Arkiv för nordisk filologi

Utgivet genom

Lars-Olof Delsing och Karl G. Johansson

under medverkan av

Ingvil Brügger Budal Lars-Erik Edlund Lennart Elmevik Britta Olrik Frederiksen Ernst Håkon Jahr Marita Akhøj Nielsen Þórhallur Eyþórsson Camilla Wide Jan-Ola Östman

Redaktionssekreterare

Bo-A. Wendt

131 ° 2016

Innehåll

Bjarne Simmelkjær Sandgaard Hansen, Lamo talgida or talgida lamo. An indication of a paradigmatic ablative in Proto-Norse? 5
William Sayers, Skírnismál, Byggvir, and John Barleycorn .......... 21
Dario Bullitta, The Story of Joseph of Arimathea in AM 655 XXVII 4to 47
Matteo Tarsi, Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík and the Icelandic language purism in the first half of the 18th century. A wordlist in ms. AM 1013 4to (fol. 37v) ........................................ 75
Hjalmar P. Petersen, The Spread of the Phrasal clitic sa in Faroese Ulla Strob-Wollin, The emergence of definiteness marking in Scandinavian – new answers to old questions ................... 105
Staffan Hellberg, Ursprunget till betydelsen 'rumpa' hos svenskans bak ................................................................. 129
Christiane Müller, Sex hjälpverb och deras historia. En grammatikaliseringstudie ......................................................... 171
BJARNE SIMMELKJÆR SANDGAARD HANSEN

Lamo talgida or talgida lamo

An indication of a paradigmatic ablative in Proto-Norse?

Hansen, B. Simmelkjær Sandgaard, PhD, postdoctoral fellow, Department of Nordic studies and Linguistics, University of Copenhagen. "Lamo talgida or talgida lamo. An indication of a paradigmatic ablative in Proto-Norse?". ANF 131 (2016), pp. 5–20.

Abstract: The standard interpretation of the Skovgårde rosette clasp inscription lamo talgida as lamô talgide 'Lamô carved (this)’ poses at least two potential problems, viz. the aberrant form of the weak preterite 3.sg. ending -dê and the proposed reading direction. In this article, I will contend that we might consider the alternative interpretation talgida lamô 'carved by Lamaz’ which, though creating new but by no means insurmountable problems to our understanding of the Proto-Norse linguistic system, will both fit the expected reading direction better and render unnecessary the unwelcome assumption of an otherwise unattested variant -da of the weak preterite 3.sg. ending. Moreover, this interpretation will, if correct, introduce a new case to the Proto-Norse inflectional system: the ablative.

Keywords: Proto-Norse, runes, Skovgårde rosette clasp, word order, Germanic Auslautgesetze, ablative.

WILLIAM SAYERS

Skírnismál, Byggvir, and John Barleycorn


Abstract: In the Eddic poem Skírnismál, generally thought to reflect a myth of the wakening of arable land to the light and warmth of spring, the god Freyr’s messenger Skírnir (‘the radiant one’) woos the giantess Gerðr on his master’s behalf. From the offer of rich gifts to the reluctant maiden he turns to a series of vituperative threats that culminates in a menace of runic magic that will generate states of impatience, frenzy, and intolerable sexual desire. This seemingly chaotic litany of intimidation is here compared to Loki’s sarcastic treatment of Byggvir (‘Barley-boy’), another of the god’s servants, in Lokasenna and to cultic agrarian practices centered in apotropaism, as illustrated in the British ballad of the murder of John Barleycorn. This perspective aids in understanding Skírnir’s reference to the fate of the thistle at harvest-time and clarifies the rhetorical register and function of the poem’s threats, which constitute a verbal grotesque, as Skírnir chivvies the dormant earth into responding to spring cultivation.

Keywords: Fre Skírnis, Skírnismál, John Barleycorn, bridal quest, agrarian practices, apotropaism.

DARIO BULLITTA

The Story of Joseph of Arimathea in AM 655 XXVII 4to


Abstract: The Story of Joseph of Arimathea extracted from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus represents the earliest and most extensive amplification of the Gospels’ narratives dealing with the finding of Christ’s empty tomb and with the events leading to and following his resurrection. The present study aims at providing the first survey and edition of the sole surviving extract concerning Joseph’s story in Icelandic translation, extant as item 5 in AM 655 XXVII 4to, a much-neglected Icelandic homilary dating from ca. 1300 preserved at the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen. The Icelandic Story of Joseph is here compared to and tested against all the Latin and vernacular variant texts of the Gospel of Nicodemus that were known in Iceland by the beginning of the fourteenth century and related to the Marian and eschatological homilies transmitted along with it in AM 655 XXVII 4to. The survey is followed by a first semi-diplomatic edition of item 5 (Af fangelsi Ioseps), whose deficient or illegible readings have been emended on the basis of its underlying Latin source.

Keywords: Joseph of Arimathea, the Gospel of Nicodemus, Christ’s Resurrection, Mary’s Assumption, Maríu saga, Niðrstigningar saga, Skálholt Cathedral Library.
MATTEO TÅRSI

Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík and the Icelandic language purism in the first half of the 18th century
A wordlist in ms. AM 1013 4to (fol. 37v)

Tarsi, M., PhD-candidate, Faculty of Icelandic and Comparative Cultural Studies, University of Iceland. “Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík and the Icelandic language purism in the first half of the 18th century. A wordlist in ms. AM 1013 4to (fol. 37v)”. ANF 131 (2016), pp. 75–104.

Abstract: This article examines aspects of Icelandic linguistic purism in the early 18th century, as revealed in a wordlist compiled by Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík (1705–1779) and preserved in ms. AM 1013 4to (fol. 37v). After a brief introduction (§ 1), there follows an overview of the development of Icelandic language purism from its late-sixteenth-century origins to the first half of the 18th century (§ 2). The description of Jón Ólafsson’s life which follows (§ 3) highlights his genealogical links with Arngrímur Jónsson the Learned (1568–1648), a pioneering figure in the linguistic purism movement. The next section (§ 4) explores the wordlist itself and is divided into three subsections. The first (§ 4.1) summarises Jón’s linguistic scholarship as a whole. The second (§ 4.2) presents a diplomatic edition of the list and an analysis of eight of its word pairs, which have been chosen for their relevance with respect to their formation and ideological background. The analytical approach adopted describes the words as single lexical units in accordance with the main tenets of loanword studies, and examines the list in the light of language policy and planning studies. The final subsection (§ 4.3) highlights the relationship between the wordlist and Jón Ólafsson’s most important work, i.e. the Icelandic dictionary (ms. AM 433 fol.). The last section (§ 5) summarises the main points of the article and sets them within the context of pre-1750 Icelandic language purism. It will be argued that Jón Ólafsson’s work is of paramount importance in the development of Icelandic purist attitudes, both lexically, because of its close relationship with the principles set out by Arngrímur Jónsson in his Crymogæa, and in terms of the later history of the movement.

Keywords: Icelandic, language purism, Danish, German, 18th century, loanwords.

HJALMAR P. PETERSEN

The Spread of the Phrasal clitic sa in Faroese


Abstract: In Faroese the phrasal clitic sa is used in possessive constructions like Jákup=sa skegg ‘Jákup’s beard’. Originally the clitic could only be attached to kinship nouns or proper nouns of persons and other nouns with a similar function, but in recent years the sa has spread to other host nouns like animate, human nouns and pronouns partly as the result of convergence. This article explores the origin of -sa. It will be posited that a form like hansa ‘his’ in the Ballad language in all likelihood shows that the old genitive plural ending a at some point in the history of Faroese was productive.

Keywords: clitic, possessive constructions, genitive, convergence, bilingualism.

ULLA STROH-WOLLIN

The emergence of definiteness marking in Scandinavian – new answers to old questions


Abstract: This article takes up the much debated questions of how and when the definite forms of nouns emerged in Scandinavian. The topic has been paid great interest over the years, but answers to the questions still vary considerably, no doubt because this very early process is difficult to follow in detail in written sources. The conclusions in this article are founded on a variety of approaches, combining solid empiricism and theoretical considerations. Furthermore, empirical evidence from all over Scandinavia is considered. It is found that the definite suffix probably emerged from two related demonstratives (with weakened deixis), hinn on the mainland and enn on Iceland, in parallel, mutually independent processes. This means, in turn, that the emergence must be dated to a point of time after the colonization of Iceland. In order to reach a more precise dating, insights from functionalist and Minimalist approaches to grammaticalization are taken into account. It is suggested that the definite form emerged around 1000, not long before the first attested instances are found, but it is maybe not until the 12th century that it had a more noticeable impact on people’s linguistic usage.

Keywords: development of definiteness marking, Early Scandinavian, definite suffixes, grammaticalization.
STAFFAN HELMBERG
Ursprunget till betydelsen ’rumpa’ hos svenskans bak


Abstract: In Old Swedish, the noun bak(er) had the meaning 'back (of a human being or an animal)'; in present-day Swedish, the noun bak means 'bum'. In the 18th and 19th centuries, both meanings occurred in standard language. It is argued that the meaning did not shift directly from one body part to another; rather, the meaning 'bum' derives mainly from the adverb bak 'at the back' which has from Old Swedish times often referred euphemistically to the bum. The process can thus be seen as an instance of degrammaticalization. However, influence was certainly also exerted by French le derrière, as well as German der Hinterle, both of which show the same euphemism as bak. Moreover, bak was possibly regarded as a truncation of the noun bakande 'bum; lit. end of back'.

Keywords: degrammaticalization, body parts, Old Swedish, Modern Swedish, semantic change, euphemism, borrowed meaning.

CHRISTIANE MÜLLER
Sex hjälpverb och deras historia
En grammatikaliseringssstudie


Abstract: In her dissertation Aspektuella hjälpverb i svenska, Maria Bylin investigates the evolution of six aspectual auxiliaries in Swedish (bruca 'use to', tendera 'tend to', börja 'begin', fortsätta 'continue', sluta 'stop' and bota 'threaten'). The study is conducted within the framework of grammaticalization, and Bylin’s primary method is to apply so-called auxiliary tests on a historical material covering texts from the 11th to the 21st century in order to examine when and how each of these verbs developed their auxiliary features. The findings indicate that there are some general tendencies and paths that most or all verbs seem to follow in their development, but that at the same time all verbs under investigation show individual deviations from the predictions created by auxiliation theory. Another goal of the study was to evaluate the validity of different auxiliary tests as indicators of auxiliary function. An important finding here is that the development of most auxiliaries is characterized by layering, i.e. typically, the relevant verbs come to be used in several functions (e.g. both as a main verb and as an auxiliary) simultaneously. A consequence of this is that such tests which indicate the absence of main verb properties reveal merely something about the presence or absence of layering and that hence tests which show the development of new auxiliary properties are more reliable indicators of auxiliary function. For Bylin, the most central criterion of auxiliation is the ability of the auxiliary to function together with a non-finite verb as a single predicate with shared arguments, which is most clearly indicated by the auxiliary’s ability to occur in a passive raising construction. The dissertation concludes with a discussion of the more general question of how the category of auxiliaries should be defined and demarcated.

Keywords: aspect, auxiliaries, auxiliation, grammaticalization, layering, Swedish.