

Exploring Norn: A Historical Heritage Language of the British Isles

Kari Kinn (University of Bergen)

George Walkden (University of Konstanz)

*NB: This is an Author Accepted Manuscript version reflecting changes made in the peer review process, but not the publisher's PDF. This chapter is published in Sara M. Pons Sanz & Louise Sylvester (eds.), *Medieval English in a multilingual context*, 377–404. London: Palgrave. When citing, please use the page numbers given there. The publisher should be contacted for permission to re-use or reprint the material in any form.*

Abstract

In this chapter we investigate possessive constructions in the extinct North Germanic language Norn, spoken in the Shetland and Orkney Isles between the 13th and 18th centuries. In doing so, we apply the methods and findings of modern heritage language research. Norn can be readily characterised as a heritage language: from the late fifteenth century Norn was spoken at home, but crucially not a dominant language of the larger society, the latter role being played by (Older) Scots. Change in heritage languages can often be related to the multilingual context, and we explore the morphosyntax of Norn from this perspective. Old Norse and Scots differ in the syntax of possession: in Old Norse, possessors could be either prenominal or postnominal (i.e. either precede or follow the head noun), whereas in Older Scots they were prenominal.

Comparing the complete Norn corpus to a specially constructed Norwegian baseline corpus, we investigate whether Norn displays any of the typical types of change that have been observed in heritage languages, or if there is stability. Our findings are mixed. Quantitatively, the Norn texts exhibit somewhat more use of prenominal possessors at an early date, but variation is present in both the baseline corpus and the Norn corpus from the earliest texts. Thus, we may perhaps be

witnessing cross-linguistic influence in the sense of contact with Older Scots accelerating an incipient change. We also find other features, e.g. use of non-reflexive pronouns, which may be the consequence of the contact situation. Overall, our study shows that concepts from modern heritage linguistics can be deployed to better understand properties of historically-attested varieties such as Norn.

1 Introduction

In this chapter we investigate the syntax of Norn, a descendant of Old Norse spoken in the Northern Isles of Scotland during the medieval and early modern periods. In doing so, we focus on its status as a contact language — not, as several others have, from the perspective of its influence on Scots, but rather from the perspective of potential contact influence from (Older) Scots on Norn itself.¹

Our novel theoretical contribution is that we argue that Norn is a historically-attested heritage language, and hence that it can be studied using some of the methods and questions of modern heritage language research. Empirically, we contribute a corpus study of possessives in Norn texts, and compare this to a baseline corpus of texts from contemporary Norwegian. Our results show some stability, but also change. Focusing on a syntactic phenomenon in Norn is also

¹ Versions of this work were presented at the Workshop on Medieval English in a Multilingual Context, Cardiff, January 2020, at the Forum for Germanic Language Studies (FGLS), Bristol, January 2020, and at the RUEG conference ‘Dynamics of Language Contact’, Berlin (online), February 2021. We are grateful to audiences at all of these events and to various other colleagues, in particular Tanja Kupisch for her encouragement of this project, Arjen Versloot for drawing our attention to relevant literature, Sarah Einhaus for editorial work, the anonymous reviewers of this chapter for their comments, and the network organisers for bringing us together in Seville and Cardiff. None of these people should be assumed to agree with us.

a novelty; previous research on Norn has focused overwhelmingly on phonological, morphological and lexical phenomena.²

The structure of the chapter is as follows. Section 2 provides background on Norn and its sociolinguistic and textual history, and Section 3 outlines our assumptions and rationale for treating Norn as a heritage language. The core of the paper is Section 4, which presents our case study of possessive constructions. Section 5 discusses and contextualises our findings, and Section 6 concludes.

2 Norn: Background and history

Norn is a North Germanic variety, descended from Old Norse (ON), which was spoken in the Orkney and Shetland Islands off the northern coast of mainland Scotland. It now qualifies as a dormant language: there is evidence that it was spoken until at least the middle of the eighteenth century, but it currently has no native speakers, and has not done for a long time.

Historical discussion of Norn can be found in Barnes (1998), on which the following summary is largely based. North Germanic varieties were first introduced to the Northern Isles of what is now Scotland in around 800 CE by settlers, predominantly from western Norway. Orkney and Shetland were ruled by Scandinavian earls until the thirteenth century; it was not until the fourteenth century that a Scotsman was first appointed Earl of Orkney (and Shetland). Formally, the Northern Isles did not become part of Scotland until 1472, and the first official documents in Scots date to the fifteenth century. Before this time, Old Norse / Norn and Latin were used in official contexts.

The history of Norn after Orkney and Shetland became part of Scotland is murkier, and there is some debate around when exactly the variety stopped being spoken. Rendboe (1984) argues that it was still spoken as late as the nineteenth century (see also discussion in Wiggen 2002). This position is not widely accepted today; Knooihuizen (2008), synthesising and

² The only exceptions that we are aware of are unpublished works by Eekman (2012, 2015). These focus primarily on clausal constituent order, though Eekman (2015: 10–11) does mention in passing that there is variation in possessive constructions. His conclusion is that Norn predominantly retains Scandinavian syntax, even at a late stage.

building on previous research, suggests that Norn stopped being learned at home sometime between the late seventeenth century and 1774.

Peripheral though the Northern Isles might seem from a present-day British perspective, their position meant that in medieval times they were well connected by water to a variety of locations around the North Sea and beyond. With these connections, of course, came a wide variety of language contact scenarios. The Neolithic village at Skara Brae on the Orkney mainland shows that the isles have been inhabited for at least five thousand years; at the time that speakers of North Germanic varieties settled there, the previous inhabitants would have been speakers of Pictish and / or Gaelic, though we have no written records of those varieties from that time and place.³ Between 1400 and 1700, speakers of Norn also enjoyed substantial contact with (Low) German and Dutch-speaking sailors (Melchers 1987).

The contact scenario that is most key for our purposes, however, is contact with (Older) Scots. Norn and Scots would have been in contact from the fourteenth century at the latest, with varying degrees of intensity. Of course, Norn ended up being supplanted entirely by Scots as the home language of the speech communities of the Orkney and Shetland Islands; North Germanic influence on the Scots spoken and written on the Northern Isles is well documented and studied (see van Leyden 2004; Melchers 2008a and 2008b, for instance). This language shift must have taken several centuries to run its course.

It is during this period of shift that we have textual evidence for Norn. The transmitted texts date to two periods specifically. On the one hand, during the late medieval period — from roughly 1300–1500 — Norn was a language used for administrative and official purposes, and several charters of Orkney or Shetland provenance in the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (hereafter DN) can be dated precisely to this period:⁴ the earliest is from 1299, and the latest is from 1509. Goudie (1904) presents a further charter from 1516–1545, not included in DN. An issue relating

³ The current scholarly consensus is that Pictish was a Celtic (hence, Indo-European) language more closely related to Brittonic than to Gaelic; see Rhys (2015) for discussion. On Celtic influence on Norn, see Lindqvist (2015).

⁴ A twenty-two-volume collection of charters written in Old and Middle Norwegian; see Blaxter (2017b: Ch. 2) and Blaxter and Kinn (2018) for discussion of DN as a source for linguistic research.

to these documents is that the scribes are likely to have received training in Norway (Barnes 1998: 11). This implies that developments in Norwegian scribal practices may be reflected also in documents from Orkney and Shetland; such developments include influence from contemporary Danish, especially in the later charters (see further discussion in Section 4).

The remaining textual material is of a very different nature. George Low, a clergyman, visited Orkney and Shetland in 1774; the report of his travels was published in 1879. Low collected an amount of fragmentary material, including a ballad of thirty-five stanzas, now known as *Hildina*. A sample is given in (1), following the edited version in Hægstad (1900).⁵

(1)

Da vara Iarlin o Orkneyar
for frinda sîn spirde ro,
whirdi an skildè meun
or vannaro eidnar fuo –
Or glasburyon burtaga.
'Tega du meun our glasburyon,
kere friendè min,
yamna meun eso vrildan stiendi,
gede min vara to din.'

It was the Earl from Orkney,
And counsel of his kin sought he,
Whether he should the maiden
Free from her misery.
'If thou free the maid from her gleaming
hall,
O kinsman dear of mine,
Ever while the world shall last
Thy glory still shall shine.'

⁵ The translation to English is from the website <https://nornlanguage.x10.mx/>. The author of this website is anonymous; the translation follows Kershaw (1921: 217).

Low's material is also highly informative as regards the date at which Norn ceased to be acquired, as the following two quotes from Low (1879 [1774]: 105) illustrate:

The Norse Language is much worn out here, yet there are some who know a few words of it; it was the language of the last age, but will be entirely lost by the next. [...] None of them can write their ancient language, and but very few speak it: the best phrases are all gone, and nothing remains but a few names and two or three remnants of songs which one old man can repeat, and that but indistinctly.

Low is hardly an unbiased observer; he also describes Norn as 'entirely confined to the lower class of people, who cannot be supposed to have a thorough knowledge either of one Language or the other' (Low (1879 [1774]:107). The nature of the material itself, however, yields more information. William Henry, Low's speaker, was a farmer in Guttorm on the outlying island of Foula in Shetland. He was able to provide a translation to *Hildina*, but the translation mapped only partially to the ballad itself (Hægstad 1900: 31–32). Knooihuizen (2005, 2008) suggests that Henry had no active proficiency in Norn, but was rather a 'rememberer' in the terms of Dorian (1982), with competence limited to a (potentially extensive) list of set phrases and texts.

The list of texts that we draw upon for the purposes of our own study is given in Table 13.1. Obviously, there are substantial limitations on the conclusions that can be drawn from any syntactic study based on such material, which amounts to well under 10,000 words. The texts are not evenly distributed across time and space, and the crucial late witness — *Hildina* — is of a different text type. Moreover, both charters and ballads pose challenges for syntactic research, albeit for different reasons. As a legal text type, charters are known for their use of formulaic language; for use of this genre for syntactic studies, see e.g. Farasyn et al. (2008). Meanwhile, in poetic texts, syntactic alternations may be affected by metrical requirements. Any study of syntactic variation in this kind of text must be sensitive to these factors. For all these reasons, our conclusions can only be tentative ones.

Table 13.1: Investigated texts from Orkney and Shetland

Type	Text	Date	Provenance	Words
Charter	DN I.89	1299	Shetland	366
Charter	DN I.109	1307	Shetland	528
Charter	DN II.168	1329	Orkney	259
Charter	DN II.170	1329	Orkney	286
Charter	DN I.340	1354	Orkney	115
Charter	DN III.284	1355	Shetland	253
Charter	DN III.310	1360	Shetland	317
Charter	DN I.404	1369	Orkney	623
Charter	DN II.691	(b)1426	Orkney	2,441
Charter	DN II.797	1452	Shetland	75
Charter	DN II.859	1465	Shetland	135
Charter	DN VI.651	1509	Shetland	197
Charter	Goudie (1904)	1516– 1545	Shetland	393
Ballad	<i>Hildina</i>	(b)1774	Orkney	677
Total				6,665

3 Norn as a heritage language

Our starting point for considering Norn as a heritage language is the widely adopted definition of Rothman (2009:156), repeated here: ‘[a] language qualifies as a *heritage language* if it is a language spoken at home or otherwise readily available to young children, and crucially this

language is not a dominant language of the larger (national) society'. Some examples of heritage languages spoken worldwide today include Heritage English spoken in France, Israel, Japan and Thailand (Polinsky 2018: Chapter 2), Pennsylvania Dutch (e.g. Brown and Putnam 2015), American Heritage Russian (Dubinina and Polinsky 2013; Polinsky 2018), and American Heritage Norwegian (Haugen 1953; Johannessen 2018). The past fifteen years in particular have witnessed a flurry of work on heritage languages from a variety of different standpoints, with the result that our understanding of the mechanisms that shape heritage languages has advanced considerably.

Up to now, however, heritage language research has focused largely on languages of the present-day, or at least of the last century or so. The papers in Brown (2019) are a welcome exception to this, bringing historical sociolinguistics and heritage language research together, with a focus on ego-documents. These papers, however, focus on more recent and indisputably heritage-language situations of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Our contribution aims to demonstrate the applicability of the concepts and methods of heritage language research much further back in time.

Against this backdrop, the characterisation of Norn as a historical heritage language is relatively straightforward. At least in Orkney, language shift from Norn to (Older) Scots must have begun in the fourteenth century (Barnes 1984) and was complete around the end of the seventeenth. During this period, Norn would have been a language acquired in the home context, regardless of its wider societal status. Crucially, the dominant language of the larger (national) society would have been (Older) Scots from at least 1472 onwards, when the Northern Isles formally came under Scottish rule. The fact that Norn was no longer used in administrative contexts after 1516 is a strong indicator that Norn itself had begun to occupy a societally subordinate position by this point.

Another definition stems from Polinsky's recent survey of the field: '[a] heritage language speaker (for short, heritage speaker) is a simultaneous or sequential (successive) bilingual whose weaker language corresponds to the minority language of their society and whose strong language is the dominant language of that society' (2018: 9). This definition is narrower in that it requires the heritage language to be weaker in terms of psycholinguistic proficiency. Here, too, there is no doubt that there were such speakers of Norn during the process

of language shift, insofar as Orkney and Shetland Scots must have been the dominant variety in wider society long before Norn ceased to be spoken in the home.

To summarise, we see that Norn conforms to both Rothman's and Polinsky's definitions in all respects for at least two hundred years, and hence we can conclude that Norn was a heritage language of Orkney and Shetland in the late medieval and early modern periods.⁶

Rothman (2009: 156) adds that 'an individual qualifies as a heritage speaker if and only if he or she has some command of the heritage language acquired naturalistically [...] although it is equally expected that such competence will differ from that of native monolinguals of comparable age'. This raises the question of heritage I-languages and whether they differ systematically from those of speakers who grew up in other acquisition scenarios. In this connection it has been observed that variation and diachronic change in heritage languages can often be related to the multilingual context in which they are acquired and used, and this influence may take a number of forms.

The first and most obvious type of influence is simply direct transfer of features or properties from the societally dominant / majority language, or cross-linguistic influence. This type of influence is extremely well attested in heritage languages and beyond: see e.g. Polinsky (2018: 18–21), Aalberse et al. (2019: 155–157 and references therein) and Lloyd-Smith et al. (2021). In historical linguistics, this type of influence in contact situations is normally known as 'transfer' (van Coetsem 1988, 2000; Winford 2003, 2005; Lucas 2012, 2014). However, transfer does not exhaust the space of logical or attested possibilities in heritage-language contact situations. Two types of indirect influence are also found. One of these has been referred to as

⁶ The only potential caveat relates to the use of the word *national*. As reviewers of early versions of this work have observed, the pre-modern state was a different kind of animal from the nation-state of today (see Hobsbawm 1992 for a historical perspective). In particular, the one-nation-one-language ideology that determines the social status of present-day heritage languages first found full expression in the works of Johann Gottfried Herder in the eighteenth century, rapidly gaining traction after that (see Rutten 2019). Clearly, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scotland as state cannot be equated with today's US, for instance. Whether these sociopolitical differences find any reflection in morphosyntactic variation and change is an interesting question for future research.

cross-linguistic overcorrection; this entails that speakers seem to overstress differences between the heritage language and the majority language, extending patterns that are already present in their heritage language to new contexts (Kupisch 2014; Anderssen et al. 2018). The other possibility is spontaneous innovation, changes not modelled on any existing pattern either in the majority or heritage language, but which nevertheless seem to be catalysed by the contact situation; this latter type of change in heritage languages is documented by Benmamoun et al. (2013) and Polinsky (2018). Spontaneous innovations can arise during acquisition (*divergent attainment*, Polinsky 2018: 24); heritage speakers may also, in the course of their lifetimes, lose linguistic skills that were once acquired as a consequence of reduced input and use (*attrition*, Polinsky 2018: 22).

Given that Norn plausibly meets the definition of a heritage language, the general research question we attempt to answer in the remainder of this chapter is: do the Norn textual records show any (direct or indirect) morphosyntactic influence of the sort found in present-day heritage languages? For this purpose, we focus on possessive constructions, as prior research on heritage language morphosyntax (e.g. Westergaard and Anderssen 2015; Anderssen et al. 2018) has highlighted these as a potential locus of variation and change.

4 Possessive constructions

As our case study of the morphosyntactic properties of Norn, we have chosen possessive constructions. This is an area in which the ancestor language, Old Norse, and the contact language, Older Scots, differ; thus, it is particularly interesting to investigate the outcomes in Norn. Moreover, it is an area that has been previously studied in a partially similar, present-day heritage language context, namely American heritage Norwegian, which provides an interesting comparative backdrop (we return to this in Section 5).

We present an overview of possessive constructions in Old Norse and Older Scots in Section 4.1. We then present our corpus of texts from Norway in Section 4.2; these texts serve as a basis for comparison, or baseline, for the results from Norn presented in Section 4.3. Our dataset and supplementary materials can be found online at <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7544507>.

4.1 Possessive constructions in Old Norse and Older Scots

Possessive constructions are diverse, both in terms of structure and meaning. In our study, we focus on noun-phrase-internal possessive constructions, more precisely nominals consisting of a head noun and an adnominal possessive determiner or genitive pronoun / NP of the semantic type ‘possessive’ or ‘argumental’ (Faarlund 2004: 61).⁷ The possessive genitive is used for possession in the narrow sense of ownership, but also other abstract relationships, such as kinship. Argumental genitives correspond to the subject or an object of a deverbal noun, e.g. *ferð Óláfs* ‘Olaf’s journey’ (Faarlund 2004: 62). Genitives of other semantic types, such as partitives, are excluded (e.g., *tunna bjórs* ‘a barrel of bier’), as are possessors that are embedded in a prepositional phrase (this pattern started to appear in Norwegian documents in the late medieval period, concomitant with a weakening of case morphology, e.g. *far át Olav*, literally ‘father to Olav’, meaning ‘Olav’s father’; see Indrebø 2002:243).

In Old Norse, possessors (i.e. possessive pronouns / determiners or NPs) could either precede or follow the head noun; the latter option, i.e. postnominal possessors, was the most common (Falk and Torp 1900: 311; Faarlund 2004: 59–60). Examples of the two patterns in Old Norse are given in (2) (from *Óláfs saga ins helga*; Jónsson 1965):

- (2) a. Hann lagði **sín** skip milli boða nökkura
he put his.REFL. ships between rocks some
‘he put his ships between some rocks’ ON – prenominal possessor
- b. at Sveinn konungr [...] varð bráðdauðr um nótt i **rekkju sinni**
that Sveinn king became sudden.death at night in bed his.REFL.
‘that king Sveinn suddenly died one night in his bed’ ON – postnominal possessor

The definite marker *-inn* is occasionally found on the head noun; in other words, definiteness

⁷ The difference between possessive determiners and adnominal genitive pronouns is that possessive determiners agree with the head noun in case. There are possessive determiners in the first and second person and the third person reflexive (Faarlund 2004: 59).

marking and possessors may co-occur in Old Norse. When the noun is marked with *-inn*, the possessor is usually postnominal, as shown in (3) (from *Heimskringla*, cited in Faarlund 2004: 60):

- (3) um **tilfong-in** **búsins**
about supplies-DEF. household.GEN.
'about the household's supplies' ON – definite marker + possessor

Old Norse has separate reflexive forms of third person possessive determiners. The reflexive forms are generally used when the possessor is bound by the subject of the clause, as illustrated in (4) (from *Finnboga saga hins ramma*, cited in Faarlund 2004: 280)

- (4) reið hann_i heim með flokk **sinn_i**
rode he home with people his.REFL.
'He rode home with his people' ON – reflexive poss.

In (4), the reflexive form *sinn* is used to refer back to the subject *hann* 'he'; the non-reflexive form would be *hans*.

In Older Scots, possessive constructions are in some ways different from those in Old Norse. Possessors are normally prenominal, as shown in (5) (from Moessner 1997: 118–122):

- (5) a. my querrel
 my quarrel
 'my quarrel' (Older Scots, *The Historie of ane Nobil and Wailzeand Squyer*, William Meldrum 1273)
- b. the pure howlatis appele
 the poor owl's appeal
 'the poor owl's appeal' (Older Scots, *The Buke of the Howlat* 850)

Occasionally, a genitive NP can be split between the prenominal and postnominal position, but postnominal possessors of the Old Norse type are not generally found. Moreover, possessors do

not normally co-occur with definiteness marking (although Moessner 1997:119 notes that they ‘very rarely’ may combine with a demonstrative). Furthermore, there is no distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive possessive pronouns / determiners.

The differences between possessive constructions in Old Norse and Older Scots give rise to certain expectations. For example, if cross-linguistic influence from Older Scots has taken place in Norn, we may expect the proportion of prenominal possessors to rise; we may also expect possessors and definiteness markers to become mutually exclusive and the distinction between reflexive and non-reflexive possessives to be vulnerable. However, in order to get a clear and accurate picture of whether Norn underwent change, it is not sufficient to just compare the Norn data to general descriptions of Old Norse and Older Scots. It is necessary to establish a more detailed baseline for comparison. We address this in the immediately following Section 4.2.

4.2 A ‘homeland’ baseline for comparison

A widely discussed question in the field of heritage-language studies is which variety, or varieties, should be used as the reference point, or baseline, when a heritage language is described (e.g. Montrul 2016: 168–175; Polinsky 2018: 13–16; Aalberse et al. 2019: 111–118). The answer to some extent depends on the research questions. To identify any changes or special features of Norn in our study, we have attempted to establish a baseline which takes the language of the settlers as its starting point (the ‘first generation of immigrants’, Polinsky 2018: 12), and which is otherwise as similar as possible to the available Norn data in all respects apart from the heritage-language status (cf. Aalberse et al. 2019: 111).

The available Norn texts range over a period of more than two centuries,⁸ and they represent particular genres (charters and a ballad). For comparison, we created a baseline corpus of texts written in Norway, also mainly taken from the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (DN). The texts selected for this corpus match the available Norn texts (Table 13.1) as closely as possible in terms of dates and genre; the charters can be characterised as (late) Old Norse or Middle Norwegian. The corpus mainly consists of charters from Western Norway, where most of the

⁸ Or even longer if we take the date of transcription of the *Hildina* ballad at face value.

settlers came from. Two documents from Eastern Norway were included (DN II.681 and DN II.683), as they strongly resemble one of the longest Norn charters (DN II.691) in terms of contents (these documents contain complaints about abuse of power by officials). Using the tool *Annotated DN Online* (Blaxter 2017a, 2017b), we matched the social status of the first signatory of the Norwegian charters to the Norn charters. As a Norwegian ‘equivalent’ of the *Hildina* ballad, we included the ballad of Falkvor Lommanson (M. B. Landstad’s transcription from 1846, available in the online archive of ballads hosted by the University of Oslo).⁹ Landstad’s transcription of *Falkvor Lommansson* is more recent than Low’s transcription of *Hildina* (1774); however, the ballads are of a similar type (historical ballads), and in both cases we can assume that the date of origin is older than the date of transcription.

The texts in the homeland baseline corpus are listed in Table 13.2. We now turn to possessive constructions in Norn, in comparison with this corpus.

Table 13.2: Investigated texts from Norway

Type	Text	Date	Provenance	Words
Charter	DN II.54	1299	Stavanger	379
Charter	DN I.117	1308	Bergen	340
Charter	DN II.165	1328	Bergen	609
Charter	DN I.338	1353	Giske (Sunnmøre)	132
Charter	DN IV.374	1355	Stavanger	252
Charter	DN I.370	1360	Stedje (Sogn og Fjordane)	262
Charter	DN XVIII.27	1370	Tønjum (Sogn og Fjordane)	115
Charter	DN XVIII.25	1368	Ljøvik (Møre og Romsdal)	170
Charter	DN II.683	1425	Rakkestad	475
Charter	DN II.681	1424	Rakkestad	371
Charter	DN XV.55	1426	Suldal	146

⁹ The archive is available at https://www.dokpro.uio.no/ballader/lister/arkiv_gml.html (accessed 17 June 2021).

Charter	DN I.709	1425	Kinsarvik (Hordaland)	122
Charter	DN III.680	1425	Volda (Møre og Romsdal)	131
Charter	DN I.706	1425	Giske (Sunnmøre)	217
Charter	DN VII.446	1452	Valle (Vest-Agder)	222
Charter	DN IV.959	1465	Kvalbein (Rogaland)	222
Charter	DN IV.1051	1510	Barskaar (Telemark)	138
Charter	DN XII.283	1516	Bø (Rogaland)	142
Ballad	<i>Falkvor</i> <i>Lommansson</i>	(b)1846	Telemark	504
Total				4,949

4.3 Possessive constructions in Norn

As mentioned, our study focuses on possessive constructions consisting of a head noun and an adnominal possessive determiner or genitive pronoun / NP of the semantic type ‘possessive’ or ‘argumental’ (see the introduction to Section 4). We have excerpted possessive constructions manually from the texts, most of which are not normalised, and which can at times be difficult to analyse. For the purposes of the study, patronyms and matronyms (e.g. in the name *Falkvor Lommansson* ‘Falkvor, Lomman’s son’) were excluded; these are very frequent in the charters, e.g. in lists of people who act as witnesses or signatories, and they do not seem to exhibit any variation with respect to word order (the possessor is always prenominal). Nominals that can be easily read as compounds were also excluded (e.g., *vitnis burðr* ‘testimony’, literally ‘witness bearing’). In determining which nominals should be classified as compounds, we used the Old Norse dictionary of Heggstad et al. (2004) as a guide; if in doubt, we excluded nominals listed as compounds in this dictionary. Additionally, some unclear examples were also excluded.

4.3.1 Prenominal and postnominal possessors

As a first observation, we note that both prenominal and postnominal possessors are attested in Norn. Some examples are given in (6):¹⁰

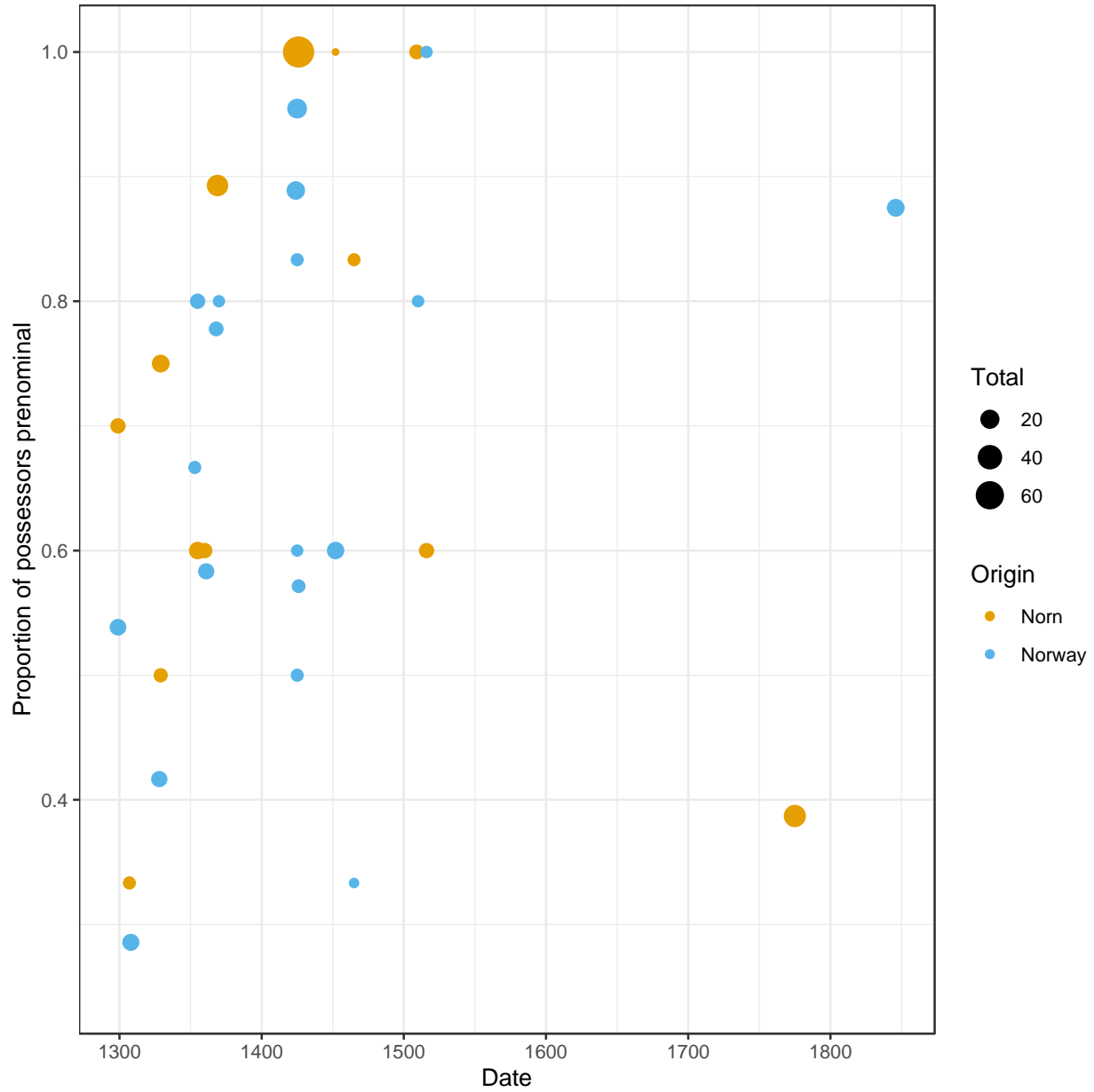
- (6) a. Nu Iarlin an genger i vadlin fram u kadnar **sìna mien**
now jarl.DEF. he goes to field.DEF. forth and calls his men
‘Now the Earl steps forward onto the duelling ground and addresses his men’
(*Hildina* – prenominal possessor)
- b. for **frinda sìn** spirde ro,
for relative his.REFL. asked advice
‘He asked for advice from his kinsman’ (*Hildina* – postnominal possessor)
- c. som **hennarh ffader** Koÿss siig
that her father chose himself
‘which her father chose for himself’
(Goudie 1904: 81, 1516–45 – prenominal possessor)
- d. ek adr nefndr Markus ok Helga **kona min**
I before mentioned Markus and Helga wife my
‘I, aforementioned Markus, and Helga, my wife’
(DN III.310, 1360 – postnominal possessor)

The distribution of prenominal vs. postnominal possessors in the available Norn texts and the texts from Norway is shown in Figure 13.1.¹¹ In this figure, each circle represents a text; the size of the circles reflects the number of possessive constructions that each text contains. Note that the y axis, which indicates the proportion of prenominal possessors, starts at 0.25.

¹⁰ While the translation the sample from of *Hildina* in example (1) (Section 2) followed Kershaw (1921), the translations in what follows are sometimes more literal.

¹¹ For a recent study on the development of prenominal vs. postnominal possessors in a different selection of Norwegian charters, mainly from Eastern Norway, see Alieva (2017).

Figure 13.1: Possessors in texts from the Isles and from Norway



The patterns that emerge from Figure 13.1 are not strikingly clear; however, the Norn texts have somewhat more and earlier prenominal possessors (until *c.* 1500). We observe a rise in the proportions of prenominal possessors in the texts from Norway too; this could, at least in part, be related to Danish influence, as Danish, which predominantly had prenominal possessors (Falk

and Torp 1900: 311; Skautrup 1944: 276), gradually took over as the written standard in Norway in the fifteenth and sixteenth century as a consequence of the political union in which Norway eventually lost its sovereignty (see Mørck 2018: 346–347).¹² Barnes (1998:16) notes that a ‘gradual Danicising’ can also be observed in Norn fifteenth and sixteenth century documents, as a consequence of contact with Norway. However, at face value, the fact that the increase of prenominal possessors appears to be earlier and stronger in Norn could be interpreted as a result of cross-linguistic influence from Scots, which only has prenominal possessors (see further discussion in Section 5).

The clearest outlier in Figure 13.1 is the *Hildina* ballad, which seems to have a very low proportion of prenominal possessor for its date (1774). However, recall that this date reflects the time of transcription rather than the time of origin. Also, the distribution in the *Hildina* ballad might be influenced by metrics.

4.3.2 Interaction between possessors and definiteness marking

Recall that Old Norse occasionally combines the definite marker *-inn* with postnominal possessors. This pattern is also attested in Norn, as shown in (7):

- (7) **feyr-in** sien
 father-DEF. her.REFL.
 ‘her father’ (*Hildina*)

¹² Danish influence seems particularly relevant for possessors that are pronouns / determiners. In present-day Norwegian, these possessors exhibit variation, but the prenominal position is clearly more common in the Danish-influenced written standard Bokmål than in the spoken language (Lødrup 2012). In the spoken language, the proportion of prenominal possessors is only around 25% (Westergaard and Anderssen 2015: 39). Possessors that are full NPs, on the other hand, are invariably prenominal in all spoken and written varieties of present-day Norwegian; it is not clear if this shift had any connection with Danish influence (in general, Danish influence primarily affected the written language

The *Hildina* ballad additionally exhibits a different pattern, whereby a definite marker is combined with a *prenominal* possessor:

- (8) sin shall lathì **min** **hera-n** i bardagana fwo
 as self let-you my lord-DEF. in battle get
 ‘as you yourself let my lord receive in battle’ (*Hildina*)

This pattern is not commonly known in Old Norse, and it is not found in the Norwegian charters in the baseline corpus. However, Aasen (1864: 291) notes similar examples in ballads from the area of Telemark; this includes the *Falkvor Lommansson* ballad, as shown in (9):

- (9) **hans** **Folk-et** det falt ifraa
 his people-DEF. it fell from
 ‘his people retreated’ (*Falkvor Lommansson*)

Thus, the combination of prenominal possessor + definite marker is not exclusively found in Norn. In the available sources, it seems to be a genre-specific feature associated with ballads; it is not immediately clear if it ever had support in the everyday spoken language.

As the co-occurrence of a possessor and a definite marker is not frequent, we do not have enough data to make any quantitative generalisations about this phenomenon. However, based on the evidence that we have, it seems that Norn is similar to the homeland baseline. The pattern of prenominal possessor + definite marker found in *Hildina* and in the homeland ballad *Falkvor Lommansson* highlights the importance of establishing a baseline that is as similar as possible to the heritage language sample in terms of genre and other relevant variables.

4.3.3 Reflexive possessives

The Norn texts contain several examples of reflexive possessive determiners (*sinn*) that are used in the same way as in the baseline corpus, i.e., when the possessor is bound by the subject of the clause. Some examples are given in (10):

- (10) a. thet Jon af Baddy... thok ater **sin** hæst af Mikel Magy
 that Jon of Baddy... took back his.REFL. horse of Mikel Magy
 ‘that Jon of Baddy took his (own) horse back from Mikel Magy’ (DN II.691, b. 1426)
- b. ...ath sira Gregorius Iuarsson haffde nockrar thoer sakir giort i **sina** daga
 that sir Gregorius Iuarsson had any those things done in his.REFL. days
 ‘that sir Gregorius Ivarsson had done any of those things in his days’
 (DN VI.651, 1509)

However, the non-reflexive form *hans* ‘his’ is also attested in similar contexts, as shown in (11):

- (11) a. Jtem for^{de} Thomos kærde oppa **hans** eghna wæghnæ...
 moreover aforementioned Th. complained on his own behalf
 ‘Moreover, the aforementioned Thomas complained on his own behalf..’
 (DN II.691, b. 1426)
- b. An cast **ans** huge ei fong ednar
 he threw his head in lap her
 ‘He threw his head into her lap’ (*Hildina*, 1774)

This use of non-reflexive forms is not found in the homeland baseline corpus, and it could be interpreted as cross-linguistic influence from Scots. An alternative explanation could be influence from medieval Danish, which also exhibited non-reflexive possessive forms bound by a subject (Falk and Torp 1900: 134–135; Barnes 1998: 14). However, Danish influence seems less plausible for the *Hildina* ballad than for charters: Danish influence is mainly known to have affected the written language (at least in the time period and in the sociolinguistic contexts that are relevant to our study; see e.g. Nesse and Torp 2018 for further discussion), while *Hildina* is part of an oral tradition.

4.3.4 Morphological marking of possessors

In Old Norse, adnominal possessive pronouns and NPs had genitive case marking. In Norn, there are occasional examples of unmarked possessors:

- (12) a. **hera** **biskup** insigli
 lord bishop seal
 ‘the lord bishop’s seal’ (DN I.404, 1369) Norn – unmarked possessor
- b. **Alexander tomesszonn** skolgetinn dotthr
 A. T. lawfully.born daughter
 ‘A. T.’s lawfully born daughter’ (Goudie 1904, 1516–45) Norn – unmarked possessor

This morphological reduction could be interpreted as ongoing restructuring or attrition.

However, it is not unique to Norn; unmarked possessors have also been observed in texts from Norway in the late medieval period (Mørck 2013: 654).

5 Discussion

Overall, we observe a high degree of stability in the morphosyntax of possessive constructions in Norn compared to Old Norse and the homeland Norwegian baseline corpus, even many centuries after the Scandinavian settlements. The Norn texts do, however, exhibit some special features and developments which can potentially be related to Norn’s status as a heritage language. In this section, we discuss these features in further detail.

We found that the Norn texts exhibit somewhat more and earlier prenominal possessors than the Norwegian texts (Figure 13.1). This development is compatible with cross-linguistic influence from Older Scots, which only has prenominal possessors. However, it is worth keeping in mind that prenominal possessors are not a fundamentally new pattern that emerges in Norn; they are already present in Old Norse and in the earliest text in the baseline corpus (alongside with postnominal possessors). Thus, rather than treating the increase in prenominal possessors as cross-linguistic influence in the sense of ‘copying’ of a pattern, it might be more accurate to analyse it as an incipient change which was latent in the baseline (Polinsky 2018: 33), and which was triggered or accelerated by reduced input and convergence with Older Scots. This is, perhaps, particularly relevant for possessors that are full NPs: these eventually became exclusively prenominal in homeland Norwegian too, while possessors that are pronouns or determiners still vary in terms of position (see fn. 9).

An interesting comparative backdrop to the development of possessive constructions in Norn is constituted by the present-day heritage variety American Norwegian, spoken in the US (Anderssen et al. 2018). The contact language of American Norwegian is American English, and the comparison is relevant because possessive constructions in homeland Norwegian (the ‘ancestor’ of American Norwegian) and American English differ in a way that resembles Older Scots: homeland Norwegian allows both prenominal and postnominal possessive pronouns / determiners, while American English only has the prenominal option.¹³ In American Norwegian, cross-linguistic influence is actually *not* a very common pattern in possessive constructions; it is only a minority of speakers that ‘overuse’ prenominal possessors compared to the homeland baseline, while the remaining speakers use postnominal possessors to an even greater extent than homeland speakers (exhibiting cross-linguistic overcorrection; Anderssen et al. 2018: 755). Overuse of prenominal possessors is a feature associated with low proficiency (Anderssen et al. 2018: 758). The implications of this for our study are not entirely clear, but it poses the question for future research about whether other apparent signs of low proficiency can be found in Norn charters.

Another particular feature of Norn is the use of the non-reflexive pronoun *hans* instead of the reflexive *sinn*, which is not found in the baseline corpus of texts from Norway. Cross-linguistic influence from Older Scots seems to be a plausible explanation. As mentioned, medieval Danish has been suggested as an alternative source of influence (Barnes 1998: 14); however, this idea raises some questions. First, as mentioned, it is not equally plausible for all attested cases, as Danish influence primarily affected the written language, while the *Hildina* ballad, which exhibits this feature, is part of an oral tradition. Second, if medieval Danish was the source of influence, one might expect to see more of this feature in documents from Norway. However, as previously pointed out, it is not attested in the baseline corpus; moreover, it is not mentioned in Indrebø’s (2001: 193) overview of Danish pronominal forms borrowed into Norwegian charters, or in other previous literature, to the best of our knowledge.

Finally, we noted some Norn instances of possessors without genitive case marking. Morphological reduction is common in heritage languages, particularly in nominal morphology

¹³ A difference between Old Norse and modern Norwegian is that in the latter the head noun is *required* to appear with a definite suffix when the possessor is postnominal.

(see Polinsky 2018: 197ff). Divergent morphology could follow from individual irregularities in performance (attrition), or ongoing restructuring of the system. In the heritage language context, divergent morphology is typically analysed as a consequence of reduced input, and this may very well be relevant in Norn. However, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions, as a similar reduction in case morphology is also observed in documents from Norway around the same time, and as the scribes producing the Norn documents probably were familiar with Norwegian scribal traditions (Barnes 1998: 16).

6 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have made the case that, from a sociohistorical perspective, Norn plausibly meets the definition of a heritage language (at least during the period 1472–1700). As a morphosyntactic case study we looked at possessives, for which in other heritage languages (specifically present-day American heritage Norwegian) it has been shown that divergence from the baseline may arise. Our findings are mixed. Quantitatively, the Norn texts exhibit somewhat more use of prenominal possessors at an early date, but the difference is not huge, and variation is present in both the baseline corpus and the Norn corpus from the earliest texts onwards. Thus, we may be witnessing cross-linguistic influence in the sense of contact with Older Scots accelerating an incipient change, but the inference is by no means secure. We also find other features — use of non-reflexive pronouns where a reflexive would be expected in Old Norse, and use of unmarked possessors — which may be the consequence of the heritage language contact situation, but may also be amenable to other explanations.

It should come as no surprise that these developments cannot be exclusively and securely attributed to the heritage language status of Norn. Indeed, one of the major findings of heritage language research over the past decades is that outcomes in heritage languages vary: in some circumstances we find stability, in other circumstances various types of change. Our case study is an exploratory one, aiming to generate new hypotheses and open up a new way of looking at historical heritage languages. Certainly, other areas of the syntax of Norn may benefit from being viewed through this lens.

One such is verb-second, a very robust feature of Old Norse (Faarlund 2004: 191). Eekman (2015) points out that there are a handful of exceptions to verb-second in *Hildina*, e.g.

(13), in which the subject follows a temporal adverbial, and is in turn followed by the finite verb *laghdè* in third position.

(13) sien on **laghdè** gloug i otsta jatha port
then she laid ember in outmost street entrance
'then she lit a fire in the main entrance' (*Hildina*, 1774)

Such examples are a minority, but also occur in American Norwegian (Eide and Hjelde 2015; Alexiadou and Lohndal 2018; Westergaard and Lohndal 2019; Westergaard et al. 2021), as well as in other contact varieties where transfer from English is implausible as an explanation (Walkden 2017; Meelen et al. 2020).

In particular, we would like to encourage future researchers to consider what other insights could be gleaned from revisiting historically-attested varieties in the light of modern heritage language research.

References

- Aalberse, Suzanne, Ad Backus and Pieter Muysken. 2019. *Heritage Languages: A Language Contact Approach* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins).
- Aasen, Ivar. 1864. *Norsk Grammatik* (Christiania: Malling).
- Alexiadou, Artemis, and Terje Lohndal. 2018. 'V3 in Germanic: A Comparison of Urban Vernaculars and Heritage Languages', in *Non-Canonical Verb Positioning in Main Clauses*, ed. by Mailin Antomo and Sonja Müller (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag), pp. 245–264.
- Alieva, Dinara. 2017. 'Adnominale genitivskonstruksjoner i mellomnorske diplomer', *Maal og Minne*, 109: 79–92.
- Anderssen, Merete, Bjørn Lundquist and Marit Westergaard. 2018. 'Crosslinguistic Similarities and Differences in Bilingual Acquisition and Attrition', *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 21: 748–764.
- Barnes, Michael P. 1984. 'Orkney and Shetland Norn', in *Language in the British Isles*, ed. by Peter Trudgill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 352–366.

- Barnes, Michael P. 1998. *The Norn Language of Orkney and Shetland* (Lerwick: The Shetland Times Lt).
- Benmamoun, Elabbas, Silvina Montrul and Maria Polinsky. 2013. 'Heritage Languages and their Speakers: Opportunities and Challenges for Linguistics', *Theoretical Linguistics*, 39: 129–181.
- Blaxter, Tam (ed.). 2017a. *Annotated DN Online*, available at <http://www.icge.co.uk/dn_online/> [accessed 17 June 2021].
- Blaxter, Tam. 2017b. 'Speech in Space and Time: Contact, Change and Diffusion in Medieval Norway' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge).
- Blaxter, Tam, and Kari Kinn. 2018. 'On *Ek* and *Jak* in Middle Norwegian: Mixed Methods in Historical Sociolinguistics', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 116: 383–409.
- Brown, Joshua R. (ed.). 2019. 'Historical Heritage Language Ego-Documents: From Home, from Away, and from Below', special issue of *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins).
- Brown, Joshua R., and Mike Putnam. 2015. 'Functional Convergence and Extension in Contact: Syntactic and Semantic Attributes of the Progressive Aspect in Pennsylvania Dutch', in *Germanic Heritage Languages in North America: Acquisition, Attrition and Change*, ed. by Janne B. Johannessen and Joseph C. Salmons (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 135–160.
- van Coetsem, Frans. 1988. *Loan Phonology and the Two Transfer Types in Language Contact* (Dordrecht: Foris).
- van Coetsem, Frans. 2000. *A General and Unified Theory of the Transmission Process in Language Contact* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter).
- Dorian, Nancy C. 1982. 'Linguistic Models and Language Death Evidence', in *Exceptional Language and Linguistics*, ed. by Lorraine K. Obler and Lise Menn (London: Academic Press), pp. 31–48.
- Dubinina, Irina, and Maria Polinsky. 2013. 'Russian in the USA', in *Slavic Languages in Migration*, ed. by Michael Moser and Maria Polinsky (Vienna: University of Vienna Press), pp. 130–158.
- Eekman, Stephan. 2012. 'De Syntaxis van het Norn in Vergelijking met die van het Scandinavisch en het Engels' (unpublished manuscript, University of Amsterdam).

- Eekman, Stephan. 2015. 'A Descriptive and Comparative Overview of Norn Syntax, the Ancient Language of Orkney and Shetland' (unpublished manuscript, University of Amsterdam).
- Eide, Kristin M., and Arnstein Hjelde. 2015. 'Verb Second and Finiteness Morphology in Norwegian Heritage Language of the American Midwest', in *Moribund Germanic Heritage Languages in North America: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Findings*, ed. by B. Richard Page and Michael Putnam (Leiden: Brill), pp. 64–101.
- Faarlund, Jan Terje. 2004. *The Syntax of Old Norse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Falk, Hjalmar, and Alf Torp. 1900. *Dansk-Norskens Syntax i Historisk Fremstilling* (Oslo: H. Aschehough).
- Farasyn, Melissa, George Walkden, Sheila Watts and Anne Breitbarth. 2018. 'The Interplay between Genre Variation and Syntax in a Historical Low German Corpus', in *Diachronic Corpora, Genre, and Language Change*, ed. by Richard Jason Whitt (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 181–200.
- Goudie, Gilbert. 1904. *The Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).
- Hægstad, Marius. 1900. *Hildinakvadet. Med Utgreiding um det Norske Maal paa Shetland i Eldre Tid* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad).
- Haugen, Einar. 1953. *The Norwegian Language in America*, 1st ed., 2 vols (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Heggstad, Leiv, Finn Hødnebo and Erik Simensen. 2004. *Norrøn ordbok*, 4th ed. (Oslo: Samlaget).
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. 1992. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Indrebø, Gustav. 2001. *Norsk målsoga*, 2nd ed. (Bergen: Norsk bokreidingslag).
- Johannessen, Janne Bondi. 2018. 'Factors of Variation, Maintenance and Change in Scandinavian Heritage Languages', *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 22: 447–465.
- Jónsson, Finnur (ed.). 1965. *Óláfs saga ins helga*. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget).
- Kershaw, Nora. 1921. *Stories and ballads of the far past, translated from the Norse (Icelandic and Faroese) with introductions and notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Knooihuizen, Remco. 2005. 'The Norn-to-Scots Language Shift: Another Look at Socio-Historical Evidence', *Northern Studies*, 39: 105–117.

- Knooihuizen, Remco. 2008. 'Fishing for Words: The Taboo Language of Shetland Fishermen and the Dating of Shetland Language Death', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 106: 100–113.
- Kupisch, Tanja. 2014. 'Adjective Placement in Simultaneous Bilinguals (German–Italian) and the Concept of Cross-Linguistic Overcorrection', *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 17: 222–233.
- van Leyden, Klaske. 2004. *Prosodic Characteristics of Orkney and Shetland Dialects: An Experimental Approach* (Amsterdam: LOT).
- Lindqvist, Christer. 2015. *Norn im keltischen Kontext* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins).
- Lloyd-Smith, Anika, Henrik Gyllstad, Tanja Kupisch and Stefano Quaglia. 2021. 'Heritage Language Proficiency Does Not Predict Syntactic CLI into L3 English', *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 24: 435–451.
- Low, George. 1879 [1774]. *A Tour Through the Islands of Orkney and Schetland: Containing Hints Relative to their Ancient, Modern, and Natural History, collected in 1774* (Kirkwall: William Peace and Son).
- Lucas, Christopher. 2012. 'Contact-Induced Grammatical Change: Towards an Explicit Account', *Diachronica*, 29: 275–300.
- Lucas, Christopher. 2014. 'Contact-Induced Language Change', in *The Routledge Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Claire Bowerman and Bethwyn Evans (London: Routledge), pp. 519–536.
- Lødrup, Helge. 2012. 'Forholdet mellom prenominale og postnominale possessive uttrykk', in *Grammatikk, bruk og norm*, ed. by Hans-Olav Enger, Jan Terje Faarlund and Kjell Ivar Vannebo (Sofiemyr: Novus), pp. 189–203.
- Meelen, Marieke, Khalid Mourigh and Lisa Lai-Shen Cheng. 2020. 'V3 in Urban Youth Varieties of Dutch', in *Syntactic Architecture and its Consequences II: Between Syntax and Morphology*, ed. by András Bárány, Theresa Biberauer, Jamie Douglas and Sten Vikner (Berlin: Language Science Press), pp. 327–355.
- Melchers, Gunnel. 1987. 'On the Low German and Dutch Element in Shetland Dialect', in *Sprachkontakt in der Hanse: Aspekte des Sprachausgleichs im Ostsee- und Nordseeraum*, ed. by P. Sture Ureland (Tübingen: Niemeyer), pp. 276–324.

- Melchers, Gunnel. 2008a. 'English Spoken in Orkney and Shetland: Morphology, Syntax, and Lexicon', in *Varieties of English 1: The British Isles*, ed. by Bernd Kortmann and Clive Upton, (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter), pp. 285–298.
- Melchers, Gunnel. 2008b. 'English Spoken in Orkney and Shetland: Phonology', in *Varieties of English 1: The British Isles*, ed. by Bernd Kortmann and Clive Upton (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter), pp. 35–47.
- Moessner, Lilo. 1997. 'The Syntax of Older Scots', in *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*, ed by. Charles Jones (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 47–111.
- Montrul, Slivina. 2016. *The Acquisition of Heritage Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Mørck, Endre. 2013. 'Mellomnorsk språk', in *Handbok i Norrøn Filologi*, ed. by Odd Einar Haugen, 2nd ed. (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget) pp. 640–690.
- Mørck, Endre. 2018. 'Seinmellomalderen (1350–1536)', in *Norsk språkhistorie: Tidslinjer*, ed. by Agnete Nesse, vol. 4 (Oslo: Novus forlag), pp. 293–356.
- Nesse, Agnete and Arne Torp. 2018. 'Dansketiden (1536–1814)', in *Norsk språkhistorie: Tidslinjer*, ed. by Agnete Nesse, vol. 4 (Oslo: Novus forlag), pp. 357–424.
- Polinsky, Maria. 2018. *Heritage Languages and their Speakers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Rendboe, Laurits. 1984. 'How "Worn-Out" or "Corrupted" was Shetland Norn in its Final Stages?' *NOWELE*, 3: 53–88.
- Rhys, Guto. 2015. 'Approaching the Pictish Language: Historiography, Early Evidence and the Question of Pritenic' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow).
- Rothman, Jason. 2009. 'Understanding the Nature and Outcomes of Early Bilingualism: Romance Languages as Heritage Languages', *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 13: 155–163.
- Rutten, Gijsbert. 2019. *Language Planning as Nation Building: Ideology, Policy and Implementation in the Netherlands, 1750–1850* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins).
- Skautrup, Peter. 1944. *Det Danske Sprogs Historie*, vol. 1 (København: Gyldendal).
- Walkden, George. 2017. 'Language Contact and V3 in Germanic Varieties New and Old', *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*, 20: 49–81.

- Westergaard, Marit, and Merete Anderssen. 2015. 'Word Order Variation in Norwegian Possessive Constructions: Bilingual Acquisition and Attrition', in *Germanic Heritage Languages in North America*, ed. by Janne Bondi Johannessen and Joseph C. Salmons (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 21–45.
- Westergaard, Marit, and Terje Lohndal. 2019. 'Verb Second Word Order in Norwegian Heritage Language: Syntax and Pragmatics', in *Variable Properties in Language: Their Nature and Acquisition*, ed. by David W. Lightfoot and Jonathan Havenhill (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press), pp. 91–102.
- Westergaard, Marit, Terje Lohndal, and Björn Lundquist. 2021. 'Variable V2 in Norwegian heritage language: An effect of cross-linguistic influence?', in *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/lab.20076.wes>
- Wiggen, Geirr. 2002. *Norns død, især skolens rolle. Kommentarer til en disputt om nedgangen for det nordiske språket på Orknøyene og Shetland* (Oslo: Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi/Novus).
- Winford, Donald. 2003. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell).
- Winford, Donald. 2005. 'Contact-Induced Changes: Classification and Processes', *Diachronica*, 22: 373–427.