

# Chapter 8

## Modifying variation: Adjective position in Old Norwegian

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In this chapter I analyze the positional variation of adnominal adjectives in Old Norwegian. Even though a syntactic development towards a fixed prenominal appearance of adjectives is already well underway in the period studied here, the corpus material still shows cases of postnominal adjectives and cases where the adjectives flank the head noun. For other Germanic languages, positional variation of adjectives relative to the noun that they are modifying has been addressed within discussions of the developing article system and of functional differences such as “attribution versus predication” or “restrictive versus non-restrictive modification”. I will build on these discussions, and further focus on information-structural influence on word order variation, including a left periphery to the Old Norwegian NP with designated positions for *topic*, *focus* and *contrast* in accordance with the split DP hypothesis. I argue that information-structural constraints play an important role for the observed variation within the nominal projection in Old Norwegian.

### 1 Introduction

In Old Norse (Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic), we can observe considerable syntactic variation of various elements within modified NPs in the surface structure. For instance, possessives, demonstratives and adjectives can appear either before or after the noun they modify (cf. Faarlund 2004: 55; Börjars et al. 2016: e12). In this chapter, I focus on variation within NPs in Old Norwegian that are modified by attributive adjectives, embedded in nominal expressions through direct modification (occurring in adnominal position, expressing inherent or en-



during properties; individual-level reading).<sup>1</sup> Excluded from the analysis are adjectives that occur in a predicative context, i.e. structures where the adjective functions as a predicate to the subject (expressing some kind of accidental or temporary property of the nominal expression; stage-level reading; see e.g. Sadler & Arnold 1994: 192ff; Cinque 1994: 94f; Cinque 2010: 6ff; Larson & Marušič 2004: 274f; Larson & Takahashi 2004: 7ff). Discontinuous phrases<sup>2</sup> are excluded from the analysis as well.

In the extended NP in Old Norse, modifiers can occur either before or after the noun (I here assume that this reflects information-structurally motivated variation, see Section 3.3). However, the order adjective + noun is already the predominant order in the material (contra Faarlund 2004: 68; see also Mørck 2016: 394 who repeats the statement made in Faarlund, referring also to Ringdal 1918: 19ff), and I assume, in opposition to van Gelderen & Lohndal (2008), that this is the base order at this stage of the language (see also Bech et al. 2024 [this volume], who show that all early Germanic languages had the order adjective + noun). The development away from the possibility of postnominal appearance of the adjective and towards a strict adjective + noun order in Germanic languages is said to correlate with two factors: 1) the emergence of a determiner system, entailing overt marking of definite contexts (cf. van Gelderen & Lohndal 2008; Pfaff 2019), and 2) the general fixation of word order with less influence of information-structural constraints and prosodic weight in the syntax (cf. Fischer 2006, 2012; Tiemann 2022). This development thus implies a change from information-structurally marked positions to canonical positions (i.e. from pragmatics to grammar, see Sankoff & Brown 1976; Givón 1979).

For Old Norwegian, three general surface patterns<sup>3</sup> are found in the corpus material: adjectives may precede (1a), follow (1b) or flank (1c)–(1d) (I will refer to this as the *split construction*)<sup>4</sup> the noun they modify.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Pfaff (2015: 17), referring to Cinque (2010), who addresses indirect and direct modification: “indirect modifiers are syntactic predicates in a [reduced relative clause], whereas direct modifiers are APs merged in dedicated functional projections”.

<sup>2</sup>The only linearly non-adjacent cases considered here are those where the adjective article *hinn* (ART) appears between the noun and the adjective. However, as this element is interpreted as an element of the adjectival constituent (see Section 3.1.1), I do not analyze these cases as actually discontinuous (cf. also Skrzypek 2009, 2010; Stroh-Wollin 2009, 2015; Börjars et al. 2016; Pfaff 2019).

<sup>3</sup>The notion *pattern* is used descriptively and refers to the linear orders in the surface structure.

<sup>4</sup>Only examples with two adjectives modifying the same referent (strict identity) were considered under the split construction (see Sections 4.1 and 4.2). I excluded constructions containing two adjectives referring to two different referents, as in *gamla menn ok unga*, ‘old and young men’ (taken from Bech 2017: 7). Note that square brackets used in examples illustrating a split construction, e.g. (1c), do not refer to an underlying syntactic structure. In these instances, they are used simply to clarify that the adjectives refer to one common referent.

<sup>5</sup>Examples are taken from the main text of the corpus material studied here, *Konungs skuggsjá* in

- (1) a. Adjective – Noun  
 þeir hafa **storar** *vaker* þar  
 they have large.ACC.PL.STR opening.ACC.PL there  
 ‘they have large openings there’ (10v, col.b:21–22)
- b. Noun – Adjective  
 komi i skola **goðan**  
 come.SBJV in school.ACC.SG good.ACC.SG.STR  
 ‘would come in/enter a good school’ (17v, col.b:15)
- c. Adjective – Noun – and – Adjective  
 sæm byriar [**lyðnum** *syni* oc  
 as behooves humble.DAG.SG.STR son.DAT.SG and  
**litillatom**] at finna [**astsamlegan** *foður* oc  
 obedient.DAT.SG.STR to find loving.ACC.SG.STR father and  
**gofgan**]  
 renowned.ACC.SG.STR  
 ‘as it behooves a humble and obedient son to approach a loving and  
 renowned father’ (1r, col.a:22–26)
- d. Adjective – Noun – Adjective  
 annat hvart mæð [**longu** *hafi*  
 whether with wide.DAT.SG.STR sea.DAT.SG  
**rasta fullu**]  
 full.of.strong.current.DAT.SG.STR  
 ‘whether with a wide sea full of strong currents’ (15v, col.a:12–13)

This kind of syntactic variation has been discussed extensively for Old English, mainly in correlation with phenomena of definiteness, declension, and linear iconicity (see especially Fischer 2000, 2006, 2012; Haumann 2003, 2010; Bech 2019). For Old Norse, however, orders differing from the assumed base order A–N (see e.g. Nygaard 1905; Ringdal 1918; Faarlund 2004: 68; Mørck 2016: 394) have not been studied in detail. Van Gelderen & Lohndal (2008) and Bech (2017) touch upon this topic, concentrating on Old Norwegian, but do not analyze possible triggers for the observable variation in greater detail. I argue here that in many ways syntactic variation is a choice by the user, and thus due to information-structural constraints. To examine how and to what degree these constraints

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AM 243 b4 fol. The references are given according to the manuscript page (r/v=recto/verso), the column (a/b), and the line number on the manuscript page. In all the examples, the adjectives are marked in bold, while the head noun is marked by italics. Additional elements of interest are marked by a combination of bold and italics.

influence variation in the Old Norwegian NP, the central point of the discussion concentrates on an examination of the following factors and their possible interplay: i) the definiteness of the NP, ii) the conveyed information status of the elements involved, and iii) prosodic weight. Note that this study is intended to propose an initial unified analysis of the positional alternation of adjectives in Old Norwegian, thus there are some distinctions that have not been made and lie outside the scope of the study (e.g. a systematic analysis of the semantics/classes of adjectives; cf. e.g. Cinque 1994; Dimitrova-Vulchanova 2003; Larson & Marušič 2004; Laenzlinger 2005; Alexiadou et al. 2007).

The present chapter has two main objectives. The first is to study the syntactic variation observed within the Old Norwegian NP separately from Old Icelandic, focusing on adjectives directly modifying a noun. In syntactic studies, these two languages are most often treated under one common notion: “Old Norse”. However, Icelandic and Norwegian show distinct developments towards their modern counterparts, and thus may show syntactic differences already relatively early in their histories (cf. also Tiemann 2022). The second objective is to study the influence of various factors and constraints triggering variation within the extended NP. The structural analysis builds on Pfaff’s (2015, 2019) analysis of Icelandic; however, I extend the structure for the NP in Old Norwegian through the inclusion of the split DP hypothesis.

The chapter is structured as follows: in Section 2, I present the corpus material used here and lay out the parameters examined in this study. In Section 3, I discuss the different factors assumed to be responsible for syntactic variation and the theoretical background for syntactic movement operations within the extended NP. After that, Section 4 presents a discussion of the derivation of various surface patterns, focusing on the split construction in Sections 4.1. and 4.2, before I conclude this chapter with a summary and remarks in Section 5.

## 2 Corpus material and parameters

The data for the analysis presented here is gathered from a corpus compiled by the author at the University of Bergen, *Korpus over den norske Konungs skuggsjá* (KoNoKs). This corpus contains the Old Norwegian text of *Konungs skuggsjá* ‘The king’s mirror’ in the Norwegian main manuscript, AM 243 bā fol.<sup>6</sup> from the 1270s. The text is annotated for syntax and information structure, following the work collated in ANNIS,<sup>7</sup> and in accordance with the annotations done within two

<sup>6</sup><https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/da/AM02-0243-b-alpha/0#mode/2up>

<sup>7</sup>ANNotation of Information Structure, which was originally designed in the German collaborative research centre (Sonderforschungsbereich) 632 (see Krause & Zeldes 2016).

large projects on information-structural analyses of older languages.<sup>8</sup> KoNoKs is a corpus under development and at the time of this analysis it consists of 36,861 words. Even though this is still a relatively small corpus, it is sufficiently large to be able to make statements about the adjective position in Old Norwegian, since NPs containing adjectives directly modifying a noun are rather frequent. Additionally, I cross-checked my findings and the patterns given in Bech (2017) with four other Old Norwegian texts in five manuscripts: the *Old Norwegian homily book* (in AM 619 4to) from ca. 1200–1225, *Óláfs saga ins helga* (in Upps DG 8 II) from ca. 1225–1250, *Landslög Magnúss Hákonarsonar* (in HolmPerg 34 4to and in Upps DG 8 I) from ca. 1275 and 1300–1350, and *Strengleikar* (in Upps DG 4–7to) from ca. 1270. These texts were examined through the PROIEL web application;<sup>9</sup> however, they had to be checked manually due to incomplete annotations and/or missing annotation review. Moreover, since these texts do not follow the same annotation practice for phrase structure and information structure as the text in KoNoKs, the analysis of these four texts was limited to cross-checking for examples and the existence of patterns. Thus, the results are mainly presented in a qualitative–descriptive way, and a detailed analysis of adjectives in these texts is left for a later study.

To extract the data from KoNoKs, the ANNIS query system was used. The first query was a request for all adjectives in KoNoKs (Corpus A in Figure 1). In a second query, I narrowed down the search to all NPs where the head noun is directly modified by one or more APs on which it is dependent. I then studied these findings in detail and removed predicate constructions (copula constructions and constructions showing semantic temporality), an example of which is given in (2).

(2) Predicative construction

þar sǣm haf-it er diuþt oc þo  
there as ocean-DEF.NOM.SG is deep.NOM.SG.STR and yet

salltr sær-inn  
salty.NOM.SG.STR sea-DEF.NOM.SG

‘there where the ocean is deep and yet the sea salty’ (12r, col.b:18–19)

<sup>8</sup>These were two projects funded by the German Research Foundation: *Informationsstruktur in komplexen Sätzen – synchron und diachron* <https://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/199843560?context=projekt&task=showDetail&id=199843560&> (2011–2017), and *Informationsstruktur in älteren indogermanischen Sprachen* <https://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/109055449> (2009–2016).

<sup>9</sup><http://foni.uio.no/proiel>

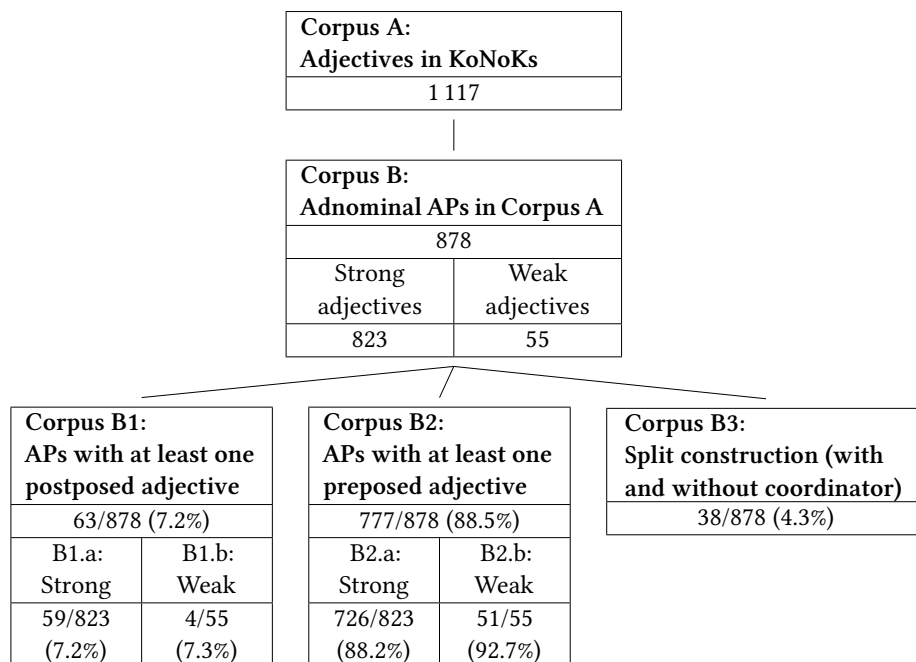


Figure 1: Number of adjectives and APs found in the Old Norwegian corpus

I also excluded adjectives in the comparative form, as they only occur with reduced weak inflection that might even be treated as an inflection class separate from strong/weak. The result of the second query, after these exclusions, is Corpus B in Figure 1. From Corpus B, I extracted all adjectives that precede an NP and all adjectives that follow an NP. The results constitute the subcorpora B1 and B2. Examples that show adjectives both to the left and to the right of one noun that they both modify are given in Corpus B3. I paid attention to possible overlapping results in Corpus B1, B2 and Corpus B3 – instances of the split construction were subtracted from Corpus B1 and B2. Finally, I distinguished between strong and weak adjectives (B1.a, B1.b, B2.a, and B2.b). All the instances of the split construction in Corpus B3 display strong adjectives.

KoNoKs contains a total of 1,117 adjectives. Of these, 878 adjectives appear as direct modifiers in a nominal projection. The majority of these display the order A–N (88.5%), while there are considerably fewer examples showing the order N–A (7.2%). Even fewer adjectives occur in a split construction (4.3%). As mentioned above, I do not give any frequencies for adjectives and their positions in the other texts considered here. All numbers are restricted to KoNoKs.

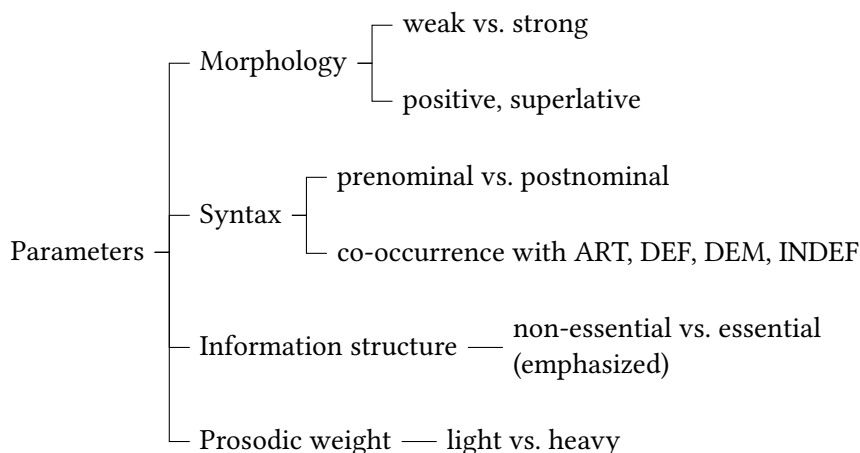


Figure 2: Parameters for adjectives directly modifying the head noun

As optionality in word order is often a complex phenomenon and the result of several parameters that are interlinked, I consider the influence of various assumed triggers for variation (see Figure 2), but focus is especially on the discussion of information-structural constraints (see in this context Gundel 1988; Bech 2001; Petrova 2009, 2012; Taylor & Pintzuk 2012; Struik & van Kemenade 2018).

It has been noted in the literature that information-structural features of adjectives are difficult to determine (cf. van Gelderen & Lohndal 2008: 13; Allen 2012: 259f). I therefore translate these features into a division of *non-essential* versus *essential*, providing grounds for clearer assignments of emphasis on adjectives on the basis of an analysis of the immediate surrounding context (see Section 3.4 for a detailed discussion). Prosodic weight was measured by a syllable count of the adjective(s), counted from nucleus to nucleus, and grouped into light (1–3 syllables) and heavy (4–6 syllables) adjectives. If the NP includes two adjectives, their combined syllable number was considered. Additional elements, such as the adjectival article, were left out of the count.

### 3 Factors of variation and movement within the NP

#### 3.1 Morphological and syntactic definiteness

Definiteness is, according to Heltoft (2010: 14), cited in Börjars et al. (2016: e15), “a paradigmatic contrast in adjectives and thus in NPs, but not in nouns”. It is

generally held that weak versus strong inflection compensated for the lack of a definite and indefinite article in older language stages (see Mitchell 1985: vol I, 51; Traugott 1992: 171ff; Fischer 2000: 159ff; Fischer 2001: 249ff; Fischer 2006: 256ff). The two declensions are thus dependent on syntactic and semantic functions (see Faarlund 2004: 37; see also Abbott 2008: 122ff for a discussion of definite and indefinite NPs), where weakly inflected adjectives are mainly used in semantically definite NPs and strongly inflected adjectives in semantically indefinite NPs. This distinction can be translated into informational features. The strong (indefinite) adjectival inflection may indicate that the feature presented by the adjective is new in the context, while the weak adjectival inflection, syntactically supported by an overt definiteness marker, points towards a given feature within the context. Syntactically, the emergence of the definite (and indefinite) article starts to mark the NP overtly for definiteness and contextually for givenness. Adjectival inflection together with these overt markers can create narrow semantic content, e.g. in constructions showing a strong adjective in combination with an overtly marked definite noun (cf. e.g. Thráinsson 2007: 3 for modern Icelandic), implying that the noun is known in the context, while the adjectival property describes a new feature of this known referent (this, however, is only possible with the occurrence of the nominal article *-inn* (DEF), as the adjectival article is exclusively bound to the weak inflection in the oldest attestations; cf. Pfaff 2019, see also Section 3.1.1).

The distinction between weak/strong adjectival inflection and semantically definite/indefinite NPs has often been brought into correlation with a distinction between (prenominal) attributive versus (postnominal) predicative use of adjectives (see e.g. Fischer 2012: 256 for Old English). Attributive adjectives occur inside a noun phrase, modifying the head noun, while predicative adjectives form a separate constituent and do not function as a modifier governed by the head noun. However, in the analysis presented here, I do not define strong adjectives as solely functionally predicative. Prenominal strong adjectives are thus not unexpected and are patterned with prenominal weak adjective readings regarding their semantic and functional properties, in line with Haumann (2010: 66ff), unless explicitly stated otherwise.

### 3.1.1 Definiteness

The prototypical way of marking a context for definiteness is by using the definite articles ([+definite]; they can have the feature [+specific]), or by using demonstratives (which have a [+deictic] feature), which clearly show distinct reference and anaphoricity within the discourse (see e.g. Schwarz 2009). Accounts of definiteness phenomena have described the ability to identify a referent and



refer to a totality, i.e. unique referents, uncountable nouns and plurals (cf. e.g. Lyons 1999; Rampazzo 2012). All Germanic languages developed a definite article system as they developed towards their modern counterparts to encode this kind of information. In Old Norwegian (and Old Icelandic), one of two definite article items was used: a free morpheme (ART; adjectival article; cf. Börjars et al. 2016: e15) and a bound morpheme (DEF; nominal suffix article), as shown in (3).

(3) Definite articles in Old Norse

a. Adjective article (ART)

*hinn fyrsta dag*  
 ART.ACC.SG first.ACC.SG.WK day.ACC.SG  
 ‘the first day’ (7v, col.b:16)

b. Nominal article (DEF)

*dag-inn*  
 day-DEF.ACC.SG  
 ‘the day’ (40r, col.a:8)

The adjective article (ART) complements the weak adjective (cf. e.g. Stroh-Wollin 2009, Pfaff & Walkden 2024 [this volume]) and is illicit with a bare noun (*\*hinn dag*),<sup>10</sup> in which case simple definiteness may be expressed through the element DEF as in (3b). The only element obligatorily marked for (in)definiteness within the NP is the adjective, meaning that the definite article in semantic/discourse-pragmatic definite NPs (identificatory and contextually given in the discourse) is often still missing in Old Norwegian.<sup>11</sup> In overtly marked definite NPs modified by an adjective, the unbound article ART triggers the definite (i.e. weak) form of the adjective, which may be considered an agreement relation between the features [DEFINITE] and [WEAK] (cf. Vangsnes 1997: 118; Pfaff 2015: 54, who translates this into a c-command relation).<sup>12</sup> Describing two different definite articles as shown in (3), I follow Pfaff (2019) and assume that DEF is present in a position below *nP* and closest to N, while I assume ART to be merged as the head of weak APs (note that strong APs are illicit with ART). Strongly inflected adjectives are found in semantically indefinite NPs; however, they can

<sup>10</sup>However, cases of double definiteness which display both of these elements can be found in Old Norwegian, as in *\*hinir bæzto mænn-iner* ‘ART best men-DEF’ (26v, col.b:20–21).

<sup>11</sup>Note that Old Norse does not yet have a fully grammaticalized article system (see Nygaard 1905: 27f; Faarlund 2004: 56, 74; Crisma & Pintzuk 2019: 225).

<sup>12</sup>The weak form of the adjective is not found outside of definite contexts with an overt definite marker/trigger (an exception is the word *samr* ‘same’ whose degree of adjectivity, however, can be discussed; see also Bech 2017: 12).

also occur in definite contexts like those shown in (4) and (5) when ART is absent (see (12)). I therefore consider the strong inflection as the default form in all contexts. Above the merging site for (all) adjectives is a CardP hosting numerals or cardinal quantifiers in its specifier position, and above this a projection for demonstratives (layered DP, see Julien 2002, 2005; Adger 2013). Note that a DP in this sense is a demonstrative phrase headed either by a demonstrative or a pronoun (cf. also Lander & Haegeman 2014). Based on the analysis presented in Pfaff (2019) for Icelandic (see also Harðarson 2017), as well as the proposed universal by Greenberg (1963: 87)<sup>13</sup> regarding the order of demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, and nouns, I assume the base structure for the extended Old Norwegian NP to be the one given in (A). For the purpose of this chapter, I will present a relatively simple structure, ignoring aspects that are not at the center of the discussion.

- (A) [DemP *sá* ... [PossP pronouns ... [CardP ... [<sub>α</sub>P AP...[<sub>NP</sub> DEF N ]]]]]

For weak adjectives, the AP consists of two elements, forming one constituent ([ART A<sub>WK</sub>]). ART can also co-occur with additional elements that may render the NP definite, such as the demonstrative *sá*, exemplified in (4)<sup>14</sup> or a possessive pronoun like *MINN*, as in (5). This in turn implies that these elements are not on a par with ART, neither categorically, nor functionally, nor structurally (see Pfaff 2019: 24, 31f; cf. also Faarlund 2004, 2009). These elements are merged in a separate position above the adjectival projection.

- (4) *sá* ART A.WK  
 Kona *þærs hins rika mannz*  
 wife DEM.GEN.SG ART.GEN.SG rich.GEN.SG.WK man.GEN.SG  
 ‘wife of this rich/mighty man’ (35v, col.a:14–15)

- (5) POSS ART A.WK  
*mina hina liotligo asion*  
 my ART.ACC.SG horrible.ACC.SG.WK appearance.ACC.SG  
 ‘my terrible appearance’ (43v, col.a:12–13)

<sup>13</sup>Universal 20: “When any or all of the items (demonstrative, numeral and descriptive adjective) precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite.”

<sup>14</sup>It has also been noted that “[d]emonstratives do not necessarily give the NP a unique or specific reference” (Faarlund 2004: 85f), so that the indefinite form of the adjective may co-occur with demonstratives.

The bound article DEF is less frequent in structures involving an adjective. In structures that only contain DEF as an overt definiteness marker, the default form of the adjective is used (=strong declension). However, in the corpus material DEF may also co-occur with ART (see also Pfaff 2019: 18 for Old Icelandic), as in the examples given in (6). In this case the weak form of the adjective is triggered. These examples also show that these two morphemes cannot be the same element and occupy different syntactic positions (contra Faarlund 2004).<sup>15</sup>

(6) Double definiteness in Old Norwegian

a. Co-occurrence (ART+DEF)

**hinn heiti vægr-inn**  
 ART.NOM.SG hot.NOM.SG.WK way-DEF.NOM.SG  
 ‘the hot zone’ (12v, col.b:29–30)

b. Co-occurrence (DEM+ART+DEF)<sup>16</sup>

**þeir hiner kalldu vægir-nir**  
 DEM.NOM.PL ART.NOM.PL cold.NOM.PL.WK way-DEF.NOM.PL  
 ‘the cold zones’ (13r, col.a:3)

With these general observations in mind, we can now take a closer look at the surface patterns displaying one adjective modifying a head noun found in the corpus material. I will follow Pfaff’s (2019) listed patterns for Old Icelandic,<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup>For Old Icelandic, Pfaff (2019: 18) even shows examples of direct adjacency of these two elements. However, constructions showing some kind of double definiteness are still quite rare in the corpus material (see also Lundeby 1965). Double definiteness was generally rare in Old Norse (Faarlund 2004: 58). According to Lundeby (1965), double definiteness in Norwegian developed around 1200 and was established as a structure before 1400 (see also Lohndal 2007: 290; van Gelderen & Lohndal 2008). Note, however, that the type of double definiteness shown in the examples in (6) is of a different kind from the one found in modern Norwegian (cf. Lander & Haegeman 2014: 292), since ART disappeared from the language by the end of the Old Norwegian period while its function was taken over by the demonstrative (developing into a determiner). While NPs modified by an adjective obligatorily display double definiteness in modern Norwegian, in Icelandic this “is consistently attested as a marked pattern from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards and disappeared in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century” (see Pfaff 2019: 19).

<sup>16</sup>The occurrence of the demonstrative in this example points towards a contrastive reading of this phrase, as it immediately follows the phrase given in (6a) within the discourse context.

<sup>17</sup>The three patterns (V), (VI) and (VII) are not described by Pfaff (2019). However, they are patterns which are also found in Icelandic. I decided to add these to the description here, even though these and other patterns are represented only by very few examples in KoNoKs. Also pattern III, for instance, is only represented by one example, but it is a verified pattern in other Old Norwegian texts, cf. e.g. ‘Crist *stol hinn dýri*’ ‘the **valuable chair** of Christ’ (HómNo 2.33,8), ‘firir *nott-ena hælgu*’ ‘for the **holy night**’ (MLL 7,3), or ‘*cross-en helga*’ ‘the **holy cross**’

starting here with pattern (II) (see Table 1), as there are no instances found of what Pfaff labelled pattern (I) for Icelandic (A.WK N-DEF).

The last column in the table shows the number of examples for the specific patterns found in KoNoKs. Only those adjectives are represented in Table 1 that appear with an overt definiteness marker (DEF, ART and/or *sá*).<sup>18</sup>

In contrast to the Old Icelandic data (cf. Pfaff 2019: 14), pattern (DD-b) is already a possible surface pattern in the 13<sup>th</sup> century in Old Norwegian, showing that the replacement of ART by the distal demonstrative *sá* started relatively early in the language history of Norwegian (see also Stroh-Wollin 2009, 2015). However, an additional definiteness marker is still needed to support the replacement of ART. The element *sá* slowly developed into a definite determiner and the universal adjectival article in the Mainland Scandinavian languages. The fact that a competition between ART and *sá* is still going on in Old Norwegian is also supported by the appearance of pattern (VII) showing both elements next to each other. The later exchange/retention of the element ART in the syntax leads to a split between the Mainland Scandinavian languages and Icelandic. As predicted, no examples of a co-occurrence of ART with strongly inflected adjectives are found in the corpus material.

### 3.1.2 Indefiniteness

Apart from Icelandic, all Germanic languages have also developed an article system to mark indefiniteness. In Old Norse, the element *einn*, if used as an indefinite marker, may mark specificity<sup>19</sup> but is not an obligatory element within indefinite structures (see also Heine 1997: 72f, 2002 in Skrzypek 2012: 51, 53; cf. Crisma 2015: 142 for the three stages of the development of the indefinite article). Crisma & Pintzuk (2019: 232) refer to Old Swedish and Skrzypek's (2012: 76, 158) analysis, stating that "*en* is used exclusively as a numerical [...] at least until 1225. Skrzypek found the earliest attestation of non-numerical *en* in *Bur* (dated 1276–1307)", which falls into the same period analyzed for Old Norwegian in this study.

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(HómNo 3.3.66). Two additional patterns show cases of double definiteness: DD-a and DD-b. Pattern (VII) is also found with the proximal demonstrative, *sjá/þessi* (two distinct types of demonstratives), as in '*Ormr þæsse hinn orðslægi*' 'That articulate worm' (41r, col.b:8).

<sup>18</sup>Only basic patterns are presented in Table 1. These structures may show additional elements, such as a possessive pronoun. A quick search in the other Old Norwegian texts considered showed the same patterns. In total, the corpus presents 55 examples of weak adjectives. The reason for the total count of 51 adjectives in Table 1 is that four examples did not appear with a definite marker (with the word *samr* and some adjectives in the superlative).

<sup>19</sup>Note that the adjective position might also be sensitive to the specific or non-specific reading of the NP in which it appears (see Jacob 2005: 72; see also Bosque 1996). A detailed discussion of this, however, is put aside for a later analysis of the material, as KoNoKs does not entail an annotation for *specificity*.

Table 1: Possible word order patterns connected to overt definiteness. Pre-/post-articular refers to the adjectival position relative to DEF or ART

(II) <sup>a</sup>	ART	WK	prenom.	post-articular	<b>hina bæztu mænn</b> (2v, col.b:20–21) 'the best man'	40
(III)	DEF > ART <sup>b</sup>	WK	postnom.	post-articular	<b>haf-et mykla</b> (13r, col.a:17) 'the great ocean'	1
(IV)	DEF	STR	prenom.	pre-articular	<b>visan mæistar-ann</b> (4r, col.b:1) 'the wise master'	2
(DD-a)	ART + DEF	WK	prenom.	pre- and post-articular	<b>hinum heita væg-</b> <b>inum</b> (14v, col.b:1) 'the hot way/zone'	5
(DD-b)	sá + DEF	WK	prenom.	pre- and post-articular	<b>þeim heita væg-</b> <b>inum</b> (14v, col.b:9) 'the hot way/zone'	2
(V) <sup>c</sup>	DEF	STR	postnom.	post-articular	<b>lannd-et þitt</b> (12r, col.a:1) 'the unfrozen soil'	4
(VI)	sá	STR	prenom.	post-articular	<b>þeim hægum</b> <b>manne</b> (8r, col.b:15) 'this holy man'	6
(VII)	sá + ART	WK	postnom.	post-articular	<b>Tre þat hit fagra</b> (40r, col.b:16) 'This beautiful tree'	3

<sup>a</sup>This pattern is especially used with superlatives or in enumerations, e.g. 'Hinn **þriðe lutr**' 'the third thing' (11r, col.b:26–27); 'hit **þriðia sæla kyn**' 'the third kind of seal' (10v, col.a:26).

<sup>b</sup>According to Pfaff (2019: 18f, 31), the adjectival article ART can occur as a free or a bound element in Old Icelandic. He further notes that nominal and adjectival articles are two distinct elements, as cases of double definiteness including both ART and DEF suggest against treating these as one. The Old Norwegian data support this statement (cf. ex. 6).

<sup>c</sup>One example of pattern (V) displays the word *sialfr* 'self'. It is questionable whether this is a true example of this pattern.

Table 2: Possible word order patterns connected to overt indefiniteness. Pre-/post-articular refers to the adjectival position relative to INDEF

(I–b)	INDEF	STR	prenominal	pre-articular	2
(II–b)	INDEF	STR	prenominal	post-articular	13
(III–b)	INDEF	STR	postnominal	post-articular	8

Mørck (2016: 387) further notes for Old Norwegian that “[a]llerede på 1200-tallet fins det [...] bruk av *einn* som minner om den ubestemte artikkelen i moderne norsk [...]” (‘Already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, there are instances of the usage of *einn* that resemble the indefinite article in modern Norwegian’). In the corpus material analyzed here, some examples of *einn* already displaying a specific marker were found as well. However, the function as a non-numeral still reflects an earlier stage as a presentative marker to introduce new and salient referents with an anaphoric chain following its introduction into the discourse (see Skrzypek 2012: 52; Skrzypek 2013: 33). Examples of the non-numerical usage of *einn* in the corpus material are given in (7).

(7) Indefinitely marked modified NP

- a. **heilagr**                      *maðr*                      **einn**  
       holy.NOM.SG.STR man.NOM.SG INDEF  
       ‘a holy man’ (7r, col.b:25)
- b. **æinn** **heilagr**                      *maðr*  
       INDEF holy.NOM.SG.STR man.NOM.SG  
       ‘a holy man’ (7r, col.b:14)
- c. *holme*                      **æinn** **litell**  
       islet.NOM.SG INDEF small.NOM.SG.STR  
       ‘a small islet’ (6r, col.b:19–20)

These examples reflect the three surface patterns including INDEF found in the corpus material, here given in Table 2 (again, the number of examples found is given in the last column). As expected, weak adjectives do not appear in overtly marked indefinite extended NPs.

But, whatever the ‘exact’ stage of *einn* is in Old Norwegian, I have here only considered examples that are already semantically different from the numeral use of *einn*, i.e. introducing new referents and starting to mark indefiniteness by

these means.<sup>20</sup> However, strong adjectives are not in need of an overt marker (INDEF) in the same sense as weak adjectives are dependent on ART. In Old Norwegian, structures with an indefinite interpretation and without any overt indefinite marker are still the norm, as shown in (8).

(8) Indefinite modified NP

- a. *Nalar*      *margar*      *oc þræðr*      *œrna.*      *eða*  
 nail.ACC.PL many.ACC.PL.STR and thread.ACC.PL strong.ACC.PL.STR or  
*sviptingar*  
 cord.ACC.PL  
 ‘many nails, and strong thread or cords’ (3v, col.a:10–11)
- b. *sænnder varmar*      *vingiafer*      *norðanvinnde*  
 sends      warm.ACC.PL.STR friendship.gift.ACC.PL northwind.DAT.SG  
 ‘sends warm gifts of friendship to the north wind’ (4v, col.a:16)

Only 23 examples displaying non-numerical *einn* used as a marker to introduce a new referent within a directly modified nominal projection could be identified in KoNoKs. Of these, 15 examples show a surface pattern with prenominal adjectives and 8 examples show postnominal adjectives. Pattern (II–b) in Table 2 with both a prenominal adjective and a prenominal article is the predominant pattern in these contexts. It is also the only grammatical pattern possible in modern Norwegian, where *einn* is grammaticalized as the indefinite article. However, being first of all a quantifier in Old Norwegian, *einn* is assumed to be merged as the specifier of CardP above the AP, as shown in (B).<sup>21</sup>

(B) [DemP ... [CardP *einn* [<sub>αP</sub> AP<sub>STR</sub> ... [<sub>nP</sub> N ]]]]

Patterns deviating from INDEF–A–N (i.e. A–N–INDEF and N–INDEF–A) can be explained through NP-movement with the option of pied-piping the adjective (see Section 4).

From the discussion of adjectives in definite and indefinite contexts in Old Norwegian, it seems that concerning the positioning of adjectives relative to N, both weak and strong adjectives can appear in pre- and postnominal position.<sup>22</sup> For

<sup>20</sup>There are clear examples in which *einn* functions as a numeral, especially in constructions including *sjá/þessi*, e.g. ‘Þæssa *æina* grein’ ‘this **one** branch’ (43v, col.b:25), or *sá*, e.g. ‘Ða er þar ænn *æinn* sa lutr’ ‘There is yet **one** such (one other) thing’ (8r, col.b:4–5).

<sup>21</sup>See e.g. the following example: þætta *æitt* satt *upphaf* ‘this one true source’ (1v, col.b:8–9).

<sup>22</sup>The prenominal position for adjectives is, however, already preferred in Old Norwegian with 88.2% of all strong APs (726/823) and 92.7% of all weak APs (51/55) appearing in this position in the corpus material.

weak adjectives in postnominal position, Fischer (2001: 265f.) states for Old English that these adjectives are weak because they do not convey new information, thus connecting inflection to givenness. However, adjectives that convey given information are not exclusively weak, neither in Old English (see Bech 2019) nor in Old Norwegian (e.g. the adjectives in the examples given for patterns (III) and (VII) in Table 1 have not been mentioned in the previous discourse and are not inferable from that discourse). Thus, neither the form of the adjective nor the additional (in)definiteness markers seem to be decisive factors for the ordering of adjectives within the modified NP in Old Norwegian. Optionality in word order is a complex phenomenon and the result of several interlinked parameters.

### 3.2 Context and referentiality

After this closer look at the extended NP, the immediate context of a phrase also needs to be taken into account, and with this the distinction between attributively and predicatively used adjectives. Fischer (2000, 2001) argues for Old English that the weak adjectival inflection has an identifying and attributive function (inherent or enduring property of the noun it modifies), iconically relates to ‘old information’, and appears in prenominal position. Strong adjectives, on the other hand, relate iconically to ‘new information’ and to predication (e.g. not an inherent property of the noun it modifies; a one-time occurrence). These adjectives are not incorporated into the noun and may appear postnominally. However, in the following examples, I will show that the two generalisations: i) attributive=prenominal, and ii) weak=attributive and strong=predicative cannot be transferred to Old Norwegian (see also Bech 2017: 8). For Old English, too, Fischer’s strict distribution has been discussed as problematic (see Bech 2019). The examples given in (9) show weak adjectives in postnominal position (see also Pfaff 2019: 14 for Old Icelandic; he finds 212 examples of weak adjectives in postnominal position and writes that this is a marked, but stable pattern). These adjectives are attributive, despite their placement in relation to N (see also Haumann 2010: 62 and Mitchell 1985: vol. I, 75), and do not necessarily need to be given information within the discourse, but can be new mentions in the given context.

- (9) a. Strengleikar  
       hia havi            hinu        mykla  
       at   ocean.DAT.SG ART.DAT.SG great.DAT.SG.WK  
       ‘at the great ocean’ (Streng 7,3)



b. Old Norwegian homily hook

*vitni*                      *hinu*                      *sanna*  
 witness.DAT.SG    DAT.SG.ART    true.DAT.SG.WK  
 ‘the true witness’ (HómNo 2.8,24)

Moreover, predicatehood seems not to be inherent to strong adjectives in Old Norwegian. See the following examples in (10).

- (10) a. *þvi*            *at*    *þeir* *hafa* *heilhugaðer* *værit* *við*            *alla*  
           because that they have sincere/kind been towards all  
           [*goða*                      *mænn*            *oc* *hælg*]  
           good.ACC.PL.STR man.ACC.PL and holy.ACC.PL.STR  
           ‘because they have been kind towards all good and holy men  
           (6r, col.a:18–19)’  
       b. *engan* *visan*                                      *mæistar-ann*  
           no        wise.ACC.SG.STR master-DEF.ACC.SG  
           ‘no wise master’ (4r, col.b:1)

In (10a) both adjectives identify the referent and modify the noun *mænn* (i.e. they do not show any signs of semantic temporariness or stage-level reading). Note also that I analyze both adjectives as prenominal adjectives (see Section 4.2). Example (10b) also shows a prenominal strong adjective that modifies the referent directly. Being prenominal and attributive, these examples show that inherent predicatehood for strong adjectives seems not to be strictly applicable to Old Norwegian. However, I considered further arguments made by Fischer (2000, 2001) for Old English for a transfer discussion of Old Norwegian data, as she provides an extensive discussion on syntactic variation focusing on the adjective position. Fischer also correlates the predicatehood of strong adjectives to the observation that Old English adjectives are non-recursive, and due to this, not hierarchically ordered in a correlating relationship (see van Gelderen & Lohndal 2008 repeating the statement made by Fischer for Old Norwegian; see however Bech 2017 for examples of stacked adjectives in Old English and Bech 2019 for further discussions). It is true that stacked adjectives are rare in the Old Norwegian material. However, they do occur, as shown in (11).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup>As Bech (2017: 15) notes in her study, however, the majority of examples found displaying this pattern include *margr* ‘many, numerous’ as the first of the two adjectives. KoNoKs only displays one example of stacked adjectives, also including *margr*, which is annotated as an adjective in the corpus material (following Haugen 2001: 142; Nedoma 2010: 71; Cleasby 1957; Zoëga 1910). However, *margr* might be discussed further concerning its degree of adjectivity.

(11) a. Stacked weak adjectives

Sa hinn riki gamle maðr  
 DEM ART.NOM.SG rich.NOM.SG.WK old.NOM.SG.WK man.NOM.SG  
 ‘the rich, old man’ (Streng 2,282)

b. Stacked strong adjectives

hafðe [...] kallað margha goða hufðingia  
 had [...] called many.ACC.PL.STR good.ACC.PL.STR leader.ACC.PL  
 ‘had [...] invited many good leaders’ (36r, col.b:3)

Moreover, Fischer’s discussion (cf. 2001: 257ff; see also Haumann 2003: 260f) points out a mismatch between definiteness and indefiniteness in structures with a definite nominal expression and a strong adjective, which indicates a predicative status of strong adjectives. This mismatch, showing a strong adjective and a possessive pronoun, is exemplified for Old Norwegian in (12).

- (12) *sœmilect nafn sitt. gott yfirlæti*  
 honourable.ACC.SG.STR title.ACC.SG his good.ACC.SG.STR repute.ACC.SG  
*oc fagra þionosto.*  
 and fair.ACC.SG.STR service.ACC.SG  
 ‘his honourable title, (his) good repute, and (his) fair service’  
 (21r, col.b:6–7)

Here, the nominal expressions are semantically/pragmatically definite (by virtue of containing a possessive pronoun anchoring them in the discourse as defined entities); however, the adjectives signal that they are indefinite (by virtue of the strong morphology of the adjective) at the same time. Contextually, neither the nominal expressions nor the properties of the adjectives of this example convey new information. Note also that possessive pronouns arguably have definiteness-like features but do not carry the feature [DEFINITE] yet (see also Börjars et al. 2016), and thus do not yet render the NP syntactically definite. They are rather interpreted as anaphoric or cataphoric deictics (see Tiemann 2023). Furthermore, adjectives might add a new property to an already given referent. Fischer (2001: 257ff, 265ff) argues that the strong adjective in constructions like these cannot be analyzed as a modifier of the head noun, but must be analyzed

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The overlap of *margr* with the category of quantifiers and its possible semantic and syntactic integration in this word class is likely to influence its strong tendency to appear as the first of two adjectives in stacked adjective constructions. A further discussion of the membership of *margr* in the adjective or quantifier class is an interesting topic, but will not be discussed further in this chapter.

as a secondary predicate, e.g. a reduced relative. Structurally, the example in (12), however, shows that the strong adjective and the noun moved together in front of the possessive (pied-piping of the adjective, see also the structure given in (B)). This movement indicates a stronger connection between adjective and noun than that given by predication.<sup>24</sup> In addition, Pfaff (2019: 26) notes for Old Icelandic/Old Norse that adjectives following a possessive pronoun generally seem to be strongly inflected, which is also true for the Old Norwegian material examined in this study (unlike modern Norwegian).<sup>25</sup> Here, several factors seem to influence the inflection and position of the adjective; the structure, however, seems not to be of a predicative nature.

Turning lastly back to Fischer's (2000, 2001) analysis for Old English concerning the positioning of adjectives which, according to her, is directly attributed to their function as attributive (=prenominal) or predicative (=postnominal), several examples have already demonstrated that strong adjectives in Old Norwegian occur in postnominal position in an attributive function. This seems to be the general case for listings, as shown in (13b).

(13) Attributive use

- a. eða skilningar laus komi i skola goðan  
 or wit less come.SBJV in school.ACC.SG good.ACC.SG.STR  
 'or a simple-minded (person) would come/enter a good school'  
 (17v, col.b:14–15)
- b. Nalar margar oc þræðr ærna. eða  
 nail.ACC.PL many.ACC.PL.STR and thread.ACC.PL strong.ACC.PL.STR or  
 sviptingar  
 cord.ACC.PL  
 'many nails, and strong threads or cords' (3v, col.a:10–11)

What can be determined, however, is that while strong adjectives may appear as predicative adjectives (cf. also ex. (14b), with an example of a prenominal predicative adjective in a coordinated structure), weak adjectives do not act in this function in any of the positions available to them.

<sup>24</sup>Note that example (12) displays an enumeration, which might be a decisive factor for this word ordering.

<sup>25</sup>The corpus material also showed two examples of an alternative pattern where a possessive precedes the sequence ART + A.WK, as in 'nema ec skryði *mina* hina liotligo *asion*' 'unless I adorn *my* terrible *appearance*' (43v, col.a:12–13).

(14) Predicative use

- a. þvi at af iðrottum væ[r]ðr maðr froðr  
 this that of arts becomes man.NOM.SG wise.NOM.SG.STR  
 ‘because a man becomes wise through (the/a) arts (crafts/procession)’  
 (1v, col.b:20–21)
- b. þar sœm haf-it er diupt oc þo  
 there as ocean-DEF.NOM.SG is deep.NOM.SG.STR and yet  
 salltr sær-inn  
 salty.NOM.SG.STR sea-DEF.NOM.SG  
 ‘there where the ocean is deep and yet the sea salty’ (12r, col.b:17–19)

According to these findings, no clear generalisation about the position of strong adjectives correlating with their function can be made. Other factors might be more decisive when it comes to the syntactic variation seen within the Old Norwegian extended nominal projection. The weak inflection, on the other hand, has a very restricted distribution: weakly inflected adjectives only occur attributively in overtly definite marked NPs (*Elsewhere Principle*: the strong inflection appears when the weak inflection is not triggered by a c-commanding definite marker, see Pfaff 2019: 13; cf. also Pfaff 2015 for modern Icelandic). The morphology of the adjective thus restricts the possible functions, but it does not determine the function in a strict 1:1 ratio (recall that the strong form is the default form in all contexts). The examination so far can be summarized as follows:

1. Old Norwegian does not yet have a dedicated (in)definite element, neither free nor bound. More specifically, the feature [DEFINITE] existed in Old Norwegian but did not have obligatory exponence.
2. The opposition of strong versus weak adjectives and their position relative to N does not seem to be a strict one in Old Norwegian. (However, the appearance of weak adjectives in postnominal position is more restricted than for strong adjectives.)
3. The article ART acts to license the weak AP (cf. Pfaff 2019; see also Perridon & Sleeman 2011: 8; Stroh-Wollin 2009: 7f) as the head of (exactly one) AP.
4. Neither the morphology of the adjective nor the presence or absence of overt (in)definiteness markers seems to solely determine the position of the adjective in the surface structure.

### 3.3 Information structure

I will now turn to pragmatic influence on word ordering, and with this to an information-structural approach. This postulates that utterances are structured according to the transmission goals of a communicative situation, allowing for variation on various linguistic levels to reach an optimal informational exchange (cf. Halliday 1967; Chafe 1976; Lambrecht 1994; Büring 2005; Caruso 2016). Assuming one underlying base structure (*Universal Base Hypothesis*), the positioning of constituents then reflects their informational content in the given structure (cf. Rizzi's 1997 split CP hypothesis). Within the clause, positions for *topic*, *focus* and *contrast* are generated in the left periphery of CP (see among others, Petrova 2009; Hróarsdóttir 2009). Scholars such as Giusti (1996) and Isac & Kirk (2008) have further suggested that the nominal domain, too, encodes discourse-related notions, mirroring the structure of the CP (in the same hierarchical order: Top>Foc; see Caruso 2016: 31 for arguments on the order of TopP and FocP in the nominal projection; cf. also Aboh et al. 2010 for a summary of work on information structure within the NP). Caruso (2015: 5) further notes that "[t]he most prominent discourse-related notions associated with noun phrases, namely (in)definiteness and specificity, are assumed to be realized within the nominal left periphery" (*split DP hypothesis*; cf. also Ihsane & Puskás 2001; Laenzlinger 2005; Giusti 2005, 2012; Haegeman 2004).<sup>26</sup> These encode (non)familiarity through the choice of determiners that mark the noun as either identifiable or non-identifiable for the addressee (see Aboh et al. 2010: 783). With this, NP-internal movement operations that correlate e.g. with *focus* readings are explained in the same manner on a phrasal level as on a clausal level (cf. Giusti 2006: AP-to-SpecDP versus A-to-D movement). Caruso (2016: 28) summarizes the various domains of the noun phrase (parallel to the clause) under the following domains: 1) NP-shells; 2) an inflectional domain; and 3) the left periphery. The initial position is associated with information-prominent and contrastive elements.

Discussions within this approach often focus on the nominal constituent (e.g. Isac & Kirk 2008: 142). However, as on the clausal level, any constituent can be targeted by information-structural interpretations (cf. Truswell 2004 who argues that "standard theories" of *focus* should be extended to adjectives; see also Harðarson 2017: 103f for information-structurally triggered movement of adjectives within the extended NP for (modern) Icelandic). Harries (2014: 92) notes for Old Norse that elements in a fronted position (FOC in her framework) carry information "which is more prominent discoursally than the noun itself, [and]

<sup>26</sup>For an account arguing against *topic* and *focus* inside DP, see Szendrői 2010.

that the information which follows the noun carries information which is discursively less significant (backgrounded)”, following the same basic assumptions for the NP in Old Norse as assumed in this study. Furthermore, with a split of *focus* into *presentational* and *contrastive focus* (see Chafe 1976; Katz & Selkirk 2011), *focus* and activation status are considered distinct concepts. However, the constituent in *focus* is universally marked by prosodic prominence, i.e. by carrying main stress (or pitch accent). Moving elements into a designated fronted slot above the noun (in KontrP: *contrastive focus*) is a strategy exploited in languages that show syntactic variation, and a strategy that works like focalizing an element by adding pitch accent (cf. Corver & van Koppen 2009). Adopting this, I expand the Old Norwegian NP with a full-fledged left periphery and designated slots for *topic*, *focus* and *contrast* (note that a DP in Old Norwegian is a demonstrative phrase, as stated in Section 3.1.1). It has been mentioned, however, that the coding of adjectives for e.g. saliency and whether they are presupposed or not, or whether such an element carries relational *focus* (more informative with respect to the noun), is unfortunately difficult (see van Gelderen & Lohndal 2008: 13; Allen 2012: 259f). This is a more general issue of assigning information-structural features to the word class of adjectives, and I tackle this problem by introducing the concept of *essentiality*, focusing on information flow within a given discourse.

### 3.4 Information status and essentiality

Information status can be analyzed as a binary *given* (unfocused) – *new* (focused) distinction (see e.g. Prince 1981; Gundel et al. 1993; Birner 2006). Fischer (2006: 256) uses the terms *given/new* in the sense of “*saliency*, i.e. which elements add least and most to the advancing process of communication” (Bech 2019: 25; see also Fischer & van der Wurff 2006: 122). Through the concept of *essentiality*, the information status of adjectives can be assigned in a more effective way, following a strict annotative evaluation based on the immediately preceding and continuing context.

#### 3.4.1 Non-essential

I start with what I term *non-essential* adjectives. In relation to the preceding context, these adjectives convey information that is known in the discourse situation (=old/given information; directly mentioned in the preceding discourse or contextually known/active in the knowledge stock of the interlocutors due to world/situational knowledge that can be assumed for the specific cultural sphere

of the text,<sup>27</sup> as in *holy Mary*, *almighty God*, and are not necessary to identify the noun's referent). In relation to the continuing context, non-essential adjectives do not carry information necessary for the interpretation of the following sequences. Thus, an omission of the adjective does not lead to a change in the reference interpretation, nor to difficulties interpreting subsequent information.<sup>28</sup> The developing discourse is in these cases not based on the property carried by the adjective, as exemplified by the modern examples in (15).

(15) Non-essential

- a. My cat may seem arrogant from time to time. But this is not surprising, as cats are known to have this **arrogant** *nature* in general. I still treat her as a queen.
- b. I was eating a lot of candy at Christmas. The **sweet** *treats* are just for this time.

The second mentioning of the adjective *arrogant* in (15a) is a repetition of the immediately preceding utterance and can thus be omitted from the NP without changing the meaning of the utterance containing the noun *nature* in any direction or to any degree. The reference of *nature* still refers to the arrogant character of cats mentioned here. Also, the following clause, referring back to the property given by the adjective, can be understood in this context. The adjective *sweet* in (15b) can be inferred by the earlier mentioned *candy* and the general knowledge of candy being sweet and is thus not necessary for the correct encoding of the sentence it appears in and for the interpretation of the reference of *treats*. Omitting this adjective does not lead to a change in meaning. In other words, *non-essential* adjectives carry active information not needed for the understanding/interpretation of the noun's referent, the immediate phrase or the further development of the discourse referring to the specific entity. In contrast to the

<sup>27</sup> *Konungs skuggsjá* 'The king's mirror' is written in a courtly context in a Christianized society. As such, general knowledge about e.g. church order and masses can be assumed to be present in the knowledge stock of the interlocutors. Such mentions are annotated as *accessible* in the corpus material of KoNoKs, either through common ground or situational knowledge (cf. Tiemann 2023: 94ff).

<sup>28</sup> This comes close to what has been discussed in the literature on adjectives under the notion (non-)restrictivity (cf. e.g. Bolinger 1967; Larson & Marušič 2004; Truswell 2005; Umbach 2006; Demonte 2008; Cinque 2010; Pfaff 2015). Furthermore, (non-)referentiality relates directly to the referent (referential=needed to understand the reference; non-referential=additional information for the encoding of the reference), while *essentiality* additionally relates to the discourse development (essential=needed for the understanding of the developing discourse; non-essential=information that does not add any informational value to the proceeding discourse).

notion of *non-restrictivity*, which often is described as adding some kind of (unnecessary) “extra” information with no difference in the denotation of the noun alone, *non-essentiality* does not describe “extra” information, but active information through discourse development. Informationally speaking, the adjective gives old information to a new or given referent. An Old Norwegian example is given in (16).

(16) Non-essential

En þo er sa æinn lutr ænn æptir er geta ma æf syniz firir **gamans saker** oc skemtanar. *Gamans maðr* æinn var í lande þvi mioc longu oc þo var hann cristinn oc var sa maðr kallaðr Klefsan at nafni Ðat var mælt um þænn mann at ængi maðr munnde sa væra er hann sæ at hann munnde æi lægia gera mæð sinum **gamansamlegum orðum** oc þo **lygiligum**. oc þo at maðr væri ryggr í hug sinum þa er þat sagt at maðr munnde æi latrs binndaz æf þeir han heyrðe þæssa mannz rœðu.

‘But there is yet one thing that one can learn, if you wish, for the *sake of amusement* and entertainment. A (certain) *funny man* was in this land very long/for a long time and also, he was a Christian, and this man was called Klefsan by name. It was told of this man that (there) would be no man, when he saw (Klefsan), that he would not be made to laugh at his **amusing** and yet **fantasized words/speech/stories**. Even though a man would be heavy in his mind, then it is said that a man could not restrain (his laughter) when he heard that man talk.’ (9r, col.a:8–19)

The adjective *gamansamlegum* ‘amusing’ can easily be omitted from the phrase without creating any problems for the hearer in interpreting the words/stories spoken by Klefsan as ‘funny’. *Gamansamlegum* is a direct repetition of a property introduced through the first mention of *gamans* in connection with the following discussion and the referent Klefsan. *Gamans* thus sets the frame<sup>29</sup> for the following discourse, while *gamansamlegum* presents neither

<sup>29</sup>The theory of schemes and frames deals with the processing of entities that are in a firm relation to each other. Elements that a scheme contains can open a scheme by simply being mentioned. As soon as the scheme is active, the other elements contained are treated like slots that want to be filled. If a slot is not saturated, the reader will fill it by inference (the typical information will be supposed). As such, the mention of “joke”, for example, sets the scene for the interpretation of possible following information, such as “laughter”, “tears”, “funny”, etc. Though this information is not mentioned in the preceding context, its status is not *new*, nor is it *given*, but rather a relation of its own, i.e. *bridging* (within a binary division, analyzed as *given*).



a new property nor necessary information for the correct interpretation of the noun *orðum* in the context of laughing people. The second adjective, *lygiligum* ‘fantasized’, is annotated as part of the same scheme as *gamansamlegum* (annotated under frames) in the corpus material and with this as an active part of the connotation (=non-essential). The *non-essential* nature of an adjective is thus evaluated on the basis of the preceding discourse (given/known features carried by the adjective), and on its informational value for the continuation of the discourse (referent identification needed for the interpretation of the utterance or not; see Tiemann 2023: 94ff for a more detailed account of the corpus annotation). Consequently, the adjective is assumed not to carry any (prosodic) emphasis and *non-essential* adjectives are thus generally de-focalized (the same is true for the following adjective *lygiligum*).

### 3.4.2 Essential by context

*Essential* adjectives, on the other hand, are those which are assumed to be contextually emphasized, used in contexts where the adjective cannot be omitted without a change in the interpretation of the modified noun’s referent or without causing encoding problems for what follows. They carry information needed for the identification of the modified entity and the contextual interpretation of the developing discourse. This makes the adjective a key element of the informational flow. In this sense, it is more prominent within the given discourse than the noun, might carry emphasis, and is by these means focalized. This is the case when “the noun represents information which does not differ from the presupposition” (Harries 2014: 98) – then it is the adjective that is more informative. The adjective is then *essential by context* and displays information that cannot be assumed to be active in the knowledge stock of the interlocutors (it has not been mentioned in the immediate previous context, nor does it belong to/is it annotated as part of an active scheme under the frames tag). A modern example is given in (17).

(17) Essential by context (~presentational focus)

The **old** *man* had difficulties doing squats. I am impressed, though, that he started working out again so late in his life.

The core information in this utterance is given through the adjective *old*. It identifies a specific referent; however, its property also describes a condition that becomes relevant information for the developing discourse and signals how the common ground develops. If the adjective *old* were omitted from the phrase, the information in the first clause would change in its meaning (to the general

reference of *man* and with no clue as to why he appears to have difficulties doing squats, which here is connected to the advanced age), and the later phrase *so late in his life* would be difficult to comprehend cognitively. The semantic component expressed by the adjective is thus the crucial element of the assertion and opens a new scheme ('an old man'). It can then be identified as the focused component of the phrase. These adjectives are tagged as *new* and are within the focus domain in the corpus material of KoNoKs.

Stating that *focus* is expressed at a designated position in the left periphery of the NP (cf. Section 3.3) entails movement inside the NP, making the moved constituent the part of the phrase that carries the main information or assertion. Both stress and movement to a designated position can put focus on a constituent (highlighting system; see also Truswell 2005 for the syntactic parallel between the clausal left-periphery and the DP, and for focus movement inside the DP). For Old Norwegian, the assumed unmarked (de-focalized) position for the adjective is prenominal, thus I assume that postpositioning puts emphasis on the adjective (*presentational focus* mentioned above; following the hierarchy Top>Foc), as shown in (18).

- (18) Essential by context – postnominal position  
 at hvær þeira systra hafa fullan rett i domi æpter  
 that each DEM sisters have full right in decision after  
*tali* **retto**.  
 weight.DAT.SG right.DAT.SG.STR  
 'that each of the sisters has full right in the decision according to their  
 respective position (concerning the particular case discussed)'  
 (42r, col.a:8–9)

However, positional variation to signal a focused adjective seems to be a weakened strategy already in Old Norwegian, as the prenominal position is the predominant order in all contexts. We thus most often find adjectives that are *essential by context* (focused) already in prenominal position, as shown in (19).

- (19) Essential by context – prenominal position  
 Ða er þat ænn æitt sæla kyn ænn smæst er skemmingr heiter oc ero þeir  
 æigi længri at væxti en tvæggia alna oc er þat mæð **unndarlegre nattu**ro  
 þviat sva er fra sagt at hann færri unnder þa isa er flater ero  
 'Then there is still one kind of seal yet the smallest (kind), which is called  
 the "shori seal" and they are in growth/length no longer than two ells; and  
 it has a **marvellous nature**; for it is said that he (the seal) goes under that  
 ice (masses) which are flat.' (10v, col.b:11–18)

The prominence of the adjective *unndarlegre* is relatively easy to spot due to the fact that the continuing subclause adds additional information to the property of the adjective. The adjectival feature presents key information for the developing discourse, needed to interpret the reference in context of what follows.

### 3.4.3 Essential by contrast

Putting essential adjectives against non-essential adjectives, I also consider adjectives that display known information (tagged as *anchoring* and within an already existing scheme), but are needed to clearly identify the noun's referent within the discourse or to clearly identify the transferred core information under the notion of *essential* (this overlaps with the common definitions of restrictive adjectives). These adjectives show effects of contrastivity – something that is less problematic to assign to adjectives than *presentational focus*. Within the field of information structure, *contrast* has been assumed to be an autonomous notion (see Molnár 2002), but it often co-occurs with other information-structural categories, i.e. *topic* and *focus* (see e.g. Repp 2010). In modern languages, *contrast* is, in addition to or instead of word order variation, connected to phonological rules (e.g. a pause between the contrasted modifier and the rest of the NP; cf. Rijkhoff 2002: 267f for adjective displacement in Turkish and Hungarian). It is not part of this chapter to enter into a discussion on the concept of *contrast* in much detail. However, as *contrast* puts emphasis on an element, these elements are not omissible, even though they convey known information within the discourse (the domain of contrast is defined as given). With contrastivity, an entity needs to be distinct/unambiguous.<sup>30</sup> The adjective in these constructions is thus most often accompanied by the definiteness marker *hinn*, marking referentiality for the adjective (in contrast to e.g. *sá* which marks deictic entities). Thus, we expect to find mainly weak adjectives in these structures in Old Norwegian. I assume then that these emphasized adjectival elements in A–N order are assigned a feature [CONTRAST], marking the adjective *essential* (focused) for the identification of the referent within the given discourse. A modern example is presented in (20).

(20) Essential by contrast (~contrastive focus)

They had a lot of bikes at the store in various colours (including gray, yellow, blue, and brown). I decided to buy the **yellow** bike since you can see it better in the dark.

<sup>30</sup>Note that prenominal adjectives characterized by focalization through *contrast* seem to have a high pragmatic affinity with the [SPECIFIC] usages of NPs.

The adjective *yellow* is in this context of another nature than the adjectives described as *essential by context*; however, it is still important for the correct encoding of the information transferred, as it presents the relevant property to correctly identify the referent. This example shows that the adjective can either be annotated as *given* by a direct previous mention (if the part in brackets is included) or by its activation status, triggered by the scheme opened by the noun *colours*. For the actual analysis of the information status of adjectives, textual context is thus most important. An Old Norwegian example is given in (21).

(21) Essential by contrast

Biorn er þar oc a því lannde oc er hvitr oc ætla mænn at hann fœðez a því lannde því at hann hæfir alt aðra natturu en **svarter birnir** er i skogum ganga þeir væiða at ser ross oc naut oc annat bu oc fœðaz við þat En **hinn hviti biorninn** er a Grœnalannde er þa fær hann mæst í hafi ut a ísum oc væiðer þar at ser bæðe sæla oc hvala oc lifir við þat

‘(A) bear is there, too, in that land, and it is white, and men/people think that he is born in this land, for he has a completely different nature than **black bears** that roam in the forests. They hunt horse(s), and cattle, and other beasts and feed on it. But **the white bear** which is in Greenland, he goes/wanders mostly out on the ice in the sea, and hunts there himself both seals and whales and lives on it.’ (11v, col.b:7–16)

In this example, the adjective *hviti* is needed to correctly identify the current referent. The mentioning of *bear* allows for easy processing of entities that are in firm relation to each other, and the entities *black* and *white bears* are active in this sense. A correct encoding of the utterances they appear in is, however, dependent on the adjective, putting emphasis on these elements by means of contrast. The feature [CONTRAST] is often connected to the movement of elements in Old Norwegian (most often fronting; cf. e.g. Demonte 2008 for movement of adjectives to a prenominal position in Spanish); however, the prenominal position is considered the base position of adjectives. Movement of the adjective to a position hierarchically higher up in the structure within the left periphery of the nominal projection, triggered by the feature [CONTRAST], thus does not lead to a visible reordering in the surface structure. Nevertheless, the prominence of the adjective in the prenominal position can be structurally signalled by multiple definiteness markers, as contrastive readings naturally have an identificational function (associated with definiteness). These markers are not yet obligatory to

specifically single out a certain entity in Old Norwegian, and thus, their appearance puts special emphasis on the phrase. Additionally, the appearance of definite elements in a fronted position makes it clear that *focus* is a more complex phenomenon than expressing newsworthy information. It is better described as being more of a highlighting device within the phrase.<sup>31</sup> It is important to note that a contrastive reading in Old Norwegian seems to be supported mainly by the definite markers ART and DEF (also in double definiteness constructions as in (22a)), while demonstratives generally might not point towards a contrast, but appear as deictic elements in double definiteness constructions, cf. (22b).<sup>32</sup>

(22) Double definiteness

a. ART+DEF (~Essential reading)<sup>33</sup>

Nu er þar allt byggiannða unnder þeim vægum er millum ero kulðans oc brunans. ... en æpter hugþocca minum at ætla þa þyckir mer þat licazt at **hinn heiti vægrinn** ligr or austri oc i væstr. mæð biugum ring brænnanda vægar um kringðum allum iarðar bollum. En þat er þa licazt moti því at þeir **hiner kalldu vægirnir** liggia á hinum yztum siðum heimsens til norðrs oc suðrs

‘Now is all built/occupied under these ways/zones which are between the cold and the burning heat. [...] but in my opinion it seems likely to me that **the hot zone** lies from east to west with a curved ring (like) a burning way around the entire globe. And it is then likely in return that **the cold zones** lie on the outer edges of the world to the north and south.’ (12v/13r, col.b/a:20–4)

b. DEM+DEF (~Non-essential reading)

En þat er þa licazt moti því at þeir **hiner kalldu vægirnir** liggia á hinum yztum siðum heimsens til norðrs oc suðrs oc æf ec hæfi þætta ætlat æptir rettri skipan þa er þat æi ulict at grœna land liggi unnder **þeim kallda væginum**

<sup>31</sup>See Giusti (2005: 25), who proposes an association between “multiple occurrences of determiners” and the split DP hypothesis.

<sup>32</sup>Note that the example in (22a) also shows a pattern containing both a demonstrative and ART+DEF (**þeir hiner kalldu vægir-nir** ‘DEM ART cold zone-DEF’). In cases like these, the adjective is still considered *essential by contrast* due to the appearance of the article ART in the double definiteness structure. In example (22b), the same reference occurs without ART (**þeim kallda vægi-num** ‘DEM cold zone-DEF’) here in a deictic function and with a *non-essential* reading of the adjective.

<sup>33</sup>The definite markers (double definiteness; see Section 3.1.1, see also Schwarzschild 1999; Wagner 2006) in (22a) mark off diametrically opposed constituents (specific and definite, cf. Aboh et al. 2010: 784).

‘And it is then likely in return that the cold zones lie on the outer edges of the world to the north and south; and if I have thought this out correctly, then it is not unlikely that Greenland lies under **this cold zone**.’ (13r, col.a:2–8)

As mentioned above, *essentiality by contrast* is expected to occur mainly with weak adjectives, as they are triggered by the occurrence of the definite marker ART, and thus signal a specific referent by default. However, strong adjectives may also appear in this function within contrasted pairs in elliptic parallel constructions, as shown in (23).<sup>34</sup>

- (23) millim illra luta oc goðra  
 between bad.GEN.PL.STR thing.GEN.PL and good.GEN.PL.STR  
 ‘between bad and good things’ (40v, col.a:28–29)

Adjectives analyzed as an essential part of the phrase can thus be divided into two subcategories: a) they convey information that goes beyond the linguistic information of the referent noun, making it the prominent element of the phrase within the given context, and b) their property narrows down the interpretation of the noun in contrast to entities that are in a tight relation to each other within the given discourse, preventing a misinterpretation (to various degrees) of the information. If an adjective is the *focus*-candidate of the phrase, the form of the adjective correlates with the two types of *essentiality*. The vast majority of adjectives that are *essential by contrast* appear in the weak form (with the exception of occurrences of strong adjectives in elliptic constructions); adjectives *essential by context* are usually strong (correlating with a new feature connected to their indefinite form). Assuming further an unmarked prenominal position for the adjective in Old Norwegian, this position leaves room for the *non-essential* function of the adjective, thus permitting the adjective to be used for other pragmatic and/or semantic purposes. The generalisation concerning an unmarked prenominal position is, however, challenged by a) the feature [CONTRAST] (see e.g. Rizzi 1997), leading to emphasized prenominal adjectives as mentioned by Faarlund (2004), as well as by b) the beginning of fixed word order (towards a strict prenominal position of attributive adjectives).

<sup>34</sup>Umbach (2005: 209) writes that “[f]ollowing Krifka [(1999)] contrastive topics must comply with a “distinctiveness condition” requiring that they are subject to different [comment] predications.” Another type of *contrastive topic* is formed through parallel structures. According to Repp (2010: 1343), “they are found for instance in coordinations with ellipsis, [and] ... display exactly those characteristics that have been suggested to be typical for contrast: there is a restricted set of explicit, identifiable alternatives, given in the two conjuncts, which serve as the immediate context for each other”.

### 3.5 Prosodic weight

Another factor often considered within studies on syntactic variation is prosodic weight (see e.g. Hróarsdóttir 2009; Hinterhölzl 2009; Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2018), often connected to element length and complex structures. Thus, Bech (2019: 45), referring to Grabski (2017), notes for Old English “that A–N–*and*–A is the default pattern for [...] complex constructions, and [that this] relates [...] to the tendency to avoid heavy clusters of elements, as noted by Mitchell (1985)”. This seems to be the case for Old Norwegian, too, which disfavours a) stacked adjective constructions, and b) a heavy constituent in a fronted position. Prosodic weight has not been the centre of attention in studies on NP-internal syntax in Old Norse, but its impact has been noticed. Faarlund (2004: 71; see also Börjars et al. 2016: e13f) points out that an adjective followed by a complement always has to follow its head noun, as in (24), marked by a combination of bold and italics.

- (24) þar fylgði segl **stafat** *með vendi*  
 there followed sail.NOM.SG striped.NOM.SG.STR with stripe.DAT.SG  
 ‘A sail striped with stripes came with it.’ (Hkr II.244.9, Faarlund 2004: 71)

This clearly shows an effect of prosodic weight. A brief search in the corpus material of KoNoKs revealed the same tendency described by Faarlund (2004: 71). For the following analysis of prosodic weight and its correlation with other factors, I left out split constructions (Corpus B3, cf. Figure 1) from the examination. For the analysis of prosodic weight, I first examined the relation between the syllable count for APs (measured from nucleus to nucleus) and their position relative to N (pre-/postnominal). I only considered the number of syllables of the actual adjective, leaving ART out of the calculation, as it is an additional structural element. The adjectives were divided into two groups: light APs (with 1–3 syllables) and heavy APs (with 4–6 syllables), as shown in (25). Table 3 shows the results of this analysis.

- (25) Syllable division
- a. Light adjectives
 

i **heiðnum** *lonndum*  
 in heathen.DAT.PL.STR land.DAT.PL  
 ‘in heathen lands’ (2r, col.a:20)
  - b. Heavy adjectives
 

unnder **þycckskvaðum** *hialmi*  
 under cloudy.DAT.SG.STR helmet.DAT.SG  
 ‘under (the/a) cloudy helmet’ (15v, col.b:19–20)

Table 3: Order distribution of adjectives with regard to weight

	A-N		N-A		total
	n	%	n	%	
Light APs (1–3 syllables)	712	92.1	61	7.9	773
Heavy APs (4–6 syllables)	65	97.0	2	2.9	67
	777		63		840

As already shown in Figure 1, there are considerably fewer examples of postnominal than prenominal adjectives in the corpus material. For both light and heavy APs, the results summarized in Table 3 show that a prenominal position of the adjective is clearly preferred. Furthermore, there are fewer heavy than light adjectives in postnominal position. However, as there are considerably fewer heavy adjectives in the corpus material in general, no conclusive statements can be drawn from this observation. An example of a heavy AP in postnominal position showing the expected correlation between prosodic weight and element positioning within the phrase is presented in (26). However, following the predominant order, heavy adjectives are most likely already placed in a prenominal position, as in (27).

- (26) Heavy postnominal modifier  
 þrír vægir **torfærileger**  
 three way.NOM.PL difficult.to.cross.NOM.PL.STR  
 ‘three ways that are difficult to cross’ (14v, col.a:24–25)
- (27) Heavy prenominal modifier  
 sæm mæð **ottasamlegre** vorn  
 as with terrifying.DAT.SG.STR defence.DAT.SG.STR  
 ‘as with terrifying defence’ (15v, col.b:14–15)

It thus seems that there are no weight effects, or at least that syllable count does not play a role (anymore?). In a second step, I analyzed the correlation between prosodic weight and the form of the adjective (i.e. weak/strong). The results are shown in Table 4. As mentioned above, ART is not part of the calculation, and neither is the split construction.

In addition to the general preference for a prenominal position for all adjectives, the division into weak and strong adjectives in correlation with prosodic



Table 4: Order distribution of adjectives with regard to adjective form and weight (syllable division)

	weak				strong			
	A–N		N–A		A–N		N–A	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Light APs (1–3 syllables)	51	6.6	4	0.5	661	85.5	57	7.4
Heavy APs (4–6 syllables)	0	0	0	0	65	97.0	2	2.9
Total	51/55	92.7	4/55	7.3	726/785	92.5	59/785	7.5

weight shows that if an adjective appears postnominally, it is most likely strong (an effect of morphology correlating with positioning is visible; cf. Section 3.1). The analyzed corpus material did not show any examples of heavy weak adjectives. Therefore, no further statements about the distribution of heavy adjectives can be made. It seems that the only cases where a clear weight effect can be described are those in which the language turns to parallel structures instead of stacking adjectives or where the adjective itself is further modified (see also Bech's 2017: 4 general overview of ordering possibilities for adjectives in the Old Norwegian NP; cf. (11) above). However, in these constructions as well, prenominal adjectives (prenominal position/pre-*pro*, see Section 4) are relatively heavy.<sup>35</sup> Stacking is still largely dispreferred in Old Norwegian, but prenominal position of two adjectives including a coordinator (elliptic case of the first conjunct: [ [AP<sub>1</sub> *pro*<sub>k</sub>] [& [AP<sub>2</sub> NP<sub>k</sub>]] ], see Section 4) already seems more acceptable, as exemplified in (28).

- (28) a. *mæð* [*varmum*            oc   *biartum*            *geislum*]  
           with warm.DAT.PL.STR and bright.DAT.PL.STR light.ray.DAT.PL  
           ‘with warm and bright beams’ (4r, col.b:28–29)
- b. *mæð* [*goðum*            oc   *gnogum*            *svorum*]  
           with good.DAT.PL.STR and sufficient.DAT.PL.STR answer.DAT.PL  
           ‘with good and sufficient answers’ (20r, col.b:3–4)

<sup>35</sup>See e.g. (1c). Note also that the adjective *astsamlegan* in this example (‘*astsamlegan foður oc gofgan*’, ‘a loving and renowned father’) is already a relatively heavy adjective, appearing in prenominal position.

Adjectives that do appear in postnominal position might react to both information-structural constraints and prosodic weight. It seems, however, that the information status of the adjective (=essential by context) is the decisive factor in these cases, as most of the postnominal adjectives are relatively light (see, however, (26) for a heavy postnominal adjective).

## 4 Structure and movement

As seen in our discussion on *essentiality*, word order variation inside the NP is explained with reference to discourse-relations (see Truswell 2005; Laenzlinger 2005). The different word order patterns are then the result of movement inside the extended NP including a complex left periphery that sorts out the landing sites for the moved elements (cf. Giusti 2005 for Romance). The movement of elements into the left periphery is triggered by the interpretive features [TOPIC], [FOCUS] and [CONTRAST]. TopP hosts information that has been pre-established in the discourse, such as nominal elements marked as [SPECIFIC].<sup>36</sup> Below TopP is a projection FocP for focused (*presentational focus*) elements, and above TopP there is a projection KontrP, hosting contrasted elements, mirroring the structure of the CP, as shown in (C).

(C) KontrP >> TopP >> FocP >> ...

As for specificity (which has not been discussed in any depth in this chapter), it is assumed that specific nouns move into the NP-internal topic position, while non-specific nouns may move into a focus position. Harries (2014: 61f) further notes that specificity in Old Norse was marked on the adjective, and “the cognitive status of discourse referents was within the remit of the demonstrative”.<sup>37</sup> And Schroeder (1999: 93) aptly writes that “the modification of a referent forces a subset-reading of this referent, because a particular (qualitative) specification of a referent usually implies a delimitation of the specified referent from other possible (qualitative) specifications”. As such, nouns modified by adjectives are specific and assumed to move to Top<sup>0</sup> in all cases presented here (cf. also Rizzi 1997; Haegeman 2000). The following movement operations within the Old Norwegian extended NP are assumed (see also Table 5):

<sup>36</sup>Note that this feature does not collapse into one property with the feature [DEFINITE].

<sup>37</sup>NPs modified by adjectives can be classified as identifiable even though the referent of the NP is not established by previous mention in the given discourse. This is similar to other modifying structures, such as possessive-marked NPs. The interpretation of the referent as identifiable, although the referent has not been established in the given discourse, happens “on the basis of their inclusive relation to an established set” (Schroeder 2006: 595; see also Nilsson 1985: 67 for specificity-marked objects in Turkish).

- a. Neutral, known adjectival feature (no emphasis, maybe repetition of the immediate context), structure with one adjective: the noun moves to Top<sup>0</sup>, the adjective is carried along (pied-piping case, phrasal movement; see e.g. Cinque 2010) resulting in the surface pattern A–N. An example is given in (29).

- (29) hinn            heiti            vægr            böeygiz or    austri oc  
 ART.NOM.SG hot.NOM.SG.WK way.NOM.SG. bends from east and  
 i    væstr  
 in west  
 ‘the cold way/zone bends from east to west’ (2v, col.b:20–21)

- b. Focused structure with one adjective: the noun moves to Top<sup>0</sup> while the focused adjective moves to Foc<sup>0</sup>, resulting in the surface pattern N–A (end-focus). Focus on adjectives is analyzed through *essentiality*. An example is given in (30).

- (30) skilningar laus komi    i skola            goðan            [...] æf  
 wit            less come.SBJV in school.ACC.SG good.ACC.SG.STR    if  
 hann kæmr fra skola þa hygiz hann þægar væra  
 he comes from school so thinks he then be  
 goðr                    klær-cr  
 good.NOM.SG.STR educated.man.NOM.SG  
 ‘(if) a simple-minded (person) would come/enter into a good school  
 [...] if he comes from school then (he) believes (himself) to be a  
 well-educated man’ (17v col.b:14–20)

The further development of the clause given in (30), describing the attitude of a person, is dependent on the property transferred by the adjective ‘good’ in the first phrase (the referent ‘a good school’ sets the scene that the following sequence elaborates on).<sup>38</sup> In the annotation, the adjective

<sup>38</sup>See the full context of the utterance: Ðvi er licet æf skynlauss maðr fær til hirðar sæm ufroðr ... fari til Iorsala eða skilningar laus komi i skola goðan. æf ufroðr maðr fær til Iorsala þa truir hann sialfr at hann se froðr oc sægir ifra sinni færð oc þat flæst er froðum manni þycki ænskis vært nema gabs oc haðs. Sva gerir oc hinn skilningarlaus æf hann kæmr fra skola þa hygiz hann þægar væra goðr klær-cr oc værðr fæginn oc gærir af miket spott æf hann finnr þann er æcki kann mæð ollu. En æf hann finnr noccorn þann er klær-cr er þa væit hann sialfr æcki. (‘This is like if a dull man goes to court, as (when) an unknowledgeable (man) goes to Jerusalem,

is marked as *new* within the nominal context (the adjective in this context has not been mentioned before in the discourse), and is connected to the following sequence either in a separate comment level or through a scheme annotation under frames.

- c. Emphasis through direct *contrast* with one adjective: the noun moves to Top<sup>0</sup> while the contrasted adjective moves to a position above Top<sup>0</sup> (see e.g. Molnár 2006: 226) due to the feature [CONTRAST], resulting in the surface pattern A–N and a contrasted topic reading. The moved constituent can then mark its sister as the domain of *contrast* and *given* at the same time (cf. Schwarzschild 1999; Neeleman et al. 2009; Wagner 2006, 2010; see also Krifka 1998, 1999). An example is given in (31) (see ex. (21) for the context).

- (31) En hinn            hviti                      biorn-inn            er            a  
       but ART.NOM.SG white.NOM.SG.WK bear-DEF.NOM.SG which on  
       Grœnalannde er  
       Greenland        is  
       ‘but the white bear which is in Greenland’ (11v, col.b:13)

Depending on certain conditions, movement can affect just the phrase bearing the feature triggering the movement, or alternatively, it can affect a larger entity containing the phrase bearing the relevant feature (pied-piping case). Positioning and movement of elements within the NP may, however, also be affected by other factors. It is thus important to consider the interplay of different parameters/factors. It is also important to note that already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Old Norwegian started to grammaticalize a fixed word order (shown by e.g. the slowly developing possibility of adjective stacking), where morphological restrictions, information-structural constraints and prosodic weight play a less significant role in word ordering and might not trigger movement in all contexts where it would be expected. According to the patterns identified in Table 1 and following the structure given in (A–C), Table 5 summarizes the assumed movement operations.

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or a simple-minded (person) would enter a good school. If an unknowledgeable man goes to Jerusalem, then he believes himself that he would be knowledgeable and tells much of his journey; but most seems worthless to a knowledgeable man, (all) but mockery and foolery. As such is also the simpleton if he comes from school then he believes (himself) to be a well-educated man and rejoices and shows much mockery if he meets one who knows nothing. But if he meets someone who is a scholar, he himself knows naught.’)

Table 5: Patterns and their derivation

Pattern	Reading	Movement
Pattern (II): ART A.WK N	base structure neutral reading	the noun moves to Top <sup>0</sup> , pied-piping the adjective [... [ <sub>TopP</sub> hina bæztu mænn] <sub>j</sub> ... [ <sub>αP</sub> ART A.WK [NP] <sub>i</sub> ] <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub> ]
Pattern (III): N ART A.WK	emphasized adjective	the noun moves to Top <sup>0</sup> , while the adjective moves to Foc <sup>0</sup> [... [ <sub>TopP</sub> stol] <sub>i</sub> [ <sub>FocP</sub> hinn dýri] <sub>j</sub> ... [ <sub>αP</sub> [ART A.WK] <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub> [ <sub>NP</sub> ] <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ]]
Pattern (IV): A.STR N-DEF	emphasized adjective	the noun moves to Top <sup>0</sup> , while the adjective moves to Kontr <sup>0</sup> [... [ <sub>KontrP</sub> visan] <sub>j</sub> [ <sub>TopP</sub> mæistarann] <sub>i</sub> ... [ <sub>αP</sub> [A.STR] <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub> [NP] <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ]] <sup>a</sup>
Pattern (DD-a): ART A.WK N-DEF	emphasized adjective	the noun moves to Top <sup>0</sup> , while the adjective moves to Kontr <sup>0</sup> [... [ <sub>KontrP</sub> hinn hvíti] <sub>i</sub> [ <sub>TopP</sub> biorninn] <sub>j</sub> ... [ <sub>αP</sub> [ART A.WK] <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub> [NP] <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ]]
Pattern (DD-b): sá A.WK N-DEF	neutral reading (emphasized demonstrative)	the noun moves to Top <sup>0</sup> , pied-piping the adjective (the demonstrative appears above Top in Kontr <sup>0</sup> ) [... [ <sub>KontrP</sub> þeim] <sub>j</sub> [ <sub>TopP</sub> heita væginum] <sub>i</sub> ... [ <sub>αP</sub> ART A.WK [NP] <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub> ] <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ]]
Pattern (V): N-DEF A.STR	emphasized adjective	the noun moves to Top <sup>0</sup> , while the adjective moves to Foc <sup>0</sup> [... [ <sub>TopP</sub> lanndet] <sub>j</sub> [ <sub>FocP</sub> þitt] <sub>j</sub> ... [ <sub>αP</sub> [A.STR] <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub> [NP] <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ]]
Pattern (VI): sá A.STR N	neutral reading (emphasized demonstrative)	the noun moves to Top <sup>0</sup> , pied-piping the adjective (the demonstrative appears in Kontr <sup>0</sup> ) [ <sub>KontrP</sub> þeim] <sub>j</sub> [ <sub>TopP</sub> hægum manne] <sub>i</sub> ... [ <sub>αP</sub> A [NP] <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub> ] <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ]]
Pattern (VII): N DEM ART A.WK	neutral reading (emphasized demonstrative)	the noun moves to Top <sup>0</sup> , while the adjective is stranded (the demonstrative moves to Foc <sup>0</sup> ) [... [ <sub>TopP</sub> Tre] <sub>j</sub> [ <sub>FocP</sub> þat] <sub>j</sub> ... [ <sub>αP</sub> hit fagra [NP] <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub> ] <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ]]

<sup>a</sup>Note that the simple structure presented here does not show the movement of the noun to combine with the bound article DEF, an element which is not assumed to be part of the base position of N.

However, there are also examples in the corpus material that do not quite fit the approach taken here. These are cases of postnominal adjectives that form a fixed compound-like expression with the head noun (one informational unit) and carry information that is active in the hearer's knowledge stock, as in (32). Additionally, in (32b) the adjective is classified as light.

(32) Postnominal adjectives (active information)

- a. Iafnan skaltu      *guð*      **almatkan**      oc    hina  
 always should.you god.ACC.SG almighty.ACC.SG.STR and the  
**hælg**u      *Mariu*      lata æiga noccot      í felage      mæð  
 holy.ACC.SG.WK Mary.ACC.SG let own something in fellowship with  
 þer  
 you  
 'Always let God Almighty and the holy Mary own something  
 together with you in fellowship.' (3v, col.b:13–16)
- b. ok merkir þat í því at fyr      *cross-en*  
 and mark this in this that through/in.front.of cross-DEF.ACC.SG  
**helga**      ok fyr      holld tekio Crists er friðr  
 holy.ACC.SG.WK and through/in.front.of incarnation Christ is peace  
 settr á miðli himnescra      luta      ok  
 settled on between heavenly.GEN.PL.STR thing.GEN.PL and  
 iarðnescra.  
 earthly.GEN.PL.STR  
 'and marked through/in front of the holy cross and through/in front  
 of the incarnation of Christ, peace is settled between heavenly and  
 earthly things' (HómNo 3.3,66)

We would expect such situationally/contextually known entities to appear in prenominal position, as the postnominal appearance suggests (according to the analysis presented here) information-structural emphasis (*presentational focus*). The compound-like nature of these expressions would also suggest that the adjective should get pied-piped when the noun moves to the topic position. A quick search in the Old Norwegian corpus material also reveals that the combinations *almáttigr guð/heilag*r kross are more common than *guð al máttigr/kross* heilag, so that we can exclude a fixed postnominal order for these expressions. Within the given approach, these examples might be explained by stating that the adjectives 'almighty' and 'holy' are actually the locus of information within these contexts (*essential by context*), important for the development of the discourse.

Structurally, the adjectives seem simply to be left stranded while the noun moves into the topic position. This could be explained through prosodic weight; however, the adjectives are not classified as heavy within the approach given here. One aspect that might be of importance is the parallel structure in which these phrases appear. Considering a stylistic point of view, the choice of the postnominal position of the adjective in the first conjunct becomes clearer. Example (32a) shows a case of assonance, in which *Mariu* in the second conjunct is bound together through the second syllable of *almatkan* with stress on *-mat-* (as is the case in e.g. modern German or English). The structure is then comprised of two times two syllables (*guð al- | mat-kan* and *hæl-gu | Mar-*iu**) with stress on the first syllable of the second part, respectively. Example (32b) shows a chiasmus of the onsets *crossen* and *Crists*, and *helga* and *holld tekio*. These analyses are part of the annotation within KoNoKs; however, a more detailed discussion of cases like these is put aside for a later study.

#### 4.1 Split construction – Type I

Turning now to two or more adjectives within one NP, these are generally rare in the Old Norwegian corpus material (cf. also Bech 2017: 5). Here, I only consider structures under the split construction in which the quality expressed by the adjective in the postnominal position is attributed to the same referent (strict identity) as the prenominal adjective. In structures without a coordinator, the noun may pass multiple adjectives on its way up the tree (to Top<sup>0</sup>), leaving both in a postnominal position, as in (33) – with no example in KoNoKs – or a split construction occurs with one adjective in prenominal and one adjective in postnominal position (stranded) as the result of phrasal NP movement (pied-piping movement of the lowest adjective), as in (34). In total, four examples of this are found in KoNoKs. The movement is illustrated in (D).<sup>39</sup>

- (33) *faður systir*                      *skilgen*                      *samfædra*  
 father.sister.NOM.SG trueborn.NOM.SG.STR same.father.Ø  
 ‘aunt trueborn of the same father’ (DG 8 5.284)

- (34) *mæð [longu*                      *hafi*                      *rasta*                      *fullu]*  
 with wide.DAT.SG.STR ocean.DAT.SG of.strong.currents full.DAT.SG.STR  
 ‘with the wide sea full of strong currents’ (15v, col.a:12)

- (D) a. [AP<sub>1</sub> AP<sub>2</sub> NP] → [ [NP]<sub>i</sub> [AP<sub>1</sub> AP<sub>2</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ] ]                      (postnominal position)  
 b. [AP<sub>1</sub> AP<sub>2</sub> NP] → [ [AP<sub>2</sub> NP]<sub>i</sub> [AP<sub>1</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ] ]                      (split construction I)

<sup>39</sup>Note that *samfædra* is an indeclinable adjective and thus is not glossed.

The postnominal adjective in these patterns is structurally merged in a higher position than the prenominal one (reversed ordering of the adjectives on the surface after movement). Pfaff (2019: 12) notes for the surface structure (linear) postnominal adjective that the higher merging position “has semantic effects. Put informally, the adjective provides some comment or evaluation on the referent denoted by the lower noun phrase”. Possible reasons for the movement resulting in a pattern with only one of the two adjectives being pied-piped could either be due to the merging zone of the higher adjective, preventing it from being pied-piped together with the noun, or because of factors of prosodic weight and the avoidance of heavy elements in the left periphery (serving the end-weight principle). Properties that are decisive for the emergence of split constructions in general are free word order, flexible intonation, and no obligatory articles (cf. Féry et al. 2007 for Ukrainian). The movement is here assumed to be triggered by information-structural constraints parallel to movement within the clause, as discussed in Section 3.3. All examples of the type I construction found in the corpus material in KoNoKs show the strong (indefinite) form of the adjective. Bech (2017: 16) further notes that adjectives in these constructions often show restrictions concerning their type.

## 4.2 Split construction – Type II

If two adjectives are involved, they most often occur in a parallel split construction (including a coordination; placing the adjectives equally next to each other), rather than in a hierarchically ordered stacking construction or in a split construction of type I, as shown in (35). I term this construction a split construction of type II. Here too, both adjectives are analyzed as prenominal. This pattern, too, is found only rarely in the corpus material, with 34 examples in total (see also notes from Ringdal 1918: 57–60; Faarlund 2004: 72).

- (35) a. *sæm byriar* [*lyðnum* *syni* *oc*  
as behooves humble.DAT.SG.STR son.DAT.SG and  
*litillatom*] at *finna* [*astsamlegan* *foður* *oc*  
obedient.DAT.SG.STR to find loving.ACC.SG.STR father.ACC.SG and  
*gofgan*]  
renowned.ACC.SG.STR  
‘as it behooves a humble and obedient son to approach a loving and  
renowned father’ (1r, col.a.:22–26)



- b. en aðr    hirti    hann [gott                    korn            oc  
      but before gathered he    good.ACC.SG.STR grain.ACC.SG and  
      **reinnt]**  
      clean.ACC.SG.STR  
      ‘but before he gathered good and clean grain’ (24v, col.a:25–26)

Faarlund (2004: 72) states that this pattern shows an alternative to a very common type of extraposition (with coordinated adjectives at the end of the NP), where the first adjective may remain to the left of the noun, while the other one is extraposed.<sup>40</sup> Here, I will not analyze the two adjectives as ambilateral adjectives or as extraposition, but as instances of NP coordination with an empty nominal element *pro* in the second conjunct of the type [A–N–*and*–A–nonDP *pro*] and with co-reference of the two nouns in an empty copy (again, note that DP is used in a theory-neutral manner in this study; see Lobeck 1995 for a broad discussion of ellipsis and nonDP *pro*; also Haumann 2003 for Old English). The second adjective is then in a prenominal position to a phonetically empty head.

As in type I, the adjectives involved in the type II split construction found in KoNoKs are all strong. For other languages it has been argued that the second, seemingly postnominal adjective functions as a predicative adjective (cf. Spamer 1979; Fischer 2000: 171, 176). However, Haumann (2003: 64f) argues that examples of Old English showing a demonstrative pronoun repeated in an ‘*and* adjective’ construction account for the fact that the second adjective cannot be predicative. She writes that “[t]he presence of a demonstrative or possessive pronoun is indicative of definiteness and definiteness does not go hand in hand with predicate-hood. Moreover, the presence of the demonstrative pronoun is a clear indicator of the nominal status of what follows *and*” (Haumann 2003: 65, supporting an ellipsis analysis).<sup>41</sup> Also for Old Norwegian I assume that the two positions (pre- vs. postnominal) are not automatically assigned to two different functions (see discussion above). I then follow Haumann and assume a nonDP *pro* (elided category as base-generated empty category; see Lobeck 1995) or in other words a reduced copy in multiple spell-out, following an economy-based analysis (*Economy of Pronunciation*; cf. van Urk 2018) predicting “that additional copies in multiple spell-out must be minimal in form, much like a linearization-based approach” (van Urk 2018: 965). The reconstruction of the elided nominal within the second DP and its semantic content must, according to Haumann (2003: 76), referring to

<sup>40</sup>In host-internal extraposition, the extraposed material is base-generated internal to its host (non-movement approach, see e.g. de Vries 2002: ch.7; see also Overfelt 2015).

<sup>41</sup>Fischer (2000: 176) accounts for this fact by analyzing the weak adjectives as substantivized, i.e. nominalized adjectives.

Lobeck (1993: 786f.) “be recovered under sense identity [...] with the logical representation of the antecedent” – the lexical NP in the first conjunct (see also van Urk 2018: 966).<sup>42</sup> Haumann (2003: 66), referring to Kester (1996: 187ff), further notes “that *pro* is licensed in the vicinity of overt adjectival number and gender agreement morphology”, something that also holds for Old Norwegian, as it has rich inflectional paradigms for both weak and strong adjectives. Turning back to the examples in (35), these show that the strong adjective in the postnominal “*and*-adjective” position functions as an attributive adjective in prenominal position, i.e. in pre-*pro* position (there is no sign of them functioning as predicative adjectives and assigning an additional property to the noun or occurring in a predicative context). This is stated, however, not with respect to the preceding noun, but within a second nominal expression of the same referent whose head is phonetically empty (see also Spamer 1979: 244; Haumann 2003: 71f), as simplified in (E). The relation between nonDP *pro* and its lexical antecedent is given by co-indexation.

- (E) a. [ [AP<sub>1</sub> NP<sub>j</sub>] [& [AP<sub>2</sub> *pro*]] ] (split construction II)  
 b. [ [goða mænn<sub>j</sub>] [& [AP hælga] [NP *pro*]] ]

The noun in the first conjunct then functions as the lexical antecedent of nonDP *pro* (whence the impression that the attributive adjective modifying nonDP *pro* modifies the antecedent of nonDP *pro*).<sup>43</sup> Assignment of stress within the second conjunct falls on the only constituent left that can get intonational stress within the elliptic phrase (the second adjective shows what is recognized as emphasis because it is a separate phonological/intonational phrase).

## 5 Summary and concluding remarks

This chapter has given an overview of positional variation of attributive adjectives in the Old Norwegian extended NP. The examination shows that attributive

<sup>42</sup>Strong adjectival agreement features help recover grammatical information about nonDP *pro*, whereas the semantic content of nonDP *pro* “is recovered through dependency on a lexical antecedent” (Haumann 2003: 74, citing Kester 1996: 193). Under the strict identity interpretation, the adjective contained in the postnominal “*and*-adjective” construction is attributed to the same referent as the prenominal adjective. Whether a given nonDP *pro* is interpreted as strictly identical or as sloppily identical with its antecedent is essentially triggered by the linguistic context and/or world knowledge.

<sup>43</sup>Note, however, that nonDP *pro* is not a referential expression itself (referential properties are determined elsewhere; cf. Haumann 2003: 76).

adjectives in Old Norwegian may be found in prenominal or postnominal position, or in a split construction flanking the modified noun. In total, seven patterns connected to overt definiteness, three connected to overt indefiniteness and two types of split construction are described within this study and are briefly compared to patterns found in the history of Icelandic. The discussion of pre- and postnominal position of adjectives focuses on the underlying base structure and the factors responsible for the variation in the surface structure. This variation involves NP-internal movement that can still be observed in the Old Norwegian corpus material, although the data suggests that a fixed prenominal position of the adjective is already the most common case (see also Bech et al. 2024 [this volume]). For the analysis of the remaining cases of structural variation, I suggest extending the split DP hypothesis with a full-fledged left periphery to the Old Norwegian NP, where the various orders are mainly triggered by information-structural constraints. It has been shown that phenomena of morphology or definiteness alone do not play a decisive role for constituent ordering within the Old Norwegian NP. The adjective morphology seems to group attributive adjectives according to their ability to appear in postnominal position (cf. esp. Table 1); however, for both weak and strong adjectives, cases of postpositioning are found. The nouns in the structures analyzed in this chapter are considered to move to Top<sup>0</sup> in all cases, while the adjectives may either move to Foc<sup>0</sup> or Kontr<sup>0</sup>, or are pied-piped or are left stranded, resulting in the various surface patterns that have been described. To determine if an adjective is emphasized within the phrase, I have introduced the concept of *essentiality*, based on the appearance of feature descriptions previously mentioned in the discourse, and on the further development of the discourse/informational flow, i.e. if a following sequence is dependent on the feature described by the adjective. This approach might be used in further studies on adjectives cross-linguistically. Additionally, I have analyzed two structural types of split constructions, one involving NP-internal movement, while the other one shows coordination with an empty head in the second conjunct.

For the observable variation including an attributive adjective (or an adjective group) in Old Norwegian, the following statements have been made in this chapter:

- i) adjectives occur in postnominal position as the result of either solely information-structural constraints or as a result of a combination of information structure and prosodic weight;
- ii) adjectives appear in prenominal position as the result of different factors:

- a. the prenominal position is the result of pied-piping within a neutral reading (no emphasis assigned; might ignore prosodic weight);
- b. the prenominal position is the result of contrast with movement of the adjective into a position above  $\text{Top}^0$ . However, the influence of prosodic weight can still be observed through flanking (split construction) to avoid heavy elements in prenominal position (stacking of two adjectives);
- c. the adjective(s) no longer react to information-structural movement triggers (no movement into the lower  $\text{Foc}^0$  position; incipient grammaticalization of the fixed order A–N).

The last point takes the development towards a strict word order into account (as well as the rise of a proper determiner system that helps to indicate whether the information conveyed by the adjective presents focused or backgrounded information). Because of this development, many examples from as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century challenge the statements given in i) and ii), showing that the factors involved in word order variation had already weakened to a high degree. Thus, the effects and movement operations triggered by information-structural constraints do not apply to all cases found in the corpus material. On the contrary, many examples are not affected by these constraints anymore. We therefore find both information-structurally highlighted and “neutral” constituents, as well as both heavy and light constituents in prenominal position.

Further research is still needed to get a more detailed picture of factors that may have influenced the internal order of elements within the NP in the history of Norwegian. Even though several Old Norwegian texts were consulted for this study, only one text was analyzed in greater detail. A detailed analysis of other Old Norwegian texts could provide stronger evidence for the approach presented here, and clarify further the factors responsible for word order variation within the extended NP.

## Abbreviations

$\alpha$ P	alpha phrase	GEN	genitive
A	adjective	KontrP	contrastive phrase
ACC	accusative	N	noun
AP	adjective phrase	NOM	nominative
ART/ART	adjective article	nonDP <i>pro</i>	instances of <i>pro</i>
CardP	cardinal phrase		licensed by overt
CP	complementizer phrase		adjectival agreement morphology
DAT	dative	NP	nominal phrase
DEF/DEF	nominal suffix	<i>n</i> P	little NP
	article	POSS	possessive
DEM/DEM	demonstrative	PossP	possessive phrase
DemP	demonstrative phrase	SpecDP	specifier of DP
DP	determiner phrase	STR	strong
		t	trace
Foc	Focus	Top	topic
FocP	Focus phrase	TopP	topic phrase
INDEF/INDEF	indefinite	WK	weak

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