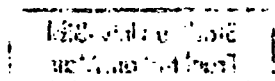


HANS FREDE NIELSEN

The Early Runic Language of Scandinavia

Studies in
Germanic Dialect Geography

Universitätsverlag
C. WINTER
Heidelberg



CONTENTS

Preface	13
Abbreviations	15
Illustrations	17
1. The Project	19
<i>1.1. Introductory Prayer</i>	19
<i>1.2. Aim and Scope</i>	20
1.2.1. Planning the project	20
1.2.2. A revised plan	21
1.2.3. Gothic and Old High German	23
<i>1.3. The Comparative Method</i>	25
1.3.1. Two voices: Wimmer and Dal	25
1.3.2. An assessment	27
1.3.3. New vistas: Rischel and van Coetsem	29
<i>1.4. Definitions</i>	31
1.4.1. Early Runic	31
1.4.2. Norse	33
1.4.3. Transliterating the runic letter ʝ	33
<i>1.5. Concluding Caveats</i>	34
2. Research History	39
<i>2.1. Wilhelm Grimm and his Predecessors</i>	39
2.1.1. The Babel trail	39
2.1.2. Ihre and Grimm	40

2.2. <i>The Gallehus Inscription: Provenance and Politics</i>	41
2.2.1. Bredsdorff and Munch	41
2.2.2. The Dano-German conflict over Slesvig	43
2.2.3. The Scandinavian aftermath	46
2.3. <i>Gothic Phantoms</i>	48
2.3.1. Marstrander and his followers	48
2.3.2. Peterson's 'Critical Survey'	49
2.4. <i>Some German Voices</i>	50
2.4.1. Burg, Bremer, Baesecke and beyond	50
2.4.2. Maurer, Schwarz and Rösel	51
2.5. <i>The North-West Germanic Theory</i>	56
2.5.1. Hans Kuhn	56
2.5.2. E.A. Makaev	57
2.5.3. Elmer H. Antonsen	58
2.6. <i>The Scandinavian Backlash</i>	60
2.6.1. Karl Martin Nielsen	60
2.6.2. Ottar Grønvik	61
2.7. <i>'Nochmals' the Gallehus Gold Horn</i>	64
2.7.1. Herbert Penzl	64
2.7.2. Vennemann and his critics	65
2.8. <i>Summary</i>	69
3. The North and North-Sea Germanic Sound Systems in Perspective	77
3.1. <i>The Unaccented Vowels</i>	77
3.1.1. Vowel systems: a survey	79
3.1.1.1. The North-Sea Germanic languages	79
3.1.1.1.1. Old English	79
3.1.1.1.2. Old Frisian	80
3.1.1.1.3. Old Saxon	80
3.1.1.2. Old Norse	83
3.1.1.3. Early Runic	84
3.1.2. The systems compared	88

CONTENTS

3.1.2.1. North-Sea Germanic and Early Runic	88
3.1.2.2. Old Norse and Early Runic	90
3.1.3. Additional runic evidence	91
3.1.3.1. Early North-Sea Germanic	91
3.1.3.1.1. The Undley bracteate	91
3.1.3.1.2. The Frisian runic corpus	92
3.1.3.1.3. The Weser rune-bones	93
3.1.3.2. Early Norse	95
3.1.3.2.1. The Blekinge stones	95
3.1.3.2.2. The Eggja stone	97
3.1.3.2.3. Glavendrup, Tryggvælde and Rønninge	98
3.1.4. A concluding survey	100
3.2. <i>The Accented Vowels</i>	104
3.2.1. Early Runic	104
3.2.2. Old Norse	105
3.2.3. Early Norse runic evidence	107
3.2.4. The North-Sea Germanic languages	109
3.2.4.1. Old English	109
3.2.4.2. Old Frisian	111
3.2.4.3. Old Saxon	113
3.2.4.4. The Old English, Old Frisian and Old Saxon vowel systems compared	115
3.2.4.5. Concluding remarks	119
3.2.5. The accented vocalism of North and North-Sea Germanic	121
3.3. <i>The Consonants</i>	122
3.3.1. Early Runic	122
3.3.2. Old Norse	124
3.3.3. Early Norse runic evidence	126
3.3.3.1. The Blekinge and Eggja stones	126
3.3.3.2. The younger futhark and the language of the Glavendrup group	128
3.3.4. The North-Sea Germanic languages	130
3.3.4.1. Old English	130
3.3.4.2. Old Frisian	132
3.3.4.3. Old Saxon	133
3.3.4.4. Remarks on the evolution of the Old English, Old Frisian and Old Saxon consonant systems	135

CONTENTS

3.3.5. The consonantism of North and North-Sea Germanic	136
3.4. <i>Conclusion</i>	138
4. Towards a Dialectal Profile of Early Runic	147
4.1. <i>Introduction</i>	147
4.2. <i>Morphological and Phonological Features</i>	149
4.2.1. alugod; alawin, alawid	149
4.2.2. godagas, asugisalas, etc.	150
4.2.3. runo	152
4.2.4. kunimu(n)diu	152
4.2.5. swarta, wagnijo, lepro, etc.	153
4.2.6. kepan, halaiban	155
4.2.7. arjostez	155
4.2.8. minino	157
4.2.9. ek	158
4.2.10. pit	158
4.2.11. wija	159
4.2.12. tawide, talgidai, talgida	160
4.2.13. faikinaz, haitinaz, slaginaz	164
4.2.14. faihido, fahido	165
4.2.15. frohila	165
4.2.16. asu-	166
4.2.17. -z (-R)	166
4.2.18. An evaluation of the features surveyed	167
4.3. <i>Word-Order</i>	169
4.3.1. Syntax and Germanic dialect grouping	169
4.3.2. The word-order of Early Runic	170
4.3.3. On the word-order of Norse	174
4.3.3.1. The Blekinge inscriptions	174
4.3.3.2. The Glavendrup group	176
4.3.3.3. Old Norse	177
4.3.4. West Germanic word-order	180
4.3.4.1. Runic evidence	180
4.3.4.2. Old English	181
4.3.4.3. The other West Germanic languages	185

CONTENTS

4.3.5. The syntactic relationship between Early Runic and the later North and West Germanic languages	187
4.4. <i>Personal Names</i>	189
4.4.1. A dictionary of 'Proto-Norse' personal names	189
4.4.2. From Sophus Bugge to John Insley (1891-1991)	190
4.4.3. Lena Peterson (1994)	194
4.4.4. Conclusion	196
4.5. <i>Summing Up</i>	197
5. Morphological and Phonological Parallels between North and North-Sea Germanic/West Germanic	203
5.1. <i>Introductory Remarks</i>	203
5.2. <i>Parallels Linking Early Runic to North and North-Sea Germanic/West Germanic</i>	204
5.2.1. Conflicting evidence	204
5.2.2. Correspondences with North and West Germanic	205
5.2.3. A summary of correspondences with North and North-Sea Germanic	208
5.2.4. The dialectal position of Early Runic revisited	209
5.3. <i>Isoglosses Not Evidenced by Early Runic</i>	210
5.3.1. North and West Germanic parallels	210
5.3.2. North and North-Sea Germanic parallels	216
5.4. <i>Other Isoglosses</i>	219
5.4.1. Parallels between Gothic, North and North-Sea Germanic	220
5.4.1.1. Isoglosses shared by Old Saxon	220
5.4.1.2. Isoglosses not shared by Old Saxon	221
5.4.1.3. Concluding remarks	225
5.4.2. Parallels between North Germanic and Old High German	225
5.4.2.1. Maurer's Nordic–Upper German (Alemannic) correspondences	226
5.4.2.2. Maurer's Nordic–Gothic–Upper German correspondences	228

CONTENTS

5.5. Comparative Evidence and Internal Reconstruction:	
<i>Reconstructing the Early Runic Pronouns</i>	229
5.5.1. The significance of pronominal reconstruction	229
5.5.2. The demonstrative and interrogative pronouns in the masculine and neuter (singular)	230
5.5.3. The demonstrative pronoun in the feminine singular and plural	233
5.5.4. A chronological summary	235
5.6. Conclusion	236
6. Separate Morphological and Phonological Developments: West Germanic, North-Sea Germanic and North Germanic	241
<i>6.1. Scope of Chapter</i>	241
<i>6.2. West Germanic</i>	241
6.2.1. Preliminary remarks	241
6.2.2. West Germanic correspondences	242
6.2.3. Summing up	246
<i>6.3. North-Sea Germanic</i>	247
6.3.1. Introduction	247
6.3.2. North-Sea Germanic parallels	247
6.3.3. Concluding observations	254
<i>6.4. North Germanic</i>	255
6.4.1. Early Norse and 'Common Norse'	255
6.4.2. Early Norse isoglosses	255
6.4.3. The early Norse changes in summary	264
<i>6.5. Conclusion</i>	265
7. From Proto-Germanic to Early Runic and Beyond	271
<i>7.1. Aim of Chapter</i>	271
<i>7.2. Towards a Chronology of Parallels Arising Before and During the Early Runic Period</i>	271

CONTENTS

7.2.1. North and West Germanic plus/minus Early Runic	271
7.2.2. North and North-Sea Germanic plus/minus Early Runic	273
7.2.3. A phonological stumbling block revisited	274
7.3. <i>The West Germanic, North-Sea Germanic and Early Norse</i>	
<i>Isoglosses in a Chronological Perspective</i>	275
7.3.1. West Germanic	275
7.3.2. North-Sea Germanic	276
7.3.3. Early Norse	276
7.3.4. Discussion	277
7.4. <i>Periods within Early Runic</i>	279
7.4.1. Dating the inscriptions	279
7.4.2. The earliest runic items	280
7.4.2.1. The Meldorf clasp and the Vimose comb	280
7.4.2.2. The grave finds	281
7.4.2.3. The bog finds	282
7.4.3. The runic bracteates	283
7.4.3.1. Date and number	283
7.4.3.2. The continuity of linguistic forms	284
7.4.3.3. Innovations and other divergences	285
7.4.4. Linguistic stages in the Early Runic language	286
7.5. <i>The Dialect Geographical Position of Early Runic:</i>	
<i>Two Models</i>	287
7.5.1. Defining Early Runic	287
7.5.2. A static model	288
7.5.3. A dynamic model	290
7.6. <i>Concluding Remarks</i>	293
8. External Evidence	299
8.1. <i>Introduction</i>	299
8.2. <i>The Germanic Homeland</i>	299
8.2.1. The traditional view	299
8.2.2. Schmid, Udolph and the 'Old European' river-names	300
8.2.3. Scandinavian reactions	302

CONTENTS

8.3. Place-Name Evidence	303
8.3.1. Preliminary remarks	303
8.3.2. Danish <i>-lev</i> , Swedish <i>-löv</i> ; German <i>-leben</i>	303
8.3.3. Germanic <i>*-haim-</i>	307
8.3.4. Danish <i>-sted</i> , German <i>-stedt</i> , etc.	310
8.3.5. Germanic <i>*-ingja-</i>	312
8.3.6. Toponyms with more restricted distribution patterns	314
8.3.6.1. Danish <i>-løse</i> , Swedish <i>-lösa</i>	314
8.3.6.2. Scandinavian names in <i>-vin</i>	315
8.3.6.3. Germanic <i>*-ipja-</i>	316
8.3.7. The place-names in perspective	318
8.4. Ethnological Evidence	319
8.4.1. Written sources	319
8.4.1.1. The classical and post-classical historians	319
8.4.1.2. On the historical value of ancient legends	323
8.4.2. Tribal movements	325
8.4.2.1. The <i>Germanen</i> name	325
8.4.2.2. The Goths and the south-eastern trail	326
8.4.2.3. Expansion towards the south	330
8.4.2.4. Tribal developments in the southern North-Sea region	333
8.4.2.5. The ethnological situation in Scandinavia	337
8.4.3. Concluding remarks	340
8.5. Archaeological Evidence	343
8.5.1. Methodological problems	343
8.5.2. Scandinavia and the Vistula-Oder region	345
8.5.3. Archaeology and the origins of the <i>Alemanni</i> , Franks and Bavarians	347
8.5.4. Migrations from the Continent to Britain	349
8.5.5. Denmark and beyond	350
8.5.6. Rounding off: Hedeager's holistic approach	356
8.6. Final Deliberations	359
9. Conclusions	369
Bibliography	385
Index	421