

here. Detailed study of the spelling of older Faroese documents might shed some light on its age, origin and productivity through the ages, as will the treatment of loanwords where the conditions for its application would seem to be met (cf. section 2.4.2).

Many other phonological processes affecting consonants in Faroese have already been discussed in some detail in sections 1.3 and 2.4 above since they are still productive in Modern Faroese, such as the **devoicing of sonorants** (before /p,t,k,s/), **deaspiration** and **preaspiration of stops**, etc. Some have also been discussed in the chapter on dialectal differences, such as the deaspiration (or **lenition**) of stops after long vowels (cf. section 6.2.1.3). We refer the reader to these sections for further discussion since we have nothing to add about the diachrony of these processes. But as is well known, these processes are also found in Icelandic, and preaspiration of stops and devoicing of sonorants is also found in Norwegian dialects (see e.g. Chapman 1962, Hreinn Benediktsson 1963, Pétur Helgason 2002 and references cited there).

7.4.2.5 Metathesis

Finally, it should be pointed out that **metathesis of consonants**, especially involving /l/ and /r/, is extremely common in Faroese. It is generally indicated in the spelling, but this does not hold for the metathesis of /skt/-sequences found in the inflection of adjectives and verbs (see section 2.4.9). Some examples are given in (62)–(63) (see also Petersen 1999b):

(62)	ON	<i>tafl</i>	MF	<i>talv</i> ‘chess’	(cf. Mice. <i>tafl</i>)
	ON	<i>efra</i>	MF	<i>erva</i> ‘the upper’	(cf. Mice. <i>efra</i>)
(63)	ON		MF		Mice.
	sg.m.	<i>ferskr</i> ‘fresh’	<i>feskur</i> [feskʊɹ]	<i>ferskur</i> [fɛ(r)skʏr]	
	sg.n.	<i>ferskt</i> ‘fresh’	<i>feskt</i> [fɛkst]	<i>ferskt</i> [fɛ(r)st]	
	inf.	<i>þreskja</i> ‘thresh’	<i>treskja</i>	<i>þreskja</i>	
	past	<i>þreskti</i> ‘threshed’	<i>treskti</i> [tʰɛksti]	<i>þreskti</i> [θrestɪ]	

As indicated here, the velar consonant does not undergo metathesis in the /skt/-sequences in Icelandic but is normally deleted (see also Petersen 1999b).

Note that the type of metathesis illustrated in (63) is still “alive” and productive in the sense that it accounts for morphophonemic alternations as indicated. There are no alternations involved in the first type, on the other hand. It is a historical change that has already occurred some time ago. In a morphophonemically based orthography like Hammershaimb’s it is therefore natural to indicate the first but not the second one in the spelling (cf. the discussion in section 7.3 above). As in the case of other diachronic changes of Faroese, we cannot date this metathesis with any precision, but it may be noted that it is represented in orthography of the early 19th century writings. In Schrøter’s translation of *Færeyinga saga*, for instance, it says about Sigmund that he was “Frágjeramävr ... á ... Alvi” where the ON text says “frágjörðamaðr ... á ... afl”, i.e. ‘exceptional in strength’ (*Færeyinga saga* 1832:52).

7.5 Historical morphology

7.5.1 Introduction

In general, the inflectional system of Modern Faroese is simpler than that of Old Norse. If we compare the inflectional systems of the modern Scandinavian languages to that of their Old Norse ancestor, we see that the morphological system of Faroese has changed more than that of Icelandic but less than that of Danish, for instance.

In the following sections we will give some examples of morphological changes in Faroese. As before, the overview will necessarily involve comparison with Old Norse and we will occasionally draw parallels with the development in Icelandic or contrast the development in Faroese with that of Icelandic. Only rarely will we have any information to offer on the time of change in Faroese. In the occasional comparison with other languages below, there is obviously no room for a detailed comparative or contrastive historical morphology (for some relevant discussion see Lockwood 1983 and O’Neil 1978). We will for the most part disregard dialectal differences in the inflectional system and refer the reader in that connection to section 6.3 above and to the extensive overview in Weyhe 1996b, which contains interesting historical information too detailed to rehearse here (including sections on the inflectional morphology of 19th century Faroese).

7.5.2 Changes in the inflection of nouns

As discussed extensively in sections 3.2 and 5.4.1 above, the genitive seems to be on its way out of the nominal inflection in Faroese. We refer the reader to this discussion for an overview of the situation today and we will not go into it further here. As Weyhe (1996b) remarks, the genitive seems to have represented a problem for writers of Faroese grammars for quite some time, although many are conservative in their presentation and do not discuss the possibility that the status of the genitive is changing. Hammershaimb (1891) does however put the Gpl. form of nouns in parentheses in his paradigms (except for *bóndi* ‘farmer’ and *frændi* ‘uncle, relative’) but not the Gsg. In his comment on the inflection of adjectives (where he generally puts the Gsg. and Gpl. forms in parentheses), he says that the Asg. form of adjectives is sometimes used ‘as in Danish’ when the adjective modifies a noun in the Gsg., such as *gamlan mans* for *gamals manns* ‘an old man’s’ (Hammershaimb 1891:LXXXIV).

In the following paradigms we will contrast selected Old Norse examples with their Modern Faroese counterparts. Some of the key differences are highlighted by boldface. The paradigms are meant to be representative for each class and we will, for the most part, let them speak for themselves and only occasionally comment on particular cases. As the reader will see, some of the differences result directly from the phonological development of Faroese discussed in the preceding section, but other changes are of a more purely morphological nature.

7.5.2.1 The strong inflection

Masculine nouns

(64)	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	hund-r	hund-ur	pl. hund-ar	hund-ar
A -	hund	hund	hund-a	hund-ar
D -	hund-i	hund-i	hund-um	hund-um
G -	hund-s	hund-s	hund-a	hund-a
	'dog'			
(65)	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	ketil-l	ketil	pl. katl-ar	ketl-ar
A -	ketil	ketil	katla	ketl-ar
D -	katli	ketl-i	køtl-um	ketl-um
G -	ketil-s	ketil-s	katla	ketla
	'kettle'			
(66)	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	akr	akur	pl. akr-ar	akr-ar
A -	akr	akur	akr-a	akr-ar
D -	akr-i	akr-i	økr-um	økr-um
G -	akr-s	akur-s	akra	akr-a
	'field'			
(67)	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	hlut-r	lut-ur	pl. hlut-ir	lut-ir
A -	hlut	lut	hlut-i	lut-ir
D -	hlut	lut-i	hlut-um	lut-um
G -	hlut-ar	lut-ar	hlut-a	lut-a
	'thing, lot'			
(68)	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	vøll-r	vøll-ur	pl. vell-ir	vøll-ir
A -	vøll	vøll	vøll-u	vøll-ir
D -	vøll-i	vøll-i	vøll-um	vøll-um
G -	vall-ar	vall-ar	vall-a	vall-a
	'field'			
(69)	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	faðir	faðir	pl. feðr	fedr-ar
A -	føður	faðir	feðr	fedr-ar
D -	feðr, føður	faðir	feðr-um	fedr-um
G -	føður	faðir-s	feðr-a	fedr-a
	'father'			

The epenthetic *-u-* which mainly shows up in the Nsg. has been discussed above (section 7.4.1.3). Another general change is the merger of Npl. and Apl. throughout. Note also that although the Dpl. ending is spelled the same in MF as in ON, namely *-um*, this *-m* stands for [n] in the modern language — something which holds in general for the inflectional ending *-um* in Faroese.

Finally, it should be pointed out here that the inflectional class derived from the Germanic *ia*-inflection has disappeared in Faroese. Thus ON *læknir* 'physician, doctor' is now *lækni* in MF and has the weak inflection (cf. below).

Neuter nouns

(70)	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	hreiðr	reiður	pl. hreiðr	reiður
A -	hreiðr	reiður	hreiðr	reiður
D -	hreiðr-i	reiðr-i	hreiðr-um	reiður-um
G -	hreiðr-s	reiður-s	hreiðr-a	reiður-a
	'nest'			

Many strong neuter nouns have virtually the same inflection in Modern Faroese as they did in Old Norse, as suggested by the paradigms in (70), although the use of the genitive is much more restricted in the modern language. The only change observed in (70) has to do with *u*-epenthesis between a consonant and an *-r*, which is a part of the stem here and not an inflectional ending as in the case of the masculine nouns illustrated earlier.

Feminine nouns

(71)	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	ár	ár	pl. ár-ar	ár-ar
A -	ár	ár	ár-ar	ár-ar
D -	ár	ár	ár-um	ár-um
G -	ár-ar	ár-ar	ár-a	ár-a
	'oar'			
(72)	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	ætt	ætt	pl. ætt-ir	ætt-ir
A -	ætt	ætt	ætt-ir	ætt-ir
D -	ætt	ætt	ætt-um	ætt-um
G -	ætt-ar	ætt-ar	ætt-a	ætt-a
	'generation'			

As can be seen here, the inflectional patterns of strong feminine nouns have not changed in Faroese (except for the impending death of the genitive). In some cases, however, nouns have "moved" from one inflectional class to another. Some examples are given in (73):

- (73) ON *oxl* 'shoulder', pl. *axlir* MF *øksl*, pl. *akslar* (also *akslir*)²⁷
 ON *hurð* 'door', pl. *hurðir* MF *hurð*, pl. *hurðar*

7.5.2.2 The weak inflection

Masculine nouns

- | | | | | |
|------|------------|-------|------------|--------|
| (74) | ON | MF | ON | MF |
| | Nsg. tím-i | tím-i | pl. tím-ar | tím-ar |
| | A - tím-a | tím-a | tím-a | tím-ar |
| | D - tím-a | tím-a | tím-um | tím-um |
| | G - tím-a | tím-a | tím-a | tím-a |
| | 'time' | | | |

The only change here is the merger of Npl. and Apl. which is also found in strong masculine nouns, as we saw above.

Neuter nouns

- | | | | | |
|------|------------|-------|-----------|----------|
| (75) | ON | MF | ON | MF |
| | Nsg. aug-a | eyg-a | pl. aug-u | eyg-u(r) |
| | A - aug-a | eyg-a | aug-u | eyg-u(r) |
| | D - aug-a | eyg-a | aug-um | eyg-um |
| | G - aug-a | eyg-a | aug-na | eyg-na |
| | 'eye' | | | |

As pointed out in section 3.3.3 above, the *-ur*-ending is quite common in Modern (spoken) Faroese. Despite the spelling, it is generally pronounced [ɪ] or [əɪ].

Feminine nouns

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------|-------------|---------|
| (76) | ON | MF | ON | MF |
| | Nsg. tung-a | tung-a | pl. tung-ur | tung-ur |
| | A - tung-u | tung-u | tung-ur | tung-ur |
| | D - tung-u | tung-u | tung-um | tung-um |
| | G - tung-u | tung-u | tung-na | tung-a |
| | 'tongue' | | | |

As these paradigms indicate, the weak inflection of feminine nouns has not changed much. The only difference indicated here is the "loss" of the *-n-* in the Gpl. To the extent that the Gpl. is used at all in Modern Faroese, it sometimes occurs without this *-n-*, but it may also show up, e.g. in forms like *sagna* from *saga* 'story, saga' (cf. section 3.3.4 above).

²⁷ Plural forms like *akslar* 'shoulders' (and also *varrar* from *vørr* 'lip(f.)') are sometimes interpreted as masculine forms although the singular is always feminine. A comparable gender switch is also found in Icelandic words like *fótur* 'foot(m.)', where the plural form *fætur* 'feet' is frequently interpreted as a feminine form.

7.5.2.3 Some analogical and other non-systematic changes

Many non-systematic and analogical forms can be found in the inflection of Faroese nouns. As we have already seen, there is a tendency for umlauted forms to spread to cases where umlaut did not apply originally (cf. e.g. the paradigm of *ketil* 'kettle' above). Analogical spreading of /ø/ (derived by *u*-umlaut from /a/) is quite common in paradigms of weak feminine nouns, where the umlaut did not apply in Nsg.:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| (77) | ON. <i>bjalla</i> 'bell', | ADG <i>bjøllu</i> | MF <i>bjølla</i> , | ADG <i>bjøllu</i> |
| | ON <i>saga</i> 'saga', | ADG <i>søgu</i> | MF <i>søga</i> , | ADG <i>søgu</i> |
| | ON <i>skata</i> 'skate', | ADG <i>skøtu</i> | MF <i>skøta</i> , | ADG <i>skøtu</i> |
| | ON <i>flaska</i> 'bottle', | ADG <i>fløsku</i> | MF <i>fløska</i> , | ADG <i>fløsku</i> |

Old Norse /ǫ/ sometimes merged with /ó/ and sometimes with /á/. In Icelandic we find, for instance, doublets like *nótt* and *nátt* 'night' (the former being the more common form in the modern language). In this particular case Faroese has only *nátt*. Note also the alternation found in Verschärfung words like the following:

- (78) *gjógv* 'cleft, chasm' (presumably from **gjó*, vs. MIce. *gjá*), pl. *gjáir*;
lógv 'golden plover', pl. *láir*;
krógv 'nook', pl. *kráir*

Recall, however, that the stem vowel of *gjógv*, *lógv*, *krógv* is now commonly [ɛ], e.g. *lógv* [lɛgv].

7.5.2.4 Possible source of the possessive *-sa*

As discussed in sections 3.2.1.5 and 5.4.1, Faroese has developed a possessive suffix or clitic *-sa* which can be added to proper names and nouns and noun phrases that have a similar function:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|---|---|
| (79) | Jógvansa bátur | = | báturin hjá Jógvani 'Jógvan's boat' |
| | mammusa bilur | = | bilurin hjá mammu 'mother's car' |
| | Hanus í Hanusarstovusa hundur | = | hundurin hjá Hanusi í Hanusarstovu
'Hanus in Hanusarstova's dog' |

Since this is mainly used in the spoken language, it is difficult to tell how old it is. Its origin may be in the use of pronouns in possessive constructions. In older documents we sometimes find the following distribution of possessive (or genitive) pronominal forms in the feminine:

- (80) ON: *hennar* 'her' > *hennar* before vowels, *henna* before consonants

This can then have spread in the following way, first to the masculine pronominal forms and then to nouns:

- (81) ON: *hans* 'his' > *hans* before vowels *hansa* before consonants
Jógvans > *Jógvansa*

A later development is then *hennar* > *hennara* and *hansa* > *hansara* in the pronominal inflection.

7.5.2.5 Preservation of old contrasts in the inflection of nouns in the 19th century

Some of the changes in the inflection of nouns from Old Norse to Modern Faroese mentioned above had apparently not taken place, at least not generally, in the 19th century. Thus according to Hammershaimb (1854, 1891), the merger of Npl. and Apl. in masculine nouns had not taken place on Suðuroy, or at least not spread throughout the population, in the 19th century.²⁸ There people still had inflections like the following:

(82)	Suðuroy in the 19th century:			Elsewhere in the 19th century:		
	Npl.	arm-ar	vin-ir	akr-ar-nir	arm-ar	vin-ir
	Apl.	arm-a	vin-i	akr-a-na	arm-ar	vin-ir
		'arms'	'friends'	'the fields'	akr-ar-nar	

Thus the Suðuroy dialect still preserved the Npl. and Apl. distinction (at least to some extent) in paradigms of this sort in the 19th century.

7.5.3 Changes in the inflection of adjectives

As shown in section 3.5 above, adjectives in Modern Faroese still have both weak and strong inflection and as we shall see in the following sections, the differences are basically the same as in Old Norse. It should be noted, however, that Hammershaimb (1891) puts both Gsg. and Gpl. forms of adjectives in parentheses, as we also did above. As already mentioned (at the beginning of section 7.5.2), he also remarked that the Asg. of adjectives is sometimes used when the adjective modifies a noun in the genitive. Thus the genitive of adjectives is in some sense even weaker than that of nouns and was already so in the 19th century. Hence we leave it out for MF in the following paradigms.

7.5.3.1 Strong adjectival inflection

(83)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	tóm-r	tóm-ur	tóm	tóm	tóm-t	tóm-t
A -	tóm-an	tóm-an	tóm-a	tóm-a	tóm-t	tóm-t
D -	tóm-um	tóm-um	tóm-ri	tóm-ari	tóm-u	tóm-um
G -	tóm-s		tóm-rar		tóm-s	
Npl.	tóm-ir	tóm-ir	tóm-ar	tóm-ar	tóm	tóm
A -	tóm-a	tóm-ar	tóm-ar	tóm-ar	tóm	tóm
D -	tóm-um	tóm-um	tóm-um	tóm-um	tóm-um	tóm-um
G -	tóm-ra		tóm-ra		tóm-ra	
	'empty'					

²⁸ As Weyhe (1996b) points out, Hammershaimb 1891 (or perhaps rather Jakobsen, who revised and edited the grammatical description in Hammershaimb 1891) only says that the old Apl. 'can be found' (*træffes*) on Suðuroy, whereas in 1854 he says that it has been 'preserved' (*har holdt sig*).

Here we see some of the same changes as in the inflection of nouns, such as the addition of *-r* to the Apl. in the masculine (although this does not lead to the merger of Npl. and Apl. as it did in the case of the nouns). Note also the inserted */a/* in Dsg.f. (*tómari*) and the addition of the *-m* (phonetically an *[n]*) in the Dsg.n. (making it identical to the Dsg.m. form).

We also include a paradigm with an */a/* in the stem to look at how the *u*-umlaut fares:

(84)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	spak-r	spak-ur	spøk	spøk ²⁹	spak-t	spak-t
A -	spak-an	spak-an	spak-a	spak-a	spak-t	spak-t
D -	spøk-um	spøk-um/ spak-um	spak-ri	spak-ari	spøk-u	spøk-um/ spak-um
G -	spak-s		spak-rar		spak-s	
Npl.	spak-ir	spak-ir	spak-ar	spak-ar	spøk	spøk
A -	spak-a	spak-ar	spak-ar	spak-ar	spøk	spøk
D -	spøk-um	spøk-um/ spak-um	spøk-um	spøk-um/ spak-um	spøk-um	spøk-um/ spak-um
G -	spak-ra		spak-ra		spak-ra	
	'quiet, calm'					

As we see here, unumlauted forms are sometimes possible where ON had umlauted forms only (and ModIce still does), such as in the Dsg.m./n. and in the Dpl.

7.5.3.2 Weak adjectival inflection

The weak inflection of the positive (and superlative) form of adjectives in Modern Faroese is for the most part identical to that of Old Norse. The only difference in inflectional endings is in Dpl.:

(85)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	spak-i	spa-ki	spak-a	spak-a	spak-a	spak-a
A/Dsg.	spak-a	spak-a	spøk-u	spøk-u	spak-a	spak-a
G -	spak-a		spøk-u		spak-a	
N/Apl.	spøk-u	spøk-u	spøk-u	spøk-u	spøk-u	spøk-u
D -	spøk-um	spøk-u	spøk-um	spøk-u	spøk-um	spøk-u
G -	spøk-u		spøk-u		spøk-u	

As shown here, the change of the Dpl. in Faroese led to a complete merger of all the weak forms in the plural (in ON the case ending was *-u* in the whole plural except for the D). A similar development has taken place in Icelandic. According to Weyhe (1996b), however, the old *-um* ending is still preserved on the northern islands in Modern Faroese (except that the final *-m* stands for an *[n]* as usual, of course).

²⁹ The form *spak* also occurs as Nsg.f.

As the reader may have noted, the *u*-umlauted stem vowel *ø* is preserved in all the weak MF forms in (85), i.e. before the inflectional ending *-u*. This does not hold for all inflectional classes of adjectives, however. Observe the Faroese paradigm in (86):

(86)

	masc.	fem.	neut.
Nsg	<i>vakn-i</i>	<i>vakn-a</i>	<i>vakn-a</i>
A -	<i>vakn-a</i>	<i>vakn-u</i>	<i>vakn-a</i>
D -	<i>vakn-a</i>	<i>vakn-u</i>	<i>vakn-a</i>
N/A/Dpl.	<i>vakn-u</i>	<i>vakn-u</i>	<i>vakn-u</i>
	'awake'		

Here ON would have had *u*-umlaut in all the cases where the inflectional ending is *-u* (and so does Modern Icelandic).

In ON the weak inflection of the comparative was different from that of the positive (and superlative) but in MF the definite form of the comparative has the same inflection as the weak (definite) positive (as mentioned in section 3.5.5, the indefinite form of the comparative is indeclinable). Compare the forms in (87):

(87)

	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	<i>dýrar-i</i>	<i>dýrar-i</i>	<i>dýrar-i</i>	<i>dýrar-a</i>	<i>dýrar-a</i>	<i>dýrar-a</i>
A/D -	<i>dýrar-a</i>	<i>dýrar-a</i>	<i>dýrar-i</i>	<i>dýrar-u</i>	<i>dýrar-a</i>	<i>dýrar-a</i>
G -	<i>dýrar-a</i>		<i>dýrar-i</i>		<i>dýrar-a</i>	
N/Apl.	<i>dýrar-i</i>	<i>dýrar-u</i>	<i>dýrar-i</i>	<i>dýrar-u</i>	<i>dýrar-i</i>	<i>dýrar-u</i>
D -	<i>dýrur-um</i>	<i>dýrar-u</i>	<i>dýrur-um</i>	<i>dýrar-u</i>	<i>dýrur-um</i>	<i>dýrar-u</i>
G -	<i>dýrar-i</i>		<i>dýrar-i</i>		<i>dýrar-i</i>	
	'more expensive'					

We see, then, that Modern Faroese does not have a special weak inflection for the comparative anymore, whereas ON did (and ModIce still does, although there we only have two different forms: *dýrar-i* vs. *dýrar-a*, where the second form is used for neuter singular (all cases) and the first form for everything else). But as the observant reader may have noted, forms like *dýrar-i* and *dýrar-u* will not be distinguished in all dialects of Modern Faroese, nor will corresponding weak forms of the positive (see e.g. the discussion in 6.2.5).

7.5.3.3 Aspects of adjectival inflection in the 19th century

As mentioned by Weyhe (1996b), an unpublished grammar by Jákup Nolsøe written around 1830 gives adjectival forms like the following:

(88)

Npl.m.	<i>tung-ir</i>	<i>fagr-ir</i>
A -	<i>tung-a</i>	<i>fagr-a</i>
	'heavy'	'beautiful'

Here the Apl. is without *-r*, just as it was in Old Norse but not as in the Modern Faroese forms given above. Jákup Nolsøe was from Nólsoy, which is right opposite Tórshavn and not a part of

the southern dialectal area. This is of some interest, because Hammershaimb (1854) only mentions the N/A contrast in connection with the Suðuroy dialect, as Weyhe (1996b) points out. He says that the "correct" form of the Apl.m. can only be found on Suðuroy, but not constantly ("ikke ... stadig") and elsewhere one uses the feminine form in *-ar* for the masculine as well.

7.5.4 Pronominal inflection

One of the main changes in the pronominal system from Old Norse to Modern Faroese is the loss of the dual vs. plural distinction in the personal pronouns. This distinction has been lost in all the Scandinavian languages. According to Helgi Guðmundsson (1972), it was Faroese, however, which preserved the dual vs. plural distinction the longest. In Modern Faroese the descendant of the old 1st person plural, namely *vær* (from ON *vér*), is hardly ever used anymore (but see below and section 7.5.4.6). The plural forms that are used today are descendants of the old dual forms *vit* 'we(du.)' and *þit* 'you(du.)', as can be seen below.

As we will see, some of the changes that have occurred in the pronominal inflection in Faroese are common to more than one type of pronoun. Hence we will first go through examples of pronouns of different types (personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, etc.) and then conclude with a section devoted to pronominal forms in the 19th century.

7.5.4.1 Personal pronouns

A comparison of the inflection of the first and second person personal pronouns is given in (89).

(89)

	1.pers.		2.pers.		
	ON	MF	ON	MF	
Nsg.	<i>ek</i>	<i>eg</i>	<i>þú</i>	<i>tú</i>	
A -	<i>mik</i>	<i>meg</i>	<i>þik</i>	<i>teg</i>	
D -	<i>mér</i>	<i>mær</i>	<i>þér</i>	<i>tær</i>	
G -	<i>mín</i>	<i>mín</i>	<i>þín</i>	<i>tín</i>	
Ndu.	<i>vit</i>		<i>þit</i>		
A -	<i>okkr</i>		<i>ykkur</i>		
D -	<i>okkr</i>		<i>ykkur</i>		
G -	<i>okkar</i>		<i>ykkar</i>		
Npl.	<i>vér</i>	<i>vit</i> (formal <i>vær</i>)	<i>þér</i>	<i>tit</i> (formal <i>tær</i>)	<i>hon.</i> tygum
A -	<i>oss</i>	<i>okkum</i>	<i>yðr</i>	<i>tykkum</i>	tygum
D -	<i>oss</i>	<i>okkum</i>	<i>yðr</i>	<i>tykkum</i>	tygum
G -	<i>vár</i>	<i>okkara</i>	<i>yðar</i>	<i>tykkara</i>	tygara

It should be noted here at the outset that genitive forms of personal pronouns are still quite frequently used, e.g. with certain prepositions (like *tíl* 'to') and in possessive constructions (the inflected possessive pronouns *mín* 'my', *tín* 'your' can only refer to possessors in the singular and *sín* is the third person reflexive possessive, cf. sections 3.7.2 and 3.7.4). Hence they are listed here without parentheses. As these paradigms indicate, the changes in the 1st and 2nd person pronouns have been quite drastic. First, we have the loss of the dual function (i.e., the dual/plur-

al distinction) and the use of the descendants of the old dual forms (*vit*, *tit*) as modern plural forms, as mentioned above. Second, the honorific *tygum* has been added (presumably derived from the old plural form *þér*, as the honorific form *þér* in Icelandic is, cf. Helgi Guðmundsson 1972 — see also the discussion in section 7.5.4.6 below). Although this form is used when addressing individuals, it is a plural form in the sense that it still triggers plural agreement of the verb (e.g. *Vita tygum at siga mær* ... 'Can (pl.) you(hon.) tell me ...', although it takes the sg. form of predicative adjectives, cf. 3.7.2). In parentheses we have added the nominative forms *vær* and *tær*, which are descendants of the old plural forms *vér* and *þér* and can (or could) sometimes be found in very formal style or in the ballads (e.g. *Vær tváum okkum hvítar* 'We(formal) wash(1pl.) ourselves white' and *Viljið tær nú lýða á* 'Will(2pl.) you(formal) now listen' — note that in examples of this sort in the ballads one typically finds the old inflected plural forms of the verbs, cf. also the discussion in section 7.5.6.3).

In addition to this, we have several changes in the inflectional forms themselves, most notably perhaps the *-m* (phonetically [n]) endings in the Apl. and Dpl. forms *okkum*, *tykkum* and the *-a* endings in the Gpl. forms *okkara* and *tykkara*.

The changes in the 3rd person forms are less drastic:

(90)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	hann	hann	hon	hon	þat	tað
A -	hann	hann	hana	hana	þat	tað
D -	honum	honum	henni	henni	þ(v)i	tí
G -	hans	hansara	hennar	hennara	þess	tess
Npl.	þeir	teir	þær	tær	þau	tey
A -	þá	teir	þær	tær	þau	tey
D -	þeim	teimum	þeim	teimum	þeim	teimum
G -	þeirra	teirra	þeirra	teirra	þeirra	teirra

Here the main changes involve the Gsg.m. and f. forms, *hansara* and *hennara*, respectively (cf. the discussion at the end of section 7.5.2.4 above). In addition we have merger of Npl. and Apl. forms in the masculine with the Npl. form *teir* being generalized. Finally, an *-um* (or [un]) ending has been added to the Dpl. forms.

7.5.4.2 Possessive pronouns

The changes in the possessive pronouns are relatively simple. We take the possessive pronoun *mín* 'my' as an example:

(91)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	minn	mín	mín	mín	mitt	mítt
A -	minn	mín	mína	mína	mitt	mítt
D -	minum	minum	minni	mín(ar)i	minu	minum
G -	míns	(míns)	minnar	(mínar)	míns	(míns)

Npl.	mínir	mínir	mínar	mínar	mín	míni
A -	mína	mínar	mínar	mínar	mín	míni
D -	minum	minum	minum	minum	minum	minum
G -	minna	(mína)	minna	(mína)	minna	(mína)

'my'

Here we note the generalization of the stem vowel *-i-* in Modern Faroese to forms that had /i/ in Old Norse (NAsg.m, DGsg.f., NAsg.n., Gpl.). Other changes also occur elsewhere, such as the addition of an *-r* to the Apl.m. (cf. the comparable changes in the inflection of nouns and adjectives discussed above) and the addition of *-i* to NApl.n. forms (cf. the neuter plural form of nouns with the suffixed article: ON *húsin* 'the houses' > MF *húsini*).

7.5.4.3 Demonstrative pronouns

Like many changes in inflectional morphology, changes in the paradigms of the demonstrative pronouns seem to be largely analogical. We can take the development of ON *sá* 'that' and *þessi* 'this' as examples:

(92)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	sá	tann	sú	tann	þat	tað
A -	þann	tann	þá	ta	þat	tað
D -	þeim	tí	þeirri	teirri, tí	því	tí
G -	þess	(tess)	þeirrar	(teirrar)	þess	(tess)
Npl.	þeir	teir	þær	tær	þau	tey
A -	þá	teir	þær	tær	þau	tey
D -	þeim	teimum	þeim	teimum	þeim	teimum
G -	þeirra	(teirra)	þeirra	(teirra)	þeirra	(teirra)

'that'

Here, of course, the whole plural is identical to that of the personal pronouns, both in Old Norse and in Faroese (one could say that the personal pronouns "use" the plural forms of this demonstrative pronoun to complete their paradigm), and the same is true of the neuter singular. In masc. and fem. singular we note that the masc. accusative form *tann* has spread to the nominative. The Asg.f. form *ta* could derive from the neuter *tað* (cf. Weyhe 1996b — the *-ð* would be silent) or it could be derived from an unstressed variant of the ON acc. form *þá*. Finally, note that the Dsg.n. form *tí* has crept into the masculine and is sometimes also used in the feminine.³⁰

(93)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	þessi	hesin	þessi	henda(n)	þetta	hetta(r)
A -	þenna	henda(n)	þessa	hesa	þetta	hetta(r)

³⁰ It can recently even be heard in Asg.f. in contexts like *eg sá tí konuna* 'I saw that woman', although that is not considered correct.

D -	þessum	hesum	þess(ar)i	hes(ar)i	þessu	hesum
G -	þessa		þess(ar)ar		þessa	
Npl.	þessir	hesir	þessar	hesar	þessi	hesi
A -	þessa	hesar	þessar	hesar	þessi	hesi
D -	þessum	hesum	þessum	hesum	þessum	hesum
G -	þess(ar)a	(hesa)	þess(ar)a	(hesa)	þess(ar)a	(hesa)
	'this'					

In addition to the (virtual) loss of the genitive here in Modern Faroese, we note the (sometimes optional) addition of nasals in some case forms (Nsg.m. *hesin*, Asg.m. *henda(n)* (which also reappears somewhat unexpectedly as the Nsg.f. form), in addition to the (by now familiar) Dsg.n. *-m* ending (phonetically [n], of course). Note also the shortening of the ON *-ss-* in all forms (which leads to the lengthening of the preceding vowel in the modern language) and the inserted *-d-* in some of the forms (e.g. *hendán*). The origin of many of these forms is unclear, but Braunmüller (1980:229–230) has suggested derivations like *hin* + *pá* > *henda* (Nsg.f.) and *þess-* + *(h)inn* > *hesin* (Nsg.m.) (see also Sandøy 2001a:134–135).

For reasons of space we refrain from going through the other demonstrative pronouns and refer the reader instead to the paradigms in section 3.7.5 above (which can, of course, be compared to those found in standard handbooks of Old Norse). Instead we turn to the interrogative pronouns.

7.5.4.4 Interrogative pronouns

(94)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	hverr	hvør	hver	hvør	hvert	hvat
A -	hvern	hvønn	hverja	hvørja	hvert	hvat
D -	hverjum	hvørjum	hverri	hvør(jar)i	hverju	hvørjum
G -	hvers	hvørs	hverrar	(hvørjar)	hvers	hvørs
Npl.	hverjir	hvørjir	hverjar	hvørjar	hver	hvørji
A -	hverja	hvørjar	hverjar	hvørjar	hver	hvørji
D -	hverjum	hvørjum	hverjum	hvørjum	hverjum	hvørjum
G -	hverra	(hvørja)	hverra	(hvørja)	hverra	(hvørja)
	'who, which'					

Here we can first note the spreading of the *-j-* to case forms where it did not occur in Old Norse. Observe also the loss of the form *hvert* in NAsg. and the spreading of the *hvat*-form instead. The *-m* ending in Dsg.n. and the *-i* ending in NApl.n. are familiar from paradigms previously considered. As discussed in section 3.7.6, the genitive forms are very rarely used in the modern language, although they sometimes occur, e.g. in relative clauses in the written language where a relative pronoun in the possessive form would be “needed”.

7.5.4.5 Indefinite pronouns

The class of the so-called indefinite pronouns is large and varied (cf. section 3.7.7) and we will limit ourselves to a few selected examples to illustrate the main changes in their inflection:

(95)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	ein(n)hverr	onkur	einhver	onkur	eitthvert	okkurt
A -	einvern	onkran/onkun	einhverja	onkra	eitthvert	okkurt
D -	einverjum	onkrum	einverri	onkrari	einverju	onkrum
G -	einvers	(onkurs)	einverrar	(onkrar)	einvers	(okkurs)
Npl.	einverjir	onkrir	einverjar	onkrar	einver	onkur
A -	einverja	onkrar	einverjar	onkrar	einver	onkur
D -	einverjum	onkrum	einverjum	onkrum	einverjum	onkrum
G -	einverra	(onkra)	einverra	(onkra)	einverra	(onkra)
	'some'					

Here there are considerable differences between the ON paradigm and the MF one but most of these are phonological rather than morphological in nature. First, the whole stem has been “contracted” from *einhver* to *onkur* (recall the quite general change /ei/ > [ɔ] before a velar consonant, cf. section 7.4.1.3) and this stem then goes through most of the MF paradigm (except for the special development in NAsg.n.). The more purely morphological changes are then similar to what we have found elsewhere, e.g. addition of *-r* to Apl.m. (*onkrar*) and an *-m* (or [n]) to Dsg.n. (*onkrum*). It could be noted here that the ON *ein(n)hverr* derives from the noun phrase *einn hverr* where both parts inflected (such forms can be found in the oldest Old Norse sources). The first part became invariant (except for NAsg.n.) but the inflection of the second part was still the same as that of the pronoun *hverr*. This connection is less transparent in Modern Faroese, but this suggests that in the MF Asg.m. *onkun* is the older form in and *onkran* is an analogical form (possibly based on *nakran* ‘any’).

The Old Norse *nokkurr* ‘some, any’ derives from an older *nakkvarr* (supposedly from *né-veit-ek-hverr* ‘not-know-I-who’) and the Modern Faroese descendant of this pronoun is to some extent closer to this older form as we can see (the Old Norse forms given here are not the only ones that occur in ON sources):

(96)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	nokkurr	nakar	nokkur	nøkur	nokkut	nakað
A -	nokkurn	nakran	nokkura	nakra	nokkut	nakað
D -	nokkurum	nøkrum	nokkurri	nakrari	nokkuru	nøkrum
G -	nokkurs		nokkurrar		nokkurs	
Npl.	nokkurir	nakrir	nokkurar	nakrar	nokkur	nøkur
A -	nokkura	nakrar	nokkurar	nakrar	nokkur	nøkur
D -	nokkurum	nøkrum	nokkurum	nøkrum	nokkurum	nøkrum
G -	nokkurra		nokkurra		nokkurra	
	'some, any'					

Here one could argue that MF forms like Nsg.m. *nakar*, Npl.m. *nakrir*, NApl.f. *nakrar* and NAsg.n. *nakað* are closer to (older) Old Norse forms like *nakkvarr*, *nakkvarir*, *nakkvarar*, *nakkvat* respectively than to the (more common) Old Norse forms listed in the paradigm. Forms with umlauted vowels like Nsg.f. *nøkur* and NApl.n. *nøkur* are closer to the ON forms listed, on the other hand. Note the (innovative) *-r* in Apl.m. and *-m* in Dsg.n. as in other MF pronominal (and adjectival) paradigms.

The indef. pronoun *eingi* 'no one' in Old Norse is believed to be derived from *né-einn-gi* 'not-one' (where the element *-gi* has a rather unclear function although it is found in other pronominal forms too, cf. *man(n)gi* 'no one'). Several variants are found in ON sources. The following are among those closest to the MF forms but not necessarily the most common ones:

(97)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
Nsg.	einginn	eingin	eingin	eingin	ekki	einki
A -	engan/ øngvan	ongan	enga/ øngva	onga	ekki	einki
D -	engum/ øngvum	ongum	eingri/ øngri	ongari	engu/ øng(v)u	ongum
G -	einskis		engrar		ein(s)kis	(einkis)
Npl.	eingir/ øngvir	eingir	engar/ øngvar	ongar	eingi	eingi
A -	enga/ øngva	ongar	engar/ øngvar	ongar	eingi	eingi
D -	engum/ øngvum	ongum	engum/ øngvum	ongum	engum/ øngvum	ongum
G -	engra/øngra		engra/øngra		engra/øngra	
	'no one, none'					

Note that the pronunciation of the stem vowel of the MF forms is not as varied as the spelling suggests since the "ei" in the *eing-/eink-forms* stands for an [ɔi] or [ɔ] (cf. section 7.4.1.3). Thus the stem vowels of the Nsg.m. and Asg.m. forms *eingin* and *ongan* are very similar (and the nominative form is in fact sometimes spelled *ongin*). In other respects the development of the inflectional forms is similar to developments already discussed, cf. e.g. the addition of *-r* in the Apl.m. form (*ongar*) and the *-m* in the Dsg.n. (*ongum*). As mentioned in section 3.7.7, the Gsg.n. *einkis* is sometimes used in expressions like *til einkis* 'to/for nothing, in vain'.

7.5.4.6 Aspects of pronominal inflection in the 19th century

The 19th century grammars of Faroese reveal that some of the changes reported on above had not taken place then, or at least not in all dialects.

According to Weyhe (1996b), it seems that the inflection of the personal pronouns was in a state of flux in the 19th century. He points out, for instance, that both Jákup Nolsøe (around 1830) and Hammershaimb (1854) list both the dual forms and the plural forms for 1st and 2nd

person. In (98) we list the dual and plural forms that Hammershaimb gives (the ones in Nolsøe's grammar are similar for the most part, disregarding differences in spelling), plus the forms for the "honorific" (or "polite") 2nd pers. that one can extract from Nolsøe but with "etymological spelling" (from Weyhe 1996b):

(98)	1st pers.		2nd pers.		1st pers.		2nd pers.		2nd pers.	
	Ndu.	vit	tit		Npl.	vær	tær		Nhon.	tyður, tyðum
A -	okkur	tykkur			A -	os	(yður)			tyður, tyðum
D -	okkum	tykkum			D -	osum	(ydrum)			tyðum
G -	okkara	tykkara			G -	osara	(ydra)			tyðara

Note that here we have a distinction between the accusative and dative which Old Norse did not have, presumably derived by analogy from adjectives and nouns.

Hammershaimb (1854) says that the plural forms he puts in parentheses have disappeared from the spoken language and can only be found in the ballads. But as Weyhe (1996b) points out, Hammershaimb (1854, 1891) does not seem to note the relationship between the polite forms and the *yður*-forms and hence spells the polite forms with a *-g-* (*tygum*, etc.), which is how they are standardly spelled today (recall that intervocalic *-ð-* and *-g-* are "silent" in Modern Faroese).

As Weyhe (1996b) points out, there seem to have been considerable dialectal differences in pronominal inflection in 19th century Faroese. Thus Hammershaimb (1854) maintains that the old plural forms are not used at all in 'the Streymoy dialect'. Rather, the old dual forms are used there in plural sense. That is, of course, the (more or less) standard system today. He maintains, however, that the dual/singular contrast is still preserved in Norðoyar (the northernmost islands) and in some villages on Eysturoy. And where the distinction was disappearing on these islands, it was sometimes the old plural forms *vær* and *tær* that were used as "generalized plural forms", i.e. in dual and plural sense alike (cf. Weyhe 1996b).

About changes in the inflectional forms themselves we also learn from Hammershaimb (1854) that the Dsg. forms *okkum*, *tykkum* are replacing the older *okkur*, *tykkur* as Asg. forms, both in the Streymoy dialect and in the dialect of Norðoyar. That change has spread through most of the islands today. Hammershaimb (1891:LXXXIX) gives the following paradigm for the 1st and 2nd person plural (see also Weyhe 1996b):

(99)	1st pers.		2nd pers.	
	Npl.	vær, vit	tær, tit	
A	os(s), okkum, -un	tykkum, -un		
D	osum, okkum, -un	tykkum, -un		
G	osara, okkara	tykkara		

The fact that Hammershaimb gives *okkum/okkun* and *tykkum/tykkun* as alternatives suggests that some dialects had preserved the [-m] in forms of this kind (recall that Jóannes í Króki consistently represented the dative ending as *-um* in his Sandoyarbók in early 19th century, cf. section 7.3.1). — Hammershaimb says that the forms derived from the old plural (namely *vær*, *os(s)*,

osum, *osara*; *tær*) are only used in the northern islands and Eysturoy, where there are also supposed to be some relics of the dual vs. plural distinction.

According to Weyhe (1996b), the southern dialects (south of Skopunarfjørður) appear to have had a system like the following at some point (perhaps even in the 19th century):

(100)	1st pers.	2nd pers.		2nd pers.
Npl.	vit	tit	Nhon.	tær
A -	okur	tykur	A -	tyður
D -	okur	tykur	D -	tyður
G -	ok(a)ra	tyk(a)ra	G -	tyð(a)ra

As discussed in section 6.3.2 above, this system has given rise to something like three pronominal paradigms in the southern dialects which differ from the "standard". As can be seen from the discussion above, the standard system is basically derived from the dialect on (southern) Streymoy (including Tórshavn) in the 19th century.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the (analogical) *-um* ending has spread not only to the accusative but also to the nominative in the honorific *tygum* (or *tyðum* as it "should" be spelled) in most dialects (including the "standard").

It is also of some interest to study the changes that have occurred in the demonstrative pronoun *tann* 'this' (Old Norse *sá*). As indicated in (92) above, the Old Norse paradigm was already quite irregular and suppletive. Among older forms that were apparently still preserved to some extent in the 19th century, one can mention the Apl.m. *tá* (ON *pá*) and the Asg.f. *tá* (ON *pá*), which according to Hammershaimb (1891) could still be heard in Suðuroy at the time. The shorter and older form of the Dpl. *teim* also still existed then. A partial paradigm from Hammershaimb 1891 would then look like this (less common forms in parentheses, forms that have now disappeared in boldface):

(101)	masc.	fem.		masc.	fem.
Nsg.	tann	tann	Npl.	teir	tær
A -	tann	ta (tá)	A -	teir (tá)	tær
D -	tí (teim , tann)	teirri, tí	D -	teim , teimum teim , teimum	

The use of *tann* for Dsg.m. can apparently still be found in the southern dialects in the speech of older people (cf. Weyhe 1996b) and it is used by Schrøter in his translation of the Faroe Islanders' Saga (Schrøter was a minister in Suðuroy, cf. also section 7.6 below).

7.5.5 Numerals

As shown in section 3.6, the numerals 1–3 inflect for case and gender in Faroese. In Old Norse the word *fjórir* 'four' also inflected, as it still does in Modern Icelandic (*fjórir drengir* 'four(Nm.) boys', *fjórar stúlkur* 'four(Nf.) girls', *fjögur börn* 'four(Nn.) children', *fjóra drengi* 'four(Am.) boys', etc.), but the word *fýra* 'four' does not inflect at all in Modern Faroese. In that sense the inflection of numerals has been simplified. Otherwise it has not undergone major changes. The forms of the numeral *tríggir* 'three' are probably most different from their Old

Norse ancestors, partly because of the Verschärfung found in many of them (giving rise to *-íggi-*/*-íggj-*sequences). This is illustrated in (102):

(102)	masc.		fem.		neut.	
	ON	MF	ON	MF	ON	MF
N	þrír	tríggir	þrjár	tríggjar	þrjú	trý
A	þrjá	tríggjar	þrjár	tríggjar	þrjú	trý
D	þrim	trimum	þrim	trimum	þrim	trimum
G	þriggja	tríggja	þriggja	tríggja	þriggja	tríggja

It is of some interest to note here that we get Verschärfung even in Modern Faroese forms corresponding to Old Norse ones where shift of stress took place (e.g. in Am., where *þrjá* is supposedly derived from *þría*). Also note the Verschärfung cases in the Old Norse genitive forms (cf. the discussion at the end of section 7.4.2.3). Once more we get the *-r*-addition to Apl.m. and the "lengthened" dative form in *-um*.

According to Weyhe (1996b), it seems that *-r*-less forms like Am. *tríggja* (instead of the modern *tríggjar*) still existed on Suðuroy in the 19th century.

As mentioned in 3.6.1, forms based on 20, like *hálvtrýss* (50), *trýss* (60), *hálvfjerðs* (70), *fýrs* (80), *hálvfems* (90), etc., are of Danish origin but much more commonly used than the ones based on 10 like *fimti*, *seksti*, *sjeyti*, *áttati*, *níti*. Not surprisingly, they were also most common in the 19th century, according to Hammershaimb (1891:XCIV). He points out, however, that the (older) forms were used in connection with estimates of pieces of land or lots, for instance, e.g. in contexts like *áttati ál* '80 ells'.

7.5.6 Changes in the verbal inflection

While one can say that the system of nominal inflections is "intact" for the most part in Faroese (if one compares it to the Old Norse system), the inflectional system of verbs is not. First, the distinction between indicative and subjunctive has been lost (except for a few relatively fixed constructions), as pointed out in section 3.2.2.3. More importantly, perhaps, the distinction between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person in the plural is also lost and so is the person distinction in the past tense singular of weak verbs, as will be illustrated in the following sections.

7.5.6.1 Person and number inflection

In our discussion of the weak verbs we will treat the *-ð-* that shows up in the past tense in the Modern Faroese forms on a par with the *-ð-* in the Old Norse past tense form. This is somewhat misleading, however, since the MF *-ð-* is "silent" whereas the ON one was not. But this does not mean the MF has no dental past tense marker since it sometimes shows up as a stop (indicated in the spelling as *-d-* or *-t-*) as we shall see (see also the discussion in section 3.8.2 above, especially 3.8.2.1). We will take the verbs *kalla* 'call' and *krefja* 'demand' as examples of weak verbs (the most important morphological changes are highlighted but not the phonological ones):

(105)	pres.		past		
	ON	MF	ON	MF	
1sg.	kalla	kall- i	kalla-ð <i>a</i>	kalla-ð i	[k ^h aðlajɪ]
2 -	kalla-r	kalla-r	kalla-ðir	kalla-ð i	
3 -	kalla-r	kalla-r	kalla-ði	kalla-ði	
1pl.	køll-um	kall- a	køllu-ðum	kalla-ð u	[k ^h aðlavu]
2 -	kall-ið	kall- a	køllu-ðuð	kalla-ð u	
3 -	kalla	kall- a	køllu-ðu	kalla-ðu	
	'call'				

(106)	pres.		past	
	ON	MF	ON	MF
1sg.	kref	krevj-i	kraf-ða	krav-di
2 -	kref-r	krev-ur	kraf-ðir	krav-di
3 -	kref-r	krev-ur	kraf-ði	krav-di
1pl.	krefj-um	krevj-a	krøf-ðum	krav-du
2 -	krefj-ið	krevj-a	krøf-ðuð	krav-du
3 -	krefj-a	krevj-a	krøf-ðu	krav-du
	'demand'			

As these paradigms suggest, considerable simplification of verbal inflections has taken place in the history of Faroese. Note, for instance, that the past tense forms here only show distinction between singular and plural, not between individual persons. It would appear that the 3rd person ending has been generalized in both numbers (-ð*i* in the singular, -ðu in the plural). Recall, however, that for many modern dialects there is no distinction between unstressed /i/ and unstressed /u/ (see section 6.3). In such dialects, then, the past tense will be identical for all persons and both numbers, despite the distinction suggested by the orthography.

Another change in the verbal inflection has to do with the "mixing" of inflectional classes mentioned in connection with class 1b of weak verbs in section 3.8.2.1, but we will not go into that here (see Sandøy 2001a:137).

The strong verbs have preserved more distinctions, at least some of the strong verbs in some of the dialects, although not all the distinctions found in Old Norse. We can illustrate this with the strong verbs *njóta* 'enjoy' and *fara* 'go':

(107)	pres.		past	
	ON	MF	ON	MF
1sg.	nýt	njót-i	naut	neyt
2 -	nýt-r	nýt-ur	nau-zt	neyt-st
3 -	nýt-r	nýt-ur	naut	neyt
1pl.	njót-um	njót-a	nut-um	nut-u
2 -	njót-ið	njót-a	nut-uð	nut-u
3 -	njót-a	njót-a	nut-u	nut-u
	'enjoy'			

(108)	pres.		past	
	ON	MF	ON	MF
1sg.	fer	far-i	fór	fór
2 -	fer-r	fer-t	fór-t	fór-t
3 -	fer-r	fer	fór	fór
1pl.	før-um	far-a	fór-um	fór-u
2 -	far-ið	far-a	fór-uð	fór-u
3 -	far-a	far-a	fór-u	fór-u
	'go'			

The reader will have noted that the generalized -i ending for 1sg. (eg *kalli*, *krevji*, *fari*, *njót*i**) is a Faroese innovation (presumably by analogy with ON verbs like *verma* 'warm', *ek vermi*, *horfa* 'look', *ek horfi*).

As pointed out in section 3.8.2.2, the -t ending in 2sg. present and past tense forms of (strong) verbs whose stem ends in -r like *fara* is sometimes omitted in Modern Faroese, and so is the -st-ending in 2sg. past tense forms of other strong verbs, like *neyt-st* 'enjoyed' for instance. As mentioned in section 6.3.3, this is especially common south of Skopunarfjørður.

While most of the changes affecting the verbal morphology have led to a simplification of the system and merger of forms, Faroese has in fact developed an inflectional distinction that did not exist in Old Norse and cannot be found in Modern Icelandic either. This is the distinction between the so-called plural imperative forms and the corresponding "indicative" forms. In Old Norse and Modern Icelandic one can use the 1pl. and 2pl. forms as an "imperative" of sorts and this is still possible in Modern Faroese and quite common in fact in the case of the 2pl.:

(109)a. Farið	heim!	b. Køllum á hann! ³¹
go(2pl.)	home	call(1pl.) on him
		'Let's call to him!'

The Modern Faroese forms in (109) differ from the corresponding declarative plural forms in that they have preserved the old 2pl. and 1pl. endings -ið (now just [ɪ]) and -um (now [ʊn]) whereas the forms used in declarative clauses just end in -a, as shown above. There was no such distinction between the Old Norse 2pl. and 1pl. forms that had an "imperative" function of the kind illustrated in (109) and the 2pl. and 1pl. forms used in plain declarative clauses (nor is there any such distinction in Modern Icelandic).

7.5.6.2 The -st-verbs

Since the so-called middle forms (or -st-forms) of verbs in Old Norse and Modern Icelandic inflect in a similar fashion to other verb forms (i.e., we have inflection in person and number "before" the -st suffix or clitic), these have naturally also changed in the history of Faroese. In

³¹ As noted in section 3.2.2.3, 1pl. "imperative" forms like *køllum* are mainly found in old fashioned or very formal speech (or writing) whereas the 2pl. imperative forms are commonly used.

addition, a generalization of the *-st*-form has occurred in Faroese, as in Icelandic, whereas Old Norse had (originally) a special variant for 1sg. (*-mk* presumably derived from *mik* 'me, myself' whereas the *-sk* supposedly goes back to *sik* 'self') two different variants of the suffix, as illustrated (110) (but note that various spellings and forms occur in Old Norse manuscripts, see e.g. Kjartan G. Ottósson 1992):

(110)	pres.		past	
	ON	MF	ON	MF
1sg.	finnumk	finnist	fundumk	fanst
2 -	finnsk	finst	fannsk	fanst
3 -	finnsk	finst	fannsk	fanst
1pl.	finnumsk	finnast	fundumsk	funnust
2 -	finnisk	finnast	fundusk	funnust
3 -	finnask	finnast	fundusk	funnust

7.5.6.3 Aspects of verbal inflection in the 19th century

The most interesting aspect of verbal inflection mentioned in Hammershaimb's work is probably his remark that one could still find real person agreement of verbs in Norðoyar in the 19th century. As Weyhe points out (1996b), Hammershaimb (1854) says that it is 'only in Norðoyar dialect where 1pl. has preserved the ending *-um* (*-un*) and 2pl. has *-ið*, *-uð*; elsewhere the plural has lost these endings and ends in *-a* in the present tense and *-u* in the past tense'. Hammershaimb repeats this virtually unchanged in his later work (1891), except that now he adds that in the Norðoyar this is mainly found in the speech of the oldest people ("mest hos den ældste slægt" — cf. also Weyhe 1996b).

Here one could also mention that the dialectal difference with respect to the *-st* ending of 2sg. forms in the past tense of strong verbs and the *-t* ending of 2sg. forms in strong and weak verbs whose stem ends in *-r*- apparently existed in the 19th century too, judging from Hammershaimb (1854, cf. also Weyhe 1996b).

7.6 Syntactic changes

7.6.1 Introduction

Many of the syntactic phenomena discussed in chapter 5 differ from their counterparts in Old Norse. In some instances we find similar changes in the history of Icelandic although Modern Icelandic is syntactically closer to Old Norse than Modern Faroese is. A simplified overview is given in (111), where we have listed some of the syntactic phenomena that have apparently changed in the history of Faroese (referring to sections where the relevant phenomenon is discussed from a synchronic point of view) and comment on similarities and differences between Modern Faroese and Modern Icelandic:

(111)	examples of syntactic change in Faroese:	situation in ModIce:
a.	subject case (5.2.2, 5.4.2.1)	partially different
b.	object case (5.4.2.2, 5.4.2.3)	partially different
c.	the disappearing genitive (5.4.1)	different
d.	non-preservation of case in passives (5.2.3, 5.4.4)	different
e.	expletive constructions (5.6)	similar
f.	word order in embedded clauses (5.3.3.2, 5.7.3)	partially different
g.	types of non-finite complements (5.2.5, 5.8.2)	partially different

In the following sections we will briefly describe the changes that seem to be involved. This is by no means a simple task, however. First, although we have extensive written material from Old Norse times, we do not know how much of a difference there was between the written language of the Old Norse sources and the spoken language at the time. Second, very little research has been done on the syntax of Faroese texts from the 19th century and there are hardly any older Faroese texts that lend themselves to syntactic study (although the language of the ballads can sometimes reveal interesting syntactic facts, e.g. about case marking). For this reason we will have even less to say about the chronology of the syntactic changes than about that of the phonological and morphological changes discussed above.

7.6.2 Subject case

It is necessary to point out at the outset that the grammatical function (subject, object ...) of verbal arguments in older Faroese (and Old Norse and Icelandic) texts is not always immediately obvious. One of the reasons is that word order may vary and various constituents can be preposed. Hence a non-subject (e.g. an object) may precede the finite verb, and since Faroese is a verb-second language (the same holds for Old Norse and Icelandic, of course) the subject will follow the finite verb when some other constituent is preposed (for some discussion see section 5.3.1). For this reason there has been some disagreement among linguists as to the age and origin of non-nominative (or oblique) subjects in Scandinavian (or Germanic in general, see e.g. Kristoffersen 1991, Mørck 1992, Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson 1991, 1996, Jóhanna Barðdal 2000a, Jóhanna Barðdal and Thórhallur Eythórsson 2001, Faarlund 1990, 2001, Thórhallur Eythórsson and Jóhanna Barðdal 2003, Thórhallur Eythórsson and Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson 2003 and references cited by these authors). We will disregard this dispute here and refer to those arguments as subjects that arguably have subject properties in Modern Faroese (see e.g. Barnes 1986a and the discussion in section 5.4.2.1 above, with references).

At the end of section 5.4.2.1 we concluded that "some non-nominative subjects in Faroese are on the way out and others have changed case", but we did not go into these case marking changes in any detail. As Petersen remarks (2002b), "accusative subjects change to either nominative or dative, while dative subjects change to nominative, if they have changed at all". An overview is given in (112) (see also 5.2.2 and 5.4.6):