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The Hildina Ballad

A linguistic analysis of the case system

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Abstract

Title: The *Hildina Ballad*, a linguistic analysis of the case system

Author: Bjarni Steintún

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the description of the language of the Hildina Ballad through a linguistic analysis of the morphologic case system. From the results I would like to shed light on the language situation in 18th century Foula and Shetland. With this I hope to add to the discussion on the dating and the process of the language shift in Shetland. The carrying out of the analysis involves three primary steps: firstly, a new transcription of the ballad, secondly, an interpretation and thirdly an amended version. The latter then serves as the reference text for the analysis.

The primary material is George Low's transcription of the *Hildina Ballad* from 1774. Little research has been done in the *Hildina Ballad*, especially regarding the morphological case system. The language of the ballad has affinities to West Scandinavian, but it is not certain if it represents contemporary Shetland Norn.

I have analysed all case inflected forms in the ballad and found that all four cases are represented, although with some morphological levelling, notably between the nominative and accusative. This seemingly similar system to Old Norse indicates that the source's Norn proficiency was higher than formally believed, indicating that the last Norn speakers died around 1800.

Sammendrag

Tittel: The *Hildina Ballad*, a linguistic analysis of the case system

Forfatter: Bjarni Steintún

Målet med denne oppgaven er å gi et bidrag til beskrivelsen av språket i *Hildinakvadet* gjennom en lingvistisk analyse av det morfologiske kasussystem. Utifra resultatene vil jeg prøve å kaste lys over den lingvistiske situasjonen på Foula og Shetland i 1700-tallet. Med dette håper jeg å bidra til diskusjonen om dateringen og prosessen for språkskiftet på Shetland. Utførelsen av analysen involverer tre primære steg: for det første, en ny transkripsjon av kvadet, for det andre, en interpretasjon, og for det tredje en emendert vesjon. Den siste tjener som referansetekst for analysen.

Hovedmaterialet er George Low's transkripsjon av *Hildinakvadet* fra 1774. Lite av forskning er gjort i *Hildinakvadet* spesielt vedrørende det morfologiske kasussystem. Språket i kvadet har likskaper med vestsandinavisk, men det er usikkert om det representerer Shetland Norn.

Jeg har analysert alle kasusformene i kvadet og funnet at alle fire kasus er representert, men ikke uten morfologisk utjevning, spesielt mellom nominativ og akkusativ. Dette systemet som ligner på norrønt indikerer at hjemmelsmannens kunnskaper i Norn var bedre en man før har trodd, som så indikerer at de siste Norn talerne døde omkring 1800.

Abbreviations and transcription marks

Linguistic abbreviations:

acc. — accusative

Da. — Danish

dat. — dative

def. — definite

En. — English

Far. — Faroese

fem. — feminine

gen. — genitive

Ice. — Icelandic

masc. — masculine

neut. — neuter

nom. — nominative

Nor. — Norwegian

ON — Old Norse

pl. — plural

prs. — person

sing. — singular

str. — strong

sup. — superlative

Sw. — Swedish

w. — weak

Symbols:

l¹ — verse 1 and line 1.

/ — line division

> — has evolved to. Unless otherwise specified the language before the chevron is always Old Norse.

< — has evolved from. Unless otherwise specified the language after the chevron is always Old Norse.

Abbreviations for works:

CCF — *Corpus Carminum Færoensium*.

Hildina — the *Hildina Ballad*.

Hildinakvadet — Marius Hægstad's *Hildinakvadet, med utgreiding om the norske maal paa Shetland i eldre tid*. 1900.

JJ — Jakob Jakobsen's etymological dictionary from 1921: *Ordbog over the norrøne sprog på Shetland*.

Notation signs:

gerðinni — words in normalised orthography are rendered in italics¹.

/gerþinni/ — phonemes, e.g. phonological transcriptions, are placed in between slashes.

[gɛrðm:i] — phones, e.g. phonetic transcriptions, are set in square brackets.

[*remark*] — in a few cases square brackets also contain interjectory remarks in italics.

<-gare din> — words or letters in manuscript orthography are placed between single chevrons.

^S<garedin> — words or letters from the present author's amended version of the ballad are placed between single chevrons with a small initial of the surname.

^H<garedin> — words or letters from Marius Hægstad's amended version.

**garwi-þō* — reconstructed forms are rendered in italics and marked with an asterisk. In the English and Old Norse translations of the *Hildina Ballad* asterisks represent jumps in the storyline.

¹ Most of these notations are not applicable to Norn, since it never had a normalised orthography and whatever is said about its pronunciation will remain hypothetical since we know too little about the matter. They could prove useful though when applied to Old Norse or modern Scandinavian to compare with written Norn forms.

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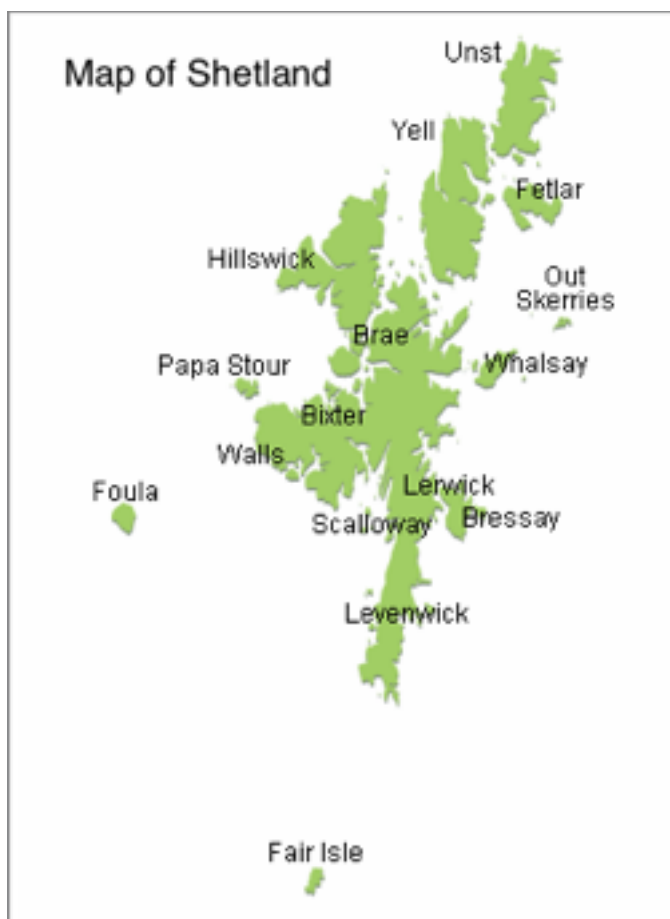
1. Introduction

1.1 Goal

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the description of the language of the Hildina Ballad through a linguistic analysis of the morphologic case system. From the results I would like to shed light on the language situation in 18th century Foula and Shetland. With this I hope to add to the discussion on the dating and the process of the language shift in Shetland. The carrying out of the analysis involves three primary steps: firstly, a new transcription of the ballad, secondly, an interpretation and thirdly an amended version. The latter then serves as the reference text for the analysis.

1.2 The Hildina Ballad

The Hildina Ballad is one of the very few extant texts in the now extinct language of Norn, which was spoken in the Orkney and Shetland Islands before being replaced by Scots. George Low recorded the ballad, as well as the Lord's Prayer and a wordlist, in Foula, Shetland, in 1774, approximately the time period when, according Jakob Jakobsen (1921: xix), Norn went extinct. The ballad, recited by William Henry, consists of 35 stanzas and is by far the longest coherent text in the Norn language.



(map to the left: www.shb.scot.nhs.uk)



(map above: www.greluche.info)

1.2.1 Norn

The language of the ballad is Norn, a term derived from Old Norse *norræna*, meaning ‘Norse language’. The Norse language spread with the Viking expansion to the British Islands, and there it remained the longest in the Northern Isles, i.e. Orkney and Shetland. There it evolved into a variant of Scandinavian and came to be known as Norn. The islands were under Norwegian and Danish rule until 1472 when they were annexed to the Scottish crown. Norn was eventually replaced by Scots, first in Orkney and then Shetland.

Different theories on the date and manner of the Norn-to-Scots language shift in Shetland have been held up since late in the 19th century. The earlier scholars argued for a gradual shift, in which the former language was increasingly influenced by the latter, until Norn eventually was absorbed in Scots (Jakobsen 1897: 12–14, 1921: xix, Flom 1928: 145–164). This theory has recently received support from a modern scholar, Geir Wiggen (2002: 72–73). Laurits Rendboe on the other hand, claims that Norn speakers resisted — but ultimately in vain — Scots dominance and that Norn remained pure well into the nineteenth century (Rendboe 1984; 1987). Others have debunked that claim and instead maintained that the language shift took place much earlier, and for several complex reasons (Barnes 1998: 21–28, 2010, Smith 1996). At any rate, the general consensus seems to be that in Shetland the language had fallen out of use by the eighteenth century (Jakobsen 1897, Smith 1996, Barnes 1998, Knooihuizen 2005).

Norn shared many characteristics with the other Scandinavian languages, some of which are now lost in some Scandinavian languages: nouns had three genders (masculine, feminine or neuter), and nouns and pronouns and were inflected in cases. Adjectives agreed with the noun or pronoun’s gender, number and case and were declined weakly or strongly depending on definiteness (Barnes 1998: 30–31). The language bore close affinity to dialects in south-west Norway, and to the Insular Scandinavian languages, i.e. Icelandic and Faroese (Jakobsen 1928: 14–15). The language of the Hildina ballad likewise exhibits all, or most, of the above-mentioned Scandinavian characteristics, and several traits common to west Norwegian and insular Scandinavian. Indeed, Marius Hægstad concluded his book *Hildinakvadet, med utgreiding om the norske maal paa Shetland i eldre tid*, with the assertion that the ballad was closest to the dialects in Rogaland and Vest-Agder (Hægstad 1900: 75).

1.2.2 Research and morphological case

Research on the *Hildina Ballad* is scarce. Marius Hægstad's *Hildinakvadet* (1900) may be said to be a milestone in the research of the ballad. It is a systematic and thorough phonologic analysis of the language of the ballad. Later Hakon Grüner-Nielsen (1939) contributed to the literary study of the ballad. Recent contributions include Christer Lindqvist (2000) and Rasa Baranauskienė (2012). The former's work is both a phonological and morphological study, while the latter's is a study of the ballads literary connections.

While Lindqvist's research is partly morphological it does not deal with the case system evident in the language of *Hildina*. Actually, as far as can be asserted no one has yet made a detailed study of the case system of the ballad.

1.3 The linguistic analysis

The linguistic analysis in this thesis was carried out by registering all examples of case-inflected forms in the *Hildina Ballad*, asserting their word class, case, gender, number and whether they are weak or strong, governed by verb or preposition, and dividing them into an 'expected' or a 'unexpected' group. By expected forms, I mean forms that resemble — but are not necessarily identical with — the equivalent Old Norse forms and which has a form that can be assumed to reflect a preservation of the Old Norse four case system. By unexpected forms, I mean forms that show a degree of morphological levelling or simplification. By registering expected and unexpected forms and spotting possible patterns one can come to a tentative conclusion regarding how archaic the case system of the *Hildina Ballad* is and possibly identify patterns of morphological levelling processes.

The results of the analysis indicate that there has been some morphological levelling, and seemingly there are different patterns for the different word classes.

1.5 Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation is divided into nine main parts. After this introduction I give a brief account of the history of Norn, its main traits and scholarly research in the language. Then I move on to chapter three, where I discuss language change processes, especially case reduction and language shift. In the end of chapter three I pose some hypotheses, as to what I will find in the language if the *Hildina Ballad*, based on scholarly observations of case reduction in Norn's closely related languages. Going on to chapter four, the *Hildina Ballad*, a general introduction is given, and especially the language and orthography of the ballad are discussed. Chapter

five contains the primary steps of the analysis, which are a transcription, an interpretation and an amended text. In chapter six follows the analysis itself with methodology and results. Chapter seven contains a discussion of the results and chapter eight sums up and concludes the thesis.

2 Norn

2.1 The term

The term Norn has been used to denote all kinds of Scandinavian variants in both Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides and Caithness (Barnes 1998: 1). All the way from runes and medieval documents in the Northern Isles to the Scandinavian element in the modern Scots dialects of Orkney and Shetland. It is probably not wise to describe all of these as Norn, as the former two are basically Old Norse or later Mainland Scandinavian² (Smith 1996: 31) while the latter is not the active language of Norn, but rather a substratum carried on from the old language to the new. It is also unlikely that the Scandinavian that was once spoken in the Hebrides and in the Scottish mainland can be called Norn as those variants survived for a relatively short time and may not have changed substantially from Old Norse. At any rate, contemporary references that use the term Norn always describe the Northern Isles, never the Hebrides or Caithness. We have now restricted the Norn language to Orkney and Shetland. Literary mentions of the local tongue in this area start in the sixteenth century. Many different names are used: *vetere Gothica*, *language of Norway*, *Norse*, *Noords*, *rude Danish*, *Norns* and *Noren* (Marwick 1929: 224–227). From the late 18th century and onwards the main terms seem to be *Norn* and *Norse*. By these names the authors almost always have a Scandinavian language in mind as opposed to any Scots dialect that might exist there.

In this thesis the term Norn will be used to refer to the Scandinavian language that evolved in the Shetland and Orkney Islands till its demise.

2.2 History

Norn is a descendant of Old Norse. The name itself is a contraction of Old Norse *norræna*, which along with *ðonsk tunga* was the usual name of the language of the Vikings. The term Old Norse is in this thesis used to refer to the western variant of the Old Scandinavian language, i.e. what was spoken in the Middle Ages in Norway and its colonies, which include Iceland, the Faroe Islands and the Northern Isles amongst others.

Norwegian Vikings probably started invading and settling in the British Isles from late in the eighth century. In the tenth century they reached the point of their greatest influence. Orkney and Shetland were first invaded and soon after the Hebrides, Caithness and Sutherland. From here the Norsemen launched attacks on Ireland, establishing the town of

²The term is explained in part 5.1.1.

Dublin. Soon, however, the invaders were assimilated to the local population and the Old Norse tongue had died out in most places by the early thirteenth century (Lockwood 1975: 201). In Caithness the language seems to have given way to Gaelic at first and then English, finally going extinct in the fifteenth century (Lockwood 1975: 213).

In the Northern Isles on the other hand, the Norse language lived on for many centuries, for a long time being the only vernacular of the Isles, something that the predominantly Scandinavian place names also bear witness of (Lockwood 1975: 213). Different sources indicate an early settling of the Northern Isles (c. 800). Very little is known about the prior inhabitants and few traces are left of their language. By 1379 the Scottish Sinclairs succeeded the earldom of Orkney and at this point Scots became the dominant language of Orkney. Orkney and Shetland were pledged to the Scottish crown in 1468 and 1469 respectively. In the early fifteenth century documents in Scots begin to appear in Orkney as the prestige had now shifted from Norse to Scots. In Shetland on the other hand it is not until the year 1525 that the first Scots document appears (Barnes 1984: 352–354). Norse had now ceased to be a written medium and Scots was now the official language of administration and religion, thus becoming the language of prestige (Lockwood 1975: 213).

The impact of this linguistic situation is seen in the references. In 1605 Sir Thomas Craig writes that “...*in the Orkneys and Shetlands [...] in the course of this very century [the sixteenth] nothing but Norse was spoken*” (Marwick 1929: 224), and so it seems clear that by c. 1600 most natives of both Orkney and Shetland spoke Norn. By c. 1700 however, the references indicate that there are very few Norn speakers left in Orkney, and in 1750 Murdock MacKenzie writes that:

Thirty or Forty years ago this [Norn] was the Language of two Parishes of Pomona Island; since which by means of Charity-Schools, it is so much wore out, as to be understood by none but old people; and in thirty years more, it is probable, will not be understood here at all (Marwick 1929: 225).

James MacKenzie at the same time writes similarly: “*Nor to this very time is it quite disused, being still retained by old people, and in vulgar use amongst them at this day*” (Marwick 1929: 225).

George Barry’s story about an Orcadian in 1756 or 1757 overhearing two old men talking to each other for an hour or more in what they told him was the Norse language (1805: 222) is very interesting, and of course it is possible that they merely spoke a Scots

dialect so heavily influenced by the old language that it became incomprehensible to the hearer. If the story is true however, we may assume that these two men were some of the very last fluent speakers of Norn in Orkney.

Norn is generally thought to have survived longer in Shetland than in Orkney. Most scholars estimate that the language had ceased or was ceasing to exist as a spoken language by the middle or end of the eighteenth century. According to W. B. Lockwood “*Norn survived for two or three generations longer than the sister dialect in Orkney, finding a last refuge in the more northerly islands*” (1975: 214). Thomas Irvine, a native Shetlander, started his *Zetlandic Memorand* (Shetland Archives D.16/394/3) in 1814, writing in his introduction that his grandfather, who died in 1803, was one of the few he could remember being able to speak Norn or repeat complete ballads (Barnes 2010: 30). Judging from this expression and other contemporary references it seems appropriate to place the extinction of Norn in Shetland in the late eighteenth century to around 1800 at the latest. There has been some controversy regarding the date of the Norn to Scots shift however, and we will return to this in part 3.5.2. A few general remarks will suffice here.

Scots and Norn lived side by side for some centuries before the one was replaced by the other. This meant that before the language shift each language had necessarily been heavily influenced by the other, especially Norn as it was the subordinate language. Scots was influenced primarily by the injection of a large Norn substratum, while Norn presumably also contained more and more loans, but crucially its morphological and syntactical structure began to be simplified. The last speakers of Norn probably spoke a Norn quite different from a few generations back. The Scots dialect that took over in Shetland has most in common with the northern dialects of Scotland according to Robert M. Millar (2007), but it also shares some traits with the more southern dialects. The Scandinavian substratum has been steadily decreasing from the time of the Norn to Scots shift.

2.3 Norn specimens

2.3.1 Orkney records

We have already discarded the Norse documents from the late Middle Ages found in the islands as evidence of Norn, as they are basically Old Norse, as found in the written tradition of Norway, or Modern mainland Scandinavian. We cannot exclude that they might show dialectal traits but it would be hard to deduce anything with certainty (Barnes 1998: 11, Smith 1996: 31).

Sometime in sixteenth century we get the first specimen of Orkney Norn from a man who names himself Jo. Ben. The specimen is a greeting: *goand da boundæ*, translated as Scots *Guid day Guidman* (Marwick 1929: 224). The first two words are the standard greeting in Icelandic and Faroese today: *góðan dag*, En. *good day*. The last word corresponds to ON *bóndi*, meaning *farmer, settled man* or *husband*, amongst others. Jo. Ben seems to have understood the *d* in *da* as also the final consonant of *goand*, which should probably be *goan*. This form shows similarities to Faroese /*gouwan*/ with the loss of intervocalic /*ð*/ and the retention of the Old Norse accusative ending *-an*.

In the year 1700 James Wallace, in his 2nd edition of *Account of the Islands of Orkney*, records the Lord's Prayer in Orkney Norn. The vocabulary here is predominantly Scandinavian, but there are some loans, notably *tumtation*, En. *temptation*, and *delivra*, En. *deliver*, otherwise the language is wholly Scandinavian, exhibiting typical Scandinavian traits (Barnes 1998: 48–49). These are the only specimens of Orkney Norn before it went extinct.

2.3.2 Shetland records

George Low, born 1747, was a Scottish cleric with a keen interest in natural science. While tutoring to a family in Orkney he became acquainted with Thomas Pennant, who encouraged him to undertake a scientific tour of Orkney and Shetland. He commenced his tour in 1774, financed by Pennant and others, arriving in Lerwick on June 19th. He returned to Orkney in September the same year and finished his tour there the following years. In 1777 he had finished his manuscript *A tour through Orkney and Schetland* and although it was approved of by Pennant, it was never published in Low's lifetime (Hunter 1978: xi—xix). Low's manuscript is now preserved at Edinburgh University Library, shelf-marked La.III.580.

On Low's tour of Shetland he made a trip to the small isolated island of Foula, the westernmost of the Shetland Islands. There Low took an interest in the old Norse language of the island, but he had great difficulty with recording any Norse sentences, words or proverbs. He could only obtain a few words from an old man and two or three remnants of a song. He presents the Lord's Prayer³ in "*Foula Norse*" as he terms it, comparing it with the Orkney version published by Wallace (1700). He gives a list of thirty English words with Norn translations, and a ballad with 35 two- or four-lined verses. It was the only song of

³ All of Low's Norn records, except the ballad, can be found in appendix XXX along with other select Norn specimens. For the ballad see part 4. It contains a transcription, an interpretation and an amended text.

considerable length and coherency that Low could obtain from the locals. He names the ballad “*The Earl of Orkney and the King of Norway’s daughter: a ballad*” (Low 1879: 108).

It was recited by William Henry, presumably the same old man as mentioned before. Henry was illiterate (Anderson 1879: liv—lvi) and he could not aid Low with the spelling, and Low does not seem to have had any knowledge of neither Norn nor Scandinavian. In his own words: “*In this Ballad I cannot answer for the orthography. I wrote it as an old man pronounced it; nor could he assist me in this particular*” (Low 1879: 107). Moreover, Henry could not give Low a literal translation, only providing a summary of the contents of the ballad. This may indicate that Henry himself may not have understood all of the ballad.

In addition to these records Low provides a few other Norn terms as he explains the different phenomena he observed in Shetland, e.g. the bird name *skua* and *Vademel*, according to Low a “*a coarse cloth of the natural colour of the wool*” (Low 1879: 143). The latter is obviously from Old Norse *vaðmál*. In Cunningsburgh, on the Mainland, Low also recorded a phrase: “*Myrk in e Liora, Luce in e Liunga, Tim in e Guest in e geungna*”, translated as “*It’s (mark*) dark in the chimney, but it’s light thro’ the heath, it’s still time for the stranger to be gone*” (Low 1879: 180). The people of Cunningsburgh were apparently known for their inhospitality, and so the “*Coningsburghen phrase*” gained currency and was often used when one wanted to dismiss a guest.

The wordlist, the two versions of the Lord’s Prayer, and especially the ballad are the best sources to the Norn language in Shetland. Apart from these there are only a few words here and there that represent Norn at a stage when it may have been still active. The ballad, now commonly known as the *Hildina Ballad* or *Hildinavisen* is the longest extant text in Norn and it gives us a glimpse of the language of Norn as it may have been before it went extinct. The importance of these texts cannot be understated, but it is questionable whether the records constitute an example of contemporary Shetland Norn, given the nature of the texts. The Lord’s Prayer is a religious text, and such texts tend to be archaic. For an example of contemporary Norn, we might have to turn to the word list. But the word list contains only 30 words and it does not tell us anything about syntax and only little about grammar. Moreover, it probably came about as a result of Low asking for Norn equivalents of English terms, i.e. we don’t know if the English words were used as well, or even preferred over the Norn word. The Cunningsburgh phrase exhibits a language, which has underwent a breakdown of its grammatical system, in contrast to the ballad and the Lord’s Prayer. It is more in keeping with the fragments recorded by Jakob Jakobsen a century later, and should thus not be considered

a representation of Norn at its active stage. Even though the poetic nature of songs and poems tends to be preserving, the ballad is probably our best source if but for its length.

For the purposes of this dissertation we will use a separate term for the language of the ballad: Hildina Norn. This both because of the uncertainty of the origin of the ballad, but also because the term Norn, even Shetland Norn, is a wide term, both regarding time and space. We may assume that there have existed many variants of Norn on the islands of Orkney and Shetland and through the centuries the language has undergone numerous changes from its ancestor, Old Norse. This gives rise to a need to specify what ‘kind’ of Norn there is talk of. Therefore the term Hildina Norn will be used onwards when referring to the language of the ballad. Note that the term Foula Norn will be used about the Norn dialect of Foula, which strictly taken is only a hypothetical term since we really don’t know what Foula Norn was like.

The ballad was first published by George Barry in his *History of the Orkney Islands* (1805), and later by Peter Andreas Munch in “Geographiske og historiske notitser om Orknöerne og Hetland” in *Samlinger til det norske Folks Sprog og Historie* (1839). At last Low’s *Tour through Orkney and Shetland* was published by Joseph Anderson in 1879, more than a hundred years after Low’s death.

2.4 Research

In the nineteenth century, there is little research in the Norn language. The already mentioned *Zetlandic Memoranda* has a collection of words used by fishermen from North Yell. These words are so called taboo-words used when at sea as substitutions for the usual day-to-day terms for specific objects, as a means of preventing bad luck. Thomas Edmontston published his *Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect* in 1866. Here the subject is the Shetland dialect as it was in the nineteenth century and not Norn, but still there is the substratum and headwords thereof are provided with Scandinavian cognates for comparison.

Arthur Laursen was also chiefly concerned with the Shetland dialect rather than Norn, but his article “Om sproget paa Shetlandsöerne” (Laursen 1860) also contained a brief description of the history of Norn. Laursen writes that in the eighteenth century there were still old people in Shetland that could speak Norn, and further that “*Paa Foula, den vestligste, af den hele Gruppe mest isolerede Ö, holdt det sig næsten lige til vore Dage*” (Laursen 1860: 191). K. J. Lyngby had an article joined to the former’s also about Norn and the Shetland dialect, analyzing especially Low’s Norn material.

2.4.1 Jakob Jakobsen

Jakob Jakobsen, born 1864, was the first scholar to do a thorough research on Norn. He was a Faroese linguist who set out to Shetland in 1893 to collect and study the remains of the Norn language. Originally planning to stay there only for three months, he found so much material that he stayed for three years (Manson 1964: 10–11). Later he made two more short trips to Shetland and some trips to Orkney, although what he collected in Orkney was very little in comparison with the enormous amount of material he collected in Shetland. Gradually he began to publish his findings, beginning with his doctoral thesis *Det norrøne sprog på Shetland* and *The Dialect and Place Names of Shetland*, both in 1897. Then came *Shetlandsøernes stednavne* (1901) and later his great work *Etymologisk ordbog over det norrøne sprog på Shetland* (1908-21). The last of these contains over 10.000 words of Norn origin, only half of which were current at the time it was published (Jakobsen 1921: xix). *Det norrøne sprog på Shetland* contained many words, parts of songs, phrases, riddles, nursery rhymes and more. These works are monumental as regards scholarly study of Norn and will be frequently referred to in this thesis (The etymological dictionary will be abbreviated as JJ henceforth). The works in Danish mentioned above were later translated into English (see Magnussen and Sigurðardóttir 2010 for a bibliography of Jakob Jakobsen).

2.4.2 Marius Hægstad

Marius Hægstad's *Hildinakvadet, med utgreiding om det norske maal paa Shetland i eldre tid* (1900) is another milestone in the study of Norn. Hægstad's edition of the *Hildina ballad* contained a transcription, an amended text, a detailed explanation of the contents, a phonological study of the ballad, a glossary as well as facsimiles of the ballad and Low's word list. Hægstad included all of Low's Norn specimens in his study, i.e. the ballad, the word list, the Cunningsburgh phrase, the Lord's Prayer and other words. He succeeds in interpreting the whole ballad, for the most part very convincingly. The interpretation is a line by line explanation of the ballad, rather than a rendering into Old Norse. His phonological section however, is a systematic study detailing how the Old Norse phonological system is represented in the ballad, and his glossary provides the Old Norse equivalents, sometimes Modern Scandinavian, mostly Faroese, as well, to the Norn head words.

2.4.3 Hugh Marwick

A native Orcadian, Marwick wished to do the same for Orkney Norn, albeit on a smaller scale, as Jakobsen did for Shetland Norn (Marwick 1964: 14). The result was *The Orkney Norn* (1929). The introduction is a sketch of the history of Orkney Norn, and the latter much larger part is a glossary of over 3000 words of the Orkney Norn substratum that Marwick had been able to document, although it also contains some Scots words, which were included for various reasons.

The later Norn scholars will be introduced in part, which *inter alia* deals with the Norn to Scots language shift in Shetland.

2.5 General traits of Shetland Norn

All the described characteristics and sound changes below need to be taken with a grain of salt, as the best sources are mainly from one small place, Foula, Shetland, at one time, 1774, and these texts do not necessarily reflect contemporary Shetland Norn. Moreover, they were collected by a Scotsman who knew no Scandinavian, and his source was illiterate and perhaps not even fluent in Norn. Jakobsen's material on the other hand is collected presumably a century after the death of Norn, thus leaving us with considerable uncertainty when faced with the task of describing the language.

It has been said that Norn bore close affinity to dialects in south-west Norway, and to the Insular Scandinavian languages (Hægstad 1900: 75, Jakobsen 1928: 14—15). Barnes, in his 1998 book, lists some retentions and innovations from the Old Norse that all or some Norn dialects exhibit and which are common to dialects of south-west Norway (1998: 17):

- (i) Retention of weakly stressed /a/ (*bera* > Nor. *bera*, Norn <bera>).
- (ii) /p/, /t/, /k/ > /b/, /d/, /g/ in intervocalic and final postvocalic position (*lítit* > Nor. /li:de/, Norn <líde>).
- (iii) /rn/ > /dn/ (Nor. /bɔdn/ < *børn*, Norn <vadne> < *barni*).
- (iv) /n:/ > /dn/ (Nor. /fidna/ < *finna*, Norn <ridna < *renna*>).
- (v) /l:/ > /dl/ (*völlin* > Nor. /vodlen/, Norn <vadlin>).

We may add that all these retentions and innovations are also common in Faroese and Icelandic. It may also be remarked that the distribution of these traits is rather uneven. (ii) for instance is only found in Sørlandsk in Norway while it is partly carried through in some

Faroese dialects and fully in some (Thráinsson 2004). In Icelandic, to my knowledge, it is only partially carried through in the south. None of (ii) - (v) are reflected in the standard written languages of West Scandinavia.

Barnes lists these additional similarities with Faroese:

- (i) Intercalation of /g/ (*sjór* > Far. *sjógvur*, Norn <sheug>).
- (ii) /m/ > /n/ in weakly stressed final position (*honum* > Far. /honun/, Norn <honon>).
- (iii) /p/ > /h/ in some demonstratives and adverbs, e.g. *þetta* > Far. *hetta*, Norn <ita> (< *hitta).

He also mentions the possibility of a diphthongization of Old Norse /a:/ as in Far. *á* /ɔa/, Norn <wo>. But in some cases not: <ro> and <fro>, while in Faroese /rɔa/ and /frɔa/, ON *ráð*, *frá*. To (ii) we may remark that the change /m/ > /n/ in Faroese is restricted to dative endings, while in Norn we also see it in words such as <sin>, Far. *sum*, ON *sem*. In his book *Faroese Language Studies* (2001: 63) Barnes claims that the /p/ > /h/ in Faroese and Norn mirrors the East Scandinavian change of /p/ > /d/ and that it comes about because of weak stress. Hjalmar P. Petersen on the other hand believes that explaining the phenomenon as being caused by weak stress “is just as good as saying nothing at all about the matter” (2004: 56) since all parts of speech can be weakly stressed. Petersen claims that the change only occurs in words with a contrasting effect, e.g. Far. *hetta*, Norn <ita>, En. *this* (not that), Far. *Hósvík* (< *Þórsvík*) (not, say, *Hvalvík*), i.e. the change is indexically conditioned and has nothing to do with stress.

Also common with Faroese, Icelandic and Norwegian dialects is the delabialization /y/ > /i/, thus in *Hildina* <firre>, <skildè>, <minde>, ON *fyrir*, *skyldi*, *myndi*, Far. /fi:ri/⁴, and <sendor> (< *syndir*) in the Foula Lord’s Prayer, Far. /sindir/. Of course it is possible that the <i> in the Norn examples is simply due to the texts being written down by a Scot, and that this was his way of reproducing a foreign sound, but if we compare with JJ *birdin*, *bigg*, *bir* etc. (ON *byrðin*, *byggja*, *byrja*), Far. /bi:rín/, /bidʒa/, /birja/, we see that this is not necessarily the case. Jakobsen (1897: 123) mentions that Old Norse /y/ may become several different vowels, including /i/.

⁴ The conjunctive of *skulu* and *munu*, *skyli* and *myni*, is not extant in Faroese. I also realise that *fyrir* is not a very good example, as forms with *i* in this word existed already in Old Norse: *firi*, *fir* (Heggstad et al 2012). Nonetheless, the change /y/ > /i/ in Faroese affects all inherited Norse words.

Monophthongization is a thoroughgoing phenomenon in Shetland Norn, all the Norse diphthongs, /ei/, /au/ and /ey/, having become single vowels (Jakobsen 1897: 127, Lindqvist 2000: 484). /ei/ mostly changes to /e:/, au becomes either /o:/ or /ø:/. These two often get a j-epenthesis, e.g. *jeder* (< *eitr*) and *bjog* (< *baugr*). /ey/ mostly becomes /ø:/, seldom /e:/. The pre-vocalic j-epenthesis is widespread in all the Norn material, e.g. in *Hildina* <fiegan> (< *feigan*) and in Jakobsen's Norn material: *jeder*, *hjolsa*, *joga* etc. (< *eitr*, *heilsa*, *auga*) (see Jakobsen 1897: 143).

Old Norse /ð/ often falls away word final and intervocalically, but there are also several examples of /ð/ > /d/ in these positions. Some words even have double forms, one with /ð/ > Ø and one with /ð/ > /d/ (Jakobsen 1897: 132). Weak verbs in preterite typically show the latter change, e.g. <spirde>, <gerde>, <laghdè> in *Hildina*. Word finally /ð/ can even become /g/, e.g. <gloug> < *glóð*. This change is seen in both Jakobsen's material and *Hildina* (Jakobsen 1897: 134).

Also morphologically and syntactically Norn has changed similarly to Faroese (Barnes 1998: 17). Some verbal paradigms seem to have levelled out to two distinct singular and plural forms based on the third person. The Old Norse case system is retained to some degree, while the pronouns have changed somewhat, reflecting East Scandinavian developments, e.g. breaking: *ek* > <yach>, En. *I* (Barnes 1998: 17). This might reflect an inherent tendency towards breaking or it could simply be because of influence from Denmark.

Both Low's and Jakobsen's (1897: 100) material generally show a loss of nominative-r like mainland Scandinavian. However, it is retained in a few words, e.g. *adnasju*, *mader* in Jakobsen's material and ^S<fyrim>⁵, <Knorin> in Low's (1879: 106). In the latter case, the -r seems to be retained only when the definite article is attached.

⁵ When using ^S<> to show that it is from my amended version, it does not necessarily mean that the form is altered in any way from the transcription. It simply means that the point of reference here is the amended text (part 6.4) rather than the transcription (part 6.2).

3 Language change processes

In this chapter I will outline some mechanisms of language change processes and language shift processes. I will give some examples of changes that have happened in Norn's closely related Scandinavian languages, and hopefully this can give us a clear background for our description of any possible changes that may have been carried through in Hildina Norn.

As our focus in this thesis is the morphological case system I will emphasise the processes of change in the case morphology that have happened in Scandinavian languages. This cannot be done without a phonological analysis though, as changes in the phonological level may have consequences for the inflectional paradigms, as well as the fact that the morphological analysis in this thesis is based on an amended text. The work on the amended text and the categorising of tokens is connected to hypotheses regarding Hildina Norn and the relationship between the sounds that Low heard when he wrote down the ballad and the actual orthography in his transcription.

I will begin by outlining different causes for language change, then I will proceed to the most typical kinds of sound change in the Scandinavian languages, especially West Scandinavian. After that we move on the changes on the morphological case system in the Scandinavian languages and lastly, I explain Nancy Dorian's (1981) model of language shift, and give an account of various Norn scholar's description of the Norn to Scots shift in Shetland. In chapter four I pose some hypotheses for what I expect to find in the morphological analysis based on this chapter.

3.1 Internal and external factors

There are many factors that prompt or influence language change, both its speed and direction. Some are inherent in the language, while others are external and have to do with the society in which the particular language is in use. In Norway, for instance, it is not uncommon for speakers of dialects which have gone through a loss of intervocalic *ð* start to pronounce *side* as /si:de/ instead of /si:e/ (Kristoffersen 2004: 455). The pronunciation of the word seems to be influenced by the written form of the word, which graphically shows the *d*. This is called reading-pronunciation. This shows how an external factor, in this case the written language, may cause a change in the phonological system. External factors may affect all parts of the linguistic system, all the way from vocabulary, to phonology, syntax and morphology. In cases of extreme language contact a language can change at a rapid speed, sometimes even resulting in language death.

External factors are both material and cultural. The development of science, the arts and business and so on result in the introduction of new inventions, tools and concepts. These all come with a new word. Simultaneously as new terms enter the language as society changes, so also old words fall out of use as the objects or concepts become obsolete (Sandøy 1996: 135). Often, new trends or inventions with their new terms and expressions come as a stream of loanwords to a language, and these words may affect the phonology and structure of a language. The sound /a:/ does not exist in Faroese native words as original Old Norse *á* is always diphthongized as [ea:]. But with the import of Danish loans like *statu*, *dama* and *havi*, from Da. *stat*, *dame* and *have*, /a:/ was reintroduced to Faroese (Petersen 2010: 99). In this way, sounds may be added to the phonological inventory of a language through import of new words. Loans may also affect the morphology of a language. Nominative *-ur* stands very strong in Faroese. All native strong masculine words end with *-ur* in the nominative, except for a few ending in *-il/-ul*, e.g. *lykil*, *jøkul*, ON *nykill*, *jøkull*. But with the introduction of new professions like chiropractor and physiologist it has not become unusual to hear Faroese speakers drop the nominative *-ur* in these words, e.g. *Hann er kiropraktor/pedagog/ergoterapeut*, etc (see Petersen 2010 for a thorough discussion of Danish influence on Faroese).

Not only is it possible to borrow words, a language may also borrow “*sounds, phonological features, morphology, syntactic constructions and in fact virtually every aspect of language [...] given enough time and the appropriate sorts of contact situations*” (Campbell 2004: 77). Faroese syntax, for instance, has been much influenced by Danish. In dependent clauses older Faroese usually had the negation after the verb, like Icelandic, e.g. *hann sigur, at hann kemur ikki* (En. *he says that he comes not*), but through influence from the Danish syntax the negation now usually comes before the verb: *hann sigur, at hann ikki kemur* (En. *he says that he not comes*).

Factors like literacy, literary tradition, education and the status of a particular language play a considerable part in language change (Sandøy 1996: 137–139, Campbell 2004: 317). Languages with no official status very often have a lower prestige than the official language, and thus have a tendency to be more influenced by the other. On the other hand the dominant language with official status in legal matters, religion and politics has a high prestige and typically attracts speakers from the inferior language. According to Helge Sandøy: “*Den formelle statusen vil gi språket autoritet og prestisje, og han fungerer òg som eit vern ved at språket er sikra å bli brukt i mange funksjonar*” (1996: 125). Thus the position of the official language is much stronger than the position of the unofficial. For several centuries while Norn was active, Scots was the language of administration in the Northern Isles, and thus the

language of authority and prestige. This factor as well as alleged oppression of the natives has been allotted major explanatory power by the early researchers of Norn. Later scholars however, have focussed more on the day to day contact between Norn and Scots, through immigration and commerce for instance (see part 2.4).

Individual words may also have a higher or lower prestige than another. When the word *betala* was imported into Norwegian, there already existed a counterpart, *gjalda*, but it had a lower prestige than the loan word and was thus pushed out of the language (Kristoffersen 2008: 455). The same has happened in Faroese to a degree, except *gjalda* was never fully pushed out of the language. With the puristic language policy which arose in the nineteenth century the word was revived somewhat and now has a higher prestige, at least in formal language. This is an example of how prestige can shift according to the particular language policy of a country or minority group.

Other changes can best be explained as internal language change processes. These have traditionally been divided into sound change and analogy. Sound changes are purely phonologic in character, such as the change /p/ > /t/ in Scandinavian. Analogy is when a linguistic feature changes according to the pattern of another linguistic feature, such as when speakers of Germanic languages begin to conjugate strong verbs according to the more productive weak patterns, e.g. *'I struck'* to *'I striked'*.

Lyle Campbell explains the internal factors of language change processes thus:

[T]he internal causes are based on what human speech production and perception is and is not capable of — that is, the internal causes are determined for the most part by the physical realities of human biology, by limitation on control of the speech organs and on what we humans are able to distinguish with our hearing or are able to process with our cognitive make-up (2004: 316).

An example of the limitations of the human speech organs is when intervocalic unvoiced plosives become voiced, for example VpV > VbV. The voicing of the vowels is transferred to the plosive, as it is easier, or more natural, for the vocal chords to keep vibrating through the whole sequence rather than breaking off for the plosive (Campbell 2004: 316).

Some linguistic traits can thus be regarded as more natural than others. It is for instance typical for vowels in long position to vary a lot, while in short position the vowel phonemes often fall away (Sandøy 1996: 135). Such traits are natural and the most frequent

ones, although it can often be difficult to assert exactly which kind of linguistic traits are more natural than others, and it is not unusual that languages undergo change processes that seem to complicate the phonological system.

After a brief explanation of the groupings of Scandinavian languages, I will move on to outline some of the sound changes and changes to the morphological case system we may expect to encounter in Hildina Norn in light of the societal circumstances in Shetland in the eighteenth century and in light of language changes that to our knowledge have occurred in other Scandinavian languages, especially the West Scandinavian languages.

3.2 Scandinavian language groups

Mainland Scandinavian is Danish, Swedish and Norwegian as opposed to Insular Scandinavian, i.e. Icelandic, Faroese. The Insular Scandinavian languages are actually descendants of the Scandinavian which was spoken in Norway at the time of the Viking Expansion (c. 800–1050). Norway and its colonies constituted the western branch of Old Scandinavian, while Sweden and Denmark constituted the eastern. Thus we can call the ancestors of these branches West Scandinavian and East Scandinavian, respectively. However, through the centuries Norwegian has been heavily influenced by East Scandinavian, which is why Norwegian is usually grouped with Swedish and Danish under Mainland Scandinavian, while Faroese and Icelandic constitute Insular Scandinavian. This seems simple enough but it is really only a generalisation as western Norwegian dialects still have much in common with West Scandinavian while the eastern have more in common with East Scandinavian (see Torp 1998: 34–60 for a discussion of the grouping of Scandinavian languages). Nor have the borders between East and West Scandinavian ever been tidy or stable, as already in the early Middle Ages the whole Scandinavian speaking area formed a dialect continuum from the south to the north and the east to the west. Still these group terms are very useful when describing the origin of specific language changes.

While both branches of Old Scandinavian can technically be called Old Norse, this thesis follows the tradition of using Old Norse to refer to the western branch and Old East Norse to the eastern. Old Scandinavian is used when speaking of the two branches together.

3.3 Sound changes

3.3.1 Assimilation

Assimilation is when two sounds that stand close to each other become phonetically more similar, thus Old Norse /nafn/ becomes /namn/ in many Norwegian dialects (Kristoffersen 2005: 435–436). This is partial assimilation as the /f/ in the cluster /fn/ does not change to the following consonant, /n/, but rather changes to a sound closer to it, namely /m/. An example of total assimilation is the change /ng/ > /ŋ/ in Mainland Scandinavian, e.g. *sæng* > /sɛŋ/. This change along with /nd/ > /n:/, /ld/ > /l:/ and /mb/ > /m:/, e.g. /land/ > /lan:/, /kveld/ > /kvel:/, /lamb/ > /lam:/, is originally an East Scandinavian change which has spread to most Norwegian dialects. These assimilations are not found in Insular Scandinavian nor in the Vestlandet in Norway, except for Bergen and the surrounding area (Sandøy 1996: 147).

Umlaut is another form of assimilation, where the root vowel of a word becomes more like the following vowel in the same word. U-umlaut is when that following vowel is a *u*. In Old Norse *land* was *lōnd* in the plural. Here, the vowel that instigated the umlaut has been lost, which is not uncommon in Scandinavian. U-umlaut is not as frequent in Mainland Scandinavian as in Insular Scandinavian. In Iceland and Faroese *land* in plural becomes /lōnd/ and /lond/ respectively, while in Norwegian and Danish the umlaut is absent. In Swedish we get the i-umlaut instead, thus /land/ in singular and /lender/ in the plural, similar to German /land/ and /lendern/.

3.3.2 Dissimilation

A typical West Scandinavian trait is the dissimilation of Old Norse *rl* and *rn* to /dl/ and /dn/, thus Old Norse *korn* became /kodn/ and *karl* > /kadl/. These consonant clusters originally contained two quite similar sounds which then become less similar. These changes are found in Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Rogaland, Hordaland, Midtre and Indre Sogn while in Hallingdal and Valdres only /rn/ > /dn/. Another typical West Scandinavian trait is the dissimilation of *ll* and *nn* to /dl/ and /dn/. Take for example Old Norse *vollr* which becomes /vødlur/ in Faroese and Icelandic and /vodl/ in much of Sørvestlandsk. /nn/ > /dn/ is more sporadic though. Faroese and Icelandic both have /dn/ in /seidni/ and /seidna/ respectively, but Icelandic does not have it in /eynni/ like Faroese /oydni/. Neither do Faroese and Icelandic have /dn/ in verbs like /finna/ as Nordhordlandsmål /fidna/ (Sandøy 1996: 173–174).

3.3.3 Diphthongization and monophthongization

Diphthongization of Germanic long vowels is not only found in West Scandinavian but in several places in Scandinavia and even other Germanic languages. It is typical of West Scandinavian. Old Norse *á* becomes /au/ in Icelandic and Vossamål, /ɔa/ in Faroese. *ó* becomes /ou/ in Icelandic, Faroese (or /eu/) and several dialects of Vestlandet (Sandøy 1996: 175–176). Monophthongization on the other hand is characteristic of East Scandinavian. In Danish and Swedish *ei* becomes /e:/, while *au* and *ey* become /ø:/ . Thus Old East Norse *steinR* becomes /ste:n/ in Danish, *raupR* > /rø:d/ and *eyða* > /ø:de/.

3.3.4 P > t/d, loss of ð

Old Norse /p/ and /ð/ are only fully preserved in Icelandic. /p/ generally becomes /t/ in Scandinavian, e.g. *þak* > /tak/, except in some pronouns and determiners where it becomes /d/. Faroese /p/ > /h/ generally follows Scandinavian /p/ > /d/ (Barnes 2001: 63).

Faroese has a total loss of intervocalic and word final /ð/. In some preterite suffixes it is hardened to /d/, e.g. /dʒørði/ < *gørði*. Norwegian has a partial loss of intervocalic and word final /ð/.

3.3.5 Loss of final -t

Both Norwegian and Faroese have a total loss of final -t in definite singular neuter nouns and neuter adjectives ending on *-inn* in Old Norse, and in participles of verbs and in neuter pronouns and determiners. Thus *hús* > Nor. /hʉse/, *farit* > /fa:re/, *annat* > /an:a/ and *þat* > /de:/ (Sandøy 1996: 171).

3.3.6 Lenisation

The lenisation of /p/, /t/ and /k/ to /b/, /d/ and /g/ intervocalically and word finally is found mostly in the south of Scandinavia, in Denmark, Skåne of Sweden and Sørlandet of Norway, but in Insular Scandinavian as well. In Faroese the southern dialects have complete lenisation intervocalically and word finally, while the northern have it partially. In Iceland there is no lenisation in the north while it is only partial in the south (Sandøy 1996: 152–153).

3.3.7 Analogical change and morphological levelling

A morphological case paradigm may undergo analogical changes that create simplification (Kristoffersen 2004: 448–450). In Old Norse masculine forms were distinct in the nominative

and accusative plural, e.g. pronouns *þeir* — *þá*, nouns *vollr* — *vollu*, adjectives *stórir* — *stóra*. In Faroese this difference has diminished or disappeared as the accusative has “borrowed” the -r from the nominative, thus *teir* — *teir*, *vollir* — *vollir*, *stórir* — *stórar*. So by analogy the opposition between Faroese nominative and accusative is diminished and in some cases wiped out.

3.3.8 Phonological change and morphological levelling

Phonological changes may also affect morphology. Reduction of weakly stressed vowels, for example, may cancel out the distinction between different grammatical forms. In Danish all vowels in endings were in the course of the Middle Ages reduced to probably a central sound, perhaps /ɛ/ or /ə/. Thus the difference between the nominative and the oblique cases of weak feminine and masculine nouns, which were marked by *a - u* and *i - a* respectively, disappeared, as all forms now ended in *-e*. This shows how a phonological development can result in a levelling of morphological case.

Jóhanna Barðdal (2009: 3) has argued however, that phonological erosion cannot be regarded as a primary cause for the loss of case morphology. Barðdal reasons that even though in the Scandinavian languages as well as English unstressed vowels have been reduced to schwa, the outcome of the change has differed for each inflectional category. Loss of the ending *-e* in Swedish only affected masculine and neuter dative endings while the present tense first person plural ending *-e* was retained. Barðdal concludes that if the reason for the case reduction was solely phonological, the loss would also have hit verbal endings.

3.4 Loss of morphological case

At one time all Scandinavian languages, including Norn, had a fully functioning morphological case system, with four cases: nominative, accusative, dative and genitive. Today only Icelandic, Faroese and Elfdalian fully or partially retain that system, while the Mainland Scandinavian languages still have remnants of it in pronouns. There are as well some dialects in Norway and Sweden that retain the dative case in definite nouns (Sandøy 2011, 2012). The general pattern seems to be that the higher the degree of foreign influence the faster the case system is reduced (see Barðdal 2009 for the effect of language contact on the case system in Germanic languages).

As was pointed out by several scholars (Jakobsen 1897, Hægstad 1900, Barnes 1998, etc.) the Norn language belongs to the West Scandinavian branch of the Scandinavian languages. Thus with Norn being a West Scandinavian language, we would expect that any

possible patterns of changes in case morphology that we may spot in the linguistic analysis of the *Hildina Ballad* to some extent mirror the changes that have supposedly happened in West Scandinavian case morphology. The aim of this part is to make us able to postulate some hypotheses from what can be asserted about changes in case morphology in Norn's closely related Scandinavian languages.

In this part I will therefore give an outline of the changes in morphological case in the Scandinavian languages, with special regard to the changes that have happened in Middle Norwegian and Faroese. Elfdalian, with its highly archaic inflectional system, will also be taken into account.

I will also give special consideration to the suffixed definite article. Firstly, how the changes in case morphology affect the article in Norwegian and Faroese, and secondly, what Low's wordlist and the Shetland Lord's Prayer indicate regarding the definite article in Norn.

3.4.1 East Scandinavian

In East Scandinavian the loss of morphological case was generally carried out much earlier than in the West. In Danish the loss of morphological case was all but completed already by 1350 (Reinhammar 1973: 10), while the Swedish bible translation from the sixteenth century only makes use of the dative case. The case loss in Denmark was propelled by massive language contact that started already in the Viking Age and was carried on by the Hanseatic League from the thirteenth century (Barðdal 2009: 23).

There are still today some dialects in Sweden, i.e. in Dalarna, Härjedalen, Jämtland, Västerbotten and Norrbotten, that make use of the dative case, and strangely enough, with greater consistency than some of the Old Swedish sources (Reinhammar 1973: 252). These dative dialects can be said to have a two case system, consisting of the nominative and the dative, and together with the Norwegian dative dialects they cover a large area in the inner and more isolated parts of Scandinavia, in the mountains and valleys. Only in the Nord-Vestlandet of Norway does the use of dative extend to the coast (Sandøy 1996: 178).

While it is difficult to date the loss of dative in the Swedish dative-less dialects, the case seems similar in the south and north of Sweden. In the south Danish and Hanseatic influence contributed to an early loss of the four case system, while in the north a large scale Finnish immigration culminated by c. 1600. The Swedes in this area came into daily communication with the Finns, and to aid mutual understanding, the Swedes would probably use unmarked forms rather than marked, and likewise when the arriving Finns acquired the local dialect, the

result would probably be a variety with a significantly changed or simplified morphology. So the dative came to stand weaker here and in the end it was lost (Reinhammar 1973: 247).

There are remnants in both Standard Danish and Standard Swedish of the genitive case. The modern Mainland Scandinavian clitic *-s* is a descendant of one of the Old Norse genitive endings, but today it does not function as genitive ending anymore, but rather as a possessive clitic used to mark ownership or the like, that can be attached to both single nouns but also to noun phrases. Other remnants can be seen in fixed phrases with prepositions that governed the genitive case originally, e.g. Da. *til køjs, til søs, til havs* and Sw. *till fjäls, till havs*. These are either genitive constructions that have fossilised at a stage where the genitive ending *-s* had replaced other endings such as *-ar* in *sjóvar* (cf. Da. *søs*), or they are a result of the pattern *til* + noun + *-s*, which was productive and thus through analogy created phrases such as *til køjs* and *til søs* (Berg 2015: 9).

3.4.2 Elfdalian

A remarkable case is Elfdalian, a linguistic variety spoken by a very small number of people, c. 3000, in Älvdalen, Sweden. Elfdalian has not only retained the dative but at least three of the original Germanic four case system, namely nominative, accusative and dative, and additionally all three Old Norse genders, feminine, masculine and neuter (Sapir 2005: 25). The genitive seems to have fallen away as a morphological category, with the dative having taken over the function of the genitive case. Like in most languages of Scandinavia, the genitive case is also found in fixed expressions. It has also turned into a suffix, *-es*, that can be attached to phrases with the head noun taking the dative case (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2006: 63–65). As we shall see in the next part, this development is similar to what is seen in Middle Norwegian.

Nominative *-r* has fallen away in strong masculine nouns and thus the masculine singular indefinite pattern becomes identical with the neuter singular indefinite, where only the dative is marked, with *-e*, except in words with three syllables, where the dative ending is dropped through apocope. The strong feminine nouns have no marked forms, all of them being identical in the singular indefinite. Weak feminine and weak masculine nouns have two forms, the nominative form and the oblique form, like Old Scandinavian (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2006: 64). Adjectives agree with nouns in gender, number and case (Sapir 2005: 25).

The personal pronouns only have two distinct forms, the nominative and the oblique, e.g. *Ig* and *mig*, But there are some determiners that clearly show a four case system, e.g. *isin*, *ukin* and *noger*, En. *this*, *who/which*, and *someone* (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2006: 65). Cardinal numbers are inflected in gender and case. The masculine plural even has a separate accusative form going back to Old Norse, e.g. *Påytjin sir tuo esta*, (Sapir 2005: 26) ON *Drengrinn sér tvá hesta*.

The development of the case system of Elfdalian has some similarities with Faroese, the sister language of Norn, e.g. the retainment of three cases, nominative, accusative and dative, and case inflection of nouns, both definite and indefinite, and of adjectives, pronouns and numbers. The falling away of nominative -r however, is unlike Faroese, as is the lack of a separate dative and genitive form in the pronouns.

3.4.3 Middle Norwegian

Åse Wetås (2003, 2008) and Ivar Berg (2011, 2013) have both recently studied the loss of case morphology in Middle Norwegian. Middle Norwegian is usually dated to about 1350 to 1500, as the morphological system before this period was preserved although it went through some analogical changes, but by the middle of the fourteenth century the changes started affecting the inflectional system (Wetås 2008: 90–91).

In his article “Mellomnorsk og dansk, Skriftspråk og talemål ikring 1500” (2011) Berg discusses some problems when approaching late medieval texts in Norway. According to Berg there are two important factors to keep in mind regarding Middle Norwegian, namely that Norwegian had itself undergone some changes from Old Norse and Danish influence was making its mark in the late medieval texts found in Norway, thus the language found in these documents is often a mixture of Danish literary tradition and Norwegian development, and this can make it difficult to estimate what texts or word forms are an expression of Middle Norwegian spoken language (Berg 2011: 18–20).

Berg’s approach is a qualitative one. He says that “*Me må leite gjennom materialet på jakt etter former som stikk seg ut frå skrifttradisjonen, og sjå kvar tekst både for seg sjølv og i samband med andre knytta til same skrivemiljø*” (2011: 20). His Middle Norwegian examples are taken from his MA-thesis on the inflectional morphology in texts from Trøndelag starting from 1500.

Apparently the falling away of genitive as a morphological category in Norwegian had started already late in the fifteenth century, as we see dative taking over the semantics of genitive, as well there being a shift from a genitive marking on word level to a genitive

marking on phrase level. Berg gives this example from 1484: *effther wars forfadhers erchebiscops olafs skikkilse* for the former and these from 1488 and 1489 for the latter: *Karll Yrianssons barna* and *po myn nadhe her gonghenss wenne* (2011: 21).

The prepositions *millum* og *til* governed the genitive in Old Norse, but by the end of the fifteenth century *millum* had started to govern the dative instead as in *mellom henne oc hennar twem systrom* (Berg 2011: 22) where *henne* and *twem systrom* are all regular datives, while the Old Norse phrase *þeirra í millum* varies between something like these two forms *there i millom* and *them i mellom*, the former with either the genitive, the latter with the dative (Berg 2011: 22).

The preposition *til* had also started to take the dative at this time. The Old Norse phrase *hann gaf dómkirkjunni* had now begun to be expressed with the preposition in front of the dative form *han gaff til domkirkionne*. According to Berg the dative case had now taken over the semantics of the weakened genitive (2011: 23).

Berg concludes that by 1500 Norwegian was well on the way to the two case system described by Ivar Aasen (1864) in the nineteenth century. Nominative and accusative had all but merged to a basic form either based on the nominative or the accusative while the genitive was reduced to marking possessive relations. The dative case on the other hand stood firm, and, as is well known, is alive still today. Still proper names were usually not marked but rather the attributive. The 1. and 2. personal pronouns had apparently shifted to a subject and object form with the dative having fallen away. In the third person the dative takes over as the object form, also in the plural (Berg 2011: 23). The dative case that lives on in some Norwegian and Swedish dialects still today is only marked in nouns with the definite suffixed article (Berg 2011, Sandøy 2012).

In his article “Stages in deflexion and the Norwegian dative” (2013) Berg explains why in Norwegian the genitive was pushed out by the dative rather than the accusative as in Faroese. He shows some examples from early Middle Norwegian, where *til* governs the accusative as well as the genitive. When dative later started to take over the semantics of the genitive, it had already been preceded by a merging of the nominative and accusative, which left dative as the only marked form, and therefore the only alternative to the genitive. Since the merging of nominative and accusative never happened in Faroese, the original tendency of genitive being replaced by the accusative could carry on, and still today in Faroese *til* largely governs the accusative rather than the genitive.

Åse Wetås (2003, 2008) has studied the case morphology of diplomas from Vest-Telemark from the fifteenth century. She argues that the falling away of nominative -r was not

simply due to phonological reduction of word final -r. We would reckon such a reduction to be consequent, which it is not. According to Wetås, words like nom.sing. *akr* and *vetr* and nom.akk.pl. *føtr* ought to also have lost the -r, but the -r is still maintained today, *ákr, vinter, føter* (Wetås 2008: 362).

According to Wetås, proper names, especially personal names, first lost the case inflection, while the adjectives lost it after the nouns (Wetås 2008: 367). In the article “Kan ein komparativ studie av namn og appellativistisk materiale kasta lys over kاسوبorfallet i mellomnorsk” (2003) Wetås points to Danish and Swedish where the deflexion also seems to start with the proper names, both personal names and place names. She holds that the reason for the deflexion not happening simultaneously is due to redundancy of case morphology being differently perceived in the different word groups, where the case inflection of proper names first was first felt redundant, and was subsequently lost.

3.4.4 Faroese

Icelandic has essentially preserved the four case system of Old Norse. There are some syntactical and semantical changes that have happened, but for the purposes of this thesis they are rather irrelevant and this part will therefore focus on case morphology in Faroese.

Faroese has a conservative inflectional system compared to the Mainland Scandinavian languages. Formal Faroese seemingly has all four cases, although the genitive is quite restricted. It is highly questionable if the genitive can be regarded as an active morphologic category in Faroese spoken language however. In my BA thesis (2010) I did a quantitative study on the use of genitive in a digital Faroese text database. I focussed on the use of genitive with *til*, *millum* and *vegna*. To sum up the results we can say that the prepositions mainly govern the accusative. However, the preposition *til* mostly governs the genitive concerning place names, and sometimes the genitive in nouns when they are not qualified, but always the accusative when they are qualified, e.g. *til umvælingar* but *til umvælingina*. The former example is indefinite and in the genitive while the latter is definite and in the accusative. Regarding personal pronouns *til* mostly governs the genitive in singular, like *til mín*, *til tín*, while in the plural accusative is predominant. The genitive forms found in relation to *millum* were mostly fixed expressions. Here a particular genitive construction was even found to be productive, namely the definite plural ending in *-anna* in all genders as in Old Norse.

Trygve Skomedal called the use of genitive with *til* in Faroese “accusative 2” (www.setur.fo/en/tidindi/trygve-skomedal-farin/). Perhaps we can deduce from this that he meant that while as a whole the accusative had taken over the semantic role of genitive in relation to the preposition *til*, the genitive still existed, but only as a limited variant of the now dominant accusative in some fixed expressions.

The inflectional endings of nominative, accusative and dative in Faroese generally follow Old Norse, but not without some simplifications. These are found mostly in the strong feminine patterns where there are no marked forms, except the genitive, which is in restricted use. Additionally there have been some analogical changes, most notably in the masculine accusative, which has become more similar to the nominative, in some instances even identical to it.

In Faroese the dative endings have undergone a change of /m/ > /n/. This change is not seen in writing, where the Old Norse *m* is kept, but in spoken language dative *-um* endings are always pronounced /-un/, e.g. /fɔrjun/ (< *Føreyjum*). This change is not phonologically conditioned, because it does not hit words like *sum*, which ought have been pronounced /sun/, if it was phonologically conditioned. It may be an analogical change as the definite case paradigms have many forms ending in -n in the feminine and masculine.

The preposition *við* has almost totally replaced Old Norse *með(r)*, except in a few fixed expressions and compounds. The preposition can be used in many different senses as it combines the semantics of Old Norse *við(r)* and *með(r)* (Barnes 2001: 203). It governs both the accusative and the dative.

Strong personal names in Faroese have recently undergone a loss of inflection, with the nominative form, with *-ur* in the masculine, in all three cases. This mirrors the Middle Norwegian development, except that there the nominative -r was lost.

3.5 Language shift

3.5.1 Semi speakers

When a “language shift” is happening, usually the language that is being abandoned undergoes rapid changes resulting in a simplification of grammar, changes in phonology and a reduction of vocabulary (Dorian 1981: 114, Barnes 2005: 11). Nancy Dorian in her study of the decline of East Southern Gaelic (1981) has described the last stages of the dying language. She divides the last speakers of the language in two groups: fluent speakers and semi speakers (for a fuller definition of the terms semi speaker and rememberer see Dorian

1981). The former have the dying language as their first language and have only learned the second language out of necessity. The last native speakers of the dying language usually have a very good command of the language, the older generation showing an almost flawless command while the younger native generation typically have some deviances from the older generation, but nonetheless speak a fully acceptable form of the language.

The semi speakers' language however "*is conspicuously aberrant in terms of older-generation norms*" (Dorian 1981: 115). They are bilingual but have greater proficiency in the second language rather than the dying language of his/her grandparents, parents or siblings. Most of them were probably not spoken to in the local language in their childhood, but rather they learnt it through various other ways, for example through later exposure or curiosity.

Dorian also speaks of a third group, namely the rememberers. These have no active knowledge of the dying language, they only remember phrases and words. This generation marks the death of a language. Usually these three stages are completed in three generations.

3.5.2 The Norn to Scots language shift in Shetland

There has been much disagreement regarding the date and manner of the Norn to Scots shift in Shetland. The shift in Orkney on the other hand has received little attention, and the main reason is probably the extreme scarcity of reliable data. In Shetland the problem is the same (cf. Barnes 1996: 190, Knooihuizen 2011) but to a lesser extent. Apart from Low's records there only a few tidbits here and there from before the language died out, and the contemporary references are short and sketchy and scholars have not seldom been able to interpret them in opposite ways. This has led to a controversy regarding the language shift, where the old school consisting of Jakobsen, G. T. Flom and Marwick, later joined by Geir Wiggen (2002), has been criticised by Michael Barnes (1998; 2010) and Brian Smith (1996) for its description of the language shift as Norn slowly becoming a hybrid of Norn and Scots before finally becoming more Scots than Norn. Scots oppression plays a big role in the earlier scholars description of Norn's decline, while Barnes, Smith, and Remco Knooihuizen as well, propose other reasons for the language shift, e.g. Scots immigration (Knooihuizen 2010: 96), trade relations (Smith 1996: 34, Barnes 1998, 2010) and the establishment of English schools (Smith 1996: 34, Wiggen 2002). Laurits Rendboe's view of the Norn to Scots language shift (1984; 1987) has perhaps received the most criticism of all, especially from Barnes and Smith. Rendboe envisions a Norn that remained alive and pure well into the nineteenth century, a theory that has been discarded as biased and unfounded by Barnes and Smith.

3.5.2.1 Jakob Jakobsen

Jakobsen's description of the death of Norn was at first accepted without critique. Later scholars challenged this view, not so much because of his dating of Norn's death but rather because of his vague explanation of the manner of its death and the lack of a theoretical framework for his estimations. His description goes as follows:

Når det altså almindeligt fremhæves, at Norn uddøde i slutningen av forrige århundrede, må dette ikke tages altfor bogstaveligt. Det har været en jævn og gradvis forsvinden, som fortsættes endnu den dag i dag. Allerede før midten af det 18de århundrede har dialekten rimeligvis været hårdt medtaget, og derefter synes det at gå hurtigt ned ad bakke. Den gamle Foulabonde, som i 1774 foresagde Low det bekendte kvad om Hildina og Orknøjarlen, var, som det synes, ikke i stand til at ledsage det med nogen oversættelse, men kun med en almindelig redegørelse for hovedindholdet.

Den bestanddel af det gamle sprog, som det allerførst er gået ud over, er — som man let kan tænke sig, og som det også fremgår af de bevarede brudstykker — bøjningsformerne, de grammatiske endelser (assimilationer blive almindelige, efterhånden some formerne udviskes); dernæst forsvinde de i talen idelig tilbagevendende småord: konjunktioner, præpositioner, pronominer, talord, de almindelige adverbialer; ligeledes en del af de almindeligst brugte adjektiver og verber samt navne på begreber (1897: 12–13).

Jakobsen then goes on to describe the groups of words which had been retained by the Shetlanders. Of nouns there are those who have a special connection to the daily life of the population. These, even though steadily dwindling, constituted a significant amount of the population's vocabulary at the time of Jakobsen's writing. Additionally, some mocking names and pet names were retained, words connected to mood, adjectives that indicate nuances of colour, words regarding the sea and weather and the noa words of the fishermen. Consequently, according to Jakobsen, one cannot without further ado call the Shetland dialect which was current at his time of writing, Scots. He sees the dialect as composed by three layers: firstly, the Norn layer, which is mainly seen in the vocabulary, but also in the verbal constructions, secondly, Scots, encompassing the largest part of the words and the inflections, and thirdly, the English standard language, which was gaining ground.

In his etymological dictionary Jakobsen says the same in one sentence:

[...] i det 18de århundrede [...] er Norn efter en mere end hundredårig stadig voksende påvirkning fra lavskotsk blevet så stærkt blandet med dette sidste sprog, at det, mulig med undtagelse af enkelte udkanter af øerne, ikke mere kan kaldes Norn (Jakobsen 1921: xix).

3.5.2.2 G. T. Flom

George T. Flom in his article “From Norse to Lowland Scotch in Shetland” (1929) supported Jakobsen’s view, describing the shift as Norn slowly morphing into Scots. He analyzes some examples of Norn from approximately 1750, i.e. the *Hildina Ballad*, Low’s word list, the Lord’s Prayer, the Cunningsburgh phrase, the Caithness rhyme and a nursery rhyme. He contrasts these with some fragments recorded by Jakobsen, and argues that the exemplars show a gradual decay of the Norn language, starting with the language of the *Hildina Ballad*, which he dates to about 1660–75 (1929: 155), and which according to Flom is lexically and grammatically Scandinavian but already shows some Scots influence with a few loans and some irregularity in the inflectional endings, and ending with some of the most recent fragments and rhymes recorded by Jakobsen, which he dates to the first half of the nineteenth century, some of which, he maintains, show a distorted language, changed almost beyond recognition. Flom concludes that Norn was still learned as the mother tongue in 1750–75, but a fast shift took place in Shetland in the eighteenth century which according to Flom was caused by the English schools being established there from the year 1701 (1929: 161).

3.5.2.3 Hugh Marwick

Marwick in his *The Orkney Norn* also agrees with Jakobsen, although adding that “[...] *the change was something more than a steady inflation of Norn with Scots words until it became more Scots than Norn*” (1929: xxvii). He goes on to say that:

What probably happened was that the common everyday phraseology of Norn ceased and was replaced by the corresponding Scots terms of speech. In this respect the most important change would be in the pronouns, common verbs, and the intermediary words—prepositions and conjunctions (1929: xxvii).

3.5.2.4 Laurits Rendboe

A modern scholar, Rendboe, has in several articles, in contrast with the earlier scholars, argued for a Norn that remained pure till its dying day. In his analyses of the different specimens of Norn he argues that they all show a ‘pure’ form of Norn, all the way from the vocabulary to the grammatical endings.

In his first article on the Norn language “How ‘worn out’ or ‘corrupted’ was Shetland Norn in its final stage?” (1984) Rendboe disqualifies all contemporary eighteenth century references to the Norn language being ‘worn out’ as remarks by Scots who knew nothing of the language. He also disqualifies Low’s remarks on the grounds that he got his information from Scottish ministers who “*never bothered to learn the language of their charges*” (1984: 57). He then goes on to analyse some Norn fragments recorded by Jakobsen. All apparent irregularity Rendboe attributes to “*faulty transmission*” rather than a breakdown of the language of the last Norn-speakers. The rest he calls ‘pure’ Norn. Indeed he is able to conclude his article thus: “*As far as the available evidence shows, Norn stood firm to the end*” (1984: 80).

In the article “Det gamle Shetlandske sprog, George Lows ordliste fra 1774” (1987) Rendboe arrives at equally extraordinary conclusions. Of the 34 words in Low’s list Rendboe asserts 28 as inherited Old Norse words, four as old loans, one of uncertain origin and one as a recent loan. From this he makes the conclusion that “[...] *hvis denne korte liste er typisk for Nornsproget på den tid den blev nedskrevet, så var det endnu et ualmindeligt rent norrønt sprog, som man talte på Foula og Mainland i 1774*” (1987: 87). And after summing up the grammatical features he is able to spot, he sums up:

Alle de bevidnede former og disse nydannelser (der nok ikke var helt nye i 1774) bærer vidnesbyrd om et levende, livskraftigt sprog, med et rimeligt intakt formsystem, med køn-, tal- og faldbøjning, ganske som i Me[llom]No[rsk]. Norn må have været et velfungerende sprog endnu i 1774, i hvert fald på Foula og vestsiden av Mainland, hvor Low fik fat i sin lille ordliste (Rendboe 1987: 96).

3.5.2.5 Michael Barnes

Barnes (1998, 2010) has criticised both the Jakobsen-Flom-Marwick description of the Norn to Scots shift and especially Rendboe’s. The former’s depiction of a language slowly morphing into another is not argued for seriously according to Barnes, who laments that “[...] *crucial terms such as „Norn“, „Scots“, „dialect“, „language“, etc. are used in so disconcertingly vague a*

manner that one sometimes wonders whether the writers themselves understood precisely what they had in mind” (2010: 37). Moreover, Barnes claims that *“the imperceptible melting of one language into another they [i.e. Jakobsen, Flom and Marwick] envisage seems to be without parallel”* (1998: 23), and that even if such a shift could happen, it is not argued for plausibly.

Barnes also rejects Rendboe’s explanation of the shift, i.e. Norn remained pure till the very end, claiming that *“it is common for languages in terminal decline to lose both functions and features and to suffer extensive interference from the dominant tongue”* (2010: 39), here referring to Weinreich (1953), Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977), Dorian (1981) and Schmidt (1985). Rendboe’s treatment of Jakobsen’s Norn specimens also receives heavy criticism: *“Rendboe’s method of dealing with the late nineteenth-century material, it does not seem unfair to say, is to render it into putative Norn and declare the result pure Norse”* (Barnes 2010: 38), and to illustrate this he brings Rendboe’s analysis of one of Jakobsen’s phrases: *Jarta, bodena komena rontena Komba*. Rendboe laboriously comes to the conclusion that this is a specimen of pure Norn with typical Scandinavian grammatical features, while according to Barnes this is actually *“a text in which the inflexional endings are neither Norn nor Scots, but have been levelled to -(en)a”* and it *“is not a specimen of pure Norn, but a sequence of Scandinavian words with no discernible grammatical system”* (2010: 38).

Barnes himself has come to generally agree with Brian Smith’s view.

3.5.2.6 Brian Smith

Smith’s article “The development of the spoken and written Shetland dialect: a historian’s view” (1996) is very much a reaction to the earlier scholars and especially Rendboe’s description of Norn’s death. He heavily criticises Rendboe’s depiction of a ‘pure’ Norn living far into the nineteenth century, spoken by Shetland “rebels” who hid it from their landlords and ministers and describes it as *“playing havoc”* with the history of the Shetland dialect (Smith 1996: 30). He accuses both Jakobsen and Rendboe of ‘Nornophilia’ (1996: 31).

Smith being a historian naturally focuses on external linguistic factors, such as the trade relations of the Shetlanders, rather than analysing the surviving Norn texts and fragments. He presents Shetland as a relatively prosperous nation in the sixteenth century, with trade relations with England, Scotland, Holland and Germany, and with a lot of contact with Norwegian fishermen. Smith maintains that as a result of all the commerce Shetlanders became proficient in several languages, and according to him the sources indicate that Scots had become an established dialect in Shetland already in the sixteenth century and that the Scots speaking ruling class also had some proficiency in other languages than their own. In

the seventeenth century however, Smith claims, Shetland's foreign contacts diminished and as a consequence their language proficiency diminished as well. Scots merchants lairds took over the trade in Shetland in the eighteenth century and thus it became even more important for the Norn-speaking Shetlanders to learn Scots to maintain their trade relations. Smith holds that Norn died sometime in the mid eighteenth century, the same time as Orkney Norn, not because of oppression but because the Shetlanders, given the circumstances, simply chose to speak Scots. According to Smith, the last nail in the coffin was the S. P. C. K.⁶ schools that were being established from around 1700.

On this last point Barnes (2010: 41) and Knooihuizen disagree with Smith and Geir Wiggen for that matter. They maintain that the schools were not properly established as an important factor of society till around 1800 and thus could not have any effect on a language shift that took place much earlier.

3.5.2.7 Geir Wiggen

Wiggen joined the debate in 2002 criticising both Barnes and Smith. Barnes for writing off the possibility of "*imperceptible melting*" (Barnes 1998: 23) and Wiggen uses the fusion of Norwegian and Danish to form Norwegian *bokmål* and other examples as a counterargument to Barnes' claim that the melting of Norn with Scots is unparalleled. He criticizes Barnes for seemingly without reservation adopting Smith's view of the shift from Norn to Scots, while accusing Rendboe of not being a "*dispassionate investigator*" (1996: 11). Smith, Wiggen maintains, is no more dispassionate than Rendboe and Wiggen describes his treatment of Rendboe as "*uhyre lite respektfull*" (2002: 17).

Wiggen himself arrives at the conclusion that a Norn-Scots assimilation coincided with a great wave of Scots immigration to Shetland from 1755 to 1851. This assimilation of Norn to Scots was then enhanced by the establishment of schools all over Shetland, resulting in a Norn which had merged with Scots by c. 1850-80 thus supporting the Jakobsen-Flom-Marwick theory (2002: 72–75).

⁶ Schools for Propagation of Christian Knowledge.

3.5.2.8 Robert McColl Millar and Remco Knooihuizen

Millar and Knooihuizen have both studied the language shift in light of historical evidence, utilising theory on language shift and dialect formation.

In the article “The Norn-to-Scots language shift: another look at socio-historical evidence” (2005) Knooihuizen has on the basis of an estimation of William Henry’s Norn proficiency argued for a primary language shift (PLS) that took place around 1700. According to Knooihuizen, Henry was at best a bad semi speaker, but most likely a rememberer. The term PLS was coined by Hans-Jürgen Sasse (1992) and indicates the point in time when the majority of a population substitute their primary language with a secondary and cease to teach the next generation their language. Thus the last speakers of Norn would have died out in the course of the eighteenth century according to Knooihuizen.

Knooihuizen then discusses some reasons for the language shift: The use of Scots in administration and law, the use of Scots in religious contexts, the spread of Scots and English through (formal) education, loss of language contact with Scandinavia and finally the increasing language contact with Scots.

Millar in his article „The origins and development of Shetland dialect in light of dialect contact theories“ (2008) argues that as the last native Norn speakers in Shetland died in the course of the eighteenth century the use of Norn became restricted to specialised uses such as rituals, group identification, jokes, secret language etc. Moreover, when the last Norn speakers shifted to Scots they brought a considerable Norn substratum with them, which by and by spilled over into the speech of the native Scots speakers. These factors played a strong part in the preservation of the Norn substratum in the modern Shetland dialect. (2008: 253–254)

3.5.3 The definite article

Christer Lindqvist (2000) has pointed out that Jakobsen’s etymological dictionary (1921–28) contains words with a seemingly frozen definite suffixed article, e.g. *aklin* and *houlgin*. We can add to that that Jakobsen’s dissertation from 1897 contains Norn fragments that contain the suffixed article as well as the Scots definite article *de*, for example: *mader to de bjadni* and *to lag de kjøren*⁷ (Jakobsen 1897: 11), En. *food to the child-DEF* and *to move the cows-DEF*. In a substratum inherited from a dead language this can hardly be considered remarkable, as languages typically lose grammatical functions and become increasingly dysfunctional in their dying

⁷ Jakobsen’s special characters in these fragments are rendered in normal orthography here.

stages (Barnes 2010: 39). But interestingly, as Lindqvist (2000) also pointed out, Low's wordlist seemingly has the same trait a century before Jakobsen gathered his material. Here we find several translations with the suffixed definite article, even though the English words stand without the English definite article: *An Island* - ⟨Hion⟩, *A haddock* - ⟨Hoissan⟩, *A Herring* - ⟨Sildin⟩, *A Boat* - ⟨Bodin, Knorin⟩ (Anderson 1879: 106), etc. In fact, 16 out of 36 Norn words in the wordlist have the suffixed definite article attached. This, together with the evidence from Jakobsen's material seems to indicate that by 1774 at least Shetlanders had ceased to perceive the suffixed article as an ending separate from the stem.

Interestingly, this frozen article does not seem to manifest itself in neither the *Hildina Ballad* nor the Shetland and Orkney Lord's Prayer, which may indicate that the ballad and the Lord's Prayer represent older language stages than the wordlist, or that the source of the wordlist was a rememberer while the source of the ballad was a semi speaker.

3.6 Hypotheses

In the following I will postulate some hypotheses on what I expect to find in my analysis of the morphological case in the *Hildina Ballad*, based on the morphological development in Norn's closely related Scandinavian languages, especially Faroese and Middle Norwegian. Hopefully, I will be able to either verify or reject these hypotheses in the discussion chapter (8).

3.6.1 Case loss

In Faroese it was found that the distinction between the accusative and the nominative was diminished. In Norway the distinction was already lost in Middle Norwegian, where nominative -r also fell away. Nominative -r has also fallen away in Elfdalian and in East Scandinavian in general. The two case system that emerged in Middle Norwegian had a dative form and a basic form based on either nominative or accusative. The genitive has fallen away in both Faroese, Norwegian and Elfdalian. I would therefore predict the same in Hildina Norn: the falling away of nominative -r and merging of nominative and accusative and a loss of genitive as a morphological category. I would expect a shift to a two case system with a dative form and a basic form based on either nominative or accusative. I would therefore expect to see apparent nominative forms in positions where we would expect accusative, and vice versa.

I also expect to see some fixed genitive constructions in relation to the preposition *til*, like in mainland Scandinavian and Faroese. But generally I would expect the dative or the accusative to have taken over the role of the genitive after prepositions and verbs.

Middle Norwegian personal pronouns soon developed a subject form and an object form based in either accusative or dative, with something similar also happening in Elfdalian. I would reckon with a similar reduction in the Norn personal pronoun paradigms as well.

I would expect the proper names to lose inflection earlier than nouns as was the case in Middle Norwegian and as is the case with Faroese strong personal names.

3.6.2 Language shift

From the assessment that Knooihuizen has made of William Henry, the source of the the *Hildina Ballad*, as either a bad semi speaker or a rememberer, I would expect the language of the ballad to reflect that, namely a high degree of irregularity in the inflectional endings and a general breakdown of the case system.

The seemingly frozen article in Low's wordlist indicates a language stage where recognition of grammatical endings is lost. Since the ballad probably represents a much earlier language stage than the wordlist I would expect a use of the article in the ballad more in line with living Scandinavian languages, but since the source was a bad semi speaker at best, I would still expect a fair amount of irregularity in the endings as Henry would not have had a good command of the grammar as it was in a living Norn language perhaps a century before his time⁸.

⁸ Note that I am not here assuming that Henry had any conscious understanding of grammar at all. I am here talking about his intuition for the morphological system of Norn.

4 The Hildina Ballad

4.1 Outline

This chapter concentrates on the *Hildina Ballad*, its contents, literary context, and its language. First I will give a short account of the the ballad's storyline and the additional information provided by Low, then I will briefly outline its literary context, namely its relationship with Old Norse legends and with a Faroese ballad, *Grimmars kvæði*. After a short account of prior scholarly research in the ballad we will move on to discuss the ballad's problematic orthography and subsequently a general description of the ballad's language follows.

4.2 Storyline

We have already explained how Low recorded his examples of Norn, so without further ado we will move on to the contents of the ballad. Here follows a summary:

The earl of Orkney abducts a princess, Hildina, while her father, the king, is away. The king sails to Orkney to take his daughter back, but the earl meets him, and convinces him of the benefits of their marriage. But the king's advisor Hiluge, who fancies Hildina himself, changes the king's mind and they go to war. Hiluge cuts of the earl's head, and throws it in Hildina's lap. This makes her very angry and accepting to marry him, she puts poison in the mead for the wedding, making everyone fall asleep. She then drags her father out and sets fire to the hall, thus killing the killer of her lover.

These are the main strands of the story. In comparison we can post the summary that Henry provided Low with (Anderson 1879: 113–114), which is quite interesting as it contains some information that the ballad does not give:

An Earl of Orkney, in some of his rambles on the coast of Norway, saw and fell in love with the King's daughter of the country. As their passion happened to be reciprocal, he carried her off in her father's absence, who was engaged in war with some of his distant neighbours. On his return, he followed the fugitives to Orkney, accompanied by his army, to revenge on the Earl the rape of his daughter. On his arrival there, Hildina (which was her name), first spied him, and advised her now husband to go and attempt to pacify the King. He did so, and by his appearance and promise brought the King so over as to be satisfied

with the match. This, however, was of no long standing, for as soon as the Earl's back was turned a courtier, called Hiluge, took great pains to change the King's mind, for it seems Hiluge had formerly hoped to succeed with the daughter himself. His project took, and the matter came to blows; the Earl is killed by Hiluge, who cut off his head and threw it at his lady, which, she says, vexed her even more than his death, that he should add cruelty to revenge. Upon the Earl's death, Hildina is forced to follow her father to Norway, and in a little time Hiluge makes his demand to have her in marriage of her father; he consents, and takes every method to persuade Hildina, who, with great reluctance, agrees upon condition that she is allowed to fill the wine at her wedding. This is easily permitted, and Hildina infuses a drug which soon throws the company into a dead sleep, and after ordering her father to be removed, set the house on fire. The flame soon rouses Hiluge, who piteously cries for mercy, but the taunts he had bestowed at the death of the Earl of Orkney are now bitterly returned, and he is left to perish in the flames (Low 1879: 113-114).

In the ballad the story seemingly starts in medias res with the earl asking his kin or friend whether he should free the maiden from the “glass broch”, but from Low’s summary we get the information that the scene of the first verse is set in Norway. Norway is never mentioned in the ballad. The “*reciprocal passion*” is only mentioned later in the ballad, in verse 8. The antagonist, Hiluge, is here named a courtier of the king, and apparently he had tried to have Hildina’s hand before, something the ballad does not tell.

At one point the summary seems to be at odds with the ballad. The summary says that the king consented to let Hiluge marry Hildina and that he “*takes every method to persuade Hildina*”. In the ballad on the other hand the king only tells Hiluge that Hildina is to decide on the matter herself. These differences between the summary and the actual ballad strengthen the supposition that Henry perhaps did not understand the ballad fully.

Otherwise the summary agrees with the storyline of the ballad, but the additional information given could indicate that there are verses missing in the ballad. There are several other factors that indicate this, e.g. the twelfth verse as conveyed by Low containing seemingly enough for one verse and half a verse in addition. Moreover, the shortness of verse 32 and perhaps 26 and 27 and the seemingly transition-less shifting between the scenes of the story strengthen the supposition that there are verses and lines missing. The amount of detail given is very minute, the ballad only giving us glimpses of each scene of the story, and much has to be read between the lines or filled out by the summary to understand the plot.

4.3 Literary context

The story of the ballad can be divided in two main motives: the abduction of a princess and the resulting battle, and the revenge of the princess. The first part of the ballad bears close resemblances to Hjaðningavíg in *Skaldskaparmál*. A valkyrie named Hildir is taken by Heðinn, king of Orkney, while her father Hogni, a Norwegian king, is away. Here the Norwegian king himself initiates the battle and there is no advisor. But the main difference is that the battle never ends, as Hildir resurrects all the fallen warriors after each day of battle.

The second part of the ballad is reminiscent of the revenge of Guðrún/Kriemhild, which is found in eddic poetry and *Nibelungenlied*, among others. In the former she marries Atli, king of the Huns, after her husband is murdered. When Atli kills her brothers to get his hands on their gold, she avenges her family by setting fire to the hall while Atli and his men are drunk. In the latter, Kriemhild sets fire to the hall in an attempt to kill her brother Hagen, who betrayed and killed her husband Siegfried. Thus the *Nibelungenlied* version seems to be closer to *Hildina*, as the revenge is done on behalf of a lover rather than the family.

A Faroese ballad, *Grimmars kvæði* (CCF 51), also has a version of the first motif. The princess is here called Hilda and her father, Grimmar, is king of Garðaríki. She is kidnapped by Haraldur, king of England, while the father is away. Here Hilda marries the kidnapper and gives birth to three sons before the conflict commences. There is no battle or advisor, and instead of her exacting revenge, it is her father who exacts revenge over Haraldur, the kidnapper, by serving mead and then burning him in a hall. *Grimmars kvæði* also contains an account of the aftermath of the father's revenge, involving the three sons of Hilda with Haraldur. The ballad is very different from the *Hildina Ballad* both in style and length, in most versions having more than 200 verses. *Grimmars kvæði* also contains an account of the aftermath of the father's revenge, involving the sons of Hilda with Haraldur. In *Grimmars kvæði* the antagonist is the king, the princess' father, while in the *Hildina Ballad* it is rather the king's advisor, Hiluge, who kills the princess' lover. The *Hildina Ballad* is unique amongst Scandinavian ballads containing blood revenge, as it is a woman, Hildina, rather than a man, who exacts revenge (Baranauskienė 2012: 160).

What binds the motif of the abduction and the motive of revenge together in the ballad, according to Christer Lindqvist (2000: 481), is Hildina's struggle between arranged marriage and her own love-interest.

Several other Scandinavian ballads exist with Hilda and/or Illhugi, or variants thereof, as the main character(s), but most of them do not resemble the *Hildina Ballad* as much as *Grimmar's kvæði* and Hjaðningavíg.

4.4 Research

Here follows a more or less chronological overview of research of the *Hildina Ballad*.

Scholarly research on the *Hildina Ballad* can be said to start with Munch as his edition of the ballad (1839) also contained an explanation of the ballad verse by verse, as much as he could deduce, and the very first attempt at a translation of the ballad. Munch translated the passages that appeared most clear to him into Old Norse and the result is generally quite accurate. Munch deserves credit for being the first to try his hand at a translation of the ballad, as there was no previous research for him to lean on.

Later Sophus Bugge made a complete translation into Old Norse, but he never published his work. His translation was instead published by Hakon Grüner-Nielsen in 1939 in the article, “Den shetlandske Hildina-vise og Sophus Bugges tolkning”, focussing on the ballad’s kinship with the Nordic folk ballads. Bugge’s translation became known to Grüner-Nielsen firstly through an attempt at a translation by Svend Grundtvig in 1883. In his translation Grundtvig had written with red ink in the margins those parts of Bugge’s translation that differed from his own. Additionally, Axel Olrik made a transcription in 1898 with the title “*Bugges og Jacobsens Tekst*”. Moltke Moe also had a part in this text, according to Hægstad (1900: V). Grüner-Nielsen had Olrik’s text as the basis for his edition as behind this text there were five scholars: Bugge, Grundtvig, Moe, Jakobsen and Olrik (Grüner-Nielsen 1939: 143–144).

Apparently Marius Hægstad had no access to Bugge’s translation when he wrote his *Hildinakvadet* (1900), but he had access to Bugge’s light photocopies of the ballad in Low’s manuscript, ordered by Bugge in 1884. These were the basis of Hægstad’s transcription of the ballad and they were also appended to his volume.

Hægstad’s interpretation of the ballad is probably the most full and accurate one around, and his revised version of the ballad is an attempt at restoring the very obscure text to an original state, i.e. as it was conceivably recited by William Henry. This involved a reordering of word division, line division and changing obvious mistakes here and there. The result is a much more transparent text and transparent poetic form with rhyme on line b and

d. According to Rendboe (1992: 11) *Hildinakvadet* is the standard treatment of the *Hildina Ballad*.

Hægstad later published a translation of the ballad into Nynorsk in an article titled “Hildina-kvadet” in *Syn og Segn* (1901: 1-14). In 1908 William Gershom Collingwood made a translation into English based on Hægstad’s revised text. In Collingwood’s own words, the translation is an attempt to “*present the ballad in readable English, without sacrificing rhyme and metre to literal translation, though at the same time without needless paraphrase*” (Collingwood 1908: 211).

Grüner-Nielsen’s article, in contrast with Hægstad’s *Hildinakvadet*, focussed mainly on the ballad’s kinship with the Nordic folk ballads rather than on the form of the language. Grüner-Nielsen’s comparison shows that the composer all through the *Hildina Ballad* uses expressions which are common in Nordic balladry. This leads him to believe that the ballad should be located at some Norse “*Folkedigtningens-centrum*” (1939: 151). He sees a lot of similarities with the Faroese ballads, where several of the same literary devices are used. He also mentions the many plot-similarities in *Grimmars kvæði*. But the style of the *Hildina Ballad* is very different from the Faroese ballad’s “*mærkelige udtværede Visestil*” (1939: 151) and especially the burning of the hall is depicted very differently from the usual Faroese stereotype. Grüner-Nielsen therefore thinks it unlikely that the ballad may be a late migration from the Faeroe Islands, even though the legendary matter of the ballad is the same as in many Faroese ballads. He concludes that “*Visen er digtet i Middelalderen et eller andet Sted indenfor “det norrøne Viseomraade”*” (1939: 151), an area which according to Knut Liestøl (1937: 128) encompassed parts of West Norway, the Faeroes and Shetland.

More recently, Baranauskienė also set the *Hildina Ballad* in a West-Scandinavian literary context, but at the same time holds that it is “*adorned with Celtic motifs*” (2012: 201). In her doctoral dissertation, *Celtic and Scandinavian language and cultural contacts during the Viking Age* (2012), Baranauskienė mentions among others “the hurling of the head” (Hiluge casts the earl’s head into Hildina’s lap, v. 22) as a possible Celtic borrowing, but she maintains that the Celtic motifs cannot have been borrowed directly, but that they were “*adapted, transformed and melted in the text of the ballad*” (2012: 201). She poses an Orkney origin to the ballad as one of the protagonists is the earl of Orkney.

In 1993 came the very first general introduction to the ballad, *Shetland’s Hildina Ballad, its discovery and further discussions*, by Laurits Rendboe. He relates in detail what has been told above in short about Low’s visit to Foula. Rendboe also discusses the reason for why Low was unable to record more Norn words than he did, when Jacob Jacobsen was able to record

10.000 words after the language had gone extinct. This we will return to in the part about language shift (5.3). He also gives an overview of editions and scholarly research on the ballad.

Christer Lindqvist in his article “Das Shetlandnorn innerhalb der Skandinavien, mit einer Untersuchung zum bestimmten Artikel” (2000) examines some typical phonological and morphological traits of Shetland Norn and the language of the *Hildina Ballad*. We will have a closer look at his observations in part 3.5.1. His conclusion will suffice here:

“Das S[hotland]n[orn] weist typisch inselnord[ische] Züge auf und hat vor allem mehr Ähnlichkeiten mit dem Fär[öisch] als mit dem Isl[ändisch]. Es verzeichnet aber auch Entwicklungen, die für das Inselnord[isch] untypisch, in großen Teilen des Ostn[ordsches] hingegen geläufig sind. Schließlich gibt es auch norn-spezifische Entwicklungen.” (2000: 490)

4.5 Orthography

4.5.1 Uncertainties

The text is far from plain, since Henry was illiterate and Low apparently knew neither Norn nor any other Scandinavian language. He thus had to utilize an improvised supposedly phonetic orthography based on either English or Latin, and with what may be assumed to be hints of French (Barnes 1998: 46–47). It must have been laborious work to write down the song. In a letter (Anderson 1879: liv—lvi), Low states that Henry repeated and sung the whole day for him, with Low now and then providing a dram of gin. Low simply wrote what he heard, perhaps only here and there picking up words that were similar to Scots. Since he does not understand what he hears, he often does not know which sounds comprise a word unit. Thus he joins word parts together which should be separate, e.g. <spir de>, ON *spurði* (2²), and separates parts which should be joined, e.g. <minyach>, ON *mun ek* (8⁴). This accounts for a lot of obscurity in the text. According to Nora Kershaw Chadwick the language of the ballad is “so obscure as we have it in Low’s script as to be almost untranslatable” (1921: 40). There are also a few apparent mistakes, for example when Low writes <Bonlother> (25⁴) for Old Norse *hon letr*. The here is probably supposed to be an <h>. Some passages are very obscure. These will be dealt with in the interpreting and amending parts (4.2.2, 4.2.3).

Additionally, there is a lot of disorder in the stanzas, some lines being too long, others too short. This may have happened because Low in his draft wrote the verses in two lines,

which Hægstad also has hypothesized (1900: 12–13) while he in his finished manuscript wrote it in four and then failed to recognize the rhyming pairs of the second and fourth line. Low mentions that the “*ballad may be either written in two long line or four short line stanzas*” (Low 1879: 107). We can be pretty sure that a long time passed between Low’s jotting the ballad down in Foula 1774 and his writing of the final manuscript, which was finished in 1777. This may account for a lot of uncertainties, e.g. his striking out the first <fysin> in verse 29, probably not understanding why it stood twice in his draft, probably side by side in a long line. At the time of his writing it down he would have heard by the intonation and perhaps from a remark by Henry that it was supposed to come twice. By the time he had copied them to his fair copy however, he had forgotten all about this and therefore failed to see the point in having the same word twice in a row. But off course this is only guesswork. We do not really know how Low’s draft looked like, as it doesn’t exist.

Because of all this I decided to make an amended version of the text, which would serve as the reference text for the analysis. Obviously, such amendments are reliant on an interpretation of text. Consequently, I have translated the ballad to Old Norse, and discussed the sorts of changes I have permitted (part 4). As was said before, Hægstad already made such an amended version in 1900, and it was based on a very accurate interpretation of the ballad. It follows that my own amended text will be somewhat similar to Hægstad’s, but as will be shown in part 4 it is not entirely unnecessary to make a new transcription, as the new facsimile which is the basis for the transcription in this thesis shows that the photocopies Hægstad used were of inferior quality.

As is evident there are many uncertainties that must be taken into consideration when dealing with this text. How are we to read the letters? Which spelling customs did he follow? English? Are there Scottish spellings to be found as well? And since Low was a cleric did he use any Latin in his transcription? How much French spelling did he utilize? Did Low try to write phonetically? Low’s limited linguistic skills and Henry’s illiteracy make it exceedingly difficult to say anything certain about Norn pronunciation. Moreover, we don’t even know how proficient Henry was in Norn. Was he a native speaker? A semi-speaker? A rememberer? Thus when we encounter unexpected phenomena in the ballad, they can either be due to Henry’s (supposedly) limited Norn skills or Low’s limited linguistics skills. However if they pass through these two filters then they can be said to constitute true examples of Norn.

4.5.2 How to read the letters

The words ⟨fy⟩ and ⟨fyrin⟩, En. *father* and *the father*, are found eight times altogether in the ballad. How do we read the vowel ⟨y⟩? The letter is predominantly found in initial position, e.g. ⟨yach⟩ (8³, 11², 11⁴, etc.) ⟨yamna (2³)⟩, ⟨Yom⟩ (3¹) and ⟨yaar⟩ (4¹). In those cases it clearly represents the sound value /j/ reflecting the English use of the letter in initial position (e.g. *year*, *yes*, *yonder*, etc.). Mid-word it apparently also has this value: ⟨Orkneyar⟩ (1¹, 5¹, 8⁴), ⟨Orkneyar⟩ (18⁴), ⟨buryon⟩ (1³, 2¹), ⟨Gayer⟩ (21³) etc. It is only in the word ⟨fy⟩ that the vowel seemingly is long and word final. Barnes (1998: 46–47) proposes that the long ⟨y⟩ in ⟨fy⟩ and ⟨fyrin⟩ is to be read as /a:i/, thus /fa:i/ and /fa:irin/. Jakobsen also proposed this reading, comparing it with the now obsolete Shetland Scots *brui*, from ON *bróðir*, En. *brother* (1921: 145). This fits neatly two phonologic changes that Norn generally shows, namely the loss of intervocalic *ð* and loss of *r* in final position. Thus Old Norse *fáðir* would become /fa:i/ and Old Norse *bróðir* would become /bro:i/ (later /bru:i/) after these changes had gone through. But the fact that it is spelt with ⟨-ey-⟩ in one instance, ⟨feyrin⟩ (26²), may indicate that the letter ⟨y⟩ is to be read /ey/ in ⟨fy⟩ and ⟨fyrin⟩. Thus /fey/ and /feyrin/ instead of /fa:i/ and /fa:irin/. This is difficult to know for sure though.

French spelling customs are seemingly present in ⟨meun⟩ (1², 2¹, 2³), ⟨eullingin⟩ (3¹). It is likely that ⟨eu⟩ should be pronounced /ø:/ (Barnes 1998: 46–47), thus /mø:n/ (compare with Da. *møen*, ON *meyin*) and /ø:lingin/ (Ice. *öðlingurinn*, ON *öðlingrinn*).

The letter ⟨i⟩ is almost certainly to be read as either /i/ or /j/ and never as English /ai/. Pre-vocally, e.g. ⟨Iarlin⟩ (1¹, 5¹, 7¹, etc.), liene (3¹), fiegan (7³, 8¹), it is probably to be read as /j/, thus /jarlin/, /lje:ne/ and /fje:gan/. In the latter words the letter represents the pre-vocalic /j/-epenthesis (*fiegan* > /fe:gan/ > /fje:gan/). Sometimes ⟨e⟩ represents this epenthesis, e.g. ⟨meo⟩ (22⁴, 34⁴), ⟨bleo⟩ (34²), probably pronounced /mjo:/ and /bljo:/. ⟨j⟩ is only found once in the ballad (30⁴), and since the phoneme /j/ is always represented by either ⟨i⟩ or ⟨y⟩, we may assume that this ⟨j⟩ is to be read the English way: [dʒ].

It is difficult to know how we should read vowels in weakly stressed word parts, e.g. ⟨o⟩ in ⟨buryon⟩ (1⁴, 2¹), ⟨londen⟩ (4¹), ⟨reithin⟩ (4⁴), Orkneyan (18⁴). ⟨-en⟩, ⟨-in⟩ and ⟨-an⟩ all go back to Old Norse *-um*, so either there were different outcomes of this ending in Norn or the vowels simply represent a weakening of the Old Norse *-u-*, and are to be read as a schwa. According to Lindqvist (2000: 486) ⟨buryon⟩ is to be read as /burjen/ with a centralized vowel in the ending. Again it is too difficult to say anything for sure.

⟨e⟩ in word final position is probably never silent like so often in English. Sometimes we see the letter with an accent, ⟨è⟩, which Low probably put there to mark that the letter is not silent like in English. Likewise we have ⟨i̇⟩ and ⟨ï⟩. These are probably never to be read as English /ai/. ⟨i̇⟩ is only found thrice: ⟨Trettì⟩ (11¹), ⟨sìna⟩ (18³) and ⟨lathi⟩ (33³) and is probably to be read as /i:/ in all three instances. ⟨ï⟩ is probably never to be read as English /ai/ but rather as [i:] when long and [ɪ] when short, and when representing the above-mentioned epenthesis, as [j].

⟨g⟩ in initial position is probably to be read as /g/ mostly, but there is one instance where one would expect [dʒ]: ⟨ger⟩ (< *pér*, 11²). In Jakobsen's etymological dictionary word initial [dʒ] never goes back to Old Norse /g/ but rather to Old Norse /d/ through the /j/-epenthesis, thus Norn *djafs* [dʒafs] < *dafsa*. So if we assume that the change /p/ > /d/ happened before the /j/-epenthesis then the etymology *pér* > **der* > **djer* > /dʒer/ is a likely explanation for the word form ⟨ger⟩.

4.6 Language of the ballad

4.6.1 Language situation in Foula

There is considerable uncertainty regarding the language of the ballad. G. T. Flom dated the language of the ballad to around 1660–75, i.e. a century before it was written down. Flom is probably right that the ballad as a whole represents an older language stage, but it is not unlikely that parts of the ballad are older, while others are younger. Age could even vary on individual word level, as is seen in many Faroese ballads, where archaisms surface in otherwise modern language, e.g. Older Faroese *tvá*, *tóa* and *tógva* for Modern Faroese *tveir*. Not seldom rhyme will play a preserving part in such instances. While the language of the ballad certainly is Norn, it hardly represents the Norn that the Shetlanders would use on the streets and in their daily activities. The language is poetic and at the same time consisting of different older language stages.

Regarding the language situation in Foula Barnes says this:

“...the description [Low] gives of the language situation on Foula in 1774 is hazy, and has been taken by some to mean that Norn was still regularly spoken and by others to indicate it was but a dimly remembered language of the past. Nor is it clear that Low's material can be taken as representative of eighteenth-century Shetland Norn as a whole – let alone of Orkney Norn. There are considerable differences between the type

*of language he recorded and that documented by later investigators. Low's texts and word-list show various affinities with Faroese, which do not reappear in the later material. In the light of this it is legitimate to wonder whether there might not have been some Faroese or other West Scandinavian input into the Foula Norn of 1774. The island appears to have been devastated by plague, presumably smallpox, at the turn of the seventeenth century – and possibly again in 1720 – (Edmondston 1809:85; Baldwin 1984:55), and there are several traditions of Faroese fishermen being cast ashore at „Dale of Walls“ and subsequently settling on the West Side and Foula (Baldwin 1984:50; Shetland Archives D.1/172/28/2-3). On the other hand, oral tradition and circumstantial evidence combine to suggest that the William Henry who communicated the *Hildina* ballad to Low may well have been a pre-epidemic survivor (Baldwin 1984:59-60).” (Barnes 2010: 29–30)*

Even if Henry was a pre-epidemic survivor we cannot automatically assume that the ballad represents Foula Norn. The origin of the ballad is far from certain and likewise its age. Barnes even proposes a “*Faroese or West Scandinavian input*” in Foula Norn. These uncertainties regarding the language of the ballad prompted Lindqvist (2000: 482) to use the term “*Hildinaliednorn*” to distinguish between the Norn of the ballad, the Foula variant and more generally Shetland Norn.

4.6.2 General traits

Hildina Norn has much in common with Shetland Norn, which we described earlier. I will here add a few more details which are typical of Hildina Norn. First phonological traits, then vocabulary. Since morphologic case is the subject of the analysis in this thesis, we will leave that to part 5, 6, 7 and 8. Here we will only leave a few remarks.

The Old Norse case system seems to be retained but not without simplifications (Barnes 1998: 17). Although Jakobsen's material shows a retention of nominative-r in a few instances (1897: 100) it seems to be totally lost in Hildina Norn. Other irregularities also show up, especially in the weak nouns, the definite article and the feminine. The implications of this will be discussed later (part 5, 7 and 8).

4.6.2.1 Phonological traits

Lack of i-umlaut is widespread both in the ballad and in Jakobsen's material. This led Jakobsen to believe that the Northern Isles were settled before the i-umlaut was fully carried out in Norway (1921: xxxvii). Lindqvist (2000: 483) has rejected this explanation stating that that would date the settlement of the Northern Isles too early. He proposes another explanation, namely, that paradigms with both umlauted forms and un-umlauted forms underwent leveling thus resulting in doublets with and without umlaut, the difference becoming phonological rather than lexical. This change then by analogy started to affect paradigms with originally only umlauted forms. In the ballad we find the superlatives $\text{S}\langle\text{hosta}\rangle$ (4³), ON *hæsta*, and $\text{S}\langle\text{otsta}\rangle$ (30⁴), ON *ýzta*, the verbs $\text{S}\langle\text{gro}\rangle$ (22²), ON *græða*, and $\text{S}\langle\text{sover}\rangle$ (29³), ON *svæfir*, all showing a lack of i-umlaut. On the other hand we have $\text{S}\langle\text{skildè}\rangle$ (1³), ON *skyldi*, and $\text{S}\langle\text{minde}\rangle$ (22², 12b¹), ON *myndi*. These are uncertain though, as present first person of the latter is also spelt with $\langle\text{i}\rangle$, $\text{S}\langle\text{min}\rangle$ (2³, 8³), ON *mun*. Moreover we have the form $\langle\text{spirdè}\rangle$ (1²), ON *spurdi*, which is not conjunctive. Here there is either some leveling under /i/ going on these verbs or ON -u- is weakened in these words. The conjunction $\text{S}\langle\text{sin}\rangle$, ON *sum*, seems to indicate this.

There is also a lack of u-umlaut in some instances, e.g. $\text{S}\langle\text{and}\rangle$ (9¹), ON *hond*, $\text{S}\langle\text{vadlin}\rangle$ (18²), ON *völlinn*, while not in others $\text{S}\langle\text{londen}\rangle$ (4¹), ON *londum*, and even $\text{S}\langle\text{vodler}\rangle$ (19²), ON *vollu*. The case with both umlauts seems to be, as Lindqvist claims, a phonologic variation rather than a lexical variation. Thus we find doublets with and without umlaut. The umlaut is thus not an active phonologic category, but has turned into a phonologic variation of a/e, o/ø, u/y (u/i). In Jakobsen's material this is the case as well (Jakobsen 1921: xxxvii).

Hildina Norn often shows a loss of /h/. An example is $\text{S}\langle\text{Estin}\rangle$ (14¹), ON *hestinn*, while Old Norse *hann*, *hon* og *henni* etc. are found both with and without initial $\langle\text{h}\rangle$. Conversely we find Old Norse *Illugi* always with /h/, $\text{S}\langle\text{Hiluge}\rangle$. Low also mentions this kind of change when he noticed that the pronunciation was different in Foula than the rest of Shetland. He relates how a man in Foula tried to teach a boy the numbers of the psalms in the bible: “*he told the boy the Vorty'th and Zaxt Z'am, XLVI, was a Hex, a Hell, a Hu, and a Hi*” (1879: 105). This is also seen in the word list: $\langle\text{Hion}\rangle$, $\langle\text{Hoissan}\rangle$, $\langle\text{Heosa}\rangle$ (Low 1987: 106), ON *eyin/eyjan*, *ýsan*, *ausa*, and contrary-wise: $\langle\text{Ugan}\rangle$, ON *húfan*. Here we also have the /g/-intercalation mentioned in the Shetland traits part (2.5), and which is so similar to Faroese *verschärfung* (compare word list $\langle\text{Ugan}\rangle$, $\langle\text{Sheug}\rangle$ with Far. *húgván*, *sjógv*). The Norwegian dialect of Sunnmøre, sometimes

called *Halvemål*, also shows this loss of /h/ and a subsequent adding of it to words where it originally was not (Selmer 1948: 51–103), while Elfdalian has a complete loss of Old Norse /h/ (Sapir 2005: 23). In Jakobsen’s material /h/ often falls away in initial position, while it is added in a few words: *hanvag*, *hildin*, *hordin*, (< *andvaka*, *eldrinn*, *urðin*).

Some places seemingly show a change of /ð/ > /g/, as was also mentioned in part 2.5, e.g. <sluge>, <huge> and <gloug> (< *slóði*, *hofði* and *glóð*). /ð/ > /g/ is an unlikely sound change however and it is more likely that the /g/ has been inserted by analogy, as the before mentioned intercalation of /g/ may well have affected forms where /ð/ had fallen away. Thus *slóði* > **slói* > <sluge>.

4.6.2.2 Vocabulary

The text is predominantly Scandinavian but shows a few Scots loans: ^S<glasburyon> (1³, 2¹), ^S<askar> (26¹), ^S<tinka> (27³, 28¹). Grüner-Nielsen (1939: 152) reckoned that the first of these was from Celtic *glastonbury*. A similar form, *glæstriborg*, is used a lot in the Faroese ballads, including *Grimmars kvæði*. ^S<askar> is clearly from English/Scots *ask* while ^S<tinka> seems to be English/Scots *think/tink* (Flom 1928–29: 154), perhaps late Old Norse *þenkja* (Hægstad 1900: 94). As the two languages, Scots and Norn, were cognate it can often be difficult to assert the origin of a particular word. Sometimes we can expect mixed forms: ^S<yift> (23²) may be the original Old Norse conjunction *ef* which has undergone influence from the Scots version *gif* (Barnes 1998: 47). The preposition ^S<to> (2⁴, 5¹, 9², 12b²) is used four times while the expected <till> (25³) is only used once. ^S<to> can either be a Scots loan or be evolved from Old Norse *tíl*, like in West Norwegian dialects /te/ ((Flom 1928–29: 154)). ^S<for> (1²) may be either a Scots loan or go back to the Old Norse prefix *för-*. It may also be another example of doublets, one with i-umlaut, ^S<firre> (13³), the other without, ^S<for>. The third variant of the preposition, ^S<fare> (28⁴), may then be another phonological variant which by analogy sneaks in from doublets with the phonological variation of a/q which has come about from forms with and without u-umlaut in the same fashion as in the case of the i-umlaut described above.

The preposition ^S<vath> (11¹, 23⁴), ^S<vad> (35²), seems to have taken over the function of Old Norse *með*, which is not found at all in the ballad. The same pattern is seen in both English and Faroese, where *with* and *við*, respectively, have supplanted *með*.

^S<frinda> (1²), ^S<friendè> (2²), ^S<ufrien> (12b¹) and ^S<frinde> (19³, 21³) all go back to Old Norse *frændi*, but they seem to be used in the English sense of ‘friend’ rather than the Old Norse ‘kinsman’ ((Flom 1928–29: 154)).

The polite form ^s<di> (5⁴, 9¹, 10¹ etc.) is very similar to the Danish *De* /di:/ and might be a loan thereof. Faroese also has a polite form *tygum*, /tijun/, which probably stems from the accusative and dative of Old Norse *þér: yðr*, which shows that the word ought to be spelled thus *tyðum*. The evolution can be described thus: *yðr* > /tyðr/ > /tijur/ > /tijun/, the /t/ is added by analogy (Jacobsen 1996: 33). Again, <di> can either be a result of internal language change or have come about because of external influence from one of these foreign forms.

5 Transcription, interpretation and amendment

5.1 Primary steps

The analysis of the case system of the *Hildina Ballad* involves three important primary steps: transcription, interpretation and amendment.

As mentioned before, Marius Hægstad's *Hildinakvadet* (1900) is the most thorough work done on the *Hildina Ballad*. It likewise contains a transcription of the ballad, an interpretation, and an amended version of the text. Most scholars have referred to either Hægstad's transcription or his amended version when treating the ballad. I myself have drawn much help from Hægstad in my work with the text.

Some scholars have worked with all of Low's records together (cf. Hægstad 1900, Flom 1929), but I have chosen to restrict my analysis to the *Hildina Ballad*. As was mentioned before, none of Low's records can be expected to constitute an example of contemporary Norn. We don't even know for sure if Norn was alive at the point of the ballad's recording and both the Lord's Prayer and the ballad probably present an older language stage anyway. Flom reckoned that the ballad represented Norn at c. 1660–75. If his estimation is true, we actually have a ballad that represents Norn perhaps a century before the extinction of the language. The Lord's Prayer as a religious text is probably also archaic, representing a much older language stage than Norn in 1774, if we can talk of an active Norn language at that time. It is the only other continuous text in Shetland Norn comparable to *Hildina*, but we really don't know how related these two specimens of Norn are. I will therefore only draw comparison between my findings in the analysis of the language of the *Hildina Ballad* and features that can be discerned in the Lord's Prayer. The Cunningsburgh phrase seems to display a breakdown of the linguistic system in line with the samples that Jakobsen collected a century later, and I will therefore leave it out of the analysis. The wordlist shows some traits which are seemingly absent from both the ballad and the Lord's Prayer, e.g. a seemingly fossilised definite article. Unlike the ballad and the Lord's Prayer however, the wordlist actually gives a small glimpse of contemporary spoken Norn, or, if we suppose that the language had already died out by 1774, a glimpse of a Norn substratum in the contemporary Scots dialect. Therefore it will be taken into consideration in the discussion section (part 8).

The basis for my transcription of the ballad is a brand new facsimile of the pages of Low's manuscript that contain the ballad, and for the interpretation I have drawn much from Hægstad but also considered alternative translations from Sophus Bugge's interpretation (Grüner-Nielsen 1939: 144–149). Amendments are carried out in concordance with the

interpretation, the main underlying principle being to stay as close to Low's original text as possible.

5.2 Transcription

5.2.1 Comments

My first transcription of the *Hildina Ballad* was based on Bugge's photographs as reprinted in the back of Hægstad's *Hildinakvadet* (1900: 101–106). The quality of the photos was rather bad and they proved difficult to read. Therefore I had to rely much on Hægstad's transcription from Bugge's slides (1900: 1–9) to interpret the letters. This called for a new facsimile of the manuscript, and in consultation with the University in Bergen, the University Library in Edinburgh was contacted and the pages with the ballad in Low's manuscript were requested in facsimile. Shortly after, I received the facsimile as six TIFF files 300 pixels/inch. Reading these photos was much easier, and I could make my own transcription without relying on Hægstad's. The facsimile is supplied in appendix I.

The differences between Hægstad's transcription and mine are mostly minor ones, such as occur when Low's handwriting makes it difficult to differentiate certain letters, especially ⟨t⟩ and ⟨e⟩, and the accented ⟨ì⟩ and ⟨è⟩, e.g. in v. 11³ where I would read ^S⟨liss⟩, while Hægstad read ^H⟨less⟩, and in v. 1³ Hægstad read ^H⟨Whirdì⟩ while I would read ^S⟨Whirdè⟩. These kinds of differences are not of much consequence to the purpose of this dissertation. The only disagreement of real importance is found in verse 24¹ where Hægstad reads ⟨t⟩ while I would read ⟨s⟩. This difference is important because it leads to slightly different interpretations. I will return to this in part 7.4 which is about the amended text. Hægstad noted that the letter looks like an ⟨s⟩, but that it is quite faint and a bit high up in the line, and so he interpreted it as what was left of an original ⟨t⟩ (Hægstad 1900: 7). Barry and Munch also have a ⟨t⟩, but Anderson read ⟨s⟩ (Barry 1805: 488, Munch 1839: 124, Low 1879: 111). While Munch may have copied his version from Barry⁹, Barry and Anderson have both read directly from the manuscript but still they read the letter differently. Also Bugge and Hægstad somehow managed to read it differently — Bugge read an ⟨s⟩, Hægstad a ⟨t⟩ — even though

⁹ Hægstad seems to believe so (Hægstad 1900: 1), though the texts are not entirely identical. However, they do agree on several peculiar readings such as: ⟨menn⟩ (v. 1³), ⟨menu⟩ (v. 2²), ⟨cullingin⟩ (v. 3¹), ⟨fiene⟩ (v. 3²), ⟨Heldina⟩ (v. 3³), ⟨elouden⟩ (v. 4¹), ⟨oadnast⟩ (v. 4²), ⟨thre⟩ (v. 4⁴), etc. These are all words that are definitely read erroneously, and it is strange that Barry and Munch should have rendered them all the same way, except if perhaps Munch copied Barry's transcription.

they used the same slides. But the facsimile undoubtedly shows an ⟨s⟩ and I would be inclined to think that the facsimile is of a superior quality than Bugge's slides.

Two similar cases seem to indicate the same: in v. 4⁴ Hægstad reads ^H⟨r`idna⟩ with both a dot and an accent over the ⟨i⟩. In the new facsimile, however, the accent is only the end of a lavish curl on the top of the following ⟨d⟩. It seems like the top of this curl has been somehow erased in Bugge's slides, thus leaving what looks like an accent beside the usual dot. In verse 12⁵ it seems like the margins on Bugge's transparencies must have been broader than on the facsimile, since the first half of the ⟨f⟩ in ⟨frien⟩ is missing in his slides, while the whole letter is visible in the facsimile.

In the following rendering of the transcription I have provided footnotes where my transcription differs from Hægstad's¹⁰ (Hægstad 1900: 2—9).

5.2.2 Text

Da vara Iarlin d'Orkneyar

For frinda sñ spir de ro
Whirdè¹¹ an skildè meun
Our glas buryon burtaga.

2. Or vanna ro eidnar fuo
Tega du meun our glas buryon
Kere friendè min yamna meun
Eso vrildan stiende gede min vara to din.

3. Yom keimir eullingin
Fro liene burt
Asta vaar hon fruen Hildina
Hemi stu mer stien.

¹⁰ Hægstad refers to Barry (Barry 1805: 484—490), Munch (Munch 1838: 120-126), Anderson (Low 1987: 108-112) and Alf Torp's (unpublished) readings in his transcription. These transcriptions are very inaccurate compared to Hægstad's and I have therefore left them out.

¹¹ Hægstad reads ⟨Whirdi⟩.

4. Whar an yaar elonden
Ita kan sadnast wo
An scal vara keindè
Wo osta tre sin reithin ridna¹² dar fro.

5. Kemı to Orkneyar Iarlin
Vilda mien sante Maunis¹³
I Orknian u bian sian
I lian far diar.

6. An gevè Drotnign kedn puster
On de kin firsane furu
Tworore wo eder
whitranè kidn¹⁴

7. In kimerin Iarlin
U klapasse Hildina
On de kidn quirto
Vult doch, fiegan vara moch or fly¹⁵ din. ^x 16

8. Elde vilda fiegan vara
Fy min u alt sin
Ans namnu wo
So minyach u ere min heve Orkneyar.¹⁷ lingè ro.^x

¹² Hægstad reads <`idna>.

¹³ Between <n> and <i> there is a dot of ink.

¹⁴ Hægstad reads <kidn>.

¹⁵ Low has added the l above the line between <f> and <y>, perhaps thinking of English *fly* (flee).

¹⁶ Low's note: "Stanzas marked thus ^x seem to be confused some having too much others too little to render the verse complete" (p. 90).

¹⁷ Hægstad does not read a period here.

9. Nu di skall taga dor yochwo
And u ria dor to strandane nir
U yilsa fy minu avon
Blit an ear ni cumi i dora band.

10. Nu Swaran Konign
So mege gak honon i muthi
Whath ear di ho gane mier
I daute buthe

11. Trettì merkè vath ru godle
Da skall yach ger yo
U all de vara sonna liss¹⁸
So linge sin yach liva mo.

12. Nu linge stug an Konign
U linge wo an swo
Wordig vaar dogh mugè sonè
Yacha skier fare moga so minde yach angan u
frien¹⁹ rost wath comman mier to landa. x²⁰

13. Nu swara Hiluge
Hera geve honon scam
Taga di gild firre Hidina
Sin yach skall lega dor fram.

14. Estin whaar u feur fetign
Agonga kadn i sluge
Feur fetign sin gonga
Kadn i pluge.

¹⁸ Hægstad reads <less>.

¹⁹ Hægstad notes that the first half of the <ð> in <frien> is missing in Bugge's photographs.

²⁰ Low's note: "This verse seems to be part of an intermediate stanza, probably to be placed between these marked 12 & 13" (p. 90).

15. Nu stienderin Iarlin
U linge wo an swo²¹
Dese mo eke²² Orknear
So linge san yach lava mo.

16. Nu eke tegaran san
Sot Koningn²³ fyrin din
U alt yach an Hilhugin
Widn ugare din arar.

17. Nu swarar an frauna Hildina
U dem san idne 1 fro
Di slo dor a bardagana
Dar comme ov sin mo.

18. Nu Iarlin an genger
I vadlin fram
U kadnar sina mien
Geven skeger 1 Orkneyan.

19. Han u cummin
In u vod lerdin
Frinde fans lever²⁴
Vel burne mien

20. Nu fruna Hildina
On genger 1 vadlin fram
Fy di yera da ov man dum
Dora di spidlaikè²⁵ mire man.

²¹ The ⟨s⟩ is covered with ink, but when comparing with v. 12 we see that it must be an s.

²² Hægstad reads ⟨eki⟩.

²³ Low has inserted the ⟨n⟩ above the line between ⟨i⟩ and ⟨g⟩.

²⁴ Here Low seems to have corrected a *t* to an *l*.

²⁵ Hægstad reads ⟨spidlaiki⟩.

21. Nu sware an Hiluge

Crego gevan a scam

Gayer an Iarlin frinde

Din an u fadlin in

22. Nu fac an Iarlin dahuge

Dar min de an engin gro

An cast ans huge ei

Fong ednar u vaxhedne mere mo.

23. Di lava mir gugna

Yift bal yagh fur o lande²⁶

Gipt mir nu fruan Hildina

Vath godle u fasta bande

24. Nu bill on heve da yals²⁷

Guadnè borè u da kadn

Sina kloyn a bera do skull

Fon fruna Hildina verka wo sino chelsina²⁸ villya.^x

25. Hildina liger wo chaldona

U o dukrar u grothè

mn du buga till bridlevsin

Bonlother²⁹ u duka dogha.

26. Nu Hildina on askar feyrin

Sien di gava mier livè

Ou sknka vin

Ou guida vin ^x

²⁶ Hægstad reads <landi>.

²⁷ Hægstad reads <yalt>.

²⁸ The <n> is blurred with ink and difficult to make out.

²⁹ Hægstad reads <Bonlothir>.

27. Duska skinka vīn, u guida vīn

Tinka dogh eke wo

Iarlin an gougha here din. ^x

28. Watha skilde tinka

Wo Iarlin gouga herè min

Hien mindi yagh inga forlskona

Bera fare kera fyrin min.

29. Da gerde on fruna Hildina

On bar se³⁰ mien ot

On soverin fast³¹, fysin³²

Fysin u quarsin sat.

30. Da gerde un fruna Hildina

On bard im ur

Hadlin burt sien on laghdè

Gloug i otsta jatha port.

31. Nu iki visti an Hiluge

Ike ov till do

Eldin var commin i lut

U stor u silke³³ sark ans smo³⁴.

32. Nu leveren fram

Hiluge du kereda

Fraun Hildina³⁵ du

Givemir³⁶ live u gre.

³⁰ The word is blurred with ink.

³¹ Hægstad reads <fest>. The <a> and the <s> are blurred and difficult to make out.

³² Low has struck out the word, perhaps not understanding why he wrote it twice.

³³ Hægstad reads <silki>.

³⁴ The <s> is blurred with ink.

³⁵ Hægstad reads <Hildina>.

³⁶ Hægstad reads <Gevemir>.

33. So mege u gouga gre

Skall dogh swo

Skall lathì min heran

I bardagana fwo.

34. Du tuchtada lide undocht yach

Swo et sa ans bugin bleo

Dogh casta ans huge

I mit fung u vexemir mire meo.

35. Nu tachtè on heve fwelsko

Ans bo vad mild u stien

Dogh skall aldè mirè Koningnsens

vadne vilda mien.”

5.3 Interpretation

5.3.1 Comments

The interpretation given in this thesis is a word for word translation into classical Old Norse. I want to point out that this is not an attempt at a reconstruction of an “original” version of the *Hildina Ballad*, so to speak. It is simply one of the three necessary primary steps mentioned in chapter 5.1. In addition, a word for word translation of the ballad into Old Norse could prove useful to scholars who wish to be acquainted with the language of the *Hildina Ballad*.

The backbone of my translation belongs to Hægstad’s explanations and his word index in *Hildinakvadet* (1900: 20–31, 75–98 respectively), but I have chosen other interpretations in a few instances where I find them more plausible than Hægstad’s. By plausible alternatives I mean alternatives that either match better the transcription, make more sense content-wise or can be explained etymologically in a more convincing way. The passages that deviate from Hægstad are either my own or from Bugge’s translation, and the deviations are all listed in footnotes to the interpretation.

One of my own interpretations can be found in v. 5⁴: <ì lian far diar>. Here the queen, or an advisor, advises the king to go and reclaim his daughter from the earl: *í leiðangr farið þér ár*, literally: *in sea campaign go ye early*. Here Hægstad has *í leiðina farið þér enn*, En. *on the sea-campaign go ye still*, which looks like ^H<ì lian far di an> in his amended text. Hægstad actually

changes the last letter in the original to make the interpretation match, <-r> to ^H<-r>. He also changes the order of the second line in this stanza to accommodate rhyme. Bugge has *leiðangs-ferð í ár* (literally: *in sea campaign-journey this year*), if he had an amended text it would look like ^H<i lianfard i ar>.

Etymologically, *leiðangr* works: monophthongization of /ei/ > /e/ and then a j-epenthesis are mirrored in the forms <fiegan> (7³, 8¹), ON *feigan*, and <mien> (35⁴), ON *mein*. Loss of intervocalic *ð* is also widespread in the ballad and the loss of the consonant cluster *-grs-* could happen through an assimilation of the *g*, as Old Norse equivalents ending in *-ng* are rendered with *-ŋ* or just *-n* in JJ, and loss of final *r* (compare with Da. /leðij/), and a root compounding rather than genitive compounding. At first, the hardening of the final *ð* to a <d> seems unlikely as the general tendency in the ballad seems to be a total loss of *ð* (cf. Far. *ferð*, [fe:i]³⁷). However, in addition to dental suffixes in weakly inflected verbs in preterite such as <gerde> (29¹, 30¹), ON *gerði*, and ^S<spirde> (1²), ON *spurði*, which show /ð/ > /d/, there is also a very similar example in <-gare din> (16⁴), which Hægstad interprets as dat. def. form *gerðinni*, the nominative indefinite form of which would be *gerð*. Here the *ð* seems to be hardened to a *d*, although this does not tell us whether the *d* would be retained without the definite article (in Far. the *ð* is silent in both *gerð* and *gerðin*). The manuscript also contains another example of /rð/ > /rd/ in the word <Wordig> (12³), (cf. Far. *verðigur*, [ve:iijøi]). Moreover, In JJ we find words such as *ferd* (from ON *ferð*, *ferða*), *fjord*, *gard* and *gerdi*. These seem to confirm a tendency of hardening *ð* to *d* after *r* in þ-derived stems.

Another instance, seemingly, of the word <lian> is found in v. 3²: <liene>. Hægstad again interprets the word as *leið*, here in the definite dative form *leiðinni*. This interpretation seems probable with the previously mentioned change of /ei/ > /je/ through monophthongization and j-epenthesis and a loss of intervocalic *ð*. The problem with this though, is that the feminine dative indefinite ending <-ene> is nowhere else attested in Hildina Norn. All of the five feminine dative definite forms attested in the ballad end in either <-on>, <-n> or <-in>. None of them have a vowel in final position, which indicates that the feminine dative definite has merged with nominative definite. On the other hand, the masculine indefinite dative ending <-e> or <-i> is widely attested, which makes <liene> as a masculine dative descendant of *leiðangri* more plausible.

To sum up: I have chosen *í leiðangr farið þér ár* instead of Hægstad's *í leiðina ferð þér enn* or Bugge's *í leiðangs-ferð í ár* as the former solution requires less adaption of the original text

³⁷ Phonetic transcriptions of Faroese forms follow the standard as defined in Höskuldur et al. 2012: 17–26.

than the latter two — just a separation of <diar> to ^S<di ar> —, and in terms of etymology it fits the general tendencies of the language of the ballad, i.e. loss of intervocalic *ð*, an assimilation of the *g* and preceding *n*, loss of final *r* and *ð*, and finally /p/ > /d/. Additionally, story-wise *í leiðangr farið þér ár* makes as much or more sense than Bugge’s *í leiðangs-ferð í ár*. *leiðangrsferð* makes sense, but the rest of his sentence, *í ár*, En. *this year*, lacks urgency. In contrast, *í leiðangr farið þér ár* has both the aggressive action of *leiðangr* and the urgency of *ár*, En. *early*. Finally, another occurrence of the word <lian> in the form <liene> (3²), where it seemingly contains the masc. dat. ending <-e>, strengthens the assumption that the word should be interpreted as *leiðangr* and as Hægstad’s *leið*.

Some passages in the manuscript are obscure, for instance verse 16⁴: <widn ugare din arar>. Here I have followed Hægstad’s interpretation *vinnr á gerðinni annarri*³⁸, which implies that the antagonist Hiluge will eventually have his will as the king will not agree with the settlement offered. I think this solution can be justified both phonologically and etymologically.

At first, ^H<garedin> as *gerðinni* seems uncertain (cf. Far. *gerð*, [d̥ʒe:ɪ]), but as has already been discussed above there seems to be a tendency in both Hildina Norn and JJ to harden *ð* to *d* after *r* in þ-abstracts. The <a> instead of <e> in ^H<garedin> could represent a lack of i-umlaut, since the Proto-Norse form of Old Norse *gerð* may be reconstructed as **garwiþō* (de Vries 1961: 164) and with the ballad seemingly having several forms lacking i-umlaut, e.g. <osta> and <otsta>, Old Norse *hæsta*, *ýzta*. The problem with this though, is that although the i-umlaut may not have been carried through in all forms in the Scandinavian dialects, the umlaut in þ-derivatives — such as *gerð* — seems very stable and the only variation we would expect here would be between *e* and *ø*: *gerð* or *gørð*.

A more plausible explanation is that it is simply Low’s way of utilizing English orthography to represent the [ɛ]-like sound we would expect. In most English variants long *a* represents a sound rather higher and more fronted than the normal Norwegian or Swedish *a*. Perhaps something similar to the way William Henry pronounced the *a* in ^H<garedin>. We could compare ^H<gared-> to the English word *dared* (past tense of *dare*), which is pronounced something like [dɛ:rd] in Scots. If Low, being Scottish, intended ^H<gared-> to be pronounced similarly, then it would indeed be similar to Old Norse *gerð*. The pronunciation would then be something like [gɛrdin], cf. Old Norse *gerðin*. Of course in Old Norse we would expect a final *-i* in the definite article since the preceding preposition <u>, Old Norse *á*, would govern the

³⁸ Hægstad also moves *vinnr* to the end of the sentence to accommodate rhyme.

dative case (*gerðinni*) in this instance in Old Norse, but as we will see later (chapter 6.3) the fem. dat. def. ending seems to have merged with the nominative <-an>, <-na> or <-n>.

Hægstad interprets the form <arar> as a similar form to Faroese *aðrari*, [ɛa:ɹa.ɹi], ON *annarri*. As mentioned in 5.4, Hildina Norn seems to carry more similarities to Faroese than the rest of the known Norn material, so a form such as <arar> would be in line with that tendency. We do not know, however, if <arar> is an inherited word or if it is a loan from Faroese, or even if Faroese *aðrari* is a loan from Norn. At any rate, <widn ugare din arar> as *vinnr á gerðinni annarri* seems a plausible interpretation.

<u dem san idne i fro> (17²) is also a difficult passage to decipher. <idne i fro> we can be quite sure is Old Norse *inni í frá*. Here we have the dissimilation of /nn/ > /dn/, a feature also found in insular Scandinavian and West Norwegian dialects. Hægstad interprets <u dem san> as Old Norse *úr durum sínum*, here he reckons <dem> as a miswriting for ^H<dern>. The dative plural ending with an <-n>, here with no preceding vocal, instead of Old Norse *-um* is mirrored in dative forms <londen> (4¹) <reithin> (4⁴), <Orknian> (5³) and <Orkneyan> (18⁴). Although this theory is not unlikely, it is based on the assumption that Low made a mistake. In addition to that, Old Norse *dyrr* is found in v. 31³ in the form <-tor> and the word is also in JJ where the vocal alternates between *u* and *o*. So we should expect a back vocal rather than a front vocal. Even if the <e> in a hypothetical <dern> might be intended by Low to sound something like and an [ə], it would still be a bit too unlike the other exemplars. Another alternative would be to interpret <dem> as Old Norse *dimma*, En. *darkness* or *dusk*. Thus the sentence would be *úr dimmu sinni inni í frá*. The word *dimm* without a vocal in final position is attested in JJ.

Another obscure passage is found in verse 30 where the last sentence reads: <sien on laghdè / Gloug 1 otsta jatha port>. The first six words are straight forward: Old Norse *síðan hon lagði glóð í ýzta*. The /ð/ > /g/ and lack of i-umlaut in <Gloug> and <otsta> respectively, have already been discussed in part 4.6.2.1. The last part <jatha port> is obscure. It is the only instance we have of the letter j and it is unsure what sound value it represents as Old Norse /j/ is usually represented by <í> or <y> in Low's writing. <j> could thus be either Scots [dʒ] or Scandinavian [j]. Hægstad takes <jath-> as a form of Old Norse *gat*, En. *hole*, *opening*. The word is attested in JJ as *gad*. In the ballad it seems so have underwent the usual j-epenthesis and then a loss of the g. Thus the full sentence would be: *síðan hon lagði glóð í ýzta gat í porti*, En. *then she laid a glow in the outermost gap of the gate*.

Above I have mentioned the most difficult passages to interpret. There are other instances which I have interpreted otherwise than Hægstad. All are mentioned in the footnotes to the translation.

In addition to the Old Norse translation I have provided an English translation based mainly on Collingwood's (1908), Nora Kershaw Chadwick's (1921) translation of the first twelve verses, and a translation published on www.nornlanguage.x10.mx³⁹. I have not translated the names of the main characters though, Hiluge and Hildina. Hiluge we can be fairly certain is from ON *Illugi* and Hildina is probably some form of *Hildir* with a frozen definite article, perhaps the ON fem. acc. *-ina* or an irregular nominative⁴⁰. Hiluge is found once with the definite article, «Hilhugin» (16³), but here it does not seem to be frozen.

As in Collingwood's translation the asterisks indicate a jump in the storyline. The interjectory remarks in pointed brackets are also from Collingwood.

5.3.2 Text

<p>1. Þat var jarlinn ór/af Orkneyjum⁴¹ fyrir frænda sínum spurði ráð, hvárt hann skyldi meyna ór glerborginni⁴² burt taka, ór vandaráði hennar fá.</p>	<p>1. It was the earl of Orkney counsel of his kin sought he, whether to take the maiden from the broch of glass, free her from misery.</p>
<p>2. “Tekr þú meyna ór glerborgunni, kæri frændi minn, jafnan meðan þessi veröld stendr, getit mun vera til þín”.</p>	<p>2. “If thou takest the maid from the broch of glass, o kinsman dear of mine, aye as long as this world may stand shall be told this deed of thine”.</p>
<p>* * * * *</p>	
<p>3. Heim kemr oðlingrinn frá leiðangri⁴³, burt afstað var hon frúin Hildina, heima stjúpmóðir stendr.</p>	<p>3. Homeward comes the king from the ship's levy, but gone was the lady Hildina, at only her stepmother there found he.</p>

³⁹ The site is published under the pseudonym *Hnolt*. I have received permission to refer to the material published on the site, though the author wished to remain anonymous.

⁴⁰ As was already pointed out by Lindqvist (2000) the fem. def. article in HN is highly irregular.

⁴¹ The MS has the seemingly French styled «d'Orkneyar».

⁴² MS «glasburyon» corresponds to *glæstriborg* in Far. ballads (Hægstad 1900: 84).

⁴³ Hægstad: *leiðinni*.

[*The king of Norway speaks:*]

4. “Hvar hann er í löndum,
þetta kann sannask á:
Hann skal verða hengdr á hæsta tré,
sem rótum rennr þar frá”.

4. “Be he in whatever land,
this will be proven true,
he shall be hanged from the highest tree
that ever upward grew”.

[*The queen’s counsel:*]

5. “Komi til Orkneyja jarlinn,
valda mun Sankti Magnús,
í Orkneyjum æ bíðr hann síðan,
í leiðangr⁴⁴ farið þér ár”.⁴⁵

5. “If the Earl comes to Orkney,
St. Magnus will be his aid,
in Orkney ever he will remain,
sail ye after him with speed”.

6. Hann gefr dróttningunni
kinnpústr undir kinn,
fýrsandi⁴⁶ fóru tárin⁴⁷
á hennar hvítu⁴⁸ kinn.

6. He gives the queen
a box on her cheek,
the tears flowed freely
down her lily white cheek.

[*The scene shifts to Orkney.*]

7. Inn kemr hann⁴⁹ jarlinn
ok klappar sér Hildina undir kinn:
“Hvárt vilt þú feigan vera,
mik eðr fõður þinn?”

7. In comes the earl
and pats Hildina on the cheek:
“Whom wouldst thou have lie dead,
thy father or me?”

8. “Heldr vilda’k feigan vera
fõður minn ok allt, sem hans nafn er á,
svá munum ek ok herra minn hæfi
Orkneyjum lengi ráða”.

8. “I would rather have lie dead
my father and all his company,
so shall I and my true lord
long reign in Orkney”.

9. “Nú þér skuluð taka yðr eyk⁵⁰ á hönd
ok ríða yðr til strandanna⁵¹ niðr

9. “Now ye shall take thy steed in hand
and ride down to the strand

⁴⁴ Hægstad: *leiðina*.

⁴⁵ Bugge: *í leiðangrsferð í ár*; Hægstad: *í leiðina farið þér enn*.

⁴⁶ Hægstad: *fyrir sonnu*.

⁴⁷ Hægstad changes <tworore> to ^H<tworone> to match ON *tárin* or Far. *tárini*. Bugge has reconstructed a feminine plural **tárir* to match Low’s transcription better.

⁴⁸ MS: <whitranè>. Hægstad proposes an adj. sing. masc., ON *hwitri*, influenced by present participles ending in *-andi*. He compares with similar Norwegian forms ending in *-ande* in old ballads, and Faroese forms ending in *-ini*, and a Danish example *paa hvideren Kínd*.

⁴⁹ Or *enn*.

⁵⁰ Or Bugge’s *heyk*, En. *hawk*.

⁵¹ Hægstad has *strandarinnar* (1900: 53).

ok heilsa fǫður mínum afar blítt,
hann gjarna komi í yðart band”.

and greet my father ever so blithely,
and gladly will he clasp thy hand”.

[*The Earl meets the King*]

10. Nú svaraði hann konungrinn
— so mikit gekk honum í móti —:
“Hvat eigið þér at gefa mér
í dótturbœtr?”

10. Now the king made answer
— so sore displeased was he —:
“In payment for my daughter
what will thou give me?”

11. “Þrjá tigu merkr við⁵² rauðu gulli,
þat skal ek yðr ljá,
ok aldri vera sonarlauss,
svá lengi sem ek lifa má”.

11. “Thirty marks of the gold so red,
this to thee will I give,
and never shalt ye lack a son
as long as I may live”.

12. Nú lengi stóð hann konungrinn,
ok lengi á hann sá:
“Verðugr vart þú múga sona,
ek æski fara megí svá.

12. Now long stood the king,
and long on the Earl looked he:
“Thou art worth a host of sons,
I would that so might be.

12b. ... myndi ek engan ófrænda hræzk,
at kom hann mér til landa”.

12b. ... then need I fear no enemy,
should he come to my land”.

13. Nú svarar Hiluge
— Herra gefi honum skǫmm —:
“Takið þér gjald fyrir Hildina,
sem ek skal leggja yðr fram.

13. Now Hiluge answers
— the Lord put him to shame —:
“This fee shall ye take for Hildina,
that I shall set forth:”

14. Hestinn hvern og ferfœtinginn,
er ganga kann í slóða,
[hestinn hvern ok] ferfœtinginn,
sem ganga kann í plógi”.

14. Every horse and four-footed beast,
that can pull a load,
[every horse and] four-footed beast,
that can pull a plough”.

15. Nú stendr hann⁵³ jarlinn,
ok lengi á hann sá:
“Þess má ekki Orkneyjar,
svá lengi sem ek lifa má”.

15. Now the earl stood,
and long he looked at him:
“This can Orkney not be equal to,
as long as I may live”.

⁵² The ON prep. *með* is in the ballad replaced by *vatn*, ON *við*, as in *Far. við*.

⁵³ Or *enn*.

[*The Earl goes back to Hildina.*]

16. “Nú ekki tekur hann samsátt⁵⁴
konungrinn faðirinn þinn,
ok held ek, hann Hillhugin
vinnur á gerðinni annarri⁵⁵”.

16. “Now never will he strike a deal,
the king thy father,
and now I think that Hillhugin
by another decision will win.”

17. Nú svarar hon frúin Hildina
ór durum sínum inni í frá:
“Þér sláið yðr í bardaganum,
þar komi af sem má”.

17. Now the lady Hildina answers,
from inside her doors:
“Meet ye him in battle,
and come what may of that”.

18. Nú jarlinn hann gengur
í vøllinn fram
ok kannar sína menn,
gæfir skeggjar í Orkneyjum.

18. Forth goes the earl
to the field of war
and inspects his men,
brave islanders of Orkney.

[*New of the battle brought to Hildina.*]

19. “Hann er kominn
inn á vøllu þína⁵⁶,
frændi hans hleypir
velbornum mǫnnum⁵⁸”.

19. “He has come
onto thy fields,
his kinsman follows⁵⁷
the noble men”.

20. Nú frúin Hildina,
hon gengur í vøllinn fram:
“Faðir, þér gerið þat af manndómi yðrum,
þér spillið ekki meira mann”.

20. Now the lady Hildina,
she steps onto the field of war:
“Father, do ye this for thy manhood,
waste ye not the noble man”.

21. Nú svarar hann Hiluge
— Herra Guð gefi honum skømm —:
“Þegar hann jarlinn, frændi þinn,
hann er fallinn enn”.

21. Now answers Hiluge
— the Lord God put him to shame —:
“As soon as the earl, thy friend,
has fallen in battle”.

⁵⁴ Hægstad: *sanna sátta*.

⁵⁵ This passage is obscure in the MS. According to Hægstad ⟨*ugare din*⟩ corresponds to ON *á gerðinni* and ⟨*arar*⟩ corresponds to Far. *aðrari*, /*earari*/, of ON *annarri*. (Hægstad 1900: 25)

⁵⁶ or *vøll þinn*.

⁵⁷ Or *routs*.

⁵⁸ Or acc. *velborna menn*.

22. Nú fekk hann jarlinn dauðahoggit
— þar myndi hann enginn græða —,
Hann kastaði hans höfði í fang hennar,
ok óx henni meiri móðr.

22. Now received the earl his death-blow
— no one there could heal him —,
he cast his head into her lap,
and her mood grew fiercer still.

[*Hiluge's request.*]

23. "Þér lofuðuð mér hjúna,
ef baldr ek fór af landi,
gipt mér nú frúna Hildina
við gulli og fõstu bandi".

23. "Ye promised me marriage,
if bold I set out from land,
now let me marry lady Hildina
with gold and a solid pact".

[*The king's reply:*]

24. "Nú bili hon hefir þat jarlsbarnit borit⁵⁹,
ok þat kann sinni klæðin at bera⁶⁰,
þá skal hon frúin Hildina
virka á sinn sjalfs sinn vilja".

24. "Now after she has borne the earl's bairn,
and it be able to wear its clothes,
then the lady Hildina
shall act upon her own will".

[*Preparations for the wedding.*]

25. Hildina liggir á tjaldinu,
augu dökkvar af gráti,
meðan þau búa til brúðhlaupsins,
hon lætr í drykkinn dá⁶¹.

25. Hildina is lying on the blanket
her eyes all wet with tears,
while they prepare for the wedding,
she pours poison into the drinks.

26. Nú Hildina hon askar⁶²
fõðurinn sinn:
"Þér gefið mér leyfi at skenkja vín,
at gjóta vín".

26. Now Hildina she asks
her father:
"Will ye permit me to serve the wine,
to pour the wine?"

27. "Þú skalt skenkja vín
ok gjóta vín,
hugsa þú ekki um⁶³ jarlinn,
þann⁶⁴ góða⁶⁵ herra þinn".

27. "You may serve the wine
and pour the wine,
think no more upon the earl,
that good lord of thine".

⁵⁹ Here I have chosen Bugge's interpretation. Hægstad has *Nú biðlund hafði þér alt til barn er borit*. More on this in the part about the amended text (6.3).

⁶⁰ Hægstad: *Far. klæðini bera*.

⁶¹ The MS has <dogha>, which according to Hægstad corresponds to Nor. *dåe* (Galeopsis tetrahit), ON *akrdái* (unknown kind of poisonous weed) and *ogedu, okerdu* in JJ (Hægstad 1900: 79).

⁶² MS: <askar>. A Scots loan, *ask*.

⁶³ MS: <tinka [...] wo>, ON *hugsa [...] um*. <tinka> is probably from Scots *think*.

⁶⁴ Or *hinn*,

⁶⁵ Bugge has *gofga*, En. *honourable*. Munch has *gángna*, En. *passed away*.

28. “At ek skylda hugsa um⁶⁶ jarlinn,
góða⁶⁷ herra minn,
heðan mynda ek enga fárskõnnu bera
fyrir kæra fõðurinn minn”.

29. Þat gerði hon frúin Hildina,
hon bar sér mjõðinn at,
hon svæfir inn fast fõður sinn,
fõður sinn ok hvern, sem sat.

30. Þat gerði hon frúin Hildina,
hon bar þá ór hõllinni burt,
síðan hon lagði glóð
í ýzta gat⁶⁸ á porti.

31. Nú ekki vissi hann Hiluge,
ekki af til þá,
eldrinn var komin í lofthúsdýrr
ok silkiserk hans smá.

32. Nú hleypr hann fram Hiluge:

“Þú gerir þat⁶⁹ frúin Hildina,
þú gefir mér lífit og grið”.

33. “So mikit ok góð grið
skalt þú sjá,
[sem] sjalfir létuð þér minn herran
í bardaganum fá.

34. Þér þótti þat lítit, ennþótt ek
sá hize hans búkinn blœða,
þú kastaðir hans hõfði í mitt fang,
ok vex mér meiri móðr”.

28. “Though I should think of the earl,
the good lord of mine,
still I would not present a poisoned drink
for my dear father”.

29. Thus wrought the lady Hildina,
she bore the mead around,
she puts to sleep her father,
her father and all that sat.

30. Thus wrought the lady Hildina,
she bore them out of the hall,
thereafter she laid a glow
at the uttermost opening of the gate.

31. And nothing Hiluge heeded,
nothing until then,
the fire came in at the loft-house door,
on his silken sark so small.

32. Then up Hiluge started:

“Thou grant me this, lady Hildina,
grant me life and mercy”.

33. So much of good mercy
shalt thou receive,
as ye yourselves would let my lord
in the battle see.

34. You thought little of it, though I
saw thus his body bleed,
thou cast his head into my lap,
and my mood grows fiercer still”.

⁶⁶ MS: <tinka wo>, see footnote 56.

⁶⁷ See previous footnote.

⁶⁸ Hægstad also suggests Scots *yate*, En. *gate*. Bugge has *gáttar*.

⁶⁹ Hægstad: *Þú kærasta*.

35. Nú þakit hon hefir fólka⁷⁰ hans
bæði við mold ok steini.
“Þú skalt aldri meir konungsins
barni valda mein”.

35. Now she has covered his falseness
both with earth and stone.
“Thou shalt never again harm
a child of the king.”

5.4 Amendment

5.4.1 Comments

As the basis for the linguistic analysis of the case system in the *Hildina Ballad*, I have made an amended version of the ballad. The process of amending involves three important steps for the linguistic analysis: the first one concerning word division, the second is about line division, and the third one concerns changing letters. This is roughly the same as Hægstad did in his *Hildinakvædet*, although there are some types of amendments that Hægstad implemented which I have refrained from. I will return to this shortly.

Changes in word division are of consequence for the analysis of the case system, since they reflect an estimation of which syllables compose word units. Changes in line division reflect an estimation of which words constitute original rhyme pairs. In some cases I have changed a letter, but only where the context makes it clear that there must be a mistake, e.g. <Fon> to ^S<hon> in verse 24⁴ as the former makes no sense in the sentence, while the latter makes perfect sense. Changes regarding word division include both word separation and compounding, e.g. Low writes <spir de> (v. 1²) which corresponds to ON *spurði*, and further <elonden> (v 6¹), ON *í lǫndum*⁷¹. Sometimes one word is split and the latter part linked to another: <vod lerdin> (v. 19²), ON *vǫllu þína*. Changes regarding line division mostly involve moving one or a few words one line up or down without interfering with the word order.

The goal of the amended text is that the ballad as a whole may become easier to work with. Words are drawn closer to a recognizable form, so to speak, thus making them easier to analyze and work with. Furthermore, giving lines their proper length, in turn creates whole and meaningful sentences, and in many cases the hidden rhyme is brought to the surface. But while there are advantages to having an amended text, there is also a danger of going too far. As discussed before, it's difficult to know whether a specific feature in the text is an error of Low's or simply how it was recited to him. But the purpose of the amended text is not to bring the ballad closer to its “original” form as in some kind of a primordial form of the ballad, but rather as in the form in which it was cited to Low by William Henry. The

⁷⁰ Or an unattested feminine: **fólsku*.

⁷¹ It may be remarked that the preposition *í* can often act as a proclitic, cf. Sw. *idag*, En. *today*.

amended version will serve as the reference text and any potential errors will therefore affect the results of the analysis.

I have drawn much help from Hægstad's amended text in his *Hildinakvadet* (Hægstad 1900: 14-20). His amendments include changes to word division, line division and changing some letters according to his interpretation of the ballad. As Low's handwriting can prove difficult to read even in the final manuscript, Hægstad imagines that the early draft was even more difficult to read and that a considerable amount of time passed between the writing of the draft and the finished manuscript. Thus Low might have misread his own draft in several places. He also argues that Low probably wrote down the verses in two lines rather than four in his early draft, and in the process of fair copying Low had to divide the two lines into four, often separating the lines in the wrong place, thus losing the rhyme in several verses and cutting off sentences (Hægstad 1900: 12–13). Though these explanations seem plausible, they remain speculation, since the draft doesn't exist.

While I largely agree with the changes made by Hægstad, there are a few instances where I have chosen either another change or no change at all, e.g. Hægstad moves the first line in v. 2 up to fourth in v. 1, and the original fourth he makes into a sort of refrain. I have instead moved the fourth line in v. 1 up and joined it with the third, and then moved first line in v. 2 up to fourth in v. 1. This restores rhyme and completes the verses story-wise without changing the sequence of the words. In v. 14³ Hægstad has added «*estin whaar u*» because the verse seems to demand a repetition of the first line, as the verse says the same thing twice with little variation. While I do agree on his point, this kind of interference goes beyond the purposes for my amended version. Furthermore, I would end up with more occurrences of those three words than in the original, which would affect the results of the linguistic analysis. As mentioned in part 6.3 I have chosen to follow Bugge's interpretation rather than Hægstad's in some cases, e.g. in not splitting up «*firsane*» (v. 6³) but going by Bugge's ON *fýrsandi* instead of Hægstad's *fýrir sønnu*.

The main difference appears in verse 24¹⁻² where Hægstad changes «*Nu bill on heve da yals / Guadnè borè*» to ^H«*Nu billon heve day alty uadn è borè*» corresponding to ON *Nú biðlund hafit þér, allt til barn er borit*. Here, Hægstad reads the «*s*» in «*yals*» as a «*þ*» — as mentioned in the part on the transcription, ch X — and changes «*G*» in «*Guadnè*» to ^H«*y*». Here, I have chosen to follow Bugge's interpretation, because I see «*s*» as a more plausible interpretation than «*þ*», and because in this case, Bugge's interpretation interferes much less with the original text than Hægstad's, although normally it is the opposite. Bugge's interpretation is as follows:

Nú bili hon hefir þat jarlsbarnit borit (Grüner-Nielsen 1939: 24). This interpretation is much more convincing, especially ⟨yals / Guadnè⟩ as ^S⟨yalsguadnè⟩, ON *jarlsbarnit*, rather than ^H⟨alty uadn è⟩, *allt til barn er*, as the ON verb *er* is always realised as ⟨yaar⟩ in the ballad and never as ⟨è⟩, and the term *jarlsbarnit* fits perfectly in the sentence and the general context. Moreover, this solution only requires that one joins the words ⟨yals⟩ and ⟨Guadnè⟩ and moves the line division to the end of the sentence.

In some cases Hægstad changes the sequence of the words to accommodate rhyme, e.g. in verse 9² where he changes ⟨u ria dor to strandane nir⟩ to ^H⟨u ria dor nir to strand⟩. Here he even changes the word ⟨strandane⟩ to ^H⟨strand⟩. Still he has ⟨strandane⟩ in the word index, where he labels it as genitive singular, i.e. ON *strandarinnar*. I would rather expect the genitive plural, ON *strandanna*, as the origin for this form though. At any rate, the original sequence of words is always kept in my amended version.

The amended text follows here, with normalised punctuation⁷², and with comments on where it differs from Low’s manuscript and from Hægstad’s amended version.

5.4.2 Text

1. Da vara Iarlin d’Orkneyar⁷³
for frinda sïn spirde⁷⁴ ro,
whirdè an skildè meun our glasburyon⁷⁵ burtaga,
or vannaro⁷⁶ eidnar fuo.⁷⁷

2. “Tega du meun our glasburyon⁷⁸,
kere friendè min,
yamna meun⁷⁹ eso vrildan stiende,⁸⁰
gede min vara to din”.

⁷² Faroese standard as defined in Andreasen and Dahl (1997), except that I have, in concordance with Hægstad, retained capital letters in the words ⟨Iarlin⟩, ⟨Koningn⟩ and ⟨Drotnign⟩ as these are otherwise unnamed.

⁷³ Hægstad: ⟨o Orkneyar⟩.

⁷⁴ MS: ⟨spir de⟩.

⁷⁵ MS: ⟨glas buryon⟩

⁷⁶ MS: ⟨vanna ro⟩.

⁷⁷ This is the first line in v. 2 in the MS. Moved the fourth line in v. 1 up and joined it with the third.

⁷⁸ MS: ⟨glas buryon⟩.

⁷⁹ Moved ⟨yamna meun⟩ down from second line.

⁸⁰ Moved ⟨eso vrildan stiende⟩ up from fourth line.

3. Yom keimir eullingin
fro liene,
burt⁸¹ asta vaar hon fruen Hildina,
hemi stumer⁸² stien.

4. “Whar an yaar e londen⁸³,
ita kan sadnast wo:
an scal vara heindè⁸⁴ wo osta tre⁸⁵
sin reithin ridna dar fro⁸⁶”.

5. “Kemı to Orkneyar Iarlin,
vilda mien Sante Maunis⁸⁷,
i Orknian u bi an⁸⁸ sian,
i lian far di ar⁸⁹”.

6. An gevè Drotnign
kednpuster⁹⁰ onde⁹¹ kin,
firsane⁹² furu⁹³ tworore⁹⁴
wo eder⁹⁵ whitranè kɪdn.

⁸¹ Moved this word down from second to third line.

⁸² MS: <stu mer>.

⁸³ MS: <elonden>.

⁸⁴ MS: <keindè>.

⁸⁵ Moved <wo osta tre> up from the fourth line.

⁸⁶ Hægstad: <darfro>.

⁸⁷ Hægstad: <sante Maunis vilda mien>.

⁸⁸ MS: <bian>.

⁸⁹ MS: <diar>.

⁹⁰ MS: <kedn puster>. Moved down from first line.

⁹¹ MS: <on de>.

⁹² Hægstad: <fir sane>, ON *fyrir sonnu*. Bugge identifies it with ON *fyrсандi* which I agree with.

⁹³ Moved <firsane furu> down from second line.

⁹⁴ Hægstad: <tworone>.

⁹⁵ Moved <wo eder> down from third line. Hægstad: <edner>.

7. In kimer in⁹⁶ Iarlin
u klapa se⁹⁷ Hildina onde⁹⁸ kidn⁹⁹:
“Quirto vult doch fiegan vara¹⁰⁰,
moch or fy¹⁰¹ din?”

8. “Elde vild-a¹⁰² fiegan vara
fy min u alt sin ans namn u¹⁰³ wo¹⁰⁴,
so min yach¹⁰⁵ u ere min heve¹⁰⁶
Orkneyar lingè ro.

9. Nu di skall taga dor yoch wo¹⁰⁷ and¹⁰⁸
u ria dor to strandane nir¹⁰⁹,
u yilsa fy minu avon blit¹¹⁰,
an earni¹¹¹ cumi i dora band”.

10. Nu swara an¹¹² Konign
— so mege gak honon i muthi —:
“Whath ear di ho gane mier
i dautebuthe¹¹³?”

⁹⁶ MS: <kimerin>.

⁹⁷ MS: <klapasse>.

⁹⁸ MS: <on de>.

⁹⁹ Moved <on de kidn> up from third line.

¹⁰⁰ Moved <vult doch fiegan vara> up from fourth line.

¹⁰¹ MS: <fly>.

¹⁰² MS: vilda. Probably from ON *vildak*, a contraction of *vilda ek*.

¹⁰³ MS: <namnu>.

¹⁰⁴ Moved <ans namn u wo> up from third line.

¹⁰⁵ MS: <minyach>.

¹⁰⁶ This whole line is moved up from the fourth.

¹⁰⁷ MS: <yochwo>.

¹⁰⁸ <and> moved up from second line.

¹⁰⁹ Hægstad: <nir to strand>.

¹¹⁰ <blit> moved up from fourth line.

¹¹¹ MS: <ear n>.

¹¹² MS: <Swaran>.

¹¹³ MS: <dauthe buthe>.

11. “Trettì merkè vath ru godle,
da skall yach ger yo,
u allde¹¹⁴ vara sonnahss¹¹⁵,
so linge sin yach liva mo.”

12. Nu linge stug an Konign,
u linge wo an swo:
“Wordig vaar dogh mugè sonè,
yach askier¹¹⁶ fare moga so.

12b. ...¹¹⁷minde yach angan ufrien¹¹⁸ rost¹¹⁹,
wath comm an¹²⁰ mier to landa”.¹²¹

13. Nu swara Hiluge
— Hera geve honon scam —:
“Taga di gild firre Hildina¹²²,
sin yach skall lega dor fram.

14. Estin whaar u feurfetign¹²³,
a gonga¹²⁴ kadn i sluge,
¹²⁵ feurfetign¹²⁶, sin gonga
kadn i pluge.”

¹¹⁴ MS: <all de>.

¹¹⁵ MS: <sonna liss>. Hægstad reads <dess>.

¹¹⁶ MS: <yacha skier>.

¹¹⁷ Hægstad inserts an extra <so> here.

¹¹⁸ MS: <u frien>.

¹¹⁹ Moved <ufrien rost> up from fourth line.

¹²⁰ MS: <comman>.

¹²¹ These lines probably formed part of an intermediate stanza.

¹²² MS: <Hidina>.

¹²³ MS: <feur fetign>.

¹²⁴ MS: <Agonga>.

¹²⁵ Hægstad has added <estin whaar u>.

¹²⁶ MS: <feur fetign>.

15. Nu stiender in¹²⁷ Iarlin,
u linge wo an swo¹²⁸.
“Dese mo eke¹²⁹ Orknear,
so linge san yach lava mo”.

16. “Nu eke tegar an¹³⁰ sansot¹³¹,
Koningn fyrin din,
u alt yach an Hilhugin
widn u garedin¹³² arar”¹³³.

17. Nu swarar an frauna Hildina
u dem¹³⁴ san idne 1 fro:
“Di slo dor a bardagana,
dar comme ov sin mo”.

18. Nu Iarlin an genger
i vadlin fram¹³⁵
u kadnar sina mien,
geven¹³⁶ skeger 1 Orkneyan.

19. “Han u cummin
in u vodler din¹³⁷,
frinde hans¹³⁸ lever
velburne¹³⁹ mien”.

¹²⁷ MS: <stienderin>.

¹²⁸ The <s> is covered with ink, but when comparing with v. 12 we see that it must be an s.

¹²⁹ Hægstad reads <eki>.

¹³⁰ MS: <tegaran>.

¹³¹ MS: <san sot>. Hægstad: <san sot>. Moved <sot> up from second line.

¹³² MS: <ugare din>

¹³³ Hægstad: <u garedin arar widn>.

¹³⁴ Hægstad: <dern>.

¹³⁵ MS: <i vadlin fram>. Hægstad joins these words with the first line and subsequently moves the third and fourth up.

¹³⁶ Hægstad: <gever>.

¹³⁷ MS: <vod lerdin>.

¹³⁸ MS: <fans>.

¹³⁹ MS: <Vel burne>.

20. Nu fruna Hildina,
on genger i vadlin fram:
“Fy di yera da ov mandum¹⁴⁰ dora¹⁴¹,
di spidla ikè¹⁴² mire man”.

21. Nu sware an Hiluge
— Ere Go¹⁴³ gev ana¹⁴⁴ scam —:
“Gayer an Iarlin, frinde din¹⁴⁵,
an u fadlin in”.

22. Nu fac an Iarlin dahuge,
dar minde¹⁴⁶ an engin gro,
an cast ans huge ei fong ednar¹⁴⁷,
u vax hedne¹⁴⁸ mere meo¹⁴⁹.

23. “Di lava mir gugna¹⁵⁰,
yift bal yagh fur o lande,
gipt mir nu fruan Hildina
vath godle u fastabande¹⁵¹”.

24. “Nu bill on heve da yalsguadnè¹⁵² borè¹⁵³,
u da kadn sina kloyn a¹⁵⁴ bera¹⁵⁵,

¹⁴⁰ MS: ⟨man dum⟩.

¹⁴¹ Moved ⟨dora⟩ up from fourth line.

¹⁴² MS: ⟨spidlaikè⟩.

¹⁴³ MS: ⟨Crego⟩.

¹⁴⁴ MS: ⟨gevan a⟩.

¹⁴⁵ Moved ⟨din⟩ up from fourth line.

¹⁴⁶ MS: ⟨min de⟩.

¹⁴⁷ Moved ⟨fong ednar⟩ up from fourth line.

¹⁴⁸ MS: ⟨vaxhedne⟩.

¹⁴⁹ MS: ⟨mo⟩.

¹⁵⁰ Hægstad: ⟨yugna⟩.

¹⁵¹ MS: ⟨fasta bande⟩. ^H⟨fasta bande⟩.

¹⁵² MS: ⟨yals guadnè⟩

¹⁵³ Moved ⟨guadnè borè⟩ up from line two. Hægstad: ⟨Nu billon heve day alty uadn è borè⟩.

¹⁵⁴ Hægstad: ⟨kloyna⟩.

¹⁵⁵ Moved: ⟨sina kloyn a bera⟩ up.

do skall hon¹⁵⁶ fruna Hildina¹⁵⁷
verka wo sino chelsina villya”.

25. Hildina liger wo chaldona,
uo¹⁵⁸ dukrar u grothè,
min du buga till bridlevsin,
hon lother¹⁵⁹ u duka dogha.

26. Nu Hildina on askar
feyrin¹⁶⁰ sien:
“Di gava mier livè ou skinka vin¹⁶¹,
ou guida vin”.

27. “Du ska¹⁶² skinka vin,
u guida vin¹⁶³,
tinka dogh eke wo Iarlin¹⁶⁴,
an gougha here din”.

28. “Wath a¹⁶⁵ skilde tinka wo Iarlin¹⁶⁶,
gouga herè min,
hien mindi yagh inga forlskona bera¹⁶⁷
fare kera fyrin min”.

29. Da gerde on fruna Hildina,
on bar se mien ot,

¹⁵⁶ MS: <Fon>.

¹⁵⁷ Moved <Fon fruna Hildina> up.

¹⁵⁸ MS <u o>.

¹⁵⁹ MS: <Bonlother>.

¹⁶⁰ Moved <feyrin> down.

¹⁶¹ Moved <Ou skinka vin> up.

¹⁶² MS: <Duska>.

¹⁶³ Moved <u guida vin> down.

¹⁶⁴ Moved <Iarlin> up.

¹⁶⁵ MS: <Watha>.

¹⁶⁶ Moved <Wo Iarlin> up.

¹⁶⁷ Moved <Bera> up.

on sover in¹⁶⁸ fast fy sin¹⁶⁹,
fy sin¹⁷⁰ u quar sin¹⁷¹ sat.

30. Da gerde un fruna Hildina,
on bar dim¹⁷² ur hadlin burt¹⁷³,
sien on laghdè gloug¹⁷⁴
i otsta jath a¹⁷⁵ port.

31. Nu iki visti an Hiluge,
ike ov till do,
eldin var commin i lutustor¹⁷⁶
u silkèsark¹⁷⁷ ans smo.

32. Nu lever en¹⁷⁸ fram Hiluge¹⁷⁹

“Du kere da¹⁸⁰ fraun Hildina,
du¹⁸¹ give mir¹⁸² live u gre”.

33. “So mege u gouga gre
skall dogh swo,
¹⁸³skall lathì min heran
i bardagana fwo.

¹⁶⁸ MS: <soverin>.

¹⁶⁹ MS: <fysin>. Hægstad: *fysin*.

¹⁷⁰ MS: <Fysin>. Hægstad: *fysin*.

¹⁷¹ MS: <quarsin>.

¹⁷² MS: <bard im>.

¹⁷³ MS: <Hadlin burt>.

¹⁷⁴ Moved <Gloug> up.

¹⁷⁵ MS: <jatha port>.

¹⁷⁶ MS: <lut / U stor>. Moved <U stor> up.

¹⁷⁷ MS: <silkè sark>.

¹⁷⁸ MS: <leveren>.

¹⁷⁹ Moved <Hiluge> up.

¹⁸⁰ MS: <kereda>. Hægstad: <keresta>. Moved <du kereda> down.

¹⁸¹ Moved <du> down.

¹⁸² MS: <givemir>.

¹⁸³ Hægstad adds the word <sin>, ON *sem*, to make the sentence complete.

34. Du tuchta da¹⁸⁴ lide, undocht yach
swo etsa¹⁸⁵ ans bugin bleo,
dogh casta ans huge i mit fung¹⁸⁶,
u vexe mir¹⁸⁷ mire meo”.

35. Nu tachtè on heve fwelsko ans¹⁸⁸
bo vad mild u stien.
“Dogh skall aldè mirè Koningnsens
vadne vilda mien”.

6 Analysis

6.1 Aim

The aim of the analysis in this thesis is to give a description of the morphological case system of Hildina Norn. This involves an analysis of phonological and morphological changes that have happened between the language stage of Hildina Norn, and its ancestor Old Norse. By Old Norse, I mean the variant of Old Scandinavian that was spoken in the West, i.e. Norway and its colonies. All this is done with the phonological and morphological development in the Scandinavian, primarily West Scandinavian, languages in the backdrop.

6.2 Methodology

The analysis is a quantitative one, where all case-inflected forms in the ballad are registered. These are: nouns, pronouns, determiners, proper names, adjectives, numerals and past participles. After asserting, as far as possible for each token, the case, gender, number, definiteness, and whether they are weak or strong, governed by verb or preposition, whether they are part of a rhyme pair or not, the individual token is then tagged either ‘expected’ or ‘unexpected’.

There are two different layers to what is meant by the term expected. In the first sense, forms and their inflectional endings and possible mutations of the stem vowel, are expected to reflect — although not necessarily be identical with — the equivalent Old Norse forms and

¹⁸⁴ MS: <tuchtada>.

¹⁸⁵ MS: <et sa>.

¹⁸⁶ Moved <I mit fung> up.

¹⁸⁷ MS: <vexemir>.

¹⁸⁸ Moved <Ans> up.

their inflection. In the second sense, whatever changes that have been carried through in the Hildina Norn forms are expected to mirror phonological changes in primarily West Scandinavian, although without it having any dramatic effect on the case system. This is of course at variance with the expectations stated in the hypotheses chapter (4), where it was expected that Hildina Norn will show a two case system like the one that emerged in Middle Norwegian. However, the terms expected and unexpected as they are used here, are pragmatically chosen terms. They are not meant to directly verify or disqualify the hypotheses in chapter four, but only to be used as a tool in the categorising of tokens in Hildina Norn. They are useful tools when looking for patterns in possible morphological changes in Hildina Norn.

Unexpected forms, are tokens that show a degree of morphological levelling or simplification of the Old Norse system.

Some examples of expected forms:

- (1) a. ^S⟨Orknian⟩ (5³), ON *Orkneyjum*. Fem. dat. pl.
 b. ^S⟨bridlevsin⟩ (25³), ON *brúðhlaupsins*. Neut. gen. def.
 c. ^S⟨yalsguadnè⟩ (24¹), ON *jarlsbarnit*. Neut. acc. def.

As we see, the dative plural ending in (1a), ⟨-an⟩, has changed somewhat from the Old Norse *-um*. The vowel ⟨-a-⟩ here probably represents a centralised vowel, e.g. /ə/, from the weakening of the Old Norse *-u-*. The /m/ > /n/ is a change also found in Faroese datives, e.g. *Føroyum*, pronounced /føɾjun/. Still this dative form is distinct in the Faroese plural paradigm and therefore there can be no doubt that there is talk of the dative case, and it seems to be the same in Hildina Norn. Thus (1a) preserves the case system and the changes we do see reflect a natural sound change not resulting in morphological levelling. ^S⟨bridlevsin⟩ lacks the last *-s* of the Old Norse neuter genitive definite ending *-sins*, but it is still clearly inflected and corresponds to the Old Norse. ^S⟨yalsguadnè⟩ is a compound formed by a genitive fusion. The modifier ^S⟨yals-⟩ is in the genitive, and the head ^S⟨-guadnè⟩ is inflected according to the syntax. The former has the regular Old Norse masculine singular genitive ending *-s*, while the latter is governed by the verb ^S⟨borè⟩, the Old Norse supine *borit*, which takes the accusative. The ⟨-è⟩ in ^S⟨-guadnè⟩ represents the Old Norse neuter accusative definite ending *-it*. The loss of *t* in neuter definite endings is a trait of both Faroese and Norwegian as we stated in chapter three.

As we see, the endings are somewhat changed, but most of them reflect phonological processes that have also happened in West Scandinavian, but seemingly they do not result in morphological levelling, rather preserving the four case system.

By unexpected forms, I mean forms that show a degree of morphological levelling or irregularity, compared to the Old Norse. Some examples:

- (2)
- a. $\text{S}\langle\text{vannaro}\rangle$ (1⁴), ON *vandaráði*. Neut. dat.
 - b. $\text{S}\langle\text{tworore}\rangle$ (6³), ON *tár(in)*. Neut. nom. pl. def. ?
 - c. $\text{S}\langle\text{di}\rangle$ (5⁴, 9¹, 10³ etc.), ON *þér*. Formal 2. pers. nom. pl.
 - d. $\text{S}\langle\text{chaldona}\rangle$ (25¹), ON *tjaldinu*. Neut. dat. def.

One such is the personal pronoun $\text{S}\langle\text{di}\rangle$ (5⁴, 9¹, 10³ etc.), a formal 2. pers. pl., used in the *Hildina Ballad* when the king is addressed, probably from ON *þér*, alternatively *þit*. Similar patterns are seen in Faroese and Danish, perhaps indicating Danish influence. It has undergone several phonological changes, and as a polite form it represents a restriction of the semantics of the Old Norse plural personal pronoun *þér*.

$\text{S}\langle\text{vannaro}\rangle$ does not show the dative marker /i/ or /e/ that we would expect. Perhaps because of the loss of /ð/ and a subsequent merging of the vowels *á* and the dative *-i*. This is an example of phonological changes may cause levelling in the morphological system. (2b) is a highly irregular form, which is difficult to categorise. $\text{S}\langle\text{chaldona}\rangle$ shows a high degree of irregularity in the dative ending. All of these are marked unexpected. Some of these will be discussed more in chapter 7.5.

6.2.1 Nouns

Some nouns were rather difficult to tag as either expected or unexpected as they showed both traits. In these cases I have tagged them as expected if the ending resembles the equivalent Old Norse, even if the word lacks umlaut or shows some other peculiarity in the stem. That is, if they are clearly morphologically marked showing a distinct case in concordance with the Old Norse, they are deemed expected. Some such are:

- (3)
- a. $\text{S}\langle\text{liene}\rangle$ (3²), ON *leiðangri*. Masc. dat.
 - b. $\text{S}\langle\text{Koningnsens}\rangle$ (35³), ON *konungsins*. Masc. gen. def.
 - c. $\text{S}\langle\text{reithin}\rangle$ (4⁴), ON *rótum*. Fem. dat. plur.

- d. ^S⟨huge⟩ (34³), ON *hǫfði*. Neut. dat.

Example (2a) has undergone several sound changes in the word stem (these we have discussed in part 7.3), while the Old Norse masculine dative ending is represented as ⟨-e⟩. The word is morphologically marked and as such, expected. ^S⟨Koningnsens⟩ contains the Old Norse masculine definite genitive ending *-sins*, but also ⟨-n-⟩ seemingly between the stem and the genitive ending. It seems as though it has been attached to the word stem, becoming a frozen article that is kept even when the genitive ending is attached to the stem (in part 7.4 this will be discussed further). Though the ending ⟨-in⟩ in example (2c) has changed somewhat from the Old Norse dative ending *-um*, it is still distinct from the other cases and quite regularly used to mark dative plural in Hildina Norn. It is therefore labeled expected. ^S⟨huge⟩ similarly to ^S⟨liene⟩ shows changes in the stem, while the dative is marked with the ⟨-e⟩.

In Old Norse certain types of nouns had paradigms which in the indefinite singular contained unmarked forms. The primary group is the strong feminine, e.g. *bæn* which had only one distinct form in the indefinite singular, namely the genitive, *bænar*. A few also had a marked dative, e.g. *borg* which is *borgu* in the dative and *hǫnd* which is *hendi*, but most of these could also have an unmarked dative (Iversen 1994: 60). In Hildina Norn we find many such words:

- (4) a. ^S⟨and⟩ (9¹), ON *hǫnd*. Acc.
 b. ^S⟨scam⟩ (13², 21²), ON *skǫmm*. Acc.
 c. ^S⟨gloug⟩ (30³), ON *glóð*. Acc.
 d. ^S⟨kin⟩ (6²), ON *kinn*. Acc.
 e. ^S⟨mild⟩ (35²), ON *mold(u)*. Dat.

Both (3a) and (3b) lack the usual Old Norse u-umlaut, but have like the Old Norse forms no ending. In Old Norse the nominative and accusative of *hǫnd* were identical. In *skǫmm*, *glóð* and *kinn* nominative, accusative and dative were identical. We may assume that the pattern is the same with (3b), (3c) and (3d) although these are only found in accusative. (3a) is also only in the accusative, which makes it impossible to know whether ^S⟨and⟩ would actually have an i-umlauted form in the dative, like Old Norse *hendi*. The lack of u-umlaut in (3a) and (3b) is not necessarily a change carried through by analogical levelling within the paradigms. It may well stem from an originally un-umlauted form in one of the dialects in Norway. Because of this

and because they have no ending they are labeled expected. $S_{\langle mild \rangle}$ lacks the dative $-u$ ending, but apparently this ending was optional already in Old Norse, and it is therefore considered expected.

The strong masculine group had only one unmarked form which was the singular accusative. In Hildina Norn we have inter alia:

- (5)
- a. $S_{\langle yoch \rangle}$ (9¹), ON *eyk*. Acc.
 - b. $S_{\langle silkèsark \rangle}$ (31⁴), ON *silkiserk*. Acc.
 - c. $S_{\langle gre \rangle}$ (32⁴, 33¹), ON *grīð*. Acc.
 - d. $S_{\langle kednpuster \rangle}$ (6²), ON *kimpústr*. Acc.

These have no endings in Hildina Norn, in concordance with the Old Norse. The $\langle -er \rangle$ in $\langle kednpuster \rangle$ is not to be mistaken for a frozen nominative $-r$, as the $-r$ in Old Norse *pústr* was a part of the stem and not an ending. In Hildina Norn there seems to be a loss of nominative $-r$ and so the difference between strong masculine nominative and accusative seems to have fallen away. The pattern of strong masculines therefore becomes very similar to the strong neuter pattern, which had similar forms in nominative and accusative while the dative was usually marked by an $-i$ and the genitive by an $-s$. Nevertheless, it is still unsure whether there is a total loss of syntactic distinction between the nominative and the accusative in Hildina Norn (more on this in part 7.5). Therefore I have tagged them as expected, even if they are unmarked and cannot be distinguished from the nominative except by the syntax.

6.2.2 Pronouns

Possessive pronouns were quite straight forward to label either expected or unexpected. The personal pronouns on the other hand had some interesting forms that were clearly innovations, most notably the one we saw in example (2c). Most of them seem to agree with the expected case. I have labeled all these as unexpected nonetheless, because they seemingly represent a kind of formal pronoun not found in Old Norse. This will be discussed further in part 7.5.

6.2.3 Determiners

Most of the demonstrative determiners had forms different from the Old Norse, some of them having seemingly irregular endings, therefore being labeled unexpected. The

nominative neuter of Old Norse *sá, þat*, is represented as <da> throughout the ballad. As mentioned before there is a loss of final *-t* in the neuter definite endings West Scandinavian, and it seems like <da> reflects a similar process. It is therefore tagged expected

6.2.4 Proper names, adjectives and participles

The rest of the case inflected forms were easy to tag either expected or unexpected. The personal name ^S<Hildina> however, seems to have frozen feminine accusative article, which is kept no matter the syntax. The name appears twice where we would expect the accusative case, and thus the ending in those instances corresponds to the expected case, but since this ending is obviously frozen I have tagged all instances of the name as unexpected. The proper names ^S<Hiluge> and ^S<Sante Maunis> are unfortunately never found in the oblique cases, and thus we cannot say if they are inflected in Hildina Norn. They are only found in nominative to which their form corresponds.

6.2.5 Categories

All registered tokens are put in tables with their respective categories. These tables are all appended to the thesis (appendix I).

I will now explain the noun table. In the first column under the term token, every case inflected noun in the Hildina Ballad is found. The second column contains the Old Norse equivalents with the expected inflections. ‘Root form’ stands for the equivalent Old Norse form in the nominative. After that we have verse, exp., and unexp. The former contains the exact verses and lines where the tokens are found, and the latter are short for expected and unexpected. Then we have the genders, masculine, feminine and neuter, strong weak, number, definiteness and the four cases.

Then there is a single column with acc.+dat. This column is tagged for the forms that are part of an accusative-dative construction, i.e. the verb governing it also governs another form, one of them in the accusative the other in the dative, e.g. ^S<taga dor yoch> (9¹), ON *taka þér eyk*. Here the verb ^S<taga> takes one indirect object in the dative, ^S<dor>, and one direct object in the accusative, ^S<yoch>.

Then follow two columns with preposition and verb. Either is tagged if the token is governed by preposition or verb. A few genitives are governed by neither as they express possessive relations, like ^S<Koningnsens vadne> (35³⁻⁴), En. *Kīng-DEFGEN child-DAT*, ‘the king’s

child'. There are also a few vocatives that are governed by neither verb nor preposition, e.g. $\text{S}\langle\text{Fy}, \text{di yera da}\rangle$, where $\text{S}\langle\text{Fy}\rangle$, En. *father*, stands alone in an incomplete sentence.

In the noun table the tokens are ordered first after gender, second after whether they are weak or strong, then after case, then definiteness and lastly after number. This makes it easy to spot any possible patterns.

7.2.6 Compounds

I have decided to separate the genitive compounds and register them separately in the tables, e.g. $\text{S}\langle\text{yalsguadnè}\rangle$ (24¹) is registered as masculine genitive $\text{S}\langle\text{yals-}\rangle$ and neuter definite accusative $\text{S}\langle\text{-guadnè}\rangle$. This is done to gain maximum information regarding the use of the genitive case in *Hildina Norn*.

6.3 Results

All in all there are 321 case-inflected forms in the *Hildina Ballad*. The largest group is, as can be expected, the nouns with a total of 145 tokens. There were 102 occurrences of personal pronouns, 24 of possessive pronouns, 18 demonstrative determiners, two interrogative and three instances of quantifier determiners. There were 20 adjectives, five past participles and two numerals.

We will now go through the results of the analysis, beginning with the nouns and proceeding in the same order as in the above paragraph.

6.3.1 Nouns

6.3.1.1 Masculine

Of the 145 tokens, the largest group was the masculine with 73 tokens of which there are altogether 34 lexemes. The most frequent lexemes were $\text{S}\langle\text{fy}\rangle$ and $\text{S}\langle\text{Iarlin}\rangle$ occurring nine and ten times respectively. The former occurs both with and without the definite article and in all cases except the genitive, while the latter occurs nine times with the article and in the exact same form as above, seven times in the nominative and twice in the accusative. It also occurs once in the genitive without the article $\text{S}\langle\text{yals-}\rangle$, as part of the genitive compound $\text{S}\langle\text{yalsguadnè}\rangle$ (24¹). Of the 73 tokens 21 belonged to the weak category.

There were seventeen nominatives, 24 accusatives, six datives and four genitives in the strong category while there were seven nominatives, seven accusatives, five datives and two genitives in the weak category. In the strong masculine group the definite article occurred

thirteen times in the nominative, eleven times in the accusative and once in the genitive. In the weak category it occurred only thrice. Plural forms occurred five times in the strong category and three times in the weak.

In the masculine strong group there were nine expected forms and eight unexpected in the nominative. The overriding unexpected element was the lack of nominative -r. The words

- (7)
- a. $S_{\langle meo \rangle}$ (22⁴, 34⁴), ON *móðr*. Nom.
 - b. $S_{\langle eldin \rangle}$ (31³), ON *eldrinn*. Nom. def.
 - c. $S_{\langle eullingin \rangle}$ (3¹), ON *ǫðlingrinn*. Nom. def.
 - d. $S_{\langle konigin \rangle}$ (10¹, 12¹, 16²), ON *konungrinn*. Nom. def.

all lack the nominative -r. These only account for eight of the unexpected forms, as $S_{\langle Fy \rangle}$ (20³), En *father*, also lacks the word final -r. In this case it is not the nominative -r but a word final -r which is part of an ending special for words describing kinship, like *móðir*, *bróðir* and *systir*. Here we see all occurrences of the word.

- (8)
- a. $S_{\langle Fy \rangle}$ (20³), ON *faðir*. Nom.
 - b. $S_{\langle fy \rangle}$ (7⁴, 8², 29³, 29⁴, 32⁴, 33¹), ON *faðir*. Nom.
 - c. $S_{\langle fyrin \rangle}$ (16²), ON *faðirinn*. Nom. def.
 - d. $S_{\langle feyrin \rangle}$ (26²), ON *faðirinn*. Acc. def.
 - e. $S_{\langle fyrin \rangle}$ (28⁴), ON *faðirinn*. Acc. def.

As we can see the word final -r is preserved when the suffixed article is attached. But in the case of the definite forms in (7b), (c) and (d) the definite article does not preserve the nominative -r. Thus it seems like the loss of nominative -r is unconditioned, while the loss of the -r which is part of the ending in words that describe kinship, only occurs in word final position. Thus the loss of nominative -r cannot be regarded as a phonologically conditioned change, but rather as morphologically conditioned change.

A result of the loss of nominative -r is a lack of distinction between the nominative and accusative in strong masculines, of which none are now marked. Thus there is no inflectional distinction between the definite nominative forms (7b), (c) and (d) and strong masculine accusatives like these:

- (9) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{Estin}\rangle$ (14¹), ON *hestinn*. Acc. def.
 b. $\text{S}\langle\text{feufetign}\rangle$ (14¹, 14³), ON *ferfætinginn*. Acc. def.

Thus we have total levelling of strong masculine nominative and accusative where none of the forms are marked. Most of the accusatives in the strong masculine group were marked expected because they are unmarked like in the Old Norse, as of yet we cannot even say for sure of the morphological category of accusative exists in Norn, because of this levelling. In spite of the loss of nominative -r many forms in the nominative were also tagged expected. These were:

- (10) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{Go}\rangle$ (21²), ON *Guð*. Nom.
 b. $\text{S}\langle\text{fyrin}\rangle$ (16²), ON *faðirinn*. Nom.
 c. $\text{S}\langle\text{Jarlin}\rangle$ (1¹, 5¹, 7¹, 15¹, 18¹, 21³, 28¹), ON *Jarlinn*. Nom.

None of these have nominative -r in Old Norse, and are thus unmarked in the nominative. The word *faðir* had word final -r in all cases and was differentiated from the nominative by a vowel change in the ending and corresponding umlaut in the stem vowel. Thus *faðir* in the nominative and *fǫður* in the oblique cases. $\text{S}\langle\text{Jarlin}\rangle$ stems from Proto-Norse *erilaR*. But the *R* was assimilated after the syncope, thus *erilaR* > **jarlR* > **jarll* > *jarl* (Iversen 1994: 40), and (10c) accordingly does not have nominative -r.

Two masculine accusatives in the ballad have been taken to contain a frozen nominative -r:

- (11) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{kednpuster}\rangle$ (6²), ON **kinnpústr*. Acc.
 b. $\text{S}\langle\text{vodler}\rangle$ (19²), ON *vøllu*. Acc. pl.

However, in the case of (11a) what looks like an ending, <er>, is not a nominative -r, but rather a part of the stem as in Old Norse *pústr*, (En. a fist in the face or box on the ear) which is *pústr* also in the accusative, *pústri* in the dative and *pústrs* in the genitive. (11b) does neither have a nominative -r as the word is probably not a singular accusative but rather a plural accusative form which has borrowed the <er> from nominative plural by analogy. Here again we see a

levelling between nominative and accusative, which seemingly have become identical in strong masculine singular and plural, at least in the case of (11b).

Even though we have many expected forms the distinction between the nominative and accusative seems to be lost with the loss of nominative *-r*. However, if there is a merging of the two cases, they have not lost ground to the dative, as the accusatives always occur where we would expect them. E.g.

- (12) a. $S_{\langle on \text{ bar se mien } \text{ot} \rangle}$ (29²), ON *hún bar sér mjóðinn at*.
 b. $S_{\langle di \text{ skall taga dor yoch} \rangle}$ (9¹), ON *þér skuluð taka yðr eyk*.
 c. $S_{\langle hon \text{ askar feyrin sien} \rangle}$ (26²), ON *hún spyr fjoðurinn sinn*.

In all three cases the direct object, $S_{\langle mien \rangle}$, $S_{\langle yoch \rangle}$ and $S_{\langle feyrin \rangle}$, take the expected case, namely accusative.

Of the six datives three have the expected *-i* ending while two lack it. The kinship word $S_{\langle fy \rangle}$ (9³) lacks the word final *-r* and the mutation of the vowel $\langle y \rangle$ which supposedly represents the nominative vowels of nominative *fadvir*. In the oblique cases we would expect some kind of mutation in the stem vowel. Apparently it has the same form in the nominative, accusative and dative, like Faroese /*feajjir*/. The other strong masculine datives are:

- (13) a. $S_{\langle grothè \rangle}$ (25²), ON *gráti*.
 b. $S_{\langle liene \rangle}$ (3²), ON *leiðangri*.
 c. $S_{\langle mandum \rangle}$ (20³), ON *manndómi*.
 d. $S_{\langle pluge \rangle}$ (14⁴), ON *plóði*.
 e. $S_{\langle stien \rangle}$ (35²), ON *steini*.

Of these (13c) and (e) lack the dative *-i* ending. (13a), (b) and (d) are all marked, (a) with $\langle -è \rangle$, the other two with $\langle -e \rangle$. This may indicate some morphological levelling in the dative category, but not as radical as in the nominative.

There are four genitives in the strong masculine group:

- (14) a. $S_{\langle yals \rightarrow \rangle}$ (24¹), ON *jarls-*. Gen.
 b. $S_{\langle Koningnsens \rangle}$ (35³), ON *Könungsins*. Gen. def.
 c. $S_{\langle sonna \rightarrow \rangle}$ (11³), ON *sona-*. Gen. pl.

d. $\text{S}\langle\text{sone}\rangle$ (12³), ON *sona*. Gen. pl.

(14a) and (c) are parts of genitive compounds. (14a), (b) and (c) were all tagged expected as the endings agree with the Old Norse. There is a singular genitive, a plural genitive and a definite genitive ending, all corresponding to their equivalent Old Norse endings. (14b) has an $\langle\text{-n-}\rangle$ in between the stem and the genitive ending. How we are to interpret this is a difficult question. It might be because Low had wrote the word thrice before (10¹, 12¹ 16²) and every time with the definite article $\langle\text{-n-}\rangle$, and thus when he wrote this genitive form he may have thought that it ought to be here too. This is just speculation of course. I may also be a frozen definite nominative or accusative article that stays there even when the genitive ending is attached. Whatever it is, the definite genitive ending itself corresponds to the Old Norse ending *-sins*. (14d) seems to show a weakening of the genitive plural ending *-a*. As a whole the genitive endings here seem quite regular.

In the strong masculine group there were thirty expected forms and 22 unexpected. Perhaps the weak masculines can tell us something about a potential merging of the nominative and accusative case. In the weak section there were nine expected forms and twelve unexpected forms. Of the seven weak masculines in the nominative, four had the expected ending:

- (15) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{Hera}\rangle$ (13²), ON *Herra*.
b. $\text{S}\langle\text{friendè}\rangle$ (2¹), ON *frændi*.
c. $\text{S}\langle\text{frinde}\rangle$ (19³, 21³), ON *frændi*.

However the word $\text{S}\langle\text{Hera}\rangle$ also occurs several times with the ending $\langle\text{-e}\rangle$ (8³, 21², 28², 27⁴), and only once more with the $\langle\text{-a}\rangle$ (33³), this time with the definite article. Both ending vowels appear in both cases. (15b) and (c) have the expected nominative ending, and occurring as well in the accusative, there it also has the expected oblique ending *-a*, $\text{S}\langle\text{frinda}\rangle$ (1²). However, and irregular form of this word is also found: $\text{S}\langle\text{ufrien}\rangle$ (12b¹). Here the ending is lacking as well as the $\langle\text{-d-}\rangle$.

The accusative only has two regular occurrences:

- (16) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{dogha}\rangle$ (25⁴), ON **dáa*. Acc.
b. $\text{S}\langle\text{heran}\rangle$ (33³), ON *herran*. Acc. def.

These both have the expected Old Norse *-a*. Then there are some which do not have the expected ending, e.g.:

- (17) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{fwelsko}\rangle$ (35¹), ON *fǫlska*. Acc.
 b. $\text{S}\langle\text{mugè}\rangle$ (12³), ON *múga*. Acc.

(17a) could be a feminine with the weak oblique ending *-u*, but apparently it is only attested as masculine (Hægstad 1900: 83). Hægstad reckons that the $\langle\text{o}\rangle$ is a writing error for $\langle\text{a}\rangle$. (17b) in likeness with (14d) seems to show a weakening of the ending *-a*. In (14d) though, it was the plural genitive ending, while here it is the oblique ending.

In the dative we find these weak masculines:

- (17) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{frinda}\rangle$ (1²), ON *frænda*. Acc.
 b. $\text{S}\langle\text{sluge}\rangle$ (14²), ON *slóða*. Acc.
 c. $\text{S}\langle\text{villya}\rangle$ (1²), ON *vilja*. Acc.
 d. $\text{S}\langle\text{bardagana}\rangle$ (17³, 33⁴), ON *bardaganum*. Acc. def.

Of these only (17a) and (c) have the expected *-a* ending. Interestingly $\text{S}\langle\text{sluge}\rangle$ in line two rhymes with $\text{S}\langle\text{pluge}\rangle$, ON *plógi*, in line four. The latter is a neuter, which gets the regular dative *-i* ending while we would expect the former to get the oblique *-a* ending. This may be an example of poetic liberty, where regular endings are changed to accommodate rhyme.

$\text{S}\langle\text{bardagana}\rangle$ has the expected indefinite oblique ending $\text{S}\langle\text{bardaga-}\rangle$, ON *bardagi*, but the dative definite ending is not as expected. This could perhaps be an accusative plural ending, in which case it would correspond to Old Norse *bardagana*. However, it is unlikely that the prepositions $\langle\text{a}\rangle$ and $\langle\text{i}\rangle$ would take the accusative in these instances. It is also unlikely that the word should be plural as there is only one fight in the ballad. The $\langle\text{-na}\rangle$ ending is reminiscent of some of Jakobsen's Norn samples which seemingly have all endings levelled under *-na*, e.g. "*sponna...*"¹⁸⁹, "*kvarna farna?*" and "*Skekla komena rina tuna...*" (Jakobsen 1897: 11, 19). Perhaps this is an example of the beginning of that kind of levelling.

In the weak masculine there were only two instances with the expected endings (16a) $\text{S}\langle\text{dogha}\rangle$, and (16b) $\text{S}\langle\text{heran}\rangle$, the latter of which had the same vowel in all cases in Old Norse.

¹⁸⁹ Jakobsen's special characters are rendered in normal orthography here.

The other forms seem irregular. The dative seems more like expected. Aside from (17b) which may be irregular because of rhyme, and aside from the definite article in (17d), it seems like the dative is quite regular.

The two weak genitives seem to confirm a distinction between nominative and oblique case:

- (18) a. $S_{\langle da \rangle}$ (22¹), ON *dauða-*.
b. $S_{\langle vanna \rangle}$ (1⁴), ON *vanda-*.

Both are part of genitive compounds and both seemingly have the expected *-a* ending. However, in (18a) the stem vowel and the ending seem to have merged after the loss of intervocalic /ð/. (18b) shows the expected oblique ending *-a*. Since they are both part of compounds the endings may just as well be interpreted as fusional particles that link the words together, rather than as genitive endings.

I would say there is enough evidence that Hildina Norn upholds the Old Norse distinction between nominative *-i* and oblique *-a*, especially the word pair $S_{\langle frinde \rangle}$, nominative and $S_{\langle frinda \rangle}$, dative, indicates this. Whether the accusative is included in this distinction is difficult to answer with only two instances having the expected endings. The variation between $\langle e \rangle$ and $\langle a \rangle$ seem to be mainly in the accusative. This may indicate that the weak masculine accusative is in the process of assimilating to the nominative. On the whole the evidence is scarce though, the genitive having only two occurrences, and so it is hard to deduce anything with certainty.

6.3.1.2 Feminine

The feminine group counts 34 tokens, of which there are 24 lexemes, only two of them in the weak category:

- (19) a. $S_{\langle duka \rangle}$, ON *drykkju*. Acc.
b. $S_{\langle -kona \rangle}$, ON *-kǫnnu*. Acc.

Both of them seem to have the Old Norse nominative endings *-a* instead of the expected oblique ending *-u*.

The word $\text{S}\langle\text{fruna}\rangle$ occurred the most often, with seven occurrences. Six times in the nominative and once in the accusative and always with the definite article. This word mostly has $\langle\text{-na}\rangle$ in the nominative and in the one instance in accusative it has $\langle\text{-an}\rangle$. This would seem opposite. We would expect something like $\langle\text{-an}\rangle$ in the nominative and $\langle\text{-na}\rangle$ in the accusative. Again this may point towards a weakening of the distinction between nominative and accusative where perhaps basic forms are developed from either nominative or accusative. If this is the case then *i* mirrors the development in Middle Norwegian.

Most unexpected forms in the feminine came with the definite article. Here are some examples:

- (20) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{vrildan}\rangle$ (2^3), ON *veröldin*. Nom. def. $\text{S}\langle\text{meun}\rangle$ ($1^3, 2^1$), ON *meyna*. Acc. def.
 b. $\text{S}\langle\text{meun}\rangle$ ($1^3, 2^1$), ON *meyna*. Acc. def.
 c. $\text{S}\langle\text{Drotnign}\rangle$ (6^1), ON *Dróttningina*. Dat. def.
 d. $\text{S}\langle\text{garedin}\rangle$ (16^4), ON *gerðinni*. Dat. def.
 e. $\text{S}\langle\text{glasburyon}\rangle$ ($1^3, 2^1$), ON *glerborginni*. Dat. def.
 f. $\text{S}\langle\text{hadlin}\rangle$ (30^2), ON *hollinni*. Dat. def.

All except (20a) seemingly lack a final vowel. There seems to be a total levelling between the nominative, accusative and the dative. The only feminine word with the article, that had something similar to the expected form was the genitive $\text{S}\langle\text{strandane}\rangle$ (9^2), ON *strandanna*. (20a) seems to have gone over to a weak pattern.

If we compare with the definite masculine forms, they seem to be regular in the nominative and accusative at least, but there the dative $\text{S}\langle\text{bardagana}\rangle$ (17d) is also unexpected. Thus the definite article apparently accounts for a lot of the innovations in Hildina Norn.

There are some interesting feminine plurals:

- (21) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{buthe}\rangle$ (10^4), ON *bætr*. Acc. pl.
 b. $\text{S}\langle\text{merkè}\rangle$ (11^1), ON *merkr*. Acc. pl.
 c. $\text{S}\langle\text{reithin}\rangle$ (4^4), ON *rótum*. Dat. pl.

(21a) and (b) both show a loss of plural -r but retain the svarabhakti vowel $\langle\text{e}\rangle$ and $\langle\text{è}\rangle$. (21c) shows the change $/m/ > /n/$ as in Faroese datives $/\text{-um}/$ to $/\text{-un}/$. It seemingly also shows a further development of $/u/ > /i/$ in the ending. This is similar to the development in Svínøy,

Faroe Islands, where Old Norse dative plural endings *-um* become *-in*, e.g. /fjødlinin/ for Old Norse *fjöllunum*.

There are some other examples of the marking of dative plural with a vowel + n in Hildina Norn:

- (22) a. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{londen}\rangle}$ (4¹), ON *londum*. Neut. dat. pl.
b. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{Orknian}\rangle}$ (5³), ON *Orkneyjum*. Fem. dat. pl.
c. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{Orkneyan}\rangle}$ (18⁴), ON *Orkneyjum*. Fem. dat. pl.

The variance in the vowels of the endings, $\langle\text{-in}\rangle$, $\langle\text{r-en}\rangle$ and $\langle\text{-an}\rangle$ may say more about Low's linguistic proficiency than about the actual Norn pronunciation of the vowel.

Some feminines lack the umlaut

- (23) a. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{and}\rangle}$ (9¹), ON *hond*. Acc.
b. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{scam}\rangle}$ (13², 21²), *skømm*. Acc.

In the feminine the dative plural and the genitive seem to correspond the most to what we would expect. There were some expected forms without the definite article, but these are mostly not marked.

There were 23 unexpected forms and in these the definite article was much involved in addition to a few lacking umlaut. The expected forms were only twelve. Most of these were unmarked strong feminines in the nominative, accusative or dative.

6.3.1.3 Neuter

There are 36 neuter forms of which there are only two weak forms. It has by far the most expected forms with 32 versus 4 unexpected. Here are the four unexpected:

- (24) a. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{tworore}\rangle}$ (6³), ON *tárin(?)*. Nom. def. pl.
b. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{chaldona}\rangle}$ (25¹), ON *tjaldinu*. Dat. def.
c. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{port}\rangle}$ (30⁴), ON *porti*. Dat.
d. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{-ro}\rangle}$ (1⁴), ON *ráði*. Dat.

(24a) is a difficult one. There are some alternative interpretations. It could be that Low originally wrote ^H⟨tworone⟩ like Hægstad believes and has amended accordingly (Hægstad 1900: 13). It could thus be a similar form to Faroese *tárin*. Lindqvist proposes either a weak or a strong feminine indefinite plural, thus **tárir* or **tárur* (Lindqvist 2000: 488). There is another example of a neuter definite plural:

(25) ^S⟨kloyn⟩ (24²), ON *klæðin*. Acc. def. pl.

Here the ⟨n⟩ is apparent but the final ⟨-e⟩, as in ^H⟨tworone⟩ lacking.

(24b) shows the same tendency as proposed before, namely the levelling of definite endings under *-na*. (24c) and (d) lack to dative *-i* ending. The latter shows the general tendency of Hildina Norn to merge the remaining vowels after loss of intervocalic /ð/, be it ending or not. Other examples of this phenomenon are:

- (26) a. ^S⟨mien⟩ (29²), ON *mjóðinn*.
 b. ^S⟨liene⟩ (3²), ON *leiðangri*.
 c. ^S⟨stumer⟩ (3⁴), ON *stjúpmóðir*.

The ⟨i⟩ and ⟨i⟩ in (26a) and (b) are probably not the stem vowel but rather the aforementioned j-epenthesis.

Apart from (24c) and (d) the other eight neuter indefinite singular datives are consistently marked with ⟨-e⟩, one with ⟨i⟩. Again the dative is the strongest, both in singular and plural, and again the definite article has the most unexpected forms. However it also had three expected forms:

- (27) a. ^S⟨-huge⟩ (22¹), ON *hoggit*. Dat. def.
 b. ^S⟨-guadnè⟩ (24¹), ON *bar*
 c. ^S⟨live⟩ (32⁴)

These all show the loss -t in neuter endings like in Faroese and Norwegian.

6.3.2 Pronouns

There were 102 occurrences of personal pronouns, thirteen of them were the first person singular $\text{S}_{\langle\text{yach}\rangle}$, whit the variant spelling $\text{S}_{\langle\text{yagh}\rangle}$ occurring twice and two short forms occurring $\text{S}_{\langle\text{-a}\rangle}$ and $\text{S}_{\langle\text{a}\rangle}$. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{yach}\rangle}$, ON *ek*, and the verb $\text{S}_{\langle\text{yaar}\rangle}$, ON *er*, seemingly show a tendency in Hildina Norn towards breaking as Barnes (1998: 17) also claimed.

The first person pronouns appears in all cases except the genitive:

- (28) a. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{yach}\rangle}$ (8³, etc), ON *ek*. Nom.
b. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{moch}\rangle}$ (7⁴), ON *mik*. Acc.
c. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{mir}\rangle}$ (23¹, etc), ON *mér*. Dat.

The 2. person appears on all but the accusative case. However it has two almost equally frequent nominative forms:

- (29) a. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{du}\rangle}$ (2¹, etc.), ON *pú*. Nom.
b. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{doch}\rangle}$ (7³, etc), ON *pú*. Nom.
c. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{ger}\rangle}$ (11²), ON *pér*. Dat.
d. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{dín}\rangle}$ (2⁴), ON *pín*. Gen.

The similarity between (29b) and (28b) would seem to indicate that $\text{S}_{\langle\text{doch}\rangle}$ was an accusative form, but it is only used in the nominative and sadly we don't have an certified accusative to compare with. It is likely however, that the nominative form $\text{S}_{\langle\text{doch}\rangle}$ has come about by analogy (Hægstad 1900: 79–80). The aspirate may have come by influence of the first person $\text{S}_{\langle\text{yach}\rangle}$.

Elsewhere (part 4.5.2) we have explained one of the likely explanations for (29c). The genitive (29d) is governed by the preposition $\text{S}_{\langle\text{to}\rangle}$, which interestingly seems like a Scots loan. Anyway, it obviously governs the genitive as we shall also see later.

There is a set of pronouns which seem to have formal use (Hægstad 1900: 79–80, also discussed in part 4.6.2.2):

- (30) a. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{di}\rangle}$ (5⁴, etc.), ON *pér(?)*. Nom. pl.
b. $\text{S}_{\langle\text{dor}\rangle}$ (9¹, etc.), ON *yðr(?)*. Dat. pl.

These are mostly used when addressing the king, and when Hildina addresses the earl. It is never found in the accusative or the genitive. However the possessive pronoun $\text{S}\langle\text{dora}\rangle$ (9⁴, 20³) is used in the same manner. It seems like the possessive pronoun here has a fixed form no matter what the case is. The ending $\langle\text{-a}\rangle$ is perhaps borrowed from the genitive plural. This might simply be the genitive of $\langle\text{di}\rangle$ which is used also as possessive pronoun.

The reflexive pronoun only appears twice $\text{S}\langle\text{se}\rangle$ (7², 29²). It looks like an Old Norse accusative *sik*, but we would expect the dative *sér*. Again we have a loss of word final -r.

The third person pronouns mostly come without the initial aspirate /h/. Both the masculine and the feminine come in all cases except the accusative, which is a shame as it could help us verify if there is a total loss of distinction between nominative and accusative.

- (31) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{an}\rangle$ (1³, etc.), ON *hann*. Nom.
 b. $\text{S}\langle\text{honon}\rangle$ (10², 13², 21²), ON *honum*. Dat.
 c. $\text{S}\langle\text{ans}\rangle$ (8², etc.), ON *hans*. Gen.

Again the dative shows the /m/ > /n/. The third dative, in verse 21², is actually irregular $\text{S}\langle\text{ana}\rangle$, but we know it is the dative because the line is practically the same as 13² where $\text{S}\langle\text{honon}\rangle$ is used.

Here is the feminine:

- (32) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{on}\rangle$ (20²), ON *hon*. Nom.
 b. $\text{S}\langle\text{edne}\rangle$ (22⁴), ON *henni*. Dat.
 c. $\text{S}\langle\text{ednar}\rangle$ (1⁴), ON *hennar*. Gen.

What we have of the third person pronouns is as expected. The dative and genitive endings correspond to the Old Norse, but unluckily the accusative only occurs once in the pronouns and that is in the first person. This makes it difficult to estimate whether nominative and accusative have merged in the pronouns as well as in the nouns.

Of the 24 of possessive pronouns, there were only one feminine and three neuters. The expected forms were fifteen, the unexpected nine. There are some instances where a word final vowel seems to be lacking or added where we would not expect it:

- (33) a. $\text{S}\langle\text{sino}\rangle$ (24⁴), ON *sinn*. Masc. acc.

- b. $s_{\langle\text{-sina}\rangle}$ (24⁴), ON *sinn*. Masc. acc.
- c. $s_{\langle\text{din}\rangle}$ (19²), ON *þinna*. Masc. acc. pl.
- d. $s_{\langle\text{sīn}\rangle}$ (1²), ON *sīnum*. Masc. dat.
- e. $s_{\langle\text{sina}\rangle}$ (24²), ON *sín*. Neut. acc. pl.

Two of the possessive pronouns with word final vowel seem to correspond more or less with the Old Norse:

- (34) a. $s_{\langle\text{minu}\rangle}$ (9³), ON *mīnum*. Masc. dat.
 b. $s_{\langle\text{sīna}\rangle}$ (18³), ON *sīna*. Masc. acc. pl.

(34a) lacks the final nasal and (34b) seemingly has a long vowel instead of a short. Interestingly the ending $\langle\text{-na}\rangle$ only seems to occur in the accusative of the reflexive possessive, both in the singular or plural. There may have been some levelling in the accusative paradigms, with the masculine accusative plural ending *-nna* spreading to the singular and even to the neuter paradigm like in (33e). However, if this were true we would also expect it to affect other pronouns than the reflexive, (33c) for instance.

Perhaps the *-na* endings are just another example of the general levelling of endings that we talked about earlier and which is so typical of many of Jakobsen's fragments. However, in the nouns the $\langle\text{-na}\rangle$ only occurs in the definite article. Do we here see it spread to other morphological categories?

6.3.3 Determiners

There are eighteen demonstrative determiners, thirteen belong under Old Norse *sá*.

- (35) a. $s_{\langle\text{an}\rangle}$ (27⁴), ON *þann*. Masc. acc.
 b. $s_{\langle\text{da}\rangle}$ (11², etc.), ON *þat*. Neut. acc.
 c. $s_{\langle\text{Dese}\rangle}$ (15³), ON *þess*. Neut. gen.
 d. $s_{\langle\text{dim}\rangle}$ (30²), ON *þá*. Masc. acc. pl.
 e. $s_{\langle\text{du}\rangle}$ (25³), ON *þau*. Neut. acc. pl.

(35a) has undergone the sound change $/p/ > /h/$ like in some Faroese pronouns, but then also a further step $/h/ > \emptyset$, like the examples (36a) and (b) below.

- (36) a. $s_{\langle es \rangle}$, ON *þessi*. Fem. nom.
 b. $s_{\langle ita \rangle}$, ON *þetta*. Neut. nom.

This last step has not happened in Faroese. The kinds of changes we see in *sá* are mostly phonological changes that do not affect the case system, e.g. loss of final -t in neuter endings (35b), an added vowel to the neuter genitive, perhaps as svarabhakti vowel? And then a monophthongisation of Old Norse /au/ to /u/ in (35e). (35d) however seems to show the dative form of *sá*, *þeim*, which has taken the accusative, in accordance with mainland Scandinavian, where *dem* functions as object form to subject form *de*. Again there little evidence to build on, but based on what we have there seems to be a merging of dative and accusative here instead of nominative and accusative like in the nouns.

The two occurrences of the demonstrative *sjalfr*:

- (37) a. $s_{\langle skall \rangle}$ (33³), ON *sjalfr*. Masc. nom.
 b. $s_{\langle chels \rightarrow \rangle}$ (24⁴), ON *sjalfrs*. Masc. gen.

(37a) shows the loss nominative -r which seemingly is total in Hildina Norn. (37b) has the expected ending.

The three instances of quantifier determiners all showed expected endings

- (38) a. $s_{\langle engin \rangle}$ (22²), ON *enginn*. Masc. nom.
 b. $s_{\langle engan \rangle}$ (12b¹), ON *engan*. Masc. acc.
 c. $s_{\langle inga \rangle}$ (28³), ON *enga*. Fem. acc.

In general the demonstrative and quantifier determiners had few unexpected forms, but there is little evidence to judge from, whether the whole four case system is presented here. (35d) would seem to indicate levelling between accusative and dative, but all of the quantifiers are as expected, the accusatives being marked, (38b) with the vowel change *i* to *a* and (38c) with the $\langle a \rangle$ in unsheltered position.

6.3.4 Adjectives and participles

There were twenty adjectives, there were no feminines. Only five of them showed unexpected endings:

- (39) a. ^S⟨bal⟩ (23²), ON *baldr*. Masc. str. nom.¹⁹⁰
b. ^S⟨Wordig⟩ (12³), ON *Verðugr*. Masc. str. nom.
c. ^S⟨geven⟩ (18⁴), ON *gæfir*. Masc. str. nom. pl.
d. ^S⟨gouga⟩ (33¹), ON *góðan*. Masc. str. acc.
e. ^S⟨whitranè⟩ (6⁴), ON *hvítu*(?). Fem. w. dat.

(39a) and (b) again show the lack of nominative -r. (39c) is amended by Hægstad to ^H⟨gever⟩ as he sees ⟨-n⟩ as a mistake by Low. In that case it would have the expected ending. As the endings is now, it corresponds to neither Old Norse nor any Scandinavian language. (39d) seems to lack the final -n of the strong inflection, which we would expect here. It may be because Low has written this word twice with the weak inflection, without the accusative -n, which in turn may have influenced him when he wrote the word the third time. He may even have omitted it when he made his final manuscript, as he saw that the other two words did not have a final -n. We can merely speculate here, but it is peculiar, that the following noun has the expected -r ending in the plural ^S⟨skeger⟩, while the adjective does not.

(39e) seems to be present participle formed of a verb something like the first part ⟨whitra-⟩, but it is more likely a derivation from the Old Norse adjective *hvítr* as both in Faroese, Norwegian and Danish we have similar forms (see footnote 48).

Of the expected forms we can draw a few examples:

- (40) a. ^S⟨fiegan⟩ (7³, 8¹), ON *féigan*. Masc. str. acc.
b. ^S⟨heve⟩ (8³), ON *hæfi*. Masc. w. nom.
c. ^S⟨gougha⟩ (27⁴), ON *góða*. Masc. w. acc.
d. ^S⟨mege⟩ (10², 33¹), ON *mikit*. Neut. str. acc.
e. ^S⟨ru⟩ (11¹), ON *rauðu*. Neut. str. dat.
f. ^S⟨osta⟩ (4³), ON *hæsta*. Neut. str. sup. acc.

¹⁹⁰ All adjectives displayed here are positive unless otherwise stated.

(40a) have clearly distinct accusative endings when compared to the nominatives (39a) and (b) and the dative (40e) clearly stands out from the other two cases. Thus it looks like the adjectives have at least a three case system, with nominative, accusative and dative. The weak endings also seem to agree with the Old Norse masculine system of nominative *-i* and oblique *-a*. We can present the strong and weak singular paradigms thus:

(41)	<u>Strongly infl. adjectives</u>	<u>Weakly infl. adjectives</u>
	masc. neut.	masc.
	Nom. Ø ?	-i
	Acc. -an ?	-a
	Dat. ? -u	?
	Gen. ? ?	?

As we see there is a lot missing, but apparently what we do know of the adjectives largely agrees with the Old Norse system.

Three of the five past participles were as expected, while two showed unexpected endings:

- (42) a. S_{⟨cummin⟩} (19¹), ON *kominn*. Masc. nom.
 b. S_{⟨commin⟩} (31³), ON *kominn*. Masc. nom.
 c. S_{⟨fadlin⟩} (21⁴), ON *fallinn*. Masc. nom.
 d. S_{⟨heindè⟩} (21⁴), ON *hengdr*. Masc. nom.
 e. S_{⟨velburne⟩} (19⁴), ON *velbornum*. Masc. dat. pl.

(42d) lacks the nominative *-r* and seemingly has preserved a svarabhakti vowel, ⟨-è⟩. This nominative svarabhakti vowel however, is not seen in neither nouns nor adjectives, but it is seen in the plural feminine forms S_{⟨merkè⟩} and S_{⟨buthe⟩}, examples (21a) and (b).

(42e) is reminiscent of the dative plural *velborna*, which we would not expect after the verb *hleypir*, which only takes the dative in Old Norse.

6.3.5 Proper names

There are four proper names in the ballad:

- (43) a. ^S⟨Sante Maunís⟩ (5²), ON *Sankti Magnús*.
b. ^S⟨Hildina⟩ (3³, etc.), ON **Hildrinn(?)*.
c. ^S⟨Hiluge⟩ (13¹, etc.), ON *Illugi*.
d. ^S⟨Orkneyar⟩ (8⁴, etc.), ON *Orkneyjar*.

The first examples is only found once and in the nominative. ^S⟨Hildina⟩ is found eleven times and in all cases except the genitive. It always has the same form, which seems to be frozen accusative ending. ^S⟨Hiluge⟩ is found five times, once with the definite article ^S⟨Hilhugin⟩ (16³). The article is apparently not frozen here as in ⟨Hildina⟩. The ⟨H⟩ in ^S⟨Hiluge⟩ has probably come by analogy of the ^S⟨Hildina⟩ as both now begin with ⟨Hil-⟩ which is neat as they are the main characters of the story, the protagonist and the antagonist. None of the personal names (43a), (b) and (c), are ever inflected in case, which seems to verify the hypothesis (part 3.6), that personal names will lose their inflection first.

The place name (43d) has not lost the inflection. However, twice it shows an unexpected case:

- (44) a. ^S⟨Orkneyar⟩ (8⁴), ON *Orkneyjum*. Fem. pl. dat.
b. ^S⟨Orkneyar⟩ (5¹), ON *Orkneyja*. Fem. pl. gen.

In (44a) it is governed by the verb ^S⟨ro⟩, ON *ráða*, which we would expect to take the dative. Here it seems to take the accusative. (44b) will be discussed below. The place name does show the dative however, as shown in example (22c).

6.3.6 Preposition *til*

The preposition to/till, ON *til*, appears six times in the ballad. Five times it takes a nominal phrase:

- (44) a. ^S⟨to din⟩ (2⁴), ON *til þín*. 1st prs. sing. gen.
b. ^S⟨to Orkneyar⟩ (5¹), ON *til Orkneyja*. Fem. pl. gen.
c. ^S⟨to strandane⟩ (9²), ON *til strandanna*. Fem. def. pl. gen.

- d. ^S⟨to landa⟩ (12b²), ON *til landa*. Neut. pl. gen.
- e. ^S⟨till bridlevsin⟩ (25³), ON *til brúðhlaupsins*. Neut. def. gen.

Seemingly the preposition governs the genitive in at least four of these examples. (44b) may show a feminine plural accusative ending rather than genitive, as when Faroese Islanders say *til Føroyar* instead of *til Føroya*. This may indicate that there is a beginning tendency in Hildina Norn where *til* starts to take the accusative as well as the genitive, like in Faroese. In (44a) *til* takes genitive pronouns just as in Insular Scandinavian. (44c), (d) and (e) all seem to more or less correspond to their equivalent Old Norse genitives. The missing -s in (44e) is peculiar as we have the same ending in the masculine ^S⟨Koningnsens⟩ (3b).

6.3.7 Summary

There seems to be a general merging of nominative and accusative in the nouns. The weak masculines perhaps uphold the Old Norse distinction between nominative and the oblique cases, but the feminines seemingly do not. The dative has the most of expected forms, especially in the neuter, while some strong masculines lack the -i ending. The definite article accounts for a lot of the irregularities in the endings, especially in the feminine, where there seems to be a mixing of nominative and accusative, with the former occurring where we would expect the latter and vice versa. The genitives are mostly part of compounds, but nonetheless generally agree with the Old Norse.

Most of the personal pronouns were as expected, seemingly showing all four cases. However, there was only one instance of the accusative, which makes it difficult to say anything for certain. Additionally, Norn has developed a polite form similar to Faroese *tygum* and Danish *De*, based on probably the Old Norse first person pronoun *þér*. The possessive pronouns showed several unexpected forms which seem to have levelled under the ending ⟨-na⟩.

The demonstrative determiners had many expected forms, but one apparently dative form ^S⟨dim⟩, ON *þeim*, appearing where we would expect accusative. The demonstrative ^S⟨skall⟩, ON *sjalfr*, showed the general loss of nominative -r, which is also seen in the strong masculine nouns, the strong masculine adjectives and the strong masculine past participle.

The adjectives had many expected forms, and showed all cases except the genitive, while the personal names ^S⟨Hildina⟩ and ^S⟨Hiluge⟩ are never case-inflected.

7 Discussion

7.1 Implications of the results

The picture we get from the analysis is a complicated one, and quite unbalanced. The feminine is underrepresented in most categories, while in the personal pronouns there was only one accusative. At any rate, the adjectives seem to make clear that the accusative has not altogether merged with the nominative as the nouns seemed to indicate. Thus we can reject the hypothesis (in part 3.6) that the nominative and accusative have merged in Hildina Norn. However there perhaps signs that such a process is starting, as the total loss of nominative -r also may indicate. At least the noun seemingly show no distinction between the two cases. Moreover the irregularities in the feminine definite forms, where we find what looks like accusatives in nominative and opposite, seem to indicate that the sense of distinction between nominative and accusative is starting to fade. So perhaps we can suggest that a merging is slowly starting.

However the genitive case mostly shows expected forms, even though it occurs seldom and often as part of compounds. Moreover, the preposition *til* seemingly governs the genitive as in Old Norse. It is perhaps not wise to make any conclusions on the genitive, given the scarcity of the evidence, but based on what is seen in the ballad, it seems alive as a morphological category. Thus Hildina Norn would seem some way yet from the two case system in that emerged in Norwegian.

The definite article apparently accounts for a lot of the innovations in Hildina Norn. The definite article occurs sixteen times in the feminine and fourteen of those are unexpected forms, many of which show the ending *-na*, which may point towards the levelling under *-na* that we know from Jakobsen's material, and perhaps indicates that the definite article is in the beginning stages of losing its function? Perhaps Low's wordlist shows us a language stage where that process is completed? A stage where the definite article has totally lost its function. The intense language contact with Scots may have had both a general de-functioning effect on Norn as well as influenced Norn speakers to start using the Scots preceding article *de*, En. *the*, thus rendering the suffixed article redundant. This may be confirmed by the fact that the plural endings seem regular enough, while not the definite ending. This may be because the definite ending was felt redundant with the introduction of the Scots preceding article, while the plural ending was not felt redundant yet. The Scots article is nowhere in the ballad of course, but as we said before the ballad hardly gives an example of spoken Norn. But it may

tell us something about the grammar, even betraying Scots influence such as hypothesised here.

Regarding demonstrative determiners there is again little evidence to build on, but based on what we have, there seems to be a merging of dative and accusative into an object form based on dative. This is similar to mainland Scandinavian, e.g. Danish with the object form *de* and subject form *dem*. Other wise the demonstrative determiners together with the adjectives and participles were quite similar to the system in Old Norse, which further strengthens the conclusion that Hildina Norn is far from a two case system. Seemingly all four cases are functioning categories in the system, so although there seems to be a lot of irregularity regarding the definite article we automatically cannot conclude that there is a general breakdown of the system. But there traces of something that can be perhaps interpreted as a beginning breakdown.

7.2 What is Hildina Norn?

As Barnes has pointed out, it is “*not clear that Low’s material can be taken as representative of eighteenth-century Shetland Norn as a whole – let alone of Orkney Norn.*” (Barnes 2010: 29). I think we can be fairly certain that Hildina Norn is not a form Orkney Norn, as typical phonological features of Hildina Norn, such as /l:/ > /dl/, /rn/ > /dn/ and loss of initial /h/, are absent from Orkney Norn (see Marwick 1929 for phonology of Orkney Norn). This of course does not mean that the ballad cannot have been composed in Orkney, but the linguistic form which it had at the time of its recording, is not Orkney Norn. However, Hildina Norn does also exhibit traits that are not found in the later Norn material from Shetland, e.g. the almost total loss of /ð/, which seems to be only partial in Jakobsen’s material. Thus we might wonder if the ballad is not representative of some dialect of Shetland Norn. If Henry was a survivor of the epidemics in Foula in 1700 and 1720, as “*oral tradition and circumstantial evidence combine to suggest*” according to Baldwin (1984:59-60)), then we may assume that the language of the *Hildina Ballad* represents some kind of Foula Norn. Low’s (1879: 104–105) description of how the Foula speakers insert initial /h/ where it originally was not seems to match well with the language form we meet in *Hildina*. However, the Lord’s Prayer which Low recorded in Foula as well as the ballad has both similarities, e.g. /l:/ > /dl/, and deviations, e.g. no breaking, thus *er* instead of ⟨*yaar*⟩, from the ballad. The source of the paternoster was an old woman of Foula, according Laurenson (1860: 191–192). Does this mean that the variation between the Norn dialects were so great that even people from the same island could have

different linguistic traits? It is not unlikely, as is well known from both Norwegian and Faroese dialects. However, as we have discussed before, it is highly likely that both the ballad and the Lord's Prayer represent older language stages and we really cannot know the exact geographical locations of the origins of these two specimens.

But let us for now assume that the ballad represents an archaic form of Foula Norn. If the remnants of Norn which Jakobsen found in the late nineteenth century really can be said to phonologically be representative of Shetland Norn, then perhaps we can describe Foula Norn as one of probably several variants of Shetland Norn, and Hildina Norn in turn represents a small part of Foula Norn as it was perhaps late in the seventeenth century, according to Flom's (1929: 155) dating of the language of the ballad. As Barnes states (2010: 29) this form of Norn, Hildina Norn, seems to have more similarities with Faroese and West Scandinavian than Jakobsen's material, and whether this stems from inner causes of language change or outer, for example from influence from shipwrecked Faroese fishermen as he supposes, we really don't know.

7.3 Did Henry speak Norn?

What is the cause of the unexpected form in the analysis? Are they due to Henry's limited Norn skills, or are they due to Low's limited linguistics skills? Perhaps the answer is a combination of both. I think that we can at least be sure that Henry had a command of Norn, whether he was fluent or not.

It has been repeated often that Henry was not able to give a literal translation of that ballad, and that has been taken to indicate that he did not fully understand it (Smith 1996, Knooihuizen 2005, Millar 2008, Barnes 2010), only giving a summary of its contents. While I would not rule out the possibility that he did not understand all of the ballad, I think there is very little to base such a claim upon. It is indeed strange, as Rendboe has pointed out (1996: 3), that Low should obtain so little of the Norn language, when he visited Foula. Surely the 36 words that he wrote in the wordlist were only a fraction of the Norn words that were still in use, regardless if the Norn language itself was living or dead. Rendboe cites Ian Holbourn (1938: 29) who claimed that David Henry, apparently a descendant of William Henry, knew over a thousand words which Jakobsen took down. Holbourn moreover stated that David Henry's father could speak Norn fluently. Of course such statements long after the actual characters described must be taken with a grain of salt. But it is striking that Low was only

able to obtain 36 words, when Jakobsen more than a century later was able to obtain 10.000 words.

Why Low's linguistic harvest was so meagre, I don't know. But based on these observations I would think it obvious that William Henry probably knew a lot more than Low was able to obtain from him. That does not automatically make him a fluent speaker as Dorian (1981) describes the term. However I do think that Knooihuizen's (2005) description of him as a "*bad semi speaker at best*", and for that matter Smith's (1996: 30) claim that Low was describing a dead language, a tad too pessimistic. The case system of the ballad does not seem to display the breakdown of the inflectional system that we would expect from a bad semi speaker. Of course Low does say that Henry "*had the most retentive memory I ever heard of*" (Anderson 1879: liv-lvi). But is it likely that he would simply remember by heart a ballad with 35 stanzas and a more or less functioning grammar without understanding it? I think the language of the ballad would be more muddled if Henry was a bad semi speaker. In fact, most of the muddle that is there has been shown to be from Low's part, such as the erroneous splitting and joining of the words and the too long and too short stanzas, and other apparent mistakes. Based on these observations I think it likely that Henry was at least a good semi speaker, perhaps a fluent speaker. This would also be in line with Barnes's (1998: 26) estimation that the last fluent speakers of Norn died at the latest around 1800, which also seems to be what the contemporary sources indicate (cf. Stewart 1964: 163–6).

However, the language of the ballad and Henry's speech were most likely not one and the same. Since he had a retentive memory, he might have remembered many archaisms in the ballad, that he did not fully understand, as they did not exist in his own speech. Moreover, Norn as a language in a situation with a very high degree of language contact where it was fast losing ground to Scots probably had changed drastically over the last century of its existence. He probably spoke a Norn that had changed from the Norn of the ballad. Perhaps even to the point where it was difficult for him to understand parts of it. He may have spoken a Norn which had lost the suffixed definite article and borrowed the Scots preceding article, which in turn rendered the definite endings redundant. Low's wordlist, and the definite endings that we see levelled to *-na* in the ballad, may confirm this suspicion.

7.4 Language shift

If Henry was one of the very last fluent speakers of Norn, then the death of Norn can be dated to c. 1800. Knooihuizen's dating of the primary language shift to 1700 however need not be far off, as the references seem to indicate that by the eighteenth century the majority of the Shetlanders had shifted to Scots. It is not unlikely though, that the language lived on much longer after the PLS. Probably there were remnants of a Norn speaking community in the outskirts of Shetland, places like Foula and Unst, that survived much longer than in the Mainland.

As was said above, Smith, Knooihuizen and Millar may perhaps be a bit too pessimistic about the status of Norn in Foula 1774. Rendboe, on the other hand is way too optimistic. His theory about as Norn that "*stood firm to the end*" (1984: 80) far into the nineteenth century is unfounded. The fragments that he analyses are not examples of "pure" Norn. In his treatment of the Unst poem (Rendboe 1984) supposedly from the eighteenth century about the son that goes to Caithness and learns Scots terms, Rendboe manages to find all four Old Norse cases alive and well and functioning, and moreover claims that the Scots words are "*strategically placed*" and that the syntax is strictly Norse. He never even considers Scots influence, something that is so obvious to other scholars. Even if the rhyme was "pure" and the Scots loans placed intentionally, it still says nothing of the "purity" of contemporary Norn. One thing is to be able to treat Jakobsen's rhymes and fragments and come to the conclusion that they represent "pure" Norn, which is a feat in itself. A whole other thing is to from there draw the conclusion that Norn was alive and "pure" well into the eighteenth century — the early 1880's to be exact (1987: 6) — and in the process ignoring all contemporary references that point to the opposite.

The way I understand the concept of language shift, a language only remains 'pure' until its death in the case of extermination of a people (Dorian 1981: 114). The very concept of language shift implies dramatic changes, both lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic, in the dying language. The native speakers have the "purest" speech, while the first non native generation, the semi-speakers, range between very good and not so good, all the way to the rememberer, who has no active knowledge of the language, but only remembers words, phrases, perhaps a rhyme, etc. We cannot from the known specimens of Norn postulate any theory on the "purity" of Norn. Poetic texts, religious texts, wordlists, rhymes, proverbs, sarcasm. Fixed expressions. Such as is remembered long after the death of the language itself. These types of specimens tell us little of the "purity" of the spoken language.

But they may tell us a little of the state of the grammar. Jakobsen's Norn fragments definitely show a total breakdown of the linguistic system, with frozen articles, all endings levelled under *-na* or some other vowel or a vowel consonant combination, and no discernible grammatical system.

Jakobsen's informants were predominantly old people, as can be expected when you want to investigate a dead language. They were rememberers. They could not speak the language, but they remembered words and sentences that they were perhaps taught by their parents or grandparents, which in turn may have been semi speakers, but most likely they were also rememberers given the obscurity of many of the fragments. Thus we must go at least two generations back from Jakobsen's old informants to meet the last semi speakers. They would have been old people by the beginning of the nineteenth century. This would confirm that the prior generation, the last fluent speakers, died before 1800.

8 Conclusion

The analysis of the morphological case system of Hildina Norn indicates that there has been some morphological levelling, notably the accusative having seemingly merged with the nominative in the nouns, especially with the loss of nominative -r. On the other hand the dative is quite regularly marked, especially in the singular masculine and neuter and in most plural forms. The genitive case is surprisingly well preserved in the ballad as well, although it occurs more seldom than the other cases. The adjectives show a two clear accusative forms and thus invalidate the hypothesis that there is a complete merging of nominative and accusative in the ballad. Thus the two case system that emerged in Middle Norwegian is not seen in Hildina Norn, where we contrariwise must conclude that all four cases seem to function more or less according to the Old Norse system. However, there are definitely traces of a beginning morphological levelling, notable in the nominative and accusative.

The definite article was the category that had the most irregular forms, along with the weak category of nouns, where the Old Norse opposition between the nominative and the oblique cases seemed to be weakened.

The pronouns and determiners seemed to generally agree with the Old Norse system, showing all four cases, however, with a few innovations and some morphological levelling, while the personal names seemed to show the same tendency as in Faroese and mainland Scandinavian, namely, of first losing the inflection, thus acquiring a fixed form in all cases.

The results of the analysis also indicate that Henry probably was more than a bad semi speaker or a rememberer. Probably he was at least a good semi speaker which seems to ratify Barnes' (1998: 26) estimation that the last Norn speakers died around 1800.

8.1 Further research

Further research in the language of the ballad is warranted. A detailed study of prepositional phrases, for instance, would give us some insight regarding the case government of prepositions in Hildina Norn. A similar study could also be done with verbal phrases.

Part of my early work in this thesis involved rhyme pairs. In a small article, “Nøkur orð um rím og aldur”, Christian Matras (1969: 420) argued that rhyme pairs may “bear witness of the age of ballads”. In Faroese ballads there are many rhyme pairs, e.g. *knæ* and *dag*, that would not rhyme in Old Norse (*kné* : *dag*). However, due to the sound changes that have happened in Faroese through the centuries, these rhyme pairs have at some point in history become possible. He calls them “young rhymes”. There is a clear pattern: Old Faroese

ballads, which Matras places before the middle of the 16th century, show very few “young rhymes”, while younger ballads, after the middle of the 16th century, have many such rhymes.

Similarly, pairs in rhyme position that rhyme in Hildina Norn, but would not rhyme in Old Norse, indicate that the particular sound changes that made the rhyme possible must have happened before that part of the ballad was composed. On the other hand, if the ballad contains pairs that do not rhyme, but would rhyme in Old Norse, this would indicate that those sound changes happened after these parts of the ballad were composed. An analysis of the rhyme pairs might allow us to create a relative chronology of the sound changes that have happened in Norn (see Seán Vrieland’s handout (2015) for a relative chronology of sound changes in Faroese, based on rhyme pairs in Faroese ballads). And perhaps even a relative chronology of the composition of the different parts of the *Hildina Ballad*.

A degree of caution is required here though, as it is well known that in Faroese balladry half-rhyme is a fully accepted form of rhyme, and it may have been the case with the Shetland tradition as well.

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Appendix I: tables

1. Nouns

Token	Old Norse	Root form	Verse	Exp.	Unexp.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Strong	Weak	Plural	Def.art.	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	acc+dat.	Prep.	Verb
Fy	faðir	faðir	20 ³		✓	✓			✓				✓						✓
Go	Guð	Guð	21 ²	✓		✓			✓				✓						✓
meo	móðr	móðr	22 ⁴		✓	✓			✓				✓						✓
meo	móðr	móðr	34 ⁴		✓	✓			✓				✓						✓
eld-in	eldrinn	eldrinn	31 ³		✓	✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
eulling-in	þólingrinn	þólingr	3 ¹		✓	✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
fy-rin	faðirinn	faðir	16 ²	✓		✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
larl-in	jarlinn	jarl	1 ¹	✓		✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
larl-in	jarlinn	jarl	5 ¹	✓		✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
larl-in	jarlinn	jarl	7 ¹	✓		✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
larl-in	jarlinn	jarl	15 ¹	✓		✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
larl-in	jarlinn	jarl	18 ¹	✓		✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
larl-in	jarlinn	jarl	21 ³	✓		✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
larl-in	jarlinn	jarl	28 ¹	✓		✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
Konig-n	konungrinn	konungr	10 ¹		✓	✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
Konig-n	konungrinn	konungr	12 ¹		✓	✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
Koning-n	konungrinn	konungr	16 ²		✓	✓			✓			✓	✓						✓
fy	føður	faðir	7 ⁴		✓	✓			✓					✓					✓
fy	føður	faðir	8 ²		✓	✓			✓					✓					✓
fy	føður	faðir	29 ³		✓	✓			✓					✓					✓
fy	føður	faðir	29 ⁴		✓	✓			✓					✓			✓		✓
gre	gríðr	gríðr	32 ⁴	✓		✓			✓					✓			✓		✓
gre	gríðr	gríðr	33 ¹	✓		✓			✓					✓					✓
kednpuster	*kinnpústr	*kinnpústr	6 ²	✓		✓			✓					✓			✓		✓
lian	leiðangr	leiðangr	5 ⁴	✓		✓			✓					✓				✓	✓
man	mann	maðr	20 ⁴	✓		✓			✓					✓					✓
silkesark	silkesark	silkesark	31 ⁴	✓		✓			✓					✓				✓	✓

Token	Old Norse	Root form	Verse	Exp.	Unexp.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Strong	Weak	Plural	Def.art.	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	acc+dat.	Prep.	Verb
yoch	eyk	eykr	9 ¹	✓		✓			✓								✓		✓
bug-in	búkin	búkr	34 ²	✓		✓			✓			✓		✓					✓
Est-in	hestinn	hestr	14 ¹	✓		✓			✓			✓		✓					✓
feurfetig-n	ferfœtinginn	ferfœtingr	14 ¹	✓		✓			✓			✓		✓					✓
feurfetig-n	ferfœtinginn	ferfœtingr	14 ³	✓		✓			✓			✓		✓					✓
fey-rin	føðurinn	faðir	26 ²		✓	✓			✓			✓		✓					✓
fy-rin	føðurinn	faðir	28 ⁴		✓	✓			✓			✓		✓				✓	
larl-in	jarlinn	jarl	27 ³			✓			✓			✓		✓					
larl-in	jarlinn	jarl	28 ¹			✓			✓			✓		✓					
mie-n	mjóðinn	mjóðr	29 ²	✓		✓			✓			✓		✓					✓
vadi-in	völlinn	völlr	18 ²		✓	✓			✓			✓		✓					
vadi-in	völlinn	völlinn	20 ²		✓	✓			✓			✓		✓					
mien	menn	maðr	18 ³	✓		✓			✓		✓			✓					✓
mien	mönnum	maðr	19 ⁴		✓	✓			✓		✓			✓					✓
vodl-er	völlu	völlr	19 ²		✓	✓			✓		✓			✓					
fy	føður	faðir	9 ³		✓	✓			✓						✓				✓
groth-è	gráti	grátr	25 ²	✓		✓			✓						✓				
lien-e	leiðangri	leiðangr	3 ²	✓		✓			✓						✓				
mandum	mannðomi	mannðómr	20 ³		✓	✓			✓						✓				
plug-e	plógi	plógr	14 ⁴	✓		✓			✓						✓				
stien	steini	steinn	35 ²		✓	✓			✓						✓				
yals-	jarls-	jarl	24 ¹	✓		✓			✓							✓			
Koning-nsens	konungsins	konungr	35 ³	✓		✓			✓			✓				✓			
sonn-a-	sona-	sonr	11 ³	✓		✓			✓		✓					✓			
son-è	sona	sonr	12 ³		✓	✓			✓		✓					✓			
er-e	hera	hera	8 ³		✓	✓				✓			✓						✓
Er-e	Herra	Herra	21 ²		✓	✓				✓			✓						✓
Hera	Herra	Herra	13 ²	✓		✓				✓			✓						✓

Token	Old Norse	Root form	Verse	Exp.	Unexp.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Strong	Weak	Plural	Def.art.	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	acc+dat.	Prep.	Verb	
fríend-é	frændi	frændi	2 ¹	✓		✓				✓			✓							<input type="checkbox"/>
fríend-e	frændi	frændi	19 ³	✓		✓				✓			✓							<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
fríend-e	frændi	frændi	21 ³	✓		✓				✓			✓							<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
skegg-er	skeggjar	skeggi	18 ⁴		✓	✓				✓	✓		✓							<input type="checkbox"/>
dogn-a	*dása	*dái	25 ⁴	✓		✓				✓				✓						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
fwelisk-o	fólkska?	fóliski?	35 ¹		✓	✓				✓				✓						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
her-è	hera	hera	28 ²		✓	✓				✓				✓				✓		<input type="checkbox"/>
her-e	hera	hera	27 ⁴		✓	✓				✓				✓				✓		<input type="checkbox"/>
mug-è	múga	múgi	12 ³		✓	✓				✓				✓						<input type="checkbox"/>
ufrien	ófrænda	ófrændi	12b ¹		✓	✓				✓				✓						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
her-an	heran	hera	33 ³	✓		✓				✓		✓		✓						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
frínd-a	frænda	frændi	1 ²	✓		✓				✓					✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
slug-e	slóba	slóði	14 ²		✓	✓				✓					✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
vill-ya	vilja	vili	24 ⁴	✓		✓				✓					✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
bardag-ana	bardaganum	bardagi	17 ³		✓	✓				✓	✓	✓			✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
bardag-ana	bardaganum	bardagi	33 ⁴		✓	✓				✓	✓	✓			✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
da-	*dauðahoggit	dauði	22 ¹		✓	✓				✓						✓				<input type="checkbox"/>
vann-a-	vanda-	vandi	1 ⁴	✓		✓				✓						✓				<input type="checkbox"/>
stume-r	sjúpmóðir	sjúpmóðir	3 ⁴		✓		✓		✓				✓							<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
frau-na	frúin	frú	17 ¹		✓		✓		✓			✓	✓							<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
fru-en	frúin	frú	3 ³	✓			✓		✓			✓	✓							<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
fru-na	frúin	frú	20 ¹		✓		✓		✓			✓	✓							<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
fru-na	frúin	frú	24 ³		✓		✓		✓			✓	✓							<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
fru-na	frúin	frú	29 ¹		✓		✓		✓			✓	✓							<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
fru-na	frúin	frú	30 ¹		✓		✓		✓			✓	✓							<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
vrlid-an	veröldin	veröld	2 ³		✓		✓		✓			✓	✓							<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
and	hond	hond	9 ¹		✓		✓		✓					✓						<input type="checkbox"/>
gloug	glóð	glóð	30 ³	✓			✓		✓					✓						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Token	Old Norse	Root form	Verse	Exp.	Unexp.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Strong	Weak	Plural	Def.art.	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	acc+dat.	Prep.	Verb
sansot	samsátt	samsátt	16 ¹	✓			✓		✓					✓					✓
scam	skömm	skömm	13 ²	✓			✓		✓					✓			✓		✓
scam	skömm	skömm	21 ²	✓			✓		✓					✓			✓		✓
fru-an	frúna	frú	23 ³		✓		✓		✓			✓		✓			✓		✓
meu-n	meyna	mær	1 ³		✓		✓		✓			✓		✓			✓		✓
meu-n	meyna	mær	2 ¹		✓		✓		✓			✓		✓			✓		✓
buth-e	bætr	bót	10 ⁴		✓		✓		✓		✓			✓			✓		
lutustor	*lophusdyrr	*lophusdyrr	31 ³	✓			✓		✓		✓			✓			✓		✓
merk-è	mærkr	mørk	11 ¹		✓		✓		✓		✓			✓			✓		✓
dem	dimmu	dimma	17 ²		✓		✓		✓					✓			✓		
kidn	kinn	kinn	7 ²	✓			✓		✓					✓			✓		
kin	kinn	kinn	6 ²	✓			✓		✓					✓			✓		
kidn	kinn	kinn	6 ⁴	✓			✓		✓					✓			✓		
mild	mold(u)	mold	35 ²	✓			✓		✓					✓			✓		
Drottign-n	drottningunni	drottning	6 ¹		✓		✓		✓			✓		✓			✓		✓
gared-in	gerðinni	gerð	16 ⁴		✓		✓		✓					✓			✓		
glasbury-on	*glasborgunni	*glasborg	1 ³		✓		✓		✓					✓			✓		
glasbury-on	*glasborgunni	*glasborg	2 ¹		✓		✓		✓					✓			✓		
had-in	hóllinni	hóll	30 ²		✓		✓		✓					✓			✓		
reith-in	rótum	rót	4 ⁴	✓			✓		✓		✓			✓			✓		✓
daut-e-	dóttur	dóttir	10 ⁴		✓		✓		✓					✓			✓		
fast-a-	festar-	festir	23 ⁴		✓		✓		✓					✓			✓		
strand-ane	strand-anna	strönd	9 ²	✓			✓		✓		✓			✓			✓		
duk-a	drykkju	drykkja	25 ⁴		✓		✓		✓					✓			✓		
-kon-a	könnu	kanna	28 ³		✓		✓		✓					✓			✓		✓
namn	nafn	nafn	8 ²	✓			✓		✓				✓	✓			✓		✓
twor-ore	tárin	tár	6 ³		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓	✓			✓		✓
band	band	band	9 ⁴	✓			✓		✓					✓			✓		

Token	Old Norse	Root form	Verse	Exp.	Unexp.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Strong	Weak	Plural	Def.art.	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	acc+dat.	Prep.	Verb
bill	bil	bil	24 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-hug-e	* <i>clauðahggit</i>	hogg	22 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
fong	fang	fang	22 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
fung	fang	fang	34 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
gild	gjald/gjöld	gjald	13 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
-guadr-n-è	-barnit	barn	24 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
jath	gat	gat	30 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
klo-yn	klæðin	klæði	24 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
liv-e	lífít	líf	32 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
liv-è	leyfi	leyfi	26 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
mien	mein	mein	35 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
ro	ráð	ráð	1 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
tre	tré	tré	4 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vin	vin	vin	26 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
vin	vin	vin	27 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
vin	vin	vin	26 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
vin	vin	vin	27 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
-band-e	-bandi	band	23 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vadr-n-e	barni	barn	35 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
chald-ona	tjaldinu	tjald	25 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
godl-e	gulli	gull	11 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
godl-e	gulli	gull	23 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
hug-e	höfuð	höfuð	22 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
hug-e	höfuð	höfuð	34 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
land-e	landi	land	23 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
land-en	londum	land	4 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muthi	móti	mót	10 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
port	porti	port	30 ⁴	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Token	Old Norse	Root form	Verse	Exp.	Unexp.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Strong	Weak	Plural	Def.art.	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	acc+dat.	Prep.	Verb
-ro	-ráði	ráð	1 ⁴	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
bridlev-sin	brúðhlaupsins	brúðhlaup	25 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
forl-s-	fárs-	fár	28 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
land-a	landa	land	12b ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
u-o	augu	auga	25 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
gugn-a	hjóna	hjóna	23 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

2. Personal pronouns

Reference form	Old Norse	Root form	verse	exp.	unexp.	1.pers	2.pers	3.pers	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Plural	Formal	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	acc+dat	Prep.	Verb
-a	ek	ek	8 ¹	✓		✓								✓						✓
a	ek	ek	28 ¹	✓		✓								✓						✓
yach	ek	ek	8 ³	✓		✓								✓						✓
yach	ek	ek	11 ²	✓		✓								✓						✓
yach	ek	ek	11 ⁴	✓		✓								✓						✓
yach	ek	ek	12 ⁴	✓		✓								✓						✓
yach	ek	ek	12b ¹	✓		✓								✓						✓
yach	ek	ek	13 ⁴	✓		✓								✓						✓
yach	ek	ek	15 ⁴	✓		✓								✓						✓
yach	ek	ek	16 ³	✓		✓								✓						✓
yach	ek	ek	34 ¹	✓		✓								✓						✓
yagh	ek	ek	23 ²	✓		✓								✓						✓
yagh	ek	ek	28 ³	✓		✓								✓						✓
moch	mik	ek	7 ⁴	✓		✓									✓					✓
mier	mér	ek	10 ³	✓		✓										✓				✓
mier	mér	ek	12b ²	✓		✓										✓				✓
mier	mér	ek	26 ³	✓		✓										✓				✓
mir	mér	ek	23 ¹	✓		✓										✓				✓
mir	mér	ek	32 ⁴	✓		✓										✓				✓
mir	mér	ek	23 ³	✓		✓										✓				✓
mir	mér	ek	34 ⁴	✓		✓										✓				✓
doch	bú	bú	7 ³		✓		✓							✓						✓
dogh	bú	bú	12 ³		✓		✓							✓						✓
dogh	bú	bú	27 ³		✓		✓							✓						✓
dogh	bú	bú	33 ²		✓		✓							✓						✓
dogh	bú	bú	34 ³		✓		✓							✓						✓
Dogh	bú	bú	35 ³		✓		✓							✓						✓
du	bú	bú	2 ¹	✓			✓							✓						✓
du	bú	bú	32 ⁴	✓			✓							✓						✓
Du	bú	bú	27 ¹	✓			✓							✓						✓
Du	bú	bú	32 ³	✓			✓							✓						✓
Du	bú	bú	34 ¹		✓		✓							✓						✓

Reference form	Old Norse	Root form	verse	exp.	unexp.	1.pers	2.pers	3.pers	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Plural	Formal	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	acc+dat	Prep.	Verb
ger	pér	bú	11 ²	✓			✓									✓				✓
din	þin	bú	2 ⁴	✓			✓										✓		✓	
di	pér?	pér?	5 ⁴		✓		✓					✓	✓							✓
di	pér?	pér?	9 ¹		✓		✓					✓	✓							✓
di	pér?	pér?	10 ³		✓		✓					✓	✓							✓
di	pér?	pér?	13 ³		✓		✓					✓	✓							✓
di	pér?	pér?	20 ³		✓		✓					✓	✓							✓
di	pér?	pér?	20 ⁴		✓		✓					✓	✓							✓
Di	pér?	pér?	17 ³		✓		✓					✓	✓							✓
Di	pér?	pér?	23 ¹		✓		✓					✓	✓							✓
Di	pér?	pér?	26 ³		✓		✓					✓	✓							✓
lathi	léitub pér?	pér?	33 ³		✓		✓					✓	✓							✓
dor	yðr?	pér?	9 ¹		✓		✓					✓	✓			✓				✓
dor	yðr?	pér?	9 ²		✓		✓					✓	✓			✓				✓
dor	yðr?	pér?	13 ⁴		✓		✓					✓	✓			✓				✓
dor	yðr?	pér?	17 ³		✓		✓					✓	✓			✓				✓
se	sér	3rd person, refl.	7 ²		✓			✓									✓	✓		✓
se	sér	3rd person, refl.	29 ²		✓			✓									✓	✓		✓
an	hann	hann	1 ³	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	4 ¹	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	4 ³	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	5 ³	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
An	hann	hann	6 ¹	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	9 ⁴	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	10 ¹	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	12 ¹	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	12 ²	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	12b ²	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	15 ²	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	16 ¹	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	16 ³	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	18 ¹	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	21 ¹	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓
an	hann	hann	21 ³	✓				✓	✓					✓						✓

Reference form	Old Norse	Root form	verse	exp.	unexp.	1.pers	2.pers	3.pers	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Plural	Formal	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	acc+dat	Prep.	Verb	
an	hann	hann	21 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
an	hann	hann	22 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
an	hann	hann	22 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
an	hann	hann	22 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
an	hann	hann	31 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
in	hann	hann	7 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
in	hann	hann	15 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
en	hann	hann	32 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
honor	honum	hann	10 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
honor	honum	hann	13 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
ana	honum	hann	21 ²	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
ans	hans	hann	8 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ans	hans	hann	22 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ans	hans	hann	31 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ans	hans	hann	34 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ans	hans	hann	34 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ans	hans	hann	35 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
hans	hans	hann	19 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
an	hon	hon	17 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
on	hon	hon	20 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
on	hon	hon	24 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
on	hon	hon	26 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
on	hon	hon	29 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
on	hon	hon	29 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
on	hon	hon	29 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
on	hon	hon	30 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
on	hon	hon	30 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
on	hon	hon	35 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
un	hon	hon	30 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
hon	hon	hon	3 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
hon	hon	hon	24 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
hon	hon	hon	25 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
hedne	henni	hon	22 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
eidnar	hennar	hon	1 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Reference form	Old Norse	Root form	verse	exp.	unexp.	1.pers	2.pers	3.pers	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Plural	Formal	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	acc-dat	Prep.	Verb
edhar	hennar	hon	22 ^s	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
eder	hennar	hon	6 ⁴	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Possessive pronouns

Reference form	Old Norse	Root form	verse	exp.	unexp.	1.pers	2.pers	3.pers	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Plural	Formal	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	Prep.	Verb	
min	minn	minn	2 ²	✓		✓			✓					✓						<input type="checkbox"/>
min	minn	minn	8 ³	✓		✓			✓					✓						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
min	minn	minn	8 ²	✓		✓			✓						✓					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
min	minn	minn	28 ²	✓		✓			✓						✓					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
min	minn	minn	28 ⁴	✓		✓			✓						✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
min	minn	minn	33 ³	✓		✓			✓						✓					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
minu	minum	minn	9 ³		✓	✓			✓							✓				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
mit	mitt	mitt	34 ³	✓		✓					✓				✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
din	þinn	þinn	16 ²	✓			✓		✓					✓						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
din	þinn	þinn	21 ³	✓			✓		✓					✓						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
din	þinn	þinn	7 ⁴	✓			✓		✓						✓					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
din	þinn	þinn	27 ⁴	✓			✓		✓						✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
din	þinna	þinn	19 ²		✓		✓		✓			✓			✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
dora	yðart?	yðarr?	9 ⁴		✓		✓				✓				✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
dora	yðrum?	yðarr?	20 ³		✓		✓		✓						✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
sien	sinn	sinn	26 ²	✓				✓	✓						✓					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
sín	sinn	sinn	29 ³	✓				✓	✓						✓					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
sín	sinn	sinn	29 ⁴	✓				✓	✓						✓					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
sího	sinn	sinn	24 ⁴		✓			✓	✓						✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
sín	sinum	sinn	1 ²		✓			✓	✓						✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
chelsína	sjafts sinn	sinn	24 ⁴		✓			✓	✓						✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
san	sinni	sinn	17 ²		✓			✓	✓						✓					<input type="checkbox"/>
sína	sín	sinn	24 ²		✓			✓	✓						✓					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
sína	sinna	sinn	18 ³	✓				✓	✓						✓					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

4. Determiners

Reference form	Old Norse	Root form	verse	kind	exp.	unexp.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Plural	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	Prep.	Verb
an	pann	sá	27 ⁴	demonstrative	✓		✓					✓			✓	
Da	pat	sá	1 ¹	demonstrative	✓				✓			✓				✓
da	pat	sá	11 ²	demonstrative	✓				✓			✓				✓
da	pat	sá	20 ³	demonstrative	✓				✓			✓				✓
da	pat	sá	24 ¹	demonstrative	✓				✓			✓				✓
da	pat	sá	24 ²	demonstrative	✓				✓			✓				✓
Da	pat	sá	29 ¹	demonstrative	✓				✓			✓				✓
Da	pat	sá	30 ¹	demonstrative	✓				✓			✓				✓
da	pat	sá	32 ³	demonstrative	✓				✓			✓				✓
da	pat	sá	34 ¹	demonstrative	✓				✓			✓				✓
Dese	þess	sá	15 ³	demonstrative	✓				✓					✓		
dim	pá	sá	30 ²	demonstrative		✓	✓			✓		✓				✓
du	pau	sá	25 ³	demonstrative	✓				✓		✓					✓
eso	þessi	sjá, þessi	2 ³	demonstrative		✓		✓			✓					✓
ita	þetta	sjá, þessi	4 ²	demonstrative	✓				✓		✓					✓
skall	sjalfr	sjalfr	33 ³	demonstrative		✓	✓				✓					✓
chels-	sjalfs-	sjalfr	24 ⁴	demonstrative	✓		✓							✓		
whaar	hvern	hverr	14 ¹	interrogative		✓	✓					✓				✓
quar	hvern	hverr	29 ⁴	interrogative		✓	✓					✓				✓
engin	enginn	enginn	22 ²	quantifier	✓		✓				✓					✓
angan	engan	enginn	12b ¹	quantifier	✓		✓					✓				✓
inga	enga	enginn	28 ³	quantifier	✓			✓				✓				✓

5. Adjectives and participles

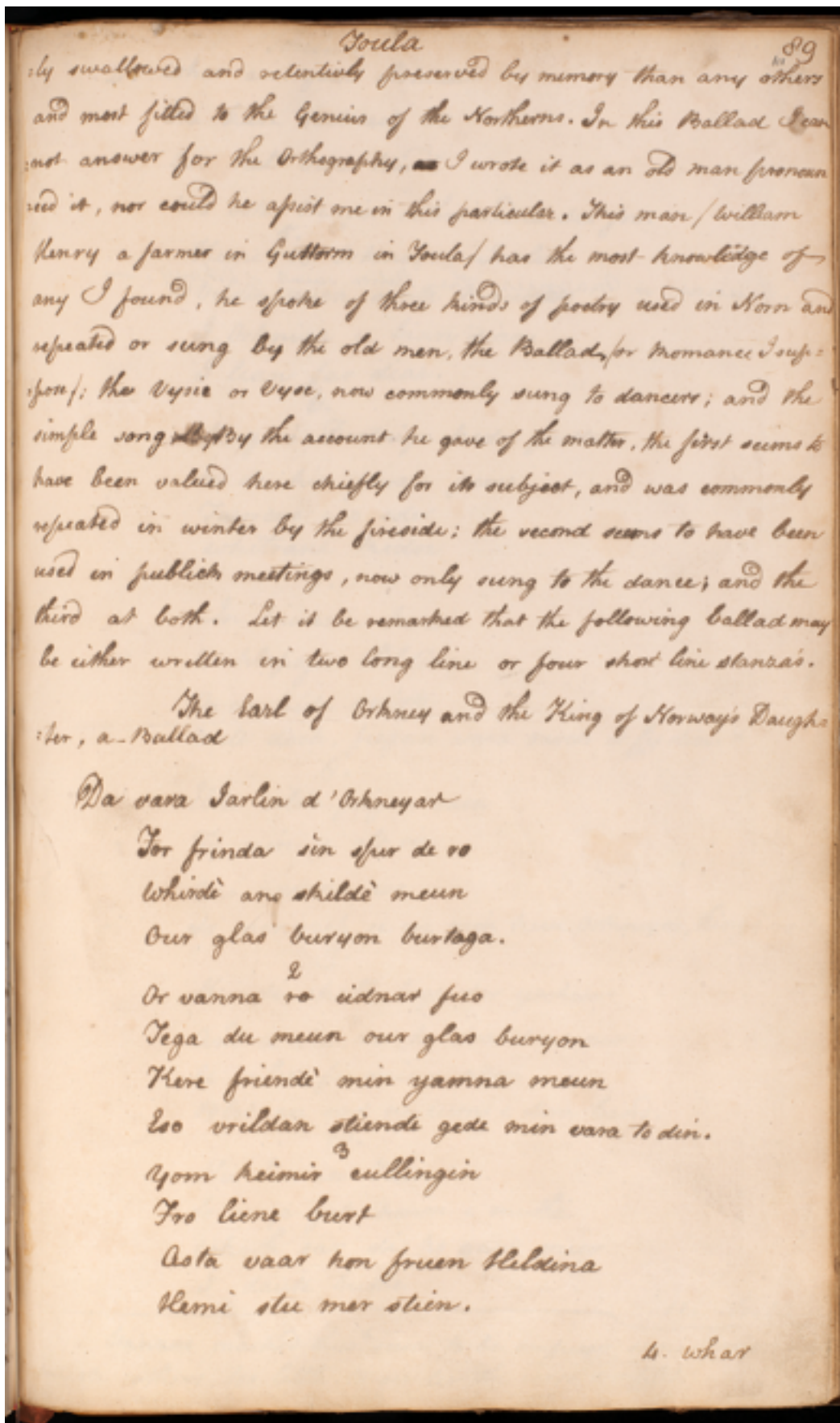
Reference form	Old Norse	Root form	vers	Exp.	Unexp	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Strong	Weak	Plural	Pos.	Comp.	Sup	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	Prep.	Verb
bal	baldr	baldr	23 ²	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Wordig	verðugr	verðugr	12 ³	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
sonnaliss	sonalauss	sonalauss	11 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
geven	gæfir	gæfir	18 ⁴	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
fiegan	feigan	feigr	7 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
fiegan	feigan	feigr	8 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
gouga	góðan	góðr	33 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
heve	hœfi	hœfir	8 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
kere	kæri	kærir	2 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
gouga	góða	góðr	28 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
gougha	góða	góðr	27 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
smo	smá	smár	31 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
mire	meiri	meiri	20 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
whitrané	hvítu	hvítr	6 ⁴	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
mege	míkt	míkill	10 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
mege	míkt	míkill	33 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
lide	lítt	lífill	34 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
ru	rauðu	rauðr	11 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
osta	hæsta	hár	4 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
otsta	ýzta	ýtri	30 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Reference form	Old Norse	verse	exp.	unexp	masc	fem	neut	nom	Acc	Dat	Gen	pl.
cummin	kominn	19 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
commin	kominn	31 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
fadlin	fallinn	21 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
heindè	hengdr	4 ³	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
velburne	borna	19 ⁴	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

6. Proper names

Reference form	Old Norse	Root form	verse.	Exp.	Unexp.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Strong	Weak	Plural	Def.art.	Nom	Acc.	Dat.	Gen	acc+dat.	Prep.	Verb
Sante Maunis	Sankti Magnús	Sankti Magnús	5 ²	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hiluge	Illugi	Illugi	13 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hiluge	Illugi	Illugi	21 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hiluge	Illugi	Illugi	31 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hiluge	Illugi	Illugi	32 ¹	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hilhugin	Illugin	Illugi	16 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildirin	Hildir	3 ³	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildirin	Hildir	7 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildirin	Hildir	20 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildirin	Hildir	24 ³	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildirin	Hildir	25 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildirin	Hildir	26 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildirin	Hildir	29 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildirin	Hildir	32 ³	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildirin	Hildir	30 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildina	Hildir	13 ³	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildina	Hildir	23 ³	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Hildina	Hildinni	Hildir	7 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
d'Orkneyjar	Orkneyjar	Orkneyjar	1 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Orknear	Orkneyjar	Orkneyjar	15 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Orknian	Orkneyjum	Orkneyjar	5 ³	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Orkneyan	Orkneyjum	Orkneyjar	18 ⁴	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Orkneyar	Orkneyjar	Orkneyjar	8 ⁴	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Orkneyar	Orkneyja	Orkneyjar	5 ¹	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix II: facsimile



4. What an year elonden

Ita kan sadnast wo

An scal vara heunde

Wo osta bre sin within ridna dar fro.

5. Heme to Orhneyar Jarlin

Vilda mien sante mauntes

I Orhnian u bian sian

I lian far diar.

6.

An gwi Dootrign hedn quetter

On de hin fivane ferre

Tworere wo eder

whitranè hedn

7.

In himerin Jarlin

u klapape hildina

On de hidn quisto

Vult doch, fiegan vara moech or fy din. *

8.

Eldè vilda fiegan vara

Fy min u alt sin

Ans namne wo

So minyach u ere min here Orhneyar, Singè ro. *

9.

Hu di shall laga dor yochwo*

And u ria dor to strandane nir

u esilia fy oninu avon

Blit an ear ne cumi e dora band.

10.

Hu swaran Honiga

do mege gab honon e onuthe

Whath ear di ho gane oner

I dautè buthe

11. Tette

Stanzas marked thus* seem to be confused some having too much others too little to render the verse complete.

11. Toelli mureh vath nu godle
Da shall yach gur yo
U all de vara sonna lip
So linge sin yach liva mo.

12.

Hu linge stug an Honign
U linge wo an swo
wordig vaar dogh onuge soni
yacha skier fare moga so onorde yach angan u
friin oost wath common muer so landa. x

13.

Hu swara Hildege
Hwa geve honon seam
Taga di gild firre Hildina
den yach shall ligo dor fram.

14

Estin whaar u feur fetign
Agonga hadn i sluge
Feur fetign sin gonga
Hadn i pluge.

15.

Hu stindurin Jarlin
U linge wo an swo
Dese mo eke Orkmar
So linge san yach lava mo.

16.

Hu eke tegarax san
Tot Honign fyrin din
U alt yach an Hiltugin
widn ugare din arar.

17.

Hu swarar an frauna Hildina
U dem san idou i fro
Di de dor a bardagara
Dar comme ou sin mo.

18. Hu

x This verse seems to part of an intermediate stanza, perhaps to be placed between then marked 12 & 13.

Youla.

92

18. Hu Jarlin an genger
I vadlin fram
U hadnar sino mien
Gevon sheger i Oshneyan.

19.
Hlan u cummin

In u vadlarlin
Frinde jans leov
Vel burne mien

20.

Hu fruna Hildina
On genger i vadlin fram
Sy di yera da ov man dum
Dora di spidlaiki mize man.

21.

Hu swase an Hiluge
Ergo gevan a sam
Gayer an Jarlin frinde
Din an u vadlin in

22.

Hu fac an Jarlin dahuge
Dar min de an engin gro
An east ano huge ei
Fong ednar u varthene more no.

23.

Di lava onir gugna
Gift bal yagh fus o lande
Gift onir on fruan Hildina
Vath godle u fasta bande

24.

Hu bill on hwe da yals
Quadni borè u da hadn
Sina hloye a bura da shall
Fon fruna Hildina vorka wo sino chaldona villyo.

25

Hildina liger wo chaldona
U o dubroar u grothi
Onen du buga till bridlessen
Nonlother u dubra dogha.

26. Hu

Youta

26. Nu Hildina on askar fyrin

Sien di gava mier live
On sturta vin
On quida vin *

27.

Busta skinka vor, u quida vin
Tinka dogh eke wo
Sarlin an gouga here din. *

28.

Watha shilde tinke
wo Sarlin gouga here min
Kien mindi yagh inga forlokona
Nora fare Nora fyrin min.

29

Da gerde on fruna Hildina
On bar es mien ot
On soverin fast, fjozia
Fysin u quarsin oat.

30.

Da gerde un fruna Hildina
On bard im ur
Hadlin bust sien on lagheti
Glong i otita jatha post.

31.

Nu iki visti an Hilerge
Ihe ov till do
Uldin var esomonin i lut
u stor u silhi easth ans omo.

32.

Nu levenn fram
Hilerge du hereda
Traun Hildina du
Quemir live u gre.

33

So mege u gouga ge
Shall dogh swo
Shall lathi min heron
I bardagana fwo.

34.

Du buchtada lide undocht yach
swo et sa ans begun blio
Dogh easta ans huge
I mit jung u vepemir mior meo.

35. Nu

Voula.

94

25. Nu taetti on hve fvelsho
 Ans bo vad mild u stien
 Dogh shall alda' mise' Koningroono
 Vadne vilda mior."

A literal translation of the above I would not procure but the substance is thus. "An Earl of Orkney in some of his rambles on the coast of Norway saw and fell in love with the King's daughter of the country. As their passion happened to be reciprocal he carried her off in her father's absence who was engaged in war with some of his distant neighbours. On his return, he followed the fugitives to Orkney, accompanied by his army to revenge on the Earl the rape of his daughter. On his arrival there Hildina (which was her name) first spied him and advised her now husband to go and attempt to pacify the King. He did so and by his appearances and promises brought the King over as to be satisfied with the match. This however was of no long standing for as soon as the Earl's back was turned a Courtier called Heluge took great pains to change the King's mind, for it seems Heluge had formerly hoped to succeed with the daughter himself. His ~~own~~ project took, and the matter came to blows, the Earl is killed by Heluge, who cut off his head and threw it at his lady which she says vexed her even more than his death, that he should add cruelty to revenge. Upon the Earl's death Hildina is forced to follow her father to Norway, and in a little time Heluge makes his demand to have her in marriage of her father, he consents and takes every method to persuade Hildina, who with great reluctance agrees upon condition that she is allowed to fill the wine at her wedding. This is easily permitted, and Hildina infuses a drug which soon throws the company into a dead sleep, and

