resultatkapitlet, som är det mest omfattande, beskriver respektive skribents språk och stil, med syfte bl.a. att belysa den inomindividuella variationen och en eventuell förändring över tid med sikte på framför allt dimensionerna vardagligt–formellt/högspråkligt, traditionellt–modernt och oplanerat–planerat. Det tredje resultatkapitlet visar tilltalskicket hos de olika skribenterna. 15 av de noggrant undersökta 161 breven återges i en bilaga. C.P.

*Gertrud Pettersson, Svenska språket under sjuhundra år. En historia om svenskan och dess utforskande. Andra upplagan. 290 s., Lund 2005 (Författaren och Studentlitteratur 1996, 2005). ISBN 91-44-03911-5.* Den nya upplagan av denna klokt disponerade och pedagogiskt föredömliga svenska språkhistoria skiljer sig från den gamla (om 251 s., anmäld i ANF 112 (1997) s. 215 f.) främst genom att det senaste decenniets språkhistoriska forskning inarbetats i texten och litteraturförteckningen. Registret med sidhänvisningar till textställen där språkliga termer, sakord, källor och enskilda språkforskares rön behandlas har nu gjorts mycket fylligare. Det har bl.a. kompletterats med vissa anförda språkexempel i kursiv, såväl ord som ljud och ljudgrupper. Boken är en välbalanserad och lättillgänglig modern lärobok i svensk språkhistoria, samtidigt som den ger envar intresserad den nödvändiga grunden för

att kunna söka sig vidare ut i det ständigt levande och föränderliga språkets brokiga mångfald. G.H.

*Heidi Rontu, Språkdominans i tidig tvåspråkighet. Barnets kodväxling i kontext. 328 s. Åbo 2005 (Åbo akademis förlag). ISBN 951-765-243-7.* I den här intressanta avhandlingen undersöker förf. språkdominans i tidig tvåspråkig utveckling genom att studera två barn som växer upp tvåspråkigt i finsk–finlandssvenska familjer. Barnen följs under två års tid, från 2 till 4 år. Materialet i undersökningen består av inspelningar av leksituationer där barnet leker med sina föräldrar; som komplement till inspelningarna finns intervjuer med föräldrarna. Det ena barnet är inspelat tio gånger under perioden 2;3–3;8, det andra 11 gånger under perioden 2;1–3;10. Båda barnen har en svensktalande pappa och en finsktalande mamma, och i görligaste mån använder föräldrarna sitt språk vid kommunikation med barnen. I början dominerar svenskan tydligt hos båda de undersökta barnen. I samtal med den finskspråkiga föräldern kodväxlar barnen mycket, medan det finns lite kodväxling i deras svenska. Hos det ena barnet dominerar svenskan under hela undersökningsperioden, medan det andra barnet utvecklas mot en tydligare balans mellan språken. Samtalsanalytiska studier av barnens kodväxlingsstrategier visar att barnen använder kodväxling som ett sätt att skapa kontrast till samtalsämnet eller till föräldrarnas uppmaning eller önskemål, den blir alltså ett medel för barnen att få fram sin egen vilja och vända sig mot något i samtalet eller föräldrarnas samtalsbeteende. C.P.

*Samtal och grammatik. Studier i svenskt samtalsspråk, red. Jan Anward och Bengt Nordberg, 328 s., Lund 2005 (Studentlitteratur). ISBN 91-44-04419-4.* De tio uppsatserna i denna volym är alla tillkomna inom ramen för projektet *Samtalsspråkets grammatik*, ett projekt med huvudsyfte att öka kunskapen om de grammatiska principer som styr samtalsspråkets syntax, och hur ett språks allmänna grammatiska strukturer kan ses som framvuxna ur interaktionell praktik. I en inledande översikt diskuterar Anward och Nordberg hur den interaktionella grammatiken avviker från den traditionella, här representerad av Svenska Akademiens grammatik. Av särskilt intresse för projektet har varit frågan om hur talturer är uppbyggda i svenska samtal, och syntaktiska aspekter på detta diskuteras i Jan Lindströms bidrag. Niklas Norén definierar och avgränsar det han kallar *apokoinou* i samtal, vanligare benämnt *anako-lut*. Linda Jönsson fokuserar i sitt bidrag på anföringar i tonårsflickors

samtal, och Anna Lindström och Karin Ridell presenterar preliminära resultat från en pågående undersökning av social interaktion inom kommunal äldreomsorg. Susanna Karlsson skisserar en undersökning av hur *jag tycker/tycker jag* används i samtal som en interpersonell märk, Jenny Öqvist vad samtalsdeltagare använder pronomen som *han* och *hon* till i initial ställning, utöver att referera, och Gustav Bockgård hur responspartiklar, typ *ja, a, jo, nej* används i några olika samtals-situationer. Jenny Nilsson beskriver hur det adverbiala uttrycket *i och för sig* samarbetar med interjektioner och konjunktioner inom ett yttrande för att få sin funktion, och hur dessa formord i sin tur signalerar hur yttrandet ska tolkas i förhållande till den yttre kontexten; Cajsa Ottesjö gör en liknande studie över *i alla fall*. Nilssons uppsats är en föregångare till hennes avhandling *Adverb i interaktion*, som presenteras på annan plats i denna krönika. Volymen avslutas med en längre artikel av Per Linell där förf. diskuterar vilka konsekvenser en dialogisk teori får för synen på det levande samtalsspråkets grammatik. Den här anmälda volymen utgör ett viktigt bidrag till svensk grammatikforskning, kanske framför allt genom att betona att det finns vissa aspekter av syntaxen som i första hand är motiverade genom den interaktionella användningen av språket. C.P.

*Dominika Skrzypek, The Decline of Nominal Inflection in Old Swedish. The Loss of Dative Case. 170 s., Lund 2005 (Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Lunds universitet). (Nordlund 26. Småskrifter utgivna av Institutionen för nordiska språk i Lund.) ISBN 91-631-8077-4. ISSN 0281-5427.* Skriften är en reviderad version av författarens doktorsavhandling 2004. Med de fornsvenska lagtexterna, ett urval ur diplomatariet och vissa kyrkliga texter som källor beskrivs hur det ursprungliga fyrkasussystemet från 1100-talets slut till 1500-talets början reducerades till ett system med grundform och *s*-genitiv, bortsett från personliga pronominas objektsformer. Huvudintresset knyts till förändringarna i dativmorfologin och bakomliggande orsaksfaktorer av fonologisk, morfologisk eller syntaktisk art. Undersökningen illustreras med en rad tabeller, t.ex. med flektionen vid stark och svag böjning, vid ditransitiva respektive transitiva verb, vid prepositionsbruk etc. I appendix ges frekvenstabeller över bl.a. källskrifternas dativförekomster efter prepositionerna *med* och *i* och vid verbet *giva*. G.H.

*Språk i tid. Studier tillägnade Mats Thelander på 60-årsdagen, red. av Björn Melander m.fl. 593 s., Uppsala 2005 (Institutionen för nordiska*

*språk vid Uppsala universitet*). (Skrifter utgivna av Institutionen för nordiska språk 67.) ISBN 91-506-1810-5. ISSN 0083-4661. Denna omfattande festskrift till Mats Thelander på hans 60-årsdag innehåller hela 61 vetenskapliga bidrag. Dessa är indelade i tio ämnesgrupper, som relativt väl speglar Mats Thelanders forskningsintressen: Talet, dialekterna, variationen och historien (13 bidrag), Attityderna (5), Interaktionen (3), Scenspråket (5), Texterna och tolkningarna (10), Undervisningen (6), Språkvården (3), Grammatiken (4), Orden (7) och Namnen (5 bidrag). I sedvanlig stil kompletteras bidragen med en Tabula gratulatoria och ett porträtt på festföremålet. C.P.

*Språkriktighetsboken. Utarbetad av Svenska språknämnden. Redaktör Jan Svanlund. 413 s., Stockholm 2005 (Norstedts Akademiska Förlag). (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska språknämnden 93.) ISBN 91-7227-381-X.* Boken belyser utförligt diskuterande och lättillgängligt ett hundratal vanliga språkriktighetsfrågor huvudsakligen i dagens svenska sakprosa, rikligt illustrerade med belysande exempel. Den är disponerad efter övergripande teman rubricerade ordbildning och ordform, genus, bestämdhet, singular och plural, formord, pronomen, kongruens, negation, passiv, ordföljd och meningsbyggnad, utelämnings- och tillägg. Varje tema ges en kort inledning kring grammatisk bakgrund och aktuella språkvårdsproblem, varpå temats olika kapitel presenteras i vartdera tre moment: problemet, fakta och diskussion, rekommendation. Till läsarens hjälp finns avslutningsvis en svit termförklaringar och ett fylligt ord- och sakregister. Som sägs i förordet fyller boken en lucka i modern svensk språklitteratur vid sidan av *Svenska Akademiens grammatik* 1999 och akademiens *språklära* 2003, *Nationalencyklopedins ordbok* 1995, *Svenska språknämndens uttalsordbok* och nämndens kombinationsordbok *Svenskt språkbruk*, båda 2003, samt nämndens *ordlista* (13 uppl.) 2006 och *skrivregler* (senaste uppl.) 2000. Den ersätter närmast Erik Wellanders klassiska, idag i vissa avseenden föråldrade *Riktig svenska* från 1939 (4 uppl. 1973). Bokens inledningskapitel är en nyttig resonerande introduktion i språkriktighet i vid mening: om individens respektive kollektivets grammatik, standardspråk och andra varieteter, konventioner, språkförändring, tal och skrift, standardisering, genrer, texttyper och stil, rätt och fel, normkonflikter och bedömningsgrunder, språknämndens rekommendationer etc. Kapitlet avslutas med en kort lista över den viktigaste referenslitteraturen. G.H.

*Studier i svensk språkhistoria 8. Cecilia Falk och Lars-Olof Delsing red. 346 s., Lund 2005 (Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Lunds universitet). (Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetenskap A 63.) ISBN 91-631-7784-6. ISSN 0347-8971.* Tema för konferensen Svenska språkets historia 8 i Lund 21–22 maj 2004 var Språkförändring på olika nivåer i språket. Rapporten innehåller de fyra plenarföredragen och 26 av de 38 sektionsföredragen. Plenarföredragen hölls av Tomas Riad (fonologi) om tonaccentens historia, Sven-Göran Malmgren (lexikon) om betydelseförändring i svenskan, Dianne Jonas (syntax) om syntaxförändringar i färöiska och svenska, och Jan Svensson (text) om historisk textforskning. Ett tiotal av sektionsföredragen berörde förändringar i ordförråd, begreppsbyggnad och språkssystem, nästan lika många gällde handskrifter, texter och texttradition, medan några avsåg talspråks- eller dialektfenomen, synkrona nedslag i språkhistorien, genrestudier eller vetenskapshistoria.

G.H.

*Svenskan i Finland 8. Red. Kristina Nikula, Harry Lönnroth, Kaisa Alanen, Carl-Eric Johansson. 350 s., Tammerfors 2005 (Nordiska språk, Institutionen för språk- och översättningsvetenskap, Tammerfors universitet). (Nordistica Tamperensia A 5.) ISBN 951-44-6209-2. ISSN 1238-4720.* Från en blygsam början har sammankomsterna "Svenskan i Finland" nu etablerat sig som ett forum där forskare från olika forskningsmiljöer i ämnet nordiska språk/nordisk filologi i Finland lägger fram vetenskapliga undersökningar. Den åttonde sammankomsten ägde rum i Tammerfors 2003. Förhandlingarna från sammankomsten föreligger nu av trycket med tjugofyra bidrag. Intressant är litteraturvetaren Torsten Petterssons bidrag som främst utifrån egen poesi belyser "frågan om hur det individuella uttrycket förhåller sig till det allmänna normsystemet". Öppningar i chattsamtal behandlas av Jonna Ahti, där också betydelsen av val av språklig varietet (dialekt) berörs. Flera bidrag har bäring mot språkinläringen, t.ex. Maria Green-Vänttinens & Hanna Lehti-Eklunds om den svenska språkförmågan hos finska inlärare, Marja Kivilehtos bidrag om översättarstudenters skriftliga produktion, Veikko Muittaris artikel om finska gymnasisters ordinläring och Christer Lauréns uppsats om andraspråksinläring genom språkbud och Downs syndrom. Några av artiklarna har tillkommit inom projektet "Moderne importord i språka i Norden", nämligen Leila Mittfolks om finlandssvenska åsikter om engelsk språkpåverkan, Åsa Mickwitz' uppsats om importorden i relation till deras eventuella ersättningsord ("Saft och juice – samma smak?") och den artikel där de två senast

nämnda forskarna tillsammans med Jan-Ola Östman behandlar språknormering i Svenskfinland. Grammatiska problem fokuseras i en del bidrag, i flera av dem komparativt mellan finlandssvenska och sverigesvenska. Bland övriga artiklar kan nämnas Marianne Nordmans om dialektala citat i en kommundning, Paula Rossis om språk i olika föreningar i Finland under 1800- och första delen av 1900-talet och Irma Sorvalis bidrag till beskrivningen av svenskan i Uleåborg. Som synes är det en innehållsrik volym, men som alltid i denna typ av samlingsverk finns både artiklar som redovisar mer avslutade undersökningar och sådana som lämnar läsaren med fler frågor än svar. L.-E. E.

*Bronisława Zielonka, The Role of Linguistic Context in the Acquisition of the Pluperfect. Polish Learners of Swedish as a Foreign Language. 225 s., Gdańsk 2005 (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego). ISBN 83-7326-296-6.* Svenskans pluskvamperfektum är en stötesten för många som lär sig svenska som andraspråk; detta gäller inte minst personer med polska som modersmål. Med utgångspunkt i denna iakttagelse undersöker förf. till denna intressanta avhandling huruvida vissa av de språkliga kontexter där pluskvamperfektum används är lättare att tillägna sig än andra. För att nå sitt mål gör förf. först en teoretisk genomgång, där olika teorier för tempus, aspekt och aktionsart presenteras och kritiskt granskas, och där vi också får en genomgång av svenskans och polskans temporala system. Med hjälp av denna teorigenomgång kan förf. ställa upp tolv faktorer som skulle kunna spela en roll för användandet av pluskvamperfektum. Dessa faktorer undersöks sedan i en empirisk studie, där informanterna utgjordes av omkring 65 studenter i åldern 19–26 år, som alla studerade svenska vid polskt universitet. Det språkliga materialet bestod av lucktester och översättningstest. Resultaten visar att de polska studenterna trots goda teoretiska kunskaper hade stora svårigheter med att använda pluskvamperfektum på ett korrekt sätt, och att sex av de språkliga faktorer som förf. studerade i sin undersökning gav signifikanta utslag. C.P.

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*Kåre Hoel, Bustadnavn i Østfold 6. Askim. Utgitt av Seksjon for navnegransking, Institutt for nordistikk og litteraturvitenskap, Universitetet i Oslo, ved Margit Harsson. 279 s., 1 faksimil och 1 karta på eftersättsblad, 1 lös karta, Oslo 2005 (Novus forlag). ISBN 10:82-7099-425-1. ISBN 13:978-82-7099-425-0.* Projektet Bustadnavn i Østfold fortsätter plan-

enligt utgivningen av professor Kåre Hoels (1922–89) genomgripande reviderade och kompletterade Østfold-utgåva, baserad på Oluf Ryghs Norske Gaardnavne (1897–1924). Den första delen (Hobøl 1994, red. Tom Schmidt) anmäldes utförligt av Gordon Albøge i NoB 83 (1995). Delarna 2 (Skiptvet 1997, red. Margit Harsson) och 3 (Våler 1999, red. Tom Schmidt) anmäldes av Bengt Pamp i ANF 114 och av undertecknad i NoB 87 (1999), del 4 (Spydeberg 2001, red. Margit Harsson) av Claes Börje Hagervall i NoB 90 (2002) och del 5 (Rygge og Moss 2004, red. Tom Schmidt) av undertecknad i ANF 120 och NoB 93 (2005). Med nu föreliggande del 6 har utgivarna/redaktörerna Harsson och Schmidt redovisat bebyggelsenamnen i sju av fylkets 22 äldre häradar. Som tidigare markeras Ryghs, Hoels och redaktörernas olika bidrag klart och tydligt genom typografiska arrangemang. Urvalskriteriet är fortsatt alla namn på permanent bosättning, inklusive namn på bostadshus och villabebyggelse fram till ca 1900. I princip redovisas samtliga belägg äldre än ca 1700, därefter görs ett urval. Av hänsyn till en bredare läsekrets och seriens funktion som onomastiskt uppslagsverk ges konsekvent tolkningar av förekommande namnelement, både i simplexnamn och i sammansättningarnas bestämnings- och huvudleder.

Bokens första del redovisar härads- och sockennamnet *Askim* och därpå området övriga bebyggelsenamn, lokaliserade till respektive matrikelnummer. I egna avsnitt upptas försvunna, d.v.s. ej längre levande eller identifierbara namn i äldre (t.o.m. 1500-talet) respektive yngre (1600–1800-talen) källor, samt gamla bygde- och fjärdingsnamn. Nytt för den här aktuella delen är kapitlet om tillnamn och andra efternamn från yngre källor, ett material som mycket riktigt knappast hör hit, men som ofta spelar en väsentlig roll vid ortnamnstolkningen. I den andra delen kommenteras det topografiska ordförrådet bakom bebyggelsenamnen, därtill imperativ- och uppkallelsenamn, liksom nedsättande och berömmande namn. Här redovisas också planenligt litteratur, källor, förkortningar, ljudskriftssystem, register över ortnamn i och utom Askim, ord-, person- och tillnamnsregister. Som i övriga delar illustreras utgåvan med ett faksimil av Ryghs egna uppteckningar från häradet och med kartor över häradsindelningen i Østfold respektive en modern kommunkarta över Askim. G.H.

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s., Uppsala 2005 (*Språk- och folkminnesinstitutet*). ISBN 91-7229-026-9. Detta är den första av planerade fem rapporter från den välbesökta namnforskarkongressen i Uppsala 2002 med 374 deltagare från 41 länder. Vid kongressens sex sektioner hölls tre plenarföredrag och 220 andra föredrag, varav 200 publiceras i serien. Här i del 1 redovisas kongressprogrammet, deltagarlistan, de tre öppningstalen av Björn Lindquist, Thorsten Andersson och Isolde Hausner, liksom avslutningstalet av Lennart Elmevik, vidare bankettalen av Thorsten Andersson och Isolde Hausner, samt Eva Bryllas exposé över svensk ortnamnsforskning under ett sekel, detta i anslutning till den Kungliga svenska ortnamnskommitténs 100-årsjubileum. Så följer de tre plenarföredragen av Xosé Lluís García Arias, Albrecht Greule och Svante Strandberg. I denna premiärdel ryms också de 24 föredragen inom sektion 1, Namnteori, samt de 21 föredragen i sektion 6, Namn i litteraturen, inklusive sektionsordförandena Vibeke Dalbergs och W. F. H. Nicolaisens sammanfattningar vid den avslutande sessionen i respektive sektion. Kongressen arrangerades av Uppsala universitet, Språk- och folkminnesinstitutet och Kungliga Gustav Adolfsakademien för svensk folkkultur, vilka också var värdar för den femtio år tidigare i Uppsala arrangerade fjärde internationella namnforskarkongressen 1952. Programmet omfattade även mottagningar i universitetsrektors mottagningslokaler och vid Gamla Uppsala museum i regi av Uppsala stad, en båtexcursion på Mälaren till Skoklosters slott och Sigtuna stad, en orgelkonsert i Uppsala domkyrka och en avslutande bankett i festsalen på Uppsala slott. G.H.

Tom Schmidt, *Nøvn austa åsen. Bustadnamn i Øystre Slidre. 400 s., 1 inklistrad karta på eftersättsblad, Oslo 2005 (Novus forlag). ISBN 10: 82-7099-414-6. ISBN 13: 978-82-7099-414-4.* Boken är en genomgripande reviderad och utvidgad utgåva av kapitlet "Østre Slidre Herred" i Oluf Ryghs *Norske Gaardnavne* IV2. *Gaardnavne i Kristians Amt. Anden Halvdel*, utgiven av A. Kjær 1902. Till skillnad från den häradsvis publicerade serien *Bustadnavn i Østfold* (BØ; se anmälan av del 6 ovan), med författaren som medredaktör, är detta en helt fristående monografi. Den följer i allt väsentligt BØ-seriens förtjänstfulla uppläggning, samtidigt som den ger författaren friare händer att utförligare redovisa och kommentera varje gårds- och bruksnamn plus ett fylligare urval av namn på smärre bebyggelser som de s.k. "husmansplassane". En rad artiklar om drygt två-tre sidor per namn, så t.ex. *Bjelbøle, Robøle, Istad, Molor, Skattebu* och *Tvengi*, ger prov på en kon-



sekvent strävan att noggrant granska och väga varje ny eller tidigare i litteraturen framlagd seriös tolkningsmöjlighet, även i fall där man inte når fram till något avgörande. Initierat diskuteras skriftbeläggens och uttalsformernas förankring i lokal dialekt- och ljudhistoria, likaså de i ortnamnen ingående personnamnsvarianternas förekomst i lokalt namnskick. Artiklarna rymmer också små lovvärda skisser kring de namnbärande bebyggelsernas bakgrund och kulturmiljö. Liksom i BØ är en generös inledning till läsarens hjälp: om bokens tillkomst, matrikelnumreringen, uppslagsformer, normalisering, dialektuttal, aktuella kartblad, namnurval, äldre skriftformer, gårdsstatus, namntolkningar och facktermer. Bebyggelsenamnen redovisas sedan i matrikelnummerföljd i ett "Kapittel I", illustrerat med ett tjugotal foton i svartvitt, varpå ett "Kapittel II" kompletterar med en svit korta artiklar om frekventa topografiska grundord och förteckningar över litteratur, källor, förkortningar, ljudskrift, Ortsmeddelare plus register över ortnamn i respektive utanför Øystre Slide, över ord och person- och tillnamn.

G.H.