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## Breaking in Old Norse and Related Languages: A Reassessment of the Phonetic Conditions<sup>1</sup>

### I

Breaking ("brytning") in Old Norse is the term for the process by which PGmc short /e/ was diphthongized with the ultimate result of a rising diphthong with a consonantal high front first element and a back vowel as its second element: /ia/, /io/. Examples of the change are \*/bergan/ > /biarga/ inf., \*/erþō/ > /iorþ/ f. nom. sg., \*/gebōz/ > /giafar/ f. nom. pl., \*/eburaz/ > /iofurr/ m. nom. sg.

It will be argued in this paper that the traditional theories about this phenomenon are seriously inadequate in that they fail to capture significant regularities in the phonemic surroundings of those vowels which underwent breaking. An alternative theory which accounts for a much higher number of forms will be proposed, and it will be attempted to show that this theory is both phonetically plausible and allows us to connect ON breaking with the strikingly similar phenomena in Old English. This desirable connection is probably precluded by the traditional theories, and this may be counted as another of their weaknesses.

The plan for the exposition is as follows. Section II contains a brief discussion of the traditional theories and the possible reasons for their inadequacy. Section III tries to establish the original phonemic surroundings of the vowels which underwent breaking, without any preconceived ideas about the phonetic conditions for the change. The discussion will be based on the relevant forms in the Old Norwegian Book of Homilies, AM 619 4<sup>o</sup> (abbreviated GNH) from about 1200 A.D.; but where the material from this text shows significant lacunae, forms from other texts will be drawn into the discussion. The conclusion will be that the phonemic surroundings are not so homogeneous as maintained by some of the traditional theories. In section IV the phonemic surroundings isolated in the previous section will be analysed in their distinctive features on the basis of an independently motivated theory about the distinctive and redundant features in PGmc. It will appear from this analysis that the heterogeneity of the phonemic surroundings is superficial, in that the further analysis reveals highly specific traits which the breaking forms originally had in common. On this basis a theory about the phonetic process will be sketched. In section V the perspective is widened to Old Swedish, where we find the conditions for breaking to have been somewhat more general. Section VI deals

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a condensed version of the main parts of a mag. art. thesis: *Gammelnordisk brytning i gammelengelsk belysning* (Universitetet i Bergen 1976) (unpublished). The work was partly supported by a student grant from Norges almenvitenskapelige forskningsråd.



briefly with the Old English phenomena, and in section VII the conclusions are summarized.

## II

Foremost among the traditional theories about breaking is that of Axel Kock, which has dominated practically all textbooks and standard works in our century. Although details in his theory about umlaut and breaking changed from the time he started grappling with the problems in the 1880ies until he reached his final version in Kock 1911–16, the main principles were present from the outset. I shall be concerned only with Kock 1911–16 in this paper.

Kock's theory about breaking stands out in marked contrast to previous theories in the last century. Its main characteristic is that breaking is always explained as the effect of an unstressed vowel in the following syllable. I shall be referring to this kind of theory as a theory of Vocalic Breaking (VB). The theories prevalent before Kock had also included consonants and consonant clusters among the conditioning factors; such theories will be referred to as theories of Consonantal Breaking (CB). A CB-theory will thus explain some, but not necessarily all, instances of breaking as an effect of consonants on a preceding monophthong. A good example of a CB-theory (which deserved more attention than it seemed to get) is that of Hermann Paul 1879. Paul included among the conditioning factors the vowels *-u* and *-o*, and the post-vocalic consonant clusters *l* + consonant, *r* + consonant, and *fn*. I believe that Paul's theory (which is not developed in detail), supplied with later insights concerning the PGmc phoneme system, would have come very close to the mark.

It is not at all clear what considerations led to the replacement of CB-theories with VB-theories. A general desire to reduce umlaut and breaking phenomena to a common formula hardly constitutes empirical evidence for a new theory. Still, this idea seems to have been predominant, especially in connection with the so-called "epenthesis-theory" for all such phenomena. This is particularly evident in the writings of Bengt Hesselman (see below).

On the whole, there is a strong flavour of apriorism about the VB-theories. The principles invoked to account for the mass of counter-examples are sometimes extremely ad hoc; Kock's treatment of counter-examples makes it difficult even to imagine any kind of evidence which would lead him to question the basic tenet that breaking is always caused by an unstressed vowel. His proposed explanations for counter-examples fall into the two usual neogrammarian categories: the problematic forms either result from other sound-laws (i.e. they involve refinements of the formulation of the sound-law causing breaking), or they result from analogical influences. Except for the familiar misgivings we tend to have to-day about the capacity of this conceptual apparatus to explain all facts about linguistic change, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with it: both the regularity of sound change and the operation of analogy are well-established facts. The accusation of ad hoc-construction con-

cerns rather the way the concepts are applied. I shall return to Kock's and Hesselman's proposed explanations for counter-examples in connection with the discussion of the relevant forms in section III below. In this section I shall merely review the basic contentions of the most influential theories in our century, starting with the theory of Axel Kock.

According to Kock, breaking is caused by a short, unstressed *a* or *u* in the syllable following the stressed *e*. Breaking by *a* is called "a-breaking" and gives the development e.g. *\*berga* > *\*be<sup>a</sup>rg* > *\*bearg* > *biarg*; breaking by *u*, "u-breaking", gives the development e.g. *\*erpu* > *\*e<sup>u</sup>rp* > *\*eorþ* > *iorþ* (1911–16:248). Thus, breaking occurs on the loss of the unstressed vowel, resulting first in a falling diphthong which later on shifts to a rising diphthong. It is hardly necessary to go into the plausibility of the phonetic details in this pre-structuralist account, but we may note that Kock explicitly dissociates "u-breaking" from *u*-umlaut, in spite of the parallel outcome: *biarg* sg.: *biorg* (or *biqrg*) pl. vs. *barn* sg.: *bqrn* pl. (1911–16:280 ff).

A much-debated element in Kock's umlaut and breaking theories is his division of the developments into distinct periods. It is extremely difficult, if at all possible, to find independent support for this periodization; although one may grant that it is difficult to explain some of the facts of *i*-umlaut without resort to some kind of period hypothesis. In the case of breaking, even that kind of support is lacking. If Kock's VB-theory had been beyond dispute, it might have been possible to make a case for the necessity of a period hypothesis; but in Kock's reasoning the hypothesis has the converse function: it serves to save the VB-theory from troublesome counter-examples. Thus the VB-theory and the period hypothesis lean heavily against each other: without the period hypothesis, the VB-theory could not survive some of the counter-examples, but with it it is deprived of empirical significance because of the explanatory power of an ad hoc hypothesis of this kind. One example will suffice to show this.

The forms *biarg* and *iorþ* above are examples of "older *a*-breaking" and "older *u*-breaking", respectively. According to Kock, the former precedes the latter in time because *a*-syncope precedes *u*-syncope and because syncope and breaking are claimed to be simultaneous. At a later, "common Nordic" period, "younger *a*- and *u*-breaking" sets in. This is breaking caused by unsynopated unstressed vowels, as in *hialpa* inf., *stiornu* f. cas. obl. By resorting to this periodization and the concept of "analogical levelling" (on the application of which no restrictions are discernible, let alone explicitly proposed), Kock tries to explain the absence of breaking in the noun *segla* n., which had the same inflexional paradigm as e.g. *biarg* n. in PSc (1911–16:267 f). The retention of unbroken *e* is in Kock's opinion "leicht erklärlich". The original PSc paradigm was as below:

Sg.		Pl.	
N. *segla	G. *seglas	N. *seglu	G. *seglō > segla
A. *segla	D. *seglē	A. *seglu	D. seglum

All forms except one, the dat. sg., qualify for breaking according to Kock's theory. Thus no appeal to analogy could explain the absence of breaking if breaking were assumed to take place simultaneously in all seven forms. But by postulating a well-timed interplay of periods of breaking with analogical levellings *for this one word throughout the Nordic-speaking area*, Kock manages to get around the difficulty. "Older *a*-breaking" leads to breaking in three forms: nom., acc. and gen. sg., which suffered *a*-syncope. The unbroken vowel was restored by analogy because the broken forms were in a minority of three to five; and the paradigm entered the period of "older *u*-breaking" with unmolested monophthongs. "Older *u*-breaking" took place in only two forms, nom. and acc. pl., and this even smaller minority of two against six could not withstand the analogical pressure. Finally the story repeated itself when the remaining two forms, the gen. and dat. pl., suffered "younger *a*- and *u*-breaking".

Of course, the whole argument collapses as soon as we bring in concepts like 'phoneme' and 'allophone'. But even if we don't, we are left in the dark as to why this noun quite consistently was treated differently from e.g. *biarg*, *fiall*. Also we may well speculate if it is possible to imagine any form whatever that cannot be "explained" away as long as this kind of ad hoc construction is allowed. By careful periodization, one can always assure that at any given moment a majority of forms within a paradigm has the desired vowel quality.

Some might object that this is flogging a dead horse since nobody would propose an explanation like this to-day. Possibly nobody would, but still the horse is very much alive: vital props under the theory of umlaut and breaking which still dominates our textbooks consist of the kind of reasoning exemplified above. Some other examples will be discussed in section III below.

Bengt Hesselman tries to avoid the period hypothesis while retaining the VB-assumption. The comprehensive presentation of his views is Hesselman 1945. Hesselman explicitly includes breaking among the umlaut phenomena; the chapter on breaking is called "*A- och u-omljudet av kort e. 'Brytningen.'*" (1945:46). As with other umlaut phenomena, the precondition is a "sharply" ("skarpt") articulated vowel in the unstressed syllable. Hesselman's ad hoc solution to the problem of counter-examples accordingly consists in postulating a "reduction" of the unstressed vowel in such forms. Not only is the assumption of such reductions in the relevant forms both unsupported and inherently improbable, it even involves Hesselman in self-contradictory accounts of the phonetic development. We will return to some examples in section III.

An important foundation for Hesselman's inclusion of breaking among umlaut phenomena is the epenthesis theory, according to which even *i*-umlauted vowels, for instance, went through a diphthongal stage:  $a > a' > e$  (1945:4). Since this assumption also rests solely on speculation, it poses no problem for the rejection of the VB-theory: no independently established parallelism between umlaut and breaking is lost thereby.

The year before Hesselman's book on umlaut and breaking came out, John Svensson published a treatise on breaking and similar phenomena in the Nordic

languages (Svensson 1944). Svensson's critique of the current VB-theories is perspicacious and devastating and should have restrained later writers from reproducing unqualified VB dogma in their textbooks. One reason why later writers have remained unrestrained may be that Svensson's own alternative theory does not have much more to recommend it. Svensson claims that breaking is not a conditioned sound change at all, but rather a spontaneous diphthongization through the development of a palatal initial element ("förslag"). The vowel *e* is assumed to be particularly susceptible to such a development.

This formulation raises a number of questions. (1) What does "diphthongization through a palatal initial element" ("diftongering med palatalt förslag") mean in phonetic terms, and how does such a development come about? (2) What are the reasons for assuming that this is the process that lies behind breaking? (3) How is the hypothesis empirically discernible from other hypotheses? (4) How does the hypothesis fit the observed facts?

Svensson does not answer any of these questions in a satisfactory manner, as I think will appear from the following discussion.

(1) Svensson actually leaves the question of the origin of the diphthongal element to the phoneticians: "Problemets ljudfysiologiska sida är en rent fonetisk uppgift, som måste överlämnas åt fonetikerna" (1944:75). Nevertheless he indulges in some speculation a few pages later, where he sketches the following possibility: "Redan innan omställningen av talorganen till uttalet av vokalen är klar (efter paus eller uttal av ett annat ljud), s.a.s. i skarven mellan uttalet av det föregående ljudet (eller pausen) och uttalet av vokalen, frambringas ett mer eller mindre svagt (oavsiktligt, ofrivilligt och för den talande oftast omedvetet) ljudelement" (1944:79). This, of course, is no "explanation" (as he calls it), quite apart from the fact that it involves the untenable assumption that speech-sounds are articulated neatly one after the other, with the possibility of "unintentional sound elements" in the "dent" between them. Thus, Svensson's unfamiliarity with structural phonology is not compensated for with a too impressive acquaintance with articulatory phonetics. Another formulation on the same page reveals an odd conception of language as something existing independently of its speakers – a notion inherited from pre-neogrammarian linguistic thought: "Till den ljudfysiologiska process, som kan tänkas ligga bakom utvecklingen av *j* (men som icke gett ett för örat uppfattbart resultat), tages ingen hänsyn" (1944:79). It is rather difficult to see how a "sound-physiological process" that cannot be perceived by the ear can have consequences for the development of the language.

(2) Svensson's reasons for assuming that the process leading to breaking was of this (vaguely defined) kind derive primarily from a comparison with similar phenomena in modern East Nordic dialects. He presents an impressive amount of material from modern dialects and demonstrates convincingly that unconditioned diphthongization of an *e*-like monophthong to a *je*-like diphthong has taken place in several of them. Svensson's main point seems to be that the new

diphthongs cannot be distinguished from the breaking diphthongs in these dialects (i.e. they have coalesced), and therefore breaking must be the "same" thing (e.g. pp. 62, 68, 164). This does not follow, however. When a language develops new phonemes (or phoneme sequences) by processes such as breaking, it is quite common that the new entities extend their distribution by attracting allophones from other phonemes through subsequent sound changes. But these subsequent changes may very well be of an entirely different kind from those that originally led to the establishment of the new phonemes. Take as a case in point the phonemes /y/ and /ø/ in Norwegian dialects. They originated through *i*-umlaut of /u/ and /o/, respectively; but they have subsequently extended their distribution through a variety of processes: *u/w*-umlaut (ONorw *røru*, *syngva*), labialization by surrounding consonants (*klyppa*), conditioned lowering (*vøle*) etc. etc. There is thus no reason to believe with Svensson that we are in the privileged position to observe the breaking process "in flagranti", so to speak, even if the diphthongizing tendency is "still" alive in Swedish dialects (cf. 1944:65).

Svensson does not restrict himself to Scandinavian dialects in his search for relevant material. By disregarding the phonetic side of the matter (cf. (1) above) he is able to lump together a lot of superficially similar phenomena from various languages under the common heading of "diftongering med palatalt förslag", apparently considering it to be indirect support for his breaking hypothesis. The crudest analysis of Svensson's examples by the phoneticians, however, on whom, as we have seen, Svensson explicitly relies for support, would reveal very different causes and processes behind them. Thus, the OE short diphthongs are clearly conditioned, not spontaneous, and there is no reason, to say the least, to believe that they ever contained a *j*-element; the Icelandic development *é > jé* has to be seen in the context of the development of the quantity system; and so on.

(3) We may conclude, then, that Svensson's reasons for proposing his hypothesis about breaking are not compelling. This circumstance does not falsify it, however: it is still possible that a confrontation with manuscript data would support it. The hypothesis has at least two testable implications: (a) the diphthongization was spontaneous; (b) the earliest form of the diphthong was a palatal element [j] + the original vowel [e]. It is important to realize that the hypothesis stands or falls with the evidence for (a) and (b). If manuscript data indicate that breaking was conditioned, for instance, this is not something to be explained away by ad hoc assumptions; such assumptions would merit consideration only if other circumstances strongly supported the hypothesis. No such independent support exists. As we shall see, however, Svensson is forced to make ad hoc assumptions of an even more doubtful nature than Kock's period hypothesis, as the manuscripts present overwhelming counter-evidence to (a) and (b).

(4) The distinction between conditioned and spontaneous sound changes is not unproblematic, of course; but I should think that the following could be taken

as a useful characterization of the former: If a sound change takes place in certain contexts, but not in others, and if the contexts in which the change takes place have certain features in common, whereas those in which it does not take place are more heterogeneous, then the sound change should be conditioned. Manuscript data do not show directly whether these circumstances prevailed at the time of the change; they merely allow us to reconstruct etymologically the phonemic context in those forms that show a graphic reflex of the change and in those that don't. Thus the manuscript evidence is indirect and open to various interpretations, but since it is the best evidence available, interpretation should be restricted in the manner discussed under (3) above.

As will be fully demonstrated in sections III and IV below, the manuscript data clearly indicate that breaking took place in certain contexts but not in others, and that the contexts where it took place have important features in common. Svensson is aware of this, but he does not treat it as decisive counter-evidence, as he should. Instead he comes up with an ad hoc assumption which is not only beyond any kind of confirmation or disconfirmation, even in principle, but which must also be rejected on logical grounds because it in effect obliterates the distinction between conditioned and spontaneous sound changes, a distinction which is, of course, essential to the hypothesis. This construct is 'that particular articulation of the vowel which is a precondition for spontaneous diphthongization, and which may be conditioned by the context': "Vissa faktorer ha bidragit till att åt grundvokalen ge just det uttal, som är förutsättningen för diftongering" (1944:127). We are told nothing about the nature of this articulation; that, presumably, is a problem for the phoneticians to solve. By the aid of this construct, Svensson's hypothesis stays proof against disconfirming evidence throughout the book; examples can be found on pp. 69, 77, 127, and 164. In some cases an alternative way of explaining away counter-evidence is suggested, in that conditioning factors are assumed to have operated *after* the sound change: "Även inom de speciella diftongeringsområdena är diftongeringen ibland begränsad till vissa ställningar [. . .]. Detta kan lika gärna förklaras på det sättet, att diftongen blivit bevarad, endast då särskilt gynnsamma betingelser funnits härför, som att diftongutvecklingen från början varit beroende av dessa förutsättningar" (1944:126).

The other implication of Svensson's hypothesis ((b) under (3) above) finds no more support in the manuscript data; on the contrary, the manuscripts clearly show that the form *ia* is earlier than the form *ie*, as was persuasively argued by Hoff 1947. In this case, too, Svensson must resort to ad hoc hypotheses: the late ON *ie*-forms are the result of "conservative" eastern influence (1944:225 f).

Other counter-examples are explained by reference to a host of "j-hostile" consonants and consonants susceptible to palatalization, which are assumed to have prevented breaking in some, *but not all*, forms when initial (1944:179 ff).

We may safely conclude that Svensson's theory about breaking, to the extent that it can be made precise, is disconfirmed by all relevant evidence available;

or alternatively, if the additional ad hoc hypotheses are insisted on, that it cannot be taken seriously since it is then not open to disconfirmation even in principle.

There have been sporadic attempts in our century to reconsider the role of consonants in the breaking process and to bring the similarity with OE phenomena into focus, notably by Flom 1937 and Hoff 1949. Hoff expresses her dissatisfaction with the traditional theories and points out the regularity of breaking before *r*- and *l*-clusters, but she still shows a strange reluctance to discard the VB-theory: unstressed vowels are assumed to have been the fundamental cause of breaking in all forms where analogical levellings have not operated. On the whole, however, it is the works of Kock, Hesselman and Svensson which must be considered the major contributions to the solution of the problems of breaking in our century. Since none of them seem to be adequate, a fresh look at the evidence is in order.

### III

The following discussion will be based on the relevant forms in the Old Norwegian Book of Homilies (GNH), AM 619 4<sup>o</sup>, supplied with forms from other texts when necessary. The reason for the selection of this text is that it is the oldest surviving Norwegian manuscript of some size; discussions of its date converge about 1200 A.D.

The forms in question are those that are reconstructed with a PGmc short /*e*/. The graphic reflexes of this phoneme in GNH are divided into the following groups:

- |                              |   |                      |
|------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| 1. <i>i, y</i>               | } | Graphic monophthongs |
| 2. <i>e, ɛ, æ, ae</i>        |   |                      |
| 3. <i>ia, ja, ea, iæ</i>     | } | Graphic diphthongs   |
| 4. <i>io, iø, jo, jø, eo</i> |   |                      |

Group 1 is assumed to reflect a high monophthong at the ON stage, group 2 a non-high monophthong, group 3 a diphthong (or semi-vowel + monophthong) with an unrounded second element, group 4 a diphthong (or semi-vowel + monophthong) with a rounded second element. The reason for including *ae* among the "graphic monophthongs" is that it seems to be in free variation with the graphics *æ* and *ɛ*.

A working hypothesis, which is not, of course, taken for granted, will be that the conditions for breaking may not have been the same in long-syllabic and short-syllabic forms. (This has been assumed by proponents of VB-theories, too, e.g. by Hesselman.) We shall therefore treat long-syllabic and short-syllabic forms separately; it will appear later on to what extent this is justified. It will also be assumed that the primary conditions for breaking (if breaking is a conditioned sound change) will be found in the row of segments following the stressed /*e*/. This row of segments will be considered in its reconstructed PGmc form to assure that no possibly relevant features are overlooked. The forms will

first be grouped and discussed according to postvocalic consonants and consonant groups, then according to post-tonic vowels or lack of such. (The PGmc phoneme system, in terms of which the forms are discussed, is treated in section IV.)

### 1. Long-syllabic forms

PGmc short /e/ is reflected by a graphic diphthong before the following PGmc consonant clusters (all morphemes involved are represented in the examples):

/χt/	<i>iatta</i> inf.
/χu/	<i>iola</i> n. gen. pl. <i>á sio</i> f. dat. sg. <i>siá</i> inf.
/rb/	<i>diarfr</i> adj. nom. sg. m. <i>þiarft</i> adj. acc. sg. n.
/rd/	<i>hiarðar</i> f. gen. sg.
/rg/	<i>biorg</i> n. nom. pl. <i>biarga</i> inf. <i>biorg</i> f. acc. sg.
/rþ/	<i>iorð</i> f. nom. sg.
/rχ/	<i>biarta</i> adj. acc. sg. f.
/rt/	<i>hiarta</i> n. nom. sg.
/rk/?	<i>iartæin</i> f. nom. sg.
/rn/	<i>agiarn</i> adj. nom. sg. m. <i>stiarna</i> f. nom. sg.
/rl/	<i>iarl</i> m. nom. sg.
/lb/	<i>sialfr</i> adj. nom. sg. m. <i>scialfanndo</i> pr. ptc. dat. sg. f.
/ld/	<i>giold</i> n. acc. pl. <i>scioldr</i> m. nom. sg. <i>tiald-</i> (comp.)
/lg/	<i>fialglæicr</i> m. nom. sg.
/lp/	<i>hialpa</i> inf.
/lm/	<i>-hialm</i> m. acc. sg.
/lz/	<i>fialle</i> m. dat. sg.
/ll/	<i>usniallre</i> adj. dat. sg. f. <i>-spiall</i> n. acc. sg.
/bn/	<i>iafn</i> adj. nom. sg. m.

The last example, *iafn*, stands apart in two respects; firstly because of its consonant cluster, secondly because it should possibly be reconstructed with PGmc short /i/, not /e/ (de Vries). There is evidence, however, that the cluster /bn/ should be considered to be of the same general type as the others; what this



“general type” is will be discussed in section IV, where we will also return to the adjective *iafn*. Let us disregard it for the time being.

There is a striking uniformity among the remaining clusters, in that the overwhelming majority are of the type /rC/, /lC/ (where C stands for ‘any consonant’) and the rest are of the type /χC/. These types do not exhaust the class of possible consonant combinations after PGmc short /e/; cf. forms like *breſta* inf., *segl* n. We therefore want to test the possibility that the correlation between these clusters and graphic diphthongs is significant. Let us first consider the counter-examples, i.e. forms where PGmc short /e/ is reflected by a graphic monophthong before the same types of clusters:

/χt/	<i>læiðretta</i> inf. <i>rettan</i> adj. acc. sg. m. <i>setta</i> num. <i>vetr</i> f. nom. sg.
/χu/	<i>se</i> pr. subj. 3 sg. <i>ser</i> pr. ind. 3 sg.
/rb/	<i>dirfð</i> f. nom. sg. <i>hværfa</i> inf.
/rd/	<i>hirðir</i> pr. ind. 3 sg. <i>hirðis</i> m. gen. sg. <i>hirðar</i> f. gen. sg. (of <i>hiorð</i> ) <i>sværð</i> n. nom. sg.
/rg/	<i>berg</i> n. acc. sg.
/rþ/	<i>svivirðu</i> pt. ind. 3 pl. <i>værðir</i> adj. n. pl. m.
/rχ/	<i>Ðver-</i> (comp.)
/rk/	<i>virkr</i> adj. nom. sg. m. <i>værc</i> n. nom. sg.
/rn/	<i>a girni</i> f. acc. sg.
/rz/	<i>firra</i> inf.
/rs/	<i>værr</i> adv. comp. <i>værri</i> adj. comp.
/lb/	<i>skelfr</i> pr. ind. 3 sg.
/ld/	<i>scildi</i> m. dat. sg. <i>mildi</i> f. nom. sg.
/lþ/	<i>spilla</i> inf. <i>spæl</i> n. acc. sg.
/lþ/	<i>háþr</i> pr. ind. 3 sg.
/lm/	<i>fælms fullr</i> adj. nom. sg. m.
/ll/	<i>ostilling</i> f. nom. sg. <i>Syllostoccar</i> m. nom. pl.

The vast majority of these counter-examples fall into two sub-groups:

(a) forms which contained the phoneme /i/ in the following unstressed syllable at the PGmc stage: *læiðretta*, *ser*, *dirfð*, *hirðir*, *hirðis*, *svivirðu*, *virkr*, *a girni*; *firra*, *værri*, *skelfr*, *scildi*, *mildi*, *spilla*, *hælpr*, *ostilling*, *Syllostoccar*;

(b) forms which contained prevocalic consonantal /u/ ([w]) at the PGmc stage: *vetr*, *hværfa*, *sværð*, *svivirðu*, *værðir*, *Ðver-*, *virkr*, *værc*, *værri*, *værr*, *Syllostoccar* (some forms belong in both groups).

Thus forms with this structure seem to constitute a well-defined exception to the suggested correlation between the consonant clusters in question and the graphic diphthongs; *how* well-defined will be considered after a discussion of the remaining counter-examples.

Several of the remaining counter-examples have original consonant clusters of the type /χC/; in fact so many that we are led to doubt the significance of this type of cluster. A closer look at the forms with a graphic diphthong before /χ/-clusters confirms this doubt. The forms in question differ from the rest of the examples in that they contain long vowels (a well-established fact only inconsistently reflected in the GNH orthography), and they should probably not be regarded as instances of breaking at all. In the case of *iola*, *sio* and *siá* the diphthongs are convincingly explained as the result of vowel contraction upon the loss of an intervocalic /χ/; and *iatta* can naturally be assumed to stand under the analogical influence of *iá*, of which it must be considered a synchronic derivation.

On the other hand, some OSw forms indicate more clearly that /χ/-clusters may have had a breaking effect. We have to bear in mind that non-initial /χ/ was lost in PSc, and the relative chronology of this loss and breaking may have varied in the various parts of the Nordic-speaking area, thus accounting for regional differences. However this may be we may safely disregard the /χ/-clusters in the remaining discussion of the ON forms since the examples in question are satisfactorily explained through other means.

This leaves us with the counter-examples *berg*, *hirðar*, *spæl*, *fælms fullr*. Note that these forms pose problems both for the VB-theories and for the CB-hypothesis we are testing. Some of them may belong to the "unexplained residue" which no theory of linguistic change can avoid: we can try to reduce the residue maximally, but we can never hope to eliminate it. For the moment I see no alternative to relegating the two last forms to this residue; suggestions about analogical influences put forward by Hesselman and Noreen among others are vague and unconvincing. The form *hirðar*, on the other hand, is obviously a slip of the pen. The expected gen. of *hiorð* f., *hiarðar*, occurs twice in the ms., actually written by the same hand. The context where the anomalous form occurs may provide an explanation for the slip: *Stafar merkia hirðis syslu en þat er varðvæizla guðs hirðar*. The assumption of associative influence from the form *hirðis* in the same sentence lies near at hand.

*Berg* is one of a group of nouns in ON that occur both in broken and unbroken form; the group also includes *fellfiáll*. Breaking is expected in these words both according to the VB-theories (the nouns are *a*-stems) and according to our present CB-hypothesis. A possible but rather unsubstantiated explanation is

that frequent use as unstressed second elements in composite place-names – a position which would prevent breaking – has influenced the basic forms. Another explanation put forward by Hesselman 1945:83–86 is analogical levelling from the dat. sg., the dat. being particularly frequent in place-names. Since this explanation rests on the VB-theory, and would provide indirect support for this theory if it could be made probable, a comment is in order.

The dat. sg. ending in *a*-stems is ON *-i* < PS *-ē*; thus, according to the VB-theory (but *not* according to the CB-hypothesis) breaking would not take place in this form, but in all other forms of the sg. and pl. Consequently Hesselman's explanation rests on the assumption that the original post-breaking paradigm for the singular was nom. *biarg*, gen. *biargs*, dat. *bergi*, acc. *biarg*. Hesselman's adduced evidence for this paradigm is not convincing. His oldest material is from the Elder Edda, but the cited forms show both graphic diphthongs and graphic monophthongs in the dat. sg. as well as in other forms. Hesselman does not cite any evidence from older sources. If we do, we find his case to be weakened even further. The oldest Norwegian occurrences (before 1250) of the noun *biarg* are those in GNH; here we find the three forms *berg* n. acc. sg., and *biorg* (twice) nom. and acc. pl. (Holtmark 1955). The oldest Icelandic sources have the following occurrences (Larsson 1891):

nom. sg. *bergit* (AM 645 4°);  
 dat. sg. *biarge* [2], *biargeno* [2], *biargino* (AM 645 4°);  
 acc. sg. *biargit* (AM 645 4°); *miþberg* (GKS 1812 4°);  
 dat. pl. *biórgom* (AM 645 4°).  
 (Numbers in angled brackets indicate occurrences.)

In addition to these forms there are five occurrences of the dat. sg. *lǫgbergi*, but this is a *ia*-stem (nom. *lǫgbergi*). The forms speak for themselves.

The significant counter-examples then, are those with an original post-tonic /i/ and those with a pre-vocalic consonantal /u/; i.e. well-defined exceptions which do not weaken the suggested correlation between graphic diphthongs and /r/- and /l/-clusters. Before we can incorporate this into our CB-hypothesis, however, we must look for counter-examples to the exceptions: do graphic diphthongs *never* occur in these contexts?

There are no examples of a graphic diphthong after an original consonantal /u/. Before an original /i/, however, we find some occurrences.

Two rather anomalous forms are *biærgr* and *biargr*, both pr. ind. 3 sg. of the strong verb *biarga*. The forms are anomalous because GNH has corresponding forms of other verbs of the same class with graphic monophthongs (*skelfr*, *hélpr*), and because the pr. ind. sg. of verbs of this class normally occurs without breaking in ON manuscripts. Analogical levelling is the likely explanation, and this is supported by the spelling *iæ* in one of the forms. This spelling is almost unique in the manuscript, and indicates that the breaking “diphthongs” were no longer interpreted as diphthongs at the ON stage, but rather as clusters of consonantal /i/ + vowel: the [j] is interpreted as part of the initial consonant cluster, and the vowel gets the *i*-mutated value typical of this class of verb

forms. In other words the [j], no longer perceived as part of the vocalic nucleus, does not take part in the morphophonemic alternation.

Quite normal, on the other hand, are the occurrences of graphic diphthongs before the original /i/ of the plural ending *-ir/-er* of nouns and adjectives: *iarðer* f. acc. pl., *iamgiarner* adj. nom. pl. m., *sialfer* adj. nom. pl. m. [3]. It is important to note that *i*-umlaut does not occur, either, in the same categories (except in long-syllabic masculine *i*-stems: *gestir*); such a morphologically defined exception from two sound changes clearly indicates levelling within the paradigms.

We are now in a position to formulate tentatively a partial CB-hypothesis: In long-syllabic forms, breaking occurred before clusters of /r/ or /l/ + consonant if the /e/ was not preceded by a consonantal /u/ or followed by an unstressed /i/ in the next syllable.

Our next task will be to examine the post-tonic vocalism. After the previous examination of the post-vocalic consonant clusters we seem to be faced with the following possibilities. There may not be the same degree of correlation between a certain kind of vocalism and graphic diphthongs as was established in the case of the consonant clusters. In that case our CB-hypothesis is strengthened. Or the degree of correlation may be the same, or higher, in which case an examination of the short-syllabic forms will have to decide the matter: those forms per definition have no post-vocalic clusters; and if we find the same conditions with respect to post-tonic vocalism to prevail in short-syllabic breaking forms as in long-syllabic breaking forms, this will strongly support the VB-theory.

If we group the long-syllabic forms with graphic diphthongs according to PGmc post-tonic vocalism and its subsequent development, we arrive at the following categories (every morpheme involved is represented in the examples):

(a) PGmc /a/, /ō/ > GNH *a*.

*hiarðar* f. gen. sg., *biarga* inf., *iarðar* f. gen. sg., *biarta* adj. acc. sg. f., *hiarta* n. nom. sg., *giarna* adv., *iarlar* m. nom. pl., *scialfanndo* pr. ptc. dat. sg. f., *sialfan* adj. acc. sg. m., *gialda* inf., *hialpa* inf., *guðspialla* n. gen. pl. [In total 163 examples.]

(b) PGmc /a/ > GNH Ø (syncopated).

*diarfr* adj. nom. sg. m., *þiarfti* adj. acc. sg. n., *agiarn* adj. nom. sg. m., *iarl* m. nom. sg., *sialfr* adj. nom. sg. m., *tiald buð* f. dat. sg., *fialglæicr* m. nom. sg., *þyrni hialm* m. acc. sg., *fial* n. nom. sg., *guð spiall* n. acc. sg. [In total 106 relatively certain examples.]

(c) PGmc /u/, /ō/ > GNH *u*, *o*.

*hiorðu* f. dat. sg., *biorgum* pr. ind. 1 pl., *iorðu* f. dat. sg., *biortu* adj. dat. sg. n., *hiortu* n. acc. pl., *illgiornum* adj. dat. pl., *stiornu* f. acc. sg., *siolfum* adj. dat. sg. m. *guðspiollum* n. dat. pl.; [In total 111 examples.]

*iarðu* f. dat. sg., *hiarto* n. acc. pl., *fé giarnum* adj. dat. sg. m., *ilgiarnom* adj. dat. pl., *sialfum* adj. dat. sg. m., *hialpum* f. dat. sg. [In total 6 examples.]

(d) PGmc /u/, /ō/ > PSc /u/ > GNH Ø (syncopated).

*hiorð* f. dat. sg., *biorg* n. nom. pl., *biorg* f. acc. sg., *iorð* f. nom. sg., *siolf* adj. nom. sg. f., *giold* n. acc. pl., *hiolp* f. acc. sg., *fioll* n. acc. pl., *guð spioll* n. acc. pl., *lifscioldr* m. nom. sg.; [In total 52 examples.]

*iarð-* (*-legr*, *-neskr*, *-ríki*, *-skialfte*) (comp.), *hialp-* (*-ráð*) (comp.). [In total 24 examples.]

(e) PGmc /ai/, /ē/ > GNH *i*, *e*.

*biargem* pr. subj. 1 pl., *iarle* m. dat. sg., *hialpe* pr. subj. 3 sg., *guðspialle* n. dat. sg., *fialle* n. dat. sg. [In total 45 examples.]

(f) PGmc Ø = GNH Ø (no vowel).

*gialt* imp. sg. [1 example.]

The last examples in category (d) and the categories (e) and (f) pose problems for the VB-theories. We will first consider the two latter categories, returning to the *iarð-* and *hialp-*forms after a discussion of the rounding of the diphthongs.

The breaking in the dat. sg. of *a*-stems is not, perhaps, very significant counter-evidence to the VB-theories, since we would expect paradigmatic levelling of those forms. The breaking diphthongs in the present subjunctive of strong verbs of the third class, on the other hand, must be considered very significant. The arguments for assuming analogical levelling in this case are tenuous. Hesselman writes (1945:77 f):

“Strängt taget är det dock endast sex verb i historisk fisl., där man har egentlig anledning att vänta växlingen, nämligen utom *biarga* verben *gialda*, *gialla*, *hialpa*, *skialla* (~*skella*) och *skialfa* [...]. I alla andra verb, starka och svaga, är som man kan vänta, vokalen i konj. densamma som i inf. och (praktiskt taget) präs. ind. (Märk bland st. vb. de många av typen *bresta*, *verða*, *kueða*, *drepa*, *lesa* etc.) Under sådana förhållanden vore det närmast ett litet underverk, om dessa sex verb ensamma hade förmått upprätthålla växlingen, i varje fall någon längre tid.”

I.e. Hesselman believes the influence from the other verbal paradigms to have been so strong that it would have been a “minor miracle” if the alternation e.g. *biarga* inf.: *\*bergi* pr. subj. had survived. But in the first place, three of the five “normal” verbs he mentions are short-syllabic and belong to a different class. In the second place, is it not just as much of a “miracle” that the *infinitives* are able to retain the diphthong, face to face with so many *e*-infinitives? If the pattern was set by the strong verbs with an *e* in the present stem, why was not the infinitive levelled in accordance with the pr. subj., rather than vice versa? In that case we should have had not only the same *lacking vowel alternation* as the influential verbs, but even the same *vowel*. Finally, if you expect the breaking diphthong to be analogically transferred to the pr. subj. because other *e*-verbs have the same vowel in the infinitive and the pr. subj., why not expect a corresponding transfer to the present *indicative*? The forms are, however, *verða* inf.: *verðr* pr. ind.: *verði* pr. subj., but *biarga* inf.: *bergr* pr. ind.: *biargi*

pr. subj. Analogical transfer to the present indicative is perfectly feasible, as is demonstrated by OSw, where the transfer actually took place (*giælder* pr. ind.); it did not take place in ON.

These considerations do not disprove that the kind of levelling Hesselman suggests, could happen, but they demonstrate that there is no reason to believe that it would. Therefore the pr. subj. forms remain important counter-evidence to the VB-theories, especially if they can be accounted for by an alternative theory. The same goes for the imperative forms (category (f) above). Since the forms are fully in accordance with our CB-hypothesis, we may consider that hypothesis strengthened.

Graphic diphthongs of type 4 on p. 8, i.e. those presumably denoting a diphthong with a rounded second element, are found only in categories (c) and (d). The fact that both categories are characterized by a rounded vowel in the unstressed syllable, together with the fact that graphic diphthongs of type 3 can also occur in these categories, clearly indicate that type 4 is the marked, secondary form of the breaking diphthong. The graphs used to denote the rounded second element are identical with the graphs used to denote *u*-umlauted PSc /a/, and *u*-umlaut of /a/ took place in the same contexts as those defined by categories (c) and (d) above. Furthermore, the lack of rounding in the last six examples in category (c) (i.e. before a remaining unstressed /u/) is closely paralleled by the absence of *u*-mutation of PSc /a/ in the same context: the last six examples under (c) constitute 5.4% of the forms in this category, while 6% of the long-syllabic forms with PSc /a/ in the same context show absence of *u*-mutation, i.e. almost the same proportion.

In the face of this evidence it is indefensible to refuse to see the development of rounded breaking diphthongs in connection with *u*-mutation. Still, Kock insists that the two phenomena should be dissociated from each other. He presents two arguments, one referring to his own hypothesis concerning the phonetic development behind breaking and one referring to manuscript evidence and later developments. The first argument is based on the unquestioned assumption that the unstressed *u* causing breaking “bei seinem Eindringen in die Wurzelsilbe zu Anfang dieselbe Qualität gehabt haben muss, wie er sie in der Endung hatte” (1911–16:280). Thus, he claims, a breaking + umlaut hypothesis presupposes the unlikely development \**meku* > \**me<sup>u</sup>ku* > \**miuku* > \**mioku* > \**miaku* > \**mi<sup>u</sup>ku* > *mi<sup>u</sup>k*, where the vowel reverts to a rounded quality after an intermediate unrounded stage. This argument is no more compelling than Kock’s version of the epenthesis theory, which assumes that entire vowels move back and forth in the row of segments. It is perfectly possible, however, that the stressed vowel is assimilated only to certain features, such as [back], of the unstressed vowel; and an unrounded back glide would naturally undergo *u*-mutation. Besides, even if the glide was rounded from the beginning, the question really is if it came to be interpreted as an allophone of /a/ before *u*-syncope, and that seems very likely considering the development of the unmarked variant of the breaking diphthong (/ia/). No unrounded intermediate stage would be necessary for such an assignment to the phoneme /a/ since that

phoneme would itself have rounded allophones before unstressed /u/ at this point.

Kock's second argument is based on varying notation of the two entities in some manuscripts (*børn* n. pl.: *iorþ* f. sg.) and diverging development in modern dialects. Even if the skalds rhyme *ǫld* with *skiǫldu*, Kock maintains, the vowels were not necessarily identical, they would only have to be phonetically close (1911–16:281 f). This unsupported pre-phonemic concept of 'non-identical vowels being sufficiently close to rhyme with each other' is not very convincing; to-day it would hardly be methodologically acceptable to assume that phonemically distinct vowels could be involved in an *aðalhending*. As to the later diverging development, it is fully accounted for by the post-umlaut distribution of the entities: whereas *u*-umlauted PSc /a/ occurred in contexts in which it was in phonemic opposition to other back rounded vowels (/o/ and /u/), the rounded entity after consonantal /i/ did not enter into any such oppositions and could hence acquire a less marked, i.e. less open, pronunciation. Such a development could naturally entail phonemic reassignment. Thus the demonstrably late different phonemic status of the rounded vowel in *iorþ* and that in *børn* does not warrant any conclusions to the effect that the two entities must have essentially different historical origins.

Consequently, there is every reason to believe that the diphthongization of PGmc /e/ through breaking and the rounding of the second element of the diphthong are distinct processes with different conditioning factors which may or may not be found in the same postvocalic segment. The rounding should be regarded as a special case of *u*-umlaut, while the conditioning factors causing breaking are not necessarily located in the same unstressed /u/. This conclusion is strongly supported by the last examples in category (d) above and others like them in other manuscripts, and the same examples at the same time furnish important evidence in favour of the CB-hypothesis. The consistently unrounded diphthong in compounds with *iarð-*, *hialp-* and other (original) *ō*-stems are not easily reconciled with Kock's VB-theory: if breaking and rounding are conditioned by the same segment at the same time, why do these *ō*-stems (-*ō*/ > -/u/) show unrounded diphthongs? In this case no appeal to analogical influence (from the uncompounded form) will avail.

The only way for Kock to explain these forms would be to demonstrate that the linking vowel had not been /*ō*/ > /u/, but /a/, which would cause "a-breaking". This is precisely what he attempts to do, but in the first place his evidence carries no weight, and in the second place, even if it did, it would explain only a part of the examples. Kock claims to find the proof that fem. *ō*-stems were compounded with the linking vowel *a* "schon in gemeingermanischer Zeit" in Goth forms like *airþa-kunds* 'of earthly origin' (1911–16:298). But in Goth PGmc unstressed /*ō*/, /*ē*<sub>1</sub>/ and (retained) /a/ all merged in unstressed /a/. Thus the *a* in *airþa-kunds* may equally well reflect a PGmc /*ō*/ as a PGmc /a/. Besides, ON *u*-stems show the same phenomenon: *biarndýr* (cp. *biörn* m.), and in *u*-stems a linking vowel /a/ is even less likely in that it could not be accounted for in terms of ablaut.

Under the CB-hypothesis, on the other hand, the forms are entirely expected. Forms with PSc /a/ such as *varðhald* (of *vǫrðr* m., *u*-stem) teach us not to expect *u*-umlaut in compounded forms, either because the linking vowel was syncopated too early in such a context, or because the compounds were formed without a linking vowel; the precise reason is irrelevant to our problem, which concerns the relationship between *u*-umlaut and the rounding of the breaking diphthong. Breaking, on the other hand, is expected under the same hypothesis, since PGmc /e/ was followed by /r/- or /l/-clusters in the relevant forms; and the resulting diphthong would naturally be of the unmarked /ia/-quality.

Our investigation of the relationship between post-tonic vocalism and graphic diphthongs has supported the CB-hypothesis formulated on p. 13. (We may now add the further assumption that the rounding of the breaking diphthong is an instance of *u*-umlaut and should be regarded separately from breaking as such.) Only the last examples of category (d) and the categories (e) and (f) gave direct support to the CB-hypothesis, since the remaining categories are compatible with the VB-theory as well as with our hypothesis. We shall see, though, that an analysis of the short-syllabic forms will lead to the inclusion of some of the other categories above, too, in the evidence for the CB-hypothesis. At present, we are faced with the following question: To what extent do we find the same conditions to prevail in short-syllabic breaking forms as in long-syllabic breaking forms with respect to post-tonic vocalism? Since post-vocalic consonant clusters are out of the question in short-syllabic forms, identical conditions with respect to post-tonic vocalism would support the VB-theory, whereas every systematic difference strengthens the CB-hypothesis.

## 2. Short-syllabic forms

If we group the short-syllabic forms in GNH with a graphic diphthong reflecting PGmc /e/ according to the post-vocalic consonant, no significant pattern emerges: breaking seems to have occurred irrespective of consonantism. There can hardly be any doubt, therefore, that the conditioning factors leading to breaking in short-syllabic forms are to be found in the post-tonic vowels. Grouping the forms according to PGmc post-tonic vocalism and its subsequent development, we arrive at the following categories:

- (a) PGmc /a/, /ō/ > GNH *a*.  
*giafar* f. gen. sg., *fialar* f. nom. pl. [In total 8 examples.]
- (b) PGmc /u/, /ō/ > GNH *u*, *o*.  
*giofum* f. dat. pl. [In total 3 examples.]
- (c) PGmc /u/, /ō/ > PSc /u/ > GNH Ø (syncopated).  
*gíof* f. acc. sg., *fioll* f. dat. sg., *mioc* adv., *ioccli* m. dat. sg., *mioð* m. acc. sg., *fiorer* num. nom. m., *fiotri* m. dat. sg. [In total 70 examples.]  
(With consonantal /u/ = [w]:) *Víð smior* n. nom. sg., *kiot matz* m. gen. sg., *sion* f. acc. sg. [In total 12 examples]
- (d) PGmc /ai/ > GNH *i*, *e*.  
*skiale* n. dat. sg. [1 example.]



If we compare these categories with the categories on pp. 13 f, we find one important difference: there is no category corresponding to (b), i.e. forms with syncopated PGmc /a/. This circumstance is not accidental, as appears from the forms *Gæðlæysi* f. nom. sg. (cp. *geð* n. *a*-stem), *met orð* n. acc. pl. (cp. *met* n. *a*-stem); other manuscripts provide more examples, such as *fet*, *þel*, *melr* etc. This indicates that PGmc /a/ which was syncopated did not occasion breaking; the consonant clusters would still account for the breaking in the forms under (b) on p. 13. (There is certainly no reason to believe that the /a/ was syncopated earlier in short-syllabic forms than in long-syllabic forms: the opposite order is more likely.) This circumstance allows us to include category (b) on p. 13 in the evidence in favour of the CB-hypothesis.

The proponents of VB-theories have tried to explain the unbroken forms in various ways. Kock assumes that the whole set of forms is to be explained through various analogical influences: *þel* n. because of frequent occurrence as an unstressed second element in compounds like *náttarþel*, *fet* n. because of influence from the verb *feta* (where the unbroken vowel has a different explanation according to Kock; see below), etc. This is utterly unconvincing because the proposed explanations overlook the structural similarity of the unbroken forms as against the forms with breaking: the former are all short-syllabic, the latter all long-syllabic. Hesselman bases his explanation on this difference, but he is hardly more convincing than Kock. Hesselman's basic contention in connection with umlaut (and breaking) phenomena is that the precondition for the change is a "sharply", "distinctly" articulated vowel in the unstressed syllable (cp. p. 4 above). In long-syllabic forms, says Hesselman, the *a* is syncopated while still "sharply articulated", and the breaking diphthong remains. In short-syllabic forms *a*-syncope occurs later, and in the meantime the *a* has been reduced to "ett obestämt *e*- eller *ä*-ljud", which does not "harmonize" with the *e* in the stem. The stem vowel is therefore unable to become "stabilized" as *ia*; it is actually "assimilated" to the reduced vowel and reverts to a monophthongal *e*-value (1945:56 f). This is an example of what Hesselman terms "omljudsväxling".

Hesselman's theory of "omljudsväxling" has met with many objections, notably from Svensson 1945 and from several participants in Nordistmötet 1946. To mention some of them: the concept of a "sharply" articulated vowel is imprecise, and the assumption that *a* after a long syllable was syncopated while still "sharply" articulated is ad hoc; the idea that the incipient diphthong reverted to a monophthong as a result of assimilatory influence from the reduced vowel is self-contradictory in terms of Hesselman's premisses, which are that a "sharp" articulation is a precondition for umlaut assimilations; other vowels do not seem to have occasioned "omljudsväxling", for instance, in the case of *i*-umlaut, the *-a* in \**fa'llan* (ON *fella*) or the *ē* in \**fa'llðēr* (ON *felldir* pt. 2 sg.) as against the reduced *i* in \**sta'ðe* > *staðe*. We may add that the proposed account is hardly compatible with a phonemic viewpoint.

On the whole, there seems to be no reason not to accept the evidence at face value, concluding that PGmc /a/ which was later syncopated did not occasion

breaking. One additional form must be considered before we can incorporate this into our hypothesis, however: *skiale* under category (d). The dative form must have acquired its diphthong through paradigmatic levelling (which eliminates category (d) from the list of significant contexts), but this means that we are faced with a short-syllabic *a*-stem with breaking: *skial* n. *Skial* and its synonym *hial* n. constitute the only clear examples of this in ON. Hesselman explains the forms by assuming influence from the weak verbs *skiala* and *hiala* (1945:55). This is a likely explanation since the nouns are clearly deverbative in content and must have been interpreted as derived from the corresponding verbs: they denote the actions associated with them, like *brenning* of *brenna* and *refsing* of *refsa*.

Assuming, then, that there is no significant correlation between syncopated PGmc /a/ and breaking, we turn our attention to retained ON /a/: what kind of correlations emerge in this case? Category (a) on p. 17 contained 8 examples with a graphic diphthong before a written *a*. Excluding forms of the verb *vera* we find no less than 194 counter-examples with a graphic monophthong in the same context; the following morphemes are represented:

*gefa* inf., *nema* inf., *bera* inf., *scæra* inf., *stela* inf., *mega* inf., *lesa* inf., *cveða* inf., *eta* inf., *geta* inf.;

*þela* m. acc. sg., *vega* m. acc. pl., *eta* f. nom. sg.;

*meðal* prep., *meðan* conj.

We may probably disregard forms with an original pre-vocalic consonantal /u/ (*cveða*, *vega*) and forms which are likely to have occurred without stress (*meðal*, *meðan*). The bulk of such counter-examples, then, consists of short-syllabic strong verbs and short-syllabic *n*-stems. Since the forms are at variance with the VB-theories, the proponents of such theories have proposed various explanations.

Kock explains the forms as a result of specific phonetic conditions, i.e. he invokes overriding sound-laws. He claims that the *a* of the ending was lengthened on the loss of *n* (PSc forms: *\*beran*, *\*þelan*), and that such a lengthened vowel could not occasion breaking. Strong verbs *with* breaking, such as *biarga*, *hialpa*, seem to present counter-evidence to this assumption, but Kock points out that these verbs are long-syllabic and assumes that the temporarily lengthened *a* was shortened again after a long syllable. Being short, it would lead to breaking of the root-vowel. (Kock 1911–16:256 f.)

This complicated construct of ad hoc assumptions must fail to convince anybody who does not take the VB-theory for granted. There is no independent reason to believe – in fact, there are strong reasons to refuse to believe – in such infinitesimal but highly consequential sub-phonemic variations in quantity in a period of general reduction of unstressed syllables. Besides, Kock does not explain why a slightly lengthened vowel should not lead to breaking. Furthermore, the assumption fails to explain the weak verbs *skiala* and *hiala*, which are also short-syllabic.

Hesselman believes that breaking always occurred before a retained *a*

(1945:48). He must consequently explain the unbroken forms as resulting from analogical levellings. Within the group of strong verbs the levelling tendency was especially strong, Hesselman maintains, and the unbroken pr. ind. influenced the infinitives. "Only six verbs" have retained the alternation: *biarga, gialda, gialla, hialpa, skialla, skialfa* (1945:87). We may recall Hesselman's proposed explanation for the breaking diphthongs in the pr. subj. of the same verbs (p. 14 f above); now he even claims that the strong infinitives are especially susceptible to influence from the pr. ind., and we may repeat our questions with even greater force: why should just these verbs avoid the levelling of the infinitives in accordance with other strong infinitives and with the pr. ind. and pr. subj.? How can Hesselman justify disregarding the striking uniformity with respect to postvocalic consonant clusters which characterizes these six "exceptions to the exceptions" as against the unbroken infinitives? A uniformity, by the way, which is also characteristic of the masculine and neutral *n*-stems with breaking as against those without (*Biarni, hiarta: þeli*).

Hesselman's attempts to account for the special status of the six verbs with breaking carries no force. In the first place, the verbs are assumed to stand under the influence of nouns like *biorg, giald, hialp*. It is more probable, however, that the influence, if any, would work the other way: as in the case of *skial, hial* the nouns are clearly deverbative in content. Besides, only three of the verbs are "supported" in this way. In the second place, the "formal conservatism" of the three verbs was strengthened, it is suggested, by their "starka förankring i det konservativa kyrkliga, resp. rättsliga skriftspråket" (1945:93). Quite apart from the fact that this assumption implies that the levelling took place as late as the 11th century, at the earliest, it involves the wholly improbable notion that phonetic details in the spoken language were influenced by a conservative writing tradition in the Middle Ages.

The lack of breaking in short-syllabic masculine *n*-stems (*þeli, þela*) (as against *Biarni, Biarna*) stems from the importance of the nominative form in the relevant nouns, according to Hesselman: the nominative does not undergo breaking because of the *-i < -ē* in the ending, and the nominative is especially frequent in words like *þeli*, it is claimed. Without any supporting evidence (which, I believe, would be hard to find) this argument can hardly be taken seriously.

It seems that we are led to reject both Kock's and Hesselman's proposed explanations for the unbroken /e/ in the infinitive of short-syllabic strong verbs and in short-syllabic masculine and neuter *n*-stems. How, then, do we account for the lack of breaking? Would it be possible to support a hypothesis to the effect that the retained /a/ in these forms did not occasion breaking at all?

It would, indeed. We have, no doubt, several short-syllabic forms in ON which show breaking before a retained /a/, cf. category (a) on p. 17; but the /a/ in these forms is not of the same origin as the /a/ in the unbroken short-syllabic forms. As indicated under category (a) on p. 17, ON unstressed /a/ reflects two PGmc unstressed vowels: /ō/ and /a/. In those short-syllabic forms where it reflects /ō/, there is breaking; in those where it reflects /a/, there is not. This

fact has been overlooked, partly, I think, because of the chronological implications of Kock's period hypothesis, which assumes that breaking in the relevant forms occurred at a time when the unstressed vowel had attained the value /a/, and partly because of the VB-theory, which attempts to explain the breaking in long-syllabic forms such as *biarga*, *hiarta* as an effect of the unstressed vowel (which is etymologically identical with the vowel in *bera* etc.), thereby introducing the concept of 'a-breaking'. Let us consider the form-categories in question, first those in which ON /a/ reflects PGmc /ō/, then those in which it reflects PGmc /a/:

/a/ < /ō/:

Feminine *ō*-stems, the gen. sg. and the nom., acc., gen. pl.:

*giafar*; *giafar*, *giafar*, *giafa* < \*/gebō-/

Feminine *ōn*-stems, the nom. sg.

*iara* < \*/erōn/

Weak verbs, 1st class (*ōn*-verbs), most forms:

*skiala*; *skialar*; *skialaði* < \*/skelō-/

/a/ < /a/:

Strong verbs, 3rd, 4th and 5th classes, the inf. (and some other forms):

*bresta* < \*/brestan/

*bera* < \*/beran/

*kveða* < \*/kueþan/

Masculine *an*-stems, the oblique cases in the sg.:

*þela* < \*/þelan-/

Some prepositions and conjunctions:

*meðal*, *meðan* < \*/meþa-/

It seems, then, that we may safely add to our hypothesis the assumption that PGmc unstressed /a/ never occasioned breaking, whether it was syncopated before the ON stage or not. (This, by the way, leads to the inclusion of several of the forms under category (a) on p. 13 among the evidence for the CB-hypothesis.) PGmc unstressed /ō/, on the other hand, occasioned breaking in short-syllabic forms – both the /ō/ which later became /u/ (in which case the breaking diphthong was rounded by *u*-umlaut), and the /ō/ which later became /a/, as discussed immediately above. (The precise conditions under which PGmc unstressed /ō/ became PSc /u/ rather than /a/ need not concern us here; the possible solutions to that interesting problem do not affect the hypothesis.)

Let us test the assumption against the forms in GNH. It appears that there are some counter-examples, but they do not pose serious problems. Among the 194 examples with a graphic monophthong before a retained *a* mentioned on p. 19, there are two in which the *a* reflects PGmc /ō/, viz. two occurrences of

the noun *eta* f. (*eta*, *etan*) 'crib'. This noun must have been interpreted synchronically as a derivation of the verb *eta* (which it actually is diachronically, of course), since the verb by far has the most general meaning of the two. Thus, influence from the verb is the likely explanation. Besides, according to Hesselman 1945:58 the form *iata* f. also existed in OIcel.

There are two counter-examples of the converse type, too; i.e. forms with a graphic diphthong before a retained *a* which reflects PGmc /a/; but these forms are obviously anomalous: two occurrences of the infinitive *giafa* as against 41 occurrences of the "expected" form *gefa*, *gēfa*, *gæfa* etc. According to Fritzner/Hødnebo 1972 the anomalous form with breaking occurs only once outside GNH, in the manuscript AM 307 fol. 32a. Thus, nothing in GNH leads us to reject the hypothesis.

Categories (b) and (c) on p. 17 indicate that PGmc /u/ as well as /ō/ occasioned breaking in short-syllabic forms. Since nobody has disputed this, there is no need to analyse these examples in any detail; we will merely note that the expected diphthong in the pr. ind. 1 pl. of strong verbs has been replaced by a monophthong by analogy: *berum* etc.

Keeping in mind that we have not yet treated the adjective *iafn*, we may now summarize the entire hypothesis.

PGmc short, stressed /e/ was broken with the ultimate result of a rising diphthong in the following contexts: (a) in long-syllabic forms when immediately followed by a cluster consisting of /r/ or /l/ + consonant, unless the following syllable contained an unstressed /i/, or the /e/ was immediately preceded by a consonantal /u/; (b) in short-syllabic forms if the following syllable contained an unstressed /u/ or /ō/, unless the /e/ was preceded by a consonantal /u/. The unmarked quality of the diphthong was unrounded, and its second element came to be identified with the phoneme /a/. The phoneme /a/ and the second element of the breaking diphthong underwent *u*-umlaut under identical conditions; this sound change should be regarded separately from breaking as such.

Refraining from a priori assumptions about the exact phonetic process behind breaking, we are, as we see, led to the conclusion that the phonemic contexts in which breaking took place are not so superficially homogeneous as assumed by the VB-theorists. This might be counted as a weak point in our hypothesis, since we are now faced with the task of showing that it is phonetically plausible. Still, it will appear from the analysis in the next section that the breaking contexts do indeed have significant features in common. These features provide our hypothesis with a phonetic basis which allows us to present it as a theory.

#### IV

In the previous section the PGmc phonemes were treated as unanalysed wholes; in this section we will discuss their phonetic manifestation to the extent that anything can be said about it with reasonable probability. Studies of the structure of sound-systems in modern languages have shown the importance of

the distinction between distinctive and redundant phonetic features. We may at least claim to be able to conclude something about the distinctive features of the PGmc phoneme system; actually, the distinctive features are already largely implied by the traditional reconstructions of PGmc forms. Since reconstructible sound changes frequently involve phonemicization of former allophones, subsequent language history also allows us to conclude something about the subphonemic, allophonic variation in PGmc, and hence about redundant features.

In order to be able to discuss these problems with some precision and coherence, we have to base the exposition on some general and consistent system of phonetic features. It is important to realize that the insights provided by the following analysis and the theory based upon them are not dependent on the particular brand of distinctive feature theory which is employed.

The system of features employed and the notation of phonological rules are adapted from Chomsky and Halle 1968. We do not, however, employ the abstract phoneme concept of the generative grammarians: by a 'phoneme' we mean the traditional structuralist entity established on the basis of distribution and commutation (with refinements we need not go into here).

For the sake of clarity, we will comment briefly on three concepts which are central in the following discussion:

(a) distinctive feature; (b) redundant feature; (c) conditioned allophonic variation.

(a) A phoneme as such is characterized by a set of distinctive features which may be conceived of as the minimum of phonetic features necessary to keep it apart from all other phonemes. The structure of a phoneme system can be displayed through a matrix of distinctive features, with each phoneme marked with a + or a – for each feature, or left unmarked if the feature in question is not distinctive for that phoneme. As an example, consider a possible set of features in a vowel system consisting of the four vowels /i/, /e/, /u/, and /o/:

(1)		/i/	/e/	/u/	/o/
	high	+	–	+	–
	round	–	–	+	+

(b) Some of the phonetic features of a phoneme may be characteristic of it in the sense that they are not conditioned by the context, but still not essential to keep the phoneme apart from all other phonemes, i.e. not distinctive. Such redundant features are more likely to be altered in certain contexts than the distinctive features. In our description of the sound system we will introduce such features by means of redundancy rules. Say, for instance, that the rounded vowels in (1) are also back, and the unrounded non-back, in neutral contexts. This can be stated by employing the variable  $\alpha$  (ranging over + and –) in a rule of the following form:

$$(2) \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ syl} \\ \alpha \text{ round} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ back}]$$

The rule states that all syllabic segments have the same value with respect to the feature back as they have with respect to the feature round (in neutral contexts).

(c) The phonetic context may influence the pronunciation of a phoneme by introducing new features in it (e.g. by assimilation), by altering some of its redundant features, or in other ways. Let us assume, for instance, that the rounded and redundantly back vowels in (1) have a non-back pronunciation before an unstressed /i/ in the following syllable (i.e. synchronic *i*-umlaut). This will be stated by the following phonological rule:

$$(3) [+syl] \rightarrow [-back] / \text{---} C_0 \begin{bmatrix} - \text{stress} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{back} \end{bmatrix}$$

The rule states that all syllabic segments, i.e. all vowels, have a non-back, i.e. front, pronunciation in the context defined after the slant. The dash indicates the position of the segment in question in the context,  $C_0$  means ‘‘any number of consonants, including zero’’, and the following features define unstressed /i/ (cf. (1) and (2) above). Notice that back vowels (by rule (2)) do not have to be stated specifically in the rule, since the rule will apply vacuously to all other vowels. The effect of the rule, then, is to alter the value of the redundant feature [+back] of the vowels /u/ and /o/. Notice, finally, that the rules do not describe a diachronic process, but a synchronic state of affairs, viz. the relationship between the phonemic and the phonetic levels of the language.

The distinctive features characteristic of a phoneme system have to be determined on the basis of positions of maximal distinction, i.e. on the basis of the phonemic oppositions in those positions which show a maximum of such oppositions. In the case of the vowel system this normally means positions of stress and length. In other words, we assume that the oppositions in the long subsystem will influence the speaker’s interpretation of the (possibly poorer) short subsystem in languages in which the two subsystems are commensurate. In late PGmc and PSc they were commensurate.

The vowel system that constituted the starting point for the PSc umlaut and breaking processes is normally reconstructed as (4) below; we should probably refer to it as early PSc rather than late PGmc since we use the notation / $\bar{a}$ / rather than / $\bar{e}_1$ /. There is only one rounded vowel, /u/, in the short sub-system, unmarked for the feature [high].

(4) Short	Long
i    u	$\bar{i}$ $\bar{u}$
e	$\bar{e}$ $\bar{o}$
a	$\bar{a}$

Since the later *i*-umlaut shows that / $\bar{u}$ / and / $\bar{o}$ / developed front allophones, we may conclude that [round] was the distinctive feature, whereas [back] was redundant. Thus we arrive at the following system of distinctive features:

(5)	/i/	/e/	/u/	/a/	/ĩ/	/ē/	/ū/	/ō/	/ā/
syl		+		+	+	+	+	+	+
cons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
long	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
low	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
high	+	-			+	-	+	-	
round	-	-	+		-	-	+	+	

Redundancy rules state that /u/ is [+high] in neutral contexts and that /i/ and /u/ are [+syl] in neutral contexts; the one redundancy rule that need concern us is (6), which states that /ĩ/, /ō/, and /ā/ are redundantly back:

$$(6) \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ round} \\ -\alpha \text{ low} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{back}]$$

(I.e. vowels with opposite values for the features [round] and [low] are also [+back]; another redundancy rule has given /ā/ the feature [-round].)

The language also had three long diphthongs, /eu/, /au/, and /ai/, which may be interpreted as clusters of short monophthongs; however that may be, they constitute a separate subsystem because only three of the many theoretically possible clusters occur – a circumstance that leads to much redundancy in their phonetic features and consequently to the possibility of rich allophonic variation. The distinctive features of the diphthongs may be represented as (7):

(7)	/e u/	/a u/	/a i/
syl	+	+	+
round	+	+	-
low	- -	+ -	+ -

I.e. the two first differ from the last in that they have a rounded second element, whereas the first differs from the others in that both elements are non-low. In all diphthongs the first element carries the syllabic nucleus.

The unstressed subsystem contained the following units:

(8)	Short	Long	Diphthong
	i    u	ī    (ū)	i u
		ē    ō	
	a		

The early PSc consonant system is normally reconstructed with the following units: a set of unvoiced stops, /p/, /t/, /k/; a set of unvoiced fricatives, /f/, /þ/, /s/, /χ/; a set of voiced consonants varying between stop and fricative according to context, /b/, /d/, /g/; one voiced fricative, /z/; two nasals, /m/, /n/; two liquids, /r/, /l/. The feature [strident] distinguishes between /s/, /z/ and /þ/, /d/. Thus:



(9)

p	t	k
b	d	g
f	þ	χ
m	n	
	z	s
	r	
	l	

The system of distinctive features can plausibly be represented as follows:

(10)

	/p/	/t/	/k/	/b/	/d/	/g/	/f/	/þ/	/χ/	/z/	/s/	/m/	/n/	/r/	/l/
syl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
son	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
nas												+	+	-	-
vcd	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-				
cont	-	-	-				+	+	+	+	+				
ant	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+		+	+
lab	+	-		+	-		+	-		-	-	+	-		
strid					-			-		+	+				
lat														-	+

Some redundancy rules may be sketched:

Only four consonants are sonorants (all vowels are redundantly sonorants), and the sonorant consonants are all redundantly voiced and continuants. The non-anterior consonants /k/, /g/, and /χ/ are redundantly [+back] (thus allowing for combinatory palatalization). The redundancy rule that need concern us here, is one concerning the non-nasal sonorants /r/ and /l/.

Several circumstances indicate that /r/ and /l/ had a "dark", i.e. velarized, articulation in PGmc. There is no reason to doubt that their primary articulation was apicodental (i.e. anterior, non-labial in our terms), but this articulation was probably accompanied by a redundant raising of the back of the tongue towards the velum, like it is in modern English in a word like *hill*. We may note the following indications of this, in increasing order of importance:

(a) The PGmc development of /u/ in front of Ind.eur. syllabic sonorants indicates a basis of articulation towards the back.

(b) Old English breaking and retraction processes would be difficult to explain if /r/ and /l/ were not assumed to be velarized.

(c) The development of retroflex flaps in /r/- and /l/-clusters in East Norwegian and East Nordic dialects naturally lead to the assumption of an original velarized articulation.

(d) Unetymological *a* and *u* occur in several PSc runic inscriptions, especially in clusters with *r* or *l*, and in undoubtedly velar clusters such as /χk/. The following clusters are involved (cf. Krause 1971:84f):

- r<sup>ah</sup>*: *worahto* (Tune, c. 400)  
*r<sup>ag</sup>*: *arageu* (Björketorp, c. 675; Stentofthen, c. 650)  
*r<sup>am</sup>*: *herama-la[u]sar* (Stentofthen), *haerama-lausR* (Björketorp)  
*r<sup>um</sup>*: [*w*] *þruma-laib[a]* (Myklebostad, c. 400)  
*h<sup>ar</sup>*: *hararAR* (Eidsvåg, c. 475), *harabanAR* (Järsberg, c. 525)  
*w<sup>ar</sup>*: *waritu* (Järsberg), *warait* (Istaby, c. 625)  
*b<sup>ar</sup>*: *bariutip* (Stentofthen), *barutr* (Björketorp)  
*d<sup>er</sup>*: *hedera* (Stentofthen)  
*l<sup>af</sup>*: *-wolaF-*, *-wulaF-* (Gummarp, c. 600; Istaby, Stentofthen)  
*l<sup>ah</sup>*: *felaheka* (Stentofthen), *falahak* (Björketorp)  
*h<sup>al</sup>*: *wita[n]da-halaiban* (Tune)  
*g<sup>al</sup>*: *hagala* (Kragehul, c. 525)  
*s<sup>al</sup>*: *a[n]su-gisalas* (Kragehul)  
*b<sup>an</sup>*: *harabanAR* (Järsberg)  
*f<sup>at</sup>*: *AfatR* (Istaby)  
*h<sup>ak</sup>*: *falahak* (Björketorp)

We may note in passing that the only clusters that do not contain /r/, /l/, or /ʎ/, are /bn/ and /ft/.

On the basis of this evidence we will assume that PSc had the redundancy rule (11), which states that the non-nasal sonorants /r/ and /l/ had the redundant feature [+back] in neutral contexts:

$$(11) \begin{array}{l} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ son} \\ - \text{ nas} \end{array} \rightarrow [+ \text{ back}]$$

At the early PSc stage which we have sketched in (4)–(11) the umlaut and breaking processes set in. These processes are at least partly a consequence of the Gmc accentual system which was characterized by the development of a stress accent concentrated on the first syllable of the word (with a few exceptions), concomitant with a development of sentence accent, i.e. a rhythmic alternation between stressed and unstressed words. Thus, there was a concentration of articulatory energy in the first syllable of the (stressed) word, and this concentration of energy naturally led to a concentration of distinctivity: phonetic features of following segments were anticipated in the stressed syllable. This phonetic tendency could naturally lead to a reinterpretation of the phonemic system by new generations of speakers to the effect that the anticipated features were interpreted as belonging in the stressed syllable; in other words, the umlaut and breaking allophones were phonemicized. The ultimate result, therefore, was that more units than before could contrast in the stressed syllable (cf. the ON nine-vowel system), while fewer than before could contrast in the unstressed syllable, viz. three vowels in ON as against seven in PSc (cf. (8) above).

We may now again turn our attention to breaking and regard it in the context of this tendency towards regressive assimilations. The phonetic beginning of breaking must have been the development of diphthongal allophones of the

phoneme /e/ in certain surroundings. This can be understood as an anticipation of a feature from the following row of segments, forming an off-glide, i.e. not covering the whole stressed vowel. What feature was anticipated appears when we reconsider the phonemic contexts isolated in the previous section: /r/ or /l/ + consonant, and unstressed /u/ or /ō/ in the following syllable. /r/, /l/, /u/, and /ō/ are all characterized by the feature [+back]; cf. (6) and (11) above. Thus, we suggest, the feature [+back] was anticipated in the stressed syllable, leading to a diphthongal allophone of /e/. It remains to be explained, however, why the feature [+back] was anticipated just in these contexts and not in others containing [+back] elements; we shall return to that problem shortly.

The fact that the allophone was diphthongal rather than monophthongal (e.g. a back unrounded vowel) may be partly clarified by a comparison with the long subsystem. A rich long subsystem will frequently influence the allophonic variation in a poorer, commensurate short subsystem; cf. the development of an allophone [o] of /u/ (cp. (4) above). The long subsystem contained no non-low back unrounded monophthong (a type which is universally rare), but it did contain a diphthong with a front non-low first element and a back second element: /eu/. The diphthongal allophone of /e/ corresponded to this diphthong in the same way as the allophone [o] of /u/ corresponded to the phoneme /ō/.

Before we attempt to formulate the phonological rule of breaking we must consider the restrictions on the sound change; viz. unstressed /i/ in the following syllable in long-syllabic forms, and prevocalic consonantal /u/.

The latter restriction is probably not a restriction on the original phonological rule, but rather a restriction on the subsequent development of the diphthong from a falling diphthong to a rising diphthong with a palatal first element. This assumption is supported by the entirely parallel restriction on the development of the long diphthong /eu/ to a rising diphthong. We may therefore disregard this restriction for the moment.

The former restriction, on the other hand, should be seen in connection with *i*-umlaut. The effect of *i*-umlaut was to render [+back] vowels in the stressed syllable [-back]; i.e. the front articulation of /i/ was anticipated. Of course, intervening redundantly back sonorants between the stressed vowel and the /i/ could not avoid the effect; it would be entirely unreasonable to assume that after anticipating the front articulation of /i/ in the stressed syllable the tongue is raised towards the back in a redundant velar interlude before articulating the palatal /i/. This is not to say that *i*-umlaut developed gradually "through" the fronting of intervening consonants; but the anticipation of frontness must be assumed to have covered the entire row of segments (from the stressed vowel) phonetically. Phonemically speaking of course, the frontness of the intervening consonants was conditioned: by the /i/ before phonemicization, and possibly by the umlauted vowel after phonemicization. Notice, incidentally, that the fronting of intervening sonorants is not the same as palatalization: the sonorants acquire a non-back, neutral articulation, but are not (necessarily) [+high], which would have rendered them "palatal" or "palatalized" in the traditional sense.

The phonological rule of *i*-umlaut may be formulated as (12):

$$(12) \quad [+ \text{son}] \rightarrow [- \text{back}] / \text{---} C_0 \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{stress} \\ - \text{cons} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{back} \end{array} \right]$$

The rule states that any sonorant has a non-back pronunciation when occurring before an unstressed /i/ with any number of consonants (including zero) intervening.

By rule (12), the /r/- and /l/-clusters before unstressed /i/ will not contain any [+back] feature to be anticipated in the stressed syllable.

Let us now tentatively formulate the breaking rule for long-syllabic forms. In the rule, Ø = 'zero', X = 'any row of segments, including zero', and # = 'morpheme boundary'.

$$(13) \quad \emptyset \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{syl} \\ + \text{back} \end{array} \right] / \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{stress} \\ + \text{syl} \\ - \text{long} \\ - \text{high} \\ - \text{back} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{son} \\ + \text{back} \end{array} \right] C_1 X \#$$

We might formulate the rule in a more readable, if less precise, manner by substituting symbols for the feature columns, arbitrarily choosing *v* as the symbol for the non-syllabic back glide:

$$(13') \quad \emptyset \rightarrow v/[e] \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} r \\ l \end{array} \right\} C_1 X \#$$

The rule states that a non-syllabic, back glide occurs after a stressed /e/, forming a diphthong with it, when followed by /r/ or /l/ + one consonant belonging to the same morpheme; between the consonant and the morpheme boundary any number of segments may stand. (The rule actually says that the glide originates "from zero"; this is a notational weakness that need not concern us here as long as we are aware that the feature [+back] derives from the context.)

Before considering rule (13) further, let us try to formulate the rule for breaking in short-syllabic forms. Such breaking, we have concluded, was occasioned by an unstressed /u/ or /ö/, but not by unstressed /a/. Consequently we have to formulate the rule so as to exclude /a/ from the relevant context. If we are right in assuming that /a/ was a back vowel (cf. (6) above) – and this may be likely, although /a/ had no front partner at this stage – the unstressed, back element in the rule has to be specified as [-low]. This is not as ad hoc as it may seem, since it is a well-known fact that backness is the more pronounced the more the back of the tongue is raised towards the velum: the vertical and the horizontal dimensions are not entirely independent of each other. (Cp. that fronting by *i*-umlaut is caused only by a *high*, non-back segment: /i/.) The rule for short-syllabic forms, then, may be formulated as (14).

$$(14) \quad \emptyset \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} - \text{ syl} \\ + \text{ back} \end{array} \right] / \left[ \begin{array}{c} + \text{ stress} \\ + \text{ syl} \\ - \text{ long} \\ - \text{ high} \\ - \text{ back} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \left[ \begin{array}{c} - \text{ stress} \\ + \text{ syl} \\ + \text{ back} \\ - \text{ low} \end{array} \right] C_1 \text{ X } \#$$

– or, in the more readable manner:

$$(14') \quad \emptyset \rightarrow v/[e \text{ | ---}] C_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} u \\ \bar{o} \end{array} \right\} \text{ X } \#$$

Considering that all [+syl] segments are also [+son], the similarity between (13) and (14) is obvious. The essential difference is in the order of the back, assimilating segment and  $C_1$ : [+back],  $C_1$  in (13),  $C_1$ , [+back] in (14). But when the order is as in (14), the back element has to be [+syl], not merely [+son]. The question now arises: Is there an essential common denominator we may abstract from the two rules, allowing us to collapse them into one without making the collapsed rule so general that it will include non-breaking contexts as well? Notice that we cannot collapse them merely by making the number of consonants on either side of the back segment arbitrary, because the rule would then cover forms like e.g. the infinitives \*/beran/, \*/stelan/ with zero on either side of the back /r/, /l/; and these forms, of course, show no breaking in ON. Adding a condition that one of the consonants must be there would be ad hoc: it explains nothing. To be able to collapse the rules is desirable, since VB-theorists could otherwise maintain that the CB-theory makes breaking an implausibly heterogeneous process.

The answer lies in the PGmc and PSc accentual and rhythmic conditions. Our most important source of information about early Gmc accent is the metrical properties of the oldest Gmc poetry. Those properties must be assumed to have originated as regularizations of the rhythmical characteristics of natural speech – it is hardly likely that the poetry of a speech community should contain rhythmical features foreign to the spoken language, except, perhaps, in the case of archaisms. The development of a sentence rhythm based on stress accent must have been a gradual process, and especially in the skaldic poetry we find clear indications that quantity, in addition to stress, continued to be of importance for the rhythmical accent for some time. The well-known metrical rule is that the rhythmical ictus in skaldic poetry, at least, can be carried by a long stressed syllable or by the combination of a short stressed syllable + an unstressed syllable (resolution). We may conclude, therefore, that there were restrictions in terms of quantity on what we might call the “accentual unit” in PGmc and PSc: rhythmical accent could be carried by a unit consisting of a long stressed syllable, i.e. a syllable containing a long vowel or a short vowel + consonant cluster, or it could be carried by the unit of a short stressed syllable (short vowel + single consonant) + an unstressed syllable, but not by a short, stressed syllable alone. Another indication of the reality of this unit,

apart from metrics, is the conditions for early syncope, which took place just after such a unit but not after a single short stressed syllable.

When we consider the contexts defined by the rules (13) and (14) in the light of this accentual unit, the following circumstances emerge. In (13) – the rule for breaking before /r/- and /l/-clusters – the limit of the accentual unit is just after  $C_1$ ; i.e. it does not include the vowel in the following syllable, if any: *\*berg//an*, *\*help//ē* (the limit of the accentual unit is marked with a double slant). In (14), on the other hand, the accentual unit does cover the unstressed vowel since the stressed syllable is short: *\*ebur//az*, *\*gebō//*. The essential common denominator of (13) and (14), then, is that the stressed /e/ and the influential [+back] segment are both within the same accentual unit, and that no vowel follows the [+back] segment within the unit. It seems natural that the assimilatory tendency within such a unit must be strong.

Thus, by adding the limit of the accentual unit to the contexts defined by the rules, they can be collapsed in such a way as to exclude forms like *\*/beran/*, *\*/stelan/* (see below). Before we can do that, however, a further refinement must be added. It seems that the assimilatory power of vowels is stronger than that of consonants: The vowels dominate the consonants in such a way, for instance, that the backness of /r/ and /l/ in *\*/beran/*, *\*/stelan/* does not break the preceding /e/ when an unstressed vowel occurs within the same accentual unit. Furthermore, we see that the assimilating /r/ and /l/ in forms like *\*/bergan/*, *\*/helpē/* are in immediate contact with the /e/, whereas the unstressed /u/ and /ō/ of *\*/eburaz/*, *\*/gebō/* have their assimilatory effect although the forms contain intervening consonants. In other words, if there is an intervening consonant, the [+back] segment must be syllabic – otherwise, we should expect breaking in forms like *\*segl//a > ON segl n*. This can be taken care of in the formulation of the rule with the help of the  $\alpha$ -variable, stating that if there is a segment, i.e. a consonant, before the [+back] segment, then the [+back] segment will have to be syllabic. Collapsing the rules in this manner, we arrive at the phonological rule for breaking (15):

$$(15) \quad \emptyset \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} - \text{ syl} \\ + \text{ back} \end{array} \right] / \left[ \begin{array}{c} + \text{ stress} \\ + \text{ syl} \\ - \text{ long} \\ - \text{ high} \\ - \text{ back} \end{array} \right] \text{ — } \left[ \alpha \text{ segm} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \alpha \text{ syl} \\ + \text{ son} \\ + \text{ back} \\ - \text{ low} \end{array} \right] C_0 // X \#$$

– or, slightly simplified:

$$(15') \quad \emptyset \rightarrow v/[e \text{ | — } ] \left[ \alpha \text{ segm} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \alpha \text{ syl} \\ + \text{ son} \\ + \text{ back} \\ - \text{ low} \end{array} \right] C_0 // X \#$$

The rule states that stressed /e/ develops a back off-glide when it is followed by a sonorant back segment within the same accentual unit and no vowel follows

that segment within the same accentual unit, and furthermore that the sonorant back segment has to be syllabic if a segment intervenes between /e/ and itself. No morpheme boundary must occur within the accentual unit if the breaking is to take place.

Table (16) shows a selection of forms which fit the specification of the rule and accordingly develop back off-glides; in the table each segment defined in the rule has its column, and the corresponding segment in each form is placed in that column.

(16)	[e   — ]	[α segm]	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \alpha \text{ syl} \\ + \text{son} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{low} \end{array} \right]$	C <sub>0</sub>	//	X	#	
* <i>bernuz</i> > <i>biørn</i>	b	e	ɐ	r	n	//	uz #	
* <i>bergan</i> > <i>biarga</i>	b	e	ɐ	r	g	//	an #	
* <i>helpē</i> > <i>hialpi</i>	h	e	ɐ	l	p	//	ē #	
* <i>geld!</i> > <i>giald!</i>	g	e	ɐ	l	d	//	#	
* <i>eburaz</i> > <i>iǫfurr</i>		e	ɐ	b	u	r	//	az #
* <i>gebō</i> > <i>giǫf</i>	g	e	ɐ	b	ō	//	#	
* <i>skelōn</i> > <i>skiala</i>	sk	e	ɐ	l	ō	n	//	#

Forms that would not fit the specification, and accordingly not develop off-glides, are e.g. \**feta* > ON *fet* n., \**kweþan* > ON *kveða* inf., because the unstressed /a/ is [+ low]; furthermore \**beran* > ON *bera* inf. for the same reason, or, if /r/ is focused as the sonorant back segment, because it contains a vowel between that segment and the limit of the accentual unit; thus also the imperative \**ber!* because the morpheme boundary occurs before the limit of the accentual unit; finally \**segla* > ON *segl* n. because it contains an intervening /g/ while the sonorant back segment is not syllabic. We may also note forms of the type \**helpiz* > ON *helpr*, pr.ind. 2 sg. of \**helpan*, which do not fit the specification and hence avoid breaking because the unstressed /i/ has deprived the sonorant of the feature [+ back] by rule (12) (*i*-umlaut).

We may conclude, I think, that rule (15) both appropriately defines the structure of those forms which undergo breaking and makes phonetic sense. No ad hoc devices are employed in order to collapse the rules (13) and (14) since the accentual unit delimited by // is independently established. A strong assimilatory tendency within such an accentual peak is quite in accordance with what we should expect in the umlaut period.

Until now we have left the adjective *iafn* out of consideration. The probable PSc form \*/ebnaz/ (< \*/ibnaz/?) does not fit the specification in rule (15); so how do we account for the breaking in this word? We may note that there are some other ON forms with breaking before the same consonant cluster: *siafni* m., *Siǫfn* f. Is there any reason to believe that the cluster /bn/ was also characterized by the redundant feature [+ back]?

Actually, there are some indications of this:

(a) /b/ was in this context a voiced bilabial continuant, and bilabial articulation is frequently accompanied by velarization; cf. [w]. In modern Danish the labial fricative often has a distinctly velarized articulation in words like *navn*.

(b) In OE, breaking in long-syllabic forms normally occurs before /r/-, /l/-, and /χ/-clusters; but Anglian has examples like *gedeafenian* (VP), *gedeafnad* (Li) < PGmc \*/-dabn-/.

(c) One of the runic clusters with unetymological *a* was *bn*; cf. p. 27 above.

If we assume that /b/ in the cluster /bn/ had the redundant feature [+back], and that this accounts for the breaking in *iafn*, we have to change the specification of the [+back] segment in rule (15) from [+son] to the more general [+cont], since /b/ is not a sonorant. Notice that the rule would then also include /χ/-clusters, since /χ/ is also [+back], [+cont]. Perhaps this is a desirable consequence, since /χ/-clusters appear to have had a breaking effect in OSw (cf. e.g. *siatti* num.); when ON forms with original /χ/-clusters do not have breaking, this may be because the /χ/ was dropped too early to have this effect in West Nordic.

At the stage we have described so far, the diphthong [eə] was a conditioned allophone of the phoneme /e/, the conditioning factors being defined by rule (15). Breaking as a sound change was not completed until the new short diphthong had acquired phonemic status, however. Not going into details, we may merely note that the phonemicization was a consequence of developments in the unstressed subsystem of vowels. By the phonemicization of *i*-umlauted short /a/ a new /e/ came into existence, contrasting with the breaking diphthong: *skelfa* weak vb.: *skialfa* strong vb.; the old /e/ was brought into contrast with the breaking diphthong through the merger of unstressed /a/ and /ō/: *stela* : *skiala*.

Since the breaking diphthong functioned as the short counterpart of the long diphthong /eu/, the two diphthongs developed in a parallel fashion. The development to rising diphthongs must be seen in connection with the PSc deletion of initial [j]. When the new consonantal /i/s had arisen, the defective distribution of /i/ was restored as compared with the other "semi-vowel" consonantal /u/. PGmc consonantal /u/ remained before front, unrounded vowels and /a/; the new consonantal /i/ occurred before back vowels, including /a/. The second element in the breaking diphthong received the stress, and being back and unrounded, it was identified with the only back, unrounded vowel in the system, viz. /a/. The shift of accent to the second element did not take place after consonantal /u/. This restriction on two semivowels occurring together may also be observed in other forms; cf. ON *mær* f. sg.: *meyiar* f. pl. going back to \*[mawir] and \*[maujōr], respectively. After consonantal /u/, therefore, the breaking diphthong was re-identified with /e/.

As discussed in section III, the development of rounded breaking diphthongs is an instance of *u*-umlaut.



## V

In OSw, the conditions for breaking were more general than in ON. Besides, analogical levelling has been much more extensive than in ON in the language of the earliest manuscripts. These two circumstances together make the original conditions for breaking less transparent than in ON. As an example, let us briefly consider a couple of characteristic features of OSw breaking.

To some extent, varying regionally, PGmc unstressed /a/ seems to have occasioned breaking in short-syllabic forms. Examples from SML are *stiæla* inf., *mieta* inf., *þiala*- m. gen. sg.; *fiæti* n. dat. sg., *miæz*- n. gen. sg., *iak* pron. nom. sg. This kind of breaking is by no means consistent, as appears from forms like *giwa* inf., *dræpæ* inf., *bæræ* inf., *skera* inf., *gitæ* inf., *læsæ* inf., but still, the possibility of breaking by PGmc /a/ makes it less obvious that the breaking in long-syllabic forms like *bierghas* inf., *hiælpæ* inf., *iærls* m. gen. sg., *siælwær* adj. nom. sg. m., *giæld* n. nom. sg., *spiell* n. nom. sg. is caused by the consonant cluster. The consistency of breaking before /r/- and /l/-clusters +/a/ as against the inconsistent breaking in short-syllabic forms with /a/ gives some support to a CB-hypothesis, but the support is weaker than in the case of ON.

In ON, the CB-hypothesis was further supported by the occurrence of breaking in the pr. subj. of strong verbs like *hiælp*, *biærgi* etc. OSw (SML) has breaking in the same category: *bierghis* pr. subj. 3 sg., *giælde* pr. subj. 3 sg., but in this case it does not support the CB-hypothesis because we find breaking diphthongs in the present indicative as well: *biergs* pr. ind. 3 sg., *gielder* pr. ind. 3 sg.; i.e. analogical levelling demonstrably has taken place and therefore explains the breaking in the pr. subj. just as plausibly as the CB-hypothesis does.

Still, even if we consider OSw in isolation, there is a higher degree of compatibility with a CB-theory in that language as well as in ON. But circumstances like those just mentioned make OSw to some extent compatible with a VB-theory as well; and so it is understandable that a scholar taking OSw as his starting point arrives at a VB-theory. ON, on the other hand, cannot be forced into compatibility with it.

## VI

The theory we have proposed about breaking in ON has very much in common with the traditional theories about those OE sound changes which are usually termed "breaking" and "back mutation". The similarity is too great to be accidental. The effect of OE breaking and back mutation is the same; and the traditional view of them as separate sound changes should probably be revised: it rests on chronological considerations that do not seem compelling when the phenomena are analysed from a structural point of view. Still, they seem to be more independent of each other than the corresponding ON phenomena, viz. breaking by consonants and by vowels, respectively.

The effect of OE breaking and back mutation is to diphthongize front vowels;

the result is a diphthong with a front first element and a back second element (attempts during the last decades to show that the resulting entities were actually monophthongs are not convincing). The front vowels in question are /i/, /e/, and /æ/. This is different from ON, where only /e/ was diphthongized, but this difference is hardly significant. In the first place, PSc simply had no short /æ/ (in OE it arose through the unconditioned fronting of /a/), in the second place the phonemic relationship between PGmc short /i/ and /e/ is unclear and probably varied in the different proto-dialects.

Anglian is the variety of OE which has most in common with the old Scandinavian languages. This is in accordance with the traditional assumption about the original continental site of the Angles: north of the Saxons, in South Jutland. (We may leave aside the possible identification of the Kentish tribes with the Jutes.) Choosing a ninth-century Anglian text for comparison, then, – viz. the Mercian Vespasian Psalter and Hymns (VP) – we find that consonantal breaking (/i/ > /eo/, /e/ > /eo/, /æ/ > /ea/) took place before consonantal /u/ (which was dropped in that position in PSc), /χ/, /χ/-clusters, /r/-clusters and some /l/-clusters. Examples with original /e/: *eow* pron., *eored* n. nom. sg. (ON *iór* m.), *sweord* n. nom. sg. (ON *sverð* n.), *eorðe* f. nom. sg. (ON *igrð* f.), *heorte* f. nom. sg. (ON *hiarta* n.), *smeorwe* n. dat. sg. (ON *smiqrvi* n. dat. sg.), *seolfne* adj. acc. sg. m. (ON *sialfan* adj. acc. sg. m.). Vocalic breaking (“back mutation”) took place mostly in short-syllabic forms before the unstressed vowels /u/, /ō/, and retained /a/. Examples with original /e/: *eofor* m. nom. sg. (ON *iqfurr* m.), *ageofu* pr. ind. 1 sg. (ON *gef* pr. ind. 1 sg.), *eotan* inf. (ON *eta* inf.).

As we see, the conditions for breaking and back mutation in Anglian were almost identical with the conditions for breaking in ON (and OSw); the differences are to a large extent explained by other structural differences between the dialects. It seems more than likely, therefore, that the phonetic beginnings of breaking, i.e. the development of the phonological rules, was a common development in the North Gmc area and the northernmost part of the WestGmc area, viz. the continental site of the Anglo-Saxons. The center of the development may have been in the south – at least, that is where we find the most far-reaching effects of the change; and there are some indications that consonantal breaking started earlier in OE than in PSc. Thus, the development of breaking allophones must have begun before the Anglo-Saxon emigration, i.e. before the fifth century. Such an early date is in accordance with what we have established about the different effect of /ō/ > /a/ and /a/ > /a/ in ON.

## VII

### *Summary*

The preceding investigation has shown that the traditional theories about ON breaking (/e/ > /ia/, /io/) are not satisfactory. Those theories, which first and foremost stem from Axel Kock and Bengt Hesselman, explain breaking as an umlaut-like change that is always caused by an unstressed vowel in the

following syllable. Unstressed /a/ causes “a-breaking” /e/ > /ia/; unstressed /u/ causes “u-breaking” /e/ > /io/. The language shows a large number of systematic exceptions to the postulated rules, and those exceptions cannot be accounted for in a satisfactory manner.

An alternative theory explaining the observed distribution of breaking diphthongs to a much greater extent can be formulated if long-syllabic and short-syllabic forms are regarded separately to begin with. The essence of this alternative theory, which is supported by the preceding investigation, is as follows.

The *phonemic* surroundings conditioning breaking of PGmc /e/ were different in long-syllabic and short-syllabic forms. Still, this does not make breaking a more heterogeneous process than it is according to the traditional theories, since further analysis of the phonemic surroundings in their probable phonetic features, seen in the context of accentual conditions, reveals the basic identity of the conditions for breaking in long-syllabic and short-syllabic forms.

The phonemic surroundings conditioning breaking in long-syllabic forms were the following consonant clusters: /r/ + consonant, /l/ + consonant and possibly /bn/. Breaking did not take place if the following syllable contained an unstressed /i/ or if the /e/ was preceded by a consonantal /u/. The subsequent rounding of the second element of the breaking diphthong in certain contexts is an instance of *u*-umlaut.

The phonemic surroundings conditioning breaking in short-syllabic forms were the vocalism in the following unstressed syllable, viz. unstressed /u/ or /ō/. PGmc unstressed /a/ has not led to breaking in any forms.

The phonemicization of the breaking diphthong was a result of *i*-mutation and of mergers in the unstressed subsystem of vowels: *skelfa* weak vb. : *skialfa* strong vg.; *stela* inf. (-/a/ < -/a/): *skiala* inf. (-/a/ < -/ō/).

The main points in the demonstration of the basic identity of the conditions in long-syllabic and short-syllabic forms can be summarized as follows.

The assimilated feature which all breaking contexts have in common, is [+back]. /u/ and /ō/ are back vowels, whereas it can be shown that /r/ and /l/, and possibly /b/ in certain contexts, were velarized, i.e. they had a redundant [+back] secondary articulation. When breaking does not occur before an unstressed /i/, the reason is the effect of *i*-mutation, which is to change preceding [+back] sonorants to [-back].

Evidence from metrics and from early syncope shows that the PGmc and PSc accentual unit could be of two quantitatively defined types: either a long stressed syllable or the unit of a short stressed syllable + an unstressed syllable, but not a short stressed syllable alone. This shows that the stressed /e/ and the back segment causing breaking are contained within the same accentual unit both in long-syllabic and short-syllabic forms, and that no vowel follows that segment within the same accentual unit: \**berg*//ē > *bjargi*, \**etun*//az > *iþtunn*. On the basis of this accentual unit the rules of breaking for long-syllabic and short-syllabic forms can be collapsed into one.

We have thus breaking by consonant group in e.g. *hialpa* inf., *hialpi* pr.

subj., *fiáll* n., *biqrg* f., etc., and breaking by vowel in e.g. *giqf* f., *giafar* f. gen. sg., *iqturnn* m., *skiala* inf. According to the theory, the lack of breaking is expected in e.g. *fet* n. (*a*-stem), *þel* n. (*a*-stem), *melr* m. (*a*-stem), *bera* inf., *kveða* inf., *bresta* inf., *segl* n. (*a*-stem), *þela* m. cas.obl. etc.

The theory, which is fully supported by the ON material alone, allows us to connect ON breaking with breaking and back mutation in OE.

## Abbreviations

CB	Consonantal breaking (see p. 2)
GNH	<i>Gammelnorsk homilieboek</i> , The Old Norwegian Book of Homilies, AM 619 4 <sup>o</sup>
Goth	Gothic
Li	<i>The Lindisfarne Gospels</i> (Codex Lindisfarnensis)
OE	Old English
OIceI	Old Icelandic
ON	Old Norse (= Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic)
ONorw	Old Norwegian
OSw	Old Swedish
PGmc	Proto-Germanic
PSc	Proto-Scandinavian
SML	<i>Södermannalagen</i> , Sth. B 53
VGL	<i>Västgötalagen</i>
VB	Vocalic breaking (see p. 2)
VP	<i>The Vespasian Psalter and Hymns</i> Cott. Vespasian A.1.

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AA. KABELL

## Die Inschrift auf dem Schädelfragment aus Ribe

Erik Moltke berichtet u.a. in der Zeitschrift „Skalk“ (1974, Nr. 2, S. 18a) davon, wie er während eines Besuches in Ribe anlässlich der dort stattfindenden Grabungen<sup>1</sup> auf ein mit Runen versehenes Fragment eines menschlichen Schädels aufmerksam gemacht wurde. Das Stück war vor der Beschriftung von der Innenseite her durchbohrt worden.

Interpretiert hat Moltke diese Inschrift zunächst in einer Sitzung der Kopenhagener Gesellschaft für das Studium des Altertums und des Mittelalters am 5. Oktober 1973, dann in „Sønderjysk Månedsskrift“ (IL, 1973, 377–89, mit guten Abbildungen). Zu diesem Artikel gesellt sich in derselben Zeitschrift ein archäologischer Fundbericht des Leiters der Grabungen in Ribe, Mogens Bencard. Die Frage der Datierung wird aus verschiedenen Gründen hier noch nicht genau beantwortet; es sieht jedoch aus, als ob das Stück einer Schicht aus der frühen Wikingerzeit, etwa Ende des achten Jahrhunderts, entnommen wurde.

Einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Interpretation der Inschrift lieferte Jens Juhl Jensen am 29. April 1974 in der Tageszeitung „Information“. Endlich hat Erik Moltke sich in seinem reichhaltigem Werk „Runerne i Danmark og deres Oprindelse“ (1976) erneut auch mit dieser Ritzung beschäftigt (120 f.; 287 f.), wobei er sich z. T. auf eine schriftliche Mitteilung von Niels Åge Nielsen stützt. Abgesehen davon, dass die Inschrift wegen des Vorkommens von mehreren Zeichen aus dem älteren Futhark (a; g; h; m) der Zeit um 800 angehören muss, was Moltke schon in seinem ersten Vortrag festgestellt hat, und was zu den archäologischen Gegebenheiten gut passt, bleibt manches und eigentlich die ganze Inschrift dunkel.

Es handelt sich nach Moltke um zwei Folgen von Runenzeichen, von denen die eine dem grösseren Teil des Randes des Schädelbruchstücks folgt:

**ulfuraukuþinaukhutiur' hialbburisuiþr**

Die andere Folge von Zeichen verläuft als eine zweite Zeile innerhalb der ersten, wird vom früher gebohrten Loch unterbrochen und dann abgeschlossen an einem Punkt, den die erste Folge noch nicht erreicht hatte:

<sup>1</sup> Siehe über diese Grabungen M. Bencard, Kiel Papers '72, 1973, 85–90; ds., Sønderjysk Månedsskrift IL, 1973, 390–92; ds., Mark og Montre IX, 1973, 28–48; ds., Skalk 1974, Nr. 2, 7–15; ds., Acta Visbyensia V, 1976, 165–72; O. Olsen, Fra Ribe Amt XIX, 1975, 225–58; H. Jankuhn, Festschrift R. Pittioni, II, 1976, 311.

**ÞAIMAUIARKIAUKTUIRKUNIG(Loch)buur**

Moltke bringt ausserdem ein Trennungszeichen zwischen **s** und **u** in der ersten Folge, was wohl einen hier vorliegenden, grösseren Abstand zwischen diesen Zeichen wiedergeben soll, sowie ein Trennungszeichen zwischen **r** und **k** beim zweiten Vorkommen dieser Zeichen in der zweiten Reihe, was wohl eine hier aus äusseren Gründen einsetzende, neue Schreibrichtung markiert. Es sieht aus, als ob es in Wirklichkeit eine Art Trennungszeichen zwischen **r** und **a** und ausserdem einen grösseren Abstand zwischen **n** und **a** sowie zwischen **l** und **b** in der ersten Reihe gibt. Die einzelnen Zeichen können etwas lose hingeworfen sein, und sie sind vielleicht nicht immer unzweideutig. Juhl Jensen liest die etwas überraschende Rune **g** als **u**. Man könnte sie auch als **n** lesen.

Mit dem grösseren Abstand zwischen **l** und **b** lässt sich anscheinend nichts anfangen. Sonst wäre aufgrund von Moltkes Lesung der Zeichen, unter der Voraussetzung, dass in einer so alten Inschrift die unmittelbare Wiederholung eines Zeichens nur in der Wortfuge wahrscheinlich ist<sup>2</sup>, und endlich<sup>3</sup> unter Berücksichtigung vom Trennungszeichen zwischen **r** und **a** und vom grösseren Abstand zwischen **n** und **a** folgende Interpretation möglich:

*Ulfur auk Óðinn auk Hoddjór!  
Hjalp borr is viðr þeim á verki;  
auk dvergekuning bý or!*

Die erste Zeile scheint nach Moltkes letzter Darstellung zu urteilen als abgeschlossenes Ganzes von drei mythischen Namen zuerst von N. Å. Nielsen erkannt worden zu sein. *Auk* kann in dieser Inschrift, die keine *o*-Rune kennt, auch als *ok* gelesen werden. Der in Skandinavien hier zum ersten Mal überlieferte Name *Óðinn* empfiehlt sich als mythische Grösse von selbst. Er findet sich auch sonst in mythischen Triaden, wie sie vermutlich die christliche Dreieinigkeit ersetzen sollen. Die *Vølospá Str. 18* weiss von einer Schöpfung der Menschen zu berichten: *önd gaf Óðinn, | óð gaf Hænir, | lá gaf Lóðurr*; Snorri Sturluson erzählt in der *Gylfaginning* von den Weltlenkern *Óðinn, Vili* und *Vé*; dänische Quellen sprechen noch 1771 und 1837 von „Odn(e)sgieldt, og (S)laden i Helvede og Lusefærd“<sup>3</sup>. Wie in der vorliegenden Ritzung erscheint Wotan an zweiter Stelle in der deutschen Inschrift Nordendorf A (*Wingibonar, Wodan, Logaborre*<sup>4</sup>), im sächsischen Taufgelöbnis (*Thunaer ende Uuôden ende Saxnôte*) und in einem englischen, ursprünglich vermutlich nordischen Spruch gegen einen Krankheitsdämon (*God ... Wod ... Lok*<sup>5</sup>). Wie man sieht: ein buntes Gemisch von machtvollen Namen, die sicherlich keinen tieferen

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Franks Casket *hossitæþ; Rök haruþsunir*.

<sup>3</sup> F. Ohrt: *Trylleord*, 1922, 95; ds.: *Da signed Krist* –, 1927, 380. Vgl. ebdas., 474.

<sup>4</sup> Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deutschen Spr. und Lit., westliche Reihe (PBBW) XCII, 1970, 15; XCIII, 1971, 415.

<sup>5</sup> R. M. Heanley, *Folk-Lore IX*, 1898, 187; Ohrt: *Trylleord*, 83; E. A. Philippon: *Germanisches Heidentum bei den Angelsachsen*, 1929, 153; K. Helm: *Altgerm. Rel.gesch. II*, 2, 1953, 265. Über mögliche Bildungen ähnlicher Art hinter dem überlieferten Merseburger Spruch II siehe Ohrt: *De danske Besværgelser*, 1922, 72.

oder rationell aufgestellten Zusammenhang besaßen, ehe Snorri anfang, etwas derartiges nach kirchlichen und antiken Mustern zu arrangieren.

Auch anorw. *-urr*<sup>6</sup> trägt gewöhnlich ein mythisches Gepräge: Listen von Zwergen verzeichnen *Bávurr*, *Bǫmburr* (oder *Bumburr*), *Bívurr* (oder *Bífurr*) und *Blóvurr*; *fjóturr* „Fessel“ scheint im Ausdruck HH.II 30 *Figtorlundr* und im Namen einer Walküre *Herfjótur* wie die inhaltlich verwandten Wörter *bǫnd*, *hǫpt* und *ving-* von numinoser Bedeutung zu sein; *Gizurr* (*Gissurr*) und *Gollurr* sind Namen von Óðinn; *jǫðurr* „Rand“ begegnet – als gut vertretbare Konjektur – in Vsp. 5 *himiniǫðurr*; *jǫfurr* „Eber“ bezeichnet den Fürsten als Übermenschen<sup>7</sup>; *Lóðurr* ist aus der Triade Vsp. 18 als eine Macht neben Óðinn bekannt; *Sviðurr* ist ein Name von Óðinn; *tívurr* knüpft sich Vsp. 31 an Balder an; *Véurr* und *Harðvéurr* sind Namen für Thor; *Viðurr* ist ein Name von Óðinn; *ǫgurr* scheint Hrbl. 13 und noch deutlicher im Ausdruck Vkv. 41 *ǫgurstund* einem tabuierten Vorstellungsbereich anzugehören; *ǫndurr* „Schneesuh“ scheint nach mehreren Bezeichnungen wie *ǫnduráss* (für Ullr) sowie *ǫndurdís* und *ǫndurgoð* (für Skaði; beides in der *Gylfaginning* trivialisiert) gleichzeitig Sakrales zu enthalten.

Einige der angeführten Wörter, oder ihre Homonyme, können von der profanen Sprache in mehr oder weniger ursprünglichen Bedeutungen verwendet werden. *Jǫfurr* gibt es als Personennamen im Aschw. und (vermutlich darnach) im Anorw. Das Wort hat als erstes Glied von Personennamen eine breitere Verwendung gefunden, wobei es dann im Anorw. die Form *Jór-*annehmen kann. Auch *Gizurr* ist als Personenne überliefert. Häufiger findet man den Personennamen *Ǫzurr*, mit vielen Abarten. *Gollur* bezeichnet nicht nur Óðinn, sondern auch das *pericardium*. Zur profanen Sprache gehört möglicherweise *hveðurr* als Bezeichnung des Widders und *kǫgurr* in Hrbl. 13 *kǫgursveinn*<sup>8</sup>. Es handelt sich aber hier um ein Schimpfwort, das von Thor dem Óðinn gegenüber verwendet wird, und die unmittelbare Nachbarschaft zu *ǫgurr* fällt auf. Zur Profansprache gehören möglicherweise noch *mǫpurr* und *mǫsurr*, eine Art Baum; *sveiðurr* „Ochs“; fem. *Vimur*, Flussname; *þinurr* „Schwert, Bogenstrang, eine Art Baum“; *þiðurr* „Auerhahn“.

Die angeführten Bildungen zeigen sich gewöhnlich durch ihre etymologische Undurchsichtigkeit aus. Es ist nicht einmal wahrscheinlich, dass der Bestandteil *-urr* überall denselben Ursprung hat. In *jǫfurr* und *þiðurr* ist er ein Teil des Grundwortes. A. Janzén nimmt an, er entstamme in *Ǫzurr*, vielleicht auch in *Gizurr*, einem *\*-swarur*<sup>9</sup>. Von *Lóðurr* hat man, auch auf die Parallelererscheinung *Logaborre* gestützt, das zweite Glied mit germ. *\*þurz-*, got. *þaursus* „dürr“ zusammengehalten, wozu dann auch anorw. *þurs* „Riese, Unhold“ gehören könnte. In anderen Fällen scheint *-urr* eine sehr blasse Bedeutung gehabt zu haben, so dass der Inhalt eines Grundbegriffes noch

<sup>6</sup> Materialien bei A. Jóhannesson: Die Suffixe im Isländischen, 1927.

<sup>7</sup> Siehe hierzu, und über angrenzende Probleme, die wichtige Arbeit von H. Beck: Das Ebersignum im Germanischen, 1965.

<sup>8</sup> Hierüber J. Sahlgren, Arkiv f. nord. filol. XLIV, 1928, 258–71.

<sup>9</sup> Janzén, Nordisk Kultur, VII, 1947, 113; 177 f.

erhalten bleibt, oder so, dass neben der *-urr*-Bildung auch andere Gebilde als bloße Ableitungen auftreten: *Bifurr* vgl. *Bifrøst* „Regenbogen“; *Biflindi*, Odinsname) ~ *bifa* „zittern“); *Bláfurr* (vgl. *Bláinn*, mythischer Name; Name eines Zwerges) ~ *blár* „dunkel“ (\**blāw-*; *Bumburr* ~ *bumba* „Trommel“; *fjoturr* (vgl. *fetill* „Band“) ~ *fat* „Gefäß“<sup>10</sup>; *Gollurr* ~ *gol* „Wind“ (vgl. shetl. *gola* „Tabuwort für Wind“; anorw. *gella* „schreien“; *gjalla* „schreien“; *gjöll* „Lärm“; *Gjöll* mythischer Fluss, mit *Gjallarbrú*; *Gjallarhorn* des Heimdallr; *galdr* „Zauberlied“); *hveðurr* (Variante in den MSS: *hveðruðr*; vgl. *Hveðrungr*, mythischer Name, Name für Óðinn; *Hveðra* und *Hveðna*, Namen für Riesinnen möglicherweise ae. *hweorðerian* „brüllen“<sup>11</sup>; *-jōðurr* ~ *jaðarr* „Zaun, Schutz“; *køgur* möglicherweise ~ isl. *kagi* „niedriger Busch“; *mōsurr* ~ ahd. *māsa* „Fleck in der Haut“; *Sviðurr* (vgl. *Sviðrir*; *Sviðuðr*, Odinsnamen), möglicherweise ~ *sveið* „Schwingung“ und Name einer Walküre; *sveiðurr* oder *sveiðuðr* „Ochs“; isl. *sviðra* „wirbeln“; *Véurr* (vgl. *Véuðr*, Name von Thor) ~ *vé* „heiliger Ort“; *Vimur* (vgl. *Geirvimul*, mythischer Fluss; Eggjum *vim* „Strom“), möglicherweise ~ ahd. *wimi* „Flussquellen“<sup>12</sup>; *Viðurr* (vgl. *Viðrir*, Odinsname), vermutlich ~ *veðr* masc. „Widder“; *þinurr* (vgl. *þinull* „Tau“ neutr.) ~ *þenja* „spannen“ (hierzu wohl dann auch *stinnr* „steif“; &c.); *qndurr* in der Bedeutung „Schneesuh“ ~ *andr* und *andri* „Schneesuh“; in der mythischen Bedeutung wohl ~ *qnd* „Seele, Atem“; *andi* „Atem, Wind, Geist“.

Beispiele dieser Art, wo neben Bildungen auf *-urr* sowohl davon nicht wesentlich verschiedene Grundbegriffe wie auch inhaltlich ziemlich identische Ableitungen stehen, scheinen *-urr* als ein Suffix zu bezeugen, das den Begriffsinhalt wenig geändert hat. Noch ein dän. Cyprianus aus dem Ende des achtzehnten Jh.s hat *Argur Vargur Sargur* als Variante von ähnlichen Reihen mit anderen Endungen<sup>13</sup>. Ob einzelne der angeführten Fälle anders beurteilt werden sollen, spielt keine Rolle. *Véurr* wird wegen Rök *viavari* „Hüter des Heiligtums“ gern als (\**vé-vorr* aufgefasst. Wer diese Trivialisierung befürworten möchte, kann das Wort zu denjenigen Bildungen stellen, die sich wie *Gizurr*, *jōðurr*, *jōfurr* usw. auf anderer Basis in einigem Umfang dem häufiger belegten Modell angeschlossen haben.

<sup>10</sup> So J. de Vries: Altnordisches etym. Wörterb., 21962, 119a; 127a. Die übliche Aufstellung, wonach *fjoturr* zur Wurzel \**ped/pod* „Fuss“ gestellt wird, *fetill* aber zu einer anderen, lautlich identischen Wurzel „Fass“, ist an sich zweifelhaft und hindert nur die Beurteilung des in historischer Zeit fruchtbaren semasiologischen Feldes. Die sog. Wurzel „Fuss“ scheint von der Wz. „Fass“ abgezweigt worden zu sein, möglicherweise mittels einer Bedeutungsstufe wie „Schuh“, möglicherweise weil der Fuss als uralte Masseinheit das Gemessene umfasst hat. Vgl. schon H. Falk & A. Torp: Etymologisk ordbog, 1903, 150b; 162b; 178b; ds.: Norw.-dän. etym. Wörterb., I, 1910 = 1960, 208; 225; 248; F. Jónsson: Lexicon Poeticum, 1915–16, 129b = 21931 = 1966, 130b; J. Pokorny: Indogerm. etym. Wörterb., I, 1959, 791, Zeile 10–12 v.u.

<sup>11</sup> Anders de Vries: An. etym. Wörterb., 272a. Die etymologische Anknüpfung ist für die Feststellung eines Bedeutungsfeldes *hveð-* im Anorw. nicht entscheidend.

<sup>12</sup> Anders L. Moberg: Namn och Bygd XXXVII, 1949, 144–47.

<sup>13</sup> Ohrt: Danmarks Trylleformler, II, 1921, 92; vgl. ebdas., I, 1917, 102–04. Die in den Kolonialsprachen noch bewahrte Nominativendung gab es seit vielen hundert Jahren in Dänemark nicht mehr.



Keine der Bildungen, die ein blosses *-urr*-Suffix andeuten, sind in Runeninschriften überliefert, die einen Eindruck von der Qualität des Konsonanten hinterlassen<sup>14</sup>. Ein jetzt verschollener dän. Stein<sup>15</sup> wies allerdings die gut bezeugte Inschrift **fatur** auf. Ob der Stein, wie man gewöhnlich annimmt, in einem Grabhügel gefunden wurde, ist zweifelhaft<sup>16</sup>; er befand sich jedenfalls bei einem Grabe, das vermutlich einer wesentlich früheren Zeit angehörte. Da man nun schon in anderen Fällen damit gerechnet hat, dass dän. Runeninschriften als „Grabbindungsformeln“<sup>17</sup> den Toten in der Erde festhalten sollten, ist es naheliegend, im **fatur** keinen sonst unbekanntenen Personennamen, sondern eine Abtönung von *fjoturr* (adän. *fjatur*) zu sehen.

Die lautgesetzliche Entwicklung von *-rr* zu *-rr* schliesst aus, dass **-r** in **ulfur** eine ältere Verbindung *-rr* vertreten kann. Die Auffassung als einfacher Personennamenname oder als einfaches Substantiv ist sehr unwahrscheinlich, eine andere Aufteilung der Runen, z.B. als endungsloses *Ulf* + adv. *or*, scheint sinnlos. Es besteht aber die Möglichkeit, dass die überwiegend aus mythischen Begriffen bekannte, ziemlich inhaltsleere Endung *-urr* als *-urr* aufgefasst werden soll, und dass es sich auch im ersten Namen der hier vorliegenden Formel um eine solche Bildung handelt. Die Grundlage der inhaltsleeren Endung *-urr* war vermutlich eine nominale Schwundstufe zu *vesa* „sein“, die der aus selbständigerem Gebrauch hervorgegangenen Dehnstufe *værr* in *heraðværr* „berechtigt, im Bezirk zu sein“ entsprach; aber es gibt auch andere Möglichkeiten<sup>18</sup>.

Mytische Begriffe wie *Gollurr* und *Véurr* wären als „der Wind-seiende“, bzw. als „der Heiligtum-seiende“ sinnvoll profiliert. Ob *Ulfurr* als eine ähnliche Primärbildung, „der Wolf-seiende“, aufgefasst werden soll, ist aber fraglich. Die Inschrift hat vermutlich die Endung *-urr* als ein Merkmal höherer Mächte, wie sie in einer pseudo-kirchlichen Formel arrangiert werden konnten, aus der einheimischen Tradition übernommen. *Ulfurr* ist eine kraftvolle Neubildung nach diesem Muster.

Auch der dritte im Bunde, *Hoddjór*, wurde nach bekannten Mustern benannt. *Hodd* „Schatz“ findet sich als erstes Glied in den mythischen Bezeichnungen Vm. 45 *hodd-Mimir*; Sd. 13 *Hoddrofnir*<sup>19</sup>. *Jór* „Pferd“ ist als erstes Namensglied beliebt und begegnet als solches auch im Odinsnamen *Jólfr*, das als ursprüngliches *\*ehwa-wulfaz* die beiden hier neben Óðinn gestellten Tiersigna in Óðinn vereinigt. Die Verwendung von *jór* als zweites Namensglied ist aber ein Novum der Inschrift, die schon hierdurch ihren unsicheren Umgang mit Elementen aus einer geschwundenen Zeit markiert.

<sup>14</sup> *Viðurr* findet sich auf dem Karlevi-Stein (Öland), der keinen Gegensatz zwischen *r* und *R* kennt.

<sup>15</sup> Danmarks Runeindskrifter, Text, 1942, Nr. 9.

<sup>16</sup> A. Bæksted, Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie 1951, 1952, 89 f.

<sup>17</sup> Danm. Runeindskr., Text, Sp. 811. Vgl. jedoch Sp. 256; Moltke: Runerne i Danmark, 132.

<sup>18</sup> Siehe z.B. die Wurzeln *\*(a)ges* „leuchten“; 5 *\*ges* „kleiden“; *\*gēsu-* „gut“ bei Pokorny: Indogerm. etym. Wb., I, 86 f.; 1172 f.; 1174 f.

<sup>19</sup> De Vries: An. etym. Wb., 246b verweist auf *Hoddbroddr*, das wohl richtiger als *Hqðbroddr* mit *hǫð* „Kampf“ zusammengehalten wird.

Nach der einleitenden Formel folgt **hiAlb** *hjalp* „Hilfe“, **bur** *borr* „Bohrer“<sup>20</sup> und **is es** „ist“, also: „der Bohrer ist Hilfe.“

Es folgt ferner: **uiþr** *viðr* (hier mit dem Dativ<sup>21</sup>) „gegen“, **þaim** dat. *þeim* „dem“ **A á** „an“ und **uiarki** dat. *verki* „Verk“ oder „Schmerz“. *Viðr* ist mit anorw. *viðr* und mit ähnlichen, runischen Wörtern im Ostnord. usw., die eine ieur. Komparativbildung \**qútero-* fortsetzen, nicht ganz identisch. Die hier vorliegende Form bestätigt die Annahme, „dass eine Überführung aus den Komparationsgruppen *-eran-*, *-aran-* zur frequenzstärkeren Gruppe mit *-izan-* frühzeitig stattgefunden“ habe,<sup>22</sup> was aber, wie die späteren Inschriften zeigen, für dieses Wort nur sporadisch zutraf. In den oft mit **r** geritzten Präpositionen *eftir*, *undir* und *yfir* machte die Tendenz sich stärker geltend<sup>23</sup>.

*verki* kann der Dat. vom neutr. *verk* „Werk, Arbeit“ oder vom masc. *verkr* „Schmerz, Leiden“ sein. Eine Wahl zwischen diesen beiden Möglichkeiten ist schwierig oder unmöglich; für den Sinn der Ritzung spielt das jedoch keine grosse Rolle. Die beiden Wörter beziehen sich nur auf verschiedene Seiten desselben Sachverhalts: der Schmerz hat noch den Aspekt vom aktiv tätigen Übel bewahrt. Man kann das Glied als „gegen den am Werk“ oder als „gegen den am Schmerz“ übersetzen; letzteres passt vielleicht besser in den weiteren Zusammenhang; aber der *i*-Stamm *verkr* hatte wohl z.Z. der Ritzung keine Endung im dat. sing. Der Ausdruck *á verki* entspricht Wendungen wie *á lopti* „in der Höhe“, die man aus älteren Eddaliedern kennt: Vsp. 46 *horn er á lopti*; Háv. 155 *leica lopti á*; Grm. 1 *þótt ec á lopt berac* (vgl. Eilífr Goðrúnarsons Þórsdrápa 17; Hallfróðr Vandræðaskálds Ólafsdrápa 4).

Die Schreibung **ia** an Stellen, wo *e* zu erwarten wäre, ist für das „Birka-Schwedische“ der frühesten Wikingerzeit und auch für die schwedisch beeinflusste Wikingersprache im südlichen Dänemark, z.B. in Schleswig, charakteristisch<sup>24</sup>, hat sich aber in Dänemark etwas weiter ausgedehnt,

<sup>20</sup> Wegweisend für diese Interpretation war die allerdings sehr abweichende Darstellung von J. Juhl Jensen.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. Danm. Runeindskrr., Nr. 419; Háv. 146; Cleasby & Vigfússon: An Icelandic-English Dictionary, <sup>2</sup>1874 (&c.) s.v. [3] *við*, with dat., lítra B, I, 2; F. Jónsson: Lex. Poet., 1931, s.v. I. *við*, lítra B, 4, [a].

<sup>22</sup> Hier übersetzt nach J. Brøndum-Nielsen: Gammeldansk Grammatik, IV, 1962, 121. Vgl. ebdas., 160 unten.

<sup>23</sup> Die Entwicklung dieser und ähnlicher Wörter lässt sich im gegenwärtigen Zusammenhang nicht in Einzelheiten beleuchten. Den bisherigen Darstellungen gegenüber wäre aber folgendes zu überlegen: das altgerm. anmutende Tune **after** (etw. 400) zeigt noch das ursprüngliche Verhältnis. Dem entspricht innerhalb der Verwandtschaftswörter z.B. Opedal nom. (\**sugesör*) **swestar** (wenig jünger), das die Entwicklung zu *-ar* mitgemacht haben kann. Analogisches Eindringen von **r** zeigen Istaby **afair** (etw. 625) und Rök nom. **fapir** (gegen 800) sowie eine erhebliche Anzahl spätere Inschriften. Das vor diesem **r** auftretende *i* der normalen Formen *eftir*, *faðir* usw. ist nicht ursprünglich, sondern unter dem Einfluss des **r** noch zur Zeit des *i*-Umlauts entstanden, oder als Sprossvokal rekonstruiert. Die anders disponierte Darstellung von G. Bech: Zur Lautgeschichte der Präposition „über“, in: Neophilologus XXXVIII, [1954,] 63–65 scheint diesem Gedankengang nicht zu widerstreiten. *-ter*-Komparative, die das *-r* des nom. masc. noch hinzufügen, haben ihren Typus nicht gewechselt, sondern die auch aus dem Got. bekannte Entwicklung von schwachtonigem *-er*-*-ar* mitgemacht (*annarr*; *hvaðarr*).

<sup>24</sup> Siehe B. Hesselman, Ordgeografi och språkhistoria, 1936, 127–62; H. Andersen, Arkiv f. nord. filol. LIV, 1939, 45–57; Th. Frings, PBB LXIII, 1939, 9–12; 37; Danmarks Runeindskrifter, Text, Sp. 945.

sicherlich z.T. weil der Laut *e* im jüngeren Futhark kein eigenes Zeichen besass, z.T. vielleicht auch, weil eine Diphthongierung dann und wann eingetreten sein kann. Das in Frage stehende *ia* für *e* ist eine Vorstufe dieser Schreibpraxis, die wohl hier keine Diphthongierung bezeichnet<sup>25</sup>.

Das noch folgende *auk* kann als *auk* der Imper. von *auka* „mehren, vergrössern“ sein. Das Wort scheint für Umschreibungen verwendet worden zu sein, die einem anderen Begriff Energie verleihen sollten, die aber dann von *auka* selbst bloss eine unklare Wirkungsangabe übrig liessen<sup>26</sup>. Man könnte das Wort mit „schaffe!“ übersetzen.

**tuirkunic.** acc. *dverguning*<sup>27</sup>, ist wohl die interessanteste Stelle der Inschrift. Dieses erste Vorkommen des Wortes *Zwerg* in Skandinavien bestätigt in hohem Grad die von Chr. Bartholomae geäusserte Vermutung, die Bezeichnung gehöre in eine „Reihe von Wörtern, die alle körperliche Gebrechen bezeichnen“<sup>28</sup>. Die Tätigkeit der Zwerge als Erreger von Krankheiten ist auch im späteren Volksglauben bezeugt<sup>29</sup>. Besonders interessant ist der Ausdruck „Zwerg-König“, der ebenfalls im Volksglauben weiterlebt<sup>30</sup>, und dem ein reiches literarisches Nachleben beschert worden ist.

Es ist nun nicht leicht zu wissen, ob „Zwerg“ an der vorliegenden Stelle als „Erreger von Krankheit“, der „Zwerg-König“ folglich als „Mächtigster Erreger von Krankheit“ verstanden werden soll, oder ob „Zwerg“ in dieser Inschrift aus dem grauen Morgen der nord. Literatur noch die Erkrankung personifiziert; der „Zwerg-König“ wäre dann der „Beherrscher der Erkrankung“. Letzteres ist vielleicht das wahrscheinlichere; man braucht aber keine Wahl zwischen den beiden Möglichkeiten zu treffen, um den Sinn der Inschrift im ganzen aufzufassen. Man soll sich klar machen, dass die beiden angeführten Bedeutungsinhalte keinen Gegensatz bezeichnen, sonder bloss Stufen einer Entmythisierung des Leidens, die im mittelalterlichen Gedicht vom Zwergenkönig Laurin noch weiter getrieben und höfisch instrumentiert wird.

**bu bý** ist der endungslose dat. des masc. *býr* „Dorf, Hof“ wie Danm. Runeindskr. Nr. 3 **at hipa bu at Héðabý** oder des neutr. *bú/bó*, von dem hier einfachheitshalber abgesehen wird. Das Wort, das zu Begriffen des Seins

<sup>25</sup> Phonetisch entsprechende Deutung schon bei Moltke 1973, der den laut als *a* wiedergibt.

<sup>26</sup> Siehe F. Jónsson: *Lexicon Poeticum* s. v. 2 *auka*, Ziff. 2 (hier übersetzt:) „oft bloss in der Bedeutung: etwas mit Kraft entrichten, ohne dass von irgendwelcher stufenweisen Vermehrung oder Verstärkung die Rede ist, bewirken, verursachen, hervorbringen.“

<sup>27</sup> Über die möglichen Lesungen *-kyning* und *-koning* siehe H. Andersen, *Acta philologica Scandinavica* V, 1930 f., 97–126.

<sup>28</sup> Bartholomae, *Indogerm. Forschungen* XII, 1901, 131. Vgl. W. Krogmann, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung* LXII, 1935, 143; F. Kluge & W. Mitzka: *Etym. Wörterb. d. deutschen Spr.*,

<sup>29</sup> 1967, 895b. Anders R. Derolez, *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* XXIV, 1945, 164–69; J. de Vries: *Altn. etym. Wörterb.*, <sup>2</sup>1962, 89a. Siehe noch J. Pokorny: *Indogerm. etym. Wörterb.*, I, 1959, 279; N. Å. Nielsen: *Dansk etym. Ordbog*, <sup>3</sup>1976, 75a.

<sup>30</sup> Siehe z.B. J. Grimm: *Deutsche Mythologie*, ed. E. H. Meyer, I, 1875, 381; F. Ohrt: *Da signed Krist* –, 1927, 222; C. W. v. Sydow, *Studia Germanica* E. A. Kock, 1934, 285 f.; ds., *Nordisk Kultur*, XIX, 1935, 149 oben; Müller-Bergström, *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, IX, 1938–41, Sp. 1060 f.

<sup>30</sup> Grimm, I, 128 f.; III, 374 f.; Müller-Bergström, Sp. 1038 unten; ds., Sp. 1040 oben.

wie lat. *fui*, gr. *φύομαι*, skr. *bhāvati* gehört, kann in der frühen Inschrift einen Klang von „Aufenthaltort“ bewahrt haben. Es würde sich dann vermutlich um den Aufenthaltort des Zwerg-Königs handeln, nicht um einen Dorf oder um einen Hof der Menschen. Für den realen Inhalt der Ritzung macht das aber keinen Unterschied. *ur* müsste die Präposition *ur* (oder *úr*; *or*; *ór*) „aus, hinaus“ sein; es empfiehlt sich wohl, die ursprüngliche, kurzvokalische Form anzusetzen. Das Wort endete auf *R* (got. *us-*), erhält im Gutn. den *R*-Umlaut und ist noch auf einem Stein in Uppland zweimal mit *ṛ* überliefert<sup>31</sup>. Die Schreibung mit *r* ist vermutlich dadurch zu erklären, dass der Konsonant des gewöhnlich tonlosen Wortes sehr geschwächt war. Er kann völlig fehlen<sup>32</sup>, und er wurde wohl in der vorliegenden Inschrift im wesentlichen nach anderen einsilbigen Präpositionen oder Adverbien wie (in anorw. Form) *fyr*; *hér*; *þar* rekonstruiert. Die Stelle erinnert auffällig an ein ähnliches Beispiel in einer wenig jüngeren, sicher schwedischen Ritzung aus Hedeby und deutet mit der Schreibform *uiark-* zusammen auf schwedische Beeinflussung.

Die Inschrift enthält also eine Anrufung von drei höheren Mächten im Stil der als Anfang von kirchlichen Segen gebräuchlichen Dreieinigkeit, und dann sowohl eine Zusicherung als eine Mahnung im Stil derselben Muster: „der Bohrer ist Hilfe gegen den am Werke; schaffe den mächtigsten Erreger von Krankheit aus seinem Sitz hinaus.“ Dass ein Bohrer dabei war, ist aus dem Loch zu ersehen, und man versteht, worum es sich handelt: das Schädelfragment mit dem Loch ist ein paradigmatisches Heilmittel gegen ein Leiden, das man einem in ihm wirksamen, mächtigsten Erreger zuschrieb. Die Durchbohrung griff die ultima ratio der Trepanation, wie sie damals und schon weit früher ausgeübt wurde<sup>33</sup>, exemplarisch vor, d.h., sie sollte den wirklichen Eingriff ersetzen. Der Gedankengang ist dem kirchlichen Denken nicht fremd, sicher aber genuin heidnisch, im vorliegenden Fall bloss durch die pseudo-kirchliche Formel gestärkt.

Die Frage, ob dat. *bý* als „Sitz“ (des mächtigsten Erregers) oder als „Dorf“ (ggf. „Hof“) verstanden werden soll, führt zu Überlegungen, ob es zur Zeit der Inschrift, also Ende des achten Jh.s., am Ort des hundert Jahre später bezugten Ribe ein Dorf gegeben hat. Die bisherigen Grabungen scheinen die Annahme zu bestätigen, dass es vor der Entstehung der Stadt Hedeby um 800 wohl während der milderen Jahreszeit einen Handelsplatz am Ort des späteren

<sup>31</sup> Sveriges runinskrifter VIII, 3, I, Nr. 735. Das Wort findet sich auf diesem Stein beide Male in korrekten Alliterationsversen und kann mit dieser Form aus der anorw. Literatursprache stammen.

<sup>32</sup> H. Paul, PBB VI, 1879, 552; A. Noreen: Altschw. Grammatik, 1904, 251; W. Lehmann: Das Präfix *uz-*, 1906, 79 f.; 115 f.; 129–37; T. Johannisson: Verbal och postverbal partikelkomposition, 1939, 65 f.; A. Campbell: Old English Grammar, 1959, 31, Note 2.

<sup>33</sup> Siehe M. Höfler, Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin, edd. Th. Puschmann u.a., I, 1902, 469 unten; C. M. Fürst: När de döda vittna, 1920, 22–28; V. Møller-Christensen: Middelalderens Lægekunst i Danmark, 1954, 46; 115; Reichborn-Kjennerud: Trolldomsmedisin, V, 1947, 75. Was am zuletzt angeführten Ort über die Trepanation bei primitiven Völkern in diesem Jh. gesagt wird, erinnert schlagend an den vorliegenden Fall (hier in Übersetzung): man trepaniert u.a. „in der Absicht, die Dämonen, die die Ursache der Erkrankung sein sollen, aus dem Schädel herauszutreiben“. Siehe auch die Stelle bei M. Höfler. Ausführlicher handelt hierüber K. E. Schreiner, Naturen LXIV, 1940, 161–86.

Ribe gab, wie man das schon vor den Grabungen durch die Berechnung von alten Handelswegen angedeutet hat<sup>34</sup>, mit Buden für die Lagerung und für den Austausch von Waren, dass aber hier noch keine eigentlichen, in die Erde fundierten Häuser standen<sup>35</sup>.

Das vornehmste Handelszentrum Skandinaviens war damals Birka in Schweden. U.a. der Fund von Sutton Hoo beweist eine noch frühere kulturelle Verbindung zwischen Schweden und dem christlichen Westen, und auch z.B. die in Schweden gefundene Krümme eines irischen Bischofsstabes aus dem frühen achten Jh.<sup>36</sup> weist auf eine solche Verbindung hin. Höchst wahrscheinlich liessen die Schweden sich allmählich ihre Handelswege entlang nieder; der schwedische Einfluss in Schleswig ist sicher bezeugt. Die Ritzung auf dem Schädelbruchstück enthält vielleicht Spuren einer sprachlichen Beeinflussung aus diesem Gebiet, und es wäre kein Wunder, falls die Schweden, ehe sie in Schleswig wirksam wurden, beim Handelsverkehr über Ribe mitgeholfen haben.

Es ist dann auch nicht verwunderlich, dass ein Amulett aus dem achten Jh. durch seine Imitation der Dreieinigkeits eine diffuse Einwirkung des Christentums in Ribe bezeugen kann. Willibrord soll um 700 Dänemark besucht haben, und das Kreuz zeigt sich zu dieser Zeit auf einer dän. Spange<sup>37</sup>. Wenn die Schweden sich um 829 die kirchliche Bedienung vom Kaiser erbitten, scheint das auf dem selbständigen Import von christlichen Kulturelementen und auf einer inneren Entwicklung zu beruhen. Diese geistige Haltung wird sich auch bei den Schweden in den Handelsstationen bemerkbar gemacht haben; sie hat sich eben auf diesen Wegen nach Schweden verbreitet.

Die Inschrift auf dem Schädelbruchstück aus Ribe ist neben allem anderen auch in formaler Hinsicht bemerkenswert: alle ihre sechs Doppelhebungen werden von einem einzigen Alliterationssystem umschlossen: *Ulfurr auk Óðinn | auk ·Hodd ·íor! | ·Hialp borr ·is | viðr ·heim á ·uerki; | ·auk ·dverg-kuning | bý ·or!* Es handelt sich hier um kein Spiel des Zufalls, sondern um ein Prinzip, das die alte Zugehörigkeit beider Halbvokale zur vokalischen Alliteration in Skandinavien bestätigt, und das zur aussergewöhnlichen Vorstellung mit Betonung des *verbum substantivum* in der dritten Doppelhebung geführt hat. Man würde hier unmittelbar *·borr is ·hialp* erwarten. Endlich führt die gesuchte Alliteration zur Umstellung von Präposition und Substantiv in der letzten Doppelhebung, mit einer sonst nicht möglichen Betonung der Präpositionen.

Das Weiterrollen der Alliteration eine Anzahl Doppelhebungen hindurch ist aus sehr frühen Runeninschriften bekannt, z.B. aus den Inschriften auf dem

<sup>34</sup> Siehe die Karten in verschiedenen Darstellungen seit 1937 wie neu abgedruckt bei G. Ekholm: *Romersk import*, 1974, 193: 337: 360. Siehe auch H. Jankuhn: *Haithabu*, <sup>3</sup>1956 = <sup>5</sup>1972, 29; ds., *Vierteljahrschr. f. Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgesch.* XL, 1953, 219; ds.: *Die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu*, 1958, 8; ds., *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo XX*, 1973, 546.

<sup>35</sup> Hierüber ausführlich und etwas abweichend M. Bencard, *Mark og Montre* 1974, 20–27; O. Olsen, *Fra Ribe Amt XIX*, 1975, 225–58; mit weiteren Hinweisen.

<sup>36</sup> Hierüber wohl zuletzt L. Laing: *The Archaeology of Late Celtic Britain*, 1975, 359.

<sup>37</sup> Abbildung z.B. bei E. Moltke: *Runerne i Danmark*, 1976, 286.

Horn von Gallehus und auf dem norw. Tunestein, wo die Systeme drei bis vier Doppelhebungen umspannen<sup>38</sup>. Diese Technik scheint sich neben den literarischen Versbildungen lange vererbt und weit verbreitet zu haben. Eine Inschrift aus Maeshowe reiht fünf Doppelhebungen aneinander. Noch interessanter ist aber, dass die Beschwörung auf einem schwed. Amulett aus Hedeby, aus der ersten Hälfte des neunten Jh.s, nicht weniger als 14 erhaltene Doppelhebungen alliterierend verbindet, wozu aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ein paar jetzt verlorene Glieder noch kamen.

Auch das kann auf keinem Zufall beruhen. Offensichtlich haben Magiker der frühen Wikingerzeit auf den Handelsplätzen im mittleren Jütland ihre Aussagen durch eine alte, formale Technik erhärtet. Man darf annehmen, dass diese monoton weiterrollende Stabung auf genealogische Memorabilien zurückgeht, die nach dem Sieg des alliterierenden Namensprinzips in der späten Völkerwanderungszeit eine solche Form annehmen mussten. Sie wurde auf den hier erörterten Amuletten noch nicht nach den Erfordernissen der literarischen Langzeile umgemodelt; sie ist aber schon von einem gewissen Willen zum rhythmischen Stil geprägt. Die Umstellung von Präposition und Substantiv mit einer sonst nicht möglichen, alliterierenden Betonung der Präposition kennzeichnet die vermutlich einigermaßen gleichzeitige anorw. Weisheitsdichtung mythischer Art. Man vergleiche Fälle wie *Háv. 9 þviat ill ráð | hefir (maðr) opt þegit | annars brióstom ór; 108 ifi er mér á, | at ec vvara enn kominn | iþna gorrðom ór*. Es ist jetzt klar, dass diese Umstellung nicht wegen „Bugges Regel für den Ljóðahátt“ erfunden wurde. Die Faktoren, die sich in Bugges Regel widerspiegeln, haben die Umstellung in den betreffenden Gedichten bewahrt und verbreitet; sie ist aber an sich primitiverer Herkunft.

Es ist endlich nicht uninteressant, dass die Ritzung auf dem Schädelfragment über die Alliteration hinaus auch einen gewissen Gleichklang ihrer Elemente durch die Wahl nicht unmittelbar zur Hand liegender Wendungen berücksichtigt: *auk Hoddjör! | Hjalp borr is | viðr þeim á verki | auk dvergkuning*. Die Inschrift schliesst sich hiermit einigen Denkmälern ihrer Zeit an, nämlich dem vermutlich ein wenig älteren Eggjum-Stein und dem gleichzeitigen Rök-Stein, die Klänge dieser Art verwenden. Es handelt sich um bewusste Versuche, den Reim in die Volkssprache hineinzubringen, sei es nun aufgrund der noch nicht zur *leonitas* gereiften *homoioteleuta* kirchlicher Dichtungen, oder, was wahrscheinlicher vorkommt, besonders in Anbetracht des Eggjum-Steins, aufgrund der volkssprachlichen Reimdichtung auf Irland, das sich ja schon innerhalb des Gesichtskreises des schwedischen Kulturimports befand.

In diesen Inschriften keimt die Skaldik, die dann im neunten Jh. ihre feste Form findet. Der neue Fund zeigt ihre Wurzel auch auf dänischem Gebiet. Die Inschrift auf dem Schädelfragment aus Ribe ist ein wichtiges Zeugnis vom spezifisch nordischen Umbildung primitiver, agerm. Rhythmen zu einer literarischen Hochkultur, wo von Rhythmus bald kaum mehr gesprochen werden kann.

<sup>38</sup> Siehe hierzu die Lesung bei G. Høst: *Runer*, 1976, 112 f.

Lo. *mikill* : *mykill*

## 1. Inngangur

Eins og alkunna er, er rótarsérhljóðið í lýsingarorðinu *mikill* breytilegt í norrænum málum, ýmist ókringt eða kringt. Þegar að fornu er ritháttur á reiki, ýmist ritað „i“ eða „y“. Ókringda sérhljóðið er upphaflegra, sbr. gotn. *mikils*, fhþ. *michil*, fsax. *mikil*, fe. *micel*: kringda sérhljóðið er að jafnaði talið vera til orðið við svokallað samvirkt *u*-hljóðvarp, þ.e. fyrir samvirkt áhrif *u*-s í öðru atkvæði, sem varðveitt hafði frá frumnorrænum tíma, og undanfarandi varahljóðs; hafi breytingin *i* ) *y* því fyrst orðið í beygingarmyndunum *myklu*, *myklum*, en síðan hafi *y* breiðzt út til annarra orðmynda með áhrifsbreytingu (sjá t.d. Kock 1911–16:186, Noreen 1923:71).

Nokkurrar óvissu hefur samt gætt um túlkun hins breytilega ritháttar að fornu, einkanlega í íslenzku. Í orðabók R. Cleasbys og Guðbrands Vigfússonar (1874) er látið að því liggja, að ekki sé um að ræða tvær hljóðfarslega ólíkar myndir orðsins, heldur sé „y“ til komið vegna norskra ritáhrifa („prob[ably] a Norwegianism“; s.v. *mikill*). Vikið er sérstaklega að þeim tilvikum, er „y“ er aðeins ritað í samandregnum orðmyndum (*myklir*, *myklar* o.s.frv.), en „i“ ella (*mikill*, *mikit* o.s.frv.), svo sem er að sögn höf. í Flateyjarbók, eldri hluta, hjá fyrri skrifara, Jóni Þórðarsyni. En þó virðist skoðun höf. sú, að „y“ í *mikill* sé að öllu leyti norskt einkenni í íslenzku, því að jafnframt er á það bent, að í rím Skorðuðum dæmum úr fornu skáldamáli sé ætíð *i* (sbr. og F. Jónsson 1901:70 og dæmin hjá Kahle 1892:233–4), auk þess sem tekið er fram, að þetta sé í samræmi við nútímaframburð. Að því er síðara átriðið varðar, er þess ekki gætt, að vitnisburður nýmáls er að þessu leyti vitaskuld einskis nýtur, þar sem *mikill* og *mykill* hefðu runnið saman. Sama skoðun virðist koma fram hjá M. Hægstad (1942:37; samkv. handr. höf. frá 1914, endurskoðuðu 1927 eða fyrr), sem einnig nefnir, að *i* sé einrátt í nýmáli. Sennilega hefur D. A. Seip og verið þessarar skoðunar framan af, þar sem hann áleit, að samvirkt *u*-hljóðvarp hefði ekki orðið í íslenzku (1931:204); en sú athugasemd er felld niður síðar (1955:216).

Önnur skoðun virðist koma fram hjá Finni Jónssyni í athugun hans á stafsetningu Hauksbókar (útg. 1892–96; sbr. og ljóspr. útg. MI 5, 1960). Stuttur kafli, bl. 100r3–101r í AM 544 4°, tæpar þrjár síður, er ritaður sérstakri hendi, 13. hendi (sbr. MI 5.ix–xii); um stafsetningu þessa skrifara segir Finnur Jónsson (útg. 1892–96:1): „Enkelte norskheder synes at frembyde sig, der kunde vise, at skriveren, skönt islandsk, har kendt noget til eller været vant til norsk skrivemåde.“ Meðal norskra einkenna þessarar handar telur Finnur

svo dæmi um *mykill*, *mykinn*, *mykla*, en bætir síðan við innan sviga dæmi um orðmyndina *myklum*, að því er virðist, sem íslenzka orðmynd. Hjá 9. hendi er dæmi um *myklu* (544, bl. 88v5), og fjögur dæmi eru um þessa orðmynd hjá 1. hendi (Hauki Erlendssyni). Stafsetning beggja er að álit Finns „í det hele“ eða „på det nærmeste“ „rent islandsk“ (útg. 1892–96:xlvi–xlvii og xxxvi–xxxix). Virðist hann því telja orðmyndina *myklu* íslenzka. Svipuð skoðun kemur fram hjá A. Jakobsen í athugun hans á Clarus sögu (1964). Hann telur „y“ í *mikill* meðal „norvagismene i sagaen“ (1964:68–9), en segir í upphafi: „U-omlyd av i, støttet av foregående m eller b, finner vi stundom både i gno. og glisl.: *myklu(m)*, *byskup*.“ Síðan segir hann, að y-myndir í íslenzku megi að vísu skýra, „selv om vi holder Norge helt utenfor“: frá *myklu(m)* hafi y getað breiðzt út til annarra beygingarmynda, jafnt í íslenzku sem norsku, og þurfi munurinn ekki að vera annar en sá, að þessi áhrifsbreyting hafi byrjað síðar í íslenzku en norsku. Eigi að síður er niðurstaða Jakobsens sú, að það sé „noksá rimelig å regne med en viss norsk påvirkning når det gjelder analogidannelsene *mykill*, *myklar* osv.“

Stefán Karlsson (1967:50) lýsir þróuninni með þessum orðum:

Icelandic manuscripts from as early as c. 1200 show examples of y for i in forms of this adj. with u in the ending, alongside the commoner i, but the analogical extension of y to forms without u in the ending is of much younger date and is found in comparatively few scribes (in the fourteenth century and later). ([Neðanmáls:] The earliest examples in dated Icelandic documents are mykils 1330 and 1358 (Íslandske originaldiplomer, nos. 8 and 30); in no. 8 the form is admittedly corrected from mykl-.) In Norwegian on the other hand the generalized use of y is common from the early part of the thirteenth century onwards.

## 2. Mikill : mykill í fornnorsku

Svo sem fram kom í § 1, er dreifing „i“-s og „y“-s í *mikill* næsta ólík í elzta ritmáli, norsku og íslenzku. Í sumum elztu handritunum norsku er „i“ einrátt, t.d. AM 655 IX 4<sup>o</sup> (heilagra manna sögum), ef til vill frá því um eða upp úr miðri 12. öld, og AM 315 e–f fol. (Gulapingslögum) (sjá Holtsmark 1955:415–6). En þetta eru lítil handritsbrot og aðeins örfá dæmi um *mikill* (4 dæmi í 655 IX og einnig samtals 4 dæmi í 315 e–f), svo að ekki er loku fyrir það skotið, að ritháttur hafi í upphafi verið á reiki í þessum handritum. Til eru þó allstór handrit norsk, þar sem „i“ er einrátt, t.d. De la Gardie 8 II (Ólafs saga helga, helgisagan svonefnda) (útg. 1922:xxxiii) og AM 310 4<sup>o</sup> (Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar eftir Odd munk) (Hægstad 1935:26; eitt dæmi er þó um „y“, *myclu*), bæði sennilega frá því um miðja 13. öld; enn fremur Codex Rantzovianus (Don. var. 137 4<sup>o</sup> í Konungsbókhöfðu í Kaupmannahöfn; Gulapingslög) (Hægstad 1907:82); Sthm perg. fol. nr. 4 (Piðriks saga af Bern), 1. og 2. hönd (samkv. athugun á útg. 1905–11; eitt dæmi er þó um „y“ hjá 1. hendi, *mykklu* 55<sup>2</sup>); De la Gardie 4–7 B, 3. hönd (Strengleikar) (Hægstad 1935:12; eitt dæmi er um „y“, *mykilli*); þessi handrit eru frá síðari hluta 13. aldar eða um 1300.



Í hómilfubókinni norsku (AM 619 4°), sem er elzta heillega handritið, sennilega frá um 1200, er „y“ hins vegar einrátt að heita má (há öllum þremur skrifurum), og koma vel flestar beygingarmyndir fyrir (sjá Holtsmark 1955: 414–6). Hið sama á við um Sthm perg. fol. nr. 6 (Barlaams sögu og Josaphats), sennilega frá því um miðja 13. öld (samkv. lauslegri athugun á útg. 1851).

Loks er ritháttur á reiki í nokkrum 13. aldar handritum, ýmist „i“ eða „y“ í hverri beygingarmynd, og er dæmafjölda ekki þannig háttáð, að marktækur munur virðist vera á einstökum beygingarmyndum að þessu leyti. Má ætla, að þessi reikula stafsetning eigi að einhverju leyti rætur sínar að rekja til málblöndunar, þannig að annar rithátturinn sé runninn frá forriti. En vitaskuld er þó ekki loku fyrir það skotið, að um hafi verið að ræða óbundin víxl (veggja stofnmynda, *mik(i)-* og *myk(i)-*, í máli eins og sama skrifara. Meðal handrita af þessu tægi eru De la Gardie 4–7 B, 1. hönd (Pamphilus, Elis saga o.fl.), sennilega frá þriðja fjórðungi 13. aldar (Holm–Olsen 1940:38, 87–9); sama handr., 2. hönd (Strengleikar) (Hægstad 1935:2); AM 243 b α fol. (Konungs skuggsjá), sennilega frá síðasta fjórðungi 13. aldar (Hægstad 1935:57, 91); og Sthm perg. 4° nr. 17 (Tómass saga erkibiskups) (samkv. athugun á útg. 1869; langoftast „i“, en „y“ kemur fyrir, mykell 230<sup>2</sup>, mycklum 221<sup>7</sup>, mycklo 8<sup>1</sup> o.s.frv., alls 12 dæmi), frá um eða eftir 1300.

Um Sthm perg. fol. nr. 4, 3. hönd, og De la Gardie 4–7 A, sjá 7. og 18. neðanmálgrein.

Á 14. öld er „y“ og algengt í þessu orði í norsku (Seip 1955:249).

### 3. *Myklo* í fornu máli íslenzku

Í íslenskum handritum á elzta skeiði er stafsetningu lo. *mikill* háttáð á allt annan veg. Elzta handritið, sem er svo stórt, að vænta megi umtalsverðs dæmafjöld, er Sthm perg. 4° nr. 15, hómilfubókin svonefnda. Meginreglan er sú, að ritað er „i“ í rótaratkvæði orðsins (214 dæmi), en „y“ kemur einnig fyrir, þó að sjaldnar sé (13 dæmi) (sjá Larsson 1891:224–5). Ekki er þó öll sagan sögð með því: öll 13 dæmin um „y“ eru sem sé í einni og sömu beygingarmynd, þáguf. et. hvk. *myklo*, en um þessa mynd eru til viðbótar 28 dæmi með „i“ (*miklo*). Um þáguf. et. hvk. er þannig samtals 41 dæmi í handritinu. Um aðrar beygingarmyndir orðsins (ásamt sögninni *mikla*) eru samtals 186 dæmi, og er því augljóst, að tilviljun hefur ekki getað ráðið því, að eingöngu er notað „i“ í flestum beygingarmyndum. Á hinn bóginn kann að þykja augljóst, við fyrstu sýn a.m.k., að dreifing „i“- og „y“-dæmanna (28 og 13) í þáguf. et. hvk. hljóti að hafa ráðizt af hreinni tilviljun.<sup>1</sup> En séu dæmin athuguð nánar, kemur þegar í stað í ljós, að ekki er einsýnt, að svo sé. Dæmin flokkast setningafræðilega á eftirfarandi hátt (ljóspr. útg. CCI 8, 1935):

<sup>1</sup> Sérstaklega ber að taka fram, að munur á rithöndum virðist ekki skipta máli. Lengi var talið, að sjö hendur væru á bókinni (sjá t.d. Lindblad 1963:88–9), en Westlund (1974) telur þær tólf: í þessari orðmynd eru 13 dæmi um „i“ og 6 um „y“ hjá 1. hendi, 5 um „i“ og 2 um „y“ hjá 8. og 11. hendi, hvorri um sig, en ýmist ekkert, eitt eða tvö dæmi um hvorn rithátt hjá hinum höndunum níu.

1) <i>miklo</i> + lo. í miðst./hást.:			
miklo meire	(2v24)	myclo mína	(11r12)
miklo ... óþstr	(52r29)	(Alls 7 dæmi)	
(Alls 12 dæmi)			
2) <i>miklo</i> + ao. í miðst.:			
miclo heldr	(2v5)	frammar myclo	(2r25)
(Alls 5 dæmi)		myclo síþar	(47v18)
3) <i>miklo</i> + forsetn. + fallorð:			
miclo ... fyrer lög	(38r24)	myklo epter (noa floþ)	(71r22)
(Alls 3 dæmi)		myklo ... fyrer ...	(83r19)
4) sögn + <i>miklo</i> :			
skipter ... almiklo	(71v11)	myclo ... varþa	(26r24)
		orkar myclo	(30v23)
5) einkunn í þáguf.:			
meþ miclo líóse	(21v4)		
(Alls 7 dæmi) <sup>2</sup>			

Setningafræðileg flokkun dæmanna leiðir sem sé í ljós greinilegan mun: annars vegar er hið svonefnda mismunarþágufall svo og sagnbundið þágufall, þ.e. atviksorðsnotkun orðmyndarinnar (1.–4. liður), og skiptast „i“ og „y“ þar á; hins vegar er svo lýsingarorðshlutverk þágufallsmyndarinnar (5. liður), og er þar eingöngu notuð „i“-myndin.

Svipað er ástatt með AM 645 A 4° (Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups o.fl.; ljóspr. útg. CCI 12, 1938, bl. 1–42) (sjá Larsson 1891:225). Um *myklo* eru þrjú dæmi, öll atviksorðsleg (myclo meir 5r30, mýclo mest 24v5, myclo meire 40r6), en jafnframt eru sex dæmi um *miklo* í atviksorðshlutverki og sex í hlutverki lýsingarorðs.

Í AM 645 B 4° (postulasögur o.fl.; ljóspr. útg. CCI 12, 1938, bl. 43–66) er eitt dæmi um „y“: myclo oftár (64r3); í AM 325 II 4° (Ágrip; útg. 1880) eru tvö dæmi: myclo sanligra (6<sup>22</sup>), mvclo mest (62<sup>19</sup>); í AM 677 A 4° (Prosper; ljóspr. útg. CCI 18, 1949, bl. 1–6) eru tvö dæmi: myclo meir (5r27), myclo meira (6r31); í AM 673 a II 1 4° (Physiologus) eru tvö dæmi: myclo oscyrligri (2r3), myclo suartari (6r8) (sjá Larsson 1891:225).

Með þessu eru upp talin öll dæmi um „y“ í *mikill* í elztu handritum (fram undir miðja 13. öld), og eru þau öll um þáguf. et. hvk. í atviksorðshlutverki, eins og áður sagði. Á hinn bóginn eru svo mörg handrit, þar sem ekkert dæmi er um „y“ í þessu orði. Eitt þeirra er AM 674 a 4° (Elucidarius; ljóspr. útg. MI 4, 1956). En þetta er stuttur texti, og eru aðeins þrjú dæmi um þáguf. et. hvk. af *mikill* (Larsson 1891:225): tvö þeirra gegna lýsingarorðshlutverki, en

<sup>2</sup> Viðbótartilvísanir eru þessar um „i“: 4r11, 4r25, 21v17, 31v13, 36v12–3, 43r28, 44v33, 52r35, 73v9, 73v18; 2v7, 28r28, 48r13, 71v13; 44v5, 71v34; 12r27, 21r30, 44r34, 48r32, 59r2, 96r14; um „y“: 25v15–6, 36r20–1, 50v23, 61v25, 73r34, 90r17.

hið þriðja stendur sem atviksorð (miclo ððre 26r16). Er því ljóst, að tilviljun ein kann að ráða því, að ekkert dæmi er um *myklo* í þessu handriti. Hið sama kann að gilda um öll önnur elztu handrit, sem ekki eru hér áður upp talin, enda eru þau flest aðeins lítil handritsbrot nú. En tilviljun ræður vitaskuld einnig miklu um dæmafjölda í þeim handritum, sem sýna dæmi um *myklo* og áður voru nefnd. Þannig er það ugglaust hrein tilviljun, að bæði dæmin í AM 673 a II 1 4<sup>o</sup> eru rituð með „y“, þ.e.a.s. að í þessu broti er ekkert dæmi um *miklo* (þó að dæmi séu um „i“ í öðrum beygingarmyndum; Larsson 1891:225).

Af þessum sökum var athuguð í heild tíðni lo. *mikill* (og so. *mikla*) í öllum handritum frá því fyrir um miðja 13. öld (þ.e. þeim, sem sýnishorn eru úr hjá Hreini Benediktssyni 1965 nr. 1–39), og er tíðnin sýnd á 1. töflu; tekin eru út úr þau handrit, sem hafa 100 dæmi eða fleiri um *mikill*, en þau, sem sýna færri dæmi, eru talin í einu lagi, samtals 32 brot.

1. tafla. Tíðni lo. *mikill* (og so. *mikla*) í íslenskum handritum frá því fyrir um miðja 13. öld. (Dálkur a: *mikil(-)*, *mikinn*, *mikit*; b: *mikli(-)*, *mikla(-)*; c: no. *miklon*; d: þáguf. *miklom*; e: veik b. *miklo*; f: þáguf. et. hvk. lo. *miklo*; g: atvo. *miklo*; h: atvo. *myklo*.)

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	Samtals
Sthm 15 4 <sup>o</sup>	137	34	1	14		7	21	13	227
AM 645 A 4 <sup>o</sup>	72	25		9	1	6	6	3	122
AM 677 B 4 <sup>o</sup>	79	12		1		4	4		100
32 brot	150	34		11	2	17	10	7	231
Samtals	438	105	1	35	3	34	41	23	680

Af 1. töflu má sjá, að loku má heita fyrir það skotið, að tilviljun ráði því, að ekkert dæmi er um „y“ í þáguf. et. hvk. í lýsingarorðshlutverki (dálkur f), þegar þess er gætt, hversu oft er ritað „y“ í atvo. (dálkur h) miðað við „i“ (dálkur g).<sup>3</sup> Enn fjær lagi er svo vitaskuld, að tilviljun ráði því, að aldrei er ritað „y“ í *miklom*, *miklo* (dálkar d–e) né í öðrum myndum lýsingarorðsins eða sagnarinnar (dálkar a–c).

Af þessu verður ekki komizt hjá að draga þá ályktun, að hinn breytilegi ritháttur, „i“ eða „y“, hafi átt sér mállega forsendu: í lýsingarorðinu *mikill* (og so. *mikla*) var ókringt sérhljóð, *i*, einrátt í rótinni, en atvo. (þáguf. et. hvk.) var ýmist *myklo* eða *miklo*, með kringdu eða ókringdu sérhljóði, í óbundinni drefingu.

Meðal handrita frá síðari hluta 13. aldar og a.m.k. fram um miðja 14. öld eru nokkur, þar sem dæmi um „y“ í lo. *mikill* eru einskorðuð við þáguf. et. hvk.,

<sup>3</sup> Nánar tiltekið eru líkurnar, *P*, á, að öll 23 dæmin um „y“ væru í atviksorðinu, en ekkert þeirra í þágufallsmynd lýsingarorðsins, ef tilviljun hefði ráðið:

$$P = \binom{64}{23} : \binom{98}{23} = \frac{64!23!(98-23)!}{23!(64-23)!98!} = \text{ca. } 0,000009$$

þ.e. aðeins tæplega einn hundraðþúsundasti eða nánar tiltekið um 9 af milljón.

sem stendur sem atviksorð, svo sem er á fyrri hluta 13. aldar. Meðal þessara handrita eru eftirfarandi:

Í Sthm perg. 4<sup>o</sup> nr. 2 (Ólafs sögu helga; ljóspr. útg. CCI 15, 1942) eru þessi dæmi: *myclo scapstøri* (5v1), *myclo minni* (18r26), *myclo meira* (20v12, 29v5, 30v24), *myclo scapstør[e]* (31r30), *myclo meira* (33v30), *myclo ... minni* (34r16), *sidr myclv* (62r22), *myclo meiri* (65r40).

Í GkS 2365 4<sup>o</sup> (Konungsbók Eddukvæða; ljóspr. útg. CCI 10, 1937) kemur *myklo* „oft“ fyrir að sögn Bugges (1867:xi). En um mun vera að ræða eftirtalin fimm dæmi (sbr. Gering 1903:677): *verri myclo* (14r29, Hym. 19<sup>6</sup>), *semra myclo* (21v9–10, Hhund. I 45<sup>2</sup>), *myclo ... meiri* (23v17, HHj. 32<sup>1–2</sup>), *semra myclo* (25v10, Hhund. II 23<sup>2</sup>), *myclo fegrsta* (31v10–1, Fáfn. 40<sup>6</sup>).

Í GkS 1009 fol. (Morkinskinnu; ljóspr. útg. CCI 6, 1934) eru níu dæmi: *Myclo ... meire* (1r11), *myclo giarnari* (19r21), *myclo meir* (20v3), *myclo vitrari* (22v23), *meira myclo* (24r57), *myclo macligra* (27v17), *myclo lengr* (30v46), *myclo meiri* (35r55–6), *myclo meire* (35v26).<sup>4</sup>

Í Sthm perg. 4<sup>o</sup> nr. 18 I (Heiðarvíga sögu; útg. 1904) er eitt dæmi: *eigi mycklogi minna* (88<sup>29</sup>).

Í AM 519 a 4<sup>o</sup> (Alexanders sögu; ljóspr. útg. MI 7, 1966), er eitt dæmi: *myclo seinna* (32v2).

Í AM 625 4<sup>o</sup> I (Veraldar sögu; útg. 1944) er eitt dæmi (sbr. útg. 1944:xi): *lengst myklv* (60<sup>24</sup>).

Í AM 325 I 4<sup>o</sup> (Orkneyinga sögu; útg. 1913–16) eru fimm dæmi: *myklu meira* (145<sup>1</sup>), *myclu fleiri* (152<sup>21</sup>), *myclu meira* (162<sup>9</sup>), *myclu betra* (235<sup>9</sup>), *myklu meira* (259<sup>14</sup>).<sup>5</sup>

Í GkS 2367 4<sup>o</sup> (Konungsbók Snorra Eddu; ljóspr. útg. CCI 14, 1940) eru átta dæmi: *myklv vlikari* (5v3), *myklv fleira* (9v8), *myklv mini* (13r17), *myklv lengra* (14r27), *myklv betr* (19r32), *myklv storfetapra* (23r2), *myklv lengra* (46r8), *myklv dyrstr* (53r4).<sup>6</sup>

Í AM 657 a–b 4<sup>o</sup> (ef til vill frá um miðja 14. öld), þeim hluta, sem ritaður er 3. hendi (bl. 23–8 og 75–97; ævintýri, Clarus saga), er að jafnaði ritað „i“ í *mikill*. En A. Jakobsen (1964:69) segist hafa fundið þrjú dæmi um „y“, tvö í Clarus sögu (útg. 1879: *mycklv fleira* 3<sup>9</sup>, *mycklv ... meira* 10<sup>1–2</sup>) og eitt í ævintýrunum (*mycklv minnr* 95v18; sjá og Jakobsen 1960:31); fjórða dæmið tilgreinir hann svo úr AM 227 fol. (Stjórn; ljóspr. útg. CCI 20, 1956), 1. hendi, sem hann telur hina sömu og 3. hendi á 657: *mycklv helldr* (54vb13).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Það er ónákvæmt, sem Finnur Jónsson segir (útg. 1932:vi), að „y skrives nogle gange i *mykill* (*mycl-*)“; öll dæmin eru um þáguf. et. hvk.

<sup>5</sup> Útg. 1913–16: xv. Útgefandinn, Sigurður Nordal, bendir réttilega á, að ritað sé *myklu*, „naar det staar adverblielt.“ en ekki ella.

<sup>6</sup> Í Ormsbók Snorra Eddu (AM 242 fol.; ljóspr. útg. CCI 2, 1931), frá um miðja 14. öld, er „y“ í þremur þessara dæma: *mycklv olíkari* (8v15), *mycklv minni* (15v30), *mycklv lengra* (17r6). Til viðbótar er eitt dæmi í þriðju málfraeðiritgerðinni: *mycklv fleiri* (42v2). Ella er ætíð „i“, bæði í *miklu* (atvo.) og öðrum myndum; Finnur Jónsson segir að vísu, að *i* „interdum in y mutatur in *myklu(m)*“ (1880–87:liiii), en nákvæm leit hefur þó ekki leitt í ljós neitt dæmi um þáguf. *myklum*.

<sup>7</sup> C. R. Unger taldi 3. hönd á Sthm perg. fol. nr. 4 (Þiðriks sögu af Bern) norska eins og 1. og 2. hönd, þar sem 4. og 5. hönd væru aftur á móti íslenzkar (útg. 1853:xvi–xviii), og svo hefur jafnan verið talið síðan. Wadstein (1894:31) áleit hins vegar, að 3. hönd væri íslenzk, m.a. vegna þess, að

#### 4. Þróunin í íslenzku

Á 13. og 14. öld má greina eftirfarandi þrjú áfanga í beygingarþróun lo. *mikill*:

1) Ókringda sérhljóðið *i* verður alls kostar einrátt, einnig í þáguf. et. hvk., sem notað er sem atviksorð. Svo sem áður er getið (§ 3), getur því að vísu verið vandsvarað í hverju einstöku tilviki, hvort tilviljun ein hefur ráðið því, að aldrei er ritað „y“, eða hvort málleg forsenda er fyrir því, að ritað er „i“ í öllum dæmum. Flest elztu handritin eru nú aðeins brot og vitnisburður þeirra því næsta óöruggur vegna dæmafæðar. Þetta á einnig við um AM 677 B 4<sup>o</sup>, enda eru aðeins fjögur dæmi í því um atvo. *miklo* (sjá 1. töflu) og því eigi loku fyrir það skotið, að tilviljun ein hafi valdið því, að ekkert dæmi er um „y“. Jafnvel í stóru handriti eins og Konungsbók Grágásar (GKS 1157 fol.; ljóspr. útg. CCI 3, 1932; samtals 93 blöð rituð tveimur höndum, A (bl. 1–13) og B (bl. 14–93)), frá því um eða eftir miðja 13. öld, eru dæmin of fá til, að vitnisburður þess sé marktækur (ætið er ritað „i“, en aðeins eru þrjú dæmi um atvo. *miklo*: 40vb9, 42rb25, 50va12).<sup>8</sup> Það er ekki fyrr en seint á 13. öld, að óyggjandi heimildir eru fyrir því, að ókringda sérhljóðið *i* sé orðið einrátt, einnig í atvo. *miklo*. Sem dæmi má nefna tvö handrit. Í AM 519 a 4<sup>o</sup> (Alexanders sögu) er eitt dæmi um „y“, svo sem áður er getið (§ 3). En jafnframt eru 19 dæmi um atvo. *miklo* með „i“. Er því eigi ósennilegt, að þetta eina dæmi um „y“ sé leif frá forriti, en skrifara hafi verið ókringda sérhljóðið eitt tamt í þessu orði. Í Reykjabók Njáls sögu (AM 468 4<sup>o</sup>; ljóspr. útg. MI 6, 1962) frá um 1300 er „i“ sömuleiðis einrátt, og eru þó 15 dæmi um atvo. *miklu*. Er því ljóst, að tilviljun hefur ekki ráðið því, að í þessu orði er aldrei ritað „y“ í þessu handriti.<sup>9</sup> Upp frá þessu eru þau handrit sennilega flest, þar sem ætið er ritað „i“ í *mikill*.

Í fljótu bragði kann svo að virðast sem þessi tímasetning stangist á við áðurnefnda athugasemd um, að í rím Skorðuðum dæmum úr fornu skáldamáli sé ætið *i* í *mikill* (sjá § 1). En þá athugasemd ber eflaust að skilja svo, að ókringt *i* hafi varðveitt óslitið frá upphafi, að einhverju leyti a.m.k., allt til nútímamáls. Heita má, að þessi athugasemd eigi að fullu við rök að styðjast, svo

nokkrum sinnum er ritað „hl-, hr-, hn-“. 3. hönd ritar að jafnaði „i“ í *mikill*. En þó eru níu dæmi um „y“, öll í þáguf. et. hvk. í hlutverki atviksorðs, svo sem er í íslenzkum handritum á 13. öld, en er óþekkt í norsku (útg. 1905–11:2.26<sup>12</sup>, 27<sup>o</sup>, 74<sup>13</sup>, 97<sup>13</sup>, 101<sup>14</sup>, 112<sup>11</sup>, 128<sup>21</sup>, 162<sup>22</sup>, 179<sup>21</sup>); en um „i“ í þessari beygingarmynd eru samtals 15 dæmi, átta í lýsingarorðs- og sjö í atviksorðshlutverki. Þess má og geta, að hjá 3. hendi er dæmi um orðskipanina *vera at at* + nafn., sem er óþekkt í norsku (sjá H. Benediktsson 1976:35). Loks er og rétt að geta þess, að eina dæmið um „y“ í *mikill* hjá 1. hendi (sjá § 2) er einnig í atvo.: mykklv hælldr (útg. 1905–11:1.55<sup>2-3</sup>).

Svo sem getið var (§ 2), er einnig eitt dæmi um *myklu* í AM 310 4<sup>o</sup>, og er það í atviksorðshlutverki: myclu meira (útg. 1895:9<sup>21</sup>). Þetta handrit er jafnan talið eftirrit af íslenzkri þýðingu á latneskri frumgerð Odds munks af Ólafs sögu Tryggvasonar. En vitaskuld er meiri líkur til, að hrein tilviljun hafi getað ráðið stafsetningu í þessu eina dæmi, heldur en ef fleiri dæmi hefðu verið.

<sup>8</sup> Sama er að segja um Staðarhólsbók Grágásar (AM 334 fol., bl. 1v–92r; ljóspr. útg. CCI 9, 1936). en í henni eru einnig þrjú dæmi um atvo. *miklo* (20ra23, 29vb6, 45va3).

<sup>9</sup> Miðað við þá tölndreifingu „i“-s og „y“-s í atvo. *miklo*, sem fram kemur á 1. töflu, eru líkurnar á fjórum dæmum um „i“ á móti engu um „y“ (svo sem er í 677 B) um 20% (þ.e.  $\left(\frac{41}{64}\right)^4 = \text{ca. } 0,2$ ), en á 15 dæmum um „i“ á móti engu um „y“ (í Reykjabók) aðeins um 0,2% (þ.e.  $\left(\frac{41}{64}\right)^{15} = \text{ca. } 0,002$ ).

langt sem hún nær. Spurningin er aðeins, hvaða ályktanir séu heimilar af henni. Ef miðað er við óbundið mál um og eftir 1200, kemur aðeins til álita þáguf. et. hvk. *miklo*. Um þessa orðmynd í atviksorðshlutverki eru samtals ellefu rím Skorðuð dæmi (í aðalhendingum í jöfnum vísuorðum) í fornu skáldamáli (í Skj. 1–2), þar af tíu frá því fyrir um 1200 (Skj. 1), og er sérhljóðið ætíð *i*.<sup>10</sup> Kann því að þykja einsýnt, að ekki sé það tilviljun, að orðmyndin *myklo* kemur ekki fyrir rím Skorðuð. En sé svipast um eftir orðum, sem myndað hefðu getað aðalhendingar með *myklo* (þ.e. orðum eins og *lykell*; *lykja*, *nykr*; *drykk*, *þykkja*, *þykr*, *ykr* o.s.frv.), kemur í ljós, að þau eru öll tiltölulega sjaldgæf í skáldamáli; í fyrra bindi Skj. er þannig aðeins eitt dæmi um aðalhendingar (í jöfnum vísuorðum) með *yk* (*fagrstrykvins*, *mik kykvan*, Þorbjörn Brúnason Skj. A 1.208, ÍF 3.290) og tvö með *ykk* (*þykkjask verðr fyr drykkju*, Egill Skj. A 1.58, ÍF 2.228; *auðhnykkjanda þykkir*, Hallfreðr Skj. A 1.171, ÍF 8.183).<sup>11</sup> Af þessu er ljóst, að engan veginn er loku fyrir það skotið, að orðmyndin *myklo* hafi verið til á 10.–12. öld eins og síðar, þ.e. að tilviljun ein ráði því, að ekkert dæmi er um þessa orðmynd rím Skorðaða.

Af íslenskum heimildum frá því fyrir um miðja 13. öld er sem sé sú ályktun ein heimil, að í *mikill* hafi *i* verið einrátt í rótinni nema í þáguf. et. hvk. í atviksorðshlutverki, þar sem *y* og *i* skiptust á í óbundinni dreifingu. Það er fyrst á síðari hluta 13. aldar, að heimildir sýna ótvírætt þá áhrifsbreytingu, sem fólgin er í því, að *i* verður einrátt einnig í atvo. *miklo*.

2) Á síðari hluta 13. aldar kemur og til það nýmæli í beygingarþróun lo. *mikill*, að kringda sérhljóðið *y* breiðist út til allra samandreginna beygingarmynda (*mykl-* + sérhlj.). Meðal elztu handrita, er sýna þessa þróun, virðist vera Járnsíða í Staðarhólsbók (AM 334 fol., bl. 92v–108; ljóspr. útg. CCI 9, 1936) frá því seint á 13. öld. Eftirfarandi dæmi koma fyrir: aukaf. et. kvk. (veik b.) *myklo* (93ra12, 94ra4), þolf. et. kk. (veik b.) *mykla* (95rb7), þáguf. et. hvk. (lo.)-*myklo* (98ra1); eitt dæmi er um „*i*“ í samandreginni orðmynd (þolf. et. kvk. *mikla* 94ra3) og eitt í ósamandreginni orðmynd (miket 97vb13). Í AM 291 4<sup>o</sup> (Jómsvíkinga sögu), einnig frá því seint á 13. öld, er þessi dreifing enn skýrari (sjá Larsson 1956:9, 28, 45, 56–7, 61, 73). Um ósamandregnar orðmyndir (*mikill*, *mikinn*, *mikil*, *mikit* o.s.frv.) eru samtals 108 dæmi, öll með „*i*“. En um samandregnar orðmyndir eru samtals 48 dæmi, þar af 20 með „*y*“ (*myklir*, *mykla*, *myklom*, *myklo*). Svipuð dreifing „*i*“-s og „*y*“-s er einnig kunn síðar. Áður er minnt á stafsetningu Jóns Þórðarsonar í Flateyjarbók (§ 1) frá lokum 14. aldar. Frá því seint á 14. öld er Sthm perg. 4<sup>o</sup> nr. 18 II (4. hönd, Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu, bl. 13r–24r; útg. 1916), og eru átta dæmi um samandregnar orðmyndir, öll með „*y*“ (*myklu* 8<sup>2</sup>, 29<sup>2</sup>, 29<sup>11</sup>, 33<sup>12</sup>, 46<sup>12</sup>, 48<sup>2</sup>, 59<sup>18</sup>, *mykla* 25<sup>3</sup>); í ósamandregnum orðmyndum er ætíð „*i*“.

<sup>10</sup> Dæmin eru: (-)blikis : *miklu* (Kormakr Skj. A 1.86, ÍF 8.270; Brúsi Skj. A 1.121, ÍF 9.94; Þorkell Skj. A 1.205, ÍF 3.107; Ólafur helgi Skj. A 1.221; Sighvatr Skj. A 1.235, ÍF 27.138; Þorkell Skj. A 1.439, ÍF 28.217; Snorri Skj. A 2.52), þik : *miklu* (Sighvatr Skj. A 1.240, ÍF 27.145), sik : *miklu* (Sighvatr Skj. A 1.271, ÍF 27.304; Steinn Skj. A 1.410–2), siklingr : *miklu* (Nikulás Skj. A 1.560).

<sup>11</sup> Eina dæmið hjá Kahle (1892:268) er aftur á móti úr ójöfnu vísuorði (sjá Skj. A 1.243).

Frá 15. öld, sennilega seint á öldinni, má nefna AM 556 a–b 4<sup>o</sup>, sem hefur að geyma sjö sögur eða sagnabrot. Í Harðar sögu (556a, bl. 70r–88r; útg. 1960) eru fjögur dæmi um „y“ í samandregnum orðmyndum: mycklu (125<sup>20</sup>, 155<sup>28</sup>), myklu (162<sup>7</sup>), myklum (146<sup>15</sup>); um „i“ eru einnig fjögur dæmi: mikla (134<sup>3</sup>, 136<sup>31</sup>), miklu (150<sup>20</sup>), micklu (151<sup>30</sup>). Um ósamandregnar orðmyndir eru samtals 44 dæmi, öll með „i“. <sup>12</sup> Í öðrum sögum í þessu handriti eru einnig dæmi um „y“ í öðrum samandregnum orðmyndum (og aðeins í slíkum orðmyndum). Í Grettis sögu (556a, bl. 5r–52r) fundust 19 dæmi um „y“: myklu (10r19, 26r16, 46v4, 49r19, 49r30), mykla (11v7, 33v33, 38r26), myklar (27v13), mykli (29v27), myklagard(-) (48r3, 48r5, 48r8, 48r10, 48v33, 51r13, 51r15, 51v4, 52r7); en fimm dæmi eru um „i“: miklu (29v4), miklum (16r14), mikler (10r5), mikla (27v35), miklagard (47v37). Um ósamandregnar orðmyndir eru samtals um 80 dæmi, öll með „i“. <sup>13</sup> Í hinum fimm sögunum, sem eru í handritinu, hafa þessi dæmi fundizt um „y“: í Sigrgarðs sögu frækna (556a, bl. 1–5r; útg. LMIR 5.80–107): mykler (81<sup>12</sup>); í Gísla sögu Súrssonar (556a, bl. 53v–70r; útg. 1929): myckla (57<sup>15</sup>, 67<sup>27</sup>, 68<sup>15</sup>), my(c)klu (1<sup>10</sup>, 9<sup>18</sup>, 58<sup>5</sup>, 71<sup>20</sup>), myklum (69<sup>23</sup>); í Mágus sögu (556b, bl. 1–24): myklu (3r3, 3r11, 3r22), mykla (5v14), myklar (2v3); í Jarlmanns sögu ok Hermanns (556b, bl. 25–35r; útg. LMIR 3.1–66): mycklu (45<sup>15</sup>, 50<sup>8</sup>), mycklum (9<sup>9</sup>, 32<sup>8</sup>, 33<sup>12</sup>, 48<sup>8</sup>), myckla (18<sup>10</sup>, 31<sup>1</sup>, 32<sup>11</sup>, 33<sup>15</sup>, 34<sup>22</sup>, 40<sup>7</sup>, 41<sup>15</sup>, 55<sup>14</sup>, 61<sup>3</sup>, 65<sup>10</sup>), myckler (46<sup>12</sup>), mycklar (29<sup>13</sup>, 52<sup>4</sup>, 55<sup>9</sup>), myckli (16<sup>15</sup>), My(c)klagard(-) (7<sup>15</sup>, 8<sup>12</sup>, 16<sup>16</sup>, 20<sup>15</sup>, 32<sup>9</sup>, 33<sup>18</sup>, 35<sup>23</sup>); og í Þorsteins sögu Víkingssonar (556b, bl. 35r–46): mycklu (40r31, 45v18), myckla (35v14), myckler (35r38, 35v2, 39r26), myckle (36r38).

Í AM 343 a 4<sup>o</sup>, sem er sennilega frá síðari hluta 15. aldar og hefur að geyma alls 15 fornaldar- og riddarasögur eða -sagnabrot, skiptast „i“ og „y“ á svipað og í 556, en þó öllu reglulegar. Handritið er ritað allmörgum höndum. En aðalhöndin hefur ritað langmest, hinar aðeins stutta kafla hér og hvar. Enginn munur er sjáanlegur á rithöndum í stafsetningu lo. *mikill*. Samtals eru 37 dæmi um „y“ í samandregnum orðmyndum (*myklu*, *myklum* *mykler*, *myklar*, *mykla*, *mykli*, *mykla*-), en tvö um „i“ (*mikla*). Um ósamandregnar orðmyndir er samtals 41 dæmi, öll með „i“ (*mikill*, *mikinn*, *mikit*, *mikil*, *mikilli*, *mikil*-). <sup>14</sup>

Í AM 557 4<sup>o</sup> frá 15. öld skiptast „i“ og „y“ á í lo. *mikill* á sama hátt að sögn

<sup>12</sup> Sture Hast (útg. 1960:61) segir, að „y“ sé takmarkað við „de ljudlagsenliga formerna“ (my(c)klu, myklum). En svo sem getið var, er ritað „y“ í fjórum dæmum af sex um þessar orðmyndir. Hin fáu dæmi um aðrar samandregnar orðmyndir (aðeins tvö dæmi um *mikla*) benda því vitaskuld til, að þessi takmarkaða dreifing „y“-s ráðist af tilviljun einni, og staðfestist það af dæmum úr öðrum sögum í sama handriti (sem mestallt a.m.k. virðist ritað einni og sömu hendi). Til viðbótar ofangreindum dæmum er rétt að geta þess, að rótaratkvæðið er mjög oft skammstafað með „c“ fyrir ofan „m“, og er það leyst upp sem „mik-“ í útg., jafnt í samandregnum sem ósamandregnum orðmyndum (1960:43).

<sup>13</sup> Auk þess eru svo rúmlega 180 dæmi, þar sem rótaratkvæðið er skammstafað með „c“ fyrir ofan „m“, bæði samandregnar orðmyndir og ósamandregnar.

<sup>14</sup> Auk þess er svo rótaratkvæðið mjög oft skammstafað með „c“ fyrir ofan „m“, einkum hjá aðalskrifara. Í útgáfu sinni á Yngvars sögu víðförla (1912:xxxvi) eftir þessu handriti (bl. 48v–54r) leysir E. Olson þetta ýmist upp sem „myc-“ eða „mic-“ eftir því, hvort *u* fer á eftir í næsta atkvæði eða eigi. Gerir hann þannig aðeins ráð fyrir „y“ í „hljóðrétum orðmyndum“ (sbr. útg. Harðar sögu hér að framan), enda vill svo til, að eina orðmyndin, sem fyrir kemur rituð fullum stöfum í Yngvars sögu, er „myklum“. En svo sem dæmin sýna, fær þetta ekki staðizt.

Jóns Helgasonar (1960:21). Hið sama á við brotið AM 238 XX fol. frá lokum 15. aldar eða byrjun hinnar 16. (Jorgensen 1970:179). Loks ber að nefna, að sams konar víxl á *mikil-* og *mykl-* eru í AM 147 8°, Kvæðabók síra Gissurar Sveinssonar (1604–83), en í þessu handriti má heita, að gerð sé reglubundin grein á stuttu *y* og *i* (Jón Helgason 1960:21).

Eðlilegast er að líta svo á, að hér sé um að ræða áhrifsbreytingu út frá þáguf. et. hvk. (atvo.) *myklo*, sem er í því fólgin, að kringing rótarsérhljóðsins tengist brottfalli sérhljóðsins í viðskeytinu á undan beygingarendingu, sem hefst á sérhljóði. Ekki verður séð, að ástæða sé til að ætla, að „y“ í samandregnum orðmyndum sé til komið vegna norskra ritáhrifa (§ 1), enda er þessi dreifing „y“-s í þessu orði ókunn úr norsku.

3) Um 1300 eða snemma á 14. öld verður svo sú breyting, að *y* kemst inn í allar beygingarmyndir, jafnt ósamandregnar sem samandregnar. Svo sem getið var (§ 1), er elzta dæmið úr tímasettum heimildum frá öðrum fjórðungi 14. aldar. En eldri dæmi eru í AM 221 fol. (brotum úr Jóns sögu og Augustinus sögu), þar sem að jafnaði er ritað „y“ í öllum beygingarmyndum, samtals 34 dæmum (St. Karlsson 1967:50); handritið er tæpast yngra en frá um 1300, en um það hafa verið skiptar skoðanir, hvort það er íslenzkt eða ef til vill norskt eftirrit af íslenzku forriti (bls. 56–7). Þá er og rétt að benda á, að Járnsíða í Staðarhólsbók kann að eiga heima hér, en hér að framan (í 2. lið) var hún talin meðal handrita, sem eingöngu hafa „y“ í samandregnum orðmyndum; en þar sem aðeins er eitt dæmi um ósamandregnar orðmyndir, getur það verið hrein tilviljun, að „y“ er einskorðað við samandregnar myndir.

Af yngri handritum af þessu tægi má nefna aðalhöndina á Sthm perg. 4° nr. 6 (riddarasögum) (Jakobsen 1964:69) frá öndverðri 15. öld, en hún er sama höndin og önnur aðalhöndin (A) á Sthm perg. fol. nr. 1 (Bergsbók), og er þar einnig oft ritað „y“ í þessu orði (St. Karlsson 1967b:77–9 og neðanmálsg. 13).<sup>15</sup> Þessi ritháttur virðist aldrei hafa orðið mjög útbreiddur, en er þó kunnur allt fram á 16. öld; hann er algengur bæði í Nýja testamenti Odds Gottskálkssonar (Jón Helgason 1929:69–70) og Guðbrandsbiblíu (Bandle 1956:75).<sup>16</sup>

Með hliðsjón af undanfarandi beygingarþróun getur það ekki talizt óhugsandi, að hér sé á ferðinni raunveruleg áhrifsbreyting út frá samandregnu orðmyndunum með *y*. En þó er fremur ástæða til að ætla, að þessi áfangi í þróun orðsins sé af norskum toga en aðrir, og ef Járnsíða er í hópi þeirra handrita, sem sýna þessa breytingu, má segja, að elztu heimildir um hana bendi til norskra áhrifa. En ef svo er, hefur ekki verið um ritmálsáhrif ein að ræða (frá norskum forritum), heldur eiginlega tókuorðmynd. En hvor kosturinn sem ofan á

<sup>15</sup> Jakobsen (1964:69) taldi skrifarann hafa „y“ í *mikill* frá forritum (norskum), en Stefán Karlsson sýnir, að það fær ekki staðizt, þar sem „y“ er einnig í Bergsbók. Jakobsen rökstuddi skoðun sína með því, að a.m.k. í einni riddarasagnanna í Sthm 6 4°, Bevers sögu, virðist „y“ ekki koma fyrir í þessu orði; þegar „y“ er notað í þessu orði í öðrum sögum, hljóti það því að stafa frá forriti, enda megi ætla, að skrifarinn hafi ritað einstakar sögur eftir ólíkum forritum. Þetta er þó eigi rétt, því að í Bevers sögu eru dæmi um „y“ í þessu orði eins og ella í handritinu (myklu 9r25, mykit 9v22, 18v19, myklum 13r13, mykilega 13r23, mykillegha 17v19, mykilligha 17v28, mykilli 19v25).

<sup>16</sup> Þess ber þó að gæta, að ekki er gerð eins reglubundin grein á *y* og *i* í Guðbrandsbiblíu (Bandle 1956:71–4) og í Nýja testamenti Odds (Jón Helgason 1929:24–5).



verður, er á sama hátt og í norsku á 13. öld (§ 2) ógerningur að ákveða, að hve miklu leyti hinn breytilegi ritháttur stafar af málblöndun (fórrits og eftirrits) í hverju einstöku tilviki og að hve miklu leyti um hefur verið að ræða óbundin víxl tveggja stofnmynda, *mik(i)l-* og *myk(i)l-*. Ekki er þó ástæða til annars en ætla, að hann eigi að einhverju leyti rætur sínar að rekja til slíkra víxla.

Rétt er loks að taka fram, að í þeim kveðskap, sem út er gefinn í síðara bindi Skj., eru aðeins tvö rímsskorðuð dæmi, bæði með *i* (*unnar blíks með krapti miklum*, Arngrímur Skj. A 2.362; *siklings þá með ljósi miklu*, Móriugrátr Skj. A 2.474). En í þeim kvæðum, sem birt eru í ÍM, eða þeim rímum, sem út hafa verið gefnar og *i* og *y* eru aðgreind í, virðist ekki vera neitt rímsskorðuð dæmi um *mikill*.

Samfall *y-s* og *i-s* (aðallega á 16. öld; sjá H. Benediktsson 1977) leiddi svo til þess, að stofnmyndirnar tvær, *mik(i)l-* og *myk(i)l-*, runnu saman í eitt (sjá § 1).<sup>17</sup>

## 5. *Mikil* : *mykil* í austurnorrænu

Svo sem getið var í upphafi (§ 1), hefur *y* í þessu orði verið skýrt með svokölluðu samvirku *u*-hljóðvarpi og síðan áhrifsbreytingu á þeim grundvelli. Við nánari athugun (§§ 2–4) hefur hins vegar komið í ljós, að millistigið – *y* í öllum þeim orðmyndum og þeim einum, þar sem það væri hljóðrétt samkvæmt þessari skýringu – er ekki varðveitt í elzta ritmáli, eins og talið hefur verið; ekki er kunnugt um eitt einasta handrit, íslenskt eða norskt, þar sem dreifing *y-s* sé hljóðrétt samkvæmt þessari skýringu.<sup>18</sup> Austurnorræna breytir hér engu um. Í elzta fornsænsku ritmáli virðist „*y*“ að heita má einrátt, þó að „*i*“-mynda verði aðeins vart. Sem dæmi má nefna elzta heillega handritið sænska, Cod. Holm. B 59, elzta hluta (Eldri Vesturgautalög; ljóspr. út. CCS 12, 1950), frá um 1280. Í því eru tíu dæmi, öll með „*y*“ (et. hvk. (-)mykit 8r15–6, 9r15, 17v4, þáguf. et. hvk. myklu 11v14, 11v14, flt. hvk. mykil 13v11, nefnif. et. kvk.

<sup>17</sup> Um hugsaalegar heimildir um rötarsérhljóðið *i* í stað *i*, sjá Bandle 1956:29.

<sup>18</sup> Sjá hér að framan bls. 53 neðanmáls um Codex Wormianus og bls. 56 um AM 556 a–b 4° og AM 343 a 4°.

Ástæða er til að vikja sérstaklega að einu norsku handriti, frá um eða upp úr miðri 13. öld, De la Gardie 4–7 A, tveggja blaða broti úr Ólafs sögu Tryggvasonar eftir Odd munk. Í þessu broti eru alls 30 dæmi um *mikill*, 9 um orðmyndir með *u* í öðru atkvæði, en 21 um aðrar beygingarmyndir (Holtsmark 1955:66, 415–6). Í öllum síðarnefndu dæmunum er ritað „*i*“, en ýmist „*i*“ eða „*y*“ í hinum níu: þáguf. et. kk./þáguf. flt. *miklom* (4 dæmi), *myklom* (2 dæmi); þáguf. et. hvk. lo. *miklo* (2 dæmi), atvo. *myklo* (1 dæmi, sem er misritað „myklir“ í handr., ef til vill vegna áhrifa frá undanfarandi orðmynd, „margir“). Aðeins síðastnefnda dæmið um „*y*“ gæti átt rætur sínar að rekja til hinnar íslensku þýðingar á latnesku frumgerðinni af Ólafs sögu (sjá § 3 neðanmáls). Ætla má sem sé, að í íslensku gerðinni hafi annaðhvort verið „*i*“ í 29 af þessum dæmum og „*y*“ í einu eða „*i*“ í öllum 30 dæmunum, en norski ritarinn hafi sett „*y*“ í stað „*i*“ í 2 eða 3 skipti. Líkurnar á, að útkoman yrði sú, sem raun ber vitni, ef tilviljun hefur ráðið–þ.e. að öll „*y*“-dæmin þrjú séu í *u*-myndunum níu, en ekkert þeirra í hinum beygingarmyndunum, 21 að tölu–eru þá um 7% í fyrri tilvikinu og um 2% í hinu síðara, en vegið meðaltal beggja tilvika aðeins tæplega 4% (miðað við þá tíðnidreifingu, sem fram kemur á l. töflu í dálkum g–h). En þó að líkurnar séu ekki meiri en þetta, er þó engan veginn einsýnt, að hin tiltekna dreifing „*i*“-s og „*y*“-s í þessu litla handritsbroti hafi ráðizt af öðru en tilviljun, enda hefur og ekki verið talið, að annars væri að vænta í norsku handriti.

mykil 29v6, þolf. et. kvk. myklæ 39v3, 39v5, þáguf. et. kvk. mykli 39r13).<sup>19</sup> Í elztu dönskum handritum, svo sem Cod. Holm. B 74 (skánskum lögum), sennilega frá því um miðja 13. öld, og öðrum lagahandritum frá um 1300, er „y“ einnig ráðandi, þó að „i“ komi fyrir í einstaka handriti (enda virðist dæmafjölda vera háttað þannig, að ekki sé marktækur munur á „i“ og „y“ milli beygingarmynda); í yngri handritum er „i“ algengara, jafnvel næstum einrátt í sumum (sjá Brøndum–Nielsen 1964:92–3 með viðbótartilvísunum). Til að hin hefðbundna skýring fái staðizt, verður því að gera ráð fyrir, að áhrifsjöfnunin í beygingardæminu hafi gerzt á forsögulegum tíma, þ.e. á 12. öld eða fyrr. En úr rúnamáli er enga vitneskju að fá til stuðnings slíkri ágizkun. Einnig þar skiptast „i“ og „y“ á, og auk þess eru dæmin svo fá, að marktækur munur kemur þar ekki fram fremur en síðar. Jafnvel í íslenzku yrði að gera ráð fyrir, að þessi áhrifsjöfnun hefði að nokkru leyti orðið fyrir ritöld (þ.e. að því er varðar lo. *miklom*, *miklo* og að nokkru atvo. *miklo*). En ekkert bendir til þessa, auk þess sem það getur ekki talizt sérstaklega líklegt, þegar haft er í huga, að í hart nær heila öld frá því, að elztu handrit eru varðveitt, verður ekki vart neinnar breytingar, en síðan virðist tvenns konar áhrifsjöfnun verða á skömmum tíma, hálfri öld eða svo (sjá § 4). Jafnvel á elzta skeiði, er með öðrum orðum ekki ástæða til að ætla, að y hafi náð til fleiri beygingarmynda en atvo. *myklo*.

## 6. *Mycel* í fornensku

Svo sem nefnt var í upphafi (§ 1), er engum vafa undirorpið, að *i* er upphaflegt í *mikill*, en *y* til orðið vegna síðari þróunar. Því er að lokum rétt að geta þess, að *y* er ekki aðeins til í norrænum málum í þessu orði, heldur er það og algengt í fornensku. Brunner (1965:20) segir, að *mycel* komi fyrir þegar í fornvestursaxnesku, þ.e. fyrir um það bil 900 (í ritum frá tímum Alfreðs mikla); sjá og Campbell 1959:132–3 með tilvísun til Cosijns 1883–86:1.65. Hjá Cosijn er þó aðeins getið tveggja dæma um *mycel* frá þessu tímabili. Annað er úr þýðingunni á Cura pastoralis Gregors páfa mikla (útg. 1871–72): þolf. et. kvk. *mycele* (368<sup>13</sup>). Af þessu verki eru tvö handrit frá lokum 9. aldar. Annars vegar er Brit. Mus. Cotton. Tiberius B XI, en það brann árið 1731 (svo að smáleifar einar eru eftir), og er því stuðzt við eftirrit Fr. Juniusar frá miðri 17. öld; þetta dæmi er því vitaskuld naumast til vitnis um fornenskt mál á 9. öld.<sup>20</sup> Hins vegar er Bodl., Oxford, Hatton 20 (ljóspr. útg. EEM 6, 1956), en þar er ritað „i“: *micle* (70v14, útg. 1871–72:369<sup>13</sup>). Hitt dæmið hjá Cosijn er úr fornenskum annálum í Parker-handritinu svonefnda (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 173), elzta hluta (sem talinn er ritaður 891–92): se *mycla* winter (við árið 761); en við athugun á ljóspr. útg. (1941) kemur í ljós, að um mislestur hlýtur upphaflega að

<sup>19</sup> Í Cod. Holm. B 64 (Gotlandslögum; ljóspr. útg. CCS 5, 1945), sennilega frá því um miðja 14. öld, er hins vegar ætíð ritað „i“ í þessu orði (Pipping 1905–07:56 (N.F.)).

<sup>20</sup> Frá síðari hluta 10. aldar er Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 12, og er texti þess skyldari Tiberius B XI en Hatton 20 (að sögn Kers 1957:42 með viðbótartilvísunum); í því stendur á þessum stað (samkv. ljósmynd): *micle* (161r17).

vera að ræða, því að í handritinu stendur: *anno dcc.lxi*. Her wæs se micla winter (10v21). Í orðabók Bosworths og Tollers (1898–1921) er einnig tilgreint dæmi frá tímum Alfreðs mikla úr þýðingunni á Orosius (útg. 1883): sio ofermycelo hæto (40<sup>b</sup>). En handritið, Brit. Mus. Cotton. Tiberius B I, er ekki fyrr en frá 11. öld, og er því óvíst, að verið hafi y í frumgerð.<sup>21</sup> Þá eru og tilgreind þrjú dæmi úr fornensku þýðingunni á kirkjusögu Beda prests (nafnh. *myclian*, þáguf. et. kk. *myclum*, hvk. *mycel*). En þessar y-myndir eru úr handriti frá síðari hluta 11. aldar (Kk. 3. 18 í háskólabókasafninu í Cambridge); í öðrum handritum af þessu verki (sjá Brunner 1965:4) er ýmist ritað „i“ ellegar í þeim er eyða á hlutaðeigandi stað eða texti annar.

Af þessu má ráða, að engar öruggar heimildir eru um *mycel* í vestursaxnesku á 9. öld. Ekki eru heldur kunn dæmi úr öðrum gömlum heimildum. Það virðist ekki vera fyrr en seint á 10. öld eða um 1000, sem farið er að rita „y“ í þessu orði og þá, að því er séð verður, í öllum beygingarmyndum í sama mæli. Sem dæmi má nefna Vercelli-bókina frá því seint á 10. öld, sem hefur að geyma hómiliur og fornensk helgikvæði (ljóspr. útg. 1913); í þessu handriti er langoftast ritað „y“, þó að dæmi séu um „i“. <sup>22</sup> Frá um 1000 eða snemma á 11. öld er Blickling hómíliusafnið svonefnda, og er „y“ að heita má einrátt í því (útg. 1874–80:313, 341, 345; ljóspr. útg. EEM 10, 1960). Hið sama virðist eiga við fjölmörg önnur 11. aldar handrit.

Kringing rótarserhljóðsins hefur ekki síður reynzt torskýrð í fornensku en norrænum málum. Þrjár hugmyndir hafa einkum verið ofarlega á baugi: 1) að skilyrði kringingarinnar séu hljóðfræðileg, þ.e. bundin við undanfarandi varahljóð (Campbell 1959:132–3); 2) að um sé að ræða áhrif frá merkingarandstaðunni *lytel* „lítill“ (Brunner 1965:20, Luick 1964:258); eða 3) að til hafi komið áhrif frá *mykill* í norrænum málum (Luick 1964:258). Engin þessara skýringa er hnökralaus. Og að því er varðar síðustu hugmyndina, kviknar vitaskuld sú spurning, hvort áhrifin hafi verið frá norrænum málum á fornensku eða öfugt. Því er vandsvarað, m.a. af þeirri ástæðu, að norrænar heimildir skortir um það tímabil, er máli skiptir, þ.e. sennilega 10. öldina (sjá § 4). Á það er þó að líta, að í ensku virðist y vera í öllum orðmyndum frá fyrstu tíð, en í norrænum málum (þ.e. íslenzku) er y bundið við eina orðmynd (atvo. *myklo*). Ef reglan um dreifingu y-s í elztu íslenzku er upphafleg, þ.e. hefur ráðið í öðrum norrænum málum á elzta stigi, bendir það í sjálfa sér til, að ef um er að ræða norræn-ensk þróunartengsl í þessu orði, þá hafi norrænu málin verið veitandinn, ekki öfugt. Óneitanlega er freistandi að ætla, að svo hafi verið og að atvo. *myklo* sé þá ef til vill eina orðmyndin, þar sem segja megi, að hljóðrétt kringing hafi orðið.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Af þessu verki er einnig til hið svokallaða Lauderdale-handrit frá 10. öld (áður í eigu Tollemache lávarðar, nú Brit. Mus. Add. MS 47.967; ljóspr. útg. EEM 3, 1953). En í þetta handrit vantar eitt kver á þeim stað, er hér skiptir máli, og er í stað þess eftirrit frá 17. öld, sem er runnið frá Cotton.; í því er ritað „i“ (-micelo 25<sup>2b</sup>).

<sup>22</sup> Á fyrstu 52 blöðunum (sem hafa að geyma fyrstu fimm hómíliurnar og kvæðið Andreas) eru alls 38 dæmi um „y“ og 7 um „i“.

<sup>23</sup> Ottó J. Björnsson dósent hefur góðfúslega veitt mér aðstoð við tölfraðilegt mat á þeim stafsetningaratriðum, sem um er fjallað, og kann ég honum þakkir fyrir.

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## Skaldic Sensibility

It is agreed that the technical innovations of the skalds mark a poetic revolution in Germanic tradition.<sup>1</sup> Admiration for skaldic technique is of course deserved, but it has somewhat overshadowed other skaldic qualities, of which one in particular, the relation of the poet to his production, is equally anomalous. The narrative sensibility of skaldic verse is quite remote from that of Eddic or Germanic verse, despite the fact that the two flourished side by side and may, in some instances, have been produced by the same poets. The fact that men and women attached their names to skaldic poetry but retained anonymity in their Eddic verse is already a strong argument for the claim that the two types of poetic sensibility were distinct in the minds of the practitioners as far back as our records take us.<sup>2</sup>

Skaldic poetry is not only not anonymous, it is emphatically non-anonymous. In no other branch of Germanic poetry during the early period (roughly the ninth through the eleventh centuries)<sup>3</sup> do poets apostrophize themselves so

<sup>1</sup> In particular it is the regularization of rhyme (in varying but specific forms and schemes), the counting of syllables and the extension of the verse line, and the innovation or refinement of the strophe which constitute an emphatic break with traditional Germanic verse. The partial parallels with Irish verse have never been satisfactorily explained.

The most recent summary of skaldic studies in English (containing a select bibliography) is that of E. O. G. Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). For another recent treatment of skaldic technique in the context of Germanic tradition, see Klaus von See, *Germanische Verskunst* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1967). See also Roberta Frank, *Norse Court Poetry: The Dróttkvætt* (forthcoming). An item possibly pertinent but unavailable to me is Gert Kreutzer, *Die Dichtungslehre der Skalden. Poetologische Terminologie und Autorenkommentare als Grundlage einer Gattungspoetik* (Kronberg Ts: Scriptor, 1975) [Dissertation].

<sup>2</sup> The line between "Eddic" and "skaldic" is, as is often pointed out, not always so clear, and the distinction is therefore subject to the usual emendations. This essay uses the terms normatively. That there must have been two different audiences for the two types of poetry seems self-evident from their formal properties, one traditional and relatively straightforward, the other intentionally recondite. This point was made again recently by John Lindow, who noted that in particular the riddlike kennings assume an élite and initiated audience, specifically that of the Norwegian court. John Lindow, "Riddles, Kennings, and the Complexity of Skaldic Poetry," *Scandinavian Studies*, 47, (1975), 311-327.

<sup>3</sup> Such a chronological assumption has its obvious pitfalls. Modern scholarship has succeeded in demonstrating in enough individual cases that strophes claimed to date from the tenth century were in fact composed two to three centuries later that we are obliged to approach the entire "early" corpus with caution. See in particular Bjarni Einarsson, *Skáldasögur. Um uppruna og eðli ástaskáldasagnanna fornu* (Reykjavík: Bókautgáfa Menningarsjóðs, 1961); the essay by Peter Foote in *The Saga of Gisli*, tr. George Johnston (Toronto: Toronto Univ. Press, 1973); and Björn K Þórolfsson, ed., *Vestfirðinga sögur: Íslenzk fornrit 6* (Reykjavík, 1943), pp. 5 ff. If these arguments are correct, they imply that there was an "active industry" (as Turville-Petre put it) in skaldic forgery in the twelfth century in Iceland. G. Turville-Petre, "Scaldic Poetry: History and Literature," *Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic Studies* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1969), p. 15.

unremittingly. First person intrusions (*frák heyrðak svá, segik þat, hefk heyrð hitt, vissak, getk þess, fregit hefk satt, þat telk illa, þat telk undr, spurðak, tínik svá, nú hykk segja seggjum, þat kveðk mik frógu*, etc.) run to the thousands in the skaldic corpus; and the “I” (or the third-person equivalent) always refers unambiguously to the poet himself. If on one hand such phrases serve to establish the credibility of the skald either as eyewitness or purveyor of reliable hearsay, they also (certainly in contrast to Eddic, if not Germanic practice in general) indicate a precociously aggressive attitude on the part of the poet towards his audience and his subject matter. The Eddic poet is “behind” his poem, anonymously narrating traditional tales in the impersonal epic manner; but the skald is “in” his poem, either peripherally (asking for silence, offering commentary or opinions, etc.) or more centrally (speaking at length of his own experiences). Handbooks list as skaldic topics battles, shields, journeys, praise of patrons, women and love, etc., but seldom mention just how subjectively these topics are often treated. Consider the following strophe by Sigvatr Þórðarson, whose eyewitness accounts constitute prized historical sources:

Létk til Eiðs, þvít óðumk  
aptrhvarf, dreginn karfa  
(vér stiltum svá) valtan  
vátr (til gløps á báti);  
taki hlægiskip hauga  
herr; sákat far verra;  
létk til húms á hrúti  
hætt; fór betr an vættak.  
Skj. 220

I had the rickety bark dragged to Eið,  
for I feared to turn back; I was cruelly  
wet in the boat; thus did I arrange it.  
May trolls take this wretched craft, I  
never saw a worse tub; I took the risk  
on the water's ram. It went better than  
I expected.<sup>4</sup>

History this may be (the event is the crossing of the river at Eiðar en route to Sweden for King Óláfr Haraldsson, ca. 1019), but what idiosyncratic and interested history it is. Not the incident itself, but the poet's range of emotional response, is the chief concern of the strophe.<sup>5</sup>

The *lausavísa* on Þórólfr Skallagrímsson's death ascribed to Egill is similarly subjective:

<sup>4</sup> Skaldic citations are from Finnur Jónsson, *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning* I:B (København: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1912) unless otherwise indicated. For some examples I have preferred other readings: hence some inconsistencies in normalization. I have borrowed others' translations when possible; unmarked translations are my own.

<sup>5</sup> The translation of Sigvatr's stanza is from Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, p. 81. The range of emotion expressed in skaldic poetry is often overlooked. See Ólafur Briem, *Íslendinga sögur og nútíminn* (n.p.: Almenna bókafélagi, 1972), pp. 48–49. As Peter Foote put it, skaldic stanzas may be “witty, boastful, threatening, defiant, sentimental, obscene, triumphant, pained – whatever indeed the Icelanders generally avoided saying in their laconic prose might find expression in their verse.” Peter Foote and D. M. Wilson, *The Viking Achievement* (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 362. This points up an important aspect of saga composition: the notoriously “plane” narrative which bears external fact, and the personalness of the strophes. One may guess that the laconic quality of the saga is in part predicated on the periodic emotional release of the embedded stanzas. Cf. Jón Helgason, “Norges og Islands digtning,” in Sigurður Nordal, ed., *Litteraturhistorie. B: Norge og Island*. Nordisk kultur 8 B (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1953), pp. 103–4.

Gekk, sás óðisk ekki,  
 jarlmanns bani snarla  
 (þreklundaðr fell) Þundar  
 (Þórólfr) í gný stórum;  
 jörð grær, en vér verðum,  
 ínu nærr of mínum,  
 (helnauð es þat) hylja  
 harm, ágætum barma. Skj. 44

The slayer of the jarl, who feared nothing, marched smartly forward; the bold-hearted Þórólfr fell in the great din of Óðinn; the earth grows (green) near to the Vína over my famous brother; it is cruel grief, but we must hide our sorrow.<sup>6</sup>

The format is typical of its kind: the first helming lays out the facts, and the second generates the personal response. Finally it is not Þórólfr's death, but Egill's grief, that is foremost.

Of the early skalds Egill in particular is given to using an event as a starting point for an emotional unfolding which, by the time the strophe ends, may bear little relation to the original "topic."<sup>7</sup> Jón Helgason correctly perceived this about *Sonatorrek* when he wrote that "Emnet er ikke, som sædvanlig i mindekvad, den afdødes levnedsløb, men Egils egne følelser."<sup>8</sup> Of this poem and others like it in the skaldic corpus it may be said that there are in fact two "topics," an ostensible one and the poet's own perception of the ostensible one, and that the latter may on occasion so overshadow the former that it tends to become the poem's main subject. In such instances it is fair to say that one topic, sometimes the chief one, of the poem is the poet himself.

Such self-assertion presupposes not only the high social standing of the skald, but his awareness of this standing – that is, a high degree of professional consciousness. That this consciousness was fully developed as early as the ninth century is attested in the following stanza by Bragi inn gamli (speaking for himself):

Skøld kalla mik:  
 skipsmið Viðurs,  
 Gauts gjafrotuð,  
 grepp óhneppan,  
 Yggs ölbera,  
 óðs skap-Móða,  
 hagsmið bragar.  
 Hvát's skald nema þat? Skj. 5

Skalds call me:  
 Viðurr's ship-smith,  
 recipient of Gautr's gift,  
 generous man,  
 Ygg's ale-bearer,  
 poetry's "creating-Móði"  
 artful poetry-smith.  
 What is a skald, if not that?<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Translation from Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Both Sigvatr and Egill are reporting events they saw firsthand. Eyewitness accounts must of course have been highly valued in any form, poetic or otherwise, in preliterate Norse society, but it would be a mistake to ascribe the poetic intrusiveness of Egill and Sigvatr (and the dozens of other skalds who composed out of their own experience) solely to the fact of their personal participation. Hearsay accounts may be somewhat less emotionally enthusiastic, but they are usually no less personal.

<sup>8</sup> Jón Helgason, *Norrøn Litteraturhistorie* (København: Levin and Munksgaard, 1934), p. 77. Hallvard Lie also stresses Egill's peculiar proclivity toward self-indulgence in "Natur og Unatur i skaldekensten," *Avhandlingar utgitt av Det norske Videnskaps-Akademi*, II. Historisk-filosofisk klasse, (Oslo, 1957), pp. 88–94.

<sup>9</sup> Verse 3: Gautr = Óðinn; his gift is poetry. Verse 4: "generous" is here understood to be free with poetry. Verse 5: Yggr = Óðinn; to bear his ale means to make poetry. Verse 6: Móði may refer to another god or to Óðinn specifically.



Even allowing for questions of authenticity which might be raised about such a stanza, and keeping in mind that Bragi is associated in a more abstract way with skaldic tradition in general, there is still more than a little sense of profession in a stanza which consists of a poetic list of terms by which skalds may refer to “skalds,” proverbially capped with *Hvat’s skald nema þat?* Professional consciousness is also glimpsed, from a negative angle, in Þórarinn stuttfeldr’s uncharitable characterization of someone else’s poetry as *leir hins gamla ara*, “mud of the old angle” (a specific reference to the myth of the origin of poetry).<sup>10</sup> Another curious testimony to the skaldic sense of professionalism is Sneglu-Halli’s stanza for King Haraldr harðráði:

Ortak eina  
of jarl þulu;  
verðrat drápa  
með Dönum verri;  
föll eru fjórtán  
ok fong tíu;  
opit’s ok öndvert,  
öfugt stígandi;  
svá skal yrkja  
sás illa kann.

Skj. 359

One doggerel  
I did for the Earl;  
among the Danes, *drápas*  
are done no worse:  
it has “falls” fourteen,  
and “faults” ten;  
it is open at the outset,  
endwise it is “rising.”  
Thus wretchedly rhymes  
the one who cannot do it right.<sup>11</sup>

Here the poet gives a poetic account of the technical features of his previous production. Diplomatic concerns in this instance dictate a self-denigrating tone, the “doggerel” in question having been composed for his present patron’s arch enemy Harald of England. Boastful references to earlier poetic feats are more typical, e.g., the first ten stanzas of Egill’s *Arinbjarnarkviða*, which are in fact once again not at all about the ostensible topic, but about Egill’s own bravura *Höfuðlausn* performance.<sup>12</sup>

Nor are skalds reluctant to vaunt their talents as they present a new poem or promise future productions:

Segi hildingr mér  
ef hann heyri sér  
dýrlygra brag;  
þat’s dröpulag.  
Skj. 185

Let the prince tell me  
if he ever hears a more  
splendid poem about  
himself. This one is  
in *drápa* form.

<sup>10</sup> Skj. 464. The myth is summarized below on p. 68. In the final moment of the tale, according to Snorri, Óðinn, in the shape of an eagle, expelled some of the mead backwards outside Ásgarðr’s walls as he swooped down, and from this “poet-fool’s portion” (*skáldfífla hlutr*) results bad poetry.

<sup>11</sup> Translation adapted from Lee M. Hollander, *The Skalds* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), p. 213. As Hollander notes, the English glosses for *föll*, etc., are only approximations of technical terms.

<sup>12</sup> The authenticity of this *Höfuðlausn* was challenged by Jón Helgason (who claimed that the poem dates from the second half of the twelfth century) in “Höfuðlausnarhjal,” *Einarsbók. Afmæliskeðja til Einars Ól. Sveinssonar 12. desember 1969*, ed. Bjarni Guðnason et al. (Reykjavík, 1969), 156–76, and defended by Dietrich Hofmann in “Das Reimwort *giör* in Egill Skallagrímsson’s *Höfuðlausn*,” *Mediaeval Scandinavia*, 6 (1973), 93–101.

So runs Gunnlaugr's immodest opening of *Sigtryggs drápa*. Such brash claims are remote from the supplicating tones one might expect of a poet addressing his patron (and from Finnur Jónsson's image of the humble skald).<sup>13</sup>

In a similar vein, the young Sigvatr offered his poetic services to the king Óláfr Haraldsson:

Hlýð mínum brag, meiðir  
myrklás, þvítt kank yrkja,  
alltíginn – mátt eiga  
eitt skald – drasils tjalda;  
þótt ǫllungis allra  
allvaldr, lofun skalda,  
þér fæk hróðrs at hvǫru  
hlít annarra nítið.

Skj. 246

Listen to my song, sinker-of-sail-horses [i.e., sea king], for greatly skilled at skein am I – a skald you must have – of verses; and even if you, king of all Norway, have ever scorned and scoffed at other skalds, yet shall I praise you.

This bit of flattery and self-promotion must have had its intended effect, for Sigvatr was made a member of the *hirð* shortly afterwards. Nor did the poet's high opinion of himself drop. Some twenty years later he claimed:

Munu þeirs mestar skynjar  
munvágs Dáins kunna  
síðr at Sigvats hróðri  
svinns braglǫstu finna;  
sik vill hverr, es hnekkir,  
haldorðr boði skjaldar  
éls, þvís allir mæla,  
iflaust gera at fífli.

Skj. 253

They who best understand Dáinn's wave of the mind [i.e., poetry] will find few faults in form in Sigvatr's verse; anyone who stubbornly maintains otherwise is without doubt a fool.

By the twelfth century, poets are explicitly naming their predecessors in a given tradition. Einnarr Skúlason locates his *Geisli* in the skaldic literature on Saint Óláfr:

Sigvatr frákk at segði  
sóknbráðs jǫfurs dáðir;  
spurt hefr ǫld, at orti  
Óttarr of gram dróttar;  
þeir hafa þengils Mœra  
(því's sýst) frama lýstan  
– helgum lýtk – es héttu  
hǫfuðskǫld firar – jǫfri.

Skj. 430

I have heard it said that Sigvatr told of the war-eager king's exploits; men have heard that Óttarr made a poem for the king. Those known as chief skalds have composed about the Mœrr king's glory (it is done); I show the holy king honor.

The following and final stanza proposes that the present version is undoubtedly the last and best *drápa* on the subject.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See Finnur Jónsson, *Historie*, I, p. 376.

<sup>14</sup> Translation from Hollander, *The Skalds*, p. 148. The reference to other skalds here may be a reflection of Óláfr's hostility toward the heathen character of much of skaldic verse (in particular the mythological kennings) up to this time. See note 20 below.

<sup>15</sup> Although these comparisons tend on the whole to be invidious, there are instances where skalds express approval of one another's work. The making of *níðvisur* against men of stature seems in particular to evoke admiration (expressed in poetry) among other skalds. See, for example, stanza

If skalds composed poetry about themselves, poetry about each other, poetry about their past poems and performances, and poetry about their own poetic abilities, it is no surprise that they should also compose poetry of self-reference – that is, poetry which takes as a topic itself and the imaginative act involved in its own creation.<sup>16</sup> Not only does this precocious sensibility yield some of the most brilliant moments in the skaldic corpus, it gives special insight into how the skalds turned myth into a performance metaphor.

Snorri's account of the origin of poetry may be paraphrased as follows:

The Æsir and the Vanir concluded a truce which was consecrated when members of each side spat into a vat (*Þeir gengu hvárir-tveggju til eins kers ok spýttu í hráka sínum*). The Æsir then made of this substance Kvasir, matchless in wisdom and knowledge (*hann er svá vitr, at engi spýrr hann þeira hluta, er eigi kann hann órlausn*). Kvasir was then killed by dwarves, who mixed honey with his blood so as to produce that mead which makes those who drink it into skalds or scholars (*ok varð þar af mjóðr sá, er hveirr, er af drekkur, verðr skáld eða fræða-maðr*). This liquid they put into two vats (*Són and Boðn*) and a kettle (*Óðrörir*) and stored away. The giant Suttungr, hearing of this, isolated the dwarves on a tidal rock and threatened to leave them to drown if they did not give over the poetic mead. They did so, and Suttungr then put it away in the keeping of his daughter. It then fell to Óðinn to obtain the liquid for the Æsir, and this he did by seducing the daughter and, in the shape of an eagle, taking the liquid into his gullet and flying home to Ásgarðr, where he regurgitated it (*en er Óðinn kom inn of Ásgarð, þá spýtti hann upp miðinum í kerin*). That portion of the mead eliminated from behind in the wild chase is known as the “poet fool's portion.”<sup>17</sup>

Note how the liquid changes forms as it changes hands:

- |                       |                                 |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1) Æsir and Vanir     | 1) spittle                      |
| a) creation of Kvasir | a) creation of Kvasir           |
| 2) dwarves            | 2) honey + blood = potable mead |
| 3) giants             | 3) mead                         |
| 4) Æsir               | 4) regurgitated mead            |

Both histories end where they start: from the Æsir back to the Æsir, and from “spittle” to “regurgitated mead” (this link is tightened in Snorri's account by the use of *spýja* in both instances). It seems that each cosmogonic station corresponds roughly with a new adumbration of the liquid which ends its circular journey as the coveted source of poetic inspiration.

From this frame story about the poetic mead are derived both the lexicon and

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18 of Haukr Valdísarson's *Íslendingadrápa* (Skj. 543) and Halbjörn hali's single visionary stanza (Skj. 521).

The lack of strophes of this type in the earlier period (that is, those which list names of predecessors) should probably not be taken to indicate the absence of an antecedent tradition; it seems likelier that their existence in the later period is, rather, a reflection of the antiquarian sensibility of that time (as well as a function of the greater proportion of preserved material).

<sup>16</sup> For an able discussion of modern self-referring poetry, see Silvio Vietta, *Sprache und Sprachreflexion in der modernen Lyrik* (Bad Homburg v.d.H.: Verlag Gehlen, 1970).

<sup>17</sup> Citations are from Finnur Jónsson, *Snorra Edda*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1926), pp. 71–74.

the imagery of early skaldic poetry of self-reference.<sup>18</sup> With few exceptions,<sup>19</sup> those hundreds of verses and dozens of half or whole strophes (which are only sampled in this essay) in the extant corpus which comment on the act of poetic composition do so either by referring specifically to the poetic mead story or by contriving a "consonant"<sup>20</sup> metaphor (in nearly every case a shift to other liquids).<sup>21</sup> "*Ek ræsi þat Hrauðnis gjöldum*" (I praise that with Hrauðnir's payment [Hrauðnir is said to be a sea king; his payment = the poetic mead], i.e., I praise that with poetry), says Tindr Hallkelsson (Skj. 137). "*Vink sylg Surts ættar sléttan*" (I execute with care the swallow of the race of Surtr [i.e., the giant's drink = the poetic mead]), says Hallfrøðr Óttarsson vandræðaskáld in his second *Óláfsdrápa* (Skj. 153). Helgi Ásbjarnarson says "*framm berk Heiðs hrönn*" (I bring forth Heiðr's wave [i.e., the poetic liquid]) (Skj. 183). "*Getum hræra framm hornstraum Hrímnis*" (We bring forth Hrímnir's horn-stream [i.e., Óðinn's drink = the poetic mead]), says Eysteinn Valdason (Skj. 131). From an anonymous poet of the tenth century the following verses remain (aptly termed "Om skjaldskab" by Finnur Jónsson):

<sup>18</sup> Snorri in his *Skáldskaparmál* lists the terms for poetry: "Hér skal heyra, hvé skáldin hafa kent skáldskapinn eptir þessum heitum, er áðr eru rituð, svá sem er, at kalla Kvasis-dreyra ok dvergaskip, dverga-mjóð, jötna-mjóð, Suttunga-mjóð, Óðins-mjóð, Ása-mjóð, fofður-gjöld jötna, loðr Óðroris ok Boðnar ok Sónar ok fyllr, loðr Hnitbjarga [Hnitbjörg is the place where Suttungr kept the mead], fengr ok fundr ok farm ok gjöf Óðins ..." *Snorra Edda*, p. 78. Keeping in mind that each element may be replaced by an equivalent, and that each generic (e.g., dwarf, giant, god, vat) may also be indicated by a proper name (e.g., Dvalinn, Surtr, Óðinn, Óðrorir) or by a kenning or heiti with such a specific referent, we glimpse the extent of the field of the language referring to "poetry," and "the making of poetry." Rudolf Meissner's lists under "poetry" (pp. 427 ff.) and "poet" (pp. 363–4) are incomplete. Rudolf Meissner, *Die Kenningar der Skalden; ein Beitrag zur skaldischen Poetik*. Rheinische Beiträge und Hülfsbücher zur germanischen Philologie und Volkskunde, vol. 1 (Bonn: Schroeder, 1921).

<sup>19</sup> The exceptions in most instances consist of direct terminology instead of circumlocations (e.g., *skáld* for "poet," and *bragr* or *óðr* for "poetry," "poem"). Since this essay is concerned with figurative language, the use of direct terms is not treated here. It might be noted, however, that while these direct terms are found throughout the skaldic corpus, they tend to be clustered in that period (the eleventh century) when mythological kennings are thought to have been suppressed as offensive to the newly emerging Christianity. Skalds before this period, as well as those after (who are said to have cultivated earlier stylistic practices) seem actually to have favored the circumlocutory references to poet and poetry over the more artless direct terminology.

Jón Helgason has a somewhat different interpretation: "Man har tolket dette [i.e., the recrudescence of mythological kennings] som en tilbagevendende til de klassiske mønstre: interessen for oldtiden var i vækst, man tog igen de gamle skjalde til forbillede. Men forholdet er snarere således, at der i det 11. årh. har været to retninger i skjaldedigtningen; den ene fortsatte i det gamle spor, men af sådanne digte er kun lidet overleveret; den anden, som særlig hørte hjemme i fyrstedigtningen, brugte enklere sprog, og af disse digte er langt mere bevaret. På anden side er det dog tydeligt, at de gamle skjalde stadig har øvet deres indflydelse ..." "Norges og Islands Digtning," p. 106.

<sup>20</sup> The terms "consonant metaphor" and "dissonant metaphor" are meant to render the distinction made by Hallvard Lie in "'Natur' og 'Unatur.'" See note 40 below.

<sup>21</sup> Although the subject of this paper is not the folkloristic aspect of these liquids but the literary uses to which they are put, it should be noted that in Scandinavian (and perhaps in Indo-European tradition in general) spittle is connected with both magic and fermentation; that blood is likewise connected with magic and liquor; and that liquor properly consumed was thought to bring about an ecstatic condition conducive to poetic creation. See E. O. G. Turville-Petre, *Myth and Religion of the North* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), pp. 40–1; Georges Dumézil, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, tr. Einar Haugen et al. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press 1972), pp. 21–22; R. Stübe, "Kvasir und der magische Gebrauch des Speichels," *Festschrift Eugen Mogk* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1924), pp. 500 ff.; and Axel Olrik, "Skjaldemjøden," *Edda*, 24 (1926), pp. 236 ff.

Bæði ák til brúðar  
bergjarls ok skip dverga  
sollinn vind at senda  
seinfyrnd götu eina.

I swell with desire to send the giant-woman both (my love?) and the imperishable dwarves' ships [i.e., poetry] the same way.

Hreggskornis vilk handa  
háleitan mjöð vanda.  
Skj. 173

I want to execute with care the high mead of the eagle [Óðinn's poetic liquid = poetry].

Similarly, Kormakr Qgmundarson's formulation in the first stanza of his *Sigurðardrápa*:

Heyri sonr á, Sýrar,  
sannreynis, fentanna,  
orr, greppa lætk uppi  
jastrín, Haralds, mína.  
Skj. 69

Listen, bold son of trustworthy Harald; I let come forth my yeast-river of the husbands of the seacliff-women [i.e., the drink of the giants, the poetic mead].

That skalds consistently used *digterdrikken* as an appellation for poetry is hardly a fresh observation: the two are virtually synonymous in the early corpus. Yet the more sustained working out of the metaphor suggests that these figures are more than mere verbal equivalents – they constitute brief allusions to a more elaborate image, already understood by the audience in its more complete form, in which the recitation is conceived quite literally as a delivery in which the poet bodily divests himself of the poetic liquid. Völu-Steinn says:

Heyr Míms vinar mína  
(mér's fundr gefinn Þundar)  
við góma sker glymja  
glaumbergs, Egill, strauuma.  
Skj. 93

Egill, hear the stream of Óðinn's breast [i.e., the poetic liquid] rush from my mouth; the find of Þundar [i.e., Óðinn's find = the poetic mead] has been given to me.

Úlfr Uggason's incorporation of the image in the first, eighth, and final stanzas of *Húsdrápa* is neatly paradigmatic:

Hjaldrgegnis ték Hildar  
herreifum Áleifi,  
hann vilk at gjöf Grímnis,  
geðfjarðar ló, kveðja.  
Skj. 128

A wave from the breast of Hild's champion [i.e., the poetic mead] resounds against the skerries of the palate [i.e., teeth]. I will give Grímnir's gift [i.e., the poetic mead] to the glad Óláfr.

Ríðr at vilgi víðu,  
viðfrægr, en mér líða,  
Hroptatýr, of hvápta  
hróðrmöl, sonar báli.  
Skj. 129

The renowned Óðinn rides to his son's great pyre, but the words of my poem flow from my mouth.

Þar kómr ó, en æri  
endr þark mærd af hendi  
(ofrak svá) til sævar,  
sverðregns (lofi þegna).  
Skj. 130

There the river comes to the sea, and I  
again bore the poem of honor for the  
warrior; thereby have I praised men.

The poem comes as a wave from the breast, flows through the mouth, and, at poem's end, moves to a consonant image ("the river comes to the sea").<sup>22</sup> The movement of the poem from inside to outside works on two levels: the liquid itself changes from the inner mead to the outer river/sea, and the poetic site moves from the body which produced it to an imagined external landscape.

Sometimes the "liquid" is raised and expelled only with difficulty and in connection with emotional trauma. Haraldr hárfagri is said to have written a *drápa* for the woman Snæfríðr. One stanza, presumably the first, remains:

Hneggi berk og æ ugg  
óttá (hlýði) mér (drótt);  
dána vekka (dróttins) mey  
(drauga á kerlaug);  
dröpu lætk, ór Dvalins greip,  
dynja, meðan framm hrynr  
(rekum býðk Regins drykk  
réttan) af bragar stétt.  
Skj. 5

I constantly carry anxiety and fear in  
my heart. People, hear my liquid of  
the lord of the dead [Óðinn's liquid =  
the poetic mead]. I cannot wake the  
dead woman. I let the *drápa* rush  
forth from the "path of poetry," while  
it tumbles forth out of Dvalinn's hand  
(?). I offer men Reginn's good drink  
[i.e., the poetic mead].

Haraldr begins by conveying his unsteady emotional condition (the precipitating event is the death of Snæfríðr: "I cannot wake the dead woman") and then goes on to announce his intention to recite.<sup>23</sup> There appear to be three references to the poetic liquid myth (verses 4, 5, and 7). *Bragar stétt* is a kenning for either breast/heart or mouth – whichever, the corporal source is explicit.<sup>24</sup>

Similarly, the opening strophes of Egill Skallagrímsson's *Sonatorrek*:<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *í kvæði fljótu* "in the river of the poem," Skj. 306.

<sup>23</sup> It is related in *Heimskringla (Haralds saga hárfagra*, Chapter 25) that Haraldr so grieved over Snæfríðr that he would not permit her body to be moved from the deathbed for three years.

<sup>24</sup> Finnur Jónsson glosses this in Skj. as *digrets bo* (referring to breast/heart) but in *Lexicon Poeticum* (2nd ed; København: S. L. Møller, 1966) as *digtingens vej, digt*. Meissner suggests mouth (*Die Kenningar*, p. 135).

For further commentary on this stanza, see Jan de Vries, "Het Snjófríðlied van Harald Schoonhaar," *Die libris; bibliofiele breve til Ejnar Munksgaard paa 50-aarsdagen 28. februar*, ed. Grete Jacobsen, et al. (København: Pedersens bogtrykkeri, 1940) 165–72; and Ólafur Halldórsson, "Snjófríðar drápa," *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar. 30. júní 1969.*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson et al. (Reykjavík: Heimskringla, 1969), 147–59.

<sup>25</sup> *Sonatorrek* is notoriously mangled, and all literary judgments are necessarily speculative, although the points in the present essay are sufficiently general to accommodate most interpretations and reorderings. I have used Turville-Petre's emended text here as well as his translation. See his *Scaldic Poetry*, pp. 27–41, for a survey of the scholarship of this poem. For a thoughtful reading of the opening strophes, see Hallvard Lie, "Sonatorrek, Str. 1–4," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 61 (1946), 182–207.

Mjök erum tregt  
 tungu at hræra  
 eðr loptvæi  
 ljóðpundara;  
 era nú vænlegt  
 um Viðris þýfi,  
 né hógdrægt  
 úr hugar fylgsni.

Era auðþeystr,  
 þviat ekki veldr  
 hofuglegr,  
 úr hyggju stað  
 fagnafundr  
 Friggjar niðja,  
 ár borinn  
 úr Jötunheimum.

Lastalauss  
 er lifnaði  
 á nökkvers  
 nökkvar “bragi”;  
 jötuns hals  
 undir þjóta  
 Náins niðr  
 fyr naustdyrum.

It is very hard for me to stir my tongue or the steel-yard of the song-weigher [i.e., tongue]; prospects of the theft of Óðinn [i.e., the poetic mead] are not hopeful now, nor is it easily drawn from the hiding-place of thought [i.e., breast/mind].

The joyful find of the kinsmen of Frigg [i.e., the poetic mead], brought long ago from the world of the giants, is not easily driven from the home of thought [i.e., breast/mind], and cruel grief causes this.

Blameless when it [i.e., the poetic mead] came to life on the ship of the dwarf [?]. . . ; the wounds of the giant's neck [i.e., the sea] roar down below the boat-shed door of Náinn.

The second strophe is an elegant variation on the first, and together they confirm what the saga has forewarned: that Egill, after the death of his second son, is not in a composing mood. Like Haraldr (see above, p. 71), he begins to recite out of a sense of emotional loss, and his poem too is an expression of impotence at death. He finds it hard to move his tongue (*tunga* and *ljóðpundari*) and to draw from his breast (*úr hugar fylgsni* and *úr hyggju stað*) the poetic liquid (*Viðris þýfi* and *fagnafundr Friggjar niðja*). The beginning of the poem, then, is about the experience of beginning the poem – in this case particularly difficult because of “cruel grief” (*hofugligir ekki*). The first helming of the following stanza is notoriously problematic, although the various readings seem to arrive at a poetic liquid formulation of one sort or another.<sup>26</sup> The

<sup>26</sup> Magnus Olsen's suggestion for the first helming of stanza 3 is especially interesting in light of this discussion (emendations italicized):

lastalauss  
 es lifnaði  
 á *Njót's* vers  
 nökkva *hráki*.

Magnus Olsen, “Commentarii Scaldici. I.,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 52 (1936), 208–55. As Turville-Petre sums it up: “*Njótr* is a name for Óðinn, whose *ver* (sea) is poetry (cf. *Óðins ægir*), whose *nökkvi* (ship) is the vessel which contained poetry (Óðrerir?; cf. *SnE* 85). The *lastalauss hráki* is the blameless spittle, vomit; i.e. the mead regurgitated by Óðinn. The lines could thus

second helming turns abruptly to the external sea, the beating of waves against the boathouse below.<sup>27</sup> Egill's choice of the blood-sea image (invoking the tradition of the slain Ymir<sup>28</sup>) recalls the blood-poetry image (referring to the tradition of the slain Kvasir<sup>29</sup>). Whether stanza three is to be read as linking or juxtaposing the "inner" and the "outer" seas, the effect is the same, and the tension between the two runs throughout the remaining strophes like an ironic thread – for it is to the sea itself that the poem is addressed. Against the outer sea Egill is impotent by virtue not only of his age but also his mortality in relation to the deathless gods he curses; yet the "inner sea," the measure of poetic talent Óðinn has granted him, sustains him and finally repairs his grief.

That the skalds, with their well-known fondness for word play, should also pursue deliberate ambiguities on the metaphoric level comes as no surprise.<sup>30</sup> Although *Sonatorrek* is an especially artful example of the manipulation of levels of meaning, the same tendency towards image play is found in other self-referring passages, e.g., the following stanza, also ascribed to Egill:

Qlvar mik þvíat Qlvi  
 ql gervir nú fólvan;  
 atgeira læt ek ýrar  
 ýring of grøn skýra.  
 Qllungis kanntu illa,  
 oddskýs, fyrir þér nýsa,  
 rigna getr at regni,  
 regnbjōðr, Háars þegna.

I am getting drunk for (and indeed) the  
 beer is now making Qlvir pale; I make  
 the drizzle of the spears of the bison  
 cow [i.e., beer; the spears of the bison  
 cow are drinking horns] pour over my  
 lips. You, warrior, cannot at all find  
 your way about; and now it begins to  
 rain with the rain of the servants of  
 Óðinn [Óðinn's servants are poets;  
 their rain is poetry].

If we take the kenning of the first helming to mean simply "beer," we see how Egill transmutes this liquid (and the external situation of the drinking hall, the site of the poetic recitation<sup>32</sup>) into the liquid of the second kenning of the

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mean: the blameless spittle which came to life in the ship (vessel) of Óðinn's sea (i.e. when brought to Ásgarðr)." *Scaldic Poetry*, p. 30. *Hráki* is the specific word used by Snorri for the substance the Vanir and Æsir blend in the vat; see p. 68 above.

<sup>27</sup> As Lie writes: "Hvorledes denne siste halvstrofen [i.e., the second helming of stanza 3] i alle formelle enkeltheter skal opfattes, er et problem; men på bakgrunn av sagaens fremstilling af de ytre forutsetninger for hele diktet, er det lett å tenke seg at det er et forestillingskompleks med havet og den druknede Bodvars grav ute på Digraneset som centralt innhold, skalden her har tumlet med." "Sonatorrek, Str. 1-4," p. 186.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ormr Barreyjarskáld's verse *Útan gnýr á eyri/Ymis blóð, fara góðra* (Skj. 135): "Outward roars, on the island, Ymir's blood; good journeys . . ."

<sup>29</sup> Because this kenning is unique in the extant corpus (its single occurrence is in Einarr Helgason's *Vellekla*; see p. 77 below) does not in itself mean it was unique in actual skaldic practice. In fact we might interpret Snorri's inclusion of the kenning in his list (see note 18, above) as evidence of currency.

<sup>30</sup> See especially Cecil Wood, "Concerning the Interpretation of Skaldic Verse," *The Germanic Review*, 33 (1958), 293-305; Hallvard Lie, "'Natur' og 'Unatur'"; and Roberta Frank, "Anatomy of a Skaldic Double-Entendre: Rognvaldr kali's *lausavisa* 7," *Studies for Einar Haugen*, ed. Evelyn Firchow et al. (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), 227-35.

<sup>31</sup> Again, I have adopted Turville-Petre's "eclectic" text and reading here. *Skaldic Poetry*, p. 18.

<sup>32</sup> In light of the connection between poetic inspiration and drinking (see note 21), the fact that skalds commonly performed in drinking halls makes all the more appropriate the *digterdrikken* imagery.



following helming, the poetic mead. (The order is thus outer-inner, a reversal of the inner-outer movement of the beginning of *Sonatorrek*.) The first kenning may, however, be intended as a double entendre, referring both to the actual beer being drunk and also to the poetic mead which now begins to flow over his "lip" (*grön*).<sup>33</sup>

The following stanza by Gísli Súrsson is also much disputed, but Turville-Petre's recent attempt to reconcile interpretations yields a reading excellent for our purposes:

Mér bar hljóm í heimi  
 hǫr-Bil, þá er vit skildumk  
 – skekki ek dverga drykkju –  
 dreyra sals fyrir eyru;  
 ok hjǫrðadur hlýddi  
 heggr rjúpkera tveggja  
 – koma mun dals á drengi  
 dǫgg – læmingja hǫggvi.

Goddess of linen, when we parted –  
 I am pouring out the drink of the  
 dwarfs [i.e., composing poetry] – a  
 noise struck before my ears in the  
 castle of blood [i.e., the breast/heart;  
 the line thus reads: in my thoughts I  
 heard a voice]; and the tree of the  
 voice of the sword [i.e., the warrior]  
 listened to the diver-blows of two  
 cock ptarmigan – dew of the bow  
 [i.e., blood] will fall upon the  
 warrior.<sup>34</sup>

Troublesome as this strophe is, particularly in the second helming, it is clear that it is another elaborate variation on the metapoetic formula. An internal event (hearing a voice, thinking of a woman) prompts the poet to bring from inside himself (literally to pour out?) the "drink of dwarves." The thought of death in the next helming is neatly reinforced by the juxtaposition, against the poetic mead, of two references to blood.

Egill's *Hǫfuðlausn* opens with an explicit image-play:

Vestr komk of ver,  
 en ek Viðris ber  
 munstrandar mar ...  
 Skj. 30

West I came over the sea bearing the  
 sea of Viðrir's breast [Viðrir = Óðinn;  
 i.e., poetry]

The poet here figures himself as a ship, sailing on the sea; his freight is another sea, the sea of poetry. After a litany of the king's heroic adventures, he returns to his opening metaphor:

hræðak munni  
 af munar grunni  
 Óðins ægi  
 of jǫru fægi.

with my mouth I have stirred from the  
 bottom of the mind [i.e., breast/heart]  
 Óðinn's sea [i.e., the poetic mead]  
 over the warrior.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Eilífr's phrase *þylk granstrauma Grímnis*: "I recite Grímnir's lip-stream [i.e., poetic liquid]." *Grönn*, f. seems to mean "lips" in both instances, though it otherwise occurs in the more generalized meaning of "jowls."

<sup>34</sup> Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, p. 54. In fact the disputed portions lie mainly in the second helming. The word *skekki*, in the first helming, is also uncertain.

Bark þengils lof  
 á þagnar rof;  
 kank mála mjöt  
 of manna sjöt;  
 ór hlátra ham  
 hróðr berk fyr gram;  
 svá fór þat fram,  
 at flestr of nam.

Skj. 33

I have delivered the lord's praise loud  
 and clear; I speak truly in the halls of  
 men; out from the harbor of laughter  
 [i.e., breast/heart] I brought poetry;  
 and it went forth so that all took it in.<sup>35</sup>

As the metaphor works, the poet is the ship; his breast is the ship's hold in which is contained the freight (the sea of Óðinn's breast: poetry). We are reminded of that portion of the mythic story in which the dwarves are saved by the poetic mead. Snorri wrote that poetry may be called dwarves' ship "because it was that mead which ransomed them from death on the skerry (*sá mjöðr flutti þeim fjörlausn ór skerinu*)."<sup>36</sup> If the echo is intentional, it adds to the intentional ambiguities of the opening stanzas an ironic edge, for Egill too is in a ransom situation. Having then said his poem, he has divested himself of his cargo and, like the mythic dwarves, so gained a reprieve.

Breast, mouth, tongue, and lips deliver the poetic fluid, and other men's ears receive it. The ear, as Meissner notes, is "aufgefaßt als ein Mund, der die Töne trinkt."<sup>37</sup> From Egill's *Arinbjarnarkviða*:

Þó bólstrverð  
 of bera þorðak  
 maka hœings  
 markar drótni,  
 svát Yggs full  
 ýranda kom  
 at hvers manns  
 hlustamunnum.

Skj. 38

I dared bear the bed-price of Óðinn  
 to the monarch. So that Ygg's cup  
 [i.e., Óðinn's cup = the poetic mead]  
 came spilling over into the mouths  
 of hearing of each man.

<sup>35</sup> Translation adapted from Hollander, *The Skalds*, pp. 68–73.

This cheery kenning for mind (harbor of laughter) is ironically out of place in this life or death situation. See Finnur Jónsson, *Kritiske studier over en del af de ældste norske og islandske skjaldekvad* (København, 1884), p. 103; and Odd Nordland, *Høfuðlausn i Egils saga* (Oslo: Det norske samlaget, 1956), pp. 201–2.

Although this reading of strophe 20 of the *Høfuðlausn* is generally accepted as the preferable one, it should be mentioned that Ketill Jörundsson's later AM 453 4to yields a different one and hence a different interpretation: *Ber eg þejngils lof/lof þagnar rof/ikann eg manna mjaut./lof mála sjaut./lód fære eg fram./lof útran gram./úr hlátra ham./so hann of nam*. Nordland comments on this version: "Kva eigenleg þagnar rof stár for her, er ikkje heilt klárt. Det er rimeleg á venta ei kjenning, og då kan det vera rof n., 'brot', 'brot på togn', altså: 'tale'. Men det kan også vera at Egil seier han har bore fram kvadet i det 'brot' i talen som var ved den þøgn han fekk." Nordland, *Høfuðlausn*, p. 200. Sigurður Nordal preferred the latter explanation in his edition of *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar: Íslenzk fornrit*, 2 (Reykjavík, 1933), p. 192, note.

<sup>36</sup> *Snorra Edda*, p. 72.

<sup>37</sup> Meissner, *Die Kenningar*, p. 130. The same ear figure is found in the opening stanza of the twelfth-century *Íslendingadrápa* by Haukr Valdísarson:

reyndir biðk at randar  
 runnar hlustar munnum  
 hausa harða ljósan  
 hasls rekka mjöð drekki.

Skj. 539

I ask that the trusty warriors drink, with mouths  
 of hearing [i.e., ears] the mead of the gods [i.e.,  
 the poetic liquid].

The skaldic propensity to accumulate and vary metaphors goes sometimes beyond the baroque to the discordant. Eyvindr Finnsson skáldaspillir brings his poetic liquid (featured in the beginning of his long *Háleygjatal* as *Gillings gjald*, ‘Gilling’s payment’) to an unexpected end:

Jólna sumbl  
enn vér götum  
stillis lof,  
sem steinabrú.

Skj. 62

Once again I have brought forth the  
drink of the gods [i.e., the poetic  
mead] and made a praise poem, strong  
as a stone bridge.

Snorri enjoined against such *nykrat* style, claiming that it spoiled a poem.<sup>38</sup> But his preference for harmonious metaphors undoubtedly reflects the more refined taste of the thirteenth century, for jarring metaphor mixtures were not only tolerated but deliberately cultivated by the early skalds in yet another manifestation of the skaldic pursuit of *unatur*.<sup>39</sup> It is exactly in discordancies that the skald displayed his boldest poetic effects. It is in the light of the “skaldestils dissosiative formtendenser” that the following strophe from *Sonatorrek* should be viewed.<sup>40</sup>

Þó mun ek mitt  
ok móður hrør  
föður fall  
fyrst um telja;  
þat ber ek út  
úr orðhofi  
mærðar timbr  
máli laufgat.

But yet I will first tell of the death of  
my brother and the fall of my father;  
I bear these timbers of praise [i.e.,  
poetry] adorned with the foliage of  
speech, from the temple of words  
[either mouth or mind].<sup>42</sup>

The startling image of poetry not as liquid but as leafy timber appears to be reinforced in the first helming of stanza 15 of *Arinbjarnarkviða*, where Egill says that Arinbjörn’s deeds can be “easily polished (or smoothed) by the voice-plane” (*erum auðskæf|ómunlokri*).<sup>43</sup> *Ómunlokarr*, “voice-plane,” is a kenning for tongue. Taken together, however, these passages point up the fact that the exception is only apparent, or perhaps the kind of exception that proves the

<sup>38</sup> “Þat eru nýgørvingar, at kalla sverðit orm ok kenna rétt, en slíðrirnar götur hans, en fetlana ok umgørð hams hans; þat heldr til ormsins náttúru, at hann skriðr ór hamsi ok til vats; hér er svá sett nýgørving, at hann ferr leita blóðs bekkjar at, þar er hann skriðr hugar stígu; þat eru brjóst manna. Þá þykkja nýgørvingar vel kveðnar, er þat mál, er upp er tekit, haldi of alla visu-lengð; en ef sverð er ormr kallaðr, en síðan fiskr eða vöndr, eða annan veg breytt, þat kalla menn nykrat, ok þykkir þat spilla.” *Snorra Edda*, p. 152.

<sup>39</sup> See Hallvard Lie, “‘Natur’ og ‘Unatur’.”

<sup>40</sup> Lie, “‘Natur’ og ‘Unatur’,” p. 89. On a different stanza of Egill’s (Skj. 47, *lausavísa* 23), Lie comments: “Hver på sin kant synes de enkelte kenninger å motarbeide enhver metaforiseringsbestrebelse, de ‘dissosierer’ hvor metaforiseringstendensen vil ‘assosiere’: skape konforme forestillingsrekker.” Lie, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>41</sup> A similar mixed or dissonant metaphor may be found in the following verses by Eilífr Goðrúnarson: *Verðið ér, alls orðaflöss grær of kon mæran|á sefreinu Sónar|sáð, vingjöfum ráða* (Skj. 139). In Finnur Jónsson’s reading the poet offers poetry as seeds of Són; in Rudolf Meissner’s reading the poet offers poetry as seeds of words. In both, the “seeds” grow out of the poet’s breast (or perhaps on his tongue). Meissner, *Die Kenningar*, p. 427.

<sup>42</sup> Text and translation from Turville-Petre, *Scaldic Poetry*, p. 31.

<sup>43</sup> Skj. 40.

rule. For if the substance is new, the source (a specific place inside the body; here the *orðhof*) is still the same, and the performance is still conceived as a process of bringing forth from the inside the poetry which resides there. Further, the use once again of the tongue as mediator in this expulsion process is wholly consistent with previous usage. Recalling that the strophe occurs in an otherwise liquid context (see the discussion of *Sonatorrek* above, p. 72), one sees that Egill is not so much creating a new self-commenting metaphor as he is forcing a new and especially bold permutation, by means of a dissonant metaphor, on the old frame story. Here not just the language, but the structure of the metaphor takes on a riddle-like quality.

Nowhere in the early skaldic corpus are images, both consonant and dissonant, accumulated so rapidly and easily as in *Vellekla*, composed about 990 by Einarr Helgason skálaglamm. That Snorri recognized the self-commenting nature of the poem is tacitly suggested by his placement of it directly after the list of kennings for “poetry” in *Skáldskaparmál*.<sup>44</sup> The poem begins:

Hugstóran biðk heyra  
 heyr jarl Kvasis dreyra,  
 foldar vörð á fyrða  
 fjarðleggjar brim dreggjar.  
 Skj. 117

Great-heart, I bid you listen – listen,  
 earl, to Kvasir’s blood – earth-  
 warden, to men-of-firth-bone’s [i.e.,  
 giants’] surf of lees [i.e., the poetic  
 liquid].<sup>45</sup>

The exhortation to listen to liquid may be an example of *nykrat* style, but it is consistent with the earlier image of the ear (of the listener) as mouth into which liquid (poetry) is poured by the reciter (from whose mouth it flows).

The liquid the audience is asked to hear is the sea. Like Egill in *Sonatorrek* and *Höfuðlausn*, Einarr sets up two levels of meaning: the skald, “while making verse about the art of poetry, is also making verse about the sea and seafaring.”<sup>46</sup> Yet, “sea” is not named outright, but conjured up by the consonant images of blood, ale, tide, waves, surf, brine-cargo, etc.

Ullar gengr of alla  
 asksögn, þess’s hvöt magnar  
 byrgis þöðvar sorgar,  
 bergs geymilö dverga.  
 Skj. 117

The rushing tide of the dwarves’ rock-  
 lagoon breaks over the ship’s crew of  
 the god who makes potent the urging  
 of the grief of the fort of battle [i.e.,  
 sword].<sup>47</sup>

Thus: just as the sea (the poetic liquid on the dwarves’ island) swells and breaks over sailors, so Einarr’s poem will swell and break over the men in the hall. The liquid carries through in the following stanza, but with an abrupt change in narrative logic:

<sup>44</sup> *Snorra Edda*, p. 78.

<sup>45</sup> Translation adapted from Foote and Wilson, p. 365.

<sup>46</sup> Foote and Wilson, p. 365.

<sup>47</sup> Translation adapted from Foote and Wilson, p. 365.

Hljóta munk, né hlítik,  
Hertýs, of þat frýju,  
fyr orþeysi at ausa  
austr víngnóðar flausta. Skj. 117

I must bail – I need no urging – the  
brine of the wine-ship of the war-god  
[i.e., Óðinn] for the urgent driver of  
ships [i.e., Hákon].<sup>48</sup>

In bailing out Óðinn's wine-ship (*Hertýs víngnóð*) the skald is, once again, divesting himself of his liquid cargo, his poetry. But if Egill in *Sonatorrek* was slow to bring up the inner sea, Einarr, with his choice of violent words and images, threatens his audience with inundation. The metaphor undergoes another transmutation in the first helming of strophe 5:

Eisar vágr fyr (vísa  
verk) Rognis mér (hagna)  
þýtr Óðrøris alda (aldr)  
hafsvið fles galdra.  
Skj. 117

Rognir's wave [i.e., Óðinn's poetic  
liquid] churns before me – deeds adorn  
the prince; a wave of Óðrørir's sea  
[i.e., the poetic liquid, a poem] roars  
over the flat rock of song [i.e., the  
tongue].

Again the poetic liquid (Rognir's wave, Óðrørir's sea) is raised and comes gushing out over *fles galdra*, an extraordinary kenning for tongue. Finnur Jónsson glosses *fles* at a "flat rock in or near the sea."<sup>49</sup> Once again, the tongue mediates the poem. In stanza 5 of *Sonatorrek* it was a plane that *smoothed* the poetic wood. Here it is a stone *itself* smoothed by the continual washing of waves (poetic recitation, language).

The final helming of *Vellekla's* prologue goes:

Nú's þats Boðnar bára,  
berg-Saxa, tér vaxa,  
gervi í holl ok heyri  
hljóð fley jöfurs þjóðir.  
Skj. 117

Now Boðn's wave waxes – the  
prince's men give silence in the hall  
and listen to the ship of the berg-Saxar  
[i.e., dwarves].

With this stanza the poetic sea finally tumbles out over the audience, and the prologue ends, as it began, with a *nykrat* figure (an exhortation to listen to a ship). The following thirty stanzas of *Vellekla* praise the exploits of the earl. The extant poem is clearly fragmentary, but we may hazard a guess that the elegant and sustained sea-metaphor of the opening stanzas might have been balanced by a concluding epilogue along the same lines (cf. Úlfr Uggason's *Húsdrápa*: *þar kœmr ó til sævar*; see p. 71 above). In either case, even in the poem as it stands "the idea of poetry as a mighty liquor could not be exploited more richly. The tales of the origin of poetry, remote from everyday reality but not from the poet's mind, and his actual poem, its circumstances and moment of recital, meet in the sea-imagery, into which the flood of inspiration can be transmuted."<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Translation adapted from Foote and Wilson, p. 366.

<sup>49</sup> *Lexicon Poeticum*, p. 140.

<sup>50</sup> Foote and Wilson, p. 366.

When he wrote that "søen var jo Nordboernes rette element; det er ikke underligt, at skjaldene elskede det ok kælede for det i deres sange. Også her gør den nævnte personifikation sig stærkt gældende både m.h.t. skibe og søen," Finnur Jónsson noted the process of identification but failed

It is by now evident that it is not only the liquid imagery but the representation of the performance process itself which derives from the myth of the origin of poetry. But if the liquid phrases derive from every phase of the mythic story, the performance stance seems to derive specifically from the last element: Óðinn's arrival in Ásgarðr in the form of an eagle and his spewing from his gullet the poetic mead into the vats of the Æsir (*en er Óðinn kom inn of Ásgarð, þá spýtti hann upp miðinum í kerin*). The repeated conceptualization of poetic performance as a process of spewing forth liquid out of the breast, through the mouth, over the tongue and lips, and some instances into the ears (imaged as mouths which drink it) is therefore explained. Keeping in mind that the poetic liquid originated by a similar process when the Æsir and the Vanir spat into a vat (*gengu hvárir-veggju til eins kers ok spýttu í hráka sínum*), we understand more clearly the circular and perpetual nature of the flow and transfer of the poetic liquid (*hverr, er af drekk, verðr skáld eða fræða-maðr*) and how the skald, beginning a recitation<sup>51</sup> with a spewing or internal bailing-out image, is not merely drawing on conventional metonymic diction for "poetry," but is duplicating a feature of poetic performance with mythic associations. Liquid kennings are the calculated language of this specific mythic moment, the re-enactment of which is a remarkable dramatization of the hylozoic notion that originality does not spring directly from the poet's imagination, but is the fruit of an encounter between that animated nature, possessing an existence of its own, and the poet's soul. In its Norse version, the metaphor for this process is the spewing of the divinely bestowed mead; but the artistic fruits lie in the unfolding of a full schedule of images, consonant and dissonant, which are meant to be heard not only on the external level (as liquid in various forms, or in the evocation of a landscape or seascape) but also on the internal level (as commenting on the act of poetic composition).

Finnur Jónsson's conclusion that the skalds were essentially humble before their patrons, larger audiences, and subject matter is clearly wrong. He writes that their self-referring phrases "indeholder ingen selvros og ånder ingen selvforgudelse" and that "heller ikke er det nogen overdreven selvfølelse, når digterne udtaler deres tro på, at deres sange vil evig mindesd el. lig." Incorrect

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to grasp its significance as an expression of the poetic process deriving from the poetic mead story. Finnur Jónsson, *Historie*, I, pp. 374–75.

Odd Nordland comes closer: "Egil kjem vest over havet med lasta til den guden som er kallaðr *Viðrir* (*því*) at þeir sögðu hann *veðrum ráða*. Han fører med seg kvadet innanbords på same vis som skaldeguden sjølv gjorde det, då han flaug Suttungs skaldemjød, diktningsgáva, til gudar og menneske." Odd Nordland, *Höfuðlausn i Egils saga*, p. 160. Nordland fails, however, to carry his observation beyond its specific occurrence in the first stanza of *Höfuðlausn*.

<sup>51</sup> The number of strophes in the skaldic corpus which may be classed as self-referring in the sense outlined above is sizable. Although it is risky to speculate on the shape of whole skaldic poems on the basis of the fragments that remain, we may suppose that self-referring strophes are often, but not always, parts of longer poems whose main topic is something else; and that they often, but again by no means always, serve a prefatory function. This leads us to hazard a guess that prehistoric recitations may have had simpler, more stylized prologues – perhaps consisting of a *hljóðs biðk* with a poetic liquid formula – but that with time the simple introduction expanded into a full-blown set of elaborations which no longer merely introduced, but commented on the composition/delivery of the poem.

For a discussion of the difficulties of trying to ascertain which poems are complete or what parts

observation led him, however, to a right if incomplete conclusion: "sådanne udtryk beror på kunstens høje anseelse og den store betydning, samtiden tillagde den."<sup>52</sup> The high contemporary status of skaldic poetry and the self-pride of the poet are of course not incompatibles but natural concomitants, and both are amply demonstrated in the skaldic corpus. Skalds write from their own perspective, about themselves and each other, and about the moment of performance. Nor is poetic intrusiveness merely a dictional device, but a surface aspect of an underlying sense not only of self-importance but of professional self-consciousness. In his excursus on "The Poet's Pride" Ernst Robert Curtius names the eleventh century as the starting point for poetic self-assertion.<sup>53</sup> If this is correct, the Norse sensibility of the ninth and tenth centuries would seem to be prodigious indeed, for the skalds assert themselves to an extreme degree both as individuals and as professional practitioners of a highly prized art form. They are boastful, competitive, exhibitionistic. Although irony is a staple of skaldic style, it is never used in the service of self-doubt, at least so far as the practice of poetry is concerned. So unambivalent is Egill about his poetry, "that skill devoid of faults," that he reckons it sufficient compensation for the loss of his sons. It is this kind of poetic pride and self-consciousness on which the skaldic poetry of self-reference is necessarily predicated.

In this poetry it is the myth of the etiology of poetry (and in particular the moment when Óðinn is said to regurgitate the mead) that works as a metaphor for its performance. As brilliantly as the skalds ply and prettify this primary metaphor by their complex system of varying language and figures of diction, recombining the parts, organizing images in new arrangements, and creating intentional ambiguities, the fact remains that there lies at bottom a single, primitive frame story whose general limits are observed.<sup>54</sup> This poetry comments on itself through consistent reference to, and stylized re-enactment of, the same story of its own mythic origin. This double-reflex arrangement is yet another limiting factor (above and beyond the notorious metrical restrictions) the skald faces – or, more correctly, imposes on himself in what again appears to be the pursuit of the unnatural.<sup>55</sup> Lindow is correct in asking why the skalds needed to explore semantic boundaries;<sup>56</sup> we may ask the same

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have been lost, see especially Theodor Möbius, *Háttatal Snorra Sturlasonar*, 2 vols. (Halle a.S.: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1879). See also Cecil Wood, "The Skald's Bid for a Hearing," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 59 (1960), 240–254; and Odd Nordland, *Höfuðlausn i Egils saga*, pp. 159 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Finnur Jónsson, *Historie*, 1, p. 376.

<sup>53</sup> Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. Williard Trask (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 485–86.

<sup>54</sup> Compare modern poetry of self-reference, where there are nearly as many figures for poet, poetry, and the poetic process as there are individual poems of self-reference. The poem may be a fan, a lattice, a bird, a candelabra, a shard in the mull, and so on *ad infinitum*. Modern poets may also appeal to myth, most commonly that of Narcissus (e.g., Valéry) and Orpheus (e.g., Rilke).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Lie's conclusion that the "tiltrasslad syntax" of skaldic poetry is not a response to metrical restrictions, but reflects a deliberate preference for artifice. "'Natur' og 'Unatur,'" esp. pp. 104–12.

<sup>56</sup> Lindow, "Riddles, Kennings, and the Complexity of Skaldic Poetry," pp. 318–20.

question about those strophes which explore, by their peculiar rules of permutation, the boundaries of image and metaphor. Skaldic poetry may well be the most extreme example in pre-twentieth-century poetry of “art in a closed field” – art, that is, “which combines a finite number of elements to be combined according to fixed rules.”<sup>57</sup> But just as limiting the field in number theory is a device for making discoveries, so the skalds’ imposition of severe restrictions on form and figurative language served to force innovation. Hence the constant sense of reaching, in the skaldic corpus, for the fresh turn of phrase, the novel slant on an image, a new conjunction of sounds. As paradoxical as it is that the skalds applied ever more rigorous and even retrograde<sup>58</sup> sets of constraints in order to extort imaginative solutions, this seems the only reasonable explanation for the rapid proliferation of such anomalous forms and techniques, and such curious features within these forms, during this early period. Likewise, the skald’s anomalous sensibility would seem to be rooted in the same impulse. Given the boundary-exploring, limit-setting, problem-solving nature of the game (the ludic quality of skaldic poetry is evident on every level), it is a reasonable and reciprocal development that the practitioner should not only be conscious of his role as artist, but should turn this consciousness itself into a topic, similarly limited in expression (by the single frame story) and thereby similarly subject to the same structured principles of invention.

<sup>57</sup> Hugh Kenner, “Art in a Closed Field,” in *Learners and Discerners*, ed. Robert Scholes (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1964), 111–33. Kenner writes of the concept of a field: “At first it seems to make mathematics wholly irresponsible, and then it permits a whole stream of non-Euclidean and transfinite systems; finally these queer mental worlds do turn out to describe the familiar world after all, but from an angle the existence of which should never have suspected.” P. 123.

For a mathematical approach to skaldic poetry from a different angle, see Emmon Bach, “Skaldic Poetry and the Mathematical Theory of Grammars,” *Saga og språk*, ed. John M. Weinstock (Austin: Jenkins, 1972), 179–85.

<sup>58</sup> Lie concludes his masterful study of skaldic style with the claim that “Norrøn skaldestils saga er sagaen om den vel uten tvil mest konservative konstforeteelse i Europas historie”. Hallvard Lie, “Skaldestil Studier,” *Maal og Minne*, (1952), 1–92. While it is true that taken singly, each form may be seen as a conservative development (and *within* each form the strictures were inordinately confining), the very fact that there was such a multiplication of metrical, dictional, and syntactic possibilities must be taken to indicate the innovative spirit of the skalds. The most unoriginal skaldic poet had available to him a much wider range of choice of forms and diction than did the most original Eddic poet (Germanic poetry was surely root-bound by the tenth century); and an original skaldic poet could even go so far as to create new forms, phrases, images. The premium on originality seems clear from the history of the skaldic phenomenon, and it could well be argued that skaldic verse offered not the narrowest, as is often claimed, but the widest avenue for creative expression in the ninth and tenth centuries.



HANS FIX

## Grágás Konungsbók (GkS 1157 fol.) und Finsens Edition

1. „Språkvetenskapens intresse för en urkund står ofta i viss proportion till dennas ålder. De äldsta språkminnesmärkena är ur språklig eller åtminstone språkhistorisk synpunkt de mest lockande forskningsobjekten.“ schreibt Gustaf Lindblad im Vorwort zu seinen Edda-Studien<sup>1</sup>. Dies trifft trotz bester Voraussetzungen auf Grágás kaum zu; sie lag stets abseits philologischen Bemühens. Die Hauptgründe: Grágás ist von sekundärem Interesse für die Literaturwissenschaft, der Text des „Riesenvogels unter den Rechtsbüchern des Mittelalters“ gilt als „oft ausnehmend schwierig“<sup>2</sup>.

Grágás Konungsbók liegt in einer einzigen Ausgabe vor:

Grágás. Islændernes Lovbog i Fristatens Tid, udg. efter det kongelige Bibliotheks Haandskrift og oversat af Vilhjálmur Finsen for det Nordiske Literatur-Samfund [4 Teile], Kjøbenhavn 1852–1870 [recte 1850–1870]<sup>3</sup>.

Ein photomechanischer Nachdruck durch Odense University Press zur 1100-Jahrfeier der Besiedlung Islands auf Initiative von Hans Bekker-Nielsen und Peter Foote macht den Text jetzt wieder allgemein zugänglich<sup>4</sup>. Für nicht absehbare Zeit wird Finsens Ausgabe wohl die maßgebliche bleiben. An der Universität des Saarlandes wird seit 1972 im Rahmen des Sonderforschungsbereichs 100 „Elektronische Sprachforschung“ unter der Leitung von Heinrich Beck an Grágás gearbeitet<sup>5</sup>. Die in diesem Zusammenhang laufende Graphemuntersuchung forderte die Klarlegung des Verhältnisses der als sehr zuverlässig bekannten Textausgabe zur Handschrift<sup>6</sup>. Meine im folgenden dargelegte

<sup>1</sup> Gustaf Lindblad, *Studier i Codex Regius av Äldre Eddan I–III*, Lund 1954 (Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetenskap 10) p. VII.

<sup>2</sup> vgl. Finsen, Vorwort zu Grágás 1852 „den ofte særdeles vanskelige Text“; Andreas Heusler, *Isländisches Recht: Die Graugans*, Weimar 1937 (Germanenrechte 9), pp. XIX und XXVII.

<sup>3</sup> vgl. dazu Bogi Th. Melsteð, *Um Vilhjálmur Finsen*, *Andvari* 21 (1894) *lff.*, p. XVIII f.; Konrad Maurer, Artikel *Graagaas* in *Ersch und Grubers Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, 1. Section 77. Theil, Leipzig 1864, 1–137, p. 15 Anm. 9; ders., *Ueber neuere Ausgaben älterer nordgermanischer Rechtsquellen* [Rezension zu Grágás. Stykker], *Kritische Vierteljahresschrift* 28 (1886) 65–77, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Odense 1974. Der Nachdruck durch Ólafur Lárusson, Reykjavík 1945 ist leider sehr selten.

<sup>5</sup> vgl. H. Beck et al., *Projekt eines Grágás-Wörterbuches*, *skandinavistik* 4 (1974) 67 f.; Sonderforschungsbereich 100 „Elektronische Sprachforschung“ Teilprojekt F Nordistik, Bericht 1/1976: Grágás 1852. Konungsbók. Datenaufnahme und KWIC-Index (35 pp.); H. Fix, *Preparing Concordances to Old Icelandic Legal Texts*, *Bulletin of the Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing* 4,3 (1976) 199–205.

<sup>6</sup> vgl. K. Maurer, *Über die isländischen Gesetze und deren Ausgaben*, *Kritische Übersicht* 1 (1853) 277–296: Hier spricht Maurer von Finsens „verlässiger Hand“, aber zunächst doch vorsichtig, „so

Untersuchung zu Finsens Editionsprinzipien basiert auf einer Transliteration der Handschrift und einer Kollation mit Finsens Text. Im Vordergrund steht dabei die Darstellung der Beziehung

Zeichen der Handschrift → Zeichen der Edition.

Einige Bemerkungen zu den Lagen der Handschrift und zum Nachdruck (Odense 1974) sind angeschlossen. Zwei Anhänge geben Fehlerlisten.

2.1 Im knappen Vorwort (zur ersten Lieferung) verspricht Finsen „en nærmere Udvikling af de ved Udgivelsen fulgte Regler“ für die Einleitung der abgeschlossenen Ausgabe. An die Stelle dieses ursprünglich geplanten Vorworts trat dann aber eine kurze Nachschrift; die Beschreibung der Texteinrichtung blieb auf sehr spärliche Hinweise beschränkt, das Verhältnis der Edition zur Handschrift ist nirgends im Detail klargelegt.

Ved Udgivelsen have vi bestræbt os for at give et saa nøiagtig Aftryk af dette i alle Henseender fortrinlige Pergamentshaandskrift, som det ved Anvendelsen af de almindelige Skrifteegn lod sig gjøre. Ikkun aabenbare Afskriverfeil ere blevne rettede, i hvilken Henseende vi have vist megen Varsomhed; om enhver saadan, endog nok saa ringe Rettelse eller Udeladelse eller Tilföining er altid i Noter under Texten gjort Bemærkning. Forövrigt er Texten trykt ganske som den findes i Skindbogen, navnlig ogsaa med den der brugte Skrivemaade; Forkortelserne, ved hvis Oplösning vi have fulgt den af hver af Afskriverne i det hele fulgte Retskrivning, ere antydede med Cursivskrift. ... Hvor der i Skindbogen findes Initialer, der er mindre end de sædvanlige Capitelinitaler, men større end de almindelige Begyndelsebogstaver, ere de i Udgaven betegnede med federe Typer<sup>7</sup>.“

Finsen versucht also, mit gebräuchlichen Typen die Orthographie der Handschrift nachzuahmen. Kürzungen werden kursiv in der Orthographie des jeweiligen Schreibers aufgelöst – es hat sich allerdings gezeigt, daß dies *cum grano salis* zu verstehen ist –, Änderungen und Berichtigungen werden durch

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weit wir zu urtheilen vermögen, [scheint] bezüglich der Texteskritik die erforderliche Genauigkeit beobachtet worden zu seyn“ (p. 291 f). In seiner Rezension von 1886 zu Grágás. Stykker, a.a.O. p. 67, schreibt Maurer: „Alles was an Aufzeichnungen über das Recht des isländischen Freistaates überhaupt erhalten ist, liegt demnach nun gedruckt vor, und zwar mit jener pünktlichen Sorgfalt herausgegeben, wie sie V. Finsen vor so vielen Anderen eigen ist.“ In seinem Nekrolog auf Finsen schließlich, Kritische Vierteljahresschrift 35 (1893) 1–10, lobt Maurer nochmals die philologische Akribie der Finsenschen Editionen. „Utgáfur dr. Vilhjálms eru framúrskarandi nákvæmar enda hefur þeim verið rekið með miklu lofi af vísindamönnum.“ schreibt Páll Briem (Um Grágás, Tímarit hins íslenska bókmenntafélags 6 (1885) 133–226, p. 172). Bogi Th. Melsteð, a.a.O., p. XX, spricht von der großen Genauigkeit der Finsenschen Ausgaben und stellt sie als Vorbild hin. Er betont, daß Finsen der erste war, der Konráð Gíslasons Methode auf einen großen Text angewandt hat. Ólafur Lárusson erklärt in seinem Aufsatz „Stjórnarskipun og lög lýðveldisins íslenska (Tímarit Þjóðræknisfélags Íslendinga 11 (1929) 11–34), daß die Rechtstexte „í vönduðum, kritiskum útgáfum“ vorliegen (p. 30b). „Vilhjálmur Finsens udmærkede bogstavsrette udgaver“ nennt er sie an anderer Stelle (Grágás, in: Tidskrift for rettsvitenskap 66 (1953) 465–479, p. 473).

Páll Eggert Ólason schließlich schreibt in der Einleitung zur Faksimileausgabe der Konungsbók: „Excellent editions of the MSS have appeared separately from the hand of the Icelander, Vilhjálmur Finsen.“ (The Codex Regius of Grágás, Copenhagen 1932 (CCIMÆ III) p. 10.)

<sup>7</sup> Übersetzung Teil 2, p. 222 f.

Fußnoten bezeichnet. Von den Zufügungen jüngerer Hände sind lediglich die Seitenzahlen in ( ) übernommen. Die Textgliederung und Ergänzungen aus der Staðarhólsbók betreffen weitere Bemerkungen, sie sollen hier nicht diskutiert werden. Die Seiten- und Zeilenanordnung in Finsens Text entspricht nicht der Handschrift.

2.2 Meine Kollation erwies Finsens Ausgabe als diplomatisch in einem weiteren Sinn, als *Transkription* – wenn diplomatisch im engeren Sinn einer *Transliteration* entspricht<sup>8</sup>. Finsens Text ist ein Abdruck mit den für normalisierte altisländische Texte gebräuchlichen Drucktypen, ohne daß eine genaue Zuordnung dieser Drucktypen zum Befund der Handschrift gegeben wird. Auch Kr. Kålund gibt im seinem Beispiel in *Palæografisk Atlas*<sup>9</sup> keine Transliteration sondern eine Transkription, wenn auch genauer als Finsen. Bei Finsen werden folgende Drucktypen verwendet<sup>10</sup>:

Minuskeln: a b c d ð e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z þ æ ö ø œ

Majuskeln: A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V X Y Þ Æ Ö Ø

Kapitälchen: A B C E G M N R S T V Z

Versalien, Initialen und fette Majuskeln

Kursive: a b c d ð e f g h i k l m n o p r s t u v x y z þ æ ö œ r Þ

nicht alphabetische Zeichen: . , ; ´ ( ) [ ] 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

Diese repräsentieren die Zeichen der Hs. in einer nicht ausgeführten Weise, dh. aus der Edition ist die zugrundeliegende handschriftliche Graphie nur bedingt erkennbar. Es gilt also, im folgenden den Zeichenvorrat der Handschrift festzustellen und dessen Zuordnung zu Drucktypen, wie Finsen sie vorgenommen hat, offenzulegen.

3.1 Die Ermittlung des Zeichenvorrats der Handschrift geschieht durch Isolierung der Elemente des fortlaufend geschriebenen Textes (handschriftliche Graphe), die Aufteilung des Textes in konstituierende Einheiten und durch deren Klassifizierung.

<sup>8</sup> Zur Terminologie vgl. M. Mangold, *Transliteration und Transkription*, Mannheim 1965 (Duden Beiträge Heft 27).

<sup>9</sup> *Palæografisk Atlas*, Oldnorsk-islandsk aff., København 1905. Beispiel Nr. 15 = GkS 1157 fol. S. 84.

<sup>10</sup> Die Unterscheidung dieser Typen macht im allgemeinen keine Schwierigkeiten.

Versalien: Pátr-Anfänge, große farbige Initialen mit Ornamenten in Kontrastfarben

Initialen: Kapitel-Anfänge, farbig

fette Majuskeln: innerhalb der Kapitel, rot ausgemalte Majuskeln

Kursive kommer außer Þ und R nur als Minuskeln vor; fehlende Initialen erscheinen recte, werden aber in der Fußnote als fehlend vermerkt.

Besondere Schwierigkeiten bereitet allerdings die Identifikation derjenigen Zeichen, bei welchen sich Kapitälchen und Minuskel nur geringfügig in der Größe unterscheiden: s v z gegen s v z. Die Unterscheidung wird noch dadurch erschwert, daß die Drucktypen innerhalb des Zeichens s von verschiedener Gestalt und Größe sind. Eine gewisse Erleichterung bringt hier der vergrößerte Nachdruck.

Die Varianz innerhalb eines Zeichens gilt auch für þ ð u.a.; nur sind diese durch ihre Form eindeutig als Minuskeln zu klassifizieren.

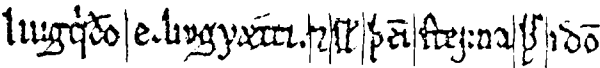
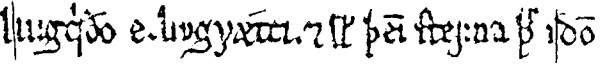
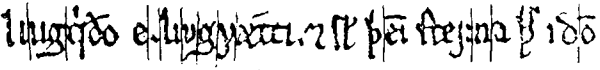
Konstituierende Einheiten ergeben sich durch Segmentierung, ausgehend von vorhandenen Zwischenräumen. Es lassen sich verschiedene Arten von Zwischenräumen feststellen:

lineare Zwischenräume

- (1) große Zwischenräume (Spatium)
- (2) mittlere Zwischenräume
- (3) kleine Zwischenräume (Sektor)

Dabei sind die mittleren Zwischenräume deutlich kleiner als die großen Zwischenräume und deutlich größer als die kleinen Zwischenräume. Absolute Größen können nicht angegeben werden, da das Verhältnis der Zwischenräume zueinander als auch zu den Graphen in der Zeile wesentliches Unterscheidungskriterium ist.

Beispiel:

- (1) 
- (2) 
- (3) 

Die Segmentierung kann aber nicht allein von den Zwischenräumen ausgehen, sonst könnten aneinandergeschriebene Elemente nicht isoliert werden. Solche aneinandergeschriebene Elemente heißen Graphwörter; es sind Graphgruppen zwischen Zwischenräumen.

Die Segmentierung der Graphwörter geschieht auf dem Hintergrund einer Identifikation der entstehenden Segmente mit Prototypen aus außergraphemischem Wissen<sup>11</sup>. Diese Prototypen sind Abstraktionen der aus außergraphemischem Wissen bekannten Buchstaben altisländischer Handschriften, Raster mit einer gewissen Toleranz. Beim Vergleich von Prototyp und Segment müssen zur Identifikation beider konstituierende Teile übereinstimmen.

Dabei können noch zwei Arten von linearen Zwischenräumen festgestellt werden:

- (4) Kontakt
- (5) Ligatur

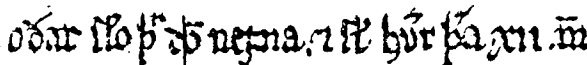
Wenn kleine Zwischenräume so klein werden, daß sich die Graphe berühren, liegt Kontakt vor. Ist der Kontakt zwischen zwei Graphen derart, daß ein distinktiver Teil beider Graphen gemeinsam ist, so spricht man herkömmlich

<sup>11</sup> Außergraphemisches Wissen wird hier von vornherein beigezogen, da sich unschwer zeigen läßt, daß ein Verzicht auf außergraphemisches Wissen zu unüberwindlichen Schwierigkeiten bei der Segmentierung führt: es entstehen dann Graphteile, die durch Distributionsanalysen nicht mehr sinnvoll zuzuordnen sind.

von Ligatur<sup>11a</sup>. Absolute Größen für diese Zwischenräume können nicht angegeben werden; im Einzelfall dürften mitunter verschiedene Entscheidungen möglich sein.

Beispiel:

(4) 

(5) 

nicht-lineare Zwischenräume

Supralineare und infralineare Graphen sind solche, die über bzw. unter linearen Graphen stehen und durch horizontale Schnitte isoliert werden können. Auch hier geht die Segmentierung von vorhandenen Zwischenräumen aus:

- (1) supralinearer Zwischenraum
- (2) infralinearer Zwischenraum

Sind supralineare oder infralineare Graphen an lineare Graphen angeschrieben, so muß die Trennung wie die aneinandergeschriebener linearer Graphen mit Hilfe der Prototypen durchgeführt werden.

Der gesamte Text kann somit in seine Elemente (Graphen) zerlegt werden, deren endliche Anzahl durch den Umfang des Textes und die Anzahl der Prototypen definiert ist. Die Menge der Prototypen ist nicht von vornherein festgelegt, sondern flexibel, so daß eine adäquate Zuordnung aller Segmente möglich bleibt, unter Umständen durch Festlegen neuer Prototypen, d.h. Erweiterung der Menge.

Die Zuordnung der Segmente zu Drucktypen auf dieser Ebene ergäbe ein Faksimile.











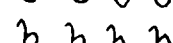

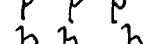



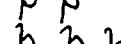

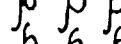

Im Hinblick auf eine Edition ist natürlich nicht jedes handschriftliche Graph als Drucktype zu gestalten; es muß abstrahiert werden. Durch optischen Vergleich der isolierten Segmente lassen sich alle graphisch ähnlichen zusammenfassen und als Graphentyp repräsentieren. Aus diesen Graphentypen lassen sich wiederum nach Ähnlichkeitskriterien Klassen bilden (Graphklassen)<sup>12</sup>. Auf dieser Abstraktionsebene ist die Transliteration der Handschrift möglich, d.h. die Umschrift der handschriftlichen Graphenfolge in ein durch

<sup>11a</sup> Ligatur bezeichnet hier nicht „solche buchstabenverbindungen, die zu festen Zeichen geworden sind ... die Vokalzeichen æ, ø, æ“ (H. Spehr, Der Ursprung der isländischen Schrift und ihre Weiterbildung bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts, Halle 1929, S. 130), sondern sonstige Buchstabenverbindungen, die zumeist Gelegenheitszeugnisse sind.

<sup>12</sup> Die Zusammenfassung einzelner handschriftlicher Graphen zu bestimmten Graphentypen beruht in hohem Maße auf subjektiver Beurteilung; man wird sich allenfalls über die Klassenzugehörigkeit einzelner Graphen einigen können. Trotzdem halte ich mit H. J. Hakkarainen (Studien zum Cambridge Codex T-S. 10.K.22, II. Graphemik und Phonemik, Helsinki 1971 (Annales Acad. Scient. Fennicae B 174) S. 17) diese Zwischenstufe der Graphentypen für methodisch aufschlußreich und sinnvoll.

optischen Vergleich der Segmente klassifiziertes, zahlenmäßig begrenzteres Zeichensystem.

Beispiel:

graphische Ebene der Handschrift	Graphtypen	Graphklassen	Klassengraph*
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			

\* graphetische Ebene zur Graphembestimmung.

Der Zeichenvorrat der Handschrift ist auf der Ebene von Graphklassen festgestellt, und jeder Graphklasse wird durch einfache Ersetzungsregel ein Klassengraph als Repräsentant zugeordnet. Die Umschrift des Textes nach diesen Repräsentanten heißt *graphetische Transliteration*.

Die graphetische Transliteration ist eine eineindeutige, d.h. umkehrbar eindeutige Umschrift von individuellen Zeichen der Handschrift (handschriftliche Graphe) in Zeichen der Transliteration. Das bedeutet nicht, daß jedes Zeichen der Handschrift auch in der Transliteration in seiner individuellen Ausprägung zu erkennen wäre, sondern daß die handschriftlichen Graphe auf Grund optischer Ähnlichkeiten zweimal klassifiziert sind (Graphtypen und Graphklassen) und daß jede so gewonnene Klasse durch ein Klassengraph in der Transliteration vertreten ist. Die Umkehrbarkeit der graphetischen Transliteration geht also nicht bis zu jedem individuellen Graph der Handschrift, sondern nur bis zu dessen typologischer Abstraktion.

Es zeigt sich, daß die Prototypen, die die Segmentierung unterstützt haben, optisch mit den Klassengraphen identisch sind. Sie stellen jedoch im Beschreibungssystem eine völlig andere Ebene dar: sie sind von außen als Identifikationsmöglichkeiten an den Text herangetragen und nicht aus dem Text durch Abstraktion gewonnen.

Editionstechnisch entspricht die graphetische Transliteration einer Handschrift einem diplomatischen Druck im engen Sinn.

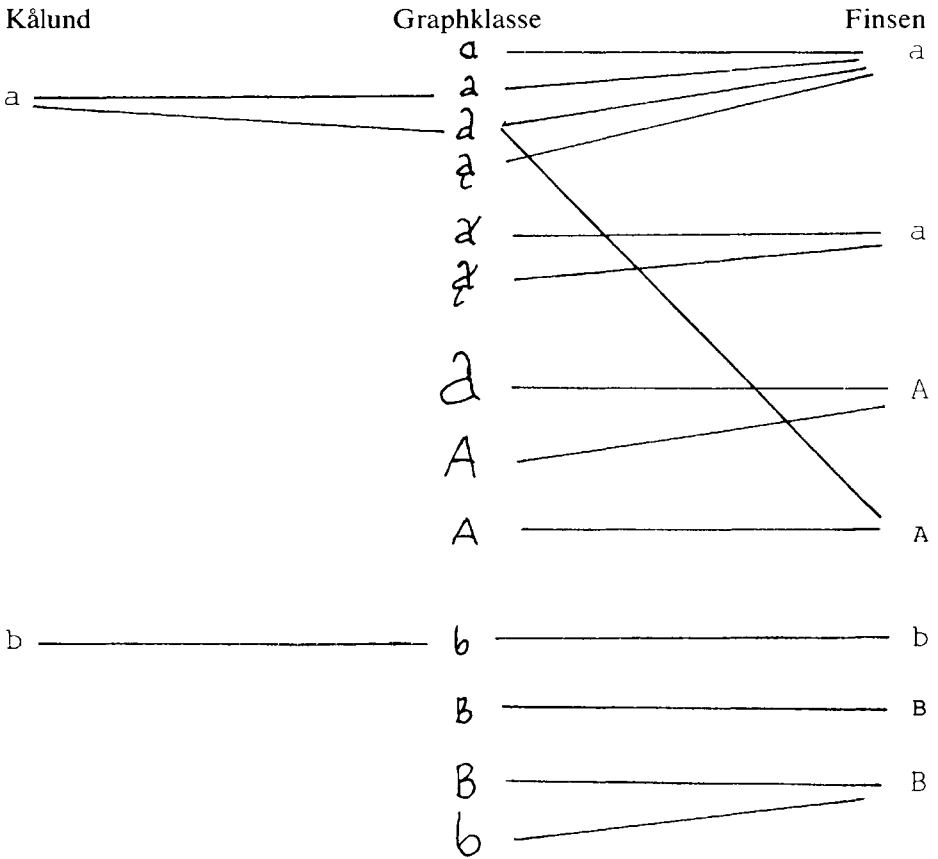
Die graphetische Transliteration der Handschrift bildet den Ausgangspunkt

für die Ermittlung der Grapheme. Aus den Graphen der Transliteration lassen sich durch Distributionsanalysen Allographe ermitteln und schließlich Grapheme bestimmen.

Texteditorisch kann man von allographischen und von graphemischen Texten sprechen, wobei graphemische Texte kaum praktische Bedeutung haben dürften. Die Verringerung des Inventars auf der höheren Analyseebene bedingt eine Vermehrung und Komplizierung der Regeln, die notwendig sind, um von einer Stufe der Analyse auf die nächst tiefere zurückzukehren.

3.2 Bei Kålund und Finsen werden die (von mir als solche identifizierten) Graphklassen der Handschrift nach folgendem Schema Drucktypen zugeordnet, was weder graphematisch noch phonematisch gesehen in allen Fällen haltbar sein dürfte<sup>13</sup>.

Bei Kålund Fehlendes kommt auf der vorliegenden Seite 84 nicht vor.



<sup>13</sup> Bei Finsen ist handschriftliches  $\varrho$  grundsätzlich ö.  $\varrho$  æti der Handschrift (15b21) beispielsweise ist aber wohl (ó æti) zu transkribieren, nicht wie Finsen ö æti (135,15).

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		e	_____	
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J \_\_\_\_\_ J

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K \_\_\_\_\_ K

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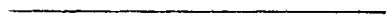

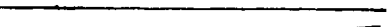

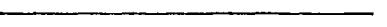
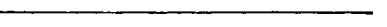
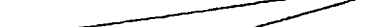

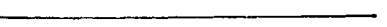

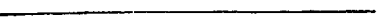



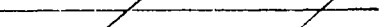





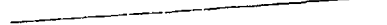


M \_\_\_\_\_ M

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		ŋ	_____	N
N	_____	ŋ	_____	N
		ŋ	_____	N
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		ŋ	_____	N
o	_____	o	_____	o
		O	_____	O
p	_____	p	_____	p
		p	_____	p
q	_____	q	_____	q
		Q	_____	Q
		Q	_____	Q
r	_____	r	_____	r
		r	_____	r
ʀ	_____	ʀ	_____	(ß) nicht erkannt
		ʀ	_____	R
R	_____	R	_____	R
		R	_____	R
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s	_____	s	_____	s
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v	v		v
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V	V		V
x	x		x
	X		X
P	Y		y
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	Y		Y
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ø		ø ø ø		ø
ø		ø ø ø		ø
ö		ö ö ö		ö
ø		ø ø ø		ø
æ		æ æ æ		æ
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madr		Y Y Y		madr
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ø		; ; ;		ø

## superscript

$\acute{v}$ _____	$\acute{V}$ [Akut] _____	$\acute{v}$
{ <i>vm, vn, v...</i> }	$\bar{V}$ [Nasal-, Kürzungsstrich] _____	{ <i>vm, vn, v...</i> }
<i>cc</i>	$\acute{V}$ [Umstellungszeichen] _____	$\emptyset$
{ <i>er, ir, eir, r</i> }	$\grave{c}$ [Geminationspunkt] _____	<i>cc</i>
<i>ra</i> _____	$\acute{c}$ [Titel] _____	{ <i>er, ir, ar, r,</i> <i>eir, eirr</i> }
<i>avg</i> s _____	$\grave{c}$ _____	{ <i>ra, ar, va</i> }
{ <i>yr, or</i> }	$\acute{c}$ _____	{ <i>us, avg</i> s, <i>us,</i> <i>illius</i> }
	$\acute{c}$ _____	{ <i>ur, or, yr,</i> <i>yrir, yrr</i> }
	$\acute{c}$ _____	
	$\acute{c}$ _____	
	$\acute{c}$ _____	
	$\acute{c}$ _____	
	$\acute{c}$ _____	
	$\acute{c}$ _____	
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	$\acute{c}$ _____	

## subscript

$\grave{c}$  [Tilgungspunkt] \_\_\_\_\_  $\emptyset$

Die Auflösungsmöglichkeiten der Titel sind nicht vollständig in der Tabelle verzeichnet, es fehlen da zumindest *ans*, *on*, *ör*; die Möglichkeiten des Kürzungsstriches sind nur durch ... angedeutet. Beide Zeichen sind nicht immer sicher zu unterscheiden.

Die Gruppen der Versalien, Initialen und fetten Majuskeln sind in diese Tabelle nicht aufgenommen, da sie grundsätzlich der Kategorie der Majuskeln zugeordnet werden können.

In gleicher Weise kann die Gruppe der alphabetischen Supralinearen der Kategorie der Minuskeln zugeordnet werden. Die T-Ligaturen finden sich wegen des Transkriptionsergebnisses in der Tabelle.

Kålunds Text zeigt sich nach dieser Tabelle graphetischer als der Text unserer Ausgabe. Bei beiden ist die Zuordnung jedoch nicht uneindeutig, wie Hakkarainens Graphemtheorie es beispielsweise fordert. Es gibt keine Möglichkeit, ein mehrdeutiges Graph Finsens (=Drucktype) eindeutig auf die graphetische Stufe zurückzuübersetzen. Die notwendigen Regeln zur Erklärung potentieller kombinatorischer oder freier Varianten, Neutralisationen etc. fehlen.

Vom graphematischen Standpunkt gesehen ist Finsens Text weder rein graphetisch noch rein graphemisch<sup>11</sup>. Dies ist nach Hakkarainen einer

<sup>11</sup> Daß er dies weder sein kann noch will, muß nicht besonders betont werden.

Textedition durchaus adäquat und zuträglich; hier aber ist die Position zwischen den beiden Extremen eines graphetischen oder eines graphemischen Textes nicht bestimmt. Darüberhinaus erscheint es fraglich und bleibt zu untersuchen, ob Finsens mehrdeutige aber auch eindeutige Graphen überhaupt jeweils ein Graphem darstellen.

3.3 Was die Initialen angeht, beschreibt Finsens nur zwei Qualitäten, obwohl er drei Drucktypen verwendet, wenn man von den beiden „Ausnahmen“ absieht.

- (1) Pátrr-Anfänge – Versalien
- (2) Kapitelanfänge – Initialen
- (3) sonstige innerhalb eines Kapitels – fette Majuskeln  
Typ (1) wird in der Textbeschreibung nicht erwähnt, Typ (3) ist ungenau beschrieben. Die „Ausnahmen“ sind:
- (4) F I83,24; E II61,6; H II122,14; E II135,11; J II195,10; A II186,10
- (5) H II66,2; E II67,19<sup>15</sup>.

Von der Handschrift aus gesehen stimmen diese Zuordnungen der Initialen zu verschiedenen Drucktypen nur für Typ (3) durchgehend. Man vergleiche nur E<sub>4</sub> (Finsens II61,6; HS 121a2) und M<sub>1</sub> (Finsens II140,3; HS 152c26) oder U<sub>2</sub> (Finsens I77,12; HS 34b24) und H<sub>5</sub> (Finsens II66,2; HS 122b29). Fette Majuskeln der Handschrift werden nicht besonders bezeichnet.

Problematisch in Finsens Text sind die Spatien<sup>16</sup>. Es wurde versucht, Spatium und Sectura im Druckbild nachzuahmen, allerdings nicht rigoros und nicht über den gesamten Text. Finsens scheint sich zu oft vom Inhalt leiten zu lassen und trennt dann „graphische Komposita“ so, daß nicht sein kann, was nicht sein darf.

Was V. Dahlerup und K. Gíslason durchgeführt haben und jetzt von Sture Allén<sup>17</sup> für eine moderne Textedition gefordert wurde, „att relationen mellan spatium och sektur i den givna kontexten upprätthålles“, ist hier nicht konsequent erfüllt.

In der Handschrift getrennte Wörter, ob mit oder ohne Trennungsstrich, erscheinen bei Finsens jeweils zusammengeschrieben, es sei denn, ein Kompositum ist ohne Trennungsstrich in der Kompositionsfuge getrennt; hier gibt er scheinbar ohne System ein oder zwei Wörter<sup>18</sup>.

Trennungsstriche der Handschrift gehen außer am Spaltenende grundsätzlich im Kompositum der Edition verloren, bei nicht komponierbaren Elementen im Spatium.

<sup>15</sup> Diese Typen (4) und (5) sind in der Saarbrücker maschinenlesbaren Version dem Typ (2) zugeordnet.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. dazu wie auch zum Problem der Unterscheidung von Minuskeln und Majuskeln in altenglischen Handschriften die Bemerkungen von Peter Clemoes in: *Computers and Old English Concordances*, ed. Angus Cameron, Roberta Frank, John Leyerle, Toronto 1970, p. 88.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. *Agrip af Noregs konunga sögum. Diplomatarisk udgave ved Verner Dahlerup*, København 1880 (STUAGNL 2); Konráð Gíslason, *Um frum-parta íslenzkrar tungu í fornöld*, Kaupmannahöfn 1846; Sture Allén, *Grafematisk analys som grundval för textedering*, Göteborg 1965 (Nordistica Gothoburgensia I) p. 67.

<sup>18</sup> Beispiele: þingfarar 10b16/17 = I25,15; 20a24/25 = I44,15; þing farar 26a20/21 = I56,4.

Finsens Behandlung der „Interpunktion“ der Handschrift ist unklar: die Punkte sind zum Teil in der Ausgabe wiedergegeben, gehen zum Teil bei der Auflösung von Abkürzungen verloren, wahrscheinlich ohne System. Im Gegensatz zur Handschrift führt jeder Punkt – außer dem einer römischen Zahl vorangestellten – Spatium hinter sich.

4. Bei der Autopsie der Handschrift hat sich herausgestellt, daß Finsens Beschreibung der Lagen<sup>19</sup> falsch ist. Bei genauer Betrachtung ist dies auch im Faksimile zu erkennen. Im Gegensatz zu Finsens Feststellung: „særlig bemerket, at hvor den anden Haandskrift i Membranen begynder, skeer det ikke med et nyt Læg“, macht Hand A die beiden ersten Lagen, Hand B die übrigen Lagen (3–13) aus.

Auf Blatt 37<sup>v</sup> hat Árni Magnússon eine Lakune angemerkt: „desiderantur bina folia“. Sicher ist, daß ein Blatt fehlt, welches dem x in der 6. Lage zwischen Blatt 37 und Blatt 38 entspricht, und man kann annehmen, daß die Lakune durch die zu Blatt 38 fehlende Hälfte dargestellt wird, zumal diesem Blatt auch der Außensteg fehlt. Allerdings sind auch zwei fehlende Blätter nicht auszuschließen; die 6. Lage kann ebenso gut 7 wie 8 Blätter gehabt haben. Hier läßt sich nur inhaltlich argumentieren, der Lagenbefund führt nicht weiter.

5.1 Es ist nicht möglich und erschiene auch nicht sinnvoll, an dieser Stelle einen Regelapparat zu geben, der es ermöglichte, Finsens Text zum Teil auf die graphetische Ebene zu transponieren.

In der Zuordnungstabelle wurde gezeigt, welche Graphklassen der Handschrift sich hinter Finsens Drucktypen verbergen können; einzelne Belege müssen leider nachgeprüft werden.

5.2.1 Die Ligatur þ wurde offenbar nicht erkannt und fiel daher mit ꝥ zusammen. Finsen löste immer ꝥr auf. Die Ligatur ǰ wird ð aufgelöst.

5.2.2 An das Folgewort angeschriebene tironische Note 7 wird immer durch Leerstelle abgetrennt und oc aufgelöst.

5.2.3 v̅l̅q̅ geht dann ersatzlos verloren, wenn Finsen die ausgesparte Stelle ergänzen konnte.

5.2.4 Finsen löst ǰ nach lanð, þ nach land auf. Diese verschiedene Auflösung geschieht m.E. zu Unrecht, da

- (1) die Graphtypen ǰ und ȝ an anderer Stelle auch unterschiedslos gebraucht werden
- (2) lanð in der Handschrift nicht vorkommt<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Grágás. Stykker p. XXXVII f. Ole Widding (Håndskriftanalyser, 5. GkS 1157 fol., Hånd A i Konungsbók af Grágás, in: Opuscula II, 1, Hafniæ 1961, 64–75 (Bibliotheca Arnarnæana XXV, 1)) hat Finsens Beschreibung für die Lagen 1 und 2 bereits korrigiert (p. 66).

<sup>20</sup> Der einzige lanðe-Beleg in der Edition (I186.2) ist eine Zufügung aus der HS. AM 334 fol. (vgl.: I185 Anm. a) und lautet in Grágás 1879, S. 397, 23 lande. Dagegen stehen in Hand B 75 Belege land (incl. oblique Kasus und Komposita mit land-). Hand A hat keinen lanð-Beleg.

Hier ist von verschiedenen Graphentypen auszugehen, die derselben Graphklasse  $\delta$  angehören. In der Graphklasse  $\delta$  überlappen sich zwei tentative Grapheme, nämlich  $\langle\delta\rangle$  und  $\langle d^{Abk}\rangle$ ; von der graphischen Ebene gesehen, entspricht dies der üblichen Abkürzungspraxis, vgl.  $\text{fm}$   $\text{f}$   $\text{fRo}$ .

Eine phonologische Interpretation erscheint mir nicht notwendig.

5.2.5 Ligaturen außer  $\text{æ}$  und  $\text{œ}$  werden grundsätzlich in ihre Komponenten aufgelöst,  $\text{á}$  wird  $\text{a}$  aufgelöst.

5.2.6  $\text{ð}$  wird  $\text{n. n.}$  aufgelöst,  $\text{ðð}$  *daga*,  $\text{f}$  *synir*.

6. Der Nachdruck Odense 1974 ist gegenüber der Originalausgabe vergrößert: Satzspiegel  $138 \times 87$  mm auf  $153 \times 97$  mm; das entspricht einer Vergrößerung um etwa 24%.

Nachwort und Berichtigungen aus dem 4. Teil (= Übersetzung Teil 2) sind am Ende des Textbandes abgedruckt.

Leider läßt dieser Nachdruck gegenüber dem von Reykjavík 1945 und dem allgemein Notwendigen die wünschenswerte Sorgfalt vermissen. Durch unsaubere Vorlage (?) ergaben sich an vielen Stellen unscharfe Buchstaben und Flecken, wurden Buchstaben ausgelassen, was gerade in einem diplomatischen Text leicht zu Fehllesungen führen kann, zumindest aber den Benutzer verwirrt.

Versäumt wurde außerdem, eine Zeilenzählung anzubringen, die die Benutzung wesentlich erleichtert hätte.



## Anhang 1: Korrekturen zu Finsens Anmerkungen

In Finsens Anmerkungen ist  $\delta$  durchgehend  $\delta$  wiedergegeben. Folgende Anmerkungen sind zu korrigieren.

## Buch I

Seite 35 Anm. 1 til lies: til; 58 Anm. 1 Hs. lies: *oc scal* oc *scal*; 59 Anm. 3 *með* lies: *með*; 59 Anm. 4 oc til buðar lies Hs.: *oc til buðar oc til búðar*; 69 Anm. 1 *socnar* lies: *sócnar*; 72 Anm. 2 *með ... með* lies: *með ... með*; 84 Anm. 1 við lies: við; 95 Anm. 1 *ifiorðungs* lies: *ifiorðungs*; 95 Anm. 4 *lata* lies: *láta*; 96 Anm. 1 <sup>1</sup> fehlt im Text Zeile 11; 99 Anm. 1 *halda* lies: *hallda*; 102 Anm. 5 gestrichene Stelle *En* lies: *EN*; 105 Anm. 3 *varnar* lies: *varnar*; 107 Anm. 1 *queðia* lies: *queðia*; 110 Anm. 4 *sem* lies: *sem*; 110 Anm. 7 lies: *overstreget og underprikket*; 113 Anm. 2 oc lies: *oc*; 115 Anm. 1 *döma þeim manne* lies: *dóma þeim manne*; 117 Anm. 1 *kómr* lies: *kómr*; 121 Anm. 2 *No ... man* lies: *Nv ... mān*; 123 Anm. 4 *frum* lies: *frum*; 127 Anm. 4 in der Hs. bereits gebessert *fettā*; 136 Anm. 1 in der Hs. bereits über der Zeile zugefügt; 144 Anm. 2 *eða* lies: *eða*; 147 Anm. 2 *a* lies: *á*; 148 Anm. 2 *overstregede* lies: *underprikkede*; 151 Anm. 3 *eigi* lies: *eigi*; 159 Anm. 1 *sva at þeir eigo* Hs. lies: *sva at þeir eigo svā at þeir eigo*; 165 Anm. 3 *queðia ... bva* lies: *queðia ... bva er*; 166 Anm. 1 *maðr* lies: *maðr*; 166 Anm. 5 *a* lies: *á*; 168 Anm. 1 *með* lies: *með*; 169 Anm. 1 *hygin* lies: *hygin*; 170 Anm. 3 durchgestrichene Stelle lies: *verðr*; 176 Anm. 4 Hs. *mest eigo* *ibuðir* davon gestrichen: *mest eigo i*; 180 Anm. 1 *kómr* lies: *kómr*; 185 Anm. 1 *með* lies: *með*; 188 Anm. 2 Hs. lies: *vēdr*; 193 Anm. 2 gestrichene Stelle lies: *avrar*; 193 Anm. 3 *tilgen*: *eller o*; 194 Anm. 1 ändern: Hs. *vegandans*, *vegan* gestrichen, *ens aus dans* gebessert; 197 Anm. 2 zufügen: *Punctum er tilföiet*; 214 Anm. 1 *logretto* lies: *lögretto*; 220 Anm. 1 *maðr* lies: *maðr*; 230 Anm. 2 *maðr* lies: *maðr*; 231 Anm. 1 in der Hs. allerdings gebessert *atto*; 235 Anm. 4 Hs. lies: *rang rang*; 239 Anm. 1 *maðr* lies: *maðr*;

## Buch II

11 Anm. 3 in der Hs. über der Zeile zugefügt <sup>6</sup>; 21 Anm. 2 tilgen: fa eller; 21 Anm. 3 für das zweite Mal lies: *sem þeir áttó iscipi til. nema þeir fae logvörn fyrir sic.* EN þeir eigo at *quēðia heimilis bva v til at bera vm þat hvart þa scyllde lög til at hafa ut þan omaga*; 21 Anm. 4 eða ... eða ... eða ... eða lies: *eða ... eða ... eða ... eða*; 34 Anm. 2 fyrir lies: *fyrir*; 46 Anm. 1 með ... nami lies: *með ... námi*; 60 Anm. 1 eða lies: *eða*; 60 Anm. 3 lata fyrir lies: *lata fyrir*; 64 Anm. 5 māðr lies: *madr*; 72 Anm. 3 heide lies: *heiðe*; 74 Anm. 4 Fimtan lies: *F<sub>2</sub>imtan*, über der Zeile *xiiii.*; 75 Anm. 4 gestrichene Stelle lies: *oc eignaz hann þa. þviat eins verðr at rétto eigandi at.*; 97 Anm. 1 engi lies: *engit*; 99 Anm. 1 bezieht sich auf <sup>2</sup> im Text Zeile 19; 105 Anm. 1 gestrichene Stelle lies: *landsölo ...*; 106 Anm. 3 für das zweite Mal lies: *sva*; 111 Anm. 1 zufügen: *og underprikket*; 121 Anm. 1 við lies: *við*; 131 Anm. 3 an zweiter Stelle lies: *sva*; 134 Anm. 2 bezieht sich auf <sup>1</sup> im Text Zeile 11; 138 Anm. 1 abrott lies: *abrott*; 142 Anm. 2 bezieht sich auf <sup>1</sup> im Text Zeile 24; 143 Anm. 5 maðr lies: *maðr*; 168 Anm. 2 eins lies: *eíns*; 175 Anm. 1 *oc* lies: *oc*; 179 Anm. 1 ef tilgen; 181 Anm. 1 *garð* lies: *garð*; 182 Anm. 2 heyrauda lies: *heyrandu*; 188 Anm. 1 hin lies: *hin*; 192 Anm. 5 an zweiter Stelle lies: *scolo vera í eyre*; 194 Anm. 1 verre lies: *verri*; 195 Anm. 2 maðr lies: *maðr*; 207 Anm. 1 und Anm. 2 vertauschen; 208 Anm. 1 bezieht sich auf <sup>2</sup> im Text Zeile 4; 211 Anm. 1 tior lies: *itíor*; 214 Anm. 2 an zweiter Stelle lies: *ef lyst*

Im übrigen lassen die Anmerkungen formal eine gewisse Konsequenz vermissen: vgl. z.B. Buch II: 6 Anm. 1, 21 Anm. 5, 62 Anm. 2 und 3, 139 Anm. 1, 143 Anm. 5, wo anscheinend mit Parenthesen und Kursiven *ad libitum* gearbeitet wird.

Eine Besserung zu Finsens Rettelser (Übersetzung Teil 2, S. 227): I 55<sup>3</sup> þeir caSrl vætt lies vielmehr: þeirra scal vætti

Eine Besserung zu Finsens Rettelser og Tilføyninger (Grágás 1883, S. 715): Ia 132<sup>7</sup> fiskar lies vielmehr: fiskir

## Anhang 2: Korrekturen zum Text

In der anschließenden Fehlerliste sollen Lesefehler aufgezeigt werden, also Zuordnungen von Graphklassen zu Drucktypen, die nicht der Zuordnungstabelle entsprechen. Die vielen falschen Kapitälchen s und z werden nicht aufgeführt (vgl. Anm. 10).

Korrekturen zu den Spatien werden nur bei eindeutiger Fehlesung gegeben, mittlere Zwischenräume werden grundsätzlich nicht korrigiert. Punkte sind nur dort korrigiert, wo sie nicht bei der Auflösung von Abkürzungen verlorengegangen sein können.

Die erste Seite der Handschrift ist stellenweise stark betrieben und fleckig und daher unleserlich. Alle die Zeichen Finsens, die ich in der Handschrift nicht mit Sicherheit verifizieren konnte, gebe ich in [ ].

### Buch I

Handschrift 1a1 = Finsen 3,3 upphaf laga lies: upp[h]af [la]ga; 1a5=3,5 Punkt einfügen nach skirnar; 1a9=3,8 skaporfone lies: s[k]aporfone; 1a10=3,10 orðin. lies: orðin[.]; 1a11=3,10 barn til lies: barn t[ił]; 1a12=3,11 men lies: meN; 1a13=3,12 þar lies: þ[ar]; 1a14=3,13 . epa lies: [.] epa; 1a15=3,14 lið. lies: lið[.]; 1a16=3,14 hefer lies: hefir, Punkt einfügen nach a; 1a17=3,15 scyldr er til lies: skyldr er t[ił]; 1a17=3,16 er lies: [er]; 1a18=3,17 sök lies: søk, vill. lies: vill[.]; 1a19=4,1 stefna lies: stef[na]; 1a20=4,1 til heimilis lies: [til] heimilis, an Stelle von ix. lese ich s; 1a21=4,2 þa lies: þ[a];

1a22=4,3 til skirnar iij. menn fvlлтipа lies: t[il skirnar  
 iij. menn f]vlltip[a]; 1a23=4,4 .iiij. mann oc hros eþa  
 eyk ef þeim fylgir. lies: .iiij.<sup>a</sup> m[ann oc hr]oss eþa ey[k  
 ef þeim fylgir.]; 1a24=4,5 eigi þingfarar kavpi at lies:  
 [eigi] þingf[arar] kav[pi at]; 1a25=4,5 Punkt einfügen  
 nach gegna; 1a25=4,6 þeim hvsvrm oc selia þeim lies:  
 [þeim] hv[svrm oc selia þeim]; 1a26=4,6 Punkt einfügen nach  
 mat; 1a26=4,7 bvar virþa. Gollðit scal lies: b[var vir]þa[.  
 Gollðit scal]; 1a27=4,7 a xiiij. lies: a .xiiij[.], Punkt  
 einfügen nach nottom, verð oc lies: ver[ð oc]; 1a27=4,8  
 heyss. Ef bvandi lies: [heys]s. Ef bv[an]d[i]; 1a28=4,8  
 syníar lies: syníar; 1a28=4,8/9 beina er til er mæltr oc  
 lies: be[i]na [er til er mæltr oc]; 1a29=4,9 hann lies:  
 [hann], morkom. lies: m[orkom.]; 1a30=4,10 vistar er lies:  
 [vistar er]; 1a30=4,10 þvi mali heiman lies: þ[vi] mali  
 hei[man]; 1a31=4,11 þingi þess er sottr er. lies: þing[i]  
 þess er sot[tr] er[.]; 1a32/33=4,12 til logheimilís lies:  
 t[i]l lavgheimilís; 1a33=4,13 prestz. lies: prestz[.];  
 1a34=4,14 þess. lies: þess[.]; 1a36=4,15 heiman oc lies:  
 heim[an oc]; 1b2=4,17 Punkt einfügen nach scirn; 1b2=4,18  
 hann lies: hann; 1b3=4,18 lati lies: lat[i], sinv. lies:  
 sinv[.], eigi lengr lies: eig[i lengr]; 1b4=4,19 prestr  
 lies: prestr; 1b5=4,19 nott verit heiman lies: nött verit  
 heima[n]; 1b5=4,20 menn lies: m[enn]; 1b6=4,20 á lies: <sup>[a]</sup>  
 1b6=4,21 barn lies: [barn].; 1b7=4,21 uppi lies: vppi;  
 1b7=4,22 kirkiv lies: ki[rkiv]; 1b9=4,23 naer fyrst. lies:  
 náer fyrst[.]; 1b10=4,24 Punkt einfügen nach heiman, nott  
 lies: nött; 1b11=4,24 hafi eigi lies: [hafi eigi]; 1b11=  
 4,25 ser lies: [ser]; 1b12=4,26 oc lies: [oc]; 1b13=4,27  
 avngva lies: avng[va]; 1b15=5,1 hefír lies: hef[ír]; 1b17=  
 5,3 til skirnar lies: t[i]l skirnar.; 1b17=5,4 stefna lies:  
 st[efn]a; 1b18=5,4 til lies: t[i]l; 1b18=5,5 mælt lies:  
 mælt; 1b19=5,5/6 er i hia barns þess lies: e[r i hila  
 bar[ns þess]; 1b20=5,6/7 til skirnar barn oc bvþo navtar  
 lies: til ski[rnar barn oc bvþo navtar]; 1b21/22/23/24/25=

5,7/8/9/10 hans oc þeir menn allir er a meginlandi ero skyldir at færa barn til skirnar. Sa er skyldr at lia skips er beþinn er oc fara scal oc hvern er beiddr er sva sem fyrst ma fyrir veþrs sakir. lies: h[ans] oc þeir menn allir [er a meginlandi ero skyldir at færa barn til] skirn[ar]. Sa er skyldr at lia skips er] be[þinn er oc fara scal oc hvern er beiddr er sva sem fyrst] ma [fyrir veþrs sakir.]; 1b26=5,10 Bvandi er skyldr at ala þa menn lies: Bvan[di] er s[kyl]dr at al[a] þa menn; 1b26=5,11 v. lies: v[.]; 1b27=5,11 komnir lies: komnir, þeir lies: þ[eir]; 1b28=5,12 menn aptr lies: menn [aptr], til scirnar lies: t[il] scir[nar]; 1b29=5,12 fórdó. lies: fórdó[o.]; 1b30=5,14 skyldir lies: skyld[ir]; 1b31=5,15 ero til beðnir. lies: [ero] t[il] beðnir[.]; 1b32=5,15 skirnar lies: skirn[ar]; 1b33=5,16 honvm farar eþa lies: [honvm farar eþa], eþa eykiar lies: eþa ey[kila[r]; 1b34=5,17 scal sokom lies: [scal sokom]; 1b35=5,18 stefna lies: stefna, ix. lies: ix[.]; 1b37=5,20 Punkt einfügen nach hætt; 1c1=5,20 [a olærþr lies: a [olærþr; 1c3=5,22/23 á förn[vm vegi. oc scal skira] lies: á förn[vm vegi. oc] scal fara; 1c12=6,2 skíre lies: skíri; 1c19=6,7 naer lies: náer; 1c20=6,10 Punkt tilgen nach orð; 1c31=6,17 faðir lies: Faðir; 2a6=7,27 Punkt tilgen nach fórslor; 2a34=8,19 uppi lies: vppi; 2b3=8,24 böta lies: böta; 2b9=9,2 men lies: mæn; 2b17=9,9 liksongs lies: liksongs; 2b32=9,21 þar lies: þar; 3b9=11,7 fé lies: fe; 4a1=11,31 Punkt tilgen nach xiiij; 4a10=12,8 vnnit lies: vnnit; 5a22=14,25 Punkt tilgen nach hlut; 6a4=16,10 Punkt tilgen nach qveykva; 6b1=17,11 heimta lies: heímta; 7a24=19,2 fé lies: fe; 7b24=20,2 Punkt tilgen nach lóg; 7b27=20,5 þar lies: þar; 7b34=20,10 sóki lies: söki; 8b11=21,22 byskop lies: byskop; 9a25=23,2 ferr lies: feir; 9a31=23,7 fé lies: fe; 9a32=23,8 fé lies: fe; 9b2=23,13 sva lies: sva; 9b20=23,28 sé lies: se; 10a1=24,11 Punkt einfügen nach kemr; 10a26=24,29 sé lies: se; 10a29=24,32 maðr lies: maðr; 10b13 25,12 envm lies: envm; 10b25=25,21 upp lies: vpp; 11a2=25,30

nottvm lies: nottvm; 11a31=26,23 þeir lies: þeir; 11a32=26,23 quidr lies: quidr; 11b2=26,28 ha lies: há; 11b6=27,4 böiar lies: böiar; 11b15=27,12 BRvð lies: B<sub>2</sub>Rvð; 11b20=27,16 dag lies: dag; 12a22=28,16 J<sub>2</sub>ola lies: I<sub>2</sub>ola; 12a35=28,26 Punkt einfügen nach slatra; 12b19=29,13 philippvs lies: philippvs; 12b21=29,15 eigi lies: eigi; 13a25=30,22 fyrir lies: fyrir; 13a35=31,1 Punkt tilgen vor xxx.; 13b16=31,15 fasta lies: fasta; 14a8=32,11 sumar lies: svmar; 14a27=32,25 ver lies: ver; 14a35=33,6 favstv lies: faustv; 14b6=33,9 imbro dogvm lies: imbro dogvm; 14b7=33,11 leipvm lies: leipvm; 14b33=34,3 Punkt tilgen nach apra; 15a1=34,5 manvðr lies: manvdr; 15a6=34,9 tiðum lies: tiðvm; 15a8=34,10 Klö lies: Kló; 15a14=34,14 kvikfe lies: kvik fe; 15a24=34,20 hrepsmavNvm lies: hreps mavNvm; 15b8=35,7 .xii. lies: .xij.; 15b19=35,14 óvitra lies: övitra; 16a3=36,1 Punkt tilgen nach havst; 16a15=36,10 vnz lies: unz; 16a19=36,13 a lies: á; 16a23/24=36,16 ravþ keming lies: ravþkeming; 16a31=36,22 marka lies: marka; 16b2=36,27 kuanfang lies: kuánfang; 16b6=37,1 onnvr lies: önnvr; 16b26=37,16 Punkt tilgen nach natta; 17a4=38,1 þing skapa lies: þingskapa; 17a8/9=38,4 i dóm lies: idóm; 17b15=39,12 i lies: í; 17b18=39,13 log skylda lies: logskylda; 17b31=39,23 jafn lies: iafn; 18b4=41,1 Punkt tilgen nach verþa; 18b10=41,5 þo lies: þo; 18b11=41,6 griðfangi lies: grið fangi; 18b12=41,7 jafn lies: iafn; 18b15=41,9 framsógur lies: fram sógur; 18b16=41,10 jafn lies: iafn; 19a6=41,28 stefndu lies: stefndv; 19a32=42,17 með lies: med; 19b5=42,24 hann lies: hann; 19b17=43,4 goþorþ lies: goþ orþ; 20a9=44,2 íþingi lies: i þingi; 20b7=44,29 þa lies: þa; 20b24=45,13 abraut lies: abravt; 20b25=45,15 V<sub>2</sub>ER lies: U<sub>2</sub>ER; 20b27=45,16 gia lies: giá; 21b18=47,9 a lies: á; 21b19=47,10 scógang lies: scóggang; 21b27=47,16 þeir lies: þeir; 22a23=48,10 huarumtueGivm lies: huarum tueGivm; 22b10=48,26 hann lies: hann; 22b13=48,28 Punkt einfügen nach goþans; 23b17=50,23 a lies: á; 23b25=51,1 váttorð lies: váttorð, Punkt danach tilgen; 23b32=51,7

Punkt tilgen nach xij; 23b34=51,8 þvi lies: þvi; 23b35=51,9  
 doma lies: doma-; 24a6=51,14 Punkt einfügen nach þina; 24a7=  
 51,14 .xi. lies: .xj.; 24a34=52,12 Punkt tilgen nach hins;  
 24b11=52,21 o nytír lies: onytír; 24b31=53,11 Punkt einfügen  
 nach skavt; 24b33=53,12 Hverr lies: Hver; 25a29=54,7 bioða  
 lies: bióða, eiðspiallz lies: eiðspíallz; 25b10=54,21 fram  
 lies: fram; 25b16=54,25 queða lies: queda; 26a3=55,14 Ef lies:  
 E<sub>3</sub>f; 26a9=55,19 Ef lies: E<sub>3</sub>f; 26a11=55,21 sökena lies: sðkena;  
 26a18/19=56,2 i þann lies: iþann; 26a19=56,3 i lies: í; 26a24  
 =56,8 fiorbavgs lies: fiorbavgs; 26a29=56,13 er lies: er;  
 26b7=56,25 hefðe lies: hefde; 26b19=57,5 eigi lies: eigi;  
 26b25=57,10 er þeir lies: er þeir; 26b32=57,17 Lengr lies:  
 L<sub>3</sub>engr; 26b34=57,19 scolo lies: scolo; 27a12=57,31 Ef lies:  
 E<sub>3</sub>f; 27a14=58,2 sva lies: sva; 27a16/17=58,5 liug vætte  
 lies: liugvætte; 27a19=58,8 ætlaðe lies: ætlade; 27a22=58,11  
 Huergi lies: H<sub>3</sub>uergi; 27a25=58,14 er lies: er; 27a29=58,18  
 Maðr lies: M<sub>3</sub>aðr, quatt lies: quat; 27a30=58,20 EN lies:  
 E<sub>3</sub>N; 27a35=58,24 þeir lies: þeir; 27b2=58,27 Punkt einfügen  
 nach asattír; 27b4=58,29 við lies: við; 27b7=59,1 Ef lies:  
 E<sub>3</sub>f; 27b12=59,8 Punkt tilgen nach igegn; 27b13=59,9 E<sub>2</sub>f  
 lies: E<sub>3</sub>f; 27b15/16=59,12 i gegn lies: igegn; 27b17=59,13  
 man lies: man; 27b18=59,14 er lies: er; 27b22=59,18 er lies:  
 er; 27b24=59,21 lætr lies: lætr; 27b33=60,7 quatt lies:  
 quat; 28a4=60,16 Punkt einfügen nach ero; 28a7=60,19 þat  
 lies: þat; 28a14=60,27 queðia lies: queðia, maðr lies: maðr;  
 28a19=61,3 hvartke lies: hværtke; 28a21=61,6 hvartki lies:  
 hvártki; 28a33=61,19 þ<sub>2</sub>ar lies: þ<sub>3</sub>ar; 28b22=62,15 þa lies:  
 þ<sub>3</sub>a; 29a17=63,13 apr lies: apr; 29a26=63,22 fðr lies: fðr;  
 29a27=63,23 þingfarar lies: þingfarar; 29b3/4=64,6 at ráða  
 lies: atráða; 29b10=64,13 siðar lies: siðar; 29b24=64,28  
 ruðningar lies: ruðningar; 29b25=64,29 fðrt lies: fðrt;  
 29b32=65,7 siðar lies: siðar; 30a7=65,17 queðia lies:  
 quedia; 30a8=65,17 Punkt tilgen vor v.; 30a22/23=65,31 með  
 þeim lies: meðþeim; 30a25=66,1 þa lies: þa; 30b1=66,13 er  
 lies: er; 30b17=67,1 hann lies: Hann; 30b19=67,3 hruðningar

lies: hruðningar; 30b24=67,8 er lies: er; 30b25=67,9 NV  
 lies: Nv; 31a7=67,26 oc lies: oc; 31a10=68,1 Punkt tilgen  
 nach quið; 31a12=68,4 quatt lies: quat; 31a31=68,23 Punkt  
 tilgen nach vörn; 31a32=68,24 fðrir lies: fðrir; 31b3=69,5  
 orðom lies: orðom; 31b11=69,14 Ef lies: E<sub>3</sub>f; 31b12=69,15  
 með lies: með; 31b20=69,23 honom lies: honom; 31b23=69,27  
 þa lies: þ<sub>3</sub>a; 31b24=69,28 spyria lies: spyria; 31b35=70,11  
 lyst lies: lýst; 32a5=70,16 omagi lies: omagi; 32a7=70,18  
 fðri lies: fðri; 32a10=70,21 þar lies: þar; 32a31=71,16  
 honom lies: honom; 32a35=71,19 adom lies: a dom; 32b1=71,21  
 i dom lies: idom; 32b8=72,2 seolo lies: seolo; 32b10=72,5  
 oc lies: oc; 32b11=72,6 þat lies: þ<sub>3</sub>at; 32b14=72,8 eða  
 lies: eða; 32b16=72,11 sócn lies: sócn; 32b21=72,15 þa lies:  
 þa; 32b23=72,17 dom vörzlo lies: domvörzlo; 32b24=72,18 eigi  
 lies: eigi; 32b30=72,23 nefna lies: nefna; 33a7=73,8 döma  
 lies: döma; 33a10=73,10 sottar lies: sottar; 33a29=73,27  
 döma lies: döma; 33b21/22=74,23 oc verðr lies: ocverðr;  
 33b30=75,2 þa at lies: þaat; 33b34=75,6 reifðe lies: rejfðe;  
 34a15=75,23 nær lies: nær; 34a28=76,10 Punkt einfügen vor  
 vefangs málom; 34a30=76,12 Punkt einfügen nach at; 34b24=  
 77,11 vm lies: Vm; 34b24=77,12 v.<sup>ta</sup> lies: .v.<sup>ta</sup>; 34b25=77,12  
 v.<sup>tar</sup> lies: .v.<sup>tar</sup>; 35a17=78,16 Punkt einfügen nach domnefnor;  
 35a30=79,4 Slican lies: slican; 35a33=79,8 oc lies: oc; 35b1  
 =79,10 i scavt lies: iscavt; 35b7=79,15 vörn lies: vörn;  
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130a7=83,21 *manaðom* lies: *manadom*; 130b12=85,6 *se*, Anm. fehlt: Hs. *sē*; 130b28=85,20 *ef þeim*, Anm. fehlt: *þeim* aus *þeir* gebessert; 131a18=86,13 .iii. lies: .iiij.; 132a23=89,3 *þeir* lies: *þeir*; 132b10=89,19 *er vi.* lies: *er vi.*; 132b21=90,6 *öxl* lies: *öxl*; 132b25=90,10 *garð lags* lies: *garðlags*; 133a2=90,19 *garð lagit* lies: *garðlagit*; 133a32=91,14 *igegnum.* lies: *igegnum[.]*; 133b17=92,10 *p<sub>2</sub>at* lies: *p<sub>2</sub>at*; 134a24=93,25 *a hinn* lies: *ahinn*; 134b1=94,7 *maþr* lies: *maþr*; 134b8=94,14 *er* lies: *er*; 134b15=94,21 *fóra* lies: *fóra*; 134b31=95,11 *i veito* lies: *iveito*; 135b9=97,5 *i anars* lies: *ianars*; 136a13=98,19 *i vatz* lies: *ivatz*; 136a26/27=99,7 Punkt einfügen nach *lifa*; 136a31=99,11 *þa* lies: *þá*; 136b25=100,8 *log veð* lies: *logveð*; 136b27=100,10 *imiðian* lies: *i miðian*; 137b27=102,19 *oc* lies: *oc*; 137b28=102,20 *queþa* lies: *queþa*; 138a8=103,7 *oc* lies: *oc*; 138a26=103,23 *saman* lies: *saman*; 138a28=103,25 *dag* lies: *dag*; 138b14=104,17 *beíto* lies: *beítv*; 139a29=106,16 *land* lies: *land*; 139b1=106,22 *reka.* lies: *reka[.]*; 139b11=107,8 *þat* lies: *þat*; 139b20=107,16 *Ef* lies: *E<sub>3</sub>f*; 139b27=107,22 *asá* lies: *a sá*; 140a3=108,2 *rum hælga* lies: *rumhælga*; 140a18=108,16 *n.<sup>o</sup>* lies: *.n.<sup>o</sup>*; 140a22=108,20 *scogar* lies: *scógar*; 141a24=111,4 *rött* lies: *rött*; 141b9=111,22 *reca* lies: *reka*; 142a4=112,20 *i akr* lies: *iakr*; 142a4=112,21 *i andvirke* lies: *iandvirke*; 142b6=113,26 Punkt tilgen nach *vi*; 142b14=114,7 *af rétt* lies: *afrétt*; 142b31=114,23 Punkt tilgen nach *þan*; 143a10=115,7 *af sumre* lies: *afsumre*; 143a13=115,10 *i* lies: *i-*; 143a21=115,18 *af rett* lies: *afrétt*; 144a3=116,30 *ne broþir* lies: *nebroþir*; 144a6=117,3 *þeir* lies: *þeir*; 144a15=117,11 *i afrétt* lies: *iafrétt*; 144a18=117,15 *þat* lies: *þat*; 144b23=119,3 *grind* lies: *grinð*; 144b28=119,8 *eða* lies: *éða*; 145a9=119,20 *féet* lies: *féét*; 145a33=120,19 *garð lags* lies: *garðlags*; 145b9=121,6 *þioð leið* lies: *þioðleið*; 146a1=122,4 *er* lies: *er-*; 146a31=123,8 *þo rett* lies: *þorett*; 146b19=124,3 *a sa* lies: *asa*; 147a16=125,5 *a flote* lies: *aflote*; 147a29=125,16 *þar*, Anm. fehlt: aus *þat* gebessert; 147b3=125,22 *þa* lies: *þá*; 147b7=126,2 Punkt tilgen nach *til*;

147b11=126,5 a sa lies: asa; 147b23=126,15 þvi er lies: þvi er;  
 147b33=126,24 ef lies: ef-; 148b19=128,20 a sa lies: asa;  
 148b22=128,23 manz, Anm. fehlt: z aus e gebessert; 149a4=129,10  
 þess, Anm. fehlt: sonst Abkürzung für þat; 149a32=130,7 hvártz  
 lies: hvárz; 149b21=131,2 apr lies: apr; 150a23=132,10 quiþr  
 lies: quiþr; 150b4=132,21 sócqua lies: sócqua; 151b28=136,2  
 leíððe lies: leigðe; 152b10=137,22 fogl veiðr lies: foglveiðr;  
 152b23=138,10 a fíoro lies: afíoro; 152c18=139,9 við lies:  
 við; 152d4=140,12 verðr lies: verdr; 152d5=140,13 gialldaz  
 lies: gialdaz; 152d32=141,16 lög sianda lies: lögsianda; 153a13  
 =141,27 iquíðom lies: i quíðom; 153b7=142,22 i anat lies:  
 ianat; 153b28=143,13 a sa lies: asa; 154a13=144,3 iii. lies:  
 iii.<sup>a</sup>; 154a15=144,3 at lies: át, Anm. fehlt: in der Hs. áttaka  
 durch Zeichen getrennt; 154a26=144,13 ef, Anm. fehlt: Hs. ěf;  
 155a25/26=146,15 fe at lies: feat; 155b12/13=147,2 eigo þeir  
 lies: eigopeír; 155b19=147,7 ahin lies: áhin; 155b27/28=147,15  
 þa scal lies: þascal; 156a4=147,24 i orscotz lies: iorscotz;  
 156a19=148,8 fiordungom lies: fiordungom; 156a24=148,12 dómpr  
 lies: dómpr; 156b6=148,25 andapr lies: andapr; 156b19=149,10  
 bvar lies: bvar; 157a16=150,6 Punkt tilgen nach ix; 157a22=  
 150,11 helldr lies: heldr; 157a23=150,12 þar lies: þar; 158a11  
 =152,6 þvatt dag lies: þvattdag; 159a2=154,2 fðra lies: föra;  
 160a17=156,15 a hruta lies: ahruta; 160b25=157,25 Punkt ein-  
 fügen vor v.; 161b20=159,25 Nv lies: Nu; 162a7=160,13 Punkt ein-  
 fügen nach sumar; 162a8=160,13/14 a honom lies: ahonom; 162a26  
 =161,8 Punkt einfügen nach við; 162b2=161,17 a hann lies:  
 ahann; 162b3=161,18 a sa lies: asa; 162b13=162,9 aþingi lies:  
 a þingi; 162b26=162,20 Punkt einfügen nach háðungar; 163a25=  
 163,26 oc lies: oc; 163b8=164,10 varð veizlo lies: varðveizlo;  
 164a4=165,12 stuld lies: stuld; 164a16=165,23 ifrials gíafa  
 lies: ifrialsgíafa; 164a24=166,7 ransócn lies: ran sócn;  
 164a28=166,10 þeir lies: þeir; 164b6=166,21 Punkt einfügen  
 nach flokke; 164b18=167,5 þeir lies: þeir; 164b22=167,9 scyldr  
 lies: scylldr; 164b28=167,14 þeir lies: þeir; 164b33=167,18  
 þeir lies: þeir; 165a1=167,19 þeir lies: þeir; 165a16=168,4



misfanga. lies: misfanga[.]; 165a29=168,15 lætr lies: lætr;  
 165b1=168,2o bvar lies: bvar; 166a15=171,6 hreppatals lies:  
 hreppa tals; 166a17=171,7 íþriðiunga lies: í þriðiunga; 166a23  
 =171,14 íhreppenom lies: í hreppenom; 166a31=172,1 þeir lies:  
 þeir; 166b24=172,26 förir lies: förir; 167a1=173,7 cross forna  
 lies: crossforna; 167a19=173,25 þat lies: þat; 167a3o=174,7  
 þar lies: þar; 167b15=174,24 Bindestrich nach dom tilgen; 167b1  
 =174,25 stefna lies: stefna; 167b19=175,2 Punkt tilgen vor  
 iii.; 167b28=175,1o langa lies: langa; 168a6=175,2o verþr  
 lies: verþr, Punkt einfügen vor iii.; 168a27=176,13 a scipa  
 lies: ascipa; 168a31=176,17 ahendr lies: a hendr; 168a33=  
 176,18 viti lies: víti; 168b17=177,9 íhrepp lies: í hrepp;  
 168b23=177,15 Stefna lies: stefna; 168b24=177,16 aþingi lies:  
 a þingi; 169b3=179,4 Punkt tilgen nach socnir; 169b23=179,21  
 ílöggrétto lies: í löggrétto; 17oa9=181,8 þat lies: þat; 17oa1o  
 =181,9 maðr lies: maðr; 17oa21=182,4 Nu ef lies: Nuef; 17oa33  
 =182,14 þeir, Anm. fehlt: sonst Abkürzung für þat; 17ob2o=  
 183,11 eþa lies: eþr; 171a2o=184,18 log fastír lies: logfastír;  
 171a27=184,24 scald scap lies: scaldscap; 171b14=185,11 scáld  
 scapr lies: scáldscapr; 171b22=185,2o halda lies: hallda;  
 172b5=187,11 .ii. lies: .ii.<sup>a</sup>; 172b1o=187,16 borð före lies:  
 borðföre; 173a3o=189,18 hand lies: hand-; 173b11=19o,6 gört,  
 Anm. fehlt: Hs. gört; 173b12=19o,7 görir lies: görir; 173b22  
 =19o,16 sem, Anm. fehlt: Hs. se; 173b25=19o,2o afglapa lies:  
 apglapa; 173b32=19o,26 leita lies: leíta; 174b1=192,6 J<sub>2</sub>  
 lies: I<sub>2</sub>; 174b5=192,1o þat lies: þat; 174b15=192,18 bellgir  
 lies: belgir, Hs. g aus l gebessert, kaum lg-Ligatur; 174b21  
 =193,3 oelldr lies: o elldr; 174b3o=193,11 hyrnd lies: hyrnð;  
 175a1=193,13 ii. lies: ij.; 175a3=193,15 Øxi lies: Öxi; 175a6  
 =193,17 kúgilldis lies: kúgilldis; 175a28=194,5 grab hafrar  
 lies: graphafrar; 175b2=194,11 þriu lies: þriv; 175b7=194,16  
 oc fyl lies: oc fyl; 175b8/9=194,17 grisir með lies: grisirmeð;  
 175b31=195,7 Arf, Anm. fehlt: Hs. Aff; 176a2=195,11 í noregi  
 lies: inoregi; 176a23=196,7 konvngs lies: konvngs; 176a27=  
 196,1o a hialtlande lies: ahialt lande; 176b1/2=196,15 boanda

lies: b[o]anda; 176b11=196,23 Frændsemi lies: Frænsemi;  
 176b19=196,30 hus boande lies: husboande; 176b24=197,4 i  
 lies: i-; 177a1=197,13 mercþr lies: mercþr; 177b1=198,15  
 farit. lies: farit[.]; 177b20=199,4 a fe lies: afe; 177b32  
 =199,14 þar lies: þar; 178a25=200,14 Punkt tilgen nach  
 heimtor; 178b18=201,12 þing menn lies: þingmenn; 178b28=  
 201,23 maN lies: maN; 179a22=202,23 ivera lies: i vera;  
 179a26=203,2 hevir, Anm. fehlt: Hs. heyir; 179b5=203,13 sök  
 lies: sok; 179b9=203,16 broðir lies: brodir; 179b10=203,17  
 Punkte tilgen nach <sup>vii</sup> und <sup>viii</sup>; 179b11=203,19 Strichpunkt  
 durch Punkt ersetzen; 179b18=204,4 Punkt tilgen nach klæðnaðe;  
 179b22=204,8 allt lies: alt; 180a13=205,12 þat lies: þat-;  
 180b5=206,12 i lies: i-; 180b11=206,18 lög scilom lies:  
 lögscilom; 181b7=208,15 vi. lies: ui.; 182a19=210,5 þat er  
 lies: þat er; 182b10=210,27 ivaxe lies: i vaxe; 183b8/9=  
 212,31 Sa er lies: Saer; 184a16=214,9 einkom vile lies:  
 vile einkom; 184a18=214,11 raða lies: ráða; 184b29=216,6  
 kirkio. lies: kirkio[.]; 185a2=216,12 sa lies: sá; 185a4=  
 216,14 Soc lies: Söc; 185a5=216,14 vatorð lies: vat orð;  
 185a7=216,16 örendis lies: orendis; 185a9=216,18 mælt  
 lies: mælt; 185a12=216,22 scírslor. lies: scírslor[.];  
 185a21=217,6 vi. lies: [v]i.; 185b7=218,4 lic lies: líc;  
 185b8=218,5 Punkt tilgen nach fôrðe; 185b9=218,6 kirkionar  
 lies: kirkionar; 185b14=218,12 ilogretto lies: ilogrétto;  
 185b18=218,16 lata lies: l[at]a; 185b19=218,17 vatta lies:  
 v[at]ta, nesta lies: næsta; 185b21=218,18 Punkt einfügen  
 nach utroðar, oll lies: öll; 185b23=218,20 sitt lies: sítt.

### Nachtrag

13b17=I31,16 iij. lies: uj.;

PETER HALLBERG

## Direct Speech and Dialogue in Three Versions of *Óláfs Saga Helga*\*

### Introduction

To take up on this occasion the topic direct speech and dialogue in the *Konungasögur* may seem superfluous, since Hallvard Lie has dealt with it thoroughly in his treatise *Studier i Heimskringlas stil. Dialogene og talene* (Oslo 1937), one of the most brilliant studies of saga style ever written. The subject has many aspects, however, and although Lie has given much more than the title of his treatise indicates, including in his comparisons and analyses not only *Heimskringla* but a series of other *Konungasögur* as well, there might be things left for further discussion. By focussing one's interest on a certain saga in its various versions, for instance, it would perhaps be possible to add a few minor features to the picture.

Thus it occurred to me that a comparison of *Óláfs saga helga* in its so-called legendary version (LEG), and in *Fagrskinna* (FAGR) and *Heimskringla* (HKR), might serve such a purpose.<sup>1</sup> My intention here is not so much to study the three writers' different artistic skill in creating passages in direct speech, or their use of various rhetoric devices. I will concentrate instead on the function of the dialogue in the narrative. Are there situations which seem to call for direct speech more than others? Do the dialogues appear at crucial points in the story, dramatizing and sharpening the curve of events? Or do they rather serve as a kind of pause and rest, perhaps with a purpose of characterizing the actors and revealing their feelings and motives? Does the dialogue in the three versions of *Óláfs saga helga*, which I have chosen for comparison, show approximately the same features, or are there distinct differences in accordance with the general character of each version?

The dialogue, its form and distribution among various episodes of a saga, can no doubt provide an especially convenient point of departure for tracing connections between manuscripts and possible directions of textual influences. This is a complex problem, however, which can be touched upon only incidentally here.

<sup>1</sup> The editions used are: for LEG *Olafs saga hins helga* (Kristiania 1922), edited by Oscar Albert Johnsen; for FAGR *Fagrskinna* (København 1902-03), edited by Finnur Jónsson; for HKR *Óláfs saga helga*, edited by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson in *Íslenzk fornrit*, XXVII. bindi, *Heimskringla II* (Reykjavík 1945). The orthography in quotations from the two former editions has been "normalized" according to the standard applied in the *Íslenzk fornrit* series.

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## Some quantitative data

First it should be observed that the three versions of *Óláfs saga helga* are not directly comparable, as they differ widely in size. FAGR is by far the shortest, 4966 words only, LEG 33012 words, and HKR 91319 words.<sup>2</sup>

It is well known that the saga texts as a whole have a great deal of direct speech (DS); it is usually regarded as one of their characteristic features. For the *Íslendingasögur* we thus have an average amount of some 30 per cent DS; for the *Konungasögur* the corresponding figure is considerably lower, or some 19 per cent.<sup>3</sup>

Of the three texts under discussion here, the FAGR version makes little use of DS, 392 words only, or 7,9 per cent; that is even less than for FAGR as a whole: 11,3 per cent. In LEG DS amounts to 8593 words, or 26,0 per cent. The HKR version has 22873 words in DS, or 25,0 per cent. By the way, this last figure is considerably higher than for any other single saga text in HKR, with the exception of the short *Hákonar saga herðibreiðs* (totally 6981 words): 25,9 per cent. The two sagas in HKR coming next in size to *Óláfs saga helga* are *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* (28029 words) and *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* (22571 words); their share of DS is 10,8 and 15,9 per cent respectively.

Thus the proportion of DS in LEG and the HKR version is very much the same, whereas the FAGR version falls far below their level. That is what was to be expected. It is natural that among chronicles dealing with the same subject matter – for instance the life and reign of Óláfr Haraldsson – the ones most limited in size must restrict their use of dialogue and concentrate on a more economic narration.

As another measure, indicating the distribution and importance of DS, I would like to introduce the concept “speech situation” (SS). Such a SS may consist of only a few words uttered by a single person, or of a real speech; or it may be a dialogue, short or long, between two or more persons. A new configuration of people, or a change in time and place, constitutes a new SS in contrast to an earlier one. It is true that the limits are not always clear-cut, but on the whole I think there will be no problem to agree on the application of my definition.

With this reservation I give the numbers of SSs in the three saga versions: FAGR 8, LEG 162, and HKR 237. This means, among other things, that although the frequency of DS is on quite the same level in LEG and HKR, the former saga is comparatively much richer in SSs. If we look at the figures from a different angle, it appears that FAGR and LEG both have an average of some 50 words (50 and 53 respectively) in each SS, whereas the corresponding figure for HKR is almost twice as high, or 97 words. This depends on the large

<sup>2</sup> In the *Fagrskinna* edition *Óláfs saga helga* covers the chapters 25–28 (inclusive), pp. 140–83. In the legendary version I have dropped the last chapters 90–107, pp. 92–108, relating miracles which are, some of them, to be found in HKR elsewhere than in *Óláfs saga helga*. Poetry is not included in my figures.

<sup>3</sup> For a fuller account of the share of DS in various saga texts, see my book *Stilsignalement och författarskap i norrön sagalitteratur* (Göteborg 1968), Table 9, pp. 214–16.

proportion of real speeches or addresses in HKR, with few or no counterparts in the other versions.

It is perhaps of some interest to notice the protagonist's own share in the DS. Of the 8 SSs in FAGR, Óláfr Haraldsson takes part in 3, his share of the total sum of words in DS being 32,9 per cent. For LEG the corresponding figures are 67 out of 162, and 28,6 per cent; for HKR they are 83 out of 237, and 26,2 per cent.

It seems convenient to put together in tabular form, and rounded off a little, the figures presented above:

	Number of words in DS	Number of SSs	King Óláfr's share in SSs
FAGR ( 5000 words)	400 = 8,0%	8	3
LEG (33,000 words)	8,600 = 26,0%	162	67
HKR (91,000 words)	23,000 = 25,0%	237	83

### Fagrskinna

From one point of view FAGR is of special interest in our connection. When DS is used with such an extreme restraint as there, it seems natural to ask for what kind of episodes it is reserved, and what principles govern the use of dialogue. We will examine the 8 SSs in FAGR and take at the same time a glance at the corresponding passages in the other versions.

The first instance is the episode when Óláfr lands at the island Sæla to start his career in Norway. He stumbles in a muddy place and has a few words with his "fosterfather" Hrani on the incident:

Þeir gengu upp í eyna, ok steig konungrinn þörum fœti þar sem leir var, studdi niðr knénu. Þá mælti konungr: "Fell ek nú." Þá svaraði Hrani: "Eigi fellt þú, herra, nú festir þú fót í Nóregi." Konungr hló at ok mælti: "Vera má þat, ef guð vill, at svá sé." (144-45)

This short dialogue is very much the same in both LEG (20) and HKR (36). There is a slightly stronger resemblance with HKR ("Vera má svá, ef guð vill") than with LEG ("Ef guð vill, at gerisk gagn"). To be sure, the three texts must have had a common source, or they have in some way influenced one another. But as already said, the kind of problems which such questions raise, will only occasionally be noticed here.

The incident at the island Sæla has no consequence whatever for the course of events. Nevertheless, it plays at this point an important part in the narrative as a memorable omen. Óláfr's "ef guð vill" – often a rather empty phrase, of course – seems to indicate here his future status as a champion of Christianity.

The second case of DS in FAGR is the situation in Sauðungssund, where Óláfr comes across Earl Hákon Eiríksson. He overturns the Earl's ship by

stretching a thick rope under its keel, and gets the young man in his power. This is a real turning point, a decisive step in Óláfr's ascension to the supremacy over Norway. For Hákon, who has claimed that rank for himself, is now forced by Óláfr to swear an oath to leave Norway and never to take part in any warfare against him.

Again we have this SS in all three versions. The passage in FAGR agrees almost word for word with that of HKR:

## FAGR

Þá mælti Óláfr konungur: "Eigi er þat logit", sagði hann, "af yðr frændum, hversu fríðir menn þér eruð sjónum, en farnir eru þér nú at hamingju." Þá svaraði jarlinn: "Eigi er þetta óhamingja, er oss hefir hent", sagði hann. "Þat hefir lengi verit, at ýmsir hofðingjar hafa sigrat aðra. Ek em lítt kominn af barnsaldri, ok várum vér nú ekki vel viðbúnir at verja oss, ok eigi vissum vér ván ófriðar. Kann vera, at oss takisk annat sinni betr til en nú."

Þá mælti Óláfr konungur: "Grunar þik eigi nú, jarl, at hér hafi svá til borit, at þú munir heðan í frá hvárki fá sigr né ósigr?"

(146)

## HKR

Þá mælti Óláfr konungur: "Eigi er þat logit at yðr frændum, hversu fríðir menn þér eruð sýnum, en farnir eruð þér nú at hamingju." Þá segir Hákon: "Ekki er þetta óhamingja, er oss hefir hent. Hefir þat lengi verit, at ýmsir hafa sigraðir verit. Svá hefir ok farit með yðrum ok várum frændum, at ýmsir hafa betr haft. Ek em enn lítt kominn af barnsaldri. Várum vér nú ok ekki vel við komnir at verja oss, vissum vér nú ekki vánir til ófriðar. Kann vera, at oss takisk annat sinn betr til en nú."

Þá svarar Óláfr konungur: "Grunar þik ekki þat, jarl, at hér hafi svá at borit, at þú mynir hvárki fá heðan í frá sigr né ósigr?"

(37–38)

The only notable difference here is that whereas in FAGR Hákon is talking of "ýmsir hofðingjar" in general, we hear in HKR of "yðrum ok várum frændum" – a phrase which gives the passage a more personal note.

In this case LEG, although the structure and content of the dialogue is the same, deviates very much from the corresponding passages in FAGR and HKR – especially by its verbosity: 308 words instead of 83 and 87 respectively. The connection between the three versions, however, is indisputable. Thus, for instance, we find one of Óláfr's just quoted replies in the following form: "Grunar þik eigi þat, at nú man svá til hafa borizk, at þú munir heðan í frá hvárki fá sigr né ósigr?" (21–22.) Hákon's reference in HKR to "yðrum ok várum frændum", lacking in FAGR, appears in LEG thus: "Hefir ok svá farit með oss várum frændum ok yðrum, at ýmsir hafa betr haft." (21)

The special affinity here between the passages in FAGR and HKR is also indicated by the circumstance that in both these versions the two SSs now discussed (the "Hrani situation" and the "Hákon situation") follow each other with only a few intermediary sentences. In LEG, on the other hand, there are between them introduced another two SSs, with a farmer and a "Finn" respectively, announcing Óláfr's encounter with Earl Hákon and his victory over him. The "Finn" claims to have seen "mikla sýn" (20). In HKR these situations are replaced by the simple statement: "Þar spurðu þeir til Hákonar jarls, at

hann var suðr í Sogni, ok var hans þá ván norðr, þegar er byr gæfi, ok hafði hann eitt skip.” (36) In FAGR the meeting occurs abruptly, without any forewarning.

The constellation, in FAGR and HKR, of the “Hrani situation” and the “Hákon situation” gives us effectively contrasting pictures of Óláfr: on one hand the pious man invoking God for the future, on the other hand the hard-boiled warrior and politician, with his menacing “Grunar þik ekki þat, jarl”. In LEG the intervention of two other small SSs between those episodes rather weakens the impression by overloading the story with references to Óláfr’s almost supernatural status, typical of this version.

The next two SSs in FAGR, the third and the fourth, are concerned with another king, the Swedish King Óláfr Eiríksson. He has been hunting early in the morning, and his hawks and hounds have killed “five cranes”. He proudly shows his bag to his daughter Ingigerðr. The same SS is also to be found in LEG and HKR. Again FAGR and HKR reveal the closest resemblance:

#### FAGR

“Veiztu nokkurn konung hafa beitt meira á einni morgunstundu?” En hon svaraði á þessa lund: “Meiri veiðr var sú, er Óláfr Haraldsson tók á einum morgni IX konunga ok eignaðisk allt ríki þeirra.” Þá svaraði Óláfr Svíakonungr reiðr mjök: “Of snimma anntu Óláfi digra. Þú hefir enn aldri sít hann, ok virðir þú hann þó meira en mik. Fyrir þetta sama skaltu aldri fá Ólaf digra.” (156)

#### HKR

“Hvar veiztu þann konung, er svá mikla veiði hafí fengit á svá lítilli stundu?” Hon svarar: “Góð morginveiðr er þetta, herra, er þér hafíð veitt fimm orra, en meira er þat, er Óláfr Noregskonungr tók á einum morgni fimm konunga ok eignaðisk allt ríki þeira.” Ok er hann heyrði þetta, þá hljóp hann af hestinum ok snørisk viðr ok mælti: “Vittu þat, Ingigerðr, at svá mikla ást sem þú hefir lagt við þann inn digra mann, þá skaltu þess aldri njóta ok hvártki ykkat annars. Skal ek þik gipta nokkurum þeim hofðingja, er mér sé eigandi vínátta viðr, en ek má aldri vera vinr þess manns, er ríki mitt hefir tekit at herfangi ok gørt mér skaða margan í ránum ok manndrapum.” Skilðu þau svá sína ræðu, ok gekk leið sína hvárt þeira. (132)

The content of these dialogues is on the whole the same, and the wording at some points almost identical. In HKR the Swedish King is more detailed in his remarks on “þann inn digra mann” and gives some tangible reasons for his dislike of him; he also adds a few words on his alternative plans for marrying Ingigerðr off. Moreover Snorri makes this SS more vivid by his “staging”: the King jumps from horseback and turns to his daughter; afterwards father and daughter part and leave the scene in opposite directions. Such features accentuate the feelings involved and gives the episode a more distinct profile.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of some factual differences – in LEG the King has been hunting

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hallvard Lie on “Scenebeskrivelse og scenearrangement” (13–24).

fowl (“fór á fuglaveiðar”, 40), in FAGR cranes, and in HKR black grouse; in LEG the kings overcome by Óláfr Haraldsson are eleven, in FAGR nine, and in HKR five – there is obviously some textual relationship between the three versions of this SS. The real weight of such an episode in the general course of events is slight. The dialogue here has a characterizing function; it expresses the Swedish King’s hot temper and his contempt for “the fat man”. It is improbable that three texts could have this SS without being in one way or the other dependent upon one another or related to some common source.

Hallvard Lie has observed that Snorri improves upon the other versions of this SS by establishing a correspondence between *five* “orror” and *five* “konungar” (64). It is a reasonable assumption that this variant – superior as a rhetoric device – is secondary to the other ones. If Snorri’s version had been the original one at this point, it seems incredible that any later writer would have been dull enough to destroy such an effect.

Another change in HKR should be noticed in this connection. Snorri’s black grouse is a far more realistic alternative as a hunter’s bag than the cranes of LEG; a change in the opposite direction – from black grouse to cranes – seems highly improbable.

Next in FAGR we listen to the Swedish King answer messengers from Óláfr Haraldsson, claiming Princess Ingigerðr for marriage, according to a preliminary agreement – before the “hunting incident”. Now the King refuses, under the pretext that Ingigerðr is both a king’s and a queen’s daughter, that is to say she is their legitimate child – of far too noble lineage for a man like “Óláfr digri”, we understand. But he has another proposal: “‘Ek á’, sagði hann, ‘aðra dóttur, er heitir Ástriðr. Þá skal hann hafa, ef hann vill, með þvílíku fé ok eignum, sem áðr hafða ek gefit Ingigerði.’” (156)

This SS has no equivalent in the other two versions, as it implies a different arrangement of facts. In LEG it is the “frilludóttir” Ástriðr herself who visits King Óláfr in Norway and offers to marry him against her father’s will (“utan hans vilja né ráða”, 41), as a kind of substitute for Ingigerðr; their marriage is celebrated without delay. In HKR too Ástriðr is married to Óláfr without her father assenting to or even knowing it, but with more formal and solemn preparations than in LEG.

The SSs with the Swedish King and his daughter seem to be of minor importance, mere anecdotes, in the saga as a whole. Their presence in FAGR with its extremely infrequent use of DS, strongly indicates that the writer of this version has picked them up from some written source, rather accidentally.

The fifth and sixth SSs in FAGR occur in the episode when Óláfr Haraldsson with his fleet south in the Baltic prefers to turn back to Norway by land over Sweden rather than to risk an encounter with King Knútr of Denmark somewhere in the Sound. But one of his chieftains, the aged Hárekr ór Þjóttu, chooses to sail back home on his ship. He tries to disguise it in order to make it look like a merchant vessel. His trick is successful, and no sooner is he past King Knútr’s fleet than he shows his warship equipment again. We listen to a dialogue between two of the King’s men, when Hárekr is passing,



and afterwards to a comment by the King himself. In FAGR and LEG these SSs run thus:

## FAGR

Þá mæltu varðmenn: “Skip ferr hér í sundit.” Þá svaraði maðr einn: “Þat er fornt skip, sé hversu grátt er ok skinit. Þat man vera síldaferja nökkur. Skipit er sett mjök ok fair menn á.”

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Þá var sagt Knúti konungi, at þar myndi Óláfr konungr hafa siglt í gegnum sundit, er svá vel var búit /skipit/. Knútr konungr segir: “Þetta man vera af liði Óláfs konungs en eigi hann sjálfr. Kann vera, at þar hafi siglt Hárekr ór Þjóttu, sá hinn sami karl siglði enn um oss í Beltissundi, er vér þóttumk tekit hafa.” Hárekr siglði norðr með landi. (168)

## LEG

Þá mæltu varðmenn, er skipit fór í sundit. Þá mælti annarr: “Þat er fornt skip nökkut, sé hversu grátt er ok skammt. Þat man vera síldaferja nökkur. Nú er skipit sett ok fair menn á.”

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Nú er sagt konungi, at Óláfr konungr hefir um siglt, “fyrir því at þetta skip er harðla vel búit”. Konungr segit, at þat man vera af liði Óláfs konungs en eigi hann sjálfr. “Kann vera”, segir konungrinn, “at hafi siglt sá hinn sami karl, er siglði um oss í Beltissundi, er vér þóttumk þá hafa tekit.” Nú siglði Hárekr norðr með landi. (62)

Again there is such a close resemblance between the two passages that there can be no doubt about some textual connection, directly or indirectly. No two authors would independently have got the idea of rendering such an unimportant episode in quite the same way.

In this case Snorri has for some reason chosen to tell the episode in oblique narration. But his text may well have been reworked from a dialogue very much alike the one in LEG and FAGR:

Ok sá varðmenn Knúts konungs skipit ok ræddu um sín í milli, hvat skipa þat myndi vera, ok gátu þess, at vera myndi flutt salt eða síld, er þeir sá fá mennina, en lítinn róðrinn, en skipit sýndisk þeim grátt ok bráðlaust ok sem skipit myndi skinit af sólu, ok sá þeir, at skipit var sett mjök.

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Þá sá menn Knúts konungs ok segja konungi, at meiri ván, at Óláfr konungr hefði þar um siglt. En Knútr konungr segir svá, at Óláfr konungr væri svá vitr maðr, at hann hefði eigi farit einskipa í gognum her Knuts konungs, ok lezk líkligra þykkja, at þar myndi verit hafa Hárekr ór Þjóttu eða hans maki. (290)

The last two SSs in FAGR, the seventh and the eighth, both deal with the dramatic last confrontation at sea between Óláfr Haraldsson and one of his most powerful opponents in Norway, the chieftain Erlingr Skjálgsson. When they are drawing near to each other, they make some preliminary manoeuvres with their sails, and Erlingr comments on them:

## FAGR

Þá mælti Erlingr: “Nú lægjask segl þeirra, ok draga þeir nú undan oss. Sláum við öllu segli á skeiðinni.” (174)

## HKR

“Sé þér”, segir hann, “at nú lægir seglin þeira, ok draga þeir undan oss.” lét hann þá hleypra ór heflunum segli á skeiðinni. (313)

The King and his men succeed in boarding Erlingr's ship, and at last Erlingr's whole crew is killed; he is alone standing upright, fighting bravely:

Þá mælti konungrinn: "Við horfir þú mjök í dag, Erlingr." "Já, herra", sagði hann. "Öndverðir skulu ernir klóask. Vilit þér gefa mér grið, herra?" Konungrinn svaraði: "Á öndverðum man þér þat sjá, áðr en vit skiljumk." Þá kastaði Erlingr vápnum, gekk ofan í fyrirrumit. Óláfr konungr hafði øxi litla í hendi sér. Erlingr kastaði skildinum ok tók hjálm af höfði sér.

Óláfr konungr stakk øxarhyrnunni á kinn honum ok mælti: "Merkja skal dróttinssvikarann hvern at nøkkuru."

Þá hljóp fram Áslákr Fitjaskalli, höggur tveim höndum í höfuð Erlingi, svá at fell þegar dauðr á þiljurnar.

Þá mælti Óláfr konungr til Ásláks: "Högg allra manna armastr. Nú hjótt þú Nóreg ór hendi mér."

Áslákr svaraði: "Þat er þá illa orðit, herra. Ek hugða, at ek höggva nú Nóreg í hönd þér. Engi hefir jafnríkr fjándmaðr þinn verit í Nóregi sem þessi." Þá gekk konungr á skip sitt /---/. (175–76)

Konungr orti þá orða á hann ok mælti svá: "Öndurðr horfir þú við í dag, Erlingr." Hann svarar: "Öndurðir skulu ernir klóask." /---/ Þá mælti konungr: "Viltu á hönd ganga, Erlingr?" "Þat vil ek", segir hann. Þá tók hann hjálminn af höfði sér ok lagði niðr sverðit ok skjöldinn ok gekk fram í fyrirrumit.

Konungr stakk við honum øxarhyrnunni í kinn honum ok mælti: "Merkja skal dróttinsvikann."

Þá hljóp at Áslákr Fitjaskalli ok hjó með øxi í höfuð Erlingi, svá at stóð í heila niðri. Var þat þegar banasár. Lét Erlingr þar líf sitt.

Þá mælti Óláfr konungr við Áslák: "Högg þú allra manna armastr. Nú hjóttu Nóreg ór hendi mér."

Áslákr segir: "Illa er þa, konungr, ef þér er mein at þessu höggvi. Ek þóttumk nú Nóreg í hönd þér höggva. En ef ek hefi þér mein gort, konungr, ok kanntu mér óþökk fyrir þetta verk, þá mun mér kostlaust vera, því at hafa mun ek svá margra manna óþökk ok fjándskap fyrir þetta verk, at ek mynda heldr þurfa at hafa yðart traust ok vináttu." Konungr segir, at svá skyldi vera. (316–17)

The LEG version shows in this case a closer affinity to FAGR than to HKR. One can notice phrases as: "Við horfir þú nú í dag, Erlingr"; "Merkja skal nú dróttinssvikarann hvern at nøkkuru" (65); "Engi hefir jafnmikill ok jafnríkr verit þinn fjándi sem þessi" (66). A kind of "legendary" touch appears in the King's words: "Sér þú nú", kvað hann, 'at guð hefir þik felldan í hendr mér.'" (66) The verbosity of this version is evident in the explanatory sentences added to the climax "Nú hjóttu Nóreg ór hendi mér": "'Fyrir því', sagði hann, 'at eigi myndi Erlingr þriðja sinni véla mik. Ok eigi myndi ek þurfa flýja ríki mitt, ef hann vildi vera mér trúr.'" (66)

As to the HKR version, Hallvard Lie has observed, among other things, that "Snorre forandrer 'við horfir' /both LEG and FAGR/ i kongens replikk til 'öndurðr horfir' og legger derved bokstavelig talt ordsproget i munnen på Erling", "et klassisk eksempel på 'responsjon', et dialogisk bindemiddel som Snorre i utstrakt grad gjør bruk af" (64).

One should also notice in HKR Áslákr's appeal to the King, failing in the

other versions: “En ef ek hefi þér mein gort” etc., and the King’s reply in oblique narration. These words reveal an understanding of Áslákr’s precarious situation after his deed. They round off the episode psychologically, in contrast to the rather abrupt “Nú gengr konungr á skip sitt” (66) and “Þá gekk konungr á skip sitt” (176) in LEG and FAGR respectively.

Also in this case all three versions seem to be closely related to one another. Snorri’s version, for instance, could well be rewritten from a SS very like the one in LEG. His phrase “*ǫndurðr* horfir” instead of “*við* horfir” in LEG and FAGR is a definite improvement. A change in the opposite direction is hardly imaginable. Probably no writer, however clumsy, would drop the phrase “*ǫndurðr* horfir”, appearing in his source, in favour of the much weaker “*við* horfir”.

Summing up the use of dialogue in FAGR, one must once more underline its extreme scantiness. It is striking, for instance, that there is no DS at all in the latter part of the saga, in the epilogue with the events leading up to Óláfr’s death at Stiklastaðir. The few SSs turn up more or less at random in the narrative. They form no clear pattern, and do not reveal any individual features. As the FAGR version of *Óláfs saga helga* looks like an abstract from a more exhaustive relation, the conclusion seems to be close at hand that its writer has invented none of its SSs, and that they are all a kind of relics from his source(s).

## The legendary saga

This “*Helgisaga*” has got its name, with reason. Unlike the other versions there are from the beginning frequent references to Óláfr’s special relations with God, anticipating his future holiness. He is even named “*hinn helgi*” once in his early period as a viking leader abroad: “Þenna flokk orti Óláfr hinn helgi, þá er hann var með Knúti konungi.” (12) In FAGR, on the other hand, this epithet is aptly reserved for Óláfr’s death at Stiklastaðir: “Þar fell Óláfr hinn helgi konungr” (182).

It is interesting to observe how the three versions refer to God outside the dialogue. In LEG the writer very often comments emphatically on his hero in the following way: “Ok siglði Óláfr Haraldsson þar þrim skipum í gegnum nesit ok út til hafs með mikilli frægðarferð, sem ǫllum þeim er guð styrkir” (16); “fyrir því at hann treystisk meir guðs miskunnar efling en manna” (19); “En bændr urðu svá hræddir við þenna atburð allan saman, með því at guð vildi at svá væri” (34); “En þá er Óláfr konungr var fallinn, þá lauk guð upp augu Þóris hunds, ok sá hann hvar englar guðs fóru með sálu hans upp til himna” (85).

The FAGR writer only once refers to God in this way: “Þessi orrosta varð löng ok sleizk með því sem guðs forsjó var, at Óláfr konungr hafði sigr” (151) – a reminiscence, perhaps, of Óláfr’s pious behaviour on this occasion in LEG. In the sentence “/Óláfr/ fekk þar vitrun, at guð vildi, at hann kæmi eigi sunnar” (143), the reference to God is to be regarded as rendering Óláfr’s own experience, not as a comment by the writer himself.

In the 7 cases where Snorri mentions God outside the dialogue, it is *always*

in a kind of oblique narration related to Óláfr, as in the example just quoted from FAGR:

en engi lét hann óhegndan, þann er eigi vildi guði þjóna (101); En konungr var þá nótt alla á bænum ok bað guð þess, at (188); Þakkar konungr guði sending sína (325; corresponds to DS in LEG: “Þökkum guði sending sína”, 69); lagði hann /Óláfr/ allan hug á at gera guðs þjónustu (328); skaut /Óláfr/ til guðs sínu máli (340); bað /Óláfr/ til guðs fyrir sék ok liði sínu (361); /Óláfr/ kastað i sverðinu ok bað sér guð hjálpa (385).

In LEG one has special reason to observe the function of DS and dialogue as a means of enhancing Christian and miraculous aspects of the story. Especially Óláfr Haraldsson's own words are of interest in this connection.

Óláfr's first utterance is characteristic of the atmosphere in LEG. We are told of the boy's christening, with Óláfr Tryggvason himself taking active part in the ritual. The boy's “fosterfather” Hrani “réð nafni. Kerti var honum í hendr selt. Þá mælti sveinninn: ‘Ljós, ljós, ljós.’ Þá var hann V vetra gamall.” (5–6) The repeated word may be understood as the five year old boy's spontaneous reaction to the candlelight before his eyes. But of course it was above all meant by the author as a reference to the heavenly light, to Óláfr's future as a saint.

People who have met Óláfr, clerics and laymen, testify to his Christian virtues, his miraculous gifts. When he is dwelling with King Knútr in England, the Bishop there once comments on the two Kings as church-goers. One morning Óláfr has come as usual to attend the mass with his men. But Knútr has not appeared; he “var vanr at hvíla lengi ok varð opt seinn til tíðanna”:

En er Knútr konungr kom seint út, þá spurði byskup, hvárt Knútr væri út kominn. En klerkar kváðu hann eigi út kominn. Byskup leit utar í kirkjuna ok sá, hvar Óláfr stóð, ok mælti síðan: “Nú er konungr út kominn.” Þeir sögðu, at hann var eigi út kominn. “Jaur”, sagði byskup, “sjá er sannr konungr, er nú er út kominn, fyrir því at hann vill heldr þjóna lofi en guðs lög þjóni honum.” Ok söng síðan “Domine, labia mea aperies”. (12)

Thus the picture of Óláfr as “sannr konungr”, in accordance with the ideals of the Church, is authoritatively brought into focus in this SS.

On one occasion, when raiding a coast, Óláfr disappears, and his men search for him fearing for his life. But suddenly they discover him riding, not alone but pushing a crowd of men in front of him, with burdens of booty on their backs, down to the ships. Quite amazed Óláfr's men ask the prisoners, how one man could capture so many people:

En þeir sögðu, at hann var eigi einn at þeim, “heldr var þar mikill fjöldi riddara í fõr með honum. Ok tóku þeir oss ok bundu ok lögðu þessar byrðar á bak oss, er vér höfum. Síðan rak hann oss með honum, til þess er vér sáum lið yðart. En síðan urðu þeir allir á brautu ok horfnuðu”. (14)

No reader should miss the meaning of this episode, as the author makes the comment: “Ok ætla menn, at þetta hafi eigi jarðneskir menn verit, er með Óláfi

váru, heldr guðs riddarar.” Neither of the last two SSs, with the Bishop and the prisoners, is to be found in HKR.

In a difficult situation off the coast of Ireland Óláfr’s ships have got stuck in the bottom mud, and “óvigr herr” of enemies is waiting on the shore. In this dilemma Óláfr’s men apply to him for advice:

En hann mælti: “Ef þér vilit mitt ráð hafa, þá heitum nú allir á almáttkan guð. Ok látum af hernaði ok ránum. Ok hverfi hverr nú heðan í frá til þess er guð hefir hann látit til berask. Ok leiti nú hverr við at varðveita sína herferð með réttindum.” (17)

The pious advice is followed, and the ships get afloat.

When Óláfr is dwelling in Nørvasund (Gibraltar), with a purpose of going farther to the south, he has “þá vitran, at guð vildi eigi, at hann kæmi sunnar ok færi heldr norðr ok sækta óðal sín” (17). Later he meets a hermit and asks him about his future:

Einsetumaðrinn svarar: “Þat kann ek þér at segja, at þú mant konungr verða at Nóregi ok yfir þeirri sœmð allri, er þínir frændr hafa mesta hafða. Ok eigi at eins mantu stundligr konungr vera, heldr mantu eilífuga konungr vera. Eptir þessa spá einsetumansins fór Óláfr braut í frá honum ok spurði einskis fleira. (19)

The difference here between LEG and HKR is significant. The revelation (“vitran”) and the SS with the hermit are concentrated in HKR into a dream:

þá dreymði hann merkiligan draum, at til hans kom merkiligr maðr ok þekkiligr ok þó ógurliqr ok mælti við hann, bað hann hætta ætlan þeiri, at fara út í lönð – “far aprt til óðala þinna, því at þú munt vera konungr yfir Nóregi at eilífu.” (25)

In LEG the word *eilífuga* clearly refers to Óláfr’s future holiness, as it is opposed to *stundligr*, a typically homiletic antithesis. In his characteristic manner Snorri tones down the religious pathos, by giving in a comment on the dream the phrase *at eilífu* a quite secular meaning: “Hann skilði þann draum til þess, at hann myndi konungr vera yfir landi ok hans ættmenn langa ævi.” (25)

Before a confrontation with Earl Sveinn Hákonarson Óláfr proposes that they should not fight on Palm Sunday, but wait for Monday. The Earl, however, refutes the proposal as a stratagem by Óláfr. When his messengers return with this negative answer Óláfr remarks: “Sá er eigi vill grið á helgum degi, á þeim sama degi man hann eigi sigr hljóta.” (24) As the fight on Palm Sunday cannot be avoided, Óláfr arranges a mass for himself and his men. The Earl declines to do the same although one of his chieftains asks for it. Óláfr is victorious, of course.

The relation of this episode in HKR has nothing to say of Óláfr’s reluctance to fight on a holy-day. There he engages unhesitatingly in a naval battle on Palm Sunday, addressing his men in a speech on tactics, without any reference to the sacredness of that day. (59)

FAGR has no SS on this occasion, but observes that the fight took place on Palm Sunday, and that it ended “með því sem guðs forsjó var, at Óláfr konungr hafði sigr” (151; cf. p. 125 above).

After Óláfr's decisive victory over Earl Sveinn there is in LEG a dialogue between Óláfr and his stepfather Sigurðr sýr. Sigurðr gives him the advice to kill "nú allir lendir menn /.../, er hér taka flótta undan í dag, ok hvert mannsbarn með þeim":

Óláfr svarar: "Eigi vil ek launa svá guði þann fagra sigr, er hann hefir mér gefit, at drepa nú margan góðan dreng hér í dag." "Víst er þat guðréttligt", sagði Sigurðr. "Ok eigi mæli ek þetta fyrir því, at mik skipti. Svá man ek míns ráðs fá gætt, at ek man lítt þessa heims þín þurfa. En þat man ek þér segja, at þér man andstreymt þitt ríki vera, meðan þú ert ok þessir lendir menn eru uppi, er nú lætr þú hér undan ganga í dag. Þegar er þeir fá sér nokkura höfuðbendu, þá munu þeir eflask í móti þér, ok munu þeir þik ór þínu ríki hafa. En fyrir þann storm, er í móti þér stendr, meðan þú ert yfir þínu ríki, af þínum óvinum, þá er þú ferr heðan ór heimi, þá mantu hinn helgasti maðr vera. Ok munu vér þá mjök þín þurfa." En þó at Sigurðr mælti þetta, þá varð Óláfr at ráða. (26)

There is in Sigurðr's words a rather strange contrast between his cool strategic argument and his reference to Óláfr's future as "hinn helgasti maðr" through his death ("þá er þú ferr heðan ór heimi"). How could Sigurðr know about the saint to be at this point of the story; obviously the author is speaking on his behalf. In the situation in HKR, roughly corresponding to the one in LEG, there is no talking of God or sacredness. Sigurðr appears as the prudent and realistic peasant king who he is throughout in Snorri's version, and restricts himself to a plain and secular prediction of Óláfr's future difficulties with his adversaries:

"en þat er mitt hugboð" segir hann, "við skaplyndi þitt ok ráðgirn, at seint tryggvir þú þá stórbukkana, svá sem þeir eru vanir áðr at halda fullu til móts við höfðingja" (68).

When King Óláfr has returned from his exile in Garðaríki and is crossing the boundary between northern Sweden and Norway riding downhill from the mountains, he has a grandiose vision of his land widening until he sees over the whole world. He relates the vision to the Bishop at his side. The same vision is also told in HKR, but in a much more pregnant form, excellently analyzed by Hallvard Lie (19,53). The Bishop's comment is rendered there in oblique narration: "Byskup segir, at sú sýn var heilaglig ok stórmerkilig." (351). In LEG the Bishop's reaction is exaggerated, he behaves and speaks as if Óláfr were already to be revered as a saint. He dismounts from his horse, seizes the King's foot, bows to him and says: "Helgum manni fylgjum vér." (75)

Near Stiklastaðir Óláfr once pauses and asks his servant for some water. It is brought to him in a chalice, and the King blesses it. He tastes and makes the comment: "Eigi vil ek mungát drekka." The servant is perplexed but brings him new water. Now to the King it seems to be "mjöðr". The third time it has become "vín". Then the Bishop says: "Drekkid, herra, heimilt á sá, er gefr yðr ok þessum drykk hefir snúit. Ok eru slíkt ágætlig tákn ok fagrleg." (77) The miracles have already begun, and a bishop is at hand to testify to them. Nothing like that is to be found in HKR, during the King's lifetime.

Some time later the sleeping Óláfr is waked up by Finnur Árnason. The King has had a dream and relates it to Finnur in these words: “Ek sá stiga standa til himna ok himna upp lúkask. Ok var ek kominn á efsta stigit, er þú vaktir mik.” (80) In HKR we have the same SS, but it is expanded there into a real dialogue between the King and Finnur. Óláfr blames Finnur for having waked him up and not let him dream his dream to end. But Finnur objects that no dream could now be more urgent than the duty to keep awake and prepare for the battle with the approaching peasant army: “Eða sér þú eigi, hvar nú er kominn bóndamúgrinn?” He asks the King to tell him, what kind of dream could seem so precious to him that he did not care to wake up. Then the first part of Óláfr’s answer is rendered in oblique narration, ending with the King’s own words in DS, very much as in LEG: “‘Var ek þá’, segir hann, ‘kominn í öfsta stig, er þú vakðir mik.’” (368)

This episode is much more skilfully introduced in HKR, and Finnur’s comment on the King’s dream has a realistic touch lacking in LEG. The difference stands out still clearer in the way the situation is rounded off. In LEG Óláfr’s relation of his dream is followed up by an unctuous commentary by the writer:

Ok var þat auðsýnt, sagði sá, er ritaði söguna af þessi vitran, at sjá hinn helgi guðs dýrlingr hefir áðr lengi verit á þeirri himinríkis götu, er þá var at enda komit. (80)

In HKR we have instead two concluding sentences by Finnur Árnason, expressing quite another view of “þessi vitran”, in crass contrast to the pious interpretation in LEG. To the King’s last words Finnur replies:

“Ekki þykki mér draumur sjá svá góðr sem þér mun þykkja. Ætla ek þetta munu vera fyrir feigð þinni, ef þat er nokkut annat en svefnórar einar, er fyrir þik bar.” (368)

The rationalistic and sceptical *svefnórar* ‘insignificant and worthless dreams’ against *vitran* ‘vision, revelation’ – one could almost suspect a polemic point in Snorri’s radical reworking of the episode.

Some of King Óláfr’s last words in LEG are directed to his adversary Erlendr ór Gerði:

“Ek gerða þik lítinn at miklum. En nú dregr þú flokk í móti mér ok villt drepa mik í dag. En ek kann þér þat segja at sonnu, at þú mant hér falla, ok sál þin man fyrr vera í helvíti en blóð þitt sé kalt á jörðunni.” (82)

Such a fierce rebuke reveals the negative side of Óláfr’s religious zeal so to speak. It contrasts sharply with his restrained and dignified comments on his enemies in HKR.

When King Óláfr’s fall is nearing, the leader of the peasant army, Kálfr Árnason, has a vision which he reports to his men in DS:

“Þá sýn sá ek, er vel mættim vér án”, sagði hann. “Vígroði lýstr á skýin fyrr en blóð kemr á jörðina. Ok ógnir eru miklar, ok eigi nær sól at skína. Landskjálftar eru miklir ok ógnir oss komnar.” (83)

It is a special point, of course, that this vision should be attributed to Óláfr’s leading opponent in the battle. The sinister changes in the nature are referred to

again, now by the writer himself, in connection with the King's fall, and this time there is an explicit parallel with Jesus Christ:

Nú lét Ólafr konungr þar líf sitt. Þá varð svá mikil ógn, at sólin fal geisla sinn ok gerði myrkt. En áðr var fagrt veðr, eptir því sem þá var, er sjalfr skaparinn fór af veröldinni. (85)

There is something left of these passages in HKR, but with alterations characteristic of Snorri's art of rewriting his sources. In the beginning of the battle there is a change in the air:

Veðr var fagrt, ok skein sól í heiði. En er orrosta hófsk, þá laust roða á himininn ok svá á sólna, ok áðr en létti, gerði myrkt sem um nótt. (378)

The direct reference to Christ is thus omitted, though it might still be implicit in the description. Nothing is said about earthquakes, possibly because Snorri, used to them from his native country, knew that they were rather unexpected in Norway. Last but not least, it has not occurred to Snorri to let Kálfr Árnason relate to his men a vision that they "could well go without". It is a strangely unrealistic idea that a military leader would depress his army's fighting spirit by such a disheartening comment.

Thus the strongly ecclesiastical and apologetic character of LEG is not limited to the author's own narration; it has also invaded its DS and dialogues.

Another trait of the dialogue in LEG is a certain stylistic awkwardness and lack of concentration, especially striking in comparison with HKR. A case in point is the SS with Óláfr and Earl Hákon Eiriksson already quoted (p. 120 above) from FAGR and HKR. Óláfr's menacing question 'Grunar þik eigi nú, jarl!' etc., practically identical in all three versions, is in LEG followed by some fifty more words, adding very little to the real content of the SS:

"Nú ert þú kominn í hendr mér, ok á ek nú kost at gera af þér slíkt sem ek vil, hvárt sem ek vil, at þú lifir eða deyir. Kjós nú, hvárt er þú vilt lifa eða deyja. Ef þú vilt lifa, þá skaltu vera jarl minn ok fylgja mér jafnan." (22)

The Earl's question, what Ólafr wants him to do in order to spare his life, is answered in all three versions in a sentence quoted here from HKR: "Enskis annars en þú farir ór landi og gefir svá upp ríki yðart ok sverir þess eiða, at þér haldit eigi orrostu heðan í frá í gegn mér." (38) But whereas in FAGR and HKR the answer stops there, in LEG Óláfr goes on expounding its meaning:

"Nú ef þú vilt fara ór landi, sem ek beiðumk, ok sverir mér þess eið, at þú komir aldigin í Nóreg, meðan ek em uppi. En ef þú efnir þat eigi, þá falla á þik eiðar. Ok hvar sem þú hittir mína menn fyrir, þá skaltu hvárki skjóta oru né spjóti í móti þeim. Þess skaltu ok sverja, ef þú verðr varr við þá menn, er land vilja ráða undan mér, hvat manna sem þeir eru, eða á nokkurum vélum eru við mik, þá skaltu gera mik varan við." (22)

This more diffuse, loquacious dialogue in LEG probably comes closer to colloquial "realism" than the terse, stylized sentences in HKR (and FAGR), which we see as characteristic of "classical saga style". Hallvard Lie appropriately



speaks of the “erke-hverdagslighet” which Snorri “omsorgsfullt plukket ut av sine dialoger” (49, footnote).

## Heimskringla

The most remarkable feature of Snorri’s version of *Óláfs saga helga* are its many speeches, longer than the contributions to a dialogue in general. They serve the purpose of looking back upon past events, of developing arguments and plans, of exhorting an audience, and so on. They thus play an important part in structuring the story and giving it a wider perspective. Such speeches and addresses are of course usually delivered by the leading characters, especially by Óláfr himself. A short survey of a series of these speeches may give an idea of how they can reveal new dimensions of the saga.

The longest speech (470 words) by Óláfr is also the first one. It appears at a crucial point in his career, when he has returned from abroad and meets his stepfather Sigurðr sýr. Óláfr lays claim to supremacy over Norway, referring again and again to Haraldr hárfagri and Óláfr Tryggvason as his forerunners and kinsmen. He is firmly resolved to “eignask ríki þat allt til forráða”, or else “falla á frændleifð minni”. And now he asks for assistance from Sigurðr in order to defeat possible opponents and attain his goal. (43–45) This is an able piece of rhetoric, with no counterpart whatsoever in LEG.

In his reply (300 words) Sigurðr emphasizes the difference in character between himself and Óláfr. To him Óláfr’s design reveals “meirr af kappi en forsjá”; there is a gulf between “lítilmennsku minnar ok áhuga þess ins mikla, er þú munt hafa”. As he well knows that it will not be possible to restrain his stepson from his undertaking, he does not bluntly refuse to assist him, however. But as a cautious tactician he denies to promise anything until he knows “ætlan ok tiltekju annarra konunga”, and has made sure of support from influential men in the country. For Óláfr will have to confront terrific opponents from abroad: King Óláfr of Sweden and King Knútr of Denmark and England. Sigurðr concludes his speech by making a somewhat ambiguous remark. People are fond of innovations, he says, and refers to Óláfr Tryggvason’s initial success – “ok naut hann þó eigi lengi konungdómsins”. These last words look like a warning to his stepson.

The meeting is rounded off by a comment from Óláfr’s mother Ásta, revealing her ambition. She picks up her husband’s remark just quoted, but gives it a new turn. She assures her son that she would prefer to see him as “yfirkonungr í Nóregi, þótt þú lifðir eigi lengr í konungdóminum en Óláfr Tryggvason, heldr en hitt, at þú værir eigi meiri konungr en Sigurðr sýr ok yrðir ellidauðr”. (45–46)

With this magnificent SS Snorri not only gives clear-cut portraits of the characters involved, not without a touch of humour. He also sketches out a historical and political background and sets the stage for the events to come.

Immediately after this episode the author effectively brings into focus the opposition which Óláfr will have to deal with in Norway. At a meeting with

“margir Uplendingakonungar, þeir er fyrir fylkjum réðu” (46), we listen to the brothers Hrórekr and Hringr explain how they look upon Óláfr’s claim to supremacy. In his speech (354 words) Hrórekr represents a conservative and suspicious attitude. In a historical retrospect he reminds his audience of former native rulers in Norway, from Haraldr hárfagri and onwards. Some of them were welcomed with enthusiasm, but after some time they became oppressive. Thus, for instance, Óláfr Tryggvason, when he “þóttisk fullkominn í ríki, þá var fyrir honum engi maðr sjálfræði. Gekk hann við freku at við oss smákonunga at heimta undir sik þær skyldir allar, er Haraldr inn hárfagri hafði hér tekit, ok enn sumt frekar”. He even would decree, “á hvern guð trúa skyldi”. To Hrórekr it seems safer to have foreign rulers, as the Danish kings, because they dwell far away and are less inclined to interfere with domestic customs in Norway; under them the Norwegian “smákonungar”, Hrórekr and his equals, enjoy “sjálfræði ok hóglífi innan lands ok ekki ofríki”.

Hringr, on the other hand, has a more national outlook. In his address (188 words) he prefers that his kinsman (Óláfr is their “frændi”) “sé konungr yfir Nóregi heldr en útlendir höfðingjar”. He has the presentiment about Óláfr that “auðna hans ok hamingja myni ráða, hvárt hann skal ríki fá eða eigi”. He recommends his audience “at unna honom innar æztu tígnar hér í landi ok fylgja þar at með öllum várum styrk” and “binda við hann vináttu”. (47–48)

By letting Óláfr’s opponents in Norway introduce themselves in such a detached manner, Snorri breaks with the short-sighted and one-dimensional way of telling *Óláfs saga hins helga* in LEG and reveals his insight into political oppositions and dialectics. One should observe in Hrórekr’s address the retrospective and historical dimension, which Hallvard Lie has pointed to (24–25, 31, 101) as especially characteristic of the speeches in HKR.

Next time we meet Óláfr in a SS, he is addressing the people in Þrándheimr. He refers to his victory over Earl Hákon Eiríksson and the Earl’s refraining from his “ríki” (Óláfr is accompanied, he observes, by witnesses to that agreement), and offers his audience law and peace, “eptir því sem fyrir mér bauð Óláfr konungr Tryggvason” (51). He is thus careful to emphasize his legitimacy and evoke the memory of his great namesake and predecessor.

Among Óláfr’s other short speeches to his countrymen one could mention a couple of addresses delivered at the meeting with the heathen chieftain Dala-Guðbrandr and his supporters. Here Óláfr appears as the missionary King, depreciating and condemning the pagan god – or rather the image of that god, the idol, “er blint er ok dauft”. He ends by offering his adversaries either to become Christian or to engage in a battle with him that very day, “ok beri þeir sigr af öðrum í dag, er sá guð vill, er vér trúum á” (189–90). In this case the addresses are to be found almost word for word also in LEG. Apparently Snorri has transferred them more or less verbatim from his source. It is significant that the longest speech (131 words) by Óláfr in LEG (34) should present him as the aggressive confessor of the Christian faith.

As an Icelandic chieftain Snorri takes a remarkably great interest in King Óláfr’s policy towards the Scandinavian outposts in the west: the Orkney

Islands, the Faroe Islands and Iceland. Practically nothing of this matter is to be found in LEG or FAGR.

When Earl Brúsi Sigurðarson of the Orkney Islands has come to Norway in order to get King Óláfr's support against his own brother, the King's answer (110 words) in a short retrospect emphasizes the claim of the Norwegian Kings to the Islands. Beginning with Haraldr hárfagri, he also refers to Eiríkr blóðøx and his sons, and last but not least to his immediate predecessor, Óláfr Tryggvason, "frændi minn". All of them had been lords of the Orkney Islands, with an Earl as their representative there. Óláfr concludes his speech by offering Brúsi to be his Earl in the Islands – otherwise he is ready to vindicate his legitimate rights, "er várir frændr ok forellrar hafa átt vestr þannug" (167–68).

There is a warning in these words, a threat which becomes considerably stronger, when Brúsi's brother Þorfinnr visits in his turn King Óláfr to ask for his support (169). At last the King summons the brothers and Earls to an official session ("lét hann blása til fjölmennrar stefnu"), where in another speech (129 words) he announces his agreement with them (170–71). Together these three SSS give a clear picture of Óláfr's policy towards the Orkney Islands and its background.

The relations between Óláfr Haraldsson and Iceland have given rise to a speech, which Hallvard Lie rightly labels as "den kanskje merkeligste tale" (103) in *Heimskringla*. This speech (252 words) is delivered by an Icelander, Einarr (Þveræingr) Eyjólfsson, at the Althing as a reply to King Óláfr's message – mediated by another Icelander, Þórarinn Nefjólfsson – that he would like to have the island Grímsey off the north coast of Iceland as a gift from the Icelanders, and give them instead what they could wish from his own country. Einarr refutes the request respectfully but distinctly. He describes to his fellow-countrymen what dangers it would imply for them to become subjects of a foreign ruler and liable to pay taxes to him – to say nothing of Grímsey as a possible base for his fleet and military forces. Moreover, such a concession would not be their own affair only, but a lasting yoke on their sons, on generations to come: "ok mun ánauð sú aldri ganga eða hverfa af þessu landi" (216). After this declaration Óláfr's proposal is unanimously rejected.

With its concrete argumentation, its penetrating logic, and its pathos, Einarr's speech has become a classic expression of Icelandic national feeling and independence – often referred to even in this century. It is a reasonable assumption that this compact speech, obviously invented by Snorri himself, reveals something of his own attitude and feelings as an Icelander of the 13th century. Quite apart from a possible biographical aspect, within the saga text itself Einarr's declaration opens a political and historical perspective. As an imaginative reconstruction of the past it might well tell us something true of 11th century Iceland. In any case it has us look upon King Óláfr's political activities "from the other side" too.

Einarr Eyjólfsson is not even mentioned in LEG or FAGR, nor is the Swedish lawspeaker Þorgnýr Þorgnýsson. Þorgnýr appears in Snorri's vivid presentation of the strained relations between Óláfr Haraldsson and his Swedish name-

sake and colleague, King Óláfr Eiríksson. At the Uppsala thing the old law-speaker delivers the third longest speech (318 words) in *Óláfs saga helga*. It is an outspoken and energetic attack on the King's politics, especially towards Norway and Óláfr Haraldsson. Þorgnýr refers to several former Swedish kings, a historical evocation characteristic of Snorri. They were willing to take advice from their subjects, unlike "konungr þessi, er nú er", who only listens to what he wants to hear. Þorgnýr concludes his sermon by hinting, very expressly, at the possibility that people will attack the King and kill him – such things had happened before in Sweden. (115–16) After that the King has only one choice: to yield, at least for the time being.

This speech too has become classic, especially to the Swedes of course, as a symbol of ancient Swedish peasant democracy and independence. It is hardly imaginable as "history", though it may reveal a good deal of Snorri's own ideal. On the other hand it has an important function within the narrative. It presents new aspects of the Swedish society, domestic tensions which also shed some light on Sweden's relations to Norway. We have a kind of counterpart here to Óláfr Haraldsson's troubles with some of the Norwegian chieftains. "Óláfr digri", however, is never placed in such a humiliating situation as is his Swedish colleague in Þorgnýr's speech. He is after all the hero of the saga.

The end of the saga, the relation of the decisive battle at Stiklestaðir and Óláfr's death, is accompanied with a concentration of speeches. Three of them are delivered by the King. But typically enough Snorri is also anxious to have the other side properly represented in this connection too. These speeches, five in all, contribute very much to the clarity and logic of the relation, unlike LEG with its rather confuse account of the battle. Thanks to the speeches the reader has opportunities of pausing and taking in the situation.

When Óláfr has reviewed his forces before the battle – they turn out to be more than 3600 men – he addresses them (262 words), giving careful and expert instructions for the arrangement of the fighting units, and announcing their common watchword: "Fram, fram, Kristsmenn, krossmenn, konungsmenn." (354–55) This watchword is not to be found neither in FAGR nor in LEG, where it was certainly to be expected, if it had come down through tradition. As Anne Holtmark has argued convincingly, the word *krossmenn* was hardly yet invented by the time of the battle at Stiklestaðir; Snorri has probably borrowed it from *Sverris saga*.<sup>5</sup> In any case the battle-cry connects the King with Christian pathos in an authoritative and official way so to speak.

The last two speeches by Óláfr, both among his five longest ones (316 and 248 words respectively), are concerned with the impending encounter, but also with his own status as a Christian ruler.

<sup>5</sup> Anne Holtmark in the article "Kampropet på Stiklestad" (Maal og Minne, 1960, pp. 4–12). By the way, her concluding remark on the battle-cry seems to be rather dubious: "Det har vært kjent av alle kongsmenn på den tid Snorre skrev kongesagaer, og ved å la det lyde alt på Stiklestad, hevet han det, kong Sverre og birkebeinene opp på det religiøse plan." (12) There is nothing to indicate that this loan from *Sverris saga* implies any judgment at all on Sverrir and his *birkebeinar*.

In HKR as well as in LEG he asks his men, what kind of action should now be taken. In LEG the question is directed to Þormóður Kolbrúnarskáld alone, who answers with a stanza. In HKR Finnr Árnason recommends to “brenna svá vendiliga byggð alla, at aldri stœði kot eptir, gjalda svá bóndum dróttin-svikin” (355); that would frighten and disintegrate the peasant army. Þormóður adds a stanza, the same as in LEG, supporting Finnr’s advice. In LEG the King answers Þormóður with a few words: “‘Já’, segir konungrinn, ‘trúa má þér til þess, Þormóður’, segir konungrinn, ‘þú segir þat, sem þér býr í brjósti. Önnur ráð munu vér nú verða taka heldr en brenna lönd sjálfra várna.’” (81) In HKR, on the other hand, the King’s refusal widens into a declaration of principles. Óláfr admits that he has earlier had his own subjects’ farms burnt down. But that was because people had given up their Christian faith and begun to sacrifice to heathen gods again. The heavy punishment thus was on God’s behalf: “Áttu vér þá guðs réttar at reka.” Now Óláfr has to do with treachery against himself only, bad enough to be sure, but possible to excuse (“at veita nokkura frián”) (A similar argument is to be found at another place in LEG, 71, but somewhat confused.) Therefore the King states as his will that “menn fari spakliga ok geri engi hervirki”. If he and his men are to die in the battle, it will be better “at fara þangat eigi með ránfé”. Whereas, if they will be victorious, it will be better not to have done any damage to the farms, as these will be the property of the victors. In spite of his rather conciliatory attitude, Óláfr does not forget to order that spies should be killed on the spot, if they were caught. (356–57)

In his last, urgent address to his men the King speaks both as the competent military leader and as the Christian monarch, thinking of his destiny in another life. He has a tough armed force, he remarks. Although the peasant army is somewhat bigger and thus can hold more men in reserve, letting them fight alternately, that advantage might well be neutralized by attacking them resolutely. As for himself, he assures that he will not flee but “annathvært sigrask á bóndum eða falla í orrustu”. Once more he promises to reward his men, if they will be victorious, according to the merits they display in the battlefield. He asks God to let him have the destiny that will be the best for him, and he hopes that he and his men fight for a more righteous cause than their adversaries. God will save their properties (“eigur várar”), or else he will for their loss here offer them a far better reward than they could wish for. (365–66)

Thus in his last speeches Óláfr more and more turns his thoughts towards God and the possibility of his own death. The contours of the saint begin to emerge. It is interesting to notice, therefore, that his very last few words imply nothing like a climax or memorable remark, but a rather trivial pun. The King strikes at a certain Þórir hundr with his sword. It does not cut, however, as Þórir is protected by a reindeer skin. Then the King exhorts his marshal Björn stallari: “Ber þú hundinn, er eigi bíta járn.” (384) A few moments later Óláfr is killed. In this case HKR agrees with LEG, where the King makes his last remark in the same episode, although the wording is a little different. (85) In LEG Óláfr’s concluding words “Beri þér þá hundana” are in rather strange

contrast with the five year old boy's "Ljós, ljós, ljós" at his christening (cf. p. 126 above).

One of the two speeches by Óláfr's adversaries at Stiklastaðir is delivered by Kálfr Árnason, who has been chosen leader of the peasant army. His address to the chieftains ("lendir menn") is remarkable for its timidity and lack of confidence: "En ef vér erum nú nokkut skelfir"; "munu vér þó koma í þá raun,/. . ./, at oss er ósigrinn viss, nema vér sém skeleggir"; "En ef eigi verður svá, þá er oss betra at hætta eigi til bardaga". In fact Kálfr seems to be more positive about the King and his army: "er þar øruggr oddvitinn, ok mun allt lið hans vera honum tryggt til fylgðar". But of course he concludes by exhorting the chieftains to be "snarpir ok skeleggir" and egg their men on. (373–74)

There is a sharp contrast between Kálfr's balanced and rather timid speech and the fierce attack on Óláfr delivered by Sigurðr, Earl Hákon Eiríksson's "hirðbyskup". The Bishop is introduced as "ákafamaðr í skapi ok sundrgørðamaðr í orðum sínum" (370). His speech on this occasion ("at einu húspingi, þar sem þá var mikit fjölmenni") confirms that characterization. In his address this representative of the Church never mentions God, unlike Óláfr. He refers to the King contemptuously as "Óláfr þessi" and showers invectives upon his men: "markamenn ok stigamenn eða aðrir ránsmenn"; "óaldarflokkar"; "ill-þýði"; "víkingar ok illgørðamenn". He ends spitefully by forbidding men to take fallen enemies to a church, but "heldr draga hræ þeira í holt ok hreysi".

In a way, typical of Snorri, the speech gives a retrospect of Óláfr's career, this time in an extremely negative key, where the King appears as a kind of criminal, who has been used to "þegar á unga aldri at ræna ok drepa menn". (371–72)

It is a triumph of Snorri's psychological insight that this furious rhetoric seems natural in the Bishop's mouth, and that the reader must admit that there is something true in this scornful description of the future saint.

The many speeches in Snorri's *Ólaf's saga helga* contribute substantially to the vividness and freshness of the presentation. The skilful staging plays its part by bringing them into relief. Einarr Eyjólfsson's speech (cf. p. 133 above), for instance, is not given until the affair seems to be more or less settled in the King's favour. Einarr's brother, the influential chieftain Guðmundr, is positive to the King's request, "ok snøru margir aðrir eptir því" (216). Only then, as if by chance, people ask Einarr why he has had nothing to say – and he delivers his decisive address.

When the lawspeaker Þorgnýr appears with his impressive speech at the Uppsala thing, we have already met him sitting in his high settle at home: an old and very tall man, with a beard covering his breast and reaching his knees. The reader is eager to know what this venerable man will say before his King.

The main speeches in HKR are admirable as individual rhetoric achievements, as art in a more narrow sense of that word. But they are still more important for what they tell us, and for how they organize the narrative. They usually appear at turning-points in the course of events. They give us a look

backwards and forwards, and thus create a kind of historical space, very different from the sometimes rather chaotic crowding of episodes, slight and important indiscriminately, in a text like LEG. They also provide an insight into historical dialectics, revealing varied aspects of men and actions.

Snorri distributes these speeches with a kind of calm detachment and objectivity, which seems to be one of his characteristic qualities as historian. Probably no Danish, no Norwegian, no Swedish contemporary writer would have been able to relate the story of Óláfr Haraldsson in such a varied perspective, in that spirit of serene retrospect. As an Icelandic magnate and patriot Snorri had quite special qualifications for looking at his Scandinavian neighbours from without.

Snorri's sense of order and logic, beautifully displayed in the major speeches, does not prevent him, however, from giving much care to minor SSs and dialogues also. We have already had some examples of his rewriting of his sources, and improvement on them, in such cases.

Among the petty Norwegian "kings", whom Óláfr makes away with, one is named Hrærekr Dagsson. He is not even mentioned in FAGR; in LEG we have this laconic remark: "Þat er sagt, at þann lét hann einn blinda, er Hrærekr hét, ok sendi hann til Íslands út Guðmundi ríka, ok dó hann þar." (23) In HKR, on the other hand, Hrærekr has become one of Óláfr's main opponents in the beginning of his career, warning his colleagues not to accept their young "frændi" as absolute ruler. When Óláfr has had Hrærekr captured and blinded, he keeps him permanently in his company in order to control him. There Hrærekr dwells for a long time, and Snorri tells us in great detail and with abundant dialogue of his behaviour and various plots to kill Óláfr. When the King at last decides to get rid of him, we have the comic conversation between Óláfr and the Icelander Þórarinn Nefjólffsson about Þórarinn's ugly feet, ending in a bet, which the King wins – by a surprising and rather sophistic argument. Then Þórarinn, the loser, has to take Hrærekr to Iceland. Perhaps Snorri had taken such an interest in that unhappy "king", because it had been said, "at sá einn konungr hvílir á Íslandi". (126–28)

The extensive "Hrærekr section" is, among other things, an excellent example of Snorri's humour – a quality almost completely lacking in the FAGR and LEG versions of the saga. As another humorous SS one could mention the conversation between the Swedish King Óláfr and three of his advisers, the brothers Arnviðr blindi, Þorviðr stami and Freyviðr dauði. They are called upon to interpret to the King a couple of stories by a certain lawspeaker Emundr. (152–54) This episode, dwelt on in detail, clearly bears the stamp of folk-tale. But the stories told by Emundr, and the by and by unfolding interpretations by the three brothers, are brilliantly adapted for a somewhat devious criticism of the King's behaviour. The dialogue here may be looked upon as a comic counterpart to the lawspeaker Þorgnýr's heavy frontal attack on the King some time earlier. (Cf. pp. 133–34 above).

DS and dialogue are not, of course, the only features of HKR which

reveal the author's special qualities as historian and writer. His talent for structuring the narrative by presenting appropriate background information, a talent often displayed in the speeches, is also apparent, for instance, in the instructive chapter (109–10) introducing the important section on Sweden, with the lawspeaker Þorgnýr's speech at the Uppsala thing as a dramatic climax.

However, Snorri's DS and dialogue probably witness his genius as a writer more than anything else. There we find combined his outstanding qualities as historian, judge of characters, and artist.



ROLF HELLER

## Sturla Þórðarson und die Isländersagas

### Überlegungen zu einer wichtigen Frage in der Sagaforschung

In den Arbeiten der letzten Jahrzehnte, in denen die immer noch umstrittene Frage nach der Entstehung der Isländersagas oder einzelner Werke dieser Gattung aufgeworfen wird, taucht fast regelmäßig der Name von Sturla Þórðarson auf. Der Grund dafür sind Besonderheiten seiner Bearbeitung der Landnámabók, der sog. Sturlubók. Bekanntlich hat Sturla seine Vorlage in einer ganzen Reihe von Punkten verändert. Am auffälligsten sind eine abweichende Anordnung des Materials mit einigen einleitenden Kapiteln und die Aufnahme zahlreicher genealogischer Angaben und Handlungsauszüge aus Isländersagas. Den neuen Stoff hat Sturla entweder an die Stelle des überlieferten gesetzt, diesen also verdrängt, oder er hat beides, Altes und Neues, zu verschmelzen gesucht. Dieses Vorgehen betrachten viele Nordisten als ein indirektes Zeugnis dafür, wie Sturla die Isländersagas beurteilt hat und was die Isländer des 13. Jahrhunderts insgesamt in diesen Werken gesehen haben. Eine klare Antwort auf beide Fragen wäre natürlich von entscheidender Bedeutung für das Verständnis der ganzen Gattung, da keine direkten Aussagen über Zielsetzung und Arbeitsweise der Sagaverfasser vorliegen.

Die Landnámabók gilt als ein im wesentlichen historisch orientiertes Werk. Sturla hat – einer ansprechenden Hypothese zufolge – dieses Werk als einleitenden Teil einer Darstellung der gesamten isländischen Geschichte verwenden wollen, wobei der Weg dann über Kristni saga, Þorgils saga ok Haflíða und Sturlu saga zu seiner Íslendinga saga führen sollte. Davon ausgehend schlußfolgert man aus der redaktionellen Tätigkeit Sturlas bei Niederschrift der Sturlubók, daß er – und selbstverständlich nicht nur er – die von ihm benutzten Sagas für Geschichte beziehungsweise für historisch zuverlässige Quellen gehalten habe. Die Argumentation in den einschlägigen Arbeiten zeigt erwartungsgemäß weitgehende Übereinstimmung. Es seien darum hier nur einige Beispiele zitiert.

Th. M. Andersson sagt 1964<sup>1</sup>: „... we can draw certain conclusions about the thirteenth-century view of a saga. If, for example, Sturla Þórðarson had considered the sagas to be constructions dependent on Landnáma or pure fictions, he would not have used them to revise a tradition which he knew to date from shortly after 1100 ... If Sturla, from his contemporary perspective,

<sup>1</sup> The problem of Icelandic saga origins. A historical survey, New Haven and London, S. 93.

knowing the modes of saga composition, as he must have, regarded the sagas as sources comparable and not subordinate to Landnáma, this testimony carries a certain weight ... (Sturla) had at least some reason to believe that the sagas were valid sources with a claim to antiquity“, und an anderer Stelle im Zusammenhang mit der Høensa-Þóris saga<sup>2</sup>: „If he (=Sturla) used a saga to correct Landnáma, that saga, right or wrong, must have had some generally accepted basis in tradition“.

Bjarni Einarsson äußert sich 1975 wie folgt<sup>3</sup>: „En anden historie er, hvorledes samtiden opfattede sagaen. Herom har vi Sturla Þórðarsons vidnesbyrd. Den gang han i sine modne år skrev sin bearbejdelse af Landnámabók, benyttede han Egils saga (og andre islændingesagaer) som historisk kilde, om end i nogen tilfælde med en vis kritik“.

1976 greift H. Röhn die Frage auf und bemerkt<sup>4</sup>: „Ein wichtiges, weil zeitgenössisches Zeugnis für die Historizität der Isländersagas ist noch zu erwähnen: die Aufnahme von Sagaexzerpten in eine Rezension (sic) der Landnámabók (die Sturlubók) ... Sturla hätte die Sagas kaum in dieser Weise verwendet, wenn sie für ihn rein fiktionale Erzählungen gewesen wären ... Sturlas Redaktion der Landnámabók sollte vor der Unterschätzung der in die Sagas eingegangenen geschichtlichen Überlieferung warnen; man wird ihr um so größeres Gewicht beimessen, als sie uns die fehlende zeitgenössische Beurteilung der Sagas wenigstens teilweise ersetzt“.

Nun wird heute kaum mehr jemand bestreiten, daß die Isländersagas kein unverfälschtes Bild von den Vorgängen der sog. „Sagazeit“ geben. In zahlreichen Untersuchungen konnte bewiesen oder zumindest wahrscheinlich gemacht werden, daß die Verfasser überlieferte historische Fakten entsprechend ihren künstlerischen Intentionen bisweilen sehr frei behandelt haben. Diese Großzügigkeit in der Verwertung überkommenen Erzählrohstoffs erstreckt sich verschiedentlich sogar auf genealogische Angaben und hat zu deren Veränderung beziehungsweise zur Neuschöpfung von Figuren geführt (wenn es sich dabei auch in der Regel um zweit- und dritrangige Personen handelt).

Sturla Þórðarson muß über diese Arbeitsweise von Sagaverfassern genau Bescheid gewußt haben – darin ist Andersson zuzustimmen. Selbst wenn er keine Isländersaga geschaffen haben sollte<sup>5</sup>, hat er im Umkreis von Verwandten und Freunden ohne jeden Zweifel reichlich Gelegenheit gehabt, das Entstehen solcher Werke zu verfolgen. Außerdem dürfte er bereits in jungen Jahren ein aufmerksamer Beobachter und Gesprächspartner seines Onkels Snorri Sturluson gewesen sein.

<sup>2</sup> A.a.O. S. 107 f.

<sup>3</sup> Litterære forudsætninger for Egils saga (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi. Rit 8), Reykjavík, S. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Untersuchungen zur Zeitgestaltung und Komposition der Íslendingasögur. Analysen ausgewählter Texte (Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie. 5), Basel und Stuttgart, S. 20 f.

<sup>5</sup> Er ist mehrfach mit der Entstehung der Eyrbyggja saga und der Laxdæla saga in Verbindung gebracht worden, und auch im Zusammenhang mit einer älteren Form der Grettis saga ist sein Name gefallen.

Dazu kommt unser Wissen darum, daß Sturla sich als Historiker um die Niederschrift der isländischen und der norwegischen Zeitgeschichte bemüht hat.

Beides zusammen läßt sich schwer mit den oben zitierten Ansichten über Sturlas Auffassung von den Isländersagas vereinen. Das hat einige Forscher veranlaßt, nach einer besonderen Erklärung für sein Vorgehen bei der Arbeit an der Sturlubók zu suchen.

Nordal hat schon 1938 von der Möglichkeit gesprochen, daß es mit Sturlas Quellenkritik hinsichtlich der Isländersagas nicht zum besten gestanden habe<sup>6</sup>: „Dómgreind hans á gildi heimilda um forna tíma virðist hafa verið mjög ábótavant“. Dieser Gedanke hat jedoch wenig Anklang gefunden<sup>7</sup>, zum Teil sicherlich deshalb, weil sich der Mangel nur bei dieser einen Quellengruppe bemerkbar gemacht haben könnte, in anderen Fällen hingegen nicht in Erscheinung getreten wäre.

Björn Sigfússon hat dann auf der Suche nach einer Antwort andere Gesichtspunkte ins Spiel gebracht. In der Studie über die *Hænsa-Þóris saga* sagt er beim Vergleich der Angaben dieser Saga mit denen der Sturlubók<sup>8</sup>: „Þetta er alls ekki eina dæmið um, að Sturlu skjátláðist hastarlega í Landnámubreytingum sínum, svo að tilefni er til að ætla, að seinustu æviár sín hafi honum meir enzt ákafi í bókagerð en elja við að sannprófa heimildir; með tilliti til fyrri afreka Sturlu lögmanns liggur sú elliskýring nær en að fullyrða, að ávallt hafi svo mikið skort á heimildagagnrýni hans sem þarna reynist. Ásamt fleiri rökum bendir glámskyggnin til, að Sturla hafi eigi lokið Landnámu sinni fyrr en á seinustu árum, þegar hann bjó afskekktu búi í Fagurey ...“ Rückgang der geistigen Kräfte im hohen Alter soll gewissermaßen daran schuld sein, daß Sturla Angaben von Isländersagas über die seiner Landnámabók-Vorlage gestellt hat. Damit würde Sturla nach meiner Ansicht ein schlechter Zeuge für die Beurteilung der Sagas im 13. Jahrhundert. Wer wollte entscheiden, welche der zahlreichen verwerteten Sagas er bei voller geistiger Kraft und welche er bei gemindertem Urteilsvermögen vor sich gehabt und benutzt hat. Wichtiger als dieser Einwand ist jedoch, daß weithin anerkannte literarische Gegebenheiten dieser „elliskýring“ geradezu widersprechen. Wenn Björn Sigfússon sein Augenmerk auf die letzten Lebensjahre Sturlas richtet, so liegt das darin begründet, daß er die Entstehung der *Hænsa-Þóris saga* auf die Jahre 1275–80 glaubte festlegen zu können. Sturla könnte sie also erst danach für seine Landnámabók-Redaktion genutzt haben. Nun fallen aber in das letzte Lebensjahrzehnt Sturlas mindestens noch zwei bedeutsame und umfangreiche historisch-literarische Vorhaben: die Arbeiten an der *Magnús saga lagabætis* und an der *Íslendinga saga*. Wenn uns auch von der *Magnús saga* nur zwei kleine Bruchstücke erhalten sind, wird doch allgemein angenommen, daß sich

<sup>6</sup> Íslenzk fornrit III (*Borgfirðinga sögur*), Reykjavík, S. XII.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. unten Björn Sigfússon und u.a. Jakob Benediktsson: „Það er óvarlegt að ætlast til sagnfræðilegrar heimildagagnrýni í nútímaskilningi af Sturlu þegar hann eykur og breytir Landnámu-texta“ (*Íslenzk fornrit I*, I (*Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*). Reykjavík 1968, S. LXX).

<sup>8</sup> *Staða Hænsa-Þóris sögu í réttarþróun 13. aldar*, in: *Saga 1962* (Tímarit Sögufélags), Reykjavík 1963, S. 346. – Dazu jetzt Jónas Kristjánsson, in: *Festskrift til Ole Widding*, Kbh. 1977, S. 134 ff.

die Darstellung über die gesamte Regierungszeit des Königs bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1280 erstreckt hat. Den Überblick über die isländische Zeitgeschichte hat Sturla zwar höchstens bis in den Anfang der sechziger Jahre geführt; es spricht aber einiges dafür, daß er die Niederschrift erst in seinen letzten Lebensjahren vorgenommen und nicht zum vollen Abschluß gebracht hat<sup>9</sup>.

Die Sturlubók (oder wenigstens Teile von ihr) und die beiden Geschichtswerke müßten somit nacheinander oder nebeneinander in demselben Zeitraum entstanden sein. Mir ist nicht bekannt, daß bislang von irgend jemandem behauptet oder gar bewiesen worden wäre, daß sich in den beiden genannten Geschichtswerken Sturlas bei der Verwendung von Quellen Anzeichen eines Mangels an Urteilsfähigkeit gezeigt hätten. Warum sollte sich sein Alter nur bei der Beurteilung der Isländersagas so nachhaltig bemerkbar gemacht haben?

In Björn Sigfússon's Argumentation klingt auch der Gedanke an, daß Sturla nach seiner Übersiedelung auf die Fagrey nicht nur vom politischen, sondern auch vom geistigen Leben auf Island abgeschnitten gewesen sei und daß dies möglicherweise nicht ohne Auswirkung auf seine Arbeit geblieben sei. Richtig ist, daß er sich aus den das ganze Land beunruhigenden Streitigkeiten mit Bischof Arni (den sog. Staðamál) weitgehend herausgehalten hat. Der Gründe dafür lassen sich viele denken. Daß er aber nicht völlig in eine selbstgewählte Isolation gegangen war, scheint mir eine Angabe in der Árna saga biskups zu beweisen, die sich auf Sturlas allerletzte Lebensjahre, die Zeit nach König Magnus' Tod, bezieht. Da erscheint er mit den Großen des Landes als Verfasser eines Briefes an den neuen König<sup>10</sup>: „Epter þetta ritade herra biskop og R(afn) og bader logmenn herra Asgr(imur) og herra Sturl(a) sinn bænastad til Eyreks kónigs með fögrum ordum ad hann lete tyund greydast af ollum eignum sinum a Islande ...“

Zusammenfassend bleibt nur festzustellen, daß Björn Sigfússon's Versuch, eine Erklärung für Sturlas Vorgehen bei der Schaffung seiner Landnámabók-Redaktion zu finden, wenig Überzeugendes hat. Mir will scheinen, daß diese „Erklärung“ eher ein Beweis für die Ratlosigkeit ist, mit der moderne Betrachter nicht selten vor Phänomenen der mittelalterlichen isländischen Literatur stehen, als daß sie uns etwas zum Verständnis dieser Literatur und eines ihrer bedeutenden Schöpfer vermittelt habe.

Ehe man bei Erscheinungen im Bereich der Sagaliteratur, die sich nicht ohne weiteres nach unseren Maßstäben beurteilen lassen, die „Schuld“ für das Unverständliche dem wehrlosen Verfasser zuschiebt, sollte man in jedem Fall prüfen, ob es nicht unsere heutigen Vorstellungen von Dichtung, Geschichtsschreibung und Verfasserschaft sind, die den Weg zum Verständnis versperren. Auch im vorliegenden Fall ist die Antwort auf eine der wichtigsten Fragen der Sagaforschung meines Erachtens auf einem anderen Weg zu suchen als auf

<sup>9</sup> Zu den Fragen, welchen Zeitraum die Íslendinga saga umspannt hat und wann sie auf das Pergament gekommen ist, vgl. Jón Jóhannesson, Einleitung zur Ausgabe der Sturlunga saga, hrsg. von J. J., Magnús Finnbogason u. Kristján Eldjárn, Reykjavík 1946, Bd. II, S. XXXIV ff.

<sup>10</sup> Árna saga biskups, hrsg. von Þorleifur Hauksson (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi. Rit 2), Reykjavík 1972, S. 111.

denen, die bisher beschritten worden sind. Dabei muß man u.a. endlich abgehen von der Gleichsetzung der Sagaverfasser mit ihrem Publikum beziehungsweise von der Gleichsetzung ihrer beider Ansichten über die Sagas. Einige Überlegungen mögen die Richtung des einzuschlagenden Weges anzeigen. –

Wir sind noch heute nicht in der Lage, mit Sicherheit anzugeben, zu welchem Zweck die Landnámabók am Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts geschrieben worden ist. Sicher scheint – wie in den jüngsten Untersuchungen von Sveinbjörn Rafnsson erneut hervorgehoben wird<sup>11</sup> –, daß sie keineswegs in erster Linie als (theoretisch-)historisches Werk über die Landnahme gedacht war, sondern daß sie einem praktischen Zweck diene, vielleicht der Bestätigung und Festschreibung der Eigentumsrechte an Höfen und Ländereien, die die einzelnen Geschlechter zur Zeit der Niederschrift für sich beanspruchten. Es könnte sein, daß ähnliche Gedanken sich auch hinter verschiedenen Änderungen Sturlas im 13. Jahrhundert verbergen, so wenn er – der Egils saga folgend – die Landnahme Skallagrims wesentlich erweitert und damit Snorri Sturlusons Einflußbereich im Borgarfjord auf der Höhe seiner Macht angleicht. Im allgemeinen dürfen wir aber wohl davon ausgehen, daß die Redaktoren des 13. (und des beginnenden 14.) Jahrhunderts andere Vorstellungen vom Wert und von der Nützlichkeit des Werkes gehabt haben als ihre Landsleute im 12. Jahrhundert und daß sie eigene Ideen bei ihrer Arbeit verwirklicht haben. Das beweist u.a. der Schöpfer der sog. Melabók, in der man seit je die Redaktion sieht, die dem ursprünglichen Text am nächsten steht. Gleichwohl weist diese Redaktion Veränderungen gegenüber der Vorlage auf, und zwar Veränderungen aus einer ganz persönlichen Sicht: Der Redaktor hat einige Dutzend Genealogien über die ihm vorliegenden Personenreihen hinaus fortgeführt bis zu Angehörigen des Melar-Geschlechtes im ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert. Es kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß er damit seinen Vorfahren wie den unmittelbaren Verwandten ein Denkmal setzen wollte, daß er selbst zu den Leuten von Melar gehört hat. Er sah also kein Vergehen darin, den Landnámabók-Text persönlichen Interessen dienstbar zu machen und zu diesem Zweck zu erweitern. Möglicherweise hat er dabei auch zwei Sagas herangezogen und Auszüge aus ihnen verwertet. Es muß freilich betont werden, daß er bei diesem Ausbau des ursprünglichen Textes im wesentlichen auf dem Boden der Historie geblieben ist. Das scheint nun gerade denen recht zu geben, die glauben, Sturla habe Isländersagas als historische Quellen angesehen. Muß das aber so sein? Kann es für Sturla nicht andere Gründe gegeben haben, Angaben und Erzählungen aus Sagas für seine Landnámabók-Redaktion nutzbar zu machen?

Wenn Sturla eine Gesamtdarstellung der Geschichte seines Landes liefern wollte, hat er das Vorbild seines Onkels Snorri vor Augen gehabt, der dasselbe für Norwegen geleistet hatte. Snorri hatte ein umfangreiches Werk geschaffen, das sich vom ersten bis zum letzten Kapitel durch lebendige wirklichkeitsnahe Darstellung auszeichnete. Er hatte mit kritischem Sinn gesichtet, was die Über-

<sup>11</sup> Studier i Landnámabók. Kritiska bidrag till den isländska fristatstidens historia, Lund 1974.

lieferung in verschiedener Gestalt ihm bot, und seinen Stoff sorgfältig ausgewählt. Aber allein aus dieser Haltung heraus wäre keine Heimskringla entstanden. Neben dem Historiker stand der Dichter, und wo die Quellen zu dünn flossen, erhielt die schöpferische Phantasie ihre Chance. Ihr Einfluß war naturgemäß um so größer, je weiter der Blick in die Vergangenheit zurückging. So ist es zu erklären, daß sich die Darstellung selbst der frühen norwegischen Geschichte nicht im Aufreihen nüchterner Angaben erschöpft, sondern aus einer Folge eindrucksvoller Bilder mit vielfältiger innerer Verknüpfung besteht.

Wir dürfen – wie schon angemerkt – davon ausgehen, daß Sturla mit Snorris Schaffensweise vertraut war. Sein eigener Plan stellte ihn vor ähnliche Gestaltungsprobleme wie Snorri. Mit der Þorgils saga ok Haflíða, der Sturlu saga und seiner Íslendinga saga standen ihm für die jüngere und jüngste Vergangenheit Islands Werke zur Verfügung, die historische Grundhaltung weithin mit künstlerisch hochstehender Darstellung verbanden. Als sich Sturla entschloß, für die Anfänge der isländischen Geschichte auf die Landnámabók zurückzugreifen, war er sich darüber im klaren, daß er es mit einem von den genannten völlig verschiedenen Werk zu tun hatte, einem Werk, das von der Aufzählung trockener genealogischer Fakten beherrscht wurde. Selbst wenn genealogisches Wissen zu seiner Zeit höher im Kurs stand als heute, mußte der Unterschied zu den übrigen Werken als störend empfunden werden, wenn das Ganze eine Einheit bilden sollte.

Sollte dies nicht Sturla zu dem Versuch gebracht haben, auf der Grundlage der Landnámabók eine so weit möglich „erzählende“ Frühgeschichte Islands zu schreiben?

Man wird entgegenhalten – wie es schon oft getan worden ist –, daß sich viele Zeitgenossen Sturlas für genealogische Fragen interessierten und nicht weniger unterrichtet waren als er. Sie würden – so meint man – dagegen protestiert haben, daß Sturla aus dem 12. Jahrhundert stammende genealogische Überlieferungen auf Grund der Angaben in jungen literarischen Schöpfungen veränderte, sofern diese nicht historisch beglaubigt erschienen. Hier sind nun aber verschiedene Einwände vorzubringen.

Einmal ist für das breite Sagapublikum des 13. Jahrhunderts die Fähigkeit zur Kritik und auch der Wille dazu sicherlich überschätzt worden. Durch die in diesem Jahrhundert entstandenen Isländersagas hatte sich zweifellos für viele, wenn nicht die meisten Isländer eine neue „Wirklichkeitsschicht“ (nicht unbedingt gleichzusetzen mit „Wahrheitsschicht“) über die Vergangenheit gelegt. Im Bewußtsein der Leute werden die lebendigen Erzählungen der Sagas den trockenen genealogischen Wissensstoff in den Hintergrund gedrängt haben, an die Stelle von bloßen Namen eindrucksvolle handelnde Figuren getreten sein.

Sturla war ein aufmerksamer Beobachter der Menschen seiner Umwelt und verfolgte mit wachen Augen die gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Veränderungen in seiner Zeit. Es konnte ihm nicht verborgen bleiben, daß das Sagapublikum in fortschreitendem Maße die frühe Geschichte des Landes durch die Brille der Sagas sah, und er durfte sich zu recht sagen, daß diese Entwicklung

anhalten und sogar an Intensität zunehmen würde, je mehr Sagas bekannt würden.

Wenn er daranging, im Einleitungsteil seines geschichtlichen Überblickes genealogische Angaben aus Sagas zu verarbeiten, dann folgte er meines Erachtens in nüchterner Beurteilung der Situation nur dem „Zug der Zeit“<sup>12</sup>. Und wenn er Sagaauszüge an die Stelle genealogischer Aufzählungen setzte, dann entsprang das sicherlich seinem Bestreben, auch in diesem Teil seines Werkes lebendiger Darstellung einen Platz einzuräumen. Wer an seinem Vorgehen Kritik üben wollte – und unter den Gebildeten wären sicherlich nicht wenige dazu in der Lage gewesen –, mußte sich gegen die Sagas stellen und damit gegen die Masse des Sagapublikums. Ein Erfolg wäre ihnen wohl kaum beschieden gewesen. Sturla hatte offenkundig eine Vorliebe für interessante, gut erzählte Geschichten. Er konnte darauf bauen, daß diese Vorliebe von großen Teilen seines Publikums geteilt wurde, und die im Mittelalter verbreitete Ehrfurcht vor dem geschriebenen Wort hat zweifellos das Ansehen der Sagas erhöht und damit indirekt Sturlas Vorgehen gerechtfertigt.

Auf Grund dieser Überlegungen bin ich – entgegen der herrschenden Auffassung – der Ansicht, daß Sturla sich sehr wohl darüber im klaren war, daß die Isländersagas nicht als „geschichtliche“ Quellen im engeren Sinn zu betrachten waren, und sie dennoch bewußt, aus nüchterner Berechnung heraus bei der Schaffung der Sturlubók verwendet hat. Auf jeden Fall erscheint es mir sicher, daß die Lösung des umstrittenen Problems auf diesem Wege gesucht werden muß.

<sup>12</sup> Wenn Sturla an zahlreichen Stellen versucht hat, die ursprünglichen Angaben der Landnámabók mit denen einer Isländersaga zu verschmelzen – wie u.a. von Jón Jóhannesson nachgewiesen worden ist (Gerðir Landnámabókar, Reykjavík 1941, S. 67 ff.) –, dann zeugt dies vom „Nachgeben“ des Historikers.

LOTTE MOTZ

## The Hero and His Tale

### Response to Whitaker

I noticed with interest Ian Whitaker's detailed analysis entitled "Some Anthropological Perspectives on *Gretla*" (ANF 1977) of my paper: "Withdrawal and Return" (ANF 1973). It is always stimulating to engage in dialogue with an expert outside of one's own discipline. In this case, unfortunately, the response will have to be almost entirely restricted to the discussion and clarification of the major and minor misunderstandings which form the base of Professor Whitaker's observations.

To begin with, Dr. Whitaker's breakdown of my article into ten propositions (A-J) does not coincide with my arrangement.

1. I begin by pointing to the qualities of Grettir, the main character of the *Grettis saga*, which allow me to classify him as the figure of tale and legend, known as "hero", an abstraction set up by scholars on the basis of literary works of many nations.
2. I then leave the saga to discuss some aspects of the "heroic life" and the presence in such a life of certain ritual elements and patterns, especially those of initiation, again, as seen by others.
3. I return to the saga to retrace the patterns, discussed earlier, in this particular work.
4. I leave the saga to discuss yet other aspects of the heroic character.
5. I return to Grettir and compare him with the abstract model.

Though I deal only in 1, 3, and 5, of the divisions with the Icelandic figure Dr. Whitaker understands *all* of my statements, i.e., the ten propositions discerned by him, with reference to the saga. His conviction concerning this matter is so strong that it leads him to the alteration of my text; he thus supplies in brackets the possessive adjective "his" when my text has the possessive "their" (his section 1). Moreover, I do not use a "parallel with Beowulf" (14) or "resort to mysticism to explain Grettir's death" (15), for in the passages cited I do not even deal with Grettir.

Let us now turn to the second basic misunderstanding: my statements concerning the heroic life are not original with me. It was not for me to "see" the "elements of myth and ritual"; it was not for me to "suggest" the tracing of the heroic battle to a mythical model (4 and 5). I apologize for not acknowledging my debt to Otto Höfler who points to initiatory elements in the saga of the



Völsungs.<sup>1</sup> I have, however, given page references to Jan de Vries and Margarete Arent who among others discussed the scenario of the heroic life.<sup>2</sup>

Neither praise nor blame for the theory may thus be placed at my feet; I merely allied myself with some scholars whose judgment I respect. My originality lies only in my emphasis on one aspect of the initiation: the stay in the wilderness, the separation from society which forms, according to van Gennep, the necessary and unavoidable first step in the ritual action.

I should like to say in defence of the theory (though it does not need defending) the following: surely a hero like Heracles, son of Zeus, or Achilles, son of Thetis, had a mythical aspect. If we consider the close relation between myth and ritual we cannot then be surprised at the discovery of ritual elements in the heroic tale. Apparently a twofold process has taken place: the secularization of mythical heroes (as probably with Siegfried of the *Nibelungenlied*) and the fitting of historical persons into the mythical mold (as with Grettir).

The final quotation of Professor Whitaker's paper counsels against the use of sagas in searching for pagan customs and primitive survivals. While opinions concerning the wisdom of this counsel may be divided there can be no disagreement concerning its inappropriateness to a study which has never looked for such survivals in society.

I have not used the saga to throw light on social customs; I used what we might know of social customs for the illumination of the saga. I do not therefore imply, as Dr. Whitaker believes, (C), a fivefold experience of initiation for my hero. Since the presence of the pattern in a work of literature does not establish the existence of the social custom at the time of the literary creation I do not think that Grettir underwent initiation even once. I would not assume initiatory practices for twentieth century Germany because of initiatory elements in the life of Hans Castorp who spent a period of time, in removal from society, on an enchanted, "magic" mountain, encountering here the forces of life and especially those of death before he could take his place, as man, among his peers.

The recurrence of the pattern may be explained in the following way: many episodes had grown around the well known hero and were later gathered by the saga writer. Since the stories, and this is one of my premises, tend to follow certain basic models there would be repetition.

I thus do not share Professor Whitaker's surprise at a late saga acting as "repository of such ancient mysteries" (B). The popularity of the hero and the number of tales attached to him account for the fullness of the material and not the time of composition of the saga.

I declare myself thus innocent of three actions attributed to me by Professor Whitaker: reference throughout the paper exclusively to the saga, the discovery

<sup>1</sup> Otto Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen*, Frankfurt am Main, 1934, pp. 188 ff.

<sup>2</sup> My footnote 6, on p. 93, ANF 1973. Elements of the initiatory ritual in the *Grettis saga* were also noted by M. Danielli, "Initiation Ceremonial from Norse Literature", *Folklore* 56 (1945), pp. 229-230.

of initiatory elements in works of literature and a search for pagan survivals in Icelandic society.

I should now like to take up some of the minor misunderstandings; Grettir does not fit, according to Professor Whitaker "squarely" into the heroic mold because of his immoderation, pride, and violent behavior and, on the physical level, because of the smallness of his genitals (A). It is one of the purposes of my paper to show that pride and wilfulness are the very mark of the heroic character, and I adduced instances and the opinion of others to prove this point. Of Grettir's genitals we only know what we are told by the servant maid. And who knows what reasons of her own had stimulated her to her provocation?

I supposedly "see" the stealing of the horse in episode II as a "cultic practice". In fact I made a general statement: "mock theft of horses ... has been substantiated in the ancient Germanic practices" (10).

I supposedly "equate" a "reference to black horse and rider with the disguise of the Morris dancers". Aside from the fact that I would surely not equate a "reference" with a "disguise" I merely note the drawing of an image which is "evocative" of the black riders of the "Wild Hunt" (9).

I supposedly "suggest" the name *Gestr* to mean "stranger"; there is no "suggestion" here; *Gestr means* "stranger"; the lines quoted in this division by Professor Whitaker do not refer, as he implies, to natives of the Congo, but to *Norna-Gestr*, a figure of an Icelandic saga (10).

I furthermore do not "interpret" Yule time "a traditional time for communion with the supernatural"; it *is*, as is any holiday, a time for such communion.

Professor Whitaker notes the omission, in episode III, of one of the steps of the initiatory sequence: the disguise. I make three references to this step (disguise through assumption of a new name; pp. 100 and 102).

I do not comment, according to Professor Whitaker, on the reversal between two steps of the sequence (episode V) (9). I comment twice on this reversal (pp. 102 and 103).

Though more misunderstandings could be noted I feel that I have dealt with the most important. I do wish to deny, however, that I have ever "quoted" any "Spartan" (11) or pointed to the "recurrent" features of "divine or semi-divine parentage" or an "early death" within *one* heroic life (3).

I admit, however, that there may be justice in one of the criticisms: I have pointed to practices of widely differing nations; if such is not permitted by some schools of modern anthropology I am at fault. I adduced however Germanic examples among the analogues, except in illustration of the state of initiatory lawlessness; and here I cited a parallel from Spartan society which is, as pointed out by Dr. Whitaker, structurally similar to that of the Germanic nations. I would permit myself, also, the following question: Dr. Whitaker appears to have accepted the universality of the rites of transition as demonstrated by van Gennep. Why then shouldn't any instance, drawn from any part of the human community, have validity?

Lastly I should like to pose a question on my part. Dr. Whitaker speaks of my use of "secondary" sources (7). Why has he employed in his appraisal of Grettir's character material taken from the translated introduction to the saga and not from the work itself? Why is there, in fact, no indication in the bibliography to show that the saga has actually been read?

MARGARET CLUNIES ROSS

## The myth of Gefjon and Gylfi and its function in *Snorra Edda* and *Heimskringla*

It is a curious fact that the story of how Gefjon ploughed up the island of Zealand from the mainland of Sweden and, with the help of her oxen, drew it to its present position in Denmark is told twice by Snorri Sturluson, once in the *Edda* and a second time in the *Heimskringla*,<sup>1</sup> and yet it is notable for its absence from almost all other sources of early Scandinavian myth and also from early Scandinavian historiography. Although the myth in its extant form appears to be of Danish provenance, Saxo does not recount it in his *Gesta Danorum* nor is it to be found in any of the West Norse compendia of early Scandinavian legendary history. Even the skalds are silent, with one certain and another possible exception. The latter, as we shall see, is Þjóðólfr of Hvin, the former Bragi Boddason, whose solitary strophe on Gefjon's plunder of Zealand appears in both of Snorri's retellings of the myth as his main authority. It is the purpose of this article to suggest why Snorri or those who worked under his direction had such a fondness for a myth that other poets and historians generally eschewed.

In Chapter 5 of his *Prologue* to the *Edda* Snorri presents an account of the relations between Gylfi, king of Sweden, and the invading Æsir under Óðinn's leadership as they make their way from their original home in Troy into the various Scandinavian kingdoms. Here Snorri represents Óðinn's challenge to Gylfi's royal authority as a bloodless coup, if not a voluntary abrogation of power on Gylfi's part:

Eptir þat for hann norðr, þar sem nu heitir Sviþioð; þar var sa konungr, er Gylfi er nefndr. En er hann spyrr til ferþar þeira Asiamanna, er æsir voro kallaðir, for hann i moti þeim ok bauð, at Óðinn skyldi slikt vald hafa i hans ríki, sem hann vildi sialfr . . .

By contrast with this depiction of a gentleman's agreement between the Æsir and Gylfi, Chapter 1 of *Gylfaginning* suggests that Gefjon, acting as an emissary of the Æsir, had to resort to supernatural powers of deception in order to extract from Gylfi the amount of land she needed to establish herself in Denmark. The story here has it that Gylfi, king of Sweden, gave to a way-faring

<sup>1</sup> All quotations from these two works are from the editions of Finnur Jónsson, *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, udgivet efter håndskrifterne (Copenhagen, 1931) and Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, *Heimskringla*, I, ÍF. 26 (Reykjavík, 1951); the Gefjon story appears in *Gylfaginning*, Ch 1, Jónsson, p. 8 and in *Ynglinga Saga*, Ch. 5, Aðalbjarnarson, pp. 14–16.

woman, *einni farandi konu*, in return for entertainment (*skemtan*) she had provided, one measure of plough-land in his kingdom, as large as four oxen might plough up in a day and a night. But this woman was of the race of the *Æsir* and her name was Gefjon. She then proceeded to the world of the giants, where she begot four sons by an unnamed giant. These sons she turned into oxen and yoked to her plough. Such was their giant strength and so widely and deeply did the plough cut that she was able to wrest a much larger part of Sweden from Gylfi than he had presumably intended to give her. The hole left by her removal of the land became a lake, and the land itself she drew down to Denmark to become the island of Zealand. That is why, it is said, the headlands in Zealand correspond exactly to the pattern of inlets in the lake, which Snorri names as *Lōgrinn*, now generally identified with Lake Mälaren.

Snorri quotes a strophe by Bragi Boddason the Old, a Norwegian skald of the ninth century, as his authority for his account of Gefjon's dealings with Gylfi in both the *Gylfaginning* and the *Heimskringla*. Bragi is the oldest known skald whose works are still extant, unfortunately in a fragmentary form.<sup>2</sup> Only one strophe of a poem about Gefjon is known, though many scholars have supposed that Bragi composed three more and that these four postulated strophes, together with a refrain, formed part of a shield-poem which he recited in honour of a certain Ragnarr, whom most people, following Snorri,<sup>3</sup> have identified with Ragnarr Loðbrók. Elsewhere in the *Edda*,<sup>4</sup> Snorri asserts that two sequences of four strophes with an accompanying refrain, alluding to Hamðir's and Sörli's encounter with Iǫrmunrekk and the story of Hildir and the *Hjaðningar* respectively, were both part of the *Ragnarsdrápa*. There is no reason to disbelieve this attribution, just as, I think, there is no good reason to include the Gefjon strophe as part of the *Ragnarsdrápa* and to assume that Bragi had composed four strophes on this subject. Almost every scholar who has written on the *Ragnarsdrápa* had made such an assumption, and in doing so has unquestioningly followed a theory about the quadripartite structure of the early skaldic genre of shield-poems which was first put forward by Gísli Brynjúlfsson in 1860.<sup>5</sup> In my view there is no evidence to support his theory and not a little which contradicts it. Accordingly, we must remain sceptical about the number of strophes Bragi composed about Gefjon, though evidence presented later in this article indicates that there were probably at least two.

One further point needs to be made about the Gefjon story as it appears in Chapter 1 of *Gylfaginning*. It concerns the relationship of Chapter 1 to Chapter 2 in particular and, in general, to the entire motivation of the narrative. As the

<sup>2</sup> Many texts of Bragi's strophes exist; I refer the reader to Finnur Jónsson's diplomatic edition in *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigting* A, I (1912), pp. 1–5. All quotations from Bragi's works are, however, from my own *Edition of the Ragnarsdrápa of Bragi Boddason*, unpublished B. Litt thesis submitted in 1973 at Oxford University.

<sup>3</sup> Jónsson, *Edda, Skáldskaparmál*, Ch. 52, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Jónsson, *Edda, Skáldskaparmál*, Ch. 52, p. 134 and Ch. 62, p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> "Brage den gamles Kvad om Ragnar Lodbrogs Skjold", *Arkiv for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1860); a detailed refutation of the theory of the quadripartite structure of shield-poems appears in Ch. 3 of my edition of the *Ragnarsdrápa*, p. 22 ff.

text of *Gylfaginning* stands in the majority of MSS, the first chapter motivates Gylfi's quest for the secret of the Æsir's power and knowledge. It allows the subtle and ironical development of the figure of Gylfi as the Æsir's dupe, a role he plays in both the Gefjon story and in *Gylfaginning* as a whole. If the Gefjon story were not present there would be no apparent motivation for Gylfi's quest, for his adoption of a disguise and for his desire to find out why the Æsir were more successful practitioners of sorcery, *ffolkyngi*, than he was himself. This rationalization of the narrative structure is clearly apparent in the first paragraph of Chapter 2 as it appears in MSS Regius (R), Trajectinus (T) and Wormianus (W) of *Snorra Edda*. In the Codex Uppsaliensis (U), however, Chapter 1 is omitted altogether. U is generally considered to be the earliest extant MS of the *Edda*, and is dated to c. 1300.<sup>6</sup> It is much shorter than any other complete version of the *Edda*, but both Finnur Jónsson<sup>7</sup> and Sigurður Nordal<sup>8</sup> were of the opinion that whoever compiled the manuscript had close connections with Reykjaholt and may have had access to Snorri's posthumous papers. Because of this circumstantial evidence linking the redactor of U with Snorri's immediate circle, Finnur Jónsson argued that U represented Snorri's original text and that, since the first chapter of *Gylfaginning* is missing in U, its substance, the encounter between Gefjon and Gylfi, must have been a later addition to *Gylfaginning*, inserted by someone working without Snorri's authority.<sup>9</sup> These arguments obviously raise large questions about the textual history of *Snorra Edda*, which has long been a subject of considerable controversy. Without going into a general consideration of the textual history of the work, it could be argued that the evidence of the extant MSS concerning the evolution of the beginning of *Gylfaginning* points away from Finnur Jónsson's presupposition of an original version of the text, which alone was authorized by Snorri. It is more plausible to suggest that Snorri, or those amanuenses who were working under his direction, had composed several versions of this part of the text, one beginning without the Gefjon story, like U, one with the Gefjon story and a then superfluous brief introduction to Chapter 2, such as we find in W,<sup>10</sup> and a third version, of which R and T are representative, containing the prefatory chapter on Gefjon's deceptive bargain with Gylfi but without the redundant introductory sentence of Chapter 2. Whoever composed this third version produced an introduction to *Gylfaginning* which is clearly to be preferred to the others on literary grounds, and it is reasonable to assume that Snorri did not disapprove of it, seeing that the Gefjon story came to be used again in *Heimskringla*.

In the fifth chapter of *Ynglinga Saga*, which forms the prelude to the history of the kings of Norway in *Heimskringla*, we find a version of the encounter

<sup>6</sup> See Introduction to the facsimile of U by Anders Grape, *Snorre Sturlasons Edda, Uppsala-handskriften DG 11* (Stockholm, 1962).

<sup>7</sup> Jónsson, *Edda*, Introduction, p. xi.

<sup>8</sup> See Nordal's Introduction to the facsimile of W in the series *Corpus Codicum Islandicorum medii aevi*, 2 (1931).

<sup>9</sup> Jónsson, *Edda*, pp. i–lix.

<sup>10</sup> 'Gylfi er maðr nefndr hann var konvngr'.

between Gefjon and Gylfi that differs from that in *Gylfaginning* in several important respects, though it has the same general narrative framework. Like the *Prologue* to the *Edda*, the first few chapters of *Ynglingasaga* present an euhemerized narrative of the arrival of the Æsir in Scandinavia from their home in Troy. According to this account, Óðinn had taken up residence on the island of Funen, and, apparently dissatisfied with the small extent of his territory, sent Gefjon north into Sweden *í landaleitan*, “in search of land”. The narrative then continues baldly, “Þá kom hon til Gylfa, ok gaf hann henni eitt plógsland”. There is no hint here that the ploughland was given to Gefjon as a reward for her entertainment, whatever that might have been, nor that she came to Gylfi in disguise. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson assumes<sup>11</sup> that these details were omitted because Snorri’s audience would already have been familiar with the full story in *Gylfaginning*, but I shall suggest later that it is equally plausible to assume that Snorri changed the emphasis of the story in *Ynglinga Saga*, intending to play down the exchange of gifts motif which is implicit, though not stressed, in the *Gylfaginning* version. I shall argue that the exchange of gifts motif was basic to earlier forms of the myth concerning Gefjon and Gylfi, but that it was not appropriate to Snorri’s purposes in either the *Edda* or the *Heimskringla*, and that the version of *Ynglingasaga* represents a refinement and more perfect adaptation of the Gefjon story to Snorri’s overall plan for the two works.

In the *Ynglinga saga* version of the Gefjon story, Snorri retains those parts which are necessary to the denouement, in which the goddess draws away a large part of Gylfi’s territory to form the island of Zealand. Thus we still find that she travels north to giantland and begets four sons by a giant, who are instrumental in removing her plunder. Bragi’s strophe is again quoted as an authoritative source for Snorri’s prose account. The version in *Ynglinga Saga* does not, however, end with Gefjon’s acquisition of Zealand, but continues with an account of how Óðinn hears of the excellence of the land in Sweden, travels there and immediately subdues Gylfi, “því at Gylfi þóttisk engi krapt til hafa til mótsstöðu við Ásana.” An addition to the story which does not appear in *Gylfaginning* states that Óðinn gave Gefjon in marriage to his son Skjöldr and that they went to live at Hleiðra, by tradition regarded as the seat of the Skjöldungar. Thus Snorri neatly makes Gefjon into the consort of the progenitor of Denmark’s royal house, probably following *Skjöldunga Saga* in making Skjöldr, son of Óðinn, the eponym of the Skjöldungar.<sup>12</sup>

At this stage of our investigation of the myth of Gefjon and Gylfi, it becomes necessary to give some account of the nature of Gefjon, as she appears in other early Norse sources, and to isolate the various mythic building blocks which go to make up the Gefjon story as Snorri knew it. In this way we may be able to arrive at some understanding of the myth’s underlying structure on the one hand, and, on the other, to see how Snorri and Bragi before him chose to

<sup>11</sup> *Heimskringla* I, p. 14, fn. 7.

<sup>12</sup> See Jakob Benediktsson, “Icelandic traditions of the Scyldings”, *SBVS* 15, Pts. 1–2 (1957–9), 60.

emphasize certain patterns in that structural whole at the expense of others. Nor surprisingly, the story of Gefjon and Gylfi appears to be an old myth which has had additional messages incorporated into it; in Snorri's works it has acquired yet another layer of meaning at the expense of at least one of its earlier messages.

Many scholars have compared Gefjon's name with one of Freyja's nicknames, *Gefn*, and linked both *Gefjon* and *Gefn* with the root of the verb *gefa*, "to give".<sup>13</sup> Gefjon, who may thus be considered a Danish avatar of the goddess Freyja, is the embodiment of wealth and prosperity; those few contexts in which her name appears in Old Norse literature and place-names make it clear that, like Freyja, Gefjon was closely associated with the abundance of the soil, with female sexuality and with wealth in the form of jewels and precious stones. De Vries<sup>14</sup> has drawn attention to Latinised Southern Germanic names of female deities which are analogous to Gefjon's; *Aalagabiae* beside the more common *Gabiae* both mean something like "the copious giver". Olrik and Ellekilde<sup>15</sup> have also claimed to see Gefjon's name in Danish place-names such as *Gentofte* and *Gevnø*.

Scattered references to Gefjon in Old Norse literature largely support the inferences we may draw from the etymology of her name. Apart from Bragi's strophe, the two earliest references to Gefjon come from Þjóðólfr of Hvin's *Haustlǫng*, composed in Norway in the early tenth century, and from the Eddic poem *Lokasenna*, in which Loki insults the gods in turn, not sparing Gefjon, who appears here as a member of the pantheon. It is not possible to be certain about the age of the extant *Lokasenna*, but it is fair to assume that much of the information about the divine powers and their attributes which emerges allusively from the antagonists' flyting is of ancient origin. In strophes 19–21 Loki insults Gefjon by telling a story of how she had intercourse with a youth, described as *sveinn inn hvíti*, who gave her a jewel as a reward. The reference is only brief, but it is interesting that Gefjon appears to take the sexually dominant role in the encounter, "oc þú lagðir lær yfir" (20/6).<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, we may infer from Loki's allusive insult that the sexual encounter between Gefjon and the nameless young man was an initiatory one. He is described as a *sveinn*, just as the young Sigurðr, undertaking his fight with Fáfnir, is called *sveinn* by the dragon:

Sveinn oc sveinn, hveriom ertu sveini um borinn,  
hverra ertu manna mǫgr?<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See Alexander Jóhannesson, *Isländisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1958), 188; Jan de Vries, *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Leiden, 1961), 160; Sturtevant, "Regarding the Old Norse name Gefjon", *SS*, 24 (1952), 166.

<sup>14</sup> Jan de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II, 2nd. edn (Berlin, 1957), sectns. 522–562, "Weibliche Gottheiten".

<sup>15</sup> Axel Olrik and Hans Ellekilde, *Nordens Gudeverden*, I, pp. 509 and 517.

<sup>16</sup> All texts of the poetic Edda are quoted from the edition of H. Kuhn, rev. G. Neckel, *Edda, die Lieder des Codex Regius* (Heidelberg, 1962).

<sup>17</sup> *Fáfnismál*, 1/1–3.



In the context, as also in the story of Gefjón's dealings with Gylfi, the goddess gained a reward for her services, and Professor Turville-Petre has drawn attention to a comparable story about Freyja.<sup>18</sup> In the late *Sǫrla Þáttr*, found in *Flateyjarbok*, we are told that Freyja obtained the famous Brisingamen from four dwarves by granting them her sexual favours. Whatever the original nature of the Brisingamen, it is regarded as a jewel in the *Sǫrla Þáttr*, comparable to the jewel which Gefjón won from the youth according to *Lokasenna*. One final point of interest emerges from *Lokasenna's* presentation of Gefjón; after Loki has insulted her, Óðinn comes to her defence, saying that Loki is foolish to rouse her wrath, for she knows the whole destiny of men, just as he himself does. If we can trust this assertion, it is hard not to see Gefjón as a type of Freyja, Óðinn's divine consort and his accomplice and teacher of the art of *seiðr*.<sup>19</sup>

A further indication that Gefjón was possessed of magical powers comes from the *Haustlǫng*, in which Þjóðólfr uses the kenning *ǫl-Gefjón sára* of the witch Gróa. *Haustlǫng* tells how, after Þórr's single combat with the giant Hrungrnir, in which the god was victorious, he retained the giant's whetstone lodged in his skull. There are two versions of what happened next; Snorri tells us that the witch Gróa, wife of Aurvandill, was sent for and began a chant which loosened the whetstone, but, before she had finished, she was distracted and forgot her words, so that the stone still remains fast in Þórr's skull.<sup>20</sup> However, in Þjóðólfr's poem, according to strophe 20, it seems that Gróa successfully extracted the whetstone. It is here (20/2) that Gróa is called *ǫl-Gefjón sára*, "Gefjón of the ale of wounds". Vilhelm Kiil<sup>21</sup> has made out a very plausible case for regarding formulae which preface *ǫl-* to the names *Gefn*, *Gerðr* or *Gefjón* as base-words of kennings for women with magical powers of prophecy, leechdom and sorcery. In so far as Gróa is a sorceress and a leech, the use of *ǫl-Gefjón* is most appropriate. However, I would go further than Kiil does here and suggest that it is possible that Þjóðólfr, younger than Bragi but from the same cultural milieu, knew the story of how Gefjón drew the island of Zealand away from Sweden by means of her giant oxen and alluded to it in his own poem. The kenning *ǫl-Gefjón sára* draws a parallel between Gróa's use of magic to extract the whetstone from Þórr's skull and Gefjón's use of her supernaturally powerful oxen to wrest Zealand away from Sweden.

It has often been regarded as surprising that Snorri describes Gefjón as a virgin goddess with virgin votaries in Chapter 22 of *Gylfaginning*: "hon er mær, ok henne þiona þær, er meyar andaz". This characterization appears to contrast strikingly with Gefjón's role in her encounter with Gylfi and in other contexts in which she appears. The clue to the resolution of this apparent

<sup>18</sup> E. O. G. Turville-Petre, *Myth and Religion of the North* (London, 1964), pp. 176 and 188.

<sup>19</sup> Freyja is said to have been the wife of Óðr (Óðinn) in *Vǫluspá*, str. 25 and in *Hyndluljóð*, str. 47 as well as in *Gylfaginning*, Ch. 22. For Freyja's function as teacher of *seiðr* see *Ynglinga Saga*, Ch. 7 and esp. Ch. 4: "Dóttir Njarðar var Freyja. Hon var blótgýðja. Hon kenndi fyrst með Ásum seið, sem Vǫnum var títt."

<sup>20</sup> Jónsson, *Edda, Skáldskaparmál*, Ch. 26, pp. 104–5.

<sup>21</sup> "Tjodolvs *Haustlǫng*", *ANF*, 74 (1959), 67.

contradiction was supplied by Anne Holtmark in her *Studier i Snorres Mytologi*,<sup>22</sup> when she suggested that Snorri may have attempted to represent in Gefjon the two contrasting aspects of the classical Diana, as patroness of sexuality on the one hand and of the virtues of chastity on the other. We do not find the equation of Gefjon with Diana only in *Snorra Edda*, for it appears with relative frequency in Scandinavian translations of foreign works, most of which, in their present form, are later than Snorri. Nevertheless, some of these Latin works, like Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, were probably known to Snorri, as I shall argue later in more detail. Geoffrey's work was certainly known in Scandinavia from at least 1194.<sup>23</sup> In several works based on foreign sources, including the *Breta Sögur*, which is based on Geoffrey's *Historia*, the name Diana is translated by the vernacular Gefjon. In Chapter 7 of the *Breta Sögur*,<sup>24</sup> the translator has supplied the name Gefjon for Geoffrey's Diana in an incident which tells how Brutus and his companions come to a deserted city in their wanderings and there find in a temple a statue of Diana which is capable of predicting the future. Brutus sacrifices to Gefjon and falls into a profound sleep. The goddess appears to him in a vision and prophesies that he will found a second Troy in Britain.<sup>25</sup> Like the Gefjon of *Lokasenna*, she who represents Geoffrey's Diana also has prophetic powers; moreover, and interestingly, in view of the use Snorri makes of the story of Gefjon and Gylfi, the Gefjon of *Breta Sögur* has a vision of Brutus's founding of a second Troy in Britain.

When we turn to look at Bragi Boddason's strophe on Gefjon's ploughing it is soon apparent that our interpretation of it very much depends on our presuppositions about the nature of the underlying myth. As with much early skaldic verse, there has been a great deal of editorial fiddling with the manuscript texts, though it is impossible to present an edition of the strophe without some editorial shaping of the material. I hope my own has been relatively gentle.

Gefiun dró frá Gylfa  
gløð, diúprøðul, óðla,  
– svát af rennirauknum  
rauk – Danmarkar auka.  
Böru øxn ok átta  
ennitíngl, þars gingu  
fir vineyiar víðri  
valrauf, fiogur haufuð.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Skrifter utg. av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II, Hist-Filos. K1., Ny Serie, No. 4 (1964).

<sup>23</sup> See Niels Lukman, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth', *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, 5 (Copenhagen, 1960), cols. 262–3 and references cited there.

<sup>24</sup> ed. E. Jónsson and F. Jónsson, *Hauksbók* (Copenhagen, 1892–4), p. 241.

<sup>25</sup> For Geoffrey's Latin text, see ed. A. Griscom, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (London, 1929), pp. 237–8.

<sup>26</sup> 'Gefjon, rejoicing in her patrimony, deeply wise, drew Denmark's increase from Gylfi, so that the hauling beasts of burden steamed. The oxen had four heads and eight forehead-ornaments

There have been a number of articles written by various scholars, including Axel Olrik, Finnur Jónsson, Anne Holtsmark and Vilhelm Kiil, which present an interpretation of Bragi's strophe together with a theory of the meaning of the myth which underlies it.<sup>27</sup> However, except perhaps in the case of Kiil, these writers have made little attempt to consider Bragi's strophe as but one witness to the changing messages of a multivalent myth, and have not closely related their own theories to the literary and stylistic emphases of the strophe itself.

Although Bragi's Gefjon strophe is in the skaldic *dróttkvætt* measure, there are some striking stylistic differences between this strophe and others by the same author. Like his six half-strophes on the subject of Þórr's encounter with the Miðgarðsormr, but unlike the more fully-developed skaldic style of those strophes which are known to belong to the *Ragnarsdrápa*, the Gefjon strophe is lacking in complex kennings and has only medium complexity of syntax. Another characteristic, which is particularly obvious in the second half-strophe, is the enumerative description of the oxen's heads and eyes. It is this stylistic feature which caused H. M. Chadwick, in a passing reference in *The Growth of Literature*,<sup>28</sup> to suggest that this kind of phraseology might be due to the influence of riddles. However, he dismissed it as stylistically insignificant, saying that it could equally derive from the coincidence that descriptive, gnomic and antiquarian poetry was largely cultivated by the same class of poets in early Scandinavia. Against his dismissal, which implies that Bragi was unable to produce varied stylistic effects in his verse, we can advance the evidence that strophes by Bragi are extant in several different genres, which clearly show that he was master of diverse poetic styles that he was not in the habit of confusing.<sup>29</sup>

Thus it is difficult to accept that the riddle-like characteristics of the Gefjon strophe are merely a slightly out-of-place carryover from an undifferentiated

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(tingl), where they went before the extensive plunder of the meadow-island."

The strophe is extant in three MSS of *Snorra Edda*, viz. R, T and W and in three MSS of *Heimskringla*, viz. F (Codex Frisianus, AM 45 fol.), J (Jöfraskinna, AM 38 fol.) and K (Kringla, AM 35 fol.).

The following are the significant MS variants:

<i>rauþul</i> R etc.: <i>raðuls</i> F <i>qþla</i> R, F, J, K: <i>audla</i> T, <i>qðla</i> W	2
<i>rauk</i> R etc.: <i>raqn</i> F <i>auka</i> R etc.: <i>haqa</i> K	4
<i>enni tungl</i> , all MSS <i>gengu</i> , all MSS	6
<i>vineyar</i> , R, F, J, K: <i>vineydiar</i> T, <i>vinæyia</i> W	7
<i>valrauf</i> R etc.: <i>valrof</i> W	8

<sup>27</sup> Axel Olrik, "Gefjóns pløjning", *DSt* (1910), 1-31; Finnur Jónsson, "Brage skjald", *APS*, 5 (1930-1), 237-86; Anne Holtsmark, "Gevjóns plog", *MM* (1944), 169-179; Vilhelm Kiil, "Gevjónmyten og *Ragnarsdrápa*", *MM* (1965), 63-70 and "The Norse prophetess and the ritually-induced prostitution", *Norveg*, 9 (1962), 159-174.

<sup>28</sup> I (Cambridge, 1932), p. 415.

<sup>29</sup> Thus, as I have suggested elsewhere (*Edition of the Ragnarsdrápa of Bragi Boddason*, Ch. 8, "The Iðmunrekkr Strophes", p. 98 ff.), Bragi begins his version of the death of Hamðir and Sörli in a stylistic mode suggestive of the heroic lay in *fornyrðislag*. Again, as Bo Almqvist has investigated (*Norrön riddiktning*, I (Uppsala, 1965), pp. 28-34), a *lausavísa* attributed to Bragi, and beginning "Skald kalla mic . . ." (*Skjald A I*, p. 5) is an exchange between the poet and a troll woman which probably belongs to the same stylistic genre as later Icelandic verse-duels between *ákvæðaskáld* and supernatural beings.

gnomic style. Rather, their presence suggests that Bragi may have been drawing on a well-known riddle which described Gefjon and her oxen in a manner similar to the way in which Óðinn and Sleipnir are presented in the riddle-collection of *Heiðreks Saga*.<sup>30</sup> Another riddle of similar type, also in *Heiðreks Saga*, is that which describes a cow.<sup>31</sup> In all three instances, the riddling element turns upon the unusual number of extremities or appendages of the animals, or, in the case of Óðinn and Sleipnir, of the combination of horse and rider. If this is the sort of stylistic reverberation that Bragi's lines may have produced in his audience's minds, it would have given his strophe greater resonance, for, as in the case of Óðinn and Sleipnir, there is a supernatural power about the combination of Gefjon and her oxen which is brought out by that particular riddling mode of description which defines an unusual group of creatures by those bizarre attributes they have in common. The emphasis of line 6 on the oxen's eight *ennitíngl*, "forehead-ornaments" (or *ennitungl*, "forehead-moons") calls to mind their supernatural power which goes beyond the sheer physical strength that Bragi depicts in lines 3 and 4, *svát af rennirauknum/rauk*. Frequently in Old Norse literature, and also in the literatures of other peoples, the direct gaze of a hero, a divinity or some other supernatural creature expresses his full physical and psychic power; so Bragi represents the Miðgarðsormr directing its baleful stare against Þórr as the first sally in their struggle for dominance in the early days of the world.<sup>32</sup>

If, as seems likely, Bragi's Gefjon strophe shows certain of the characteristics of the Old Norse riddle form, it is possible that at some time in its transmission the story of Gefjon and Gylfi was encapsulated in a riddle which Bragi knew. Further, it is likely that the extant strophe is but one of a pair, the first, now lost, asking questions about Gefjon and Gylfi that the second strophe answers. In an incisive article,<sup>33</sup> Vésteinn Ólason has shown that the recognized skaldic verse-form of *greppaminni*, "skalds' mnemonic", which is exemplified in the twelfth-century *Háttalykill* and again in Snorri's *Háttatal*, is a special type of the Norse riddle which was often used by poets, and, as its name implies, must have served as a mnemonic whereby ancient lore could be handed down from one poet to another. In its basic stylistic form, *greppaminni* poses a series of four questions, one to a line, which are then answered in four following lines. Thus a single strophe puts a series of questions in the first half-strophe which elicit a corresponding series of allusive answers in the second half-strophe, such that a whole myth is recreated in small compass. There are some examples, notably *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II, 5 and 6, and one of the riddles

<sup>30</sup> ed. Christopher Tolkien, *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise* (London, 1960), verse 72, p. 44.

<sup>31</sup> ed. cit., verse 70, p. 43.

<sup>32</sup> This strophe is numbered 17 in *Skjald A I*, beginning "Ok borðroins barða . . ." and is number 16 in my edition; c.f. *Arinbjarnarkviða* 5/6, where *ennimáni* describes King Eiríkr's fear-inspiring glance; also *ennis innmáni*, *Húsdrápa* 4/1, *Skjald A I*, p. 137, of Þórr's terrifying eyes; c.f. further, Jan Gonda, *Eye and Gaze in the Veda* (Amsterdam-London, 1969), esp. p. 35 ff.

<sup>33</sup> "Greppaminni", in ed. Jakob Benediktsson et al., *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar* (Reykjavík, 1969), pp. 198-205.

of Gestumblindi in the *Hauksbók* text of *Heiðreks Saga*,<sup>34</sup> where the questions are posed in one strophe and the answers follow in a second, and it is presumably to this type that the Gefjon strophe belongs. The strophe we have presents the answers to questions that have already been put, and it does so in that crisp, succinct style, often placing important personal names first in the line, that is one of the stylistic hallmarks of *greppaminni*.

To turn now to the nature of the myth underlying the Gefjon story as Bragi presents it, we must readily agree with Axel Olrik that his strophe lays great stress on the energy of Gefjon's ploughing and the aid afforded by her giant oxen, together with an emphasis upon the richness of the booty they pulled away. Olrik<sup>35</sup> considered that the myth of Gefjon and Gylfi had close associations with a ploughing ritual. No one could dispute the weight of evidence that Olrik and others have assembled to show that ploughing rites existed in Scandinavia and other parts of Northern Europe, including England, from very early times. Their object appears to have been to promote the fertility of the soil at the dead time of the year, magically transferring richness to the earth by the pouring of libations and by the act of ploughing itself, which was often undertaken by a woman. Furthermore, the "oxen" who pulled the plough in these rituals were often young men, sometimes dressed in animal pelts. Evidence of a literary kind comes from the Old English charm *For Unfruitful Land* which is addressed in part to a female fertility figure associated with a ritual ploughing ceremony that seems to antedate Christian ritual in England, though the charm as a whole is presented in Christian dress.<sup>36</sup>

Bragi's presentation of Gefjon's ploughing lays much greater stress than does Snorri's on the physical energy and brute force involved in the oxen's ploughing away of Zealand and on their supernatural power. In two of his kennings, *Danmarkar auki*, "Denmark's increase", and, more particularly, *infir vineiyar víðri/valrauf*, "before the extensive plunder of the meadow-island", Bragi also alludes to the richness and fertility of Gefjon's fraudulently gained reward, more precisely a *valrauf*, a plunder-breach. His use of the specifically West Norse *vin*, "rich pastureland, meadow" in the compound *viney* not only speaks for the antiquity of his vocabulary but for the extreme fertility of the product of Gefjon's ploughing.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of Bragi's vigorous description of the oxen's ploughing, one can hardly say that his strophe presents any evidence that the poem of which it is a part was an integral part of a ploughing ritual nor even that the poem described a ritual ploughing ceremony. Olrik's observations, consequently, are useful in establishing some of the general associations of the goddess Gefjon but do not have particular relevance to Bragi's Gefjon strophe.

<sup>34</sup> ed. Jón Helgason, *Heiðreks Saga, Hervarar Saga ok Heiðreks konungs* (Copenhagen, 1924), pp. 62–3.

<sup>35</sup> "Gefjóns pløjning", *passim*.

<sup>36</sup> ed. E. V. K. Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. 6 (New York, 1942), pp. 116–118.

<sup>37</sup> See Valter Jansson, *Nordiska Vin-namn* (Lund, 1951).

Indeed, Bragi's strophe does not only concern itself with Gefjon's ploughing. There is another part to the story of Gefjon and Gylfi in Bragi's account which Snorri also knew. For Bragi the island of Zealand was plunder obtained from Gylfi, and one can infer that he knew the motif of the deceptive bargain as Snorri describes it. How much, then, did he know of the coin in which the bargain was struck? The answer to this question hinges on what one understands the second line of Bragi's strophe to mean, and this line, *gløð, diuprøðull, óðla*, can best be understood in the context of the reason Snorri gives for the striking of Gefjon's deceptive bargain with Gylfi. As we have already seen, Snorri gives us to understand that Gylfi simply transferred land to Gefjon in his *Ynglinga Saga* narrative; she arrived and he gave her the land. There was apparently no bargaining to do. However, in *Gylfaginning*, we read that Gylfi did not at first know that Gefjon was a deity but thought he was dealing with a way-faring woman: "hann gaf einni farandi konu at launum skemtunar sinnar eitt plogs land iriki sinu." The bargain, then, was motivated by something that Gefjon had done for Gylfi, something that he was obliged to reward her for, and it is hard not to agree with Vilhelm Kiil that the *skemtan*, "entertainment" that Gefjon provided, and which aroused Gylfi's generosity, was of a sexual kind.<sup>38</sup> Snorri has underplayed this part of the story, because, as I shall argue, it did not suit his purposes, and in *Ynglinga Saga* he omits all reference to Gefjon's role as an entertainer. It is reasonable, however, to deduce from Snorri's use of the word *skemtan* that he was alluding to the fact that Gefjon's reward was a payment for her sexual favours. Although it is true that *skemtan* has a fairly wide range of meanings in Old Icelandic, including "passtime" and "entertainment", which might include entertainment in the form of games, fights, stories and general merriment, it often has the sense of "sexual enjoyment" when it is used of private encounters between a man and a woman.<sup>39</sup> This deduction about the implications of the Gefjon story as Snorri tells it in *Gylfaginning* is supported by allusions in other early Scandinavian sources to the view that Gefjon, like Freyja, often sold her sexual favours to men.

If, then, the motivation for Gylfi's grant of land to Gefjon was a sexual transaction between king and goddess, the kernel of the myth bears a remarkable similarity to that group of Norse myths which associate the continuing prosperity of a king and his royal house with the visitations of supernatural women who become their lovers, often coming to them disguised as way-faring women or beggars. Thus, in Chapter 11 of *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*,<sup>40</sup> an *álfkona* visits King Helgi in the disguise of a poor, tattered creature but, on sharing his bed, becomes a beautiful maiden by whom he has a child, a daughter with the valkyrie-name of Skuld. This *álfkona*'s visit is by no means the only

<sup>38</sup> See his "Gevjonmyten og Ragnarsdrápa" and, for what he believes to be the cultural background to the myth, "The Norse prophetess and the ritually-induced prostitution".

<sup>39</sup> For examples of the use of *skemtan* to mean "sexual enjoyment", see J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog*, 4th. edn. (Oslo, 1973), entries ("i obscøn Betydning") *sub skemtan*, *skemta*, vb. and the compound *nætrskemtan*.

<sup>40</sup> ed. D. Slay, *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*, Editiones Arnarnæmæ, Series B, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1960), pp. 30–33.

one she has made to kings, for, as she says to Helgi: ‘‘ok hef eg marga kongra heimsockta’’. In another version of this mythic pattern, the female visitant is a giant foster-mother,<sup>41</sup> or a *fylgjukona*, a female guardian spirit attached to the king’s family who has been the *fylgjukona* of his ancestors before him.<sup>42</sup> Such relationships, which are also to be found between heroes, such as Helgi Hundingsbani, and *fylgjukonur* who are valkyries, seem to bear witness to half-remembered practices of ritual marriage. Some of these appeared to take place within the family in such a way that the male members enjoyed a continuing relationship with their female tutelary spirits, which did not necessarily prejudice the marriages that they subsequently contracted outside the kin-group.<sup>43</sup> Vilhelm Kiil has characterized the myth which underlies the relationship between Gefjon and Gylfi as an expression of ritual prostitution,<sup>44</sup> but the analogues I have presented here suggest that the paradigm relates to a different kind of contract between king or hero and his *fylgjukona*, which is based on the idea that the favour of the tutelary spirit is essential to the prosperity of her lover. If, as King Helgi did in *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*, the male partner ignored the *fylgjukona*’s advice or otherwise disregarded her, she had no hesitation in turning upon him. Such, possibly, may originally have been the rationale for Gefjon’s deception of King Gylfi, though there is no evidence in the extant story to confirm that supposition. At all events, the concept of prostitution in its normal sense is inappropriate here, just as it is probably inappropriate to the story of Gefjon and the youth in *Lokasenna*.

If Bragi alluded to Gefjon’s sexual dealings with Gylfi, he did so only in line 2 of his strophe. Our interpretation here depends upon whether we understand *diúprøðull* as meaning ‘‘sun of the deep’’, ‘‘gold’’, hence ‘‘reward’’, or as an adjective with the meaning ‘‘deeply wise’’; on whether we consider, with Kiil, that \**æðla*, gen. pl. of \**æðl*, an otherwise unrecorded verbal noun with the sense ‘‘incitement to lust’’ is to be preferred over *óðla*, the gen. pl. of *óðal* (pl. *óðul*), ‘‘patrimony, ancestral property, allodial lands’’, a reading first proposed by Anne Holtsmark.<sup>45</sup> In my own edition of this strophe,<sup>46</sup> I have preferred to take *gløð óðla* as referring to Gefjon, in the sense ‘‘rejoicing in, happy in her patrimony’’ and then to see *diúprøðul*, ‘‘deeply wise’’, as an adjective, in apposition to *Gefjun*, suggesting her powers of foreknowledge, which we know of from other sources, and perhaps her command of *fjölkyngi* which enabled her to strike such a favourable bargain

<sup>41</sup> See H. R. Ellis Davidson, ‘‘Fostering by giants in Old Norse saga literature’’, *MÆ*, 10, no. 2 (1941), 70–85.

<sup>42</sup> This mythic pattern is explored brilliantly in an article by Nora Chadwick, ‘‘Þorgerðr Hölgabrúðr and the *Trolla Þing*: a note on sources’’, in ed. C. Fox and B. Dickins, *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe: H. M. Chadwick memorial studies* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 397–417.

<sup>43</sup> Chadwick, art. cit., pp. 412–13.

<sup>44</sup> arts. cit.

<sup>45</sup> art. cit. c.f. also *Fsv* 5, in which Svipdagr, on first beholding Menglōð’s enclosure, uses the word *óðal* of it; this use of the word is pointed out by Lotte Motz, ‘‘The King and the Goddess. An interpretation of the *Svipdagsmál*’’, *ANF*, 90 (1975), p. 146.

<sup>46</sup> ed. cit., pp. 266–67.

with Gylfi. My reading would, of course, require us to understand Bragi's use of *óðla* as both proleptic and ironical, seeing that he later states that Zealand was Gefjon's plunder, though it is possible that if Gefjon was a deity especially associated with the prosperity of the land around the Baltic in early times, we may see here some unconscious vestige of the concept that both Sweden and Denmark were Gefjon's *óðal* land, she being the original guardian and protector of its prosperity. The fact that, according to my reading of the Gefjon strophe, Bragi does not mention Gefjon's and Gylfi's sexual relationship, does not mean that he does not know of it. However, it must be conceded that in the one strophe that Snorri quotes, it was not a major emphasis, and this would hold true even if we allow Kiil's interpretation of *diúprøðull æðla* as "payment for erotic excitement".

Moreover, if the core of the myth of Gefjon and Gylfi does indeed express the relationship between a king and his *fylgjukona*, it has been overlaid and added to in several ways in Bragi's strophe as well as in Snorri's accounts. The most important accretion is the motif of the deceptive bargain between two parties, in this case Gefjon and Gylfi, one of whom tricks the other by an apparently modest and innocent request which has consequences unforeseen by the dupe. The basis of the deceptive bargain motif which we find in the Gefjon story can be described as the deception of a mortal by a supernatural being or, in some cases, of one supernatural being by another of greater power. The story of the giant builder who tries to defraud the Æsir of Freyja, the sun and the moon also rests on a deceptive bargain motif as Snorri tells it in Chapter 41 of *Gylfaginning*. It is this motif, too, as we shall see, that Snorri develops in his retelling of the myth of Gefjon and Gylfi, but it is an aspect of the myth which was already known to Bragi.

Another part of the Gefjon story which Bragi already knew and Snorri developed after him concerns the goddess's plunder of Gylfi's land and its transportation over the sea to form the island of Zealand. It is obvious that one focus of this latter part of the Gefjon story is ætiological and that the purpose of the tale is to explain how the island got to its present position. Many tales concerning the origin of islands tell how a primeval hero or giant moved the island to its present position,<sup>47</sup> and some ascribe a geotectonic role to goddesses who, like Gefjon, are intimately connected with the prosperity of the land.<sup>48</sup> Thus it may be that Gefjon's responsibility for the creation of Zealand is one of the many manifestations that we have already discussed of her role as an avatar of Freyja, especially in a Danish context. On the other hand, her very association with Denmark may have led to the development of the myth, as we have it in both Bragi's and Snorri's accounts, as not simply

<sup>47</sup> This motif is classified as A 955, Origin of Islands, in Stith Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk Literature*, I (Copenhagen, 1955), p. 175.

<sup>48</sup> See P. MacCana, *Celtic Mythology* (London, 1970), p. 94, referring to the Hag of Bérre, of whom it is related that she dropped cairns on to hills in Meath out of her apron, was responsible for moving islands in West Kerry, built mountains from rocks carried in her creel in Scotland and was queen of the Limerick fairies.



expressive of her geotectonic role but rather of her part in furthering the interests of Denmark as against those of Sweden. In this respect, we can see how the motif of the deceptive bargain has been intertwined with the ætiological myth of how Gefjon created the island of Zealand, and the end result of this combination is that the ætiological myth has been politicised. Thus it is important that the fertile meadow land, which was to become the site for the royal seat of Hleiðra, capital of the Skjöldungar, who Snorri link with Gefjon through her marriage with Óðinn's son Skjöldr, was a piece of plunder, and, as Bragi expresses it, *Danmarkar auki*. Denmark's increase was, in these terms, Sweden's loss. Not only in Snorri's narrative, but also in Bragi's strophe, there emerges a strong sense of political rivalry between Denmark and Sweden, and in both cases the myth is presented with a Danish bias. Snorri carries this much further than Bragi does, and it is possible that the general attitude we infer from Bragi's strophe may have given Snorri the idea for the narrative structure of *Gylfaginning*, in which the naive Swedish king Gylfi is deceived by the Danish-based Æsir, who send Gefjon out *i landaleitan*, in order to obtain land to consolidate their territorial ambitions and dynastic claims in Denmark. In both the *Prologue* to *Snorra Edda* and the fifth chapter of *Ynglinga Saga*, Snorri indicates that the quality of the land that Gefjon wrests from Gylfi only succeeds in whetting Óðinn's appetite for territorial expansion in Sweden, for he then proceeds north to Uppsala, where Gylfi weakly capitulates to the Æsir's demands. Side by side with Snorri's account of the Æsir's expansion into Sweden we find the equation of Gylfi the Swede with weakness and foolishness and this is underlined by the parallel narrative of how, having been deceived by Gefjon's superior powers of *fjǫlkyngi*, he resolves to sit at the feet of the Æsir and discover the secrets of their powers. Of course, in the context of *Snorra Edda* as a whole, he is the greater fool for that, as the Æsir had deceived men into believing they were divine.

To return at last to a comparison of Snorri's two versions of the encounter between Gefjon and Gylfi, I have suggested that he played down the *skemtan* which passed between them in *Gylfaginning* and omitted all reference to it in *Ynglinga Saga*. It is true that he may not have found a very strong emphasis on the sexual relations of Gefjon and Gylfi in his immediate source, Bragi's strophe, but, on the other hand, we have seen that other sources indicate that Gefjon was relatively well-known as a deity, like Freyja, closely connected with the powers of female sexuality. This connection is by no means prominent in Snorri's two narratives. The story as Snorri tells it turns on the deceptive bargain motif and, specifically, on a version of it which Stith Thompson has classified as the motif of the deceptive land purchase.<sup>49</sup> I propose that the reason why the story of Gefjon's ploughing suited Snorri's grand plan for *Snorra Edda* and *Heimskringla* so well that he used it twice over was that the deceptive land purchase motif which was central to it drew a clear parallel

<sup>49</sup> The deceptive land purchase is classified as K 185 by Stith Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk Literature*, IV (Copenhagen, 1957).

between early Scandinavian history and that of both the world of the *Aeneid* and the history of Britain as told by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Just as the *Prologue* to the *Edda* begins with the emigration of the Æsir from Troy, so the *Gylfaginning* begins with an episode in which one of the Æsir, as Snorri has it, uses magical trickery to obtain land for her dynasty. Gefjon acts in a manner similar to another female pioneer, Dido, who obtained land for the settlement of Carthage by a deceptive bargain:

deuenero locos ubi nunc ingentia cernes  
moenia surgentemque nouae Karthaginis arcem,  
mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,  
taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.<sup>50</sup>

This particular version of the motif involves a deceptive bargain in which one party, who wishes to settle in the territory of another, says that he will be content with as much land as can be surrounded by an ox-hide. This seems a modest request and it is granted. However, the would-be settler cuts the ox-hide into very small strips, then joins them together and so succeeds in obtaining a very large tract of land. A consequence of this deception is that normally the intruding party obtains a permanent foothold in the new country.

A variant of the motif that we find in the story of Dido's deceptive bargain appears in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, completed about 1136.<sup>51</sup> Here the invader Hengist asks Vortigern for a gift of land, a city or a castle, but Vortigern refuses, saying that he is unable to trust Hengist's intentions. Hengist thereupon makes his apparently innocent request for as much land as he can cover with a bull's hide. Some scholars have believed that Geoffrey probably had Vergil's allusion to Dido's deceptive bargain in mind here and that he was familiar with Servius's commentary on the *Aeneid*, in which he would have found an explanation of Vergil's etymologizing speculation on the name Byrsa, as a confusion of the Phoenician *bosra*, "citadel" with *byrsa*, "bull's hide".<sup>52</sup> It can never be established that Snorri knew Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* as a whole, though it is likely that he did. However, it is probable that he knew the substance of the section of the *Historia* which deals with Hengist and his settlement in Britain, for in his *Haralds Saga ins Hárfagra* in *Heimskringla* Snorri tells the story of Snæfríðr. This story is generally reckoned to have been based, at least in part, on Geoffrey's account of how Hengist obtained Kent from Vortigern in exchange for his beautiful daughter, Rowena, and first appears in Norse in *Ágrip* which was probably compiled in Trondheim about 1190.<sup>53</sup> Although Snorri is thought to have drawn on *Ágrip* for his account of Haraldr and Snæfríðr, and thus may

<sup>50</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid*, I, lines 365–68; ed. R. A. B. Mynors, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford, 1969).

<sup>51</sup> ed. Griscom, pp. 368–370.

<sup>52</sup> C.f. Hans Tausendfreund, *Vergil und Gottfried von Monmouth* (Halle, 1913), pp. 40–41.

<sup>53</sup> For Snorri's account, see *Haralds Saga ins Hárfagra*, Ch. 25, in ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, *Heimskringla*, I, ÍF, 26 (Reykjavík, 1951), pp. 125–7; for the connection of the story of Snæfríðr with Geoffrey of Monmouth, see *Moltke Moes Samlede Skrifter*, II (Oslo, 1926) and Ólafur Halldórsson, "Snjófríðar Drápa", *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar*, pp. 147–159.

not have known Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* directly, there is a strong probability that stories of Hengist's land purchase, both the bull's hide trick and the narrative of his purchase of Kent through the gift of his daughter, which directly follows the deceptive bargain in the *Historia*, had a general currency in late twelfth and early thirteenth century Scandinavia, either in oral or in written form.

The third analogue relevant to the story of Gefjon's deceptive bargain with Gylfi comes from Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*.<sup>54</sup> Here Saxo tells that Ívarr, son of Ragnarr loðbrók, cunningly obtains a foothold in King Ælla's Northumbrian kingdom by cutting a horse's hide into strips and enclosing a piece of ground large enough to build a city on. Saxo's story of Ívarr and Ælla seems to show the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth's tale of Hengist and Vortigern; indeed, it has been suggested that the *Historia Regum Britanniae* provided the model for Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*.<sup>55</sup> It would not then be surprising if Snorri was also influenced by Geoffrey's grand plan and saw the story of Gefjon, resonant with the echoes of Dido's founding of Carthage and Hengist's gaining of land in Britain, as the fitting beginning to his own account of the history of the kings of Scandinavia in *Heimskringla*.

We have seen that Snorri's account of the Æsir's dealings with Gylfi in the *Gylfaginning* is somewhat at odds with what he says of their gentlemanly relationship in Chapter 5 of the *Prologue* to the *Edda*. In this latter case it seems that there is no indication that the Æsir needed to hoodwink Gylfi in order to gain a foothold in his territory. This discrepancy between *Gylfaginning* and the *Prologue* may be explained by Snorri's varying emphasis on one of two related euhemeristic theories which accounted for the existence of pagan deities. In the *Prologue* he suggests that the Æsir were taken to be gods on account of their superior achievements; in the *Gylfaginning*, however, he indicates that they were thought to be gods because of their skill in *fiqolkyngi*, in delusive magical trickery which enabled them to impose themselves on credulous followers.<sup>56</sup> We have already seen that Gefjon, like Freyja, is associated with sorcery in other contexts in Old Norse literature. How appropriate, then, that the story of her dealings with Gylfi should provide the motivation for the narrative structure of *Gylfaginning*, which becomes an elaborate and amusing exposition of how the Æsir fooled Gylfi into believing that they were divine. The story has been pruned of all but the vestiges of its

<sup>54</sup> ed. J. Olrik and H. Ræder, *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*, I (Copenhagen, 1931), IX, v, 4.

<sup>55</sup> See further Niels Lukman, "Geoffrey of Monmouth", *KLNM*, 5 (1960), cols. 262-3.

<sup>56</sup> The view of the pagan gods as tricksters can be traced back to St. Augustine; see his arguments against Varro in *De civ. Dei*, esp. vi, 7 and vii, 18. Before Snorri, these arguments were expressed in Scandinavian literature in Saxo's *Gesta* I, vii, 1-3 and also in the sermon *Um þat hvaðan ótrú hófst in Hauksbók*; this sermon was almost certainly based on an Old English source, Ælfric's *De Falsiis Diis*, ed. J. C. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, II, EETS 260 (1968), pp. 667-724. On the subject of Snorri's euhemerism much has been written; see especially A. Heusler, "Die gelehrte Urgeschichte im altisländischen Schrifttum", *Abh. der preuss. Akad. der Wiss. in Berlin*, Hist.-phil. K1. (1908); Walter Baetke, "Die Götterlehre der *Snorra Edda*", *Berichte d. Verh. Sächs. Akad. der Wiss.*, phil.-hist. K1. XCVII:3 (1950); S. Beyschlag, "Die Betörung Gylfis", *ZfdA*, 85 (1954-5); Anne Holtmark, "Studier i Snorres Mytologi", *passim*.

associations with the sexually motivated bargain; instead, Snorri connects Gefjon with the motif of the deceptive land purchase and, by so doing, provides for early Scandinavian history a worthy analogue to the Vergilian allusion to Dido's founding of Carthage and to Hengist's securing of land in Vortigern's Britain. Furthermore, he draws on an ancient source, the skaldic strophe of Bragi Boddason. We know that Snorri regarded skaldic verse as valuable evidence for an historian;<sup>57</sup> perhaps, then, he considered Bragi's works as particularly authoritative, for he gives no indication that he knew any earlier vernacular authority.

I should like to return finally to the observation with which I began this article; that the story of Gefjon and Gylfi does not seem to have achieved great popularity in Scandinavia, if we may judge by the extant records, except in the intellectual circle of Snorri Sturluson and also, having regard to Bragi's and Þjóðólfr's poems, in the milieu of Norwegian court poetry of the second half of the ninth and the early tenth centuries. Moreover, this myth shows a pro-Danish and anti-Swedish bias. Danish political influence was certainly present in late ninth and early tenth-century Norway, especially at the court of the kings of Vestfold, for whom Þjóðólfr composed the *Ynglingatal*, and it is well-known that the family of the Oddaverjar, with whom Snorri was intimately associated in his youth and from whom he derived his education, had strong links with Danish culture and politics. There were many stories and traditions concerning the Skjöldungar which were known to twelfth-century Icelanders and these appear to have been most vigorously cultivated by the Oddaverjar, who claimed descent from the Skjöldungar.<sup>58</sup> It is possible that Snorri learnt the myth of Gefjon and Gylfi from his foster-family, in which it may have been passed down by means of the professional skaldic mnemonic of Bragi's *greppaminni*, and, recognizing its thematic similarities to Vergilian and fashionable medieval historiographical models, saw it as the perfect vernacular analogue with which to begin his bi-partite Scandinavian history, which was a history of religion as well as a political history.

<sup>57</sup> *Heimskringla*, Prologus, p. 5.

<sup>58</sup> C.f. Benediktsson, "Icelandic traditions of the Scyldings".

JANEZ OREŠNIK

# The Modern Icelandic Epenthesis Rule Revisited

## Summary

(1) There is no Epenthesis Rule in Modern Icelandic grammar. The rule must have ceased to operate in the seventeenth century at the latest, when the oldest examples of the *klifr* type appeared in the written sources. (2) The phonological boundary between a noun and an affixed article can be equated with the morpheme boundary. There is no need for an Enclitic Boundary Rule in the grammar. (3) The vowels that are deleted by the Vowel Syncope Rule must satisfy the following conditions: (a) They must be “elidable”. (b) They must be followed by at most one short consonant, the morpheme boundary, and another vowel. (c) They must occur in grammatical forms that are enumerated in a list of contracted forms.<sup>1</sup>

1. In ANF 87 (1972) I published a Modern Icelandic Epenthesis Rule, which introduces an /y/ in the context C——r{C, #}. The argumentation in favour of that rule has now to be reviewed for two reasons: (1) Since the publication of Orešnik 1972 some new facts have appeared that have some bearing on the question of the existence of the Epenthesis Rule. (2) The solution advocated in Orešnik 1972 gave rise to some difficulties, which were mostly recognised and discussed in the footnotes to that paper. It was confidently assumed that future research would contribute towards their removal. Nothing of the kind has happened since 1972, for which reason those difficulties must be discussed again. The result of this renewed look at the Modern Icelandic Epenthesis Rule is that there is no such rule in Modern Icelandic grammar.

The argumentation of Orešnik 1972 in favour of a Modern Icelandic Epenthesis Rule was divided into two parts: (1) the argumentation in favour of the nominative singular ending *-ur* being derived from underlying /+r/; (2) the argumentation in favour of many other *ur*'s being derived from underlying /r/'s.

1.1. The claim that the nominative singular ending *-ur* is derived from underlying /+r/ is now considered inconclusive, for the following reasons:

(1) It was asserted that the nominative singular desinences *-r* and *-ur* are in complementary distribution, with *-r* appearing after vowels, and *-ur* after consonants, so that any /+Yr/ could be derived from /+r/ with the help of a simple rule: /+r/→/+Yr/ after consonant final stems. This argument does not

<sup>1</sup> My thanks are due to Miss Margaret G. Davis, who has corrected my English.

by itself prove that /+r/ is more basic than /+ɣr/, but only that it is possible to derive /+ɣr/ from /+r/. The validity of the argument is uncertain, because there is a type of words in which /+ɣr/ appears after a vowel on the phonetic level. The type can be illustrated by *skógur* 'forest', where *g* is not pronounced. On the phonological level the situation can presumably be remedied by positing underlying /skóx/, with the stem final /x/ generalised from the gen. sg. *skógs* [-xs], where /x/ appears on the phonetic level. (The genitive singular is *skógs* and *skógar*.) A set of new rules would be necessary to derive the phonetic forms: one rule would delete /x/ between *ó* and *a*, *u* or word boundary, cf. nom. sg. *skógur*, acc. sg. *skóg*, nom. pl. *skógar*, etc.; another rule would palatalise /x/ to /j/ before /+ɪ/ in the dat. sg. *skógi* and in the definite acc. sg. *skóginn*; a third rule would change /x/ to the voiceless plosive /g/ in the definite form *skógnum* of the alternative dat. sg. *skóg*. A difficulty with this solution is that the stem final /x/ has been generalised into the stem from a highly marked case, the genitive singular, a procedure which may go counter to some universal constraint on the form of the underlying stems. The only alternative that comes to mind is to posit a vowel final stem /skó/, and have the case forms of *skógur* analysed as follows:

nom. sg.	/skó + ɣr/	pl.	/skó + ar/
gen.	/skó + xs, skó + ar/		/skó + a/
dat.	/skó + jɪ/		/skó + ɣm/
	/skó/, def. /skó + gnɣm/		
acc.	/skó/, def. /skó + jɪn/		/skó + a/

If this version is adopted, /+r/ and /+ɣr/ are not in complementary distribution on the phonological level, and the above argument in favour of /+r/ → /+ɣr/ collapses.

(2) It was asserted that underlying /+r/ helps explain why no *j* appears in the nom. sg. *bylur* 'snowstorm' whereas it does appear in, say, the dat. pl. *byljum* of the same word: *bylur* would be from /bylj + r/, /j/ would be deleted between two consonants by a *j*-Deletion Rule, and then the Epenthesis Rule would produce /byl + ɣr/. However, it is unlikely that the underlying stem of *bylur* ends in /j/, for the following reason. An asset of the stem ending in /j/ is that the usual simple ending /+ɣm/ can be posited in the dat. pl. *byljum* instead of an allomorphic ending /+jɣm/: /bylj + ɣm/. If this is an advantage, the same analysis should be applied in the declension of *lyf* 'medicine', dat. pl. *lyfjum*: /lyfj + ɣm/. However, this leads to difficulties in the dative singular of *lyf*, which is *lyfi*. If the stem of *lyf* ends in /j/, the underlying representation of *lyfi* is /lyfj + ɪ/, and we are left with no means to delete the /j/, because /j/ is not generally deleted before /ɪ/, cf. 2p. pl. pres. *krefjið*, not *krefið*, of *krefja* 'require'. (This problem was mentioned in footnote 4 of Orešnik 1972.) The way out of this difficulty is to posit a stem of *lyf* that does not end in /j/, and then the dative singular ending can be /+ɪ/ (/lyf + ɪ/), and the dative plural ending must be /+jɣm/ (/lyf + jɣm/). If /+jɣm/ can be posited in the declension

of *lyf*, it can also be posited in the dative plural of *bylur* (*/byl + jym/*), and there is no longer any reason for the representation with */+r/* in the nominative singular, seeing that there is no */j/* to be deleted interconsonantly. Thus the argument of *bylur* in favour of */+r/* collapses.

There is a bonus in positing */j/*-initial endings in the case forms in which a *j* surfaces in the phonetic representations: it is now no longer necessary to have a *j*-Deletion Rule in the grammar. As the nom. sg. *lyf* shows, the *j*-Deletion Rule is supposed to operate word-finally as well (*/lyfj/* → */lyf/*). This presents difficulties in cases such as *grenj* (action noun formed on *grenja* 'wail, scream'), where the word final *j* is not deleted. The difficulty disappears if there is no *j*-Deletion Rule in the grammar.

(3) The underlying representation */söngv + r/* of *söngur* 'song' has been posited so that, say, the dat. pl. *söngvum* could be analysed as containing the ending */+ym/*, which occurs with many nouns, rather than as containing an allomorphic ending */+vym/*: dat. pl. */söngv + ym/*, not */söng + vym/*. However, the discussion of the example *lyf* sub (2) above has shown that at least one allomorph of */+ym/* has to be posited, viz. */+jym/*, and in that case */+vym/* is not excluded either. So if the dative plural can be analysed as */söng + vym/*, the nominative singular can be analysed as */söng + yr/*, because the ending */+r/* is no longer needed as part of the environment for the interconsonantal deletion of */v/*.

There is a benefit in positing */v/*-initial endings in the case forms in which a *v* surfaces in the phonetic representations. As noticed in footnote 6 of Orešnik 1972, a grammar which refuses to admit */v/*-initial endings as allomorphs of the simpler endings without */v/*, and therefore posits */v/*-final stems in the pertinent lexical items, cannot explain the contrast *mör* 'suet' vs. *hverf*, first person singular present indicative of *hverfa* 'disappear'. If *mör* is derived from */mörv/* (cf. gen. pl. *mörva* etc.), a *v*-Deletion Rule must delete the */v/* of */mörv/*. On the other hand, such deletion must not take place in *hverf*, where *f* is pronounced [v], and this has been a problem for the description so far. If */v/*-final stems are discarded, the problem disappears, because the underlying representation of *mör* is then just */mör/*. There is not even any need for a *v*-Deletion Rule in the grammar.

(4) It was asserted that the nom. sg. *hattur* 'hat' must be derived from the underlying representation */hatt + r/*, so that the u-Umlaut Rule can be blocked: the rule should operate while *hattur* is still */hatt + r/*, without */Y/*, and therefore its operation would be blocked in this type of words. However, it is now no longer clear that the u-Umlaut Rule is a phonological rule. See Orešnik (forthcoming a) for an alternative account, in which the u-Umlaut Rule is viewed as morphological, i.e. as operating in certain morphological situations. Under this new conception of the u-Umlaut Rule the nominative singular case forms in *-ur* are not mentioned among the types of word forms which undergo the u-Umlaut Rule. Thus *hattur* can be derived from underlying */hatt + yr/*.

1.2. The argumentation in Orešnik 1972 in favour of many *ur*'s which are not endings being derived from underlying /r/'s had to do with the behaviour of non-masculine nouns whose stems end in radical *r*. Examples of such nouns are *lifur* f. 'liver' and *hreiður* n. 'nest'. They lose their *u*'s before the stem final *r* whenever an ending beginning with a vowel follows: gen. sg. *lifr-ar*, dat. sg. *hreiður-i*. The same loss occurs if the only ending is a vowel-initial form of the affixed definite article: nom. sg. *lifr-in*, dat. sg. *lifr-inni*, acc. sg. *lifr-ina*, nom./acc. sg. *hreiður-ið*, nom./acc. pl. *hreiður-in*. It was assumed in Orešnik 1972 that the enumerated forms with the affixed article speak in favour of the Epenthesis Rule, in the following way. If the underlying representation of the stem of, say, *lifur* were bisyllabic, /lɪvʏr/, it would have to be assumed that the Vowel Syncope Rule has operated in *lifrin* etc. However, other examples show that the Vowel Syncope Rule does not operate if the affixed article is a part of its structural description. Cf. *hamar* 'hammer', definite form *hamar-inn*, not *hamrinn*, although this noun otherwise undergoes vowel syncope freely: dat. sg. *hamri*, nom. pl. *hamrar*, etc. It was therefore assumed in Orešnik 1972 that the underlying representation of the stem of *lifur* is monosyllabic, /lɪvr/, and its bisyllabic shape in *lifur* due to the operation of the Epenthesis Rule, whose existence was therefore postulated.

The recent emergence of some new facts has cast doubt upon this solution. The new facts are here summarised from Orešnik (forthcoming b).

Modern Icelandic has reintroduced words ending in consonant + word-final *r*. All such words are action nouns, *a*-stems of neuter gender, derived from *ön*-verbs whose infinitives end in *Cra*; e.g. *klifr* 'climbing' comes from *klifra* 'climb'. Here follows my complete list of such nouns: *amr* (formed on *amra* 'whine'), *bogr* (cf. *bogra* 'walk stooping'), *duðr* (cf. *duðra* 'be busy with something easy'), *flögr* (cf. *flögura* 'flutter, flap'), *hamr* (cf. *hamra* 'hammer'), *klambur* (cf. *klambra* 'make clumsily'), *klifr* (cf. *klifra* 'climb'), *kumr* (cf. *kumra* 'bleat, neigh'), *peðr* (cf. *peðra* 'deal out in small portions'), *pukr* (cf. *pukra* 'conceal'), *snupr* (cf. *snupra* 'chide'), *stumr* (cf. *stumra* 'totter'), *sötr* (cf. *sötra* 'suck through the teeth'), *töfr* (cf. *töfra* 'charm'), *umr* (cf. *umra* 'growl'), *vavr* (cf. *vavra* 'toddle, roam, stroll'). Some of these nouns have been culled from Blöndal's (1920–24) dictionary, others from miscellaneous other sources. (For details of occurrence see Orešnik forthcoming b.) The oldest examples of such nouns occur in Jón Jónsson Rugman's booklet *Mono-syllaba Is-landica*, published in Uppsala in 1676.

The existence of the *klifr* type speaks against the existence of an Epenthesis Rule in Modern Icelandic grammar, for the Epenthesis Rule would invariably change, say, *hamr* to *hamur*.<sup>2</sup> Therefore examples like *lifrin* have to be dissociated from examples such as *hamarinn*, and it must be assumed that the underlying representation of the stem of *lifur* is bisyllabic after all, /lɪvʏr/, so

<sup>2</sup> To be sure, some lexical items of the *klifr* type have parallel formations in *ur*, e.g. *klifr* and *klifur*. Owing to lack of documentation in the files of the University of Iceland Dictionary Project it is impossible to ascertain the historical relationship between, say, *klifr* and *klifur*. Here it is assumed that the *klifur* type stems from the time when the Epenthesis Rule was still operative.



that the Vowel Syncope Rule applies in *lifrin*, etc. This vowel syncope must be limited to the unstressed *u* of non-masculine nouns (there is no comparable syncope in masculine nouns: *akurrinn* 'the acre' does not become *akurrinn*), and avoids the *u* of the ending *-ur*, cf. *brúð-ur-in* 'the bride', not *brúðrin*. The evidence for this syncope is as follows:

(1) Syncope has taken place in the definite nom./acc. pl. *sumrin* of the neuter noun *sumar* 'summer'. (Pl. *sumurin* exists as well.)

(2) Böðvarsson (1960:5) adduces, from Jón Árnason's collection of folk-tales, forms such as nom. sg. *dóttirin* beside *dóttirin* and *dótturin*, and acc. sg. *dóttirina* beside *dótturina* and *dóttirina*, of *dóttir* 'daughter'. The nom. *dóttirin* and the acc. *dóttirina* can only be explained as due to syncope of the unstressed vowel of the stem.

This syncope sometimes fails to operate, resulting in substandard forms such as *lifurin* of *lifur*, pl. *blómsturin* of *blómstur* 'flower', etc. Examples of neuter gender were adduced in Orešnik 1972. I now also have comparable examples of feminine gender, culled from the files of the University of Iceland Dictionary Project. The files contain (as of April 1976) one example of *gimburin* of *gimbur* f. 'lamb of female sex', from the nineteenth century, three examples of *lifurin* of *lifur* f. 'liver', all from the twentieth century, and one example of *næfurin* of *næfur* f. 'bark of birch', from the nineteenth century.

Thus it seems that there is no Epenthesis Rule in Modern Icelandic grammar. The rule must have ceased to operate in the seventeenth century at the latest, when the oldest examples of the *klifr* type appear in the written sources.

2. In appendix B of Orešnik 1972 I discussed the nature of the boundary between a noun and the article affixed to it. The boundary in question was referred to as the AMPERSAND BOUNDARY, and this term will be used here as well. It was argued that the ampersand boundary is identical with a word boundary, only replaced by a morpheme boundary earlier in the derivations than other word boundaries. The substitution of the morpheme boundary for the ampersand boundary was postulated, executed by a special ENCLITIC BOUNDARY RULE.

The arguments in favour of the identification of the ampersand boundary with the word boundary were of two kinds. Some were supposed to show that the ampersand boundary does not behave in the same way as the morpheme boundary, and some, that it does not behave in quite the same way as the word boundary. Partially because of the above discussion of the Epenthesis Rule, I now think that there are no arguments against the identification of the ampersand boundary with the morpheme boundary. A further result is that, as the ampersand boundary can be identified with the morpheme boundary, there is no need for the Enclitic Boundary Rule in the grammar.

I propose here to review the four arguments that were supposed to show that the ampersand boundary does not behave in the same way as a morpheme boundary, and to demonstrate their invalidity.

(I) It was asserted that the Vowel Syncope Rule can operate across a morpheme boundary, whereas it cannot operate across an ampersand boundary. The above discussion of the type *lifrin*, *hreiðrið* brought to light that the Vowel Syncope Rule can sometimes operate even across the ampersand boundary. Thus the behaviour of the Vowel Syncope Rule says nothing about the relative strength of the ampersand and morpheme boundaries.

(II) It was asserted that the preconsonantal and word-final /j/'s and /v/'s are deleted, by the *j*-Deletion Rule and the *v*-Deletion Rule, respectively, before the ampersand boundary, but not before the morpheme boundary. It was shown above in section 1 that there is no *j*-Deletion Rule or *v*-Deletion Rule in the grammar, so that the behaviour of these rules can say nothing about the relationship between the ampersand and the morpheme boundaries.

(III) It was asserted that the u-Umlaut Rule can apply across a morpheme boundary, whereas it cannot apply across the ampersand boundary. It has already been mentioned that in my new version (Orešnik forthcoming a) of the u-Umlaut Rule that rule is not phonological, but morphological: it does not apply across any boundaries but in certain grammatical forms, irrespective of whether the postpositive article is affixed to any given noun form. The behaviour of the u-Umlaut Rule thus tells us nothing about the relationship between the ampersand and the morpheme boundaries.

(IV) It was asserted that the Vowel Truncation Rule (which deletes an unstressed vowel before another vowel) can operate across the morpheme boundary, whereas it cannot operate across the ampersand boundary. I now think that there is no Vowel Truncation Rule in Modern Icelandic phonology, and consequently the behaviour of that putative rule can tell us nothing about the relationship between the ampersand and the morpheme boundaries.<sup>3</sup>

To summarise, I can say that the arguments that were supposed to show that the ampersand boundary behaves differently from the morpheme boundary are not valid. In Orešnik 1972 I also published a number of arguments that the ampersand boundary behaves differently from the word boundary. Those arguments still stand. Since Modern Icelandic phonology recognises only two

<sup>3</sup> All my examples in which the putative Vowel Truncation Rule should have operated are based on the validity of the principle that the number of desinence allomorphs should be kept to a minimum. Following this principle, I assumed that the ending of the 3p. sg. pres. ind. *kallar* (of *kalla* 'call') is just *-r*, and the same *-r* was supposed to occur in, say, the 3p. sg. pres. ind. *dæmir* (of *dæma* 'judge'). Consequently the stems of *kalla* and *dæma* were set up as *kalla-* and *dæmi-*. A further consequence of this was that the first person plural present was set up as /*kalla* + *ym*/ and /*dæmi* + *ym*/, and it was necessary to introduce a new rule, the Vowel Truncation Rule, to delete the stem final vowels before the vowel of the person marker. Since the publication of Orešnik 1972 no proof has appeared of the principle that the number of desinence allomorphs should be kept to a minimum, and I therefore think now that that principle is premature, and that in reality the desinence of *kallar* can be *-ar*, the desinence of *dæmir* can be *-ir*, hence the respective stems can be just *kall-* and *dæm-*, and the first person plural forms underlyingly /*kall* + *ym*/ and /*dæm* + *ym*/, without there being any need for a Vowel Truncation Rule in the grammar.

kinds of boundaries, viz. the word boundary and the morpheme boundary, it follows that the ampersand boundary must be equated with the morpheme boundary. Words like *akurinn* are underlyingly */akur + ɪn/*, that is, the affixed article is a desinence, just as *-s* in the gen. sg. *akurs* is a desinence, */akur + s/*. There is consequently no need for an Enclitic Boundary Rule in the grammar.

3. In appendix A of Orešnik 1972 I discussed the Modern Icelandic Vowel Syncope Rule, and have stated the following conditions for vowels that are syncopated: (1) They must be marked as “elidable”. (2) They must not be diphthongs or *í* (*y*) or *ú*. (3) They must be followed by at most one short consonant, a morpheme boundary, and another vowel, in that order. (4) The short consonant which immediately follows the doomed vowel is *n*, *r*, *l*, *ð*, or *s*. Conditions (2) and (4) do not now seem very important to me, because they are special cases of condition (1): only such vowels are marked as “elidable” that fulfil conditions (2) and (4). Conditions (1) and (3) still stand. I can now add one further condition: The vowels which are to be syncopated must occur in morphological forms that are enumerated in a list of contracted forms. – The Vowel Syncope Rule is thus basically a morphological rule.

The list of contracted forms:

A. *Nouns*: dative singular masculine, plural masculine, nominative/accusative singular neuter, dative singular neuter, plural neuter, feminine (all case forms).

B. *Adjectives* (including participles): weak forms, comparatives, superlatives, the following strong forms: dative plural, dative singular masculine, accusative singular masculine, nominative plural masculine, accusative plural masculine, accusative singular feminine, nominative/accusative plural feminine, dative singular neuter.

C. *Verbs*: none.

Examples. Dat. sg. *akri* of *akur* ‘acre’, underlying representation */akur + ɪ/*; the dative singular masculine is enumerated in the list of contracted forms; the *u* is marked as “elidable”, and is followed by one short consonant, the morpheme boundary, and another vowel; therefore the syncope takes place. On the other hand, the middle vowel of the dat. sg. f. *heitinni* of *heitinn* ‘deceased’ is not syncopated, although this vowel satisfies the stated phonological environment (the underlying representation being */heitin + ɪ<sup>4</sup>/*), and although it is “elidable”

<sup>4</sup> The following are the allomorphs of the strong adjectival dative singular feminine case ending: infix */ǰ/* + desinence */+ɪ/* in the types *seinn*, *sæll*, *mikill* (dat. sg. f. *seinni*, *sælli*, *mikilli*); desinence */+ɪ/* in the type *heitinn* (dat. sg. f. *heitinni*); desinence */+rɪ/* elsewhere (e.g. *gulur*, dat. sg. f. *gulri*). There exists the possibility that the underlying representation of the dat. sg. f. *heitinni* contains a long */n/*, and the lack of vowel syncope would then be ascribable to the fact that the “elidable” vowel is followed by a long consonant, not by a short one required by the phonological structural description of the Vowel Syncope Rule. The motivation for the long */n/* in *heitinni* comes from the phonetically realised long */n/* in the definite dative singular case forms such as *ánni* of *á* ‘river’; the postposed definite article is basically declined in the same way as the adjectives in *inn*. In order to be able to posit long */n/* in the underlying representation of the dat. *heitinni*, we would

(cf. dat. pl. *heitnum*); the reason for the non-syncopation is that the form (strong dative singular feminine) is not enumerated in the list of contracted forms. The unstressed vowel of the acc. sg. m. *heitinn* is not syncopated, although the form (strong accusative singular masculine) is enumerated in the list of contracted forms (cf. acc. sg. m. *gamlan* of *gamall* 'old'), and although the unstressed vowel is marked as "elidable" (cf. dat. pl. *heitnum*); the reason for the non-syncopation is that the unstressed vowel is only followed by a short consonant, not also by a morpheme boundary and another vowel. The middle vowel of the dat. pl. *heimilum* of *heimill* 'at one's disposal' is not syncopated, although the strong dative plural is enumerated in the list of contracted forms (cf. dat. pl. *heitnum*), and although the middle vowel is followed by one short consonant, a morpheme boundary and another vowel; the reason for the non-syncopation is that the middle vowel is not marked as "elidable".

The forms of only one word, *sumar* 'summer', cannot be accounted for by the above system. As its contracted dat. sg. *sumri* shows, the unstressed vowel of the stem is "elidable". Yet it is not syncopated in the definite nominative/accusative singular, which is *sumarið*, not *sumrið*. Furthermore, the nominative/accusative plural is not only (the expected) *sumrin*, but also *sumurin*. This lexical item must be considered irregular, which is not surprising, seeing that it pertains to the core of the Icelandic vocabulary.<sup>5</sup>

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have to make use of the principle according to which the number of desinence allomorphs has to be reduced to a minimum in each case. However, I am not aware of any proofs of this principle, and therefore think that it is more correct to posit just /+i/ as the desinence of *heitinni* (rather than long /n/ + /i/), as required by the phonetic facts.

<sup>5</sup> The language has made two attempts at diminishing the irregularity of *sumar*: (1) Under the influence of *sumarið*, the unstressed vowel of the singular form was interpreted as not "elidable", and a non-contracted dative singular was introduced, *sumari*. The files of the University of Iceland Dictionary Project contain two instances of the dat. *sumari*, one from the eighteenth, another from the nineteenth century. (2) Under the influence of *sumri*, the unstressed vowel of the singular was interpreted as "elidable", and a contracted nominative/accusative singular *sumrið* was introduced. The files of the University of Iceland Dictionary Project contain two instances of *sumrið*, both from the nineteenth century. – These regularising attempts have not obtained a footing in the modern literary language.

MAGNÚS PÉTURSSON

## L'élément temporel

Un problème de prononciation illustré par un exemple de l'islandais moderne, langue à quantité

### Introduction: le Problème

Dans un travail récent (Pétursson 1974a) nous avons étudié la quantité vocalique et consonantique en islandais dans des mots isolés prononcés par six sujets. Dans notre recherche nous avons constaté, non sans étonnement, que les sujets originaires de la région de *harðmæli* (où les occlusives aspirées intervocaliques sont conservées) avaient un autre système quantitatif que les sujets originaires de la région de *linmæli* (où les occlusives intervocaliques sont non aspirées; pour la limite des zones, voir Pétursson 1974b, p. 347).

L'islandais du Nord (= *harðmæli*) a, d'après nos résultats, deux quantités, vocalique et consonantique, conformément aux descriptions classiques de la langue moderne (Einarsson 1967, p. 4-6), alors que l'islandais du Sud (= *linmæli*) n'a que la quantité vocalique effectivement réalisée (Pétursson 1974a, p. 49).

Il est bien entendu que ce résultat ne peut pas encore être considéré comme définitif, mais il indique qu'un problème existe dans ce domaine, problème qui à notre avis ne pourra être résolu qu'à partir de recherches expérimentales soigneusement effectuées avec des textes de différentes catégories et un nombre considérable de sujets.

Dès le moment où nous avons pu constater l'existence de deux systèmes quantitatifs en islandais moderne, nous nous sommes posé la question suivante : que se passera-t-il si les sujets dont le parler natal est l'islandais du Sud essaient de prononcer à la manière de l'islandais du Nord? Maintiennent-ils le système quantitatif de l'islandais du Sud en changeant seulement l'occlusive intervocalique non aspirée en occlusive aspirée ou se conforment-ils au système quantitatif de l'islandais du Nord? Dans le premier cas seule la consonne intervocalique serait affectée, dans le deuxième cas il y aurait un réajustement complet dans le domaine temporel : les voyelles longues de l'islandais du Sud deviendraient encore plus longues ; l'occlusion de la consonne intervocalique s'allongerait et la consonne deviendrait aspirée.

Répondre à ces questions est d'une importance considérable, car Björn Guðfinnsson (1947) avait préconisé l'adoption du *harðmæli* comme la norme de la prononciation de la langue moderne et ceci est encore aujourd'hui l'attitude officielle en matière de prononciation. Autant que nous le sachions, on n'a pas essayé d'apporter des arguments objectifs en faveur de la solution officiellement préconisée. On s'est contenté d'affirmer que la prononciation de l'islandais du Nord était plus belle que celle du Sud. Cependant toute

appréciation de beauté est un jugement subjectif et relatif, ce qui peut sembler ne pas être suffisant pour prendre une décision aussi importante en matière de prononciation.

Jusqu'à présent nous n'avions pas pu examiner ces problèmes faute de matériaux appropriés. Il fallait en effet pouvoir examiner la réaction spontanée de sujets parlant l'islandais du Sud s'ils étaient mis dans la situation forcée de devoir prononcer à la manière de l'islandais du Nord. Il va sans dire qu'il est difficile de créer une telle situation. Cependant nous y sommes arrivés en pensant à des problèmes tout à fait différents.

En été 1975 nous avons préparé un corpus de logatomes en vue d'étudier des problèmes de coarticulation en islandais. Les logatomes avaient les formes  $V:CV$  et  $VC:V$  où  $C$  est  $/p t k/$ ,  $C': /p: t: k: /$ , et  $V$  une des huit voyelles islandaises  $/a i e u o Y ö/$ . Ces logatomes, au nombre total de 276, ont été lus par trois sujets n'ayant aucune connaissance de phonétique et par nous-même comme quatrième sujet (sujet II). Comme il s'agissait de sujets ne connaissant pas la transcription phonétique, nous avons présenté les logatomes en orthographe islandaise normale. L'occlusive brève avait donc la graphie  $p t k$  et l'occlusive longue la graphie  $bb dd gg$ . Tous les sujets parlent l'islandais du Sud comme langue maternelle. La seule instruction que nous leur avons donnée était de lire les logatomes comme s'ils étaient des mots islandais. Un nombre appréciable de ces logatomes existe effectivement comme des noms propres et communs dans la langue, ce que les sujets ont spontanément remarqué après avoir fini la lecture. Cependant ceci n'est pas le cas pour d'autres. De ce fait quelques problèmes ont surgi dans la lecture.

En islandais moderne les voyelles  $[o e ö]$  ne peuvent pas se trouver en position finale absolue. On a pu observer chez nos sujets une certaine tendance à accentuer ces logatomes sur la voyelle finale, ce qui est un moyen pour marquer clairement le timbre d'une voyelle se trouvant en position inhabituelle. Nous avons donc été obligé de faire répéter la lecture d'un certain nombre de logatomes pour avoir l'accentuation courante islandaise sur la première syllabe.

Le deuxième problème apparu dans la lecture de ce matériel concerne directement le problème de la prononciation de l'islandais du Nord par un sujet dont le parler natal est l'islandais du Sud. L'un de nos sujets, sujet IV, a lu spontanément tous les logatomes à occlusive brève,  $V:CV$ , avec une occlusive aspirée,  $[p^h t^h k^h]$ , c'est-à-dire exactement comme on les lirait en islandais du Nord. Ayant fini la lecture nous lui avons expliqué qu'il aurait fallu lire ces logatomes avec des occlusives non aspirées  $[p t k]$ , comme en islandais du Sud. Le sujet IV a alors répété la lecture suivant nos instructions. Après il a fait la remarque que la deuxième lecture avait été « beaucoup plus facile ». Nous disposons ainsi de deux réalisations spontanées du sujet IV, réalisations idéales pour examiner le problème qui retient notre attention.

Pour voir si nos conclusions précédentes (Pétursson 1974a) se confirmaient ou non dans ce matériel nous avons mesuré la durée chez les quatre sujets. Les logatomes furent lus dans la cabine d'enregistrement de l'Institut de Pho-

nétique de Hambourg et enregistrés sur bande magnétique (vitesse 19 cm/sec). Pour mesurer la durée des mingogrammes ont été réalisés avec un mingographe du type Siemens.

## Résultats

### *Durée des voyelles*

Le tableau I résume la durée moyenne en csec. pour chaque voyelle, chaque sujet et la moyenne générale. Les mêmes données sont représentées sur les graphiques de la fig. 1. Il est évident à partir de ces données que tous nos sujets distinguent nettement entre voyelle longue et voyelle brève. On peut remarquer chez chaque sujet des caractéristiques individuelles lesquelles ne devraient cependant pas affecter la fonction linguistique des deux quantités. Les données du sujet IV concernent seulement les logatomes avec occlusive intervocalique non aspirée. Le sujet II (nous-même) qui connaissait le but poursuivi dans la recherche réalise les différences quantitatives les plus marquées. Chez ce sujet la différence entre voyelle longue et voyelle brève est près de 50%. La moyenne générale est cependant moins nette. La durée moyenne des voyelles longues est de 17.7 csec., celle des voyelles brèves de 11.3 csec., c'est-à-dire les voyelles longues sont de 36% plus longues que les brèves. Ce pourcentage est supérieur au pourcentage obtenu pour l'islandais du Sud dans une autre recherche (Pétursson 1976), qui était de 29,1%, mais presque identique à celui obtenu pour l'islandais du Nord dans cette même recherche, qui était de 37,3%. On peut s'attendre à ce que les différences quantitatives soient mieux exprimées dans un matériel artificiel que dans les mots qui formaient le matériel de notre recherche de 1976.

Il est à noter que les différences de durée intrinsèque des voyelles (Lehiste 1970, p. 18-19; Elert 1964, p. 128-131) ressortent faiblement de ce matériel. Cependant les voyelles ouvertes [a ö] ont la tendance à avoir la durée la plus longue et la voyelle [i] est généralement la plus brève. Ceci est en accord avec des lois de phonétique générale déjà confirmées pour plusieurs langues

Tableau I. Durée des voyelles initiales, longues et brèves (en csec.) chez les quatre sujets examinés.

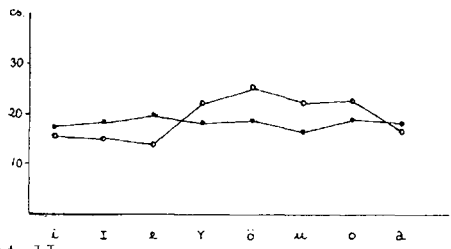
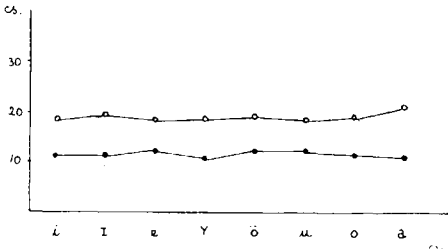
Sujet	a		i		l		e		u		o		Y		ö	
	lon.	br.	lon.	br.	lon.	br.	lon.	br.	lon.	br.	lon.	br.	lon.	br.	lon.	br.
I	20,2	11,3	18,5	11,3	19,5	11,6	18,9	11,9	18,2	12,1	18,9	11,7	18,7	10,9	19,5	12,1
II	24,8	12,6	19,6	11,8	22,4	10,1	22,0	11,2	20,1	12,1	23,6	13,5	23,2	11,3	24,0	13,1
III	17,0	13,0	16,3	13,2	16,2	12,1	17,5	13,2	20,3	12,1	15,8	12,1	20,7	10,9	20,7	12,3
IV	15,9	10,8	12,3	9,6	13,5	9,0	12,3	9,5	12,6	8,9	13,1	9,2	12,7	9,0	12,9	10,2
Moyenne	19,4	11,9	14,1	11,4	17,9	10,7	17,8	11,4	17,3	11,3	17,4	11,6	18,8	10,5	19,2	11,9

lon. = voyelle longue; br. = voyelle brève.

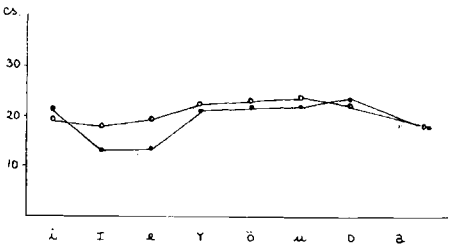
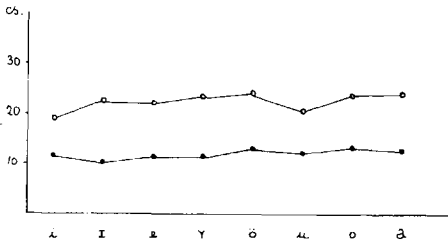
Voyelles initiales

Voyelles finales

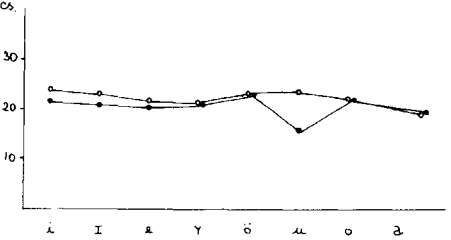
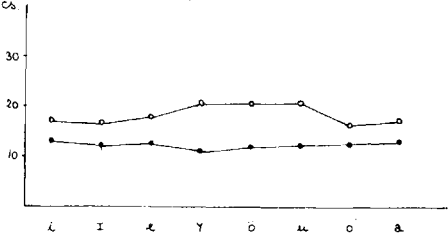
Sujet I



Sujet II



Sujet III



Sujet IV

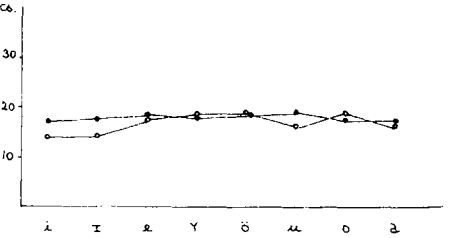
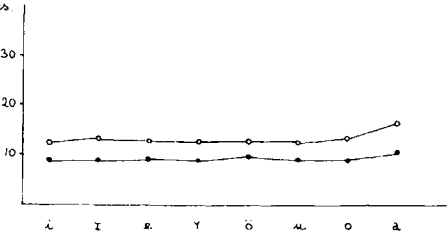


Fig. 1. Durée des voyelles mesurée à partir des logatomes. ○—○ voyelles longues; ●—● voyelles brèves. Pour les voyelles finales: ○—○ voyelles finales d'un logatome, dont la première voyelle est longue; ●—● voyelles finales d'un logatome, dont la première voyelle est brève.



(Lehiste 1970, p. 18–19). Pour les autres voyelles des différences de durée intrinsèque ne se laissent guère apprécier.

Sur les graphiques de la fig. 1 nous avons rapporté la durée des voyelles finales. On peut voir que la quantité de la voyelle initiale n'a aucun effet sur la durée des voyelles finales.

La durée de la voyelle finale est proche de celle des voyelles longues. Nous avons constaté le même allongement dans les mots analysés dans nos travaux précédents (Pétursson 1974a, p. 37). Ce fait permet de penser que les logatomes pourraient, malgré le caractère artificiel qui leur est inhérent, donner une image assez fidèle des faits de la langue. Cet allongement n'a rien à voir avec la quantité comme certains phonéticiens ont voulu l'interpréter (Kress 1937). Il est tout au plus à interpréter comme signal démarcatif indiquant la fin de syllabe, de mot ou de l'énoncé (Trubetzkoy 1962, pp. 241–251).

#### *Comparaison de la durée vocalique dans les deux réalisations du sujet IV*

Il ressort du tableau II que chez le sujet IV les voyelles longues sont légèrement plus longues devant une occlusive aspirée que devant une occlusive non aspirée.

*Tableau II.* Durée des voyelles initiales longues (en csec.) chez le sujet IV.

a) Devant une occlusive non aspirée; b) Devant une occlusive aspirée.

	a	i	l	e	u	o	Y	ö
a)	15,9	12,5	13,5	12,3	12,6	13,1	12,7	12,9
b)	15,8	12,9	13,8	12,8	13,3	13,4	13,8	14,2

Bien que la différence de durée soit réduite elle est régulière pour toutes les voyelles sauf [a]. Ceci correspond bien à nos résultats obtenus à partir de mots isolés (Pétursson 1974a, p. 37), où nous avons constaté que les voyelles longues étaient régulièrement plus longues en islandais du Nord qu'en islandais du Sud. Il semble que c'est une nécessité mécanique (conditionnée physiologiquement ou perceptivement?) que la voyelle soit plus longue devant une occlusive aspirée que devant une occlusive non aspirée. Ceci a été bien confirmé par des tests de perception (Garnes 1976, pp. 173–177).

L'aspiration de l'occlusive subséquente allonge la voyelle précédente et le sujet IV doit se conformer à cette loi, faute de quoi il ne sera pas en mesure de réaliser les logatomes selon la manière de l'islandais du Nord.

Ceci signifie que changer de l'islandais du Sud à l'islandais du Nord n'implique pas seulement changer la consonne intervocalique non aspirée en consonne aspirée, *mais en même temps changer l'organisation temporelle du mot entier* (ou si l'on veut, dans le cas dont nous parlons ici, celle du logatome).

*Durée des consonnes intervocaliques*

Il ressort du tableau III que tous les sujets réalisent clairement la différence entre consonne longue et brève.

*Tableau III.* Durée des consonnes intervocaliques en csec. Les consonnes brèves sont non aspirées. Le chiffre après le + indique la durée de l'explosion.

Sujet	p	p :	t	t :	k	k :
I	16,2 + 1,9	26,0 + 1,9	17,1 + 1,9	26,0 + 1,9	15,3 + 2,9	26,4 + 3,2
II	21,4 + 1,7	32,3 + 1,7	22,1 + 1,7	30,0 + 2,0	21,7 + 2,3	30,9 + 3,1
III	11,6 + 1,6	17,4 + 1,4	11,9 + 2,0	20,0 + 2,0	10,5 + 2,5	16,9 + 2,3
IV	11,3 + 1,7	17,0 + 1,4	10,8 + 1,9	17,1 + 2,0	9,2 + 3,1	15,6 + 2,8
Moyenne	15,1 + 1,8	23,1 + 1,6	15,4 + 2,0	23,2 + 2,0	14,1 + 2,7	22,4 + 2,8

Ce résultat ne confirme donc pas entièrement le premier résultat auquel nous étions arrivé, selon lequel la différence entre consonne longue et brève était minimale chez deux de nos sujets du Sud de l'Islande (Pétursson 1974a, p. 44). Nos données actuelles indiquent seulement qu'il faut être prudent dans l'interprétation de la quantité de l'islandais moderne et que les variations individuelles sont probablement assez importantes.

Les données du tableau III se conforment entièrement à des faits connus de phonétique générale. Ainsi la durée de l'occlusion est d'autant plus brève que le lieu d'articulation est plus reculé dans la cavité buccale et l'explosion est la plus brève pour les labiales et la plus longue pour les vélares (Lehiste 1970, pp. 27-30; Elert 1964, pp. 143-144).

*Durée des occlusives intervocaliques brèves chez le sujet IV*

Le tableau IV résume la durée des occlusives brèves dans les deux réalisations du sujet IV. Il ressort des chiffres que chez le sujet IV les occlusives aspirées ont une occlusion plus longue que les non aspirées intervocaliques. Dans ce cas notre premier résultat obtenu à partir de mots isolés est confirmé. En islandais du Nord les occlusives avaient une occlusion plus longue qu'en islandais du Sud (Pétursson 1974a, p. 44 et 59).

*Tableau IV.* Durée des occlusives brèves intervocaliques dans les deux réalisations du sujet IV.

a) occlusives non aspirées; b) occlusives aspirées.

	p	t	k
a)	11,3 + 1,7	10,8 + 1,9	9,2 + 3,1
b)	12,2 + 4,2	12,1 + 4,5	12,2 + 5,0

## Conclusions

Bien que des logatomes constituent toujours un matériel artificiel, il y a toutes les raisons de penser que ceux que nous avons examinés dans cette étude présentent les mêmes rapports de durée que des mots réels islandais. On peut conclure ceci à partir du fait que les rapports de durée entre les différentes articulations incluses dans les logatomes ici examinés présentent les mêmes caractéristiques de durée intrinsèque que les articulations dans des mots réels.

Les deux réalisations du sujet IV signalent un problème intéressant de prononciation, non seulement en ce qui concerne l'islandais, mais aussi sur le plan général. Ce problème dépasse l'aspect phonologique et concerne la réalisation phonétique des articulations. C'est le problème de l'organisation temporelle lié à la manière de réalisation des phonèmes dans une langue quantitative comme l'islandais. Ce problème surgit lorsqu'on passe d'un dialecte à l'autre à l'intérieur d'une langue. A ce moment de complexes problèmes surgissent qui n'ont guère retenu suffisamment l'attention des chercheurs et des théoriciens (comp. p. ex. Malmberg 1967 qui ne les mentionne guère, voir pourtant p. 135). On pourrait nous objecter que les différences de durée que nous observons sont des différences de durée intrinsèque et donc dénuées de fonction linguistique. Nous ne voyons pas le problème ainsi. Prononcer n'est pas seulement réaliser des distinctions linguistiques, mais aussi réaliser des articulations. Réaliser des articulations signifie se conformer à certaines lois inhérentes à la nature des articulations dont il s'agit. Lorsqu'on change les articulations on doit se conformer aux lois réglant leur production. Et c'est à ce moment que les problèmes surgissent.

Pour ce qui est du problème islandais ici examiné il est évident que le fait de vouloir changer de l'islandais du Sud en islandais du Nord n'implique pas seulement changer de l'occlusive brève intervocalique en occlusive aspirée. Une telle vue du problème est très simpliste. En effet il s'agit de refaire l'organisation temporelle du mot entier (sauf la voyelle finale). Étant donné qu'une réorganisation temporelle est une des tâches les plus difficiles pouvant se présenter dans l'apprentissage de la prononciation d'une langue (Gårding 1974, pp. 33–37), il est probable que la tentative d'imposer la prononciation du Nord comme la norme de l'islandais moderne finisse par apparaître comme irréalisable.

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CARIN SANDQVIST

## En avhandling om färöisk syntax

### Några kritiska synpunkter

Det är inte ofta som det publiceras något om färöisk syntax. Ens intresse väcks därför omedelbart, när man i *Bibliographie Linguistique de l'année 1972* finner följande uppgift: *Costello, Elizabeth L.: Eine syntaktische Analyse der von Hammershaimb gesammelten Föroyischen Sagen. – Ph.D. diss., New York Univ., 1971, 148 p.* Desto mer besviken blir man, då man vid genomläsningen av avhandlingen tvingas konstatera att författarinnans kunskaper i färöiska är otillräckliga och att den språkliga analysen är bristfällig. Många allvarliga invändningar kan dessutom göras mot hennes metod. Det är inte möjligt att inom ramen för denna artikel gå in på alla de felaktigheter i språkanalysen och de metodiska felgrepp som avhandlingen innehåller. Jag nöjer mig med att ge några exempel för att visa att de resultat som förf. kommer fram till måste betraktas med största skepsis.

Författarinnans syfte är att fastställa "welche Sprachkategorie, die Morphologie oder die Wortfolge, die Hauptrolle in dieser modernen, stark flektierten Sprache /färöiska/ spielt" (s. 10). Materialet för undersökningen är avsnittet *Sagn* (ca 60 s.) i Hammershaimbs *Færøsk Anthologi*. Undersökningen är rent kvantitativ.

I kapitel I *Die Hauptelemente des Satzteil*es redovisas vilka kombinationer av huvudelement som förekommer samt frekvensen av de olika kombinationerna. Som huvudelement räknas subjekt (S), finit verb (V), objekt (O) och komplement (K). (*Komplement* förefaller vara detsamma som predikatsfyllnad.) Den syntaktiska enhet som undersöks är "der Satzteil", vilken definieras som en enhet innehållande ett finit verb.<sup>1</sup>

Förf. urskiljer sex huvudtyper av kombinationer: V, VS, VO, VK, VSO och VSK. Dessa indelas i 16 undergrupper efter ordningsföljden av huvudelementen, t.ex. SVO, SOV, VSO. Resultaten sammanfattas i kapitlet *Schlussfolgerungen*, där förf. bl.a. skriver: "Die Wortfolge SV(O/K) macht den grössten Teil des Textes aus, aber es treten auch mehrere sonstige Muster auf, die seltener erscheinen, und die vom Standpunkt des Deutschen – z.B. V, VO, OV, VK (ohne ausgedrücktes Subjekt), OSV und KSV – und des Englischen – z.B. V, VO, OV, VK (ohne ausgedrücktes Subjekt), SOV, VSO, OVS, SKV und KVS – höchst ungewöhnlich sind. Obwohl einige von diesen 11 Ordnungs-

<sup>1</sup> I fortsättningen av artikeln kallas denna enhet *sats*, medan *satsdel* används i sin normala betydelse.

typen sehr rar sind, vertreten sie als eine Gruppe über 28 % des analysierten Textes. Zweifelsohne ist diese Tatsache der reichen Morphologie der substantivischen Hauptelemente des Föroyischen zuzuschreiben." (s. 121 f). Förf. kommer således till slutsatsen att morfologin har relativt stor betydelse. Det är emellertid fullständigt omöjligt att dra några slutsatser om morfologins betydelse kontra ordföljdens med Costellos analys som grund.

Huvudtyperna V, VO, OV och VK, alltså satser utan subjekt, omfattar enligt tabellerna 20 % av alla satser. Av exemplifieringen framgår det emellertid att denna grupp inte bara innehåller subjektlösa satser i vanlig mening utan också predikatskoordinationer. Förf. ger bl.a. följande exempel: V *og svav* "und /er/ schlief", VO *drógu hann fram undan rekkjuváðini* "sle/ zogen ihn vorwärts aus der Wolldecke". Med kontext lyder exemplet: *har sum hann lá og svav; og tá ið hann nú ikki vildi við góðum, gingu teir ein páskamorgun snemma inn í stovu, [...]* *drógu hann fram undan rekkjuváðini, og lovaðu, at [...]* Tyvärr får man inte veta hur stor del av satserna utan subjekt som utgörs av predikatskoordinationer. Vid en snabb genomgång av Hammershaimbs text har jag dock kunnat konstatera att en alldeles överväldigande del tillhör denna kategori. Sådana subjektlösa satser säger naturligtvis ingenting om morfologins betydelse. De kan inte heller betecknas som "höchst ungewöhnlich" ur tysk och engelsk synpunkt.

En annan allvarlig brist i Costellos analys är att hon inte skiljer mellan huvudsatser och bisatser. I tabellerna anges bara i hur många satser varje kombination förekommer. Inte heller i kommentarerna till tabellerna nämns något om att vissa kombinationer bara kan uppträda i vissa typer av satser. Kombinationerna SOV, OSV, SKV och KSV kan t.ex. endast förekomma i bisatser. Alla typexemplen i avhandlingen är visserligen bisatser, t.ex. *ið ófriðin voldi* "was der Streit verursacht", *sum Kunoyingar høvdu sagt* "was die Leute aus Kunoy gesagt hatten", men det sägs aldrig att kombinationerna inte kan finnas i huvudsatser.

Förf. diskuterar aldrig vilka regler som gäller för ordföljden. Hon vill med sin undersökning ta reda på vilka kombinationer som är vanligast. Ofta används uttryck som "die bevorzugte Position". Hon säger t.ex. om subjektets plats: "Dass die bevorzugte Position des Subjekts im Satzteil die erste Stelle ist, lässt sich durch eine Untersuchung der verschiedenen subjektenthaltenden Ordnungsgruppen feststellen. 1516 Satzteile enthalten ein Subjekt in der ersten Stelle [.../ aber nur 722 Satzteile enthalten das Subjekt in der medialen oder letzten Stellen [.../." (s. 32 f). I färöiskan åstadkommer annat fundament än subjektet omvänd ordföljd, och subjektets plats är alltså bunden till positionen efter det finita verbet. Det är naturligtvis viktigt att man tar hänsyn till sådana regler och inte bara mekaniskt redovisar i hur många satser subjektet har den ena eller andra positionen.

Kapitel II har rubriken *Expansion der Nominalphrase im Föroyischen durch Koordination, Apposition und Subordination*. Även mot detta kapitel kan flera anmärkningar göras. Jag inskränker mig till att nämna en minst sagt egendomlig analys. Förf. säger om adjektiv som attribut bl.a. följande: "Es ist sogar nicht

ausgeschlossen, dass das Adjektiv und das modifizierte Nomen einander fernliegend sind." (s. 58). Detta är ett mycket märkligt påstående och man undrar hur sådana konstruktioner ser ut. Av exemplifieringen framgår det emellertid att gruppen "Fernliegende Adjektive" består av predikativa attribut, t.ex. *útlúgvaðir og deyd móðir komu teir til húsa* "erschöpft und todmüde kamen sie nach Hause", och predikatsfyllnader, t.ex. *at trogið er tomt* "dass der Trog leer war", *Simun sigir seg vera bæði svangan og tystan* "Simun sagt, er sei sowohl hungrig als auch durstig". Det kan möjligen vara försvarbart att räkna predikativa attribut som "Fernliegende Adjektive". Däremot måste det anses som helt orimligt att analysera predikatsfyllnader som attribut i nominalfrasen.

I kapitel III *Freistehende Nebenelemente des Satzteilens* redovisas i vilka positioner "die Nebenelemente" återfinns. Med "Nebenelemente" avses "Adverb, Präpositionalphrase, Konjunktion, Infinitiv oder Infinitivphrase, Dativobjekt bzw. Reflexivpronomen, Supinum, elliptischer (ausdehnender) Satzteil, intrusiver Satzteil, fernliegendes Appositiv, fernliegendes Präpositionalobjekt, fernliegende Präposition, Interjektion und Appositiv eines nicht ausgedrückten Subjekts." (s. 125). De resultat förf. kommer fram till blir emellertid svårtolkade och ganska ointressanta, eftersom hon endast anger i vilket förhållande "die Nebenelemente" står till första, andra resp. tredje huvudelementet utan hänsyn till vilka typer av huvudelement det rör sig om. I en sats med två huvudelement kallas platsen mellan dem position B oberoende av vilka de är. Position B kan alltså vara platsen mellan S och V, V och S, V och O eller V och K. En annan egendomlighet i analysen är att platsen mellan första och andra huvudelementet kallas position B i satser med två huvudelement men position C i satser med tre huvudelement. I en sats som *at teir ekki komu* 'att de inte kom' hamnar satsadverbiallet *ekki* i position B, men i en sats som *at teir ekki sóu hann* 'att de inte såg honom' hamnar *ekki* i position C. Första satsen innehåller nämligen bara S och V, medan den andra också har O. Det intressanta när det gäller satsadverbiallets placering är naturligtvis att det i båda satserna står mellan subjektet och det finita verbet – en position som satsadverbiallet kan ha endast i bisatser.

I kapitel IV *Satzteilgefüge* görs en indelning av satserna efter deras placering i meningen. Vad förf. avser med mening är oklart. Hon talar om satskombinationer "welche, der *Interpunktion nach*, Sätze heissen". Det förefaller som inte bara stora skiljetecken utan också semikolon betraktats som meningsskiljande. Satserna indelas i "Alleinstehende Satzteile", "Einleitungssatzteile" och "Folgesatzteile". Första satsen i den grafiska meningen blir "Einleitungssatzteil" medan alla övriga blir "Folgesatzteile". Följdsatserna indelas sedan i tre undergrupper beroende på hur de binds samman med föregående sats. Förf. räknar här med följande sammanbindningsmöjligheter: 1. konjunktioner – samordnande och underordnande – samt konjunktionsgrupper, 2. relativa partiklar/adverb och interrogativa pronomen, 3. paratax. För var och en av grupperna anges vilka kombinationer av huvudelement som förekommer samt deras frekvens. Åter leder författarinnans mekaniska och ogenomtänkta metod till att resultaten blir i stort sett intetsägande. Man har inte stor glädje av att få veta

vilka kombinationer som påträffats i meningarnas första satser så länge man inte vet hur dessa fördelar sig på olika typer av satser. Även mot indelningen av följsatserna kan allvarliga invändningar göras. Det är olyckligt att alla konjunktionssatser förts till samma grupp. Förf. borde åtminstone ha skilt på satser inledda av samordnande konjunktioner och satser inledda av underordnande. Beteckningen konjunktionsgrupp är missvisande. Hit räknas sådana kombinationer som *at meðan*. Det rör sig i sådana fall inte om satser som inleds av konjunktionsgruppen *at meðan* utan om *meðan*-satser som är inskjutna i *at*-satser. Den allvarligaste kritiken måste emellertid riktas mot författarinnans bruk av begreppet *paratax*. Hon ger bl.a. följande exempel: *tá ið teir høvdu fingið upp í bátin av góðum fiski, róðu teir heim aftur* "als sie viele Fische ins Boot aufgezogen hatten, ruderten sie nach Hause zurück". Detta påstås vara ett exempel på *paratax*, där följsatsen inleds av ett verb. Förf. konstaterar att 60 % av alla följsatser i "parataxgruppen" börjar med ett verb. Som framgår av exemplet ovan rör det sig om huvudsatser med omvänd ordföljd på grund av framförställda bisatser. Det är således *hypotax* och inte *paratax*.

Jag vill avslutningsvis ge några exempel på felanalyser som beror på bristande kunskaper i färöiska.

Som exempel på kombinationen SOV ges *nú risin hetta hoyrir* "jetzt hört der Riese das". Av översättningen framgår det att förf. uppfattat den färöiska satsen som huvudsats. Det är emellertid en tidsbisats inledd av konjunktionen *nú*. Denna konjunktion förekommer flera gånger i Hammershaimbs text, men den saknas i den uppräknade av konjunktioner som finns i avhandlingen.

Som exempel på kombinationen KVS ges *Har í Skálavík nevnast menn* "Har i Skálavík heissen die Männer". I sin helhet lyder meningen *Har í Skálavík nevnast menn, sum telja ættarlið frá kópakonu*, vilket betyder "Där i Skálavík omtalas män, som räknar sin släkt från "sälkvinnan"". *Har í Skálavík* är rumsadverbial och inte komplement.

Som exempel på en nominalfras som består av demonstrativ plus nomen ges *og tá er tað huldufólk* "und dann sind /es/ die Elfen". Här är emellertid *tað* formellt subjekt – *og tá er tað huldufólk, sum eru farin við teimum* "och då är det huldror, som har farit iväg med dem".

Som exempel på ett adverb i position B ges *teir stundum smíða* "sie schmieden manchmal". Denna placering av adverbialet är omöjlig i en huvudsats och det visar sig också att här föreligger en allvarlig felanalys. Hos Hammershaimb står *har inni hoyrast teir stundum smíða* "där inne hörs de stundom smida", och *smíða* är alltså inte finit verb utan infinitiv.



## Språksituasjonen i *sørøst-norsk* før og etter den lutherske reformasjon

### I

Språksituasjonen i Norge etter reformasjonstiden har vært gjenstand for interesse og oppmerksomhet både blant historikere og filologer. Jeg nevner navn som Ernst Sars, Gustav Storm, Yngvar Nielsen og Halvdan Koht, og språkfolk som Alf Torp, Marius Hægstad, D. A. Seip og Ragnvald Iversen. Blant disse er det bare Ragnvald Iversen som har gjort systematiske undersøkelser av språksituasjonen i sitt store verk: "Bokmål og talemål i Norge 1560–1630"; men heller ikke han har tatt sitt utgangspunkt i språksituasjonen i mellomnorsk tid, som tidligere har vært lite undersøkt. Av den grunn har jeg tatt opp en mer systematisk undersøkelse av mellomnorsken (1350–1550). I mer enn 1600 diplomer, det eneste kildemateriale fra denne tidsperiode, har jeg innenfor Oslo bispedømme prøvd å finne fram til språkutviklingen i denne for norsk språkutvikling så viktige landsdel.

Jeg har tatt som utgangspunkt brevene som er utstedt i hovedskriftsentret Oslo med sine 3 institusjoner, lagmannsinstitusjonen, domskolen, som utdannet prester for Oslo bispedømme, og skolen ved Mariakirken, det kgl. kapell, hvor prostens iflg. en kgl. forordning av 1314 skulle være Norges kansler, en ordning som ikke ble gjennomført under Erik av Pommern. Brevene fra lagmannsstolen har liten verdi fordi lagmennene i Oslo, likesom ved de andre lagmannsstoler innenfor bispedømmet, Tunsberg, Skien og Viken, for det meste nyttet geistlige skrivere. Brev som er utferdiget av Hallvardskirkens geistlighet har gjennomgående friere skriftformer enn det egentlige kansellimål. Hægstad har undersøkt kongebrevene, og det viser seg at etter 1450 ble det ikke utstedt noe kongebrev på norsk. I en artikkel i Arkiv for nordisk filologi 1965, har jeg undersøkt en annen type brev med kansellimål, nemlig landsvist-brevene eller trygdebrev for en drapsmann for at den dreptes slektninger ikke skulle ta seg selv til rette. Disse brev har et fast formularaktig preg med formularer som har gått igjen i ca. 150 år, så de representerer intet levende mål.

Den friere skrifttradisjon fra domskolen og Hallvardskirken ble med presten ført utover til de sekundære skriftsentrer innenfor bispedømmet, kirker, prestegårder o.s.v. Retningslinjene for denne skrifttradisjonen kan samles i 5 hovedpunkter:

1. Vokalharmonien, skiftet mellom *i-e*, *u-o*, avvikles mer og mer etter 1400. Dette gjelder især ord med lange rotstavelser. I ord med kort rotstavelse holder vokalharmonien seg bedre. Dette har følgende sammenheng:

2. Vokalreduksjonen eller vokalsvekkelsen i endestavelser etter ord med lang rotstavelse som følge av en økende intensitetsaksent med sterkere trykk på hovedstavelsene. *riki* blir til *rike*, *tími* til *time*, *kirkiu* blir til *kirkio*, *fastu* til *fasto*. Senere blir *o* ytterligere svekket til *e*, *a* reduseres til *æ*, *e*: *senda* til *sendæ* og *sende*. I kortstavelsesord holder den opprinnelige vokalkvalitet seg bedre: *viku*, *gatu* (*gotu*), *ladu*, *tiltalu* o.s.v. Dette skyldes at tendensen til økende intensitetsaksent på 1. ste stavelse møtes med tendensen til å beholde rotstavelsen kort; problemet løses på den måte at en del av intensitetsaksenten overføres til endestavelen. Derved oppstår en balanse mellom rot- og endestavelse. I østnorsk gir dette grunnlaget for hel utjamning: *viku* > *vuku*, *gatu* > *gutu*.

3. Kontraksjon eller sammendrag av stavelser blir stadig vanligere: for *laugar-dagr* er f.eks. notert *laurdaghen*, for *sannindi* skrives *sannind*, for *lunnindum* er notert *lundum*, *Mariumessa* blir til *Marimesso*, *kirkiumessa* til *kirkmesso* o.s.v. Denne sammendraging har nok sammenheng med en sterkere rytmisk følelse (sml. den gamle formular: *Qllum mǫnnum þeim sem þetta bref sea eda höyra . . .*).

4. Tallet på rene dialektformer øker: *miunu* og *kiunu* av *mylna* (mølle) og *kylna* (korntørke) oppstått ved sekundær brytning, kanskje foran *tykk l*. En annen dialektordform er *veknare* for *væpnare*, *vaknom* for *vápnom* (sml. "våkenhus" i vestl. og nordl. dialekter).

5. Analogier innenfor bøyningmønstrene brer seg: *mann* akk. erstatter *maðr* etter 1400 (bevart innenfor formularspråket, f.eks. i *bótamaðr*). Den eldre u-omlyd oppheves ved analogi, f.eks. *strand* for *strǫnd*, *hamfn* for *hǫfn* o.s.v.

I verbalbøyningene forsvinner mer og mer avvikende former. Istf. *róa* – *reri* pt. skrives *rode*, ist. for bøyningene *búa* – *bjó* trenger i pt. *budhi* seg inn og opphever reduplikasjonen. I pt. av *døyia* blir pt. erstattet av *dødhe*.

Det er således en tydelig tendens til indre oppløsning av den gammelnorske skrifttradisjon. Denne gamle skrifttradisjon blir dertil utsatt for et stadig påtrykk av østnordisk, særlig dansk, på grunn av fremmede innflyttere som fikk embetsstillinger i Norge (høye geistlige og verdslige). Dette påtrykk finnes først i brev som er utstedt i adelskretser (om dette vises til min avh.: Skriftspråktradisjon ved Hallvardskirken og Mariakirken i Oslo 1350–1450). Selve oppløsningsprosessen har jeg forsøkt å skildre i en mindre og en større avh. som bygger på vitneprov i drapsbrev (Arkiv för nord. filologi 1968, 1970).

Det synes ikke å ha vært noen kulturpersonlighet som har maktet å fornye den gamle skriftspråktradisjon i samsvar med talemålsutviklingen.

## II

Når skrivende personer (forfattere, prester, verdslige embetsmenn) hadde bruk for et skriftspråk, fantes ikke lenger noen norsk skrifttradisjon å bygge på, så

det ble naturlig å nytte danske skriftformer. Dessuten var en vesentlig del av de skrivende av dansk avstamning. Min hovedtese blir:

*Dansk skriftspråk, norsk talemål utenom en forholdsvis fåtallig overklasse.*

Men selv om de skrivende personer nyttet dansk skriftspråk, kunne det ikke unngås at ord for særnorske begreper ble blandet inn. Det gjelder naturens mangfoldige fenomener, terrengforhold som *nut*, *tind*, *li* o.s.v. Det gjelder planter som legende urter, dyr, bondens og fiskerens redskaper, gamle folkeskikker. (Da Peder Claussøn omtaler *los* tilføyer han "kaldes paa Norsche een *Gaube*".) En bygdeprest kan ikke nytte et ord som *pleiel* om treskestav, sml. h.ty. *Flegel*, men norske dialektformer som *sliul*, *slegel* el. *slagvol*, og det samme gjelder norsk folketro og -skikker.

I opptegnelsene fra biskop Jens Nilssøns visitasreiser bruker hans famulus Oluf Børgessøn slike ord som *aalmerckit*, *flog* iflg. Ivar Aasen, om bratt fjell, hvor hverken planter eller trær kan finne fotfeste; fra folketroens verden *juttil*, som må være østn. *jutul*, og han tilføyer: "som de kalleren", sml. østn. "som di kallærn". I visitasreisen til Telemark nevner O.B. gamle gravferdsskikker som *erfue* < gno. *erfi*, og *sion* < gno. *siaund*. Det første ord betegner sammenkomst av den avdødes arvinger ved skifte. Det annet ord *sion* betyr et antall av 7, nyttet om gravferdsgilde den 7<sup>de</sup> dag etter den dødets bortgang. Disse sammenkomster var ofte ledsaget av drikk og slagsmål. Derfor motarbeider biskop Jens slike usømmelige sammenkomster.

Når det gjelder talemålet, gir de mange opptegnelser om bygdemål, som særlig er foretatt av prester, mange opplysninger. (Christen Jenssøns om Sunnfjordmålet allerede i 1640-årene fremover til sogneprest Wilses opptegnelser om Spydebergmålet i 1780-årene o.a.) Slike som Edv. Storm og Thomas Stockfleth gjør endog forsøk på å nytte bygdemål i sin diktning.

Overklassens talemål er av særlig betydning for språksituasjonen. Ragnvald Iversen hevdet i sin tidl. nevnte avhandling, at overklassen også talte dialekt, en østnorsk dialekt som utviklet seg mot en østnorsk norm. Dette kan neppe være riktig. I Norske Rigs-Registrarer finnes fra året 1591 et skriv til Norges 40 lensmenn. Jeg kan ikke se at et eneste navn tyder på norsk opprinnelse. Ikke engang den opprinnelige østnorske Galleætt er representert. Heller ikke Rosensverdættens, den yngste av de norske adelsætter. Restene av de norske adelsfamilier sank ned i bondeklassen. I Danmarks Adels Aarvog b. 13 s. 175 f. opplyses der f.eks. om at en av Rosensverdættens ble husmann i Hedmark, og en annen havnet som vognkarl i Oslo.

Hvem tilhører overklassen på den tid i Norge? I Oluf Børgessøns opptegnelser av biskop Jens Nilssøns visitasreier finnes en kort skildring av et typisk overklassemiljø. I 1593 var Jens Nilssøn buden som fadder til et dåpsgilde på Fritzø. Også Hallvard Gunnarssøn, som også hørte med til kretsen av Oslohumanister, var innbudt som fadder. Han var egentlig fra Østfold, hadde studert ved Rostock universitet, og ble magister ved dette universitet. Ble senere ansatt som lesemester (lector theologiæ) ved Oslo domskole og var en meget lærd herre, som har forfattet flere latinske skrifter. Kun et skrift har han

skrevet på “morsmålet”, d.v.s. dansk: en åndelig spørsmålsbok som populært gikk under navnet “Prestepinen”. Allerede ved biskop Jens Nilssøns ankomst får vi opptakten til overklassemiljøet. Han ble ønsket velkommen med håndhilsen av to *dragefruer*. I den tid brukte man håndhilsen bare i fornemme kretser. Det gno. *handatøki* el. *handatak* var en juridisk bekreftelse på en avtale om f.eks. kjøp eller salg bevitnet av flere personer: “Mer saghom og høyrдум handatøki” (så nevnes de to parter). Eller også: “Mer saghom ok høyrдум at their heldu handhom saman . . .”.

At de to dragefruer kalles fruer viser at de var adelige (NB jomfruer, småjomfruer). En prestekone kunne ikke kalles *frue*, hun har fellesnavnet “quinde” (“Her Peders quinde”). De to dragefruer kalles også *foregangsfruer*. Egentlig er det to forskjellige begreper. Gangkonene forestod anretningen, og sammen med kjøkemesteren skulle de sørge for at gjestene befant seg godt. Ivar Aasen opplyser at begrepet “fyregangsfolk” enda finnes i enkelte bygdemål. Om *dragkone* opplyser Kalkar, forfatter av “Ordbog til det ældre danske sprog (1300–1700)”, at hun hadde som oppgave å utsmykke gildehallen eller festsalen (bl.a. ved å betrekke veggene med vevede tøyestykker, altså et slags “åklede”).

Rangpersonene var plassert i “den nye salen” etter rang og stilling. Denne rang kommer også til syne ved overrekkelsen av faddergavene. Først kom barnets mor, fru Margrete, deretter vertens (Peder Iverssøns) søster, fru Kirstine, deretter kom alle herremennene. Først deretter kom biskop Jens og magister Hallvard, skjønt de var faddere, og deretter alle de andre av gjestene.

I salen med panelte vegger, som var fint gulmalt med inngraverte svarte striper, var plassert 50–60 gjester med omtrent like mange damer og herrer. 6 eller 7 adelsætter var representert: Galleætten, som hadde sterke kontakter med dansk adel, Brockenhus, Uggerup, Huitfeldt (Peder Iverssøn var gift med adoptivdatteren av stattholderen Povel Huitfeldt), Bassættten på Sem i Øvre Eiker, den gamle jyske adelsætten Hørby ved lagmannen i Skien (Pros (fornavn) Lauritzen Hørby), som var svoger av verten. Foruten noen geistlige var blant gjestene også lagmannen og borgermesteren i Tønsberg, noen rådmenn fra Skien og Oslo og noen få større forretningsmenn.

I de gamle borgestuenes var tjenerskapet forsamlet. Mange av dem må ha vært knyttet til Peder Iverssøns 5 vannsager, som han hadde overtatt etter sin far, Iver Pederssøn, som var grunnleggeren av trelastvirksomheten i Vestfold. Disse vannsager hadde nok fremstilt panelbordene i den nye salen. Rangpersonene i denne salen og tjenerskapet i borgestuen gir et tydelig bilde fra den tiden. De gir et tverrsnitt av de sosiale forhold rundt Oslofjorden.

Til dette klasseskille hørte sikkert også et språkskille. En overklasse har en tendens til å skille sitt talemål ut fra almuemålet. Jeg tenker meg flg. tankeeksperiment: Mens personene i den nye salen sa *kirken* (el. *kjerken*), et *bud*, et *brudd*, har *brutt*, *hoved* (*hovedet*, b.f. som har gitt grunnlaget for riksmålets *hode*), *kastede*, *lød* talen i borgestuen: *kjærka* el. *kjørka*, eit (et) *bå(d)*, eit (et) *brot* el. *brøt*, har *broti* el. *brøti*, *hue* el. *hugu*, *kasta*.

En stand som sikkert har spilt en betydelig rolle for språksituasjonen er

prestestanden. Kanskje var det en viss forskjell mellom prestenes dagligtale og forkynnerspråk. En må da ha for øye følgende 3 momenter:

1. Da det norske folk før reformasjonspåbudet var temmelig uforberedt på den lutherske reformasjon, innført som den ble ved et kongebud i 1537, ble det sendt opp til Norge atskillige danske prester, selv om det var umulig å avskjedige de tidligere katolske prester.
2. Prekenen ble den sentrale del av gudstjenesten. Under utarbeidelsen av denne måtte prestene, selv om de var norske, ty til det dansk-tyske reformasjonsspråk, slik som en kjenner det fra biskop Jens Nilssøns prekensamling (utgitt av Oluf Kolsrud og av Brandrud med 32 preker 1917). Dessuten var liturgien holdt i samme stil.
3. Etterat de norske prester ved en kgl. forordning av 1569 var blitt påbudt å studere teologi ved Kjøbenhavns universitet, ble de norske prester enn ytterligere påvirket av dansk språk og kultur. Prestenes sosiale, kulturelle og språklige bakgrunn kan man få nyttige opplysninger om ved å følge biskop Jens Nilssøns visitasreiser.

Det er særlig tre punkter som er av verdi ved bedømmelsen av språksituasjonen. Det første er den nye navneskikken. I den katolske tid var prestenavnene i overveiende grad av norsk opprinnelse: *sira* Åsulf, *sira* Thorstein, *sira* Øystein, *sira* Steingrim, *sira* Eirik o.s.v.

I tiden etter reformasjonen får prestenavnene en annen karakter, idet de ble påvirket av den dansk-tyske reformasjon. I biskop Jens Nilssøns reise til Telemark omtales følgende prestenavn med tittelen *herr*: hr. *Hans*, hr. *Jens*, hr. *Jesper*, hr. *Christiern*, hr. *Lauritz*, hr. *Matz*, hr. *Niels*, hr. *Peder*, hr. *Povel*, hr. *Thomas*, som alle stammer fra bibelske navn nyttet i Danmark; dessuten hr. *Lafve*, hr. *Oluf* som nok også er danske. Oluf Pedersen i Lier kalles også *Farsen*, hans far også kalt *Far*; i dansk brukes ikke skjelden *Fathir* som personnavn (iflg. Danmarks gamle personnavne), kanskje fordi sognefolket ofte brukte *Fader* (Far) om prestene.

Det eneste prestenavn av helt norsk opprinnelse er *Tiøstel* (hr. Lauritz' kapellan i Eiker); til grunn ligger gno. *Thiostulf*. Det er mulig at flere av ovennevnte navn på norsk grunn er oppkallingsnavn etter reformasjonens ledende menn, slike som Hans Tausen, Peder Palladius, Niels Hemmingsen og Povel Madsen.

Et annet moment som har betydning for språksituasjonen blant prestene, er selve visitasene. Enten var det biskopen selv som preket eller det var presten som skulle preke over en på forhånd oppgitt tekst. I første tilfelle ble presten kalt inn på bispekammeret, hvor han under påhør av bispens følge måtte fremsi sin utarbeidede preken, hvoretter biskopen kritiserte prekenstilen og kontrollerte om han preket i samsvar med Luthers lære. I det annet tilfelle ble presten også underkastet kritikk og kontroll. Når pretekstene ble oppgitt på latin, er det kanskje en pekepinn om at den gamle latinske bibeloversettelse lå til grunn

for bibeltolkningen. Undertiden fikk også de to studenter i biskopens følge slippe til på bispekommeret med preken over oppgitte latinske tekster, og de var også gjenstand for bispens kritikk.

En myndig personlighet som biskop Jens har sikkert øvd en sterk innflytelse på de visiterte prester, både hva angår deres prekenstil og tekstutlegging. Visitasene endte med et måltid, hvor biskopen fikk kontakt med noen av de ledende menighetslemmer. Oftest var det bønder og bondelensmenn. Kirkevergene, en gammel institusjon, bistod prestene i praktiske gjøremål som angikk vedlikehold av kirker og prestegårder. Bare hos hr. Lauritz i Eiker merker man representanter for høyere samfunnsklasser.

Biskop Jens må ha vært en sterk personlighet og en nidkjær vokter av den moralske livsførsel. Han påtalte strengt slagsmål og drukkenenskap som gikk i svang i en menighet; han påtalte forsømmelser av gudstjenesten, og han vaktet over seksualmoralen.

Et tredje moment som er av verdi for forståelsen av språksituasjonen, er samkvemmet mellom prestene og bygdefolket. Det var på den måte at prestene fikk kjennskap til bygdemålene, som der finnes atskillige opptegnelser av foretatt av prester. Prestene måtte tilegne seg norske ord for særskilte norske fenomener, og bygdefolket opptok mange ord etter prestenes forkynnerspråk, sml. de mange fremmede språkelementer som er trengt dypt inn i bygdemålene, som ord med prefiksene *an-* og *be-* og suffikser som *-het* og *till dels -else*.

Ved å følge biskop Jens Nilssøn på hans mange visitasreiser (Oluf Børges-søns opptegnelser, utgitt av Yngvar Nielsen 1885) vil man kunne få ytterligere kjennskap til den kulturelle og språklige situasjon i etterreformasjonstidens Norge. Alle disse undersøkelser bør være et ledd i en grundig og objektiv fremstilling av det norske språks historie.

## Ivar Aasen og jamvektregelen

Jamvektregelen er eit kjennemerke på austnorske målføre. Han ter seg på det vis at me finn ulike endingar i inf. og i linne substantiv. Me plar forklåra regelen med å visa til norrøne kvantitetstilhøve – såleis at lang rotstaving i norrønt mål gjev *e* i ending, medan stutt rotstaving gjev *a* eller *u* (*o*) i ending. Former som norrønt *læsa* og *lesa* eller *síða* og *viku* gjev i austnorske målføre former som *læse* ved sida av *lesa* og *sie* attmed *viku*.

Det er ikkje mi meining å ta opp heile det ordskiftet som har gått for seg om dette emnet gjennom tida,<sup>1</sup> men det var tanken å sjå på korleis Ivar Aasen gjer greie for det.

Ivar Aasen oppdaga jamvektregelen då han kom til Seljord i 1845. I eit brev ordlegg han det slik:

Forøvrigt synes disse østnordiske Sprogarter overalt at mangle den Regelmæssighed, som finder Sted i det vestnordiske, – idet visse Klasser af Former (f. Ex. Infinitiverne), som vestnordiske altid ere lige, blive her deelte i to eller flere ubestemte Klasser med forskjellig Dannelse.

(Bd 1, s. 112.)

I 1846 let han prenta ei avhandling: “Om en Ordbok over det norske Almuesprog samt en dertil hørende Grammatik”. Der nemner han at i målføra austanfjells endar veike f. på *e* og *u* (*o*) og inf. på *e* og *a*; av dei som endar på *a* er “nogle faa af de mest brugelige Ord”. (s. 69). Målføreinddelinga han sette opp i dette skriftet, samstavar i hovudsak med det me veit no; det me kan merka oss er at han ikkje har oppdaga skilnaden mellom *a* og *ä* i Vestfold (Kolsrud s. 193).

I FG (1848) har han mange opplysningar om og kommentarar til jamvektregelen; såleis seier han om “Sprogarterne i Agershus Stift og det Nordenfjeldske” at “Inf. og Femin. ere ulige. Der findes Femin. paa *u* (*o*) og Maskul. paa *a*. Vokalerne i Tostavelserord blive ofte ligedannede.” (FG § 342). I bolken om “Overgangsformerne” forklårar han regelen såleis:

Denne Overgang findes i saadanne Ord, som have en lang Mellemlid i Roden og altsaa en enkelt Konsonant efter samme; dog findes *u* ogsaa efter Konsonanter som ere forbundne med *j*, f. Ex. *Evju*, *Silju*.” (FG § 63.)

Før me går vidare, lyt me sjå litt på omgrepet “Mellomvokal” eller “aaben Vokal” hjå Aasen. I Ørsta-Volda-mål og i andre gamalvorne målføre finst det

<sup>1</sup> Sml. Arve Borg: Jamning. I: Olav T. Beito og Ingeborg Hoff: Frå norsk målføregransking 1973.

eit vokalsystem med 15 + 3 einingar. Det er eit slikt system Aasen seg opp som protosystem for landsmålet. Rundt 1960 synte Ingeborg Hoff at eit slikt system eksisterte og framleis var i bruk hjå dei eldste i Ivar Aasens heimetrakter (Hoff). Eit tilsvarande system finst i Setesdal, men der ter dei lange vokalane seg ofte som diftongar (Skomedal). Dette kan me vel då tolka slik at systema i Setesdal og på Sunnmøre harmonerer med det protosystemet Aasen såg på som idealet med omsyn til talet på einingar, men det treng ikkje vera fonetisk identisk. Den beste uttalen fann han i Hordaland fylke og i fjellbygdene austanfor.<sup>2</sup> (Sml. O. Hoff.)

Aasens system kan me setja opp slik (dei opne vokalene merkjer me med gravis aksent):

ì	ÿ	ù		i	y	u
è	ø	ò		e	ø	o
	a			æ	å	

Med opphav i sitt eige målføre og andre målføre med tilsvarande system har Aasen vore vis med at det var ein opposisjon mellom *līm* m. "lem" og "lim" n. "lim", mellom *dÿr* "dør" og *dyr* n., mellom *mòse* m. og *måse* m og mellom *løde* f. og *løde* v. (Sjå FG § 27 og NG § 30.)

Alt i 1848 har Ivar Aasen gjort greie for at endingmotsetnaden *e-a* og *e-u* (*o*) i austnorske målføre heng saman med om vokalen framfor einskild konsonant i rotstavinga (i målføre som skil fonematisk mellom opne og tronge vokalar) er trong eller open: – er vokalen trong får me *e* i ending, – er vokalen open får me *a* eller *u* (*o*). Såleis kan ein setesdøl utfrå sitt system med *beitā* v. og *vītā* v. og sunnmøringen med formene *bītā* og *vītā* med ein gong ha klårt for seg at dei austnorske målføra må ha former som *bītā*, men *vīta* eller tiljamna former som: *vītā́*, *vāttā*, *vatta* osv. Om ein ser litt meir på det Aasen har å seia om jamning og jamvekt og opne vokalar, legg ein fort merke til at han ikkje har oppdaga kvantitetstilhøva i Gudbrandsdalen. Me finn ingen stad opplysningar om motsetnader som *kāṭ* og *kāṭ́*, *hāṭ* og *hāṭ́* eller *lēsa* og *lēsaṭ*. Det er heller ingen ting i skriftene om oksytoneringa i Tinn, t.d. *hánḗ*, *spølá́*, *vikū́*. Det var Johan Storm som fyrst oppdaga det rundt 1880 (Storm, s. 56 ff).

Kva Aasen meiner om lange og stutte eller opne og tronge vokalar i historisk meining ordlegg han så i 1864:

I nyere Grammatiker bliver den aabne Lyd kaldet den korte, og den lukte derimod den lange; men disse Benevnelser behøve vi her til et andet Brug, nemlig til at betegne den virkelige Længde eller Qvantitet i den nu brugelige Tale, hvor den aabne Lyd er deels lang og deels kort, og den lukte ogsaa er ofte kort.

(NG § 9 Anm.)

Aasen har såleis heller ikkje kome under med at dei opne vokalane i nynorsk svarar til dei korte i norrønt, og at ei staving med ein open vokal + einskild

<sup>2</sup> Sml. Bjarne Ulvestad: Vokalsystematikken til Ivar Aasen. Maal og minne 1966 s. 35–52, og Begrepet åpen vokal hos Aasen og i tradisjonen. MoM 1969 s. 121–152, og Der Begriff 'offener Vokal' in der norwegischen Mundartphonetik. Arkiv för nordisk filologi 83 s. 203–207.



konsonant hjå Aasen svarar til ei norrøn stuttstaving. Men endå om Ivar Aasen ikkje har hatt klårt for seg korleis det var med kvantitetstilhøva i norrønt mål og i visse norske målføre, evla han å gje ein jamregel. I 1864 formulerer han regelen slik:

Naar et Ord har en aaben Vokal i Roden, og en enkelt konsonant paafølger, bliver Endevokalen ikke E. men enten A (Aa) eller O (U). Men Lydstillingen maa nærmere bestemmes saaledes, at Rodvokalen maa være en af de Selvlyd, som i § 29 ere betegnede som "oftest korte", fornemmelig A og det aabne O, U, E, I.

(NG § 113.)

Dei som seinare har skrivi om Aasen, har vore inne på at Aasen ikkje har skjønt jamvektregelen. Såleis hevdar Halvdan Koht at Aasen i 1848 ikkje har funne "den store lovi for tiljamningi", og det var P. A. Munch som skulle ha hjelpt han på rett veg (Koht s. 113). Og Munch skriv om FG:

Jeg kan her eksempelvis anføre den saakaldte "Ligedannelse" som Forf. i § 64 (jfr. § 49) saa fortrinligt har udviklet. Hvo, der ei kjender den nærmere Sammenheng, skulde vel tro, at *Staa* og *Stige* kunde være det samme Ord. Men Forf. har viist, at enkelte Dialekter, forandre Rodvokalen efter Endevokalen i næste Stavelse, (...) men, mærkeligt nok, kun i korte Stavelser.

(1848 s. 361.)

"Korte" stavingar hjå Munch vil seia historisk korte stavinger. Regelen om jamvekt frå eit historisk synspunkt er og formulert i eit brev frå Unger til Aasen i 1851.

Jeg hører at han (Nils Halvorsen Trønnes), ligesom jeg ogsaa lagde Mærke til, har opdaget at *a* og *e* (ø) i Infinitiv i denne Dialekt afhænger af Rodvokalens Korthed eller Længde, er denne i det gamle kort ell. uaccentueret og uden Position har Inf. *a*, ...; er den lang (...) får det *e* (ø).

(Bd I s. 459.)

Rasmus Rask har ikkje vore vis med at det fanst nokon kvantitetsskilnad i norrønt mål.<sup>3</sup> Det var Jacob Grimm som påviste det fyrst, og Munch og Unger gjorde dei grimmske synsmåtane kjende her til lands i 1847. Men endå om dei skil mellom lange og stutte stavinger, er dei og nokså bundne av den islandske uttalen, for dei hevdar at dei lange vokalane er "som et slags Diftonger", og á vert uttala som *ao* (Munch/Unger 1847, s. 3–5).

Her kjem me innpå Ivar Aasens språksamanlikningande synsmåte eller metode, og han har gjort greie for det på ymse stader. I 1848 skriv han: "en vis Lyd i den ene Sprogart svarer til en anden Lyd i den anden Sprogart." (FG § 61). I utgreiinga om jamvektregelen har han synt koss ymse ljoðar og former svarar til kvarandre i ulike målføre. Det er bridge i samtida Aasen vil skildra. Dei brigda han finn kallar han "Overgange", og i 1848 gjer han nøgnare greie for kva det er for noko.

<sup>3</sup> Rasmus Rask: Vejledning til det Islandske eller gamle Nordiske Sprog. Kbh. 1811 og Kortfattet Vejledning til det oldnordiske eller gamle islandske Sprog. Kbh. 1832.

Disse Forandringer, som kunde kaldes *Overgangsformer*, maa ansees som tilfældige Omskiftninger af Ordenes Form, hvorved Ordenes Betydning og Forhold ikke bliver i mindste Maade forandret. De maa altsaa nøie adskilles fra de Lydforandringer, som tilhøre Aflednings- og Bøiningsformerne ...

(FG § 61.)

Enda om dei synkrone synsmåtane rår grunnen i FG, finst det samanlikningar med norrønt mål og forklåringar utfrå tilhøve i det gamle målet. Alf Sommerfelt har vel rett i at Aasen i FG ikkje skil systematisk mellom synkroni og diakroni (Sommerfelt); men meir inngåande granskingsarbeid lyt nok gjerast før ein kan seia siste ordet om historie og deskriptivitet hjå Aasen.

Men lat oss no sjå på kva han har å seia om “Overgange” i 1864:

Efter denne Oversigt af de Lydvexlinger, som høre til Orddannelsen, kunne vi nu gaae over til en anden Lydvexling, som staaer i et ganske andet Forhold, da det her ikke gjælder om en afledet Form for et beslægtet Begreb, men kun om en forandret Form for det selvsamme Ord i samme Betydning og samme Stilling, altsaa om Variationer eller Overgange uden nogen særskilt Betydning. Saadanne Overgange ere egentlig to Slags, nemlig enten historiske, som have forekommet paa samme Sted til forskjellige Tider, eller ogsaa landskablige, som findes til samme Tid paa forskjellige Steder. Imidlertid blive de landskablige Forandringer ogsaa opfattede som to Slags, nemlig enten som Overgange imellem flere selvstændige Landssprog, eller som Skillemærker imellem de forskjellige Landskabsmaal, som høre til eet og samme Sprog; men disse to Arter falde meget nær sammen, da nemlig to eller flere beslægtede Sprog ogsaa kunne ansees som et Slags Dialekter eller Landskabsmaal i Modstilling til et fælles gammelt eller ubekjendt Modersprog. I visse Tilfælde ville ogsaa de historiske og de landskablige Overgange falde sammen til eet, nemlig i Sammenligningen med de ældste beslægtede Tungemaal.

*Anm.:* Vi finde det her bekvemtest at sætte disse Ordformer i to Afdelinger. Til den første Afdeling, som vi (i Mangel af noget bekvemmere Navn) kalde ‘Tillempede Ordformer’, henføre vi først de historiske Overgange, som vise sig i en Sammenligning med vort gamle Maal, det vil sige, med den Sprogform, som findes i de ældste norske Skrifter; og dertil føie vi da en kort Oversigt af de vigtigste Ordformer, hvori dette Maal adskiller sig fra de ældre og nyere beslægtede Tungemaal. Til den anden Afdeling henføre vi derimod ‘Overgangsformerne’ i vore nuværende Landskabsmaal.

(NG § 101.)

I NG har det historiske synspunktet fått større rom, og Aasen har fått augo opp for at ein må skilja mellom synkroni og diakroni eller mellom deskriptivitet og historie i språkskildringa. (Det er Ferdinand Saussure som fekk æra for å ha ført inn skilnaden mellom synkroni og diakroni i målvitenskapen, men Eugenio Coseriu har synt at den tyske lingvisten Georg von der Gabelentz hadde formulert problemet alt i 1891 (Coseriu 1972). Det er forvitneleg å sjå at autodidakten Ivar Aasen formulerte så grunnleggjande metodiske prinsipp meir enn 25 år før Gabelentz og 40–50 år før Saussure.)

Aasen talar om “Overgange uden nogen særskilt Betydning”, dvs. samtidige overgangar i rom, og det er bridge som ikkje har med opposisjonar i det grammatiske systemet å gjera, men med ymsande former av same målet til same tid. Slike tankar peikar fram mot det Leiv Flydal og etter honom Eugenio Coseriu har kalla *arkitekturen* i språket; den må ein skilja frå strukturen.

*Struktur* er i f. Coseriu “Oppositionen, d.h. direkte Unterschiede zwischen Gliedern einunddesselben Systems oder derselben Technik. Strukturen können daher nur innerhalb von funktionellen Sprachen festgestellt werden”. *Arkitektur* derimot går på “Verschiedenheiten . . . , die sich zwischen den einzelnen Ebenen geben”, og Flydal har kalla det “*diatopiske*” *skilnader*, dvs. skilnader mellom t.d. ymse målføre innanfor eit språkområde, – og “*diastratiske*” *skilnader*, dvs. skilnad er mellom ulike sosiale lag i språket t.d. mellom høgare talemål og folkemål. Dei overgangar Aasen talar om er diatopiske. Om tilhøvet mellom arkitektur og struktur seier Coseriu at ein ikkje må blanda saman skilnader i arkitektur med ei strukturell funksjonell språkskildring. Når ein skal skildra *eitt* språk, lyt ein avgrensa seg til

eine einzige funktionelle Sprache . . . , sofern nicht aus bestimmten Gründen eine “Sammelbeschreibung” verschiedener funktioneller Sprachen möglich ist, da die sie betreffenden Unterschiede nur gering oder für den betreffenden Zweck irrelevant sind.

Dersom språket er nokolunde einsarta, vil Coseriu velja ut “eine mittlere Ebene des Sprechens, etwa die gehobene Umgangssprache, als Ausgangspunkt für die Untersuchung” og finna skilnadene i arkitektur på det viset (Coseriu 1973, s. 40 f. og Flydal).

Ivar Aasen hadde ikkje noko “mittlere Ebene” å gå utifrå, men han meinte alle norske målføre var *eitt* mål, og det var føreløga hans å visa det. Det gjorde han med å finna fram til innvortes samband og samsvar mellom alle norske målføre. I 1848 er det historiske perspektivet lite og heller uklårt utforma. Men han er overtydd om at nynorske målføre har opphav i norrønt mål. I 1864 har det språkhistoriske aspektet fått større rom. Det systemet han set opp for landsmålet, byggjer på ei samanlikning mellom målføra, og med norrønt mål som rettesnor når han er i ev om kva form han skal velja.

Naar vi nu skulle føre disse forskjellige Planer tilbage til en Eenhed og saaledes kun optage een Form for hver Stilling, maa vi hertil udvelge den Form som baade ligner den gamle mest og tillige kan bedst passe sammen med de øvrige Former. Imidlertid maa Bygdemaalenes forskjellige Tillempninger ogsaa anføres til nærmere Oplysning om den Plan, som Sproget af sig selv har fulgt.

(NG § 160 Anm.)

Aasen bruker norrønt mål som utgangspunkt for ein del former eller som hjelp til å tolka ymse former i nynorske målføre. Men han ser norrønt mål i ljøs av nynorsk mål, og han tykkjest ta omsyn berre til dei faktorar i norrønt ljodssystem som han sjølv tolka seg til utifrå systemet i nynorske målføre. Dette går tydeleg fram av det han seier om dei norrøne vokalane i “En liden Læsebog i Gammel Norsk” (1854). Der med skil han mellom “lange eller lukte Lyd” og “aabne Lyd”. Han nemner inkje om kvantitetsskilnad, men seier om uttalen:

Overalt gjør man vistnok rettest i at bruge den Udtale, som Ordene endnu have her i Landet, især i Fjeldbygderne og i det Vestenfjeldske.

(s. 4 f.)

P. A. Munch peika på at Aasen berre “inden det nuværende Folkesprogs egne Enemærker hentet de nødvendige Oplysninger. Og dog ere de Former, han oppstiller som de egte, aldeles de samme som de, der findes i de bedste og eldste norske Haandskrifter.” (1848 s. 362).

Marius Nygaard peika og på at Ivar Aasens arbeid måtte føra til at ein fekk eit anna syn på gamal norsk i høve til gamal islandsk.

Idet ved hans sproglige Arbeider idetheletaget det nyere norske Sprog ved Siden af Islandsken er godtgjort som en levende Kilde, hvoraf Kundskab om Oldsproget kan øses, bliver det af afgjørende Betydning, at Nynorskens Vocalforholde staa i fulstændig Samklang med de norske Haandskrifter, enkelte uvæsentlige Modificationer og Nuanceringer fraregnede. Derved bliver det jo klart, at den gamle Lydbetegnelse ikke er greben af Luften, men virkelig betegner det Lydforhold, som den synes at betegne, og da dette desuden baade er det naturligste og ved Sammenligning med beslægtede Sprog kan bevises at være det oprindelige, er det indlysende at de nævnte islandske Egenheder ere secundære Dialectsudartninger.

(Nygaard: Ei bok om Ivar Aasen, s. 58.)

Ivar Aasen nyttar ein retrospektiv teknikk på språkhistoria. Det er ingen grunn til å tru – så som t.d. Alf Sommerfelt – at Ivar Aasen sette opp vokalsystemet i nynorsk på historiske premissar (Sommerfelt). Det er historisk berre i den mon det svarar til systemet i t.d. Setesdalsmål og Voldamål. Den attgjevinga Aasen har av det norrøne vokalsystemet, er heller primitiv. For det fyrste går det – som me alt har vore inne på – ikkje fram at han tek omsyn til kvantitetsopposisjonen i norrønt mål, og skriftene hans gjev såleis ingen ting om korleis det norrøne kvantitetssystemet har brigda seg gjennom tida. Norrønfilologane på den tid fylgde i mangt det islandske systemet, t.d. skilde dei ikkje mellom  $\emptyset$  og  $\varphi$  og heller ikkje mellom  $\acute{a}$  og  $\acute{\varphi}$ . Men Aasen tykkjest utfrå systemet i nynorske målføre ha ei aning om at  $\emptyset$  og  $\varphi$  var skilde i norrønt mål. I FG §§ 19 og 125 mener han at  $o$  i norrønt ofte svarar til  $\emptyset$  i islandsk, og i 1864 seier han:

Det maa her bemærkes, at vort aabne O er efter Oprindelsen egentlig to Slags ...; det ene er det egentlige O, som er beslægtet med U (f. Ex. *Skot, Hol, Folk*); det andet er et slags Omyld af A (f. Ex. *Nos, Tonn, Osp*), som i Normalskrift i det gamle Sprog betegnes ved 'ö', altsaa: *nös, tönn, ösp*. Begge disse falde her sammen og faae de samme Overgange.

(NG § 17 Anm.)

Aasen tolka jamvektregelen utfrå ei samanlikning mellom norske målføre, og det norrøne kvantitetssystemet spelar inga rolle for forklåringa. Likevel har Aasen på grunnlag av diatopiske faktorar sett opp ein jamvektregel som både er rett og grei å forstå berre ein held det diakrone aspektet utanfor. Ivar Aasen har skjønt inderleg vel – alt i 1848 – kva jamning og jamvekt var for noko, men på andre premissar enn me er vane med.

Einar Haugen har peika på at for å kunna skriva Aasen-normalen, må ein kunne ein norsk dialekt og så setja seg inn samsvarsreglane mellom normalmålet og denne dialekten (Haugen). Men Aasen sette opp samsvarsreglar mellom dei einskilde målføra au, og jamvektregelen er ein slik diatopisk samsvarsregel.

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Storm = Johan Storm: Norsk Lydskrift. (Norvegia I 1884.)

E.S. Dette arbeidet vart lagt fram på eit instituttseminar ved Institutt for nordisk språk og litteratur ved Universitetet i Oslo i 1974. Der kom det både innlegg og motlegg som eggja meg til å arbeida meir med emnet. Det har òg vore store nytte i samtalar med språklærarar ved instituttet. Eg nemner serleg Ingeborg Hoff og Trygve Skomedal.

## Ålderdomlighet utan ålder? En replik om Dalalagen

Marght æru ilz öki.  
oc wardir hani manz bani  
la bildir a wægh.  
flögh wp hani oc a bild  
niþir bildir oc. i. quid kalli.  
döþ hafpi þæn karl af.  
þa dömis fram bani  
oc a þrea markir

DL BB 46

Den ovan citerade bestämmelsen ur DL om djur som dråpare har anförts som exempel på hur mycket gammal svealag kunde vara formulerad.<sup>1</sup>

I uppsatsen Yngre straff- och processrättsliga stadganden i Dalalagen (1969), s. 56 f, tar den kände rättshistorikern Ragnar Hemmer upp bl.a. denna bestämmelse i DL och visar att den är rättsligt ung.<sup>2</sup> Exempelen på unga bestämmelser i DL är enligt Hemmer många. Han betraktar lagen som rättsligt ung.

Som bekant hävdar Carl Ivar Ståhle att DL:s språk är ålderdomligt, senast i uppsatsen Om Dalalagens ålderdomlighet och ålder – och Kopparbergsprivilegiernas oförbätterliga "sik biwiþär".<sup>3</sup>

I artikeln, som närmast är ett genmäle mot min uppsats Die mittelalterliche Rechtssprache Schwedens. Einige quellenkritische und sprachliche Beobachtungen (i: The Nordic Languages and Modern Linguistics, 2, 1975), förklarar han, att han alls inte har yttrat sig om lagens ålder, bara om dess ålderdomlighet. Läsaren måste få intrycket, att jag tillskrivit honom en precis datering av lagen. Av min artikel (s. 741) framgår, att jag i fråga om dateringen har använt

<sup>1</sup> C. I. Ståhle, Några frågor rörande den första utgåvan av Upplandslagen och dess förlaga. ANF 1954, s. 138 f.

<sup>2</sup> I: Tidskrift utgiven av Juridiska föreningen i Finland, häfte 1, 1969. I not 29, s. 57, polemiserar Hemmer mot Ståhles i ANF 1954 och Ny illustrerad litteraturhistoria, I, 1955, framförda åsikt om bestämmelsens ålder.

<sup>3</sup> I: Festskrift tillägnad Gösta Holm, 1976. Ståhle nämner inte Hemmers uppsats, som är en vidräkning med hans och Hafströms framställningar, se närmare Hemmer, s. 29 ff. – Själv kände jag tyvärr inte till Hemmers uppsats då jag skrev min tidigare artikel och på andra grunder kom till liknande resultat.

hans egna uttryck. "Er gibt keine präzise Datierung, findet aber das Dalarecht sehr alertümlich, sprachlich wie stilistisch. Er stellt es mit dem Älteren Västgötarecht auf einen Nenner und nennt in diesem Zusammenhang das Östgöta- und das Upplandsrecht jünger und mehr schriftlich redigiert."

I det här sammanhanget är det värt att observera, att Ståhle uttryckligen ställer ÄVGL och DL i motsats till "de yngre (kurs. här) och mer skriftligt redigerade ÖGL och UL".<sup>4</sup> Det är här fråga om en relativ datering. UL stadfästes 1296.

Meningsutbytet aktualiserar en principiell fråga. Vad innebär ålderdomlighet om det frikopplas från begreppet ålder? Enligt min mening är det första begreppet avhängigt av det senare – om det inte är fråga om pastisch. Vilka kriterier skall man ha för språklig ålderdomlighet och hur skall man fastställa dem? En allmänt godtagen vetenskaplig princip är att man utgår från säkerställda fakta, när man vill tolka ett fenomen. Man bör inte gå ut ifrån det man vill bevisa. Källsituationen är besvärlig när det gäller fornsvenskt lagspråk. Om hur den muntliga lagsagan var utformad kan man bara ha hypoteser, främst grundade på bevarade skrivna lagar. Rytmsk framställning och allitteration är stildrag, som redan kan beläggas på runstenar. När de också förekommer i våra på 12- och 1300-talet nedskrivna lagar är det rimligt att anta, att dessa drag också fanns med i den muntliga lagsagan. Hur frekventa dragen var och hur lagsagan för övrigt var utformad känner vi däremot inte till. Man kan göra mer eller mindre rimliga antaganden, men antagandena får inte användas som hjälpmedel för att urskilja äldre och yngre skikt i lagarna.<sup>5</sup>

Det är på den punkten Ståhles och mina åsikter skiljer sig. Han anser sig kunna urskilja vilka drag som har utmärkt den muntliga lagsagan och på så vis kunna avgöra vilka delar i den skrivna lagen som stått den muntliga lagsagan närmast. Om DL skriver han, att den "kan innehålla stadganden av olika ålder och nedskrivningstid, de äldsta med rötter i den förlitterära lagsagan, de yngsta från 1300-talet. Den förstnämnda typen, kännetecknad av sin stilistiska profil, är proportionellt vanligare än i någon annan lag, och jag känner mig efter förnyad genomläsning av texter och diskussion mer än någonsin övertygad om att DL "bäst bevarat traditionerna från den gamla lagsagan".<sup>6</sup>

Ståhle utgår ifrån att den muntliga lagsagan är mycket gammal och, särskilt av mnemotekniska skäl, traderades i en nära nog oförändrad form.<sup>7</sup> Samtidigt medger han, att man också "vid behov" kunde dikta ny lag efter gamla mönster, "så förklaras enklaste de kasuistiska och rytmska partierna i t.ex. DL:s och SmåL:s kyrkobalkar". I de här fallen är det, som Ståhle påpekar, uppenbart fråga om nydiktade bestämmelser. Men hur vet man i andra fall, när

<sup>4</sup> Ståhle, Syntaktiska och stilistiska studier i fornnordiskt lagspråk, 1958, s. 49 f.

<sup>5</sup> Det påvebrev från 1206 (DS 131) där en uppgift förekommer om att lagmännen föredrog sedvanerätt på tinget varje år "coram populo" strider inte mot min tolkning. Det ger heller inte någon närmare upplysning om form och innehåll av det som föredrogs.

<sup>6</sup> Ståhle 1976, s. 396.

<sup>7</sup> Ståhle, Lagspråk (Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid, 10, 1965, spalt 168 f); Ståhle 1976, s. 393.

innehållet inte ger vägledning, om bestämmelsernas *form* är ny eller gammal? Kasuistik, allitteration och rytmisk framställning kan inte utan vidare användas som kriterier på ålder, inte heller på ålderdomlighet.

Enligt min uppfattning skall man söka det ålderdomligaste språket i de äldsta daterbara litterära minnesmärkena. Vid jämförelser bör man hålla sig till samma genre. Lagar bör alltså hållas isär från kungliga stadgor. Ståhles påpekande om Brynjulf Algotssons uttryckssätt i stadgorna saknar därför relevans i fråga om lagspråket, jfr för övrigt hans egen not.<sup>8</sup>

I de tidigast nedteknade nordiska lagarna, isländska, norska, danska, liksom även i ÄVgL, är kasuistik, allitteration och rytmisk framställning inte särskilt framträdande, även om de finns. Hur det har förhållit sig i de uppländska folklandslagarna vet vi inte, eftersom de är försvunna. Antagandet att de "säkerligen delvis leva kvar just i några av de ålderdomliga partier i Västman- och Dalalagarna, som sakna motsvarighet i den nyredigerade Upplandslagen" förblir obestyrkt.<sup>9</sup>

Enighet råder om att den enda bevarade handskriften av DL, cod Holm B 54, är från 1300-talets förra hälft. Varken Ståhle eller jag anser, att man kan tidfästa lagtexten enbart med hänsyn till orden om ett speciellt stadgande i Tg 11 "þæssum lagh gaf bi[r]gjer kunungir". Meningsskiljaktigheten ligger i att Ståhle liksom Hafström utan att framföra vägande skäl för sin mening utgår från att det är fråga om ett inskott. De räknar inte med en annan möjlighet, nämligen att stadgandet har infogats i lagtexten redan när den kodifierades. Man bör lägga märke till den framträdande roll som kungamakten har i lagen, om denna se Hemmers anförda arbete. Bevisbördan åligger den som hävdar inskottshypotesen.

I min uppsats tolkade jag den rika förekomsten av kasuistik, allitteration och rytmisk framställning i speciellt svealagarna som resultat av en litterär utveckling, som nådde sin höjdpunkt under 1200-talet och det tidiga 1300-talet. Tolkningen bygger på de bevarade skrivna lagarna och deras relativa ålder.

Också lagarna bör betraktas i ett allmänt kulturellt sammanhang, se vidare min uppsats s. 738 f.

Däremot har jag verkligen inte, som Ståhle tycks ha uppfattat det, gjort gällande att någon 1100-talsrenässans eller rent av romersk och kanonisk rätt skulle spåras i de stildrag han katalogiserar.<sup>10</sup>

Min hypotes skiljer sig från den hittills gängse i ett viktigt avseende. Jag ser lagarnas stilistiska utformning som ett resultat av en strävan mot ett stilideal med rötter även i muntlig lagsaga. Formen nådde sin fulländning mot 1200-talets slut. Enligt den andra hypotesen, företräd bl.a. av Ståhle, var stilmedlen fullt utvecklade redan i den muntliga lagsagan. De hade där en viktig mnemoteknisk funktion. – Att gå närmare in på denna andra hypotes finner jag föga meningsfullt, eftersom man ju inte vet något närmare om den muntliga lagsagan utan rör sig med antaganden.

<sup>8</sup> Ståhle 1976, s. 395.

<sup>9</sup> Ståhle 1954, s. 135.

<sup>10</sup> Ståhle 1976, s. 393.



En invändning mot min hypotes framför Ståhle 1976 på s. 395. MELL, som ju kom till i mitten av 1300-talet, har en helt annan karaktär än landskapslagarna. Den är generaliserande och skiljer sig i flera avseenden stilistiskt från dessa. Detta kan ha flera delförklaringar. En torde vara att MELL i så stor omfattning bygger på kungliga stadgor.<sup>11</sup> En annan att lagen skulle gälla hela riket och inte i större utsträckning kunde bygga på sedvanerätt. Eftersom straffbestämmelser m.m. var så olika i skilda delar av riket var det naturligt att lagen blev generaliserande. MELL faller därför delvis utanför landskapslagarnas stilmönster och kan knappast åberopas som argument mot min tolkning.

Vilka möjligheter har man att datera en odaterad lag och dess delar? I min uppsats ställde jag mig mycket kritisk mot försök att på stilistiska grunder urskilja äldre och yngre skikt. Däremot borde man kunna få vissa hållpunkter om man studerar ordförråd och syntax. Genom komparativa studier av de olika lagarna kan man i vissa fall fastställa bestämmelsers ålder och tillkomst. Jag har redan nämnt Ragnar Hemmers forskning om Dalalagen.

I min uppsats påpekade jag det lågtyska inflytandet på ordförrådet. I DL påträffas lånord som inte gärna kan antas ha hört hemma i en förlitterär muntlig lagsaga eller i de försvunna folklandslagarna.

Ståhle finner ingenting anmärkningsvärt i det lågtyska inslaget i ordförrådet. Han sammankopplar det med bergsbrukets och särskilt Koppabergets roll i Dalarnas ekonomi. Men därvid är han framme vid "1200-talets senare och 1300-talets förra hälft" (s. 396) som ett slags post quem för de partier av DL, där lånorden förekommer, dvs. kung Birgers och Magnus Erikssons förmyndares regeringstid.

Till några av mina exempel ställer sig Ståhle dock avvisande. Det gäller *sænga slæt* GB 11:2, *saluman* och *köpuman* BB 1 samt förekomsten av konjunktionen *þæt*. I det sista fallet har Ståhle rätt, när han påpekar att *þæt* alls inte står "im allgemeinen", som jag har skrivit. Exempelen på den osammansatta konjunktionen *þæt* är ganska många, men *at*-fallen överväger klart.

Att jag skulle ha bedömt *sænga slæt* som felskrivning är en missuppfattning. Ståhles mening, att det är fråga om ett annat ord än *slækt* delar jag inte. *sænga slæt* har både av C. J. Schlyter och Emil Olson tolkats som en sammansättning med det tyska ordet *slecht(e)*.<sup>12</sup> Min tolkning är att den för svenskan främmande konsonantkombinationen *cht* har ersatts av ett *tt*, jfr att *berätta* av mlty *berichten*, liksom *förrätta* av *vorrechten* endast har belagts med *tt*-skrivningar i den litteratur som har excerperats av Söderwall för hans ordbok. I dalmål (Sollerön, Venjan) påträffas f.ö. lånordet *slakta* med *kt* assimilerat till *tt*.<sup>13</sup> Av intresse i sammanhanget är möjligen de i tidigare litteratur ofta anförda skriv-

<sup>11</sup> Magnus Erikssons landslag. I nusvensk tolkning av Å. Holmbäck & E. Wessén, 1962, s. XXXIII ff.

<sup>12</sup> C. J. Schlyter, Ordbok till samlingen af Sveriges gamla lagar, 1877; E. Olson, De appellativa substantivens bildning i fornsvenskan, 1916, s. 327. – A. Schagerström, Om tyska lånord i medeltidssvenskan, 1880, s. 51, anser at *slæt* är en *-ti*-avledning av roten i vb *sla* men erinrar dock om att det nordiska *sla* aldrig betyder "ega vissa släktemöjligheter, släktdrag", en betydelse som *slahen* har redan i fhty. Han antyder därför möjligheten att *slæt* är ett låneord.

<sup>13</sup> L. Levander, Dalmålet, 2, 1928, s. 43.

ningarna *doctir*, *doctur* för väntat *dottir*, *dottur* i B 54, sammanlagt 5 gånger.<sup>14</sup> Skrivningarna bör kanske tolkas som ortografiska germanismer – *ct*-skrivning förekommer i mlty, även om *cht* här är vanligast.<sup>15</sup> Samma sorts skrivningar finns i cod Holm C 37 av Jyske Lov: *døcter* och *docter*.<sup>16</sup> C 37 uppvisar dessutom *tt*-skrivning för väntat *ct/kt*, t.ex. *ratte* 'räckte', jfr DL:s *slit* 'slikt' (KB 4). Handskriften betecknas av Skautrup som jyskpräglad, och *ct*-skrivningarna tolkas som osäkerhet inför återgivande av långt *t*, som i skrivarens dialekt kunde motsvara både ursprungligt *tt* och *kt*.<sup>17</sup> I fråga om B 54 skulle man kunna tänka sig, att skrivaren varit osäker om hur ord, som i mlty återgavs med ett *c(h)t*, t.ex. *dochter*, *slecht(e)*, skulle skrivas på svenska – handskriftens ortografi i övrigt röjer mlty inflytande. Att *sænga slæt* också förekommer med enbart *t* i VmL:s handskrifter tyder på att ordet vid inlånet fått rätta sig efter svenskans system, så som de tidigare anförda *berätta*, *förrätta*. I DL förekommer t.ex. det inhemska ordet *dræt* (*fiska dræt* BB 1), som det kunde ansluta sig till.<sup>18</sup> *vanmæt* 'vanmakt' i ÖgL är möjligen en bildning av samma slag som *sænga slæt*: svensk förled med från tyskan inlånad efterled. Efterleden kan dock vara inhemska.<sup>19</sup>

Att handskrifterna B 54 av DL och B 57, B 56 och B 55 av VmL alla uppvisar orden *saluman* och *köpuman* är inte ägnat att förvåna. De är nämligen starkt beroende av varandra. Den bestämmelse där de förekommer visar en nära nog ordagrann överensstämmelse, något som Stähle tolkar som bevis för att den gemensamma källan har tillhört gammal svearätt.<sup>20</sup> Att samma parti "skymtar i den text av de gamla folklandslagarna, som Olaus Petri sett" är ett antagande som alls inte kan verifieras.<sup>21</sup> Folklandslagarna är, som jag tidigare nämnt, försvunna, och vilken lag Olaus Petri verkligen sett vet vi inte. Stähles antagande, att en av Olaus Petri anförd bestämmelse (om begravningskick) och DL:s BB 1 och VmL:s JB 1 (om försäljning av jord) skulle kunna vara identiska, kan inte bli mer än en fantasifull hypotes. Det går inte att rekonstruera den

<sup>14</sup> S. Fries, *Stätt och stätta i Norden*, 1964, s. 20 ff och där anförd litteratur.

<sup>15</sup> A. Lasch, *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*, 1914, § 356. – En annan möjlighet är, att förlagan har haft *tt*-skrivning med lågt första *t*, så att kombinationen kom att likna *ct*. Sådana skrivningar förekom enligt Sam Jansson, *Latinska alfabetets utveckling i medeltida svensk brevskrift*. De enskilda bokstävernas historia. A Ph S 1954, s. 96, illustration plansch V, 13 f–j, jfr *ct* ib 12 h. – *ct*-skrivningarna för väntat *tt* är inte unika i fsv. I. Collijn har i *Samlarens 34:e årgång*, s. 276 f, givit ut ett fragment av en hskr från tidigt 1300-tal, där skrivningarna *iacte* och *octosang* förekommer, se E. Lidén, *Små bidrag till fornsvensk grammatik*, ANF 1920, s. 42.

<sup>16</sup> P. Skautrup, *Det danske sprogs historie*, I, 1944, s. 262.

<sup>17</sup> *k/c/g*-lösa former av *slægt* påträffas i 1400- och 1500-talsdanska enligt O. Kalkar, *Ordbog til det ældre danske Sprog*, men det kan här röra sig om speciella danska förhållanden. – En *k*-lös form förekommer också i Jöns Buddes översättning av Machabeernas böcker, *wälslättadher* (Svenska medeltidens Bibelarbeten, 2, s. 224).

<sup>18</sup> Lånordet *drækt* 'klädnad' finns i fsv också belagt med skrivningen *dreth* i en skråordning från 1501 (Skråordningar, s. 104). Formen *drætt* i Stiernhielms *Hercules* kan alltså knappast betecknas som en falskt arkaiserande assimilation som Stähle gör i facsimilupplagan, s. 47. Den är bara arkaiserande.

<sup>19</sup> Se Schagerström, a. a. s. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Stähle 1954, s. 135. I Stähle 1965, s. 170, anförs bestämmelsen som exempel på "äldre svealag".

<sup>21</sup> Stähle 1976, s. 398.

bestämmelse som Olaus Petri talar om. Ståhle förutsätter här felläsningar hos Olaus Petri.

Frågan om *saluman* och *köpuman* skall betraktas som lån eller nybildningar kan inte med säkerhet avgöras. För min tolkning, att det är fråga om lån, talar att *köpuman* i lagspråk endast här och i samma bestämmelse i VmL har betydelsen köpare, dvs. samma betydelse som ordet kan ha i mlty. Det är anmärkningsvärt att de gamla svenska orden *köpe* och *sali* inte används i DL. DL har däremot många sammansättningar med *-man* – ett par av dem förekommer bara i DL och motsvarande bestämmelser i VmL, *taksmapir* BB 16, *taki men* þB 17:1, *wbyrþaman* BB 5. *wbyrþaman* verkar vara en nybildning i anslutning till *byrþaman*, som samtidigt nämns.

Oavsett om *saluman* och *köpuman* är lån från mlty eller inhemska nybildningar torde de vara unga. Det strider mot Ståhles mening att frasen där de ingår skulle vara exempel på gammal svearätt.

Redan i min första artikel underströk jag de stora förtjänsterna i Ståhles undersökningar av det medeltida lagspråket. Vi har dock fortfarande olika meningar om lagspråkets ålder och ålderdomlighet.

#### *Efterskrift*

Sedan artikeln redan hade gått till sättning fästes min uppmärksamhet på två nyare arbeten, som båda är mycket kritiska mot de kriterier som tidigare allmänt har använts för att fastställa olika åldersskikt i lagarna. Det ena arbetet är en rättshistorisk undersökning, Elsa Sjöholm, *Gesetze als Quellen mittelalterlicher Geschichte des Nordens*, Sthlm 1976. Det andra, av ännu större vikt i det här sammanhanget, är Harald Ehrhardt, *Der Stabreim in altnordischen Rechtstexten*, Heidelberg 1977. Det är en grundläggande undersökning, metodiskt mönsterig, där de nordiska lagarna sätts in i ett allmäneuropeiskt sammanhang. Samtidigt beaktas de socioekonomiska förhållanden, som rådde i de nordiska länderna. Författaren har analyserat sitt material bl.a. med kvantitativ metod. Hans undersökning riktar ett grundskott mot föreställningen om allitterationen som tekniskt hjälpmedel i den muntliga lagsagan. I kritiken nämns nästan enbart tyskspråkiga arbeten, men den har en vidare räckvidd.

HERBERT BLUME

## Sprachtheorie und Sprachenlegitimation im 17. Jahrhundert in Schweden und in Kontinentaleuropa\*

1

Am Schluß von Skogekär Bergbos Gedicht „Thet Swenska Språketz Klagemål“ spricht die schwedische Sprache u.a. die folgenden Verse:

Sidst wil iagh nu kungöra  
thet kommer snart en tijdh,  
på hwilken man skal höra  
migh kring om wården wijdh.

[...]

Med migh skal en gång lära  
Vpsala vngdomf sijn,  
hwad konst man wil begära  
aff bökren på latijn.

[...]

Migh skole alle ähra  
i heela wården wijdh  
och migh åstunda lära  
tillijka på en tijdh<sup>1</sup>

Aus diesen Zeilen, die hier nur als ein Beispiel von anderen möglichen ausgewählt sind, läßt sich der Anspruch des Autors vernehmen, daß die eigene Sprache den zeitgenössischen Kultursprachen funktional gleichzusetzen sei (Literaturfähigkeit und Wissenschaftsfähigkeit der *lingua vernacula*) und daß ihr darüber hinaus eine Sonderstellung gegenüber allen anderen Sprachen zukomme. Skogekär Bergbo steht mit diesem Lob der eigenen Sprache bekanntlich in einer Tradition, die sich seit dem Beginn der Neuzeit, aus Italien kommend, über Frankreich, die Niederlande, England und Deutschland bis nach Skandinavien entfaltet und für die weitere Belege zu geben ich mir an dieser Stelle versagen muß.<sup>2</sup> (Die Schriften der Mitglieder der sog. Sprach-

\* Vortrag, gehalten am 6. Juni 1977 auf dem Symposion der Humanistischen Fakultät der Universität Uppsala über „Cultural Contacts in the Baltic Area in the 17th and 18th Centuries“, das im Rahmen der Feiern zum 500. Gründungsjubiläum der Universität stattfand. Der Wortlaut dieser gedruckten Fassung weicht vom mündlich vorgetragenen Text geringfügig ab.

<sup>1</sup> Zitiert nach: Eskil Källquist: *Thet Swenska Språketz Klagemål. Litteraturhistorisk undersökning jämte text och tolkning*. Uppsala 1934. S. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Einen anschaulichen Überblick über diese Tradition vermittelt Källquist (a.a.O.) im 4. Kapi-

gesellschaften in Deutschland z.B. sind voll solcher Äußerungen.) Ich möchte Äußerungen der zitierten Art hier als Akte der „Sprachenlegitimation“ bezeichnen. Auf die denkbaren literatur-, sozial- und politikgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge, in denen solche sprachlegitimatorischen Äußerungen zu sehen sind, kann hier nicht eingegangen werden. Es leuchtet jedoch ein, daß der Franzose Vaugelas, der Deutsche Schottelius und der Schwede Stiernhielm die Sonderstellung der eigenen Sprache aus jeweils ganz anderen gesellschaftlichen und politischen Bindungen heraus gerühmt haben. Der schwedische Götizismus<sup>3</sup> erweist sich dabei als ein spezieller Fall von Ideologiekonstruktion, dem man im territorial zersplitterten deutschen Sprachgebiet nichts ähnlich Geschlossenes gegenüberzustellen hat. Auf staats- und verwaltungspolitische Aspekte der schwedischen Nationalsprachbewegung ist u.a. von Bo Bennich-Björkman<sup>4</sup> aufmerksam gemacht worden; die Diskussion um vergleichbare Aspekte der deutschen Sprachgesellschaften kommt in Gang<sup>5</sup>.

Ich möchte mich in meinen folgenden Ausführungen auf den linguistischen Aspekt von Sprachenlegitimation im 17. Jahrhundert beschränken, d.h. das Augenmerk auf die Frage richten, welcher sprachtheoretischen Argumentation man sich in Schweden, Deutschland und Frankreich<sup>6</sup> bedient, um die besondere Dignität der eigenen Sprache glaubhaft zu machen. Mit „Sprachtheorie“ ist dabei gemeint: schriftliche Äußerungen von Autoren der Zeit über Struktur, Funktion und Geschichte von Sprache bzw. Sprachen, also metasprachlich-linguistische Äußerungen. Daß diese Äußerungen bei den verschiedenen Autoren des 17. Jahrhunderts zu theoretischen Gebäuden ganz unterschied-

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tel seiner Arbeit („Den utländska bakgrunden“). Eine Zusammenstellung von Belegen für den deutschen Sprachbereich findet man bei: Christoph Stoll: Sprachgesellschaften im Deutschland des 17. Jahrhunderts. München 1973. Für das Frankreich des 17. Jahrhunderts wäre z.B. auf Autoren wie Jean Desmarets de Saint Sorlin (*La comparaison de la langue et de la poésie française, Avec la Grecque & Latine*. Paris 1670) hinzuweisen.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. dazu u.a.: Johan Nordström: *De yverbornes ö. Sextonhundredalsstudier*. Stockholm 1934. – Sten Lindroth: *Reformation och humanism*. In: *Ny illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria*. Första delen: *Forntiden. Vasatiden. Andra upplagan*. Stockholm 1967. S. 345 ff. – J. Svennung: *Zur Geschichte des Göticismus*. Stockholm 1967. – Klaus von See: *Deutsche Germanen-Ideologie vom Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart*. Frankfurt am Main 1970.

<sup>4</sup> Bo Bennich-Björkman: *Författaren i ämbetet. Studier i funktion och organisation av författarämbeten vid svenska hovet och kansliet 1550–1850*. Uppsala 1970. Insbes. S. 182–201.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. z.B.: Leonard Forster: *Deutsche und europäische Barockliteratur*. In: *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge* 2 (1973), S. 64–84. – Ferdinand van Ingen: *Die Sprachgesellschaften des 17. Jahrhunderts. Versuch einer Korrektur*. In: *Daphnis* 1 (1972), S. 14–23. – Derselbe: *Überlegungen zur Erforschung der Sprachgesellschaften*. In: *Internationaler Arbeitskreis für deutsche Barockliteratur. Erstes Jahrestreffen in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*. 27. – 31. August 1973. *Vorträge und Berichte*. Wolfenbüttel 1973. S. 82–106. – Vom 28. bis 30. Juni 1977 hat in Wolfenbüttel ein Symposium über „Sprachgesellschaften, Sozietäten, Dichtergruppen“ stattgefunden, dessen Beiträge in der Schriftenreihe des „Internationalen Arbeitskreises für deutsche Barockliteratur“ erscheinen sollen.

<sup>6</sup> Auf die bedeutende Rolle, die die Niederlande des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts für die Nationalsprachbewegungen in Skandinavien und Deutschland gespielt haben, kann hier nicht eingegangen werden. Der Einfluß des nld. Purismus auf den Wortschatz der deutschen Literatursprache des 17. Jahrhunderts (Lehnbildungen) dürfte wesentlich größer sein, als bisher bekannt ist; dieses Kapitel der deutschen Wortgeschichte ist noch ungeschrieben. Vgl. die Hinweise darauf bei: Herbert Blume: *Die Morphologie von Zesens Wortneubildungen*. Diss. Gießen 1967. Insbes. S. 175 ff.

lichen Komplexitätsgrades zusammengefügt worden sind, braucht nicht eigens betont zu werden.

## 2

Im folgenden wird Sprache besonders im Hinblick auf ihre Systemhaftigkeit betrachtet werden, d.h. im Hinblick darauf, daß sie als ein System von Zeichen und von Regeln zur Verknüpfung dieser Zeichen verstehbar ist. Daß damit keine vollständige Definition von Sprache gegeben ist, daß z.B. Sprache immer auch als ein Instrument menschlichen Handelns zu sehen ist, wußte das 17. Jahrhundert im Vollbesitz seiner rhetorischen Theorie besser als die moderne Linguistik noch vor wenigen Jahrzehnten. Dennoch müssen hier die Interessen der Pragmatolinguistik ebenso außer acht bleiben wie die anderer Bindestrich-Linguistiken. Ich beschränke mich – wie durch die Termini „Zeichen“ und „Regeln“ avisiert wird – also auf diejenigen linguistischen Bereiche, die mit „Lexikologie“ und „Syntax“ zu bezeichnen sind, wobei die Erörterung lexikologischer Fragen zeichentheoretische und phonologische Aspekte mitzuberücksichtigen hat. Außerdem werde ich mich auf die Saussuresche Trichotomie „synchronisch“ / „diachronisch“ / „panchronisch“<sup>7</sup> beziehen. Im übrigen verwende ich bei Bedarf auch andere Termini der modernen Linguistik, z.B. „Phonem“, „Phonotaktik“ und dergleichen, als gleichsam panchronisch benutzbare Deskriptionskategorien. Damit soll also nicht die Vorstellung erweckt werden, die Autoren des 17. Jahrhunderts hätten eine Begrifflichkeit entwickelt, die der unseren isomorph wäre. Ebenfalls als panchronische Verständigungsmarken werden die platonischen Begriffe *φύσει* und *θέσει* verwendet<sup>8</sup>. Schließlich verzichte ich auf eine Harmonisierung des monolateralen Zeichenmodells<sup>9</sup> (wie es z.B. in der Antike, im 17. Jh., aber auch in der Moderne – etwa bei Morris<sup>10</sup> – anzutreffen ist) mit dem bilateralen Modell Saussures<sup>11</sup> und Hjelmslevs<sup>12</sup>. Ich tue dies in der begründbaren Annahme, daß beide Modelle ineinander übersetzbar sind.

## 3

Sprachtheorie und Sprachenlegitimation gehen in den europäischen Ländern im 17. Jahrhundert oft eine enge Verbindung ein und sind in vielen Fällen nicht scharf voneinander zu trennen. Ein berühmtes Beispiel aus dem Bereich

<sup>7</sup> Ferdinand de Saussure: *Cours de linguistique générale*. Edition critique préparée par Tullio de Mauro. Paris 1973. S. 114–119; S. 134 f.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. hierzu: Hans Arens: *Sprachwissenschaft. Der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. 2 Bde. Frankfurt am Main o.J. [1974].

<sup>9</sup> Zur Terminologie: Helmut Henne/Herbert Ernst Wiegand: *Sprachzeichenbildung*. In: *Lexikon der Germanistischen Linguistik*. Hrsg. v. H. P. Althaus, H. Henne, H. E. Wiegand. Tübingen 1973. S. 132–144.

<sup>10</sup> Charles William Morris: *Foundations of the Theory of Signs*. Chicago 1938.

<sup>11</sup> F. de Saussure, a.a.O., S. 97–103.

<sup>12</sup> Louis Hjelmslev: *Omkring Sprogteoriens Grundlæggelse*. O. O. [København] 1966. Bes. S. 44–55.

der *Germania*: Schottelius' „Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haupt-Sprache“<sup>13</sup> von 1663, in deren Titelblatt bereits „Gemelter dieser HauptSprache Uhrankunft / Uhaltertum / Reinlichkeit / Eigenschaft / Vermögen / Unvergleichlichkeit / Grundrichtigkeit“, also Elemente der Deskription und des Lobs, in einem Atemzug genannt werden. Bezeichnenderweise beginnt Schottelius sein Werk auch mit nicht weniger als zehn „Lobreden von der Teutschen HauptSprache“, bevor er zur eigentlichen Darstellung der Grammatik und Poetik gelangt. Ein Blick in die Schriften von Stiernhielm oder Bureus, von Harsdörffer oder Zesen zeigt Ähnliches. Nicht genau gleich, aber immerhin vergleichbar sind die Verhältnisse in Frankreich, wo man sich, wie Gunvor Sahlin<sup>14</sup> gezeigt hat, seit 1660 anschickt, unter dem Einfluß der „Grammaire générale et raisonnée“ von Port-Royal (deren Autoren Antoine Arnauld und Claude Lancelot sind) die Grammatik der eigenen Sprache als eine mehr oder minder reine Ausformung einer rationalen Universalgrammatik, also eines Ideals, zu sehen.

#### 4

Wer die Sonderstellung und Vorbildlichkeit seiner Nationalsprache behauptet, muß angeben können, worin diese denn begründet sei. Das bedeutet zugleich: er muß Überlegungen darüber anstellen, wie die betreffende Nationalsprache eigentlich beschaffen sei. Da Sprachen keine homogenen Gebilde sind, sondern eine interne geographische und soziale Gliederung bis hinab zu den Idiolekten aufweisen, ist für sprachlegitimatorische Äußerungen die implizite oder explizite Annahme einer Sprachnorm unterläßlich.

Dabei hat es sich – zumindest für die linguistische Diskussion im 17. Jahrhundert – als weniger ergiebig erwiesen, seine Zuflucht zur Deskription einer Gebrauchsnorm (der „consuetudo“ des „usage“) zu nehmen, wie es Vaugelas in Frankreich oder Gueintz in Deutschland getan haben<sup>15</sup>. Überzeugungskräftiger zum Zwecke des Lobes der eigenen Sprache ist die Ableitung der Norm aus (faktischen oder nur behaupteten) strukturellen Spezifika der jeweiligen *lingua vernacula*, die diese vor allen anderen Sprachen auszeichnen.

<sup>13</sup> Justus Georg Schottelius: *Ausführliche Arbeit Von der Teutschen HauptSprache*. 1663. Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Hecht. Tübingen 1967.

<sup>14</sup> Gunvor Sahlin: *César Chesneau du Marsais et son rôle dans l'évolution de la grammaire générale*. Paris 1928.

<sup>15</sup> W. Keith Percival (*The Notion of Usage in Vaugelas and in the Port-Royal Grammar*. In: Herman Parret [Hrsg.]: *History of Linguistic Thought and Contemporary Linguistics*. Berlin/New York 1976. S. 374–382) weist darauf hin, daß die Unterschiede zwischen dem „Deskriptivisten“ Vaugelas und den „Explanatoren“ Arnauld und Lancelot nicht so bedeutend waren, wie Noam Chomsky (*Cartesian Linguistics. A Chapter in the History of Rationalist Thought*. New York / London 1966) sie sehen möchte. – Dagegen unterscheiden sich jedoch die Intentionen von Gueintz und Schottelius in diesem Punkte deutlich voneinander. Vgl. z.B. die Darstellung dieses Sachverhalts bei: Dirk Josten: *Sprachvorbild und Sprachnorm im Urteil des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Sprachlandschaftliche Prioritäten. Sprachautoritäten. Sprachimmanente Argumentation*. Bern 1976. S. 169–184.

## 4.1

Hierbei berief man sich in Deutschland vor allem auf die „Grundrichtigkeit“ der eigenen Sprache, in Frankreich seit Port-Royal auf deren „raison“.

Was ist unter „Grundrichtigkeit“ (die ja auch auf dem Titelblatt von Schottelius' Hauptwerk genannt wird) zu verstehen? Gemeint ist zunächst eine „Grundrichtigkeit“ des Lexemvorrats. Für Schottelius wie für Harsdörffer oder Zesen und entsprechend für Stiernhielm ist der Wortschatz der eigenen Sprache systematisch rückführbar auf eine Menge von Basislexemen („Stammwörtern“ bzw. „radices“ in der Diktion des 17. Jahrhunderts), die ihrerseits wiederum systematisch syntaktisierbar sind zu Komposita und Derivatbildungen verschiedener Typen. „Wortforschung“ (das Herausfinden des Stammwortvorrats, zugleich die Etymologie)<sup>16</sup> sowie „Ableitung“ (derivatio) und „Doppelung“ (compositio) (zusammen also: Wortbildungslehre)<sup>17</sup> stehen daher im Zentrum der Grammatik der germanischsprachigen Länder des 17. Jahrhunderts.

Die schwedischen wie die deutschen Sprachtheoretiker des 17. Jahrhunderts bewegen sich, indem sie die Stammwortlehre zum Ausgangspunkt ihrer Überlegungen machen, in einer Tradition, die aus den Niederlanden kommt und dort auf Johannes Goropius Becanus (1518–1572) zurückführbar ist. Die Stammwortlehre ist auf ihre Art als die Formulierung der Artikuliertheit von Sprache (Martinet) anzusehen<sup>18</sup>, bzw. (in der Ausdrucksweise der Generativen Grammatik) als die Formulierung des „unendlichen Gebrauchs von endlichen Mitteln“<sup>19</sup>. Mit den Worten von Schottelius:

„Die Anzahl der Stammwörter [...] ist wohl nicht der hundertste Theil in gleichgeltender Gegenzahl der mannigfaltigen Dinge / und dero Zufällen / so da sind unter sich unterschiedlich / und dannenhero mit unterschiedlichen Namen zunennen. Solte und müste man aber die Vielheit der Dinge / welche mit einzelen richtigen Wörtern nicht auszusprechen seyn / allemahl umschreiblich / und mit handvoll Wörtern andeuten / würde man bey oftmahliger dero selben nöthigen Zusammenkunft eine weit umschweifige Rede / und Ellenlange Redarten machen müssen. Derowegen billig eine sonderbare Kraft derselben Sprache zugeben / und wegen künstlicher Füglichkeit zurühmen ist / welche mit lieblicher kürtze und williger Darbietung / der Natur an die Hand gehet / und also künstlich / kürtzlich und deutlich doppelten lest / daß man fast jedes und alles mit einem deutlichen Worte anzeigen könne.“<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. die Definition von „Wortforschung“ bei Schottelius, a.a.O., S. 181: „Die Wortforschung ist das erste Theil der Sprachkunst / welche die Uhrankunften / Eigenschaften / Ableitungen und Verdoppelungen der einzelen Wörter / richtig erforschet und untersucht. (Etymologia in lingua Germanica est, quæ vocum origines, naturam, flexiones, derivationes & compositiones inquirat.)“

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. Schottelius, a.a.O., S. 317 u. 398.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. André Martinet: Grundzüge der Allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft. Stuttgart 1963. S. 21: „double articulation“ – Helmut Henne: Semantik und Lexikographie. Untersuchungen zur lexikalischen Kodifikation der deutschen Sprache. Berlin / New York 1972. S. 25: Dreifache Gliederung.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. dazu: Harald Weydt: „Unendlicher Gebrauch von endlichen Mitteln“. Mißverständnisse um ein linguistisches Theorem. In: Poetica 5 (1972), S. 249–267.

<sup>20</sup> Schottelius, a.a.O., S. 99.



Bereits hier bei Schottelius offenbart sich die Reduktion der allgemeinen Syntax auf die Wortbildung („künstlich / kürztlich und deutlich doppelten“), die für die deutsche Theorie des 17. Jahrhunderts typisch zu sein scheint und die wir bei Harsdörffers Rezeption der *Ars Lulliana* wieder antreffen werden (s.u.).

Zur Vorstellung von „Grundrichtigkeit“ gehört jedoch noch mehr. Die Grundrichtigkeit des Stammwortvorrats einer Sprache besteht darin, daß die Stammwörter die lexikalischen Elemente einer „Hauptsprache“ sind. Die Bezeichnung „Hauptsprache“ kommt – nach den Vorstellungen der Zeit – nur denjenigen Sprachen zu, die nicht aus anderen abgeleitet sind (wie z.B. die romanischen Sprachen aus dem Latein), sondern die direkt auf die Babylonische Verwirrung (oder gar auf die vorbabylonischen Verhältnisse) zurückführbar sind und insofern der *lingua adamica* sehr nahe stehen. Für Stiernhielms Lehrer Johannes Bureus ist demgemäß das Schwedische „et ibland alle Hufuudhmål och allene Gudz höge wärk“<sup>21</sup>. Die Gottgegebenheit des Stammwortvorrats der eigenen Sprache wird zwar in dieser Radikalität nicht von allen Theoretikern des 17. Jahrhunderts behauptet, gemeinsam ist allen aber die Vorstellung, daß die Stammwörter richtige, d.h. wesenhafte Bezeichnungen der Dinge sind, Bezeichnungen also, die, wie Schottelius sagt, „jhr Ding / dessen Namen sie sind / eigentlich austrücken“<sup>22</sup>. Stiernhielm schreibt ganz entsprechend: „N B Omnia fere vocabula linguæ Suethicæ sunt facta per Onomatopoeiam; ubi sonus et literæ conveniunt Significationi Rei.“<sup>23</sup>

Das sprachliche Zeichen wird also nicht als ein konventionell-arbiträres, sondern als ein wesenhaftes, motiviertes aufgefaßt. Es gilt die semiotische *φύσει-*, nicht die *θέσει-* These. Wo die analoge Struktur von Inhalts- und Ausdrucksseite des Zeichens im gegenwärtigen Sprachzustand nicht evident war, bot die Hauptsprachenlehre immer die Möglichkeit, die Analogie für historische Stufen der eigenen Sprache aufzuweisen (die dem antiquarisch interessierten Barockzeitalter in den Blick gekommen waren: man denke an die philologischen Bemühungen von Opitz, Ole Worm, Verelius, Bureus, Stiernhielm).

Um das bisher Gesagte auf eine Formel zu bringen: In den germanischsprachigen Ländern des 17. Jahrhunderts bediente sich die Sprachtheorie vor allem lexikalischer und zugleich diachronischer Argumente zur Sprachenlegitimation.

#### 4.2

Ich möchte nun ganz kurz skizzieren, daß demgegenüber im 17. Jahrhundert in Frankreich auch syntaktische und zugleich panchronische (d.h. universal-

<sup>21</sup> Johan Bureus: *De Ihreska fragmenten*. Zitiert nach: Hjalmar Lindroth: *J. Th. Bureus, den svenska grammatikens fader*. Lund 1911–1912. S. 74.

<sup>22</sup> Schottelius, a.a.O., S. 62.

<sup>23</sup> Georg Stiernhielm: *Mysterium Etymologicum*. Hss. N 24 und Fd 3. Zitiert nach: Carl Ivar Ståhle: *Språkteori och ordval i Stiernhielms författarskap*. In: *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 66 (1951). S. 52–94. Hier: S. 58.

grammatische) Argumente wichtig werden. Zwar ist unbestreitbar, daß auch in Frankreich die linguistische Debatte von lexikalischen Fragen beherrscht war und die Syntax quantitativ eine geringere Rolle spielte. Es geht dabei jedoch in weitestem Maße um puristische Probleme der Lexik, oft unter stilistischem Aspekt, d.h. es wird eher in Richtung auf die parole als in Richtung auf die langue argumentiert. Die Diskussion lexikalischer Fragen wird zudem überwiegend aus der synchronischen Perspektive heraus geführt und hat auch mehr normative als sprachlegitimatorische Ziele.

Vielmehr war das 16. Jahrhundert in Frankreich die Epoche gewesen, in der lexikalische Argumente eine große Rolle in der Diskussion um die Würde der Nationalsprache gespielt hatten<sup>24</sup>. Du Bellay, Henri Estienne, Ronsard und anderen ging es um das lexikalische „enrichissement“ der eigenen Sprache, und bekanntlich knüpft Opitz u.a. dort an. Dennoch sind die Voraussetzungen andere als in Deutschland oder Schweden. Eine „Hauptsprachenlehre“ oder „Stammworttheorie“ war nicht die Grundlage der angestrebten „illustration de la langue francoyse“<sup>25</sup>, sondern die Vorstellung vom „arbitraire du signe“ und seiner Konventionalität war Gemeingut unter den Autoren. Über den Ursprung der Sprachen schreibt Du Bellay: „elles viennent toutes d'une mesme source et origine: c'est la fantaisie des hommes“<sup>26</sup>. Und noch saussureanischer klingt uns eine Formulierung von Rabelais: „C'est abus dire que ayons languaige naturel. Les languaiges sont par institutions arbitraires & convenences des peuples.“<sup>27</sup> Ziel der lexikalischen Bemühungen in Frankreich war die praktische Ausweitung der copia verborum, ohne daß man dazu vorher das „Uhraltertum“ des Lexemvorrats der eigenen Sprache nachzuweisen bestrebt war.

Bekanntlich bringt das 17. Jahrhundert in Frankreich einen Umschwung in dieser Frage: die Pflege des oft gräzisierungstenden Neologismus, des Archaismus und des Regionalismus<sup>28</sup>, wie ihn die Pléiade betrieben hatte, wird seit Malherbe immer stärker kritisiert, und im Jahre 1670 vergleicht ein Autor wie Desmarets diese Mittel der Amplifikation des Wortschatzes mit überflüssigen Prothesen, deren das Französische nicht bedürfe „[...] cela marque un deffaut en une Langue, quand elle est reduite à se rechausser par ces moyens, non naturels, mais faits exprès & sur le champ.“<sup>29</sup>

Aufgrund des Einflusses der 1660 erschienenen „Grammaire générale et raisonnée“ von Port-Royal hatte die sprachtheoretische Diskussion in Frank-

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. Ferdinand Brunot: Histoire de la langue française. Nouvelle édition. Tome II. Paris 1967. – Abrißhaft: Jean-Pol Caput: La langue française. Histoire d'une institution. Tome I: 842–1715. Paris 1972. S. 87 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Joachim Du Bellay: La deffence et illustration de la langue francoyse. Edition critique par Henri Chamard. Deuxième tirage. Paris 1961.

<sup>26</sup> Du Bellay, a.a.O. S. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Zitiert nach den Anmerkungen des Herausgebers H. Chamard in: Du Bellay, a.a.O., S. 14. – Vgl. hierzu auch: Eugenio Coseriu: L'arbitraire du signe. Zur Spätgeschichte eines aristotelischen Begriffs. In: Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen 204 (1968), S. 82–112.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. Caput, a.a.O., S. 137 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Desmarets, a.a.O., S. 16.

reich in stärkerem Maße auch die Syntax einbezogen<sup>30</sup>. Daß dieses Werk kein Neubeginn aus dem Nichts gewesen ist, sondern in seinen eigenen Traditionen steht, ist bereits von Gunvor Sahlin<sup>31</sup> betont, jetzt wieder von Jean Stéfani und Robin Lakoff<sup>32</sup> gezeigt worden. Arnaulds und Lancelots Grammatik ist auch keine Abhandlung, die etwa zum Ruhm der französischen Sprache geschrieben worden wäre. Das in ihr vertretene Konzept, nämlich daß zwischen den allgemeinen Strukturen des menschlichen Denkens und den syntaktischen<sup>33</sup> Strukturen der Sprache erkennbare Relationen bestehen, ließ sich jedoch sprachlegitimatorisch verwerten. Man brauchte nur zu behaupten, daß bestimmte syntaktische Strukturen des Französischen mit den vermuteten universalen Denkopoperationen konvergieren, um die Grammatik der französischen Sprache als ideale Ausformung einer Universalgrammatik darstellen zu können. Das in Frankreich bereits seit dem 16. Jahrhundert geläufige sprachpatriotische Argument der „Natürlichkeit“ der Wortfolge des Französischen<sup>34</sup> konnte im 17. Jahrhundert um das Argument der „Rationalität“ der Wortfolge erweitert und somit abgestützt werden<sup>35</sup>. Pointiert gesagt: in der vermeintlichen Konvergenz von „bon usage“ und „raison“ besteht die – seither zum unsterblichen Gemeinplatz gewordene –, „clarté“ der französischen Sprache, namentlich ihrer Syntax.

## 5

Die hier registrierte Unterschiedlichkeit der sprachlegitimatorischen Argumentation (lexikalisch-diachronisch versus syntaktisch-panchronisch) muß selbstverständlich im Rahmen der sprachgeschichtlichen Gegebenheiten gesehen werden. Eine „Hauptsprachentheorie“ konnte für das Französische schon deshalb nicht viel Wert haben, weil sie immer wieder auf das Lateinische zurückverwiesen hätte, von dem man sich ja gerade zu emanzipieren wünschte. Das Halbdunkel, in dem die Frühgeschichte der germanischen Sprachen lag und liegt, begünstigte demgegenüber das Aufblühen einer solchen Theorie in Territorien wie den Niederlanden, Deutschland oder Schweden.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. Caput, a.a.O., S. 244 ff.

<sup>31</sup> G. Sahlin, a.a.O., S. 1–41.

<sup>32</sup> Jean Stéfani: Jules César Scaliger et son De causis linguae Latinae. In: Herman Parret [Hrsg.]: History of Linguistic Thought and Contemporary Linguistics. Berlin / New York 1976. S. 312–330. – Robin Lakoff: „La grammaire générale et raisonnée ou la Grammaire de Port-Royal.“ Ebenda, S. 348–373.

<sup>33</sup> Die „Grammaire générale et raisonnée“ ist keineswegs ausschließlich eine Theorie der Syntax. Jedoch handelt ihr (quantitativ dominierender) zweiter Teil „in moderne Terminologie übersetzt, von den syntaktischen Valenzen (structural meanings) der einzelnen Wortklassen.“ (Herbert E. Brekle: Semiotik und linguistische Semantik in Port-Royal. In: Indogermanische Forschungen 69 [1964], S. 103–121.) Insofern dieser zweite Teil mit dem Anspruch auf übereinzelsprachliche Gültigkeit auftritt, ist er als Theorie der Syntax zu betrachten, ganz unabhängig davon, ob man Chomskys und Brekles sprachwissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Interpretation der Port-Royal-Grammatik zustimmen möchte.

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. G. Sahlin, a.a.O., S. 88 f.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. G. Sahlin, a.a.O., S. 22. – F. Brunot, a.a.O., Tome IV. Paris 1966. S. 1104 f.

## 6

Aus der Tatsache, daß man sich in den germanischsprachigen Ländern für das lexikalisch-diachronische Lob der eigenen Sprache entschied und dabei die Motiviertheit des Zeichens zugrundelegte, ergaben sich zweierlei schwerwiegende Konsequenzen.

Einerseits weist die Diskussion ein Defizit an Gedanken über allgemeine Semanto-Syntax auf (darüber unten mehr).

Andererseits manövrierte man sich mit der *φύσει*-These in unüberwindliche zeichentheoretische Aporien: man mußte ja zeigen können, daß die Stammwörter Bilder der Dinge seien. Dies führte automatisch zu einer linguistisch verhängnisvollen Semantisierung des Phonems. Daß die Laute bedeutungstragende Elemente der Sprache seien, versuchte man entweder zu beweisen, indem man ein onomatopoietisches Verhältnis zwischen *verba* und *res* postulierte (so Stiernhielm, so Schottelius)<sup>36</sup> oder indem man auf sprachmystische Erklärungen der Wesenhaftigkeit des Zeichens zurückgriff oder indem man beides kombinierte. Sprachmystisch-onomatopoietische Systeme einer Semantik der Phonologie und der Phonotaktik sind unabhängig voneinander und ganz verschieden ausgebaut worden: in Deutschland von Zesen<sup>37</sup>, in Schweden von Stiernhielm<sup>38</sup>. Nachweisbar scheinen solche Vorstellungen auch im lyrischen Werk von Harsdörffer<sup>39</sup>. So irrig diese Vorstellungen auch gewesen sind, so wichtig ist es doch für uns, von ihnen zu wissen, wenn wir die sprachliche Gestalt der Werke Stiernhielms, Zesens, Harsdörffers und vermutlich auch anderer Autoren des 17. Jahrhunderts adäquat verstehen wollen.

<sup>36</sup> Zu Stiernhielm s.o., Anm. 23. – Schottelius, a.a.O., S. 59: „Zum Exempel nehme einer nur diese Wörter: *Wasser / fließen / gesäusel / sanft / stille* &c. wie künstlich ist es / wie gleichsam wesentlich fleust das Wasser mit stillem Gesäusel von unserer Zungen? Was kan das Geräusch des Fliessenden Wassers wesentlichler abbilden?“

<sup>37</sup> Zesen nimmt im „Rosen-mänd“ (erschienen 1651; Neudruck: Philipp von Zesen: Sämtliche Werke. Hrsg. von Ferdinand van Ingen. 11. Band: Sprach-übung. Rosen-mänd. Helikonische Hechel. Sendeschreiben an den Kreuztragenden. Bearbeitet von Ulrich Maché. Berlin / New York 1974) an, daß es acht „uhrbuchstaben“ bzw. „uhr-laute“ gebe: die vier „uhr-selbst-laute“ *a, e, u, o* und die vier „uhr-mit-laute“ *b, d, l, s*. Diese zweimal vier „uhr-laute“ sind den vier Elementen („uhr-wesen“) zugeordnet: *a* und *b* dem Wasser, *e* und *d* der Erde, *u* und *l* der Luft, *o* und *s* dem Feuer. „Dan es ist ie gewiß / daß man in dem *a* eine durchdringende kraft des wassers / in dem *e* das sinken der erden / in dem *u* / [...] das sanfte steigen und schweben der luft / in dem *o* aber die hohe und stiegende kraft des feuers / gleichsam als in einem halle vernimmt.“ (S. 93 / Neudruck S. 153 f.) – Zu den Quellen von Zesens Anschauungen (Jakob Böhme, Abraham von Franckenberg) siehe vor allem: Renate Weber: Die Lieder Philip von Zesens. Diss. Hamburg 1962. S. 199–229.

<sup>38</sup> Stiernhielms lautanalogische (d.h. phonologisch-semantische) Vorstellungen sind ausführlich behandelt worden von Carl Ivar Ståhle, zunächst 1951 in einem Aufsatz (siehe Anm. 23 dieser Arbeit), dann in seiner Arbeit über „Vers och språk i vasatidens och stormaktstidens svenska diktning“ (Stockholm 1975), S. 253–269. – Anders als Zesen geht Stiernhielm nicht von der Vierzahl der Elemente aus, sondern von den drei (von Comenius bezogenen) sog. Weltprinzipien „mens“, „lux“ und „materia“. Die Bedeutung der einzelnen Laute ist denn bei ihm auch eine ganz andere als bei Zesen. So bedeutet z.B. *A* bei Zesen „wasser“, bei Stiernhielm „lux“. *E* bei Zesen „erde“, bei Stiernhielm „lumen divergens“.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. R. Weber, a.a.O., die sich hierüber mit Wolfgang Kayser (Die Klangmalerei bei Harsdörffer. Leipzig 1932. 2. Auflage: Göttingen 1962) und Paul Hankamer (Die Sprache. Ihr Begriff und ihre Deutung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Bonn 1927. 2. Auflage: Hildesheim 1965) kritisch auseinandersetzt.

Das haben uns die Arbeiten von Carl Ivar Ståhle<sup>40</sup>, Renate Weber<sup>41</sup> und Wolfgang Kayser<sup>42</sup> gezeigt.

Bei dem eben erwähnten syntaktischen Defizit handelt es sich wohlgerne um ein Defizit auf dem Gebiet der allgemeinen Syntax. Schottelius hat in seiner „Ausführlichen Arbeit von der Teutschen HauptSprache“ zwar nicht weniger als 100 Seiten<sup>43</sup> der Syntax vorbehalten; dort handelt es sich aber in der Hauptsache um Angaben zur Rektion oder Kongruenz spezieller Wörter oder Wortgruppen der deutschen Sprache. Eine allgemeine Semanto-Syntax, wie sie in der Grammatik von Port-Royal in Grundzügen vorliegt, fehlt.

Man kann die Rezeption der „Ars Combinatoria“ des Raymundus Lullus (1235–1315), die bei einigen Sprachtheoretikern in Deutschland und Schweden festzustellen ist, als den Versuch betrachten, diese Lücke auszufüllen. Schwedische und deutsche Barockforscher sind unabhängig voneinander auf die Rezeption der Ars Lulliana in der je einheimischen Sprachtheorie gestoßen. Für Stiernhielm sind hier vor allem die Namen Johan Nordström<sup>44</sup> und Bernt Olsson<sup>45</sup> zu nennen, für Harsdörffer hat Rosmarie Zeller<sup>46</sup> Verbindungen zur Ars Combinatoria wahrscheinlich gemacht. In beiden Fällen ist die Kenntnis der Gedanken des mittelalterlichen Philosophen im 17. Jahrhundert vermittelt durch Gewährsleute wie Johann Heinrich Alsted, Giordano Bruno, Agrippa von Nettesheim. Hier ist nicht der Ort, diese Traditionslinien auch nur abrißhaft zu skizzieren. Unser Augenmerk gilt nur der ganz unterschiedlichen Anverwandlung lullischer Gedanken bei Harsdörffer (in dessen „Mathematischen Erquickstunden“)<sup>47</sup> und bei Stiernhielm (in dessen geplantes Werk „Proteus Rhetoricus“)<sup>48</sup>.

Die Ars Combinatoria des Raymundus Lullus will eine „Kunst der Wahrheitsauffindung“ sein<sup>49</sup>. Diese Wahrheitsauffindung geschieht im Prinzip dadurch, daß bestimmte, in Schemata vorgegebene Kombinationsregeln auf eine begrenzte Anzahl gegebener Begriffe (deren wichtigste Lullus als „absolute“

<sup>40</sup> Siehe Anm. 38.

<sup>41</sup> Siehe Anm. 37.

<sup>42</sup> Siehe Anm. 39.

<sup>43</sup> Das dritte Buch / Darin gehandelt wird von der Wortfügung. S. 691–790.

<sup>44</sup> Johan Nordström (Hrsg.): Samlade skrifter av Georg Stiernhielm. Andra delen: filosofiska fragment. Med inledning och kommentar. Första bandet: Inledning. Stockholm 1924.

<sup>45</sup> Bernt Olsson: Proteus Rhetoricus. In: Derselbe: Den svenska skaldekonstens fader och andra Stiernhielmsstudier. Lund 1974. 194–212.

<sup>46</sup> Rosmarie Zeller: Spiel und Konversation im Barock. Untersuchungen zu Harsdörffers „Gesprächspielen“. Berlin / New York 1974.

<sup>47</sup> Georg Philipp Harsdörffer: Delitiæ mathematicæ et physicæ. Der Mathematischen und Philosophischen [sic!] Erquickstunden Zweyter Theil. Nürnberg 1651.

<sup>48</sup> Wechselnde Titelentwürfe in den Manuskripten. Vgl. B. Olsson, a. a. O., S. 194.

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. E. W. Platzeck: Ars magna, lullische Kunst. In: Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie. Hrsg. von Joachim Ritter. Bd. 1. Basel / Stuttgart 1971. S. 524–525. – So auch der Titel der ersten Version der Ars Lulliana: „Ars Compendiosa Inveniendi Veritatem“. Vgl. R. D. F. Pring-Mill: Grundzüge von Lulls Ars inveniendi veritatem. In: Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie 43 (1961), S. 239–266. Außerdem: Derselbe: Lull, Ramon. In: Dictionary of Scientific Biography. Ed.: Ch. C. Gillispie. Volume VIII. New York 1973. S. 547–551. – Linares, Armand: Raymond Lulle. Philosophie de l'action. Thèse principale pour le Doctorat ès Lettres. Paris 1963. Bes. S. 181–234. – Tore Frängsmyr: Drömmen om det exakta språket. In: Vetenskapens träd. Idéhistoriska studier tillägnade Sten Lindroth. Stockholm 1974. S. 319–342.

und „relative“ „Prinzipien“ bezeichnet) angewendet werden. Lullus hat im Lauf der Entwicklung seines Werks die Anzahl der begrifflichen Elemente seiner Kunst sowie deren Kombinationsregeln mehrfach revidiert<sup>50</sup>. Zur Veranschaulichung des Systems seiner Kunst, d.h. der Elemente und der Kombinationsregeln, bedient er sich graphischer Figuren: besonders der Matrix und der konzentrischen Kreise. Festzuhalten ist hier, daß die *Ars Combinatoria* als ein Kombinationssystem für übereinzelsprachlich gültige Begriffe verstanden werden muß, als eine Art Kunstsprache also. Ein solches Begriffs-Kombinationssystem (dessen Elemente ja „Endsymbole“ im Sinne der Transformationsgrammatik sind) läßt sich schwerlich als System einer allgemeinen Syntax natürlicher Sprachen uminterpretieren (deren Elemente ja Klassen von „Endsymbolen“, z.B. Wortklassen, im Sinne der Transformationsgrammatik: „Kategorialsymbole“ sind).

Stiernhielm wollte auf der Basis der *Ars Combinatoria* einen Mechanismus zur Konstruktion und Variation rhetorischer Figuren entwickeln. Daher mußte es bei ihm zu der bereits von B. Olsson festgestellten inneren Widersprüchlichkeit der Lullus-Rezeption kommen: in Stiernhielms Entwürfen stehen kunstsprachliche Begriffs-Kombinatorik und natursprachliche Syntax<sup>51</sup> unversöhnt und unversöhnbar nebeneinander.

Den Anspruch, universalsprachliche und eigensprachliche syntaktische Modelle miteinander zu versöhnen, erhebt Harsdörffer erst gar nicht. Seine Aneignung des lullischen Prinzips der konzentrischen Kreise ist ein „Fünffacher Denckring der Teutschen Sprache“ (vgl. Abbildung)<sup>52</sup>. Den Namen „Denckring“ trägt dieser zu unrecht: er will nicht mehr sein als ein mechanisches Hilfsmittel zu lexikographischen und reimtechnischen Zwecken. Mann kann durch gegenseitiges Verschieben der inneren Kreise „alle Stammwörter ordentlich finden“<sup>53</sup>, durch Drehen der äußeren Kreise zusätzlich die Derivatbildungen. „Ist also dieses eine unfehlbare Richtigkeit / ein vollständiges Teutesches Wortbuch zu verfassen [...]“<sup>54</sup>. Harsdörffer reduziert somit seine syntaktischen Ansprüche auf die Phonotaktik und einen Teil der Wortbildung. (Die Reduktion der Syntax auf die Wortbildung war auch bei

<sup>50</sup> Vgl. Llinares, a.a.O., Pring-Mill, a.a.O.

<sup>51</sup> Stiernhielm beabsichtigte offenbar, im Rahmen der rhetorischen „*elocutio*“ ein syntaktisches Kombinationssystem sowohl für das Lateinische als auch für das Schwedische zu entwerfen. Darauf deutet der Arbeitstitel hin: „*Proteus Rhetoricus. id est, Artificium Variandae Orationis infinities fere, manente sensu eodem. Suetice et Latine.*“ Vgl. Olsson, a.a.O., S. 194. – Zur prinzipiellen Unvereinbarkeit des lullischen Ansatzes mit den rhetoriktechnischen Absichten Stiernhielms vgl. Olsson, a.a.O., S. 206 f.

<sup>52</sup> (Reproduktion von Harsdörffers „Denckring“ aus dessen „*Mathematischen Erquickstunden*“, S. 517.)

Der wesentliche Unterschied zwischen den Absichten des Raymundus Lullus und Harsdörffers Adaption liegt darin, daß Harsdörffers „Denck-ring“ lediglich zur artifiziellen Herstellung von „*signifiants*“ dient. Das Verfahren ist in eben dem Maße als a-semantisch zu bezeichnen, wie diese Bezeichnung für die Verfahren des sog. taxonomischen Strukturalismus zutrifft. In dem Maße, wie die Inhaltsseite des Sprachzeichens ausgeklammert bleibt, trägt der „Denck-ring“ seinen Namen zu unrecht. Lullus ging es hingegen um die Kombination von Denk- und Sprach-Inhalten: Begriffen.

<sup>53</sup> Harsdörffer, a.a.O., S. 517.

<sup>54</sup> Harsdörffer, a.a.O., S. 518.

## Vierzehnder Theil der Crauckstunden.



### Anden Buchbinder.

Dieses Blätlein muß heraus geschriben/in fünf Ringe zertheilet/und auf fünf gleich-große Scheiben von Papyr/ also aufeinander geheftet werden / daß man jeden Ring absondertlich umbdrehen kan/wann solchs geschehen/ muß man dieses fünffache Blat wider hinein pappen.

III 2

Schottelius [s. o.] festzustellen gewesen.) Harsdörffer entgeht durch diese seine Selbstbescheidung den Konflikten, aus denen Stiernhielm keinen Ausweg findet, weil dieser sich ernsthafter und konsequenter um die Vereinbarung zweier unvereinbarer Dinge bemüht: der Ars Lulliana einerseits und der Syntax einer natürlichen Sprache andererseits, das ganze noch dazu auf der Grundlage der *φύσει*-These.

Die Versuche der Einbeziehung der Ars Combinatoria zur Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Syntax natürlicher Sprachen sind somit weder in Schweden noch in Deutschland von Erfolg gekrönt gewesen und konnten es nicht sein. Insofern ist auch Skepsis geboten gegenüber der Vermutung einer Geistesverwandtschaft zwischen Stiernhielm und Port-Royal<sup>55</sup>. Wenn es Gemeinsamkeiten gibt,

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. Olsson, a.a.O., S. 209.

dann liegen sie zunächst in der Grunderkenntnis (auf die jede Art von Linguistik stoßen muß), daß Sprechen „unendlicher Gebrauch von endlichen Mitteln“ ist. Dies ist (wie bereits gesagt) nur die generativistische Formulierung des strukturalistischen Theorems von der mehrfachen „articulation de la langue“<sup>56</sup>. Zweitens: die *Ars Combinatoria*, als Grammatik umgedeutet, wäre zwar wie die Chomskysche Grammatik eine prozessuale, keine statische, aber dies m.E. im Gegensatz zu der von Port-Royal. Somit wäre eine Gemeinsamkeit des generativistischen Deskriptionsansatzes im 17. Jahrhundert kaum gegeben. Drittens: hinsichtlich des transformationellen Prinzips, das bei Stiernhielm in deutlichen Ansätzen vorliegt (man beachte den programmatischen Titel „*Proteus Rhetoricus. id est, Artificium Variandae Orationis infinities fere, manente sensu eodem. Suetice et Latine.*“), bestünde wiederum eine Gemeinsamkeit zwar zwischen der Chomsky-Grammatik und Stiernhielm, kaum jedoch zwischen Stiernhielm und Port-Royal, denn Chomsky interpretiert die in Frage kommenden Aussagen der „*Grammaire générale et raisonnée*“ einseitig in seinem (transformationalistischen) Sinne<sup>57</sup>. Die eventuellen Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen Stiernhielm und Port-Royal sollten daher nicht zu stark bewertet werden.

Demgegenüber liegt eine wesentliche und unüberbrückbare Differenz zwischen Stiernhielm und den Autoren von Port-Royal in der gegensätzlichen semiotischen Grundkonzeption. „*Parler, est expliquer ses pensées par des signes, que les hommes ont inventez à ce dessein*“<sup>58</sup>, heißt es in Port-Royal, während Stiernhielm über die verba sagt: „*nihil aliud sunt, quam Rerum veri, & perceptibiles imagines & characteres.*“<sup>59</sup> Hier stehen *θέσει*- und *φύσει*-These eindeutig gegeneinander. Dieser nicht ausgleichbare axiomatische Gegensatz wiegt m.E. schwerer als etwaige sonst festzustellende Gemeinsamkeiten der linguistischen Erkenntnis.

## 7

Trotz der unterschiedlichen Tiefgründigkeit der Überlegungen von Stiernhielm und Harsdörffer (der seinen Köthener Gesellschaftsnamen „*Der Spielende*“ hier wohl zu Recht trägt) ist dennoch die Gemeinsamkeit der semiotischen und sprachtheoretischen Basis beider das Wesentliche.

Stiernhielm als Linguist gehört also deutlich zum germanischsprachigen Bezirk der Sprachtheorie (und Sprachenlegitimation) des 17. Jahrhunderts.

<sup>56</sup> Vgl. die Anmerkungen 18 und 19 dieses Aufsatzes.

<sup>57</sup> Die von Chomsky (a.a.O.) behauptete Affinität seiner Theorie zu der von Port-Royal wird von mehreren Autoren bestritten bzw. in ihrer Bedeutung relativiert: vgl. Hans Aarsleff: *The History of Linguistics* und Professor Chomsky. In: *Language* 46 (1970) 570–585. – Rudolf Hildebrandt: *Cartesianische Linguistik. Eine Analyse der Sprachauffassung Noam Chomskys*. Bern 1976.

<sup>58</sup> [Antoine Arnauld / Claude Lancelot:] *Grammaire générale et raisonnée ou La Grammaire de Port-Royal*. Edition critique présentée par Herbert E. Brekle. Nouvelle impression en facsimilé de la troisième édition de 1676. Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt 1966. S. 5.

<sup>59</sup> Stiernhielm, Ms. F. Zitiert nach J. Nordström, a.a.O., S. CCXXI.



Seinesgleichen sind eher Schottelius, Harsdörffer oder Zesen als Arnauld und Lancelot.

Die Sprachengrenze zwischen Romania und Germania erweist sich somit für das 17. Jahrhundert auch als eine Grenze, die unterschiedliche sprachtheoretische Ansätze und sprachpatriotische Argumentationsweisen voneinander trennt.

KRISTIAN HALD

## Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen

Johs. Brøndum-Nielsen døde d. 9. Marts 1977. Han efterlader sig et Livsværk mere betydningsfuldt end de flestes, frembragt gennem næsten 70 Aars utrætteligt Virke.

Han er født d. 2. December 1881 i Hejlskov ved Viborg, hvor hans Far var Lærer, men kom som Barn til Fyn og følte sig vist Livet igennem som Fynbo. I 1902 tog han Lærereksamen fra Skaarup Seminarium paa Fyn, og i 1904 blev han student fra Lang og Hjorts Kursus i København. Magisterkonferens i Nordisk Filologi tog han 1910, efter at han Aaret i Forvejen var blevet knyttet til Statens Lærershøjskole. Han blev Docent i Nordiske Sprog ved Københavns Universitet 1919 og Professor stds. i 1926 efter Verner Dahlerup. Som saadan virkede han til 1952.

Allerede som Student udgav BrN den sprogligt og kulturhistorisk vigtige Tekst "De gamle danske Dyrerim" (1908). Udgaven er udført med overordentlig Omhu, og Kommentaren rummer – foruden Redegørelse for Rimenes Baggrund, Middelalderens naturvidenskabelige Litteratur – vigtige Tolkninger af vanskelige Steder i Teksten, selv om adskilligt senere har kunnet føjes til (bl. a. af Kaj Bom) og noget endnu er uforklaret. Efter at have prøvet Kræfter paa denne langtfra lette Tekst, kunde BrN gaa i Gang med et sprogligt Detektivarbejde, der i 1912 førte til Disputatsen "Sproglig Forfatterbestemmelse". Som Titlen antyder er det hans Hensigt at bestemme Forfatterne (Oversætterne) af en Tekst (i dette Tilfælde Christian IIs Ny Testamente 1524 og De tre ældste danske Skuespil) ved Hjælp af en dybtgaaende Analyse af dens sproglige Ejenommeligheder, Ortografi, Lydforhold, Syntaks og ikke mindst Ordforraadet, bl.a. Anvendelsen af Sprogets "Smaaord" (ej contra ikke etc.). Det er ikke først og fremmest de konkrete Resultater af Undersøgelsen, der interesserer BrN. Arbejdet har efter hans egen Mening den største Betydning i metodisk Henseende ved at inddrage sproglige Ræsonnementer til Supplering af den litteraturhistoriske Undersøgelse. Disputatsen blev modtaget med stor Interesse. Marius Kristensen fremhævede i sin Anmeldelse i Danske Studier (1916) BrNs Hensyntagen til det levende Talesprog, herunder Dialekterne, og Ragnvald Iversen slutter sin meget rosende Anmeldelse (i Maal og Minne 1915) med de profetiske Ord: "holder han frem som han stevner, vil hans navn og hans arbeide bety en 'ny provins til landet lagt' i dyrkningen av Danmarks gamle maalminder".

Brøndum-Nielsens absolutte Hovedværk er naturligvis "Gammeldansk

Grammatik”, et Kæmpeværk i otte Bind (1928–1974) paa tilsammen 3400 Sider. Intet andet germansk Sprog – maaske intet Sprog overhovedet – har faaet en saa omfattende Fremstilling af dets Historie i Middelalderen. Oprindeligt var det Forfatterens Hensigt ogsaa at lade Værket omfatte Syntaksen, saadan som det fremgaar af Fortalen til 1. Bind. Desuden var Orddannelselæren vistnok – selv om det ikke siges – i hans Tanker; han havde næppe dengang regnet med, at Lyd- og Formlæren vilde faa saa stort Omfang, som Tilfældet blev. BrN havde paa et tidligt Tidspunkt Planer om at skrive en gammeldansk Grammatik. Allerede som Docent havde han forelæst over gammeldansk Substantivbøjning, og fra et tysk Forlag havde han faaet Opfordring til at forfatte en Altdänische Grammatik, en Plan hvis Udførelse hindredes af den første Verdenskrig. Det egentlige Stød til Arbejdet med Grammatiken gav dog ifl. Indledningen til Bd. 8 en Student, der spurgte, om BrN ikke kunde give de danskstuderende det sproglige Hjælpemiddel, de savnede allermost: en gammeldansk Grammatik. Den paagældende Student havde formodentlig tænkt sig en betydelig kortere Fremstilling, og i Forordet til Bd. 1 taler BrN da ogsaa om Bogens Brug som en kortere Lærebog ved Universitetsundervisningen. Grundlaget for de første Bind af Grammatiken er de Forelæsninger, som han gennem en Aarrække holdt over Emnet en Time hver Lørdag. Ved disse Forelæsninger blev alle Hovedpunkter og mange Enkeltheder dikteret for de studerende, og en væsentlig Del blev skrevet ned paa Tavlen. Den meget præcise pædagogiske Form bevirkede, at mange af Deltagerne kunde de første Afsnit af Grammatiken næsten udenad; den fik hurtigt blandt Studenterne Kælenavnet “Johannes Aabenbaring”, noget Forfatteren næppe tog fortrydeligt op. At dette Forhold ændrede sig med Aarene, efterhaanden som Værket mere og mere antog Karakter af en udførlig Haandbog, er klart.

1. Bind er tilegnet Axel Kock, “Mesteren og Vennen”, og BrN staar utvivlsomt i dyb Gæld til denne Forsker og specielt til hans “Fornsvensk ljudlära”. GG I er dog i sin Opbygning meget forskellig fra Kocks ljudlära. Medens Kock gennemgaar Vokalernes og Diftongernes Udvikling en for en fra urnordisk Tid og med Hovedvægten lagt paa Fornsvensken, men ogsaa med Hensyntagen til det moderne Sprog, er BrNs Inddeling baseret paa de enkelte Fænomener: Omlyd, Brydning, Udviklingen af de urnordiske Diftonger osv., og fællesnordiske og gammeldanske Lydudviklinger behandles hver for sig. BrNs Fremstilling er ogsaa betydelig mere koncentreret end Axel Kocks. Lydlæren i GG I – Vokalismen – fylder 500 Sider mod er Par Tusinde, ganska vist noget mindre, Sider i Fornsvensk ljudlära. Men GG svulmede op efterhaanden som Værket skred frem. Allerede Bd. 2., der behandler Konsonantismen, har omtrent samme Omfang som Bd. 1, medens de fleste andre sproghistoriske Haandbøger, fx Noreens Altschwedische Grammatik, skriver betydelig mere kortfattet om Konsonanterne end om Vokalerne. Endnu mere grundigt behandles Bøjningslæren i de følgende Bind, mest udførligt Pronominerne i Bd. 5, det største af alle Bindene, der altsaa fylder mere end hele Vokalismen. Hvert enkelt Pronomen, ja næsten hver enkelt Pronominalform, faar en minutiøs Behandling. Her – som mange Steder i Værket – er der Anmærkninger, der er

svulmet op til hele Afhandlinger. Det samme gælder fx ogsaa Behandlingen af Elementer af Folkevisesproget i Bd. 4, Adjektiverne. At ikke uvigtige Dele af Stoffet er henvist til Anmærkninger bidrager utvivlsomt til Overskueligheden, som det store Omfang maaske kan faa det til at skorte lidt paa.

Brøndum-Nielsen tvivlede vistnok aldrig selv paa, at det vilde lykkes ham at føre Værket til Ende – bortset fra Afsnittet om Syntaksen, som nok blev afskrevet paa et temmelig tidligt Tidspunkt. Da han forelagde næstsidste Bind ved et Møde i Videnskabernes Selskab, omtalte han som et Faktum, at det afsluttende Bind vilde udkomme, naar han var 92 Aar gammel, og det slog ogsaa til. Alligevel nævner han i Forordet til Bd 8, at det er “med undrende Tilfredshed” han afslutter sit Arbejde. Andre har maaske fulgt Værkets Tilblivelse med større Undren end Forfatteren selv. Det bygger paa selvstændige Undersøgelser af næsten hele den gammeldanske Litteratur, og det var uendelig beskedent, hvad der forelaa af sproghistoriske Forarbejder. Her var Axel Kock uægtelig bedre stillet, men man maa naturligvis ikke glemme, at Kocks Forarbejder i høj Grad skyldtes ham selv.

Et vigtigt Udgangspunkt for BrN var selve Arbejdet med de gammeldanske Tekster, han havde studeret fra sin tidligste Ungdom og hvis Udgivelse han tog virksom Del i. Betydningsfuld var ogsaa, som allerede antydet, Inspirationen fra svensk, sproghistorisk Forskning og Ønsket om at skabe et pædagogisk nødvendigt Hjælpemiddel for Sprogstudiet. Pædagogiske Hensyn spillede altid en stor Rolle for BrN. – En meget vigtig Inspirationskilde var hans Kendskab til de danske Dialekter med Udgangspunkt i Barndomsfjens Fynsk, som han ikke selv har talt, men som han altid havde for Øre under sin Opvækst og som han omfattede med stor Kærlighed. Det at han havde “ikke Dialekten paa Tungen, men i Øret” var ham stadig en “fyldestgørende Støtte ved Vurderingen af sproghistoriske Problemer” (Fortalen til Bd. 8).

I 1906, paa en Tid da det gamle Navnestof endnu var i levende Brug, foretog BrN en dybtgaaende, fonetisk Optegnelse af Stednavnene i Brudager Sogn, Svendborg Amt (trykt i Fra dansk Folkemindesamling I 1908) med en særdeles fintmærkende Lydskrift. Et Par Aar senere, da Foreningen Danmarks Folke-minder havde nedsat sit Udvalg for Folkemaal, deltog han i en Dialektoptegnelse paa Als sammen med Marius Kristensen, Henrik Ussing og Nikolaj Andersen, og BrN blev gennem to Menneskealdre en virksom Formand for Udvalget (nu Institut for dansk Dialektforskning). Da Stednavneudvalget stiftedes i 1910, var han med til det stiftende Møde, og han var i mere end 60 Aar et af dets virksomste Medlemmer, i den længste Tid som Formand for dets Retskrivningsudvalg.

I god Overensstemmelse med en af Ungdomsaarenes Hovedinteresser handlede hans første Forelæsningsrække som nyudnævnt Universitetslærer om Dialekter. Forelæsningerne udkom i ikke meget afvigende Skikkelse i 1927 som Bogen “Dialekter og Dialektforskning”. Den er inspireret af bl.a. fransk og schweizisk Dialektforskning (Gauchat), men er i det hele et Vidnesbyrd om Forfatterens store Belæsthed i den europæiske Litteratur, ikke mindst fra den nærmest foregaaende Periode, om Dialektologiens Problemer, herunder Vur-

deringen af fonetiske Optegnelser, Undersøgelser af sproglig Ensartethed eller Mangel paa samme indenfor begrænsede Omraader, Aarsagerne til Dialektgrænsernes Opstaaen og deres Kronologi, Dialektkriterier og Begrebet "Lydlov". Indflydelsen fra P. K. Thorsen, der har haft stor Betydning for den sproglige Tænkning i Danmark, er ogsaa tydelig i Dialekter og Dialektforskning. Et vigtigt Afsnit i Bogen (Kap. 2. "Nogle danske Dialektskel") behandler Tiden for og Grunden til de danske Dialektgrænsers Opstaaen og viser, hvordan Dialektforskningen fører over i Historien, Lands- og Lokalhistorien. Bogen giver for første Gang en samlet Fremstilling af de vigtigste nordiske Dialektejendommeligheder under eet, ledsaget af meget instruktive Kort. Den viser BrNs Evne til paa forholdsvis ringe Plads at give en klar og instruktiv Fremstilling af et stort Emne, og er et af de bedste Eksempler paa sin Forfatters pædagogiske Talent. Den er en Klassiker i den danske Dialektlitteratur og er nok den af BrNs Bøger, der vandt størst Anerkendelse, ogsaa fra Repræsentanter for den nyere, strukturalistiske Skole i Sprogvidenskab, som BrN ellers stod fjernt.

Med Middelalderens poetiske Litteratur beskæftigede BrN sig foruden i Udgaven af Dyrerimene i Afhandlingen "Den danske Folkevises Betydning i sproglig Henseende", hans Magisterkonferensforelæsning fra 1910, der indleder Udvalget af hans Afhandlinger "Studier og Tydninger" 1951. Paa Grundlag af Ord- og Bøjningsformer mener han at kunne sætte det faste, udviklede Folkevisesprogs Grundlæggelse saa langt tilbage i Tiden som c. 1200. Dette Resultat er bestridt af andre, der vil mene, at Folkevisedigtningen, trods den arkaiserende Sprogform, ikke er saa forfærdelig meget ældre end de bevarede Haandskrifter. BrN har fastholdt sin Opfattelse af Folkevisens Ælde, og det er vanskeligt at komme uden om hans Argumenter for, at den har sin Rod i den ældre Middelalder, selv om han nok daterer dens Begyndelse lidt for tidligt, idet man maa tage Hensyn til det Forhold, at Visernes Sprog fra første Færd har været bevidst arkaiserende. Hans Afhandling er under alle Omstændigheder fortsat et vigtigt Indlæg i Diskussionen om Folkevisedigtningen.

Sproget i en anden middelalderlig Litteraturform er undersøgt i "Rimkrønikens Sprogform og Tilblivelse" (Universitetsfestskrift 1930), der for saa vidt fortsætter Folkevisestudierne, som BrN bl.a. paaviser Rimkrønikens Afhængighed af Folkevisen med Hensyn til Stil og Ordforraad, særlig evident i Krønikens 2. Fjerdedel. Først og fremmest maa Bogen dog siges at fortsætte en anden Linie i hans Forfatterskab, den sproglige Forfatterbestemmelse.

Af BrNs Udgiverarbejder er Dyrerimene allerede omtalt, og der kunde nævnes Udgaver som "Gammeldags Skæmt" (1916, sammen med Marius Kristensen), "Lykke Bogen" (1917) og "Mariaklagen" (1929, sammen med Aage Rohmann). Hovedværket paa Udgiveromraadet er den store Udgave af "Danmarks gamle Landskabslove" (1920 ff., sammen med Svend Aakjær, Peter Skautrup, Erik Kroman m. fl.), der nu er afsluttet. Et Forarbejde og en Forudsætning er Afhandlingen "Danske lovhåndskrifter og dansk lovsprog i den ældre middelalder" (Arkiv f. nord. fil. 1918), den grundlæggende Afhandling om Forholdet mellem de middelalderlige Haandskrifter af Skaanske Lov, hvor

han dog ikke er opmærksom paa B 74's Særstilling som det ældste af alle danske Lovhaandskrifter som senere paavist af Erik Kroman. Han var dansk Redaktør af det store, fællesnordiske Samlingsværk "Nordisk Kultur", og han var Leder af Facsimileudgaven af vore middelalderlige Haandskrifter, "Corpus Codicum Danicorum", der er beregnet til at skulle fylde 20 Bind, hvoraf 10 foreløbig er udkommet, deriblandt Bd. III og VI med BrN som Udgiver. Forhaabentlig lykkes det Forlaget af føre denne monumentale – og kostbare – Udgivelse til Afslutning.

BrNs litterære Interesse var ikke begrænset til Middelalderen og det 16. Aarhundrede. Han interesserede sig levende for det 19. og 20. Aarhundredes Litteratur og har udgivet Manuskripter, Brevsamlinger og litterære Studier over Digtere fra Poul Møller til Sophus Claussen og Viggo Stuckenberg – den sidste var vistnok hans Yndlingsforfatter. Syntaktisk-litteraturhistorisk er hans Universitetsfestskrift "Oratio tecta i dansk Litteratur før 1870" (1953).

Ved "Ordbog over det danske Sprog" virkede BrN som en af de 15 Redaktører fra 1915 til Afslutningen i 1954. Han har redigeret 7445 af Ordbogens Spalter; af de andre Redaktører har kun Aage Hansen præsteret en større Andel, mere end 10 000 Spalter. BrNs Arbejde for Ordbogen er maaske det mest forbløffende Vidnesbyrd om hans Arbejdsevne, naar man betænker, at han i den samme Periode ved siden af sit Universitetsarbejde publicerede fire Bind af Gammeldansk Grammatik foruden meget andet. Hans Evne til at tilrettelægge sit Arbejde var enorm, og en stor Støtte havde han i sit store Bibliotek, der omfattede praktisk talt alt, hvad han havde Brug for ved Ordbogsarbejdet, deriblandt en meget stor Del af den klassiske danske Litteratur i Førsteudgaver. Ordbogsartiklerne virker altid grundigt gennemarbejdede, og Artiklernes "Hoveder" indeholder – særlig i de senere Bind – mange Henvisninger til ældre Sprogformer, hentet bl. a. fra de omfattende Samlinger til GG.

Det siger sig selv, at BrNs store pædagogiske og organisatoriske Evner i høj Grad blev taget i Brug af Institutioner i og udenfor Universitetet. Han var Bestyrelsesmedlem af en Række Udgiverselskaber, hvoraf der især er Grund til at nævne Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, som han var Formand for i 53 Aar fra 1924 til sin Død. Han var i mange Aar Medlem af den Arnamagnæanske Kommission, fra 1953–62 Formand, og var meget virksom for Realisationen af Planerne om en oldislandsk Ordbog. Loven om Udleveringen af Størsteparten af de islandske Haandskrifter og Resultatet af de paafølgende Retssager var ham en dyb Skuffelse. Det vil føre altfor vidt at gøre Rede for Sagen i denne Sammenhæng, men det bør nok nævnes, at BrN paa et tidligere Tidspunkt i en Kommissionsbetænkning havde foreslaaet, at man skænkede Island en Række af de mest berømte Haandskrifter, medens han var overbevist om, at den arnamagnæanske Samlings Hovedbestand bedst vilde blive udnyttet ved at forblive i Danmark.

Han redigerede fra 1926 *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* med dens vigtige Bibliografi og har selv bidraget til næsten hvert Bind af Tidsskriftet.

I en Arrække var han Formand for det ministerielle Retskrivningsudvalg og

var en skarp – for ikke at sige lidenskabelig – Modstander af den saakaldte Retskrivningsreform fra 1948.

Da Brøndum-Nielsen forlod Universitetet som 70-aarig i 1952, havde han endnu 25, man tør sige: rige, Arbejdsaar foran sig. Af GG udkom de fem sidste Bind i denne Periode (1962 ff.). Bd. 3 var udkommet allerede i 1935, saa nogle havde nok frygtet for, at det store Arbejde var blevet en Torso som saa mange andre, stort anlagte Værker, og BrN har vel ogsaa selv følt Trang til at standse op midt i sit Værk, dels for at supplere Materialet til den følgende, mere udførlige Fremstilling, dels vel ogsaa for at overveje sin Stilling til de nye Strømninger i Sprogvidenskaben, som han stort set ikke lod sig inspirere af. Men samtidig med Grammatiken kom der i Aarene efter hans Afsked med Universitetet en lang Række større og mindre Afhandlinger, foruden at han stadig, som det fremgaar af det foregaaende, havde et betydeligt administrativt Arbejde.

Hvis BrNs videnskabelige Produktion havde indskrænket sig til det, han præsterede efter Pensionsalderen, vilde man med Rette kunne have sagt, at det ikke var noget ringe Livsværk, han efterlod sig. Nu er dette i Omfang en forholdsvis ringe Del af hans ufatteligt store Produktion, af hvilken meget her har maattet lades uomtalt. Den smukke Bibliografi, som Selskab for nordisk Filologi udgav paa hans 80 Aars Fødselsdag, indeholder 1224 Numre, og meget er kommet til siden.

Brøndum-Nielsens Betydning for Udforskningen af vort Sprogs Historie og for dansk Kultur har været enorm, hans gammeldanske Grammatik vil for mange kommende Generationer af danske Sprogforskere være det selvfølgelige Udgangspunkt. Ragnvald Iversens Spaadom fra 1915 er i rigt Maal gaaet i Opfyldelse.

## Bemerkninger til en anmeldelse

Jeg vil hermed få lov å be redaksjonen av *ANF* om plass til et par bemerkninger til den anmeldelse av min *Scandinavian Languages* som stod i bd. 92, s. 251–2. Det er første gang i mitt liv jeg tar til orde mot en anmeldelse, men så er det også første gang jeg på ett brett har fått servert beskyldning for “slarviga formuleringar”, “ren okunnighet” og “bristande akribi”. For å kunne dekke såpass ærekrenkende uttalelser bør anmelderen i all fall ha bedre eksempler enn de som er oppramset i meldingen. Jeg innrømmer villig at detaljfeil har sneket seg inn, da det er umulig for én mann å ha full rede på alle de språk og dialekter det her er tale om. Teksten ble ellers lest av to vitenskapsmenn som jeg hadde grunn til å tro var kompetente i svensk: noe som anmelderen etterlyser.

At “Danmark är ett land som saknar dialektgränser” kan på ingen måte utleses av kartet på s. 26. Kartets skala er for liten til å tegne inn mindre grenser, men Jylland, Fyn og Sjælland er tydelig markert ved geografiske streker. Og en behøver slett ikke gå til Brøndum-Nielsen for å få “reda på det verkliga förhållandet”. Det står nemlig hos meg på s. 55 og i noe større detalj på s. 364. Det er vanskelig å forstå med hva slags brillers anm. har lest boken, for han kritiserer formuleringen for Skåne, som står på samme side. At Skåne består av fire og ikke to områder, noe jeg fant hos Ingers, er muligens riktig, men min erfaring med dialekter er at alle slike inndelinger en mer eller mindre arbitrære, da isoglosser sjelden har identisk forløp.

At nyere engelsk ord som *gäng* “försvenskades år 1801” har jeg selvfølgelig ikke ment; de siteres her som eksempler på prinsippet som ble etablert ved normen av 1801. Jeg beklager at arkivet i Umeå ikke kom med og at de to i Lund og Göteborg har de gamle navnene; men som anm. antyder, skjedde omorganisasjonen i 1970, midt under skrivingen, og det er ikke lett å holde rede på slike forandringer når man sitter i Amerika. At pret. konj. *vore* bare forekommer i “villkorsbisatser i litterär stil” er ren feillesning. Jeg skrev “there is still some literary use of the preterite subjunctive in conditional clauses” (80); på norsk ville det blitt “skriftspråklig bruk i betingende setninger”. Formuleringen er kortfattet, men som eks. viser, behøver ikke “clause” å bety “bisats” (da ville jeg skrevet “subordinate clauses”). Indholdet skulle svare så noenlunde til formuleringen f. eks. i Collinder, *Svensk språklära* (1974), s. 102: “Numer är det mycket vanligt at man nyttjar preteritum av starka verb i stället för villkorsformen” med eks. fra Hj. Gullberg, eller i Thorell, *Svensk gramma-*



*tik* (1973), s. 131: "I skönprosa och ledig sakprosa växlar indikativ och konjunktiv ... På det hela taget blir konjunktiv allt mera sällsynt."

At Lund ikke ble avmerket på kartet (s. 184) som biskopssete er beklagelig, det skyldes i all fall ikke "okunnighet", men kanskje litt slurv fra karttegnerens side (som jeg umulig kunne kontrollere i alle detaljer). Det samme er tilfelle for de feil som ellers finnes på kartene: de var ikke ment som presise detaljkart, noe som ville krevet langt større resurser enn vi rådet over. Kartet s. 271 med medial palatalisering av konsonanter bygger f. eks. på Wessén, *Våra folksmål*, s. 40, linje 9. At *-nn* og *-n* atskilles i danske dialekter og på Bornholm ved palatalisering bygger på Bennike og Kristensen s. 157 – att Skåne her er tatt med skyldes sikkert at jeg har misoppfattet forholdet mellom bornholmsk og skånsk. Muljeringen av *ll* og *nn* er desverre blitt slått sammen på kartet s. 273, vel fordi de ellers pleier å følges så noenlunde at i Norden.

At krigen i Finland har fått årstallene 1939–41 skyldes at jeg har tenkt først og fremst på vinterkrigen 1939–40, "andra kriget" 1941–44 ble mer en del av annen verdenskrig. At den plurale verbformen forsvant "på 1600-talet" (s. 373) er i min tekst uttrykkelig begrenset til "standardtalemål" (s. 365), dvs. de høyere klassers talemål og særlig i Stockholm. At det "ännu inte är fullbordad i dialekterne" vet jeg selvsagt og har ikke påstått annet. At navnet *Nobel* kommer fra *Nöbbelev* har jeg funnet i Gösta Bergmans *Kortfattad svensk språkhistoria* (1968), s. 154. Da det bare gjaldt et eksempel for å illustrere latiniseringen av familienavn bygget på stedsnavn, var det ingen grunn til å undersøke videre hvilket av de mange *Nöbbelev* det gjaldt. Kritikken ser ellers ut til å gjelde at jeg kaldte en "kyrkby" for "town", noe som i min engelsk ikke behøver å bety en "stad", men kan være et landdistrikt som svarer til det norske "herred". I Bergman står det "orten *Nöbbelev*".

Dette med eksempler er ellers vanskelig når en skal finne uangripelige sådanne til alle regler. At *högt* ble skrevet med lang *ö* skyldes min norske dialekt; men eksemplet er der for å illustrere at *g* blir til *k* foran *t*, jeg kunne like godt skrevet *lagt* eller *sagt*. At jeg brukte *najlån* for *nylon* som eksempel på forvenskningen av engelske ord (s. 388) var en huskefeil som skyldes min lesning av diskusjonen omkring nordisk språkvård; jeg kunne like godt brukt eksemplet *paj*, eller *vajer/wire*, eller *tejp*.

At enkelte forhold er blitt uttrykt vel kortfattet med "utelämnade reservationer" skyldes bl. a. plassmangel. Jeg skrev over hundre sider med mer detaljerte regler, men måtte sløyfe dem da det gikk opp for meg at boken da ville vokset opp til flere bind. Den konsentrasjon som skulle til for å få med det som er i boken er tenkt å være til hjelp for lesere som ikke ønsker å få vite alt om emnet. Det er derfor litt forhastet å si at den har "förfelat sitt syfte", især da anm. ikke (etter min mening) har tatt hensyn til det jeg tenkte meg som bokens formål. At slurvefeil bør unngås er jeg helt enig med anm. i og jeg takker ham for de vink han har gitt. Hvis boken får oppleve en ny utgave, skal de komme med. Jeg kan ellers glede anm. ved å nevne en *lapsus calami* han ikke merket: på s. 407 står det *Linköping* for *Nyköping*.

## MEDDELANDE

Med detta årshäfte är mitt uppdrag som huvudredaktör för ARKIV FÖR NORDISK FILOLOGI slutfört. Till huvudredaktör har utsetts professor **Sven Benson**, Göteborg, tidigare under en följd av år tidskriftens redaktionssekreterare.

I övrigt förblir redaktionen oförändrad.

Göteborg i november 1978

*Ture Johannisson*

# Litteraturkrönika 1977

Av S. Benson, B. Ejder och B. Pamp

*Dialectology and Sociolinguistics. Essays in honor of Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt 19 April 1977. Edited by Claes-Christian Elert, Stig Eliasson, Sigurd Fries and Sture Ureland. 280 s. Umeå 1977 (Umeå universitetsbibliotek). (Acta Universitatis Umensis. Umeå Studies in the Humanities. 12.)* I festskriften till Dahlstedt medverkar 22 forskare med lika många, tungt vägande bidrag. Huvuddelen av bidragen kretsar kring dialektologi och sociologi med starka inslag av allmän lingvistik. Av helt teoretisk natur är bl.a. János S. Petöfis bidrag *Dialektologie – Soziolinguistik – Texttheorie (methodologische Bemerkungen)* och Wolfgang Ulrich Wurzels uppsats *Dialektvariation und Grammatik* medan bl.a. Thorsten Andersson, Bengt Norberg, Dag Strömbäck, Carl Ivar Ståhle och Gun Widmark behandlar konkreta svenska problem. I sin helhet är festskriften ett mycket värdefullt arbete. S. B.

*Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung. Herausgegeben von Kurt Ranke, Göttingen, zusammen mit Hermann Bausinger, Tübingen, Wolfgang Brückner, Würzburg, Max Lüthi, Zürich, Lutz Röhrich, Freiburg, Rudolf Schenda, Göttingen. Band 1. Lieferung 3–5. Sp. 577–1406. Band 2. Lieferung 1|2. Sp. 1–576. Berlin–New York 1976–1977 (Walter de Gruyter).* De två första häftena av *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* anmäldes i ANF 1976 s. 207. Med de nu utkomna häftena är första bandet redan färdigt – det omfattar artiklarna *Aarne* t.o.m. *Bayerischer Hiasl* –, och andra bandet är på god väg. De senare häftena håller samma höga klass som de tidigare anmälda. Huvuddelen av artiklarna är författade av kontinentala forskare. Nordisk expertis har använts uteslutande när det gäller artiklar om nordiska författare och forskare. I det första bandet finns t.ex. en nykter artikel av Bengt R. Jonsson om Arvid August Afzelius. B. P.

*Lexikon des Mittelalters. Erster Band/Erste Lieferung, Aachen–Ägypten. 224 sp. München und Zürich 1977 (Artemis Verlag).* Det verk, vars början härmed presenteras, är av förlagsreklamen att döma avsett att få ett väldigt omfång. Beräkningarna slutar på 5 640 sidor, vartill kommer registerband. Sidorna är dubbelspaltiga och mycket innehållsrika. Listan på vetenskapliga medarbetare är imponerande. Det är nog för tidigt att efter detta ringa prov fälla ett omdöme om det hela. En jämförelse med motsvarande artiklar i första bandet av *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid* (1956) bestyrker förstahandsintrycket, att det nya verket med sin allmännare inriktning givetvis är mycket bredare men därvid naturligtvis inte kan taga samma hänsyn till exempelvis de nordiska förhållandena som KLNLM gör. Vid några stickprov finner

man bl.a. följande. De danska stadsnamnen *Ålborg* och *Århus*, stavade med *Aa-*, får artiklar på vardera några rader. Till uteslutande nordiska förhållanden hänför sig också artiklar om *Absalon* och *Aggersborg*. Dessutom finns givetvis nordiska förhållanden som smärre inslag på ett betydande antal ställen i större artiklar. Det finns många sådana av högt intresse för den nordiske medievidsten (ex. vis abbreviatur (Abkürzung), Abendmahl etc. etc.). Som exempel på innehållsrikedom hos det nya verket kan nämnas, att det behandlas 16 (17) olika personer med namnet *Adalberius* och 15 *Adam*. Artikeln om *adel* är symtomatisk: den fyller över 11 sidor, där åt Skandinavien ägnas de sista 18 raderna. Härifrån kan man sedan gå till *KLNM*, som bjuder 12 sidor om *frälse* (om vilket utlovas en artikel också i *Lexikon des Mittelalters*).

Det nya allroundverket lovar mycket.

B. E.

*Oral Tradition. Literary Tradition. A Symposium. Edited by Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Peter Foote, Andreas Haarder, Hans Frede Nielsen. 121 s. Odense 1977 (Odense University Press).* Diskussionen om muntligt och skriftligt traderande har under de senaste årtiondena skjutit ny fart, vilket inte minst torde bero på Albert Lords undersökningar av den ännu i sen tid muntligt traderade serbiska folkvisan. I november 1976 hölls ett symposium över ämnet i Odense, under ledning av det nystartade Laboratorium for folkesproglig middelalderlitteratur. Symposieföredragen är nu utgivna, tillsammans med ett par korta diskussionsreferat. Av omedelbart intresse för en nordisk publik är fyra föredrag. Dietrich Hofmann skriver om *Die Einstellung der isländischen Sagaverfasser und ihrer Vorgänger zur mündlichen Tradition* och försöker bl.a. inta en medlande ställning i den diskussion i frågan som har förts mellan Steblin-Kamenskij och Peter Hallberg i *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 7-9. En annan pågående debatt, den mellan Carl Ivar Ståhle och Gudrun Utterström om Dalalagens ålderdomlighet, berörs av Peter Foote i *Oral and literary tradition in early Scandinavian law: Aspects of a problem*. Kurt Schier skriver om *Einige methodische Überlegungen zum Problem von mündlicher und literarischer Tradition im Norden*. Det kanske mest intresseväckande nordiska bidraget har som författare Iørn Piø, vilken insiktsfullt och välskrivet diskuterar *On reading orally-performed ballads: The medieval ballads of Denmark*.

B. P.

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*De nordiska språkens framtid. Bidrag vid en konferens utgivna av Bengt Sigurd. 147 s. Stockholm 1977 (Esselte studium). (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska språknämnden. 61.)* På initiativ av Bengt Sigurd och med stöd av Nordiska kulturfonden hölls i september 1976 i Lund ett symposium med samma titel som den här anmälda boken. Syftet med symposiet var att diskutera de nordiska språkens situation i dag och i morgon i, för att citera förordet, "en värld med rörlig arbetsmarknad, tät kommunikation, massmedia, multinationella företag och internationalism". Bland bidragsgivarna märks, förutom initiativtagaren, Nils Hasselmo, Baldur Jónsson, Mogens Baumann Larsen, Bengt Loman, Jóhan Hendrik W. Poulsen och Finn-Erik Vinje. Tonfallen växlar i den mycket intresseväckande skriften från ganska optimistiska stämningar till dystra betraktelser. Hos flera deltagare märks ett klart medvetande om att språkpolitik utan stöd i form av andra insatser från samhället inte kan drivas

framgångsrikt. Dialekterna och deras roll som minoritetsspråk diskuteras bara ganska flyktigt, men å andra sidan är de problem som tas upp större och allvarligare. B. P.

*Släktnamn i Norden med uttalsuppgifter. 70 s. Stockholm 1977 (Esselte studium). (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska språknämnden. 60.)* Denna anonymt utgivna skrift publiceras också i Danmark med titeln *Efternavne i Norden* och i Norge med titeln *Familienavn i Norden*. Den ger uttalsuppgifter för ca 3 300 danska, norska, svenska och finlandssvenska släktnamn som kan vara besvärliga att uttala för det egna landets invånare eller för de nordiska grannfolken. Exempel på namn som tas upp är *Blicher, Boivie, Du Rietz, Grieg* och *Nordli*. Isländska och finska namn behandlas genom generella uttalsregler. Om de svenska namnen kan nämnas att uttalsreglerna formuleras med utgångspunkt i det centralsvenska talspråket; de prosodiska avvikelser från detta som finns t.ex. i sydsvenskt riksspråk antyds inte. B. P.

*Sprog i Norden 1977. Årsskrift for de nordiske sprognævn. Udgivet af Dansk sprognævn. 139 s. (Gyldendalske boghandel, Nordisk Forlag A.S.). (Också i norsk och svensk upplaga: Språk i Norden 1977.)* Årsboken innehåller, förutom de sedvanliga rapporterna från de nordiska ländernas språknämnder, några uppsatser av högt intresse. Två av dem behandlar isländska förhållanden och problem. Sålunda skriver Jakob Benediktsson om Aktuelle problemer i islandsk sprogrøgt. Språkförhållandena på Island är ingalunda problemfria: resultatet av mötet mellan det gamla litteraturspråket och nyare epokers språk av olika art var och är inte självklart. I detta läge har en purism satt in, vars yttersta konsekvenser dock numera rätt allmänt avvisas. Det har emellertid uppstått en mycket ansenlig klyfta mellan den i skriftspråket och i skolornas undervisning härskande konservativa normen och det skick som har utvecklats i talspråket. Härtill kommer den allestädes närvarande språkliga generationsklyftan, som på Island inte är mindre djup än annorstädes, samt uppkomsten av ett ungdomens slangspråk. – I en annan artikel skriver Peter Sjøby Kristensen om Dansk og de andre nordiske sprog på Island. Man får här veta åtskilligt om de ofta rent praktiska problem i mötet med de övriga nordiska språken, som islänningarna erfar. Vi får också veta, hur de mötes: danska är det av syster-språken, som är allmännast studerat och förstått. En rad sakupplysningar gör klart, att därmed sammanhängande problem helt enkelt måste lösas, särskilt i ett så litet samhälle som det isländska med dess begränsade materiella resurser. – I en tredje uppsats, Ord avler ord, skriver Pia Riber Petersen om några produktiva sammansättningsleder i danska sedan 1955. Det rör sig om både förleder och efterleder, och studien utmynnar i konstaterandet: "... at de produktive led stort set er fælles for dansk, norsk og svensk, og at vi danner nye ord af samme elementer ...". – Återstoden av boken fylles av en nyttig presentation av nyare litteratur av intresse för språkvårdsarbetet och av en förteckning över nyare ordböcker och ordlistor. B. E.

*Jan Wall, Tjuvmjolkande väsen. I. Äldre nordisk tradition. VIII+262 s. Uppsala 1977 (Almqvist & Wiksell International). (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Ethnologica Upsaliensia. 3.)* Föreställningen att man kan beröva andra mjölk och smör genom magi har gamla anor i Norden men har förekom-

mit även i Tyskland och England. Jan Wall har i sin doktorsavhandling, som utgör första delen av ett större verk, inventerat äldre källmaterial. Han har därvid arbetat med kyrkomålningar från 1400- och 1500-talen, med litterära texter alltifrån tidig medeltid och med rättskällor av olika slag, främst domböcker från häxprocessernas dagar. Undersökningen av det folkliga traditions-materialet från 1800- och 1900-talen kommer att framläggas i verkets andra del. Tjuvmjölkkande väsen anges i södra och mellersta Sverige vara harar eller (nordligare) katter, i Norrland vanligen nystan e.d. Benämningar som möter är främst *bära*, *bjära*, *bärare*, *tilberi* (Island), *hare*, *mjölkhare*, *trollhare*, *katt*, *trollkatt*, *bärkatt*, *puke*, *tuss* och *kratte*.

Arbetet röjer författarens grundliga insikter i arkivmaterial av olika slag och en betydande förtrogenhet med medeltida kyrkomåleri. Man avvaktar med stort intresse arbetets andra del. S. B.

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*Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic Studies 1975. 79 s. Copenhagen 1977 (The Royal Library, Copenhagen).* Den trettonde utgåvan av BONIS är redigerad av Hans Bekker-Nielsen, som vid sin sida har haft medredaktörerna Halldór Halldórsson, Ludvig Holm-Olsen, Dag Strömbäck, Palle Birkelund, Morten Ruge, Chr. Westergård-Nielsen och Ole Widding. Den sedvanliga inledande uppsatsen är skriven av Peter Foote och bär titeln *Saman er brœðra eign bezt at sjá*, med undertiteln *A personal view of recent scholarship in fields of mutual Norse-Romance interest*. Foote pläderar välutaligt och övertygande för att ett utökat samarbete måste komma till stånd mellan nordister och romanister när det gäller utforskandet av den medeltida nordiska litteratur som utgörs av översättningar och bearbetningar av fornfranska original. Genom exempel från översättningar till franska (av P. Aebischer) och engelska (av C. B. Hieatt) av *Karlamagnús saga* kan han visa på onödiga och ibland ganska ödesdigra misstag som lätt hade kunnat undvikas genom hjälp av nordisk expertis. Han erinrar också avslutningsvis om att det nu finns möjlighet till ett mer formaliserat samarbete, genom att *La Société internationale Rencesvals*, grundat 1955, har inrättat en skandinavisk sektion, med uppgift bl.a. att "facilitate specialized collaboration between Nordic and Romance medievalists, particularly in lexicography, pursuit of sources and translations".

B. P.

*Óskar Halldórsson, Uppruni og Þema Hrafnkels sögu. 85 s. Reykjavík 1976 (Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag). (Rannsóknastofnun i bókmenntafræði við Háskóla Íslands. Fræðirit 3.)* Óskar Halldórsson har som pedagog varit verksam vid olika läroanstalter i Reykjavík. Dessutom har han författat en rad skrifter rörande fornisländsk litteratur. I förordet till denna skrift får man veta, att de här framlagda åsikterna leder sitt ursprung från förf:s arbete med att aptera sagans text för skolbruk. Beträffande sagans tillkomsthistoria fann förf. sig på sin tid i motsatsställning till ingen mindre än Sigurður Nordal. Denne hävdade som bekant i sin kända undersökning *Hrafnkatla* (1940, *Studia islandica* 7), att sagan om Hrafnkell helt är ett verk av en skrivande författare, väsentligen utan underlag i isländsk folktradition. Óskar Halldórsson åter menar i denna framställning, som har en lång tillblivelsehistoria, att den har ett

faktiskt, urskiljbart och helt rimligt traditionsunderlag. Närmare bestämt hävdas att traditionsstoffet i fråga – med någon förändring – efter landnamstiden skulle ha levat vidare på östra Island och där ha formats till Hrafnkels saga långt efter det att samma stoff hade givit upphov till dithörande notiser i Landnámabók. – Det vittnar om islandsstudiernas nuvarande intensitet och rikedom, att undersökningar av dylika ting med så enormt olika grundåskådning kan komma fram nästan samtidigt: jfr denna bok med flera undersökningar av nyare datum, som har anmälts och anmäles i denna tidskrift. Sedan ligger det i varje läsares avgörande, om han vill låta gälla det ena eller det andra huvudbetraktelsesättet.

B. E.

*Harald Ehrhardt, Der Stabreim in altnordischen Rechtstexten. 221 s. Heidelberg 1977 (Carl Winter. Universitätsverlag). (Skandinavistische Arbeiten. Herausgegeben von Klaus von See. Band 2.)* Den gamla, romantiska föreställningen att allitterationen i de fornnordiska lagtexterna vore att bedöma som rester av äldre stadier med versifierad form har efter hand avlösts av en nyktrare uppfattning. Harald Ehrhardt har i sin undersökning klart visat att allitterationen i de medeltida nordiska lagarna i stor utsträckning är att betrakta som en novation och som ett medvetet utnyttjat stilmedel. Han har kommit fram till detta resultat genom att jämföra äldre och yngre rättskällor samt öst- och västnordiska källor. (De forndanska rättskällorna har kommit mera i skymundan.)

Ehrhardts resultat är stilhistoriskt ytterst viktiga. De visar indirekt på influenser från mellaneuropeisk retorik och diplomatik och de ger vid handen att det rikliga bruket av allittererande förbindelser under 1200- och 1300-talet beror på den centrala statsmaktens laggivning.

Förf. nöjer sig icke med frekvensberäkningar och kronologiska iakttagelser, han behandlar även de allittererande förbindelserna ur formella, innehållsliga och stilistiska synpunkter och ger på detta sätt en fördjupad bild av allitterationen i rättstexterna.

Av stort värde för kommande forskare är den alfabetiska förteckningen över de allittererande förbindelserna och den mycket rikhaltiga litteraturförteckningen.

S. B.

*Ian J. Kirby, Biblical Quotation in Old Icelandic-Norwegian Religious Literature. I: Text. 403 s. Reykjavik 1976 (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi. Rit 9).* "Huvudändamålet med detta digra arbete är att framställa en fullständig samling av de bibelcitater som har påträffats i fornvästnordisk religiös litteratur och att analysera dem både som helheter och i sammanhanget i de enskilda verk i vilka de förekommer." Så karakteriserar förf. i översättning syftet med detta mäktiga verk. Uppgifterna är av skilda orsaker betydligt svårare än det kan synas. Sålunda är det bl.a. inte självklart, vad som är ett citat: gränsen mot allusion är inte knivskarp, och hur skall man betrakta och hantera sådant stoff, som (sannolikt) är avsett att vara citat men som av en eller annan orsak inte i varje detalj återger sin förebild? Hur skall man förfara med variantversioner av samma text? Avgränsningarna är många och svåra. Själva återgivandet av de forntida texterna är förbundet med en mängd problem, som de till grund för detta arbete liggande utgåvorna har löst på olika sätt. Etc. etc. Själva det tekniska handhavandet av materialet kräver sålunda en mängd praktiska av-

göranden, som kan vara ganska svåra. Den nu föreliggande volymen fylles av citatstoffet, ordnat efter motsvarande ställen i Vulgata och anført in extenso ur text efter text av dem som kommer i betraktande.

Själva utväljandet av dessa är naturligtvis inte enkelt: dels är begreppet "Religious Literature" inte alldeles entydigt, dels kan väl citat ur bibeln eller åtminstone allusioner förekomma på ganska oväntade ställen. – Den övervägande delen av citaten är hämtade ur NT: c. 270 s. mot c. 130 för GT. Icke oväntat har Psaltaren levererat mer stoff än någon annan bok i GT; föreliggande arbete fylles till nära 40 sidor därav. Bland NT:s böcker är Matteus' evangelium den rikaste källan. Sidantalen för evangelierna är 70, 8, 65 och 50. – De frågor av olika slag, som detta citatbestånd ger upphov till, är det meningen att Kirby skall behandla i en utlovad andra del. Den insiktsfulle kan naturligtvis själv åtminstone finna fram till dem med ledning av den nu föreliggande volymen. Fältet är ofantligt rikt och betydelsefullt, mer än någon människas hjärna kunnat tänka, och förf. är att lyckönska, både till det vackra som redan är utrett och till det som vi ännu hoppas på, vol. II. B. E.

*Jonna Louis-Jensen, Kongesagastudier. Kompilationen Hulda – Hrokkinskinna. 204 s. København 1977 (C. A. Reitzels Boghandel A/S). (Bibliotheca Arnagnæana XXXII.)* Kretsen av handskrifter, som grupperar sig kring Snorres Heimskringla, är mycket stor. Endast efter hand har man dock kunnat kämpa sig fram till en uppfattning om den verkliga storleken av denna grupp samt om förhållandet mellan de däri ingående olika handskrifterna eller handskriftspartierna. Förf. till denna disputats för doktorsgraden är professor i isländska vid Københavns universitet och chef för det arnamagnæanska institutet. I boken studeras de båda i rubriken nämnda handskrifterna (AM 66 fol. resp. GKS 1010 fol.) med hänsyn till sin ställning. Det rör sig om texter, som framställer de norska kungarnas historia 1035–1177. Avhandlingen bygger på bl.a. en mängd förlorade texter av Heimskringla och Morskinskinna och utgör ett prov på ett mycket avancerat arbete med en stor mängd handskrifter. Handstilarna i "H." och "Hr." identifieras med dem i vissa isl. diplom från 1375 resp. 1423. Handstilarna i fråga torde stamma från en gemensam, icke bevarad förlaga, som sattes till (approximativt) obetydligt efter 1300. Stora mödor nedlägges på att bestämma vilka Heimskringlatexter som H. – Hr. står närmast; här spelas en roll även av Peder Clausson Friis och Ole Worm, vilkas utgivnings- och översättningsarbeten inom fornnorsk historia bygger på förlorade handskrifter av bl.a. Heimskringla. En del av texten i H. – Hr. går tillbaka på en förlorad förlaga till de bevarade Morskinskinna-texterna, av vilka den fullständigaste anses vara från 1200-talets slut. Dessutom ingår i H. – Hr. ett antal smärre texter av annat ursprung än huvudmassan. Det sålunda hopskaffade textmaterialet har i H. – Hr. bearbetats enligt vissa huvudprinciper, av vilka det ges en framställning. – Arbetet rör centrala ting i fornisländsk textfilologi, det är lärt och kringsynt, och dess resultat synes utomordentligt väl underbyggda. B. E.

*Miðaldaævintýri þýdd úr ensku. Einar G. Pétursson bjó til prentunar. CXX + 108 s., 2 pl. Reykjavík 1976 (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi).* Den lysande isländska originallitteraturen ställer ofta den isländska översättningslitteraturen i skuggan. Einar G. Pétursson har emellertid nu ställt samman ett



antal sedelärande berättelser som översatts från engelska till isländska i slutet av medeltiden. Parallellt med de isländska texterna ("exempla") trycks motsvarande berättelser i medelengelsk version.

I den omfattande inledningen behandlas bl.a. de kulturella kontakterna mellan Island och England. S. B.

*Die Saga von Gíslir Sursson. Aus dem Altisländischen übertragen und erläutert von Franz B. Seewald. 141 s. Stuttgart 1976 (Philipp Reclam jun.).* Gísla saga Súrssonar hör till de främsta isländska sagorna. Som Magnus Olsen framhållit i Festskrift til Finnur Jónsson har den mycket gemensamt med den nordiska hjältediktningen sådan denna möter oss i den poetiska Eddan. Sagan föreligger i tre redaktioner av vilka M, som möter i Cod AM 556 a, torde stå den ursprungliga versionen närmast. S-redaktionen, som senast utgivits av Agnete Loth 1960, är en interpolerad version, medan den fragmentariska B-versionen visar en medveten strävan till förkortning.

Till grund för föreliggande tyska översättning ligger M-versionen, på några ställen kompletterad med S-versionen. Den är stilistiskt mycket trogen mot förlagan. Själva texten föregås av en 25-sidig inledning och kompletteras med stamtavla, ortnamnsförteckning jämte karta, anmärkningar till enskilda textställen, kommentar till stroferna och fyllig ehuru icke fullständig litteraturförteckning. S. B.

*Sagadebatt, ved Else Mundal. 286 s. Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø 1977 (Universitetsforlaget).* Kunskapen om den forna Nordens litteratur har tidigt börjat gro, men dess tillväxt företer inte bilden av en enda stam som skjuter i höjden. Tvärtom har uppfattningarna om sagorna, deras tillblivelse och villkor skiftat mycket under tidernas lopp. Än har detta skett i takt med olika tiders uppfattning av förhållandet mellan liv och litteratur i allmänhet, än med de starkt skiftande åsikterna om traderandet av sagorna eller sagastoffet under de kritiska 11. och 12. århundradena. Sedan denna debatt nu har pågått i mer än 150 år, ja egentligen lika länge som man på Nordens fastland över huvud har känt till sagorna, har tiden ansetts vara inne att ge en lärdomshistorisk översikt över vad som har förevarit i ämnet. Så har denna antologi kommit till. Den innehåller fjorton kortare framställningar av olika författare, från P. E. Müller i början av 1800-talet till den ännu levande och verkande Einar Ól. Sveinsson. Utg. har försett artiklarna med nödiga noter och korta kommentarer. Artiklarna är grupperade under rubrikerna Utgangspunktet for sagadebatten, Dansk sagaforskning under romantikken, Den norske historiske skulen, Ny kritikk og nye teoriar samt Friprosa-bokprosadebatten og sagaforskninga i nyare tid. Varje sådan avdelning följes av en samling litteraturreferenser. Om man gör den reservationen att ett urval som detta naturligtvis kan göras på åtskilliga olika sätt, så kan man annars bara glädja sig åt det nya hjälpmedlet att vinna en översikt över vad som har hänt på detta högst fascinerande men förvisso mycket svårbearbetade forskningsfält. B. E.

*Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, Saga og samfund. En indføring i oldisländsk litteratur. 191 s. København 1977 (Berlingske Forlag). (Berlingske Leksikon Bibliotek.)* Titeln Saga og samfund på denna handbok säger på en gång för litet och för mycket. Den säger för litet eftersom inte bara sagalitteraturen utan

också den historiska litteraturen samt edda- och skaldediktningen behandlas. Den säger å andra sidan för mycket eftersom boken inte i första hand inriktar sig på litteraturen som sådan – motivkretsar, struktur, berättarteknik etc. – utan på det andliga och materiella klimat som bildar grogrunden för den fornisländska litteraturen samt på förutsättningarna för dennas uppkomst och trädning. Men inom de givna ramarna torde boken ha få moderna motsvarigheter som kan tävla med den. Med en lätt marxistisk anstrykning som yttrar sig i betonandet av de ekonomiska förhållandenas betydelse och av klassintressena bakom många av särdragen i den behandlade litteraturen ger den en klarögt förutsättningslös och samtidigt mycket initierad skildring av den isländska fristaten fram till dess undergång. Koncentrerat men lättläst skildras bl.a., med utnyttjande av nyare men inte alltid så välkända forskningsresultat, samhällsliv, stormansvälde, den muntliga traditionen, den skriftliga trädningen samt, i bokens avslutande kapitel, litteraturen i samhället. Med två väl valda exempel belyser Sørensen där medeltidsmänniskans syn på litteraturen, författaren och sanningen. Sålunda kan han visa hur skildringen av en historisk händelse som den där Sturla möter kung Magnus inordnas i medeltidens världsbild: "For en moderne betragtning er det kendsgerningerne, der er faste og uforanderlige. De er sandheden, mens deres fortolkning er diskutabel og til syvende og sidst subjektiv. For middelalderen var det anderledes. I dens historiesyn var ideen det givne og sande, mens virkelighedens hændelser på mangfoldig vis realiserede ideen og bekræftede dens sandhed. Historikerens opgave var altså at fortolke kendsgerningerne således, at de kunne inordnes under det på forhånd givne idemønster".

B. P.

*Birgitta Tuvestrand, Hugsvinnsmål. Handskrifter och kritisk text. 153 s. Lund 1977 (Studentlitteratur). (Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetenskap. Serie A. Nr 29.)* Den över stora delar av Europa spridda latinska lärodikten *Disticha Catonis* översattes inte mindre än tre gånger till isländska. Den äldsta versionen, *Hugsvinnsmål*, tillkom troligen under 1200-talet och finns traderad i talrika avskrifter, av vilka den äldsta bevarade, AM 624 4to, är från senare delen av 1400-talet. I denna doktorsavhandling beskriver författarinnan de olika handskrifterna och gör en stemmatisk undersökning av dem. Huvudresultatet är att de kan delas upp i två huvudgrupper där en tradition representeras av den ovan nämnda äldsta avskriften, en annan av övriga bevarade handskrifter. I den utgåva som i avhandlingen följer stemmaanalsen återges texten hos AM 624 4to samt, som representant för den andra traditionslinjen, Lbs 1199 4to, med sedvanlig variantapparat. Jämsides med handskriftstexterna presenteras en latinsk version. Enligt författarinnans inte helt lättydda framställning baserar sig *Hugsvinnsmål* på den länge enda kända traditionen av *Disticha Catonis*, den s.k. *Vulgata*, medan den modernaste editionen av lärodikten, av Marcus Boas 1952, också har kunnat tillgodogöra sig den tradition som upptäcktes genom ett fynd 1872 av en text från 800-talet. Hänvisande till att *Hugsvinnsmål* hur som helst är en synnerligen fri översättning av det latinska originalet har Birgitta Tuvestrand valt att återge de latinska texterna efter Boas.

B. P.

*Ernst Walter, Lexikalisches Lehngut im Altwestnordischen. Untersuchungen zum Lehngut im ethisch-moralischen Wortschatz der frühen lateinisch-altwestnordischen Übersetzungsliteratur. 198 s. Berlin 1976 (Akademie-*

Verlag). (*Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Band 66. Heft 2.*) Åtminstone två ting lär oss att akta denna undersökning. Det ena är att insikten i betydande delar av den fornvästnordiska litteraturen allttjämt är bristfällig så länge vi inte har analyserat ordförrådet i botten. Det andra är att vi avskäres från rätt förståelse av fornvästnordiskan, så länge vi inte har en ordbok, som ger oss dess ordförråd ordnat efter sådana historiska principer, som annars är vedertagna. Dessa brister bottnar i något äldre uppfattningar av äldre tiders isländska litteratur, uppfattningar som man numera är i färd med att söka motivera och/eller modifiera. Inte minst är man angelägen att ställa denna litteratur i dess riktiga förhållande till den samtida europeiska, i stor utsträckning allttjämt klädd i latinsk språkdräkt. Walters bok vittnar om allvarliga och resultatrika strävanden i denna riktning. Begreppet "lexikalisches Lehngut" analyseras i: a) Lehnwörter, b) Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen, Lehnwendungen und Lehn-ausdrücke, c) Lehnfrequenz. – Med denna uppläggning kommer undersökningen att röra sig kring utomordentligt svåra (men viktiga) ting: ord för Tugenden, Sünden och ur Gnadenlehre. Resultaten av övervägandena är tankeväckande, de öppnar perspektiv inom både språkvetenskap och "Geistesgeschichte", som man kanske har anat men som ingen förut har haft insikter och energi nog att på allvar öppna. Boken är en viktig bok. Måtte den vinna efterföljd!

B. E.

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*Kolbjørn Aune, Sledenemningar. Ordgeografisk studie med kart. 129 s., 1 karta. Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø 1976 (Universitetsforlaget). (Skrifter frå Norsk Målførearkiv. Ved Ingeborg Hoff. XXXII.)* Kolbjørn Aunes arbete faller inom den gren av ord- och sakforskningen som kallas onomasiologi och som tar sin utgångspunkt i saken för att redogöra för dess benämningar. Undersökningsområdet utgöres av Norge förutom Finnmark. Det är två delar av släden som undersökes, nämligen fjättern ("berestolpen") och bindnageln. Terminologien är rik, dock dominerar *fjetra*, resp. *stallband* jämte närstående beteckningar. Den iakttagna geografiska fördelningen sättes i relation till resultaten i Oskar Bandles stora arbete om västnordisk husdjursterminologi (*Studien zur westnordischen Sprachgeographie*).

Utrymmet tillåter icke ett kritiskt referat av enskilda delar av arbetet, men anmälaren vill gärna framhålla värdet av undersökningar av detta slag, oavsett vilket språkområde som väljes för undersökningen.

S. B.

*Contemporary Approaches to Ibsen. Reports from the Third International Ibsen Seminar, Bergen 1975. Edited by Harald Noreng, Knut Nygaard, Leif Longum, Asbjørn Aarseth. 263 s. Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø 1977 (Universitetsforlaget). (Ibsen Yearbook [Ibsenårboken] 1975/76. Head Editor Daniel Haakonsen.)* Ibsens storhet gör att internationella sammankomster äger rum med korta tidsintervaller för att belysa hans produktion och dess roll i kulturliv och samhälle. Konferenser ägde rum i Oslo 1965, i Cambridge 1970 och i Bergen 1975. När denna anmälan läses torde en konferens redan ha avhållits i Ibsens födelsestad Skien till högtidlighållandet av 150-årsminnet av hans födelse.

Från konferensen i Bergen föreligger en lödig rapport i tryck. Det framgår av denna att Ibsen och Ibsenforskningen ägnades tre stora teman, nämligen (1) Ibsenforskning och Ibsenpremiärer i öst och väst under de senaste åren, (2) Från ungdomslyrik till ålderdomsdramatik och (3) Henrik Ibsen i teaterhistoriskt, sociologiskt och konsthistoriskt sammanhang. Det första avsnittet av boken innehåller en vittspännande inventering, från Japan i öst till USA och Kanada i väst. Andra avsnittet ägnas diskussion av enskilda verk, medan det tredje bl.a. handlar om Ibsens publik och om hans betydelse för Edvard Munch och för kompositörerna Grieg, Sæverud och Nordheim. S. B.

*Ole-Jørgen Johannessen, Magnus Olsen. En bibliografi. Med inledning av Anne Holtmark. Utgitt av Bymålslaget. 64 s. Oslo 1977 (Det norske samlaget).* Magnus Olsen publicerade sitt första arbete år 1900. Det sista utkom år 1974, efter författarens bortgång 1963. Mellan de båda åren ligger en väldig forskningsinsats som här bibliograferas. Den kronologiskt ordnade förteckningen kompletteras med ett systematiskt register. I en inledning, som förut har varit tryckt i Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademis årsbok 1963, ger Anne Holtmark en fin och levande bild av Magnus Olsens liv och gärning. S. B. P.

*Daniel Popp, Asbjørnsens's Linguistic Reform. A Study of the Individual Writer's Role in Written Developments. I. Orthography. 115 s. Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø 1977 (Universitetsforlaget).* Peter Christen Asbjørnsens betydelse för uppkomsten av ett norskt skriftspråk har ofta framhävts inom norsk språk- och litteraturforskning. Hans nydanande verksamhet kom att gälla språkets alla sidor från ortografi till stil. Då Asbjørnsen under åren 1837–1870 flera gånger publicerade samma berättelser och därvid underkastade texten betydande revision, kan hans fortlöpande reformsträvanden följas i detalj.

Assistent professor Daniel Popp vid University of Florida har i föreliggande arbete sökt följa Asbjørnsens arbete med modernisering av ortografien. Han visar bl.a. hur Asbjørnsen rensar ut överflödiga vokal- och konsonanttecken och söker bringa reda i växlingen æ:e inom stavningen. Den sammantagna bilden visar hur Asbjørnsen banar vägen för den variant av norskan som kallas bokmål. S. B.

*Martin Skjekkeland, Målføre og skriftmål. Førebels utgåve. 163 s. Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø 1977 (Universitetsforlaget).* Författaren, som är cand. philol. och tjänstgör som amanuensis vid Telemark distrikthøgskole, ägnar huvuddelen av sin översikt åt en genomgång av de norska dialekternas fonologi och morfologi (däremot berörs syntax och ordförråd bara indirekt). Genomgången sker kategorivis så att prosodi, vokalism, konsonantism och ordklasser behandlas var för sig, med ett omnämnande av vilka dialektala drag som finns var. Förhållandena relateras ofta till Ivar Aasens rekommendationer i Norsk grammatikk från 1864 och till den nuvarande situationen i de norska skriftmålen. Ett kortare avsnitt diskuterar de norska dialekternas indelning och de viktigaste målgruppernas väsentligaste karakteristika. Ett trettiotal kartor bidrager till att konkretisera bilden av olika dialektala drags utbredning. Det bör tilläggas att boken inte är synkronisk utan alltid ger den språkhistoriska bakgrunden till de dialektala språkförhållandena. Den refererar och värderar också diskussionerna kring olika förklaringar till målens utvecklingar. Redan i sitt nuvarande proviso-

riska skick kommer den att vara till gagn långt utanför landets egna gränser. Vad en icke-norsk läsare skulle önska i en mer definitiv version är kanske i första hand att de geografiska förkortningarna förklaras i en förkortningslista, och att litteraturförteckningen görs mer heltäckande. B. P.

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*Olav Ahlbäck, Ordbok över Finlands svenska folkmål. Häfte 1 (band 1.1) abba-bister. XXVIII + 180 s. Helsingfors 1976 (Forskningscentralen för de inhemska språken). (Forskningscentralen för de inhemska språken. Skrifter. 1.)* H. Vendells Ordbok över de östsvenska dialekterna (1904–1907) erhöll ett välbehövligt komplement genom V. E. V. Wessmans Samling av ord ur östsvenska folkmål (1926–1932) jämte senare tillägg. Arbetet med insamlandet av dialektmaterial har emellertid fortsatt på bredare bas och folkmålskommissionens arbete har nu resulterat i ett första ordbokshäfte. Samtidigt har uppgiften att föra arbetet vidare övertagits av den svenska byrån av den 1975 inrättade forskningscentralen för de inhemska språken.

Prof. Olav Ahlbäck som utarbetat det föreliggande häftet behandlar inledningsvis den finlandssvenska dialektologiens historia och källmaterial. Han ger vidare en översikt över ordbokens tillkomst och en bruksanvisning till den. Framställningen är klar och koncentrerad.

Till grund för ordboken ligger de svenska dialekter som talas eller har talats i Finland. Däremot lämnas de baltiska staternas dialekter utanför. I princip medtages allt dialektmaterial ur såväl tryckta som otryckta källor. Artiklarna är uppbyggda efter ett sorgfälligt genomtänkt system. Anmälaren hade dock gärna sett att fraser hade översatts något frikostigare. En försiktig beräkning ger vid handen att ordboken blir drygt halvannan gång så omfattande som det närmast jämförbara arbetet Ordbok över folkmålen i övre Dalarna. S. B.

*Erik Andersson, Verbfrasens struktur i svenskan, en studie i aspekt, tempus, tidsadverbial och semantisk räckvidd. 564 s. Åbo 1977 (Åbo akademi). (Publications of the Research Institute of the Åbo Akademi Foundation. Meddelanden från stiftelsens för Åbo akademi forskningsinstitut, nr 18.)* Erik Anderssons doktorsavhandling är både till omfång och innehåll ett mycket imponerande arbete. Arbetet bygger på transformationsgrammatikens grund och använder dess begreppsapparat. Vid undersökningen av aspekt och tempus får förf. emellertid orsak att gå tillbaka till Noreen, Vårt språk V. Det svenska aspektuella systemet undersöks delvis i jämförelse med engelskans. Undersökningen av svenskans tidsadverbial bildar till en början ett relativt självständigt kapitel, men sätts i ett senare avsnitt i relation till satsens tempus. Arbetet mynnar ut i ett kapitel om förhållandet mellan semantisk och syntaktisk struktur och ett om vissa verbtransformationer i svenskan. S. B.

*Atlas över svensk folkkultur II:1–2. Utgiven av Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien under medverkan av Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet. Sägen, tro och högtidssed. Popular Beliefs, Legends and Calendar Customs. Redaktörer Åke Campbell † och Åsa Nyman. 1. Kartor. 56 s., 29 kartor. 2. Kommentarer. 126 s., 17 bilder. Uppsala 1976 (AB Lundequistska bokhandeln). År 1957 utkom första delen av Atlas över svensk folkkultur, behandlande materiell och*

social kultur. Nu föreliggande del påbörjades av Åke Campbell och har efter hans bortgång reviderats och fullföljts av Åsa Nyman. Kartor och text i andra delen grupperar sig kring tolv teman, nämligen jättekastet, hur kyrkan fick sin plats bestämd, Odens jakt, som jordemoder hos de underjordiska, vattenväsen i manlig gestalt, varulven, magisk tjuvmjölkning, det mördade barnet som gengångare, festeldar, piskning med ris, tranan bär ljus i sång och traditioner knutna till Luciadagen. Förutom Åke Campbell och Åsa Nyman har Dag Strömbäck, Ella Odstedt och Julius Ejdestam medverkat.

I tekniskt avseende skiljer sig arbetet fördelaktigt från första delen. Volymerna är mera lätthanterliga och verket har vunnit på att de smärre kartorna ("bilderna") förts samman med kommentaren i ett särskilt häfte. S. B.

*Peter Cassirer, Studier över ordförståelse. Rapport från projektet Svenskarna och deras ord. VIII + 135 s. Göteborg 1977 (Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis. Nordistica Gothoburgensia 10).* Som motvikt mot alla de f.n. producerade arbeten, i vilka det sysslas med syntax, framför allt meningsbyggnad, har startats projektet Svenskarna och deras ord, i vilket man framför allt ägnar sig åt semantiska problem. Som instrument för dessa undersökningar har man skapat en rad vokabulärtest, prövade på ungdomar av olika ålder, från några av skolans högre "årskurser" till upp på universitetsnivå. Flera av testen har försetts med frågor på sociala variabler. I övrigt märkes bl.a., att man har lagt ned mycket arbete på att konstruera så tjänliga test som möjligt, vilka beräknats ge så upplysande svar som det går att åstadkomma. Bl.a. diskuteras motsättningen mellan test med och utan svarsalternativ. Det förra slaget ställer krav på ett passivt ordförråd, medan det senare fordrar ett aktivt ordförråd. Försökspersonernas ådagalagda förmåga att klara de båda slagen av test antyder, varför den förra typen är så ofantligt mycket mer populär vid de nu grasserande frågetävlingarna – om någon inte insåg det förut. För den som lever med pennan i hand är de stundom klena resultaten en allvarlig maning att i skrift uttrycka sig enkelt. Det är allvarligt, när fackframställning i läroböcker är för svår. Än allvarligare är det, när framställningen i texter som riktar sig till bredast tänkbara publik, tidningar o.d., går över huvudet på den tilltänkta läsekretsen. Ämnet inbjuder tyvärr till pessimistiska betraktelser. Cassirer anser själv, att ett av de viktigaste resultaten av arbetet är de ökade insikterna beträffande den riktiga konstruktionen av test för olika ändamål. Häri ger man honom kanske rätt. I ett avslutande kapitel konfronteras vokabulärtest och semantisk teori på ett givande sätt. B. E.

*Dikter av Carl Michael Bellman. Fjärde delen. Fredmans epistlar. Handskriftsstudier till Fredmans epistlar. 1. Handskrifterna. Av Magdalena Hellquist. 234 s. 2. Variantförteckning. Utarbetad av Magdalena Hellquist. 105 s. Västerås 1977 (VLT-press). (Svenska författare utgivna av Svenska Vitterhets-samfundet. V.)* Föreliggande arbete framlades av Magdalena Hellquist som specimen för doktorsexamen och ventilerades i Stockholm på nyåret 1978. Problemen kring epistelutgåvan 1790 är legio. Det förefaller uppenbart, att sedermera krigsrådet och lexikografen E. W. Weste var den av Bellmans vänner som mest medverkade i utgivningsarbetet, medan Kellgren, som skrev det berömda företalet, spelade en mer passiv roll och främst bidrog som smakråd. Av den stora mängd handskrifter som förelåg i enskild ägo har endast

Westes direkt tjänat som förlaga och detta blott för vissa delar av utgåvan.

Magdalena Hellquist har lagt ned stor möda på att klassificera och gruppera de olika bevarade handskrifterna. Hon urskiljer bl.a. en uppsalagrupp, som sannolikt mer eller mindre direkt återgår på en nu förlorad avskrift av E. Schröderheim.

I detalj låter det sig icke fastställa hur tryckningen gått till. Vad som är Bellmans egna formuleringar och vad vännerna kan ha åstadkommit måste i många fall lämnas öppet. Endast indirekt kan man se vilka nu förlorade manuskript som måste ha tjänat som tryckmanus.

Variantförteckningen i andra delen gör det möjligt att i enskildheter spåra variationerna mellan olika bevarade handskrifter. S. B.

*Eterspråk 4. Christer Platzack: Substantivsjuka – ett friskhetstecken? 17 s. Lund 1977 (Institutionen för nordiska språk. Stencil.) (Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetenskap. Serie D. Meddelanden nr 12.)* Språkvårdarna av facket har varit eniga om att i Wellanders efterföljd fördöma användandet av betydelse-svaga verb + verbalsubstantiv. Det är därför intressant att en empiriskt arbetande språkman undersökt den kommunikativa effekten av denna konstruktion under jämförelse med konstruktioner med tungt huvudverb. Christer Platzack har på statistisk väg lyckats visa att typen *fatta beslut om* i tal är kommunikationsmässigt överlägsen typen *besluta (om)*. Han anför även plausibla språkpsykologiska förklaringar till det iakttagna fenomenet och förordar att vi skall iakttaga större försiktighet, när det gäller att utdöma vissa konstruktioner i språket. S. B.

*Göran Gellerstam & Martin Gellerstam, Ord och fras i psalmboken. 197 s. Stockholm 1977 (Almqvist & Wiksell International). (Data linguistica. Editor Sture Allén. University of Göteborg. 11.)* "Ord och fras i psalmboken förtecknar ordförrådet, rim och stående vändningar i psalmboken. Det vanliga och återkommande uttrycks genom frekvenssiffror." Så presenterar författarna själva sitt arbete.

Den svenska psalmboken av år 1937 är icke ett homogent verk. Den innehåller psalmer från mycket olika tider och originaldikter så väl som översättningar och bearbetningar. Förf. har delat upp materialet i fem grupper, som karakteriseras med namnen Svedberg, Wallin, Franzén, Sandell och Eklund. Genom att lemma i lista 1.2 fördelas på de olika grupperna och genom att gruppernas relativa storhet är känd, kan man utläsa vilka ord som speciellt favoriseras under olika epoker.

Frekvensordboken ingår i projektet Motiv och struktur i 1937 års psalmbok. Man avvaktar med intresse hur teologen Göran Gellerstam och humanisten Martin Gellerstam skall gå vidare på den inslagna vägen och utnyttja ord- och fraslistorna. S. B.

*Rolf Hedquist, Emotivt språk. En studie i dagstidningarnas språk. 158 + 66 s. Umeå 1977 (Umeå Universitet. Institutionen för Nordiska Språk). (Stencil).* Detta arbete framlades i dec. 1977 som specimen för fil. doktorsexamen. Förf. hade undersökt ledarna i ett representativt urval av dagstidningar från tiden närmast före riksdagsvalet 1973. Han tecknar omsorgsfullt bilden av tidningsläsare och ledarskribenter och den speciella situation som föreligger när en

valrörelse går mot sin kulmen. Begreppet *emotiv betydelse* utreds grundligt och förf. skiljer mellan emotiv betydelse hos ord och hos satser. Han tillämpar därvid Freges princip att satsens betydelse är en funktion av delarnas betydelse. Åtskillnad göres mellan ord med permanent emotiv betydelse och ord med ockasionellt emotiv betydelse. Förf. har konstruerat ett speciellt test eller filter för den semantiska klassificeringen av glosorna.

Helt naturligt blir klassificeringen i många fall osäker. Detta torde vara grunden till att förf. icke drivit analysen längre än han gjort; eljest kunde han närmare ha undersökt relationen mellan positivt och negativt laddade ord samt typernas frekvens i olika källor. S. B.

*Nils Jörgensen, Jan Svensson, Etermediernas nyhetsspråk 1. Några syntaktiska drag. 170 s. Lund 1977. (Institutionen för nordiska språk). (Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetenskap. Serie C. Nr 8.)* Det numera nedlagda lundsiska forskningsprojektet Talsyntax har metodiskt och även i andra avseenden fått en fortsättning i projektet Etermediernas språk. Här föreligger nu en undersökning av syntaxen i nyhetsmeddelanden under tio dagar hösten 1974. De program som spelades in och som nu analyseras är Dagens eko, TT-nyheterna, Aktuellt, TV-nytt samt Rapport. Förutom sedvanliga syntaktiska analyser diskuteras bl.a. olika presentationstyper i nyhetsprogrammen samt karakteristiska drag i dessa. I ett appendix får man förutom diverse tabellbilagor ta del av längre textavsnitt från skilda nyhetsprogram. B. P.

*Gunnel Källgren, Bengt Sigurd, Margareta Westman, Tre experiment med text. 104 s. Stockholm 1977 (Akademilitteratur).* Textlingvistiken är en i Sverige relativt ny språkforskningsinriktning som sysslar med språket inte i form av enskilda ord och satser utan så som språket normalt förekommer, i form av sammanhängande texter. Det här häftet skall inte ses som en allmän introduktion till textlingvistiken – en utförligare svensk sådan saknas fortfarande – utan som tre ganska vitt skilda metoddemonstrationer. Gunnel Källgren utgår från ett myndighetsmeddelande och diskuterar hur språket i detta kan förenklas och förkortas utan att väsentliga delar av informationen går förlorad. Margareta Westman refererar hur hon har spjälkat upp en TT-notis och presenterat skeendet i tidsföljd för 65 försökspersoner som blev ombedda att göra en tidningsnotis av materialet. Bland resultaten kan nämnas att uppgifter om tid fokuseras i betydligt högre grad än uppgifter om plats. Den teoretiskt mest avancerade uppsatsen har Bengt Sigurd som författare; med hjälp av semantiska nätverk och diagram över "satsatomer" och "informationslänkar" analyserar han sammanhangen i inledningen till Buffalo Bill. Som det påpekas i förordet har textlingvistiken som vetenskap intresse för många andra än språkvetare: den sätter nya instrument i händerna på litteraturvetare, psykologer och inte minst pedagoger. Den har väl ännu inte vunnit metodisk stadga, men det lilla häftet visar att man är på god väg. B. P.

*Bengt Loman (utg.), Språk och samhälle 3. Social variation i talspråkets syntax. 256 s. Lund 1977 (LiberLäromedel).* Förutom utgivaren Bengt Loman medverkar i denna sammanfattande rapport om det lundsiska projektet 'Talsyntax' resultat Lena Danielsson (Om modala hjälpverb i ett socialt varierat talspråksmaterial), Jan Einarsson (Nominalfras, socialgrupp och kön), Jan



Einarsson och Nils Jörgensen (Sjuttio grammatiska kategorier), Nils Jörgensen (De rättkonstruerade meningarnas byggnad i ett socialt skiktat talspråksmaterial), Lennart Lindstedt (Insamling av ett socialt stratifierat talspråksmaterial), Frands Mortensen (Meningsfragmenter i svensk talesprog), Bert Rydhagen (Om sammansättningar i ett socialt varierat talspråksmaterial) samt Mirja Saari (Social index som grund för klassifikation av informanter samt Syntaktiska drag i svenska intervjuvar). Både uppsatserna och Bengt Lomans inledning skildrar projektets utveckling från en Bernsteininfluerad förväntan på stora syntaktiska skillnader mellan socialgrupperna fram till den avklarnade resignation som återspeglas i titeln på Lomans bidrag: Den klasslösa syntaxen? Huvudresultatet av Talsyntax' arbete torde nämligen vara att klasskillnader mycket litet eller inte alls ger utslag i syntaxen. Det skulle vara grovt orättvist att beteckna detta resultat av många års arbete som en besvikelse. Som Nils Jörgensen antyder s. 173 f. har Talsyntax visat den sociolingvistiska forskningen vart den nu skall vända sitt intresse: dels till ett lägre plan, till uttal och ordkunskap, dels till ett högre, som man når genom textlingvistisk analys.

B. P.

*Svensk rommani upptecknad av Roger Johansson. Med etymologiska och grammatiska kommentarer av Gösta Bergman och Erik Ljungberg samt förord av Adam Heymowski. 90 s. Uppsala 1977 (AB Lundequistska bokhandeln). (Acta Academiæ Regiæ Gustavi Adolphi LV.)* Med rommani förstås vanligen zigenarspråket. I föreliggande arbete förstås med svensk rommani det svenska tatterspråket. Detta har två varianter eller "dialekter", den skånska och den uppsvenska. Det är den senare som Roger Johansson, själv tillhörande en "resandesläkt", tecknat ned ur minnet. Erik Ljungberg har varit honom behjälplig med att komplettera och redigera ordförrådet. Ljungberg har likaså utarbetat den grammatiska översikten medan Gösta Bergman svarat för de etymologiska notiserna.

S. B.

*Westgöta-Lagen. Edited by H. S. Collin and C. J. Schlyter. Facsimile edition with an addendum by Otto von Friesen, Our Oldest Manuscript in Old Swedish. Edited by Gösta Holm. LXXVII + 592 + 52 s. + 9 pl. Lund 1976 (Walter Ekstrand Bokförlag).* Den första delen av Collin-Schlyters (snart enbart Schlyters) monumentala utgåva av Samling af Sweriges Gamla Lagar omfattade Västgötalagen och utkom 1827. Som varje nordist vet är den genom sin för sin tid enastående noggrannhet fortfarande helt användbar för ett studium av vår kanske viktigaste landskapslag. Lagom till 150-årsminnet kommer här en facsimileutgåva, kompletterad med ett facsimile av Otto von Friesens utgåva av år 1904 av det först 1847 påträffade fragmentet från ca 1225 av lagen. Collin-Schlyters utgåva har sedan länge varit omöjlig att få tag på, och nyutgåvan är därför mycket välkommen. Facsimiletexten är överallt klar och läslig. Dock bör det anmärkas att graden av svärta skiftar och att några sidor i åtminstone det exemplar som anmälaren har granskat har fått ett tryck som är i blekaste laget.

B. P.

*Claes Witting, Studies in Swedish Generative Phonology. 121 s. Uppsala 1977 (Almqvist & Wiksell International). (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Philologiæ Scandinaviæ Upsaliensia. 11.)* I denna stimulerande och engageran-

de skrift går författaren till angrepp mot vissa begrepp inom generativ fonologi. Måltavla är ytterst Chomsky-Halles *The Sound Pattern of English* (1968), ofta i de tillämpningar av dess modeller på svenskt material vilka har presenterats av fr.a. Claes-Christian Elert, Stig Eliasson, Per Linell, Ulf Teleman och Sven Öhman. De nio kapitlen ägnas åt distinktiva drag, den svenska kvantitetens fonologiska status, fördelningen av tryck inom ord, antalet tryckgrader i svenskan, accent 2, tryckfördelning i satser och meningar, teorier för distributionen av tryck, samt morfofonologiska förhållanden. Bland det som, av allt att döma med rätta, diskuteras kan nämnas Chomsky-Halles besynnerliga analys av *h* och nasalerna, den generativa fonologiens upplösning av fonembegreppet, uppfattningen att längd inte spelar någon fonematisk roll i svenskan samt det berättigade i att från synkronisk synpunkt urskilja omljud och avljud i svenskan. Avslutningsvis betygar författaren sin aktning för åtskilliga av TG-grammatikens grundläggande tankar, t.ex. uppfattningen om grammatiken som en ändlig uppsättning regler vilka kan skrivas i ett formaliserat tekniskt språk. – Det är att hoppas att Wittings bok kommer att väcka en livlig diskussion. Många av de teser han för fram är alltför viktiga för att negligeras. B. P.

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*Bent Jørgensen, Reciprokering. Studier i indbyrdes afhængighed mellem ældre danske bebyggelsesnavne. With an English summary. 522 s. København 1977 (Akademisk Forlag). (Navnestudier udgivet af Institut for Navneforskning. Nr 14.) Med reciprocering* menar författaren till denna digra avhandling det förhållandet att identiska namn – vare sig identiteten är ursprunglig eller beror på senare sammanfall – får sin distinktivitet bevarad genom särskiljande tillägg. Det undersökta materialet består av bebyggelsenamn i nuvarande Danmark och Skåne samt Sydslesvig ned till danska språkets äldre sydgräns. Endast namn belagda före 1514 tas med. Analysen sker med hjälp av den diderichsenska fältindelningsprincipen, som har anpassats för strukturella ortnamnsundersökningar av Lis Weise och John Kousgård Sørensen till en modell som senare har modifierats av författaren själv. Den metodiskt mycket medvetne Jørgensen är säkerligen införstådd med att det i princip egentligen är omöjligt att avgränsa en reciprokerande namngrupp: varje tvåledat ortnamn med en efterled vilken också kan förekomma ensam som namn – t.ex. *by* – kan ju teoretiskt vara reciprokerande, om det finns ett annat namn med samma efterled i närheten. Varken prosodi eller äldre kontexter räcker till här när det gäller äldre namn. En annan svårighet som författaren själv nämner är att avgränsa appellativiska sammansättningar från egentliga proprier. De framför- och efterställda särskiljande uttrycken indelas efter vanliga och oftast invändningsfria grammatiska kriterier. Däremot bör indelningen i reciprokeringstyper ha vållat vissa svårigheter. Typ A betecknar reciprokeringar som beror på underindelning av samma bebyggelse, typ B reciprokeringar där bebyggelserna utgör självständiga enheter men ligger intill varandra utan övrig bebyggelse emellan. (De återstående typerna förefaller mer lätthanterliga: typ C omfattar bebyggelser som inte ligger intill varandra, den i det här materialet sällsynta typ D uppkallelsenamn av typen *Lilla Sverige*.) Som exempel på namn klassade som typ A kan nämnas *Nedra Malmö* och *Övra Malmö*. Man får nog här och i flera andra fall hålla den möjligheten öppen att det har rört sig om två klart skilda

bebyggelser som alltså skulle kunna ha förts till typ B. – Varken detta eller enstaka missar när det gäller de skånska namnen bör dock undanskymma det faktum att Bent Jørgensen har åstadkommit en mycket imponerande forskningsprestation, imponerande både genom det rika materialet och den omsorgsfulla och energiskt utförda analysen. B. P.

*Airi Kartano, Ortnamnen i Mörskom. 309 s. Helsingfors 1977.* Mörskoms socken ligger i mellersta delarna av östra Nyland. De svensktalande bildade tidigare en stark majoritet, men under 1900-talet har de finstalandes andel ökat väsentligt så att nu endast 13,2% talar svenska. Den finska som talas i Mörskom är relativt enhetlig, men flera viktiga svenska dialektgränser går tvärs genom socknen. I föreliggande doktorsavhandling – skriven av en finstalande som har lärt sig de svenska Mörskommålen, bara det en prestation – undersöks både de svenska och, om än mer kortfattat, de finska ortnamnen i området. Namnen delas upp i bebyggelsenamn och andra slags namn. Därefter behandlas huvudleder och bestämningsleder för sig, med de förra uppdelade efter semantiska kriterier och de senare efter ordklasser, med underavdelningar. Teoretiskt intressantast är det avslutande kapitlet, med jämförande studier över svenska och finska namn; detta hade gärna kunnat vara betydligt utförligare. – Avhandlingen ingår som del 61 i Studier i nordisk filologi, vilket dock inte framgår av titelbladet. B. P.

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