

**Háskóli Íslands**  
**Hugvísindasvið**  
**Medieval Icelandic Studies**

# **Njáls saga in AM 162 B alpha fol.**

**An analysis and edition**

**Ritgerð til MA-prófs í íslenskum miðaldafræðum**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on research that was conducted on fragment  $\alpha$  of AM 162 B fol., which preserves *Njáls saga*. The manuscript has not received enough attention in previous scholarship. The thesis contains a full diplomatic edition of the text alongside with a detailed analysis of the manuscript.

The main aim of this thesis was to set a possible date of the manuscript's writing based on an analysis of the palaeographical, phonological, and orthographical features of the fragment in comparison with other medieval manuscripts which themselves have well-established writing dates.

Additionally, the textual transmission of the text preserved in the fragment was examined to review the relationship between  $\alpha$  and other manuscripts that preserve text which corresponds to that of  $\alpha$ . With the use of the software programmes Pars and Draw Tree, the first unrooted-stemma of chapter 8 of *Njáls saga* was prepared. This establishes the basis for further research on the transmission of this part of the saga in post-medieval manuscripts.

The edition presents the fragment's text on three different levels. The first level is the facsimile level, where all special signs and the layout of the text are reproduced as close to the original as possible. On the second level, the diplomatic level, abbreviations are expanded and no special signs are reproduced. The third level gives a normalized spelling of the text according to the orthography of Classical Old Norse.

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Finally, I want to give my sincere thanks to my mom, for her support and encouragement at every stage of my education, and to my fiancé for his patience and understanding.

In memory of my dad.

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## 1. Introduction

In the Middle Ages, Icelandic scribes produced an unprecedented range of literature in the vernacular. Many of these manuscripts have been preserved to this day as a result of the outstanding efforts of antiquarian Árni Magnússon in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and these manuscripts present unique opportunities for contemporary researchers. According to Már Jónsson (2012, 11), there are 876 vellum and 55 paper manuscripts in Old Icelandic which date to the years 1101-1600. A significant number of these manuscripts are incomplete, or otherwise contain just one or two leaves (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2005, 249; Már Jónsson 2012, 13). This thesis is based on an examination of one of these fragmentary manuscripts, specifically fragment  $\alpha$  of AM 162 B fol. The author selected this particular manuscript in hopes of contributing to a research project entitled *The Variance of Njáls saga* which is currently underway at the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir et. al. 2012, 62-63).

Manuscript AM 162 B  $\alpha$  fol., preserved in the collection owned by the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, is a fragment which has not thus far been the subject of considerable research. This is presumably because of its condition, size, and the lack of information about its provenance. Scholars have limited themselves to cursory descriptions of the manuscript and rather rough attempts at dating it. The use of fragment  $\alpha$  in the existing editions of *Njáls saga* have also been very limited.

As such, the aim of this thesis is not only to estimate a probable date of the manuscript's writing, but also to establish a position of the manuscript within the history of the text's transmission, which is preserved in this manuscript. The thesis consists of ten main chapters in which specific theoretical problems are discussed. Furthermore, an edition of the fragment has been prepared and can be found in the appendix, together with notes on the transcription. Lastly, at the end of the thesis, there is a summary of the types of abbreviations which occur in the fragment, as well as an alphabet of AM 162 B  $\alpha$ , where particular graphs appearing in the manuscript have been collected.



## ***1.1 Methodology***

This thesis is a hybrid of editorial work, and codicological, palaeographic and linguistic analyses, as well as an attempt at textual criticism. Therefore, almost every chapter required a different methodological approach and different tools.

The thesis details the palaeographic research which was conducted on the manuscript and was mainly based on comparative analyses of script and letterforms. These comparisons were made with the intention of establishing a possible date of the manuscript's writing. The works of Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2004, 2005, 2007, 2008), Albert Derolez (2003), and Lars Svenson (1974) were used as a basis for the palaeographic research.

The thesis' linguistic and orthographic analyses are based on features of the manuscript that have already been pointed out and well discussed in secondary literature, such as in works of Hreinn Benediktsson (1965, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c), Stefán Karlsson (1978, 2002, 2004), and Haraldur Bernharðsson (2013). Comparative analysis was employed in these chapters to show the similarities and differences between the text of  $\alpha$  and the corresponding texts preserved in other medieval manuscripts.

The textual transmission analysis was conducted with the use of tools employed in new stemmatics, as well as in traditional stemmatology. The phylogenetic analysis was based on the work of Peter Robinson (1997) and Robert O'Hara (1993, 1996), but following the example of Alaric Hall (2013), the software programmes Pars and Draw Tree were used instead of PAUP. However, as it is described in more detail in chapter 9.2, a manual comparison of variants was also employed with the purpose of confirming the results of the computer-assisted analysis.

The edition of the text preserved in AM 162 B  $\alpha$  fol. is based on the transcription which was done electronically using XML mark-up language and the Oxygen XML Editor programme's academic licence. The edition was prepared on three levels: facsimile, diplomatic and normalized. This transcription method was selected because of the intention to publish

text from this fragment in the Medieval Nordic Text Archive, where it will reach a wider audience. More about the characteristics of the edition can be found in chapter 11.

## **2. Codicological description and provenance**

This chapter aims to give the reader an overview of the codicological features of the fragment. Not much can be said about the provenance of the manuscript, since Árni Magnússon did not attach any note indicating from where he obtained the fragment or who owned it before. The only information that we have is that on December 10, 1885, Kristian Kålund attached a slip to  $\alpha$  which read “AM 162 B  $\alpha$  fol – 2 blade”, and two days later, he wrote a note which referred to all fragments in the AM 162 B fol. and which summarized all the contents of the set: “10 mbr. fragmenter af Njáls saga. I er 56 blade.”

AM 162 B  $\alpha$  fol., as all manuscripts from the AM collection, was previously stored in Copenhagen, and on July 18, 1973, it was transferred to the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies in Reykjavík. According to the online manuscript catalogue Handrit.is, the fragment was rebound in a paper folder on November 1965 by Birgitte Dall, as with all manuscripts in the AM 162 B fol.

### **2.1 Support and condition**

The AM 162 B  $\alpha$  fol. consists of two conjoint leaves. The size of leaf 1 is 197 mm x 142 mm. Leaf 2 is 195 mm x 147 mm. The lower corner of leaf 1 has been trimmed and a square of parchment cut off. This missing square would have been 28 mm vertical x 19 mm horizontal in size. The online catalogue Handrit.is gives the size of the fragment as 204 mm x 149 mm, which is accurate if we measure both leaves together and attempt to estimate the size of the original manuscript book that  $\alpha$  might have belonged to.

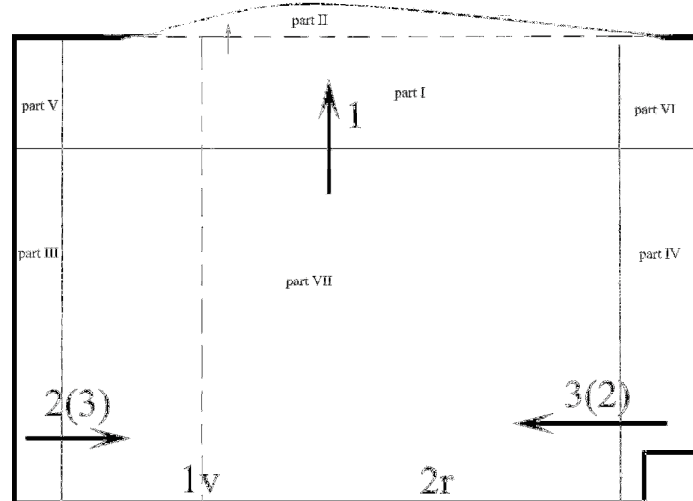
The parchment itself is in rather good condition, although it is dark and slightly damaged due to dirt and use. However, the text is illegible in many places on leaves 1r and 2r, most likely because the fragment was used for a book binding or as a book cover. This

assumption can be made because of the visible folding lines on the fragment, as are depicted in the diagram below (Img. 1).

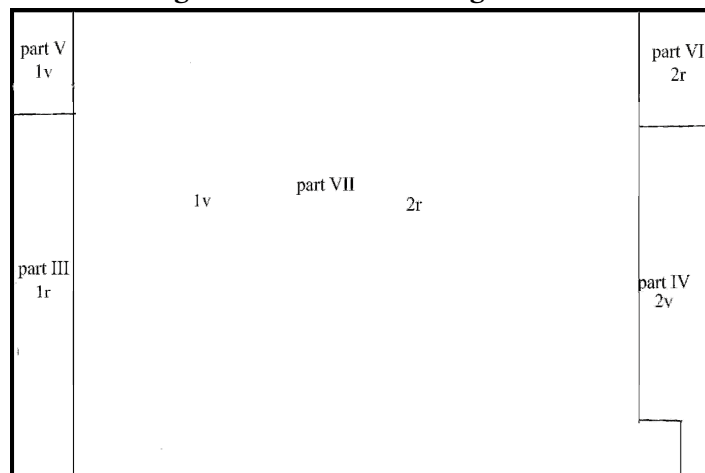
Looking at 1v and 2r, it seems that the fragment was first folded backwards at the top (arrow 1). Then the sides were bent inwards. It is not possible to establish which side was folded before the other one, but it is certain that the top flap was bent first, since the change of folding direction can be recognized in the side lines.

The topmost part of the fragment, just by the edge leaf (part II), was folded outwards again in order to achieve a straight line. Because of the original shape of the leaf, when the first fold was made (part I and II together), the curved fragment (part II) would have jugged out. This explains why it was then folded under part I.

**Img. 1. Bifolio before folding.**



**Img. 2. Bifolio after folding.**



*Image 2* above shows how the fragment would look after folding. We would see side 1r in part III and side 2v in part IV. However, parts V and VI, which were previously folded outwards along with part I, would have shown sides 1v and 2r. If the main part (part VII) faced inwards in the book that was covered with the fragment, and the other side was used as an outside cover for a book, that would explain why the text on 1v and 2r is better preserved than it is on 1r and 2v: 1r and 2v were exposed to the damages and dirt which are typical when a book has been regularly used.

Folding lines are visible on the leaves. There is a vertical line on leaf nr. 2 which is 35 mm from the edge, and on leaf no. 1, the line is 19 mm from the edge. A horizontal line is 55 mm from the top edge. The dashed line in the middle of leaf 1 (Img. 1) seems to be the mark left by the spine of a book that was covered by the  $\alpha$  parchment. However, this is not certain since the position of the line is not exactly in the middle of the fragment, as we would expect if it were a full book cover.

The fragment's writing space is around 150 mm x 115 mm. Prick marks are clearly visible and are arranged at regular 5 mm intervals. No signs of ruling can be recognized, and the scribe does not follow the lines that the pricking would suggest. Leaf 1r contains 25 lines of text—1v and 2r both have 24 lines and 2v has 26 lines. There are two empty spaces for initials: one at the beginning of chapter 8 on the verso side of leaf 1, and the second at the start of chapter 9 on the verso side of leaf 2. The space on the verso side of leaf 1 at the beginning of lines 4 and 5 seems likely to have been intended not for an initial, but rather for some other decoration, because the first word *Hrútr* is consistently spelled in the fragment “Rútr” and also, here it is written in whole: “RUTR” (1v4). It is also possible that the initial “H” was intended in this place for the esthetical value independent from the orthography of the text, but rather following the exemplar.

There are little holes irregularly arranged by the edges of the bifolio which were possibly caused by rot. Also, small red stains on the lower parts of 2r and 2v can be seen, and

there are green stains on leaf 1r. On leaf 2, there is a vertical row of cut-holes in the middle of the leaf, the provenance of which is unknown.

Natural parchment imperfections can be found at the top of the manuscript, just by the current binding, where the text is indented because of the condition of the parchment at the time of writing.

## **2.2 Marginalia**

There are two sets of marginal notes that appear in AM 162 B  $\alpha$  fol.: notes which were written around the same time as the manuscript's writing and other, much more recent "scholastic" marginalia which was presumably added by the researchers working with the manuscript. The more recent marginalia were mentioned in the 1809 edition of the saga, where the editors refer to  $\alpha$  using the marginal note of 2r "Fragm. membr. b" (Nials 1809, XXIII-XXIV).

On the recto side of leaf 1, the notes "x" and "8" have been preserved in the top margin. The numeral "2" was written out in red ink in the top right corner. In the lower half of the right margin, next to the lines 15-23, there is a marginal note which is oriented vertically and can be read when the manuscript is turned 90 degrees to the left. The note seems to have been scratched off, so that now the ink is only preserved on the looped ascender of a tall letter. Dents in the parchment caused by a pen suggest that this is the letter "H." Then comes a portion of a text that is completely illegible, and at the end of the leaf, the characters "a þat þ2" or "a þat þR" appear. The descender of the first "þ" is unclear. The letter "a" in the marginal note is a "two-storey a," so it is the same graph is used throughout the main text. Little green stains can be recognized over this text, stains that extend to the right edge of the leaf by line 11. In the lower margin of 1r, there is a much more recent note, stating " $\alpha$ ) Nials s. c. 7-9."

There is a top margin note preserved on leaf 2r which reads "Niala Fragg. membr. b." It is highly possible that this note was made in the same hand which wrote the marginal note on 1r. In the top right corner, pagination is indicated in black ink: "fol 1", but "1" is crossed

out and corrected with the number “2” in red ink. Another scholastic note is preserved in the lower margin: “(Níals s. c. 8-9)”.

On the verso side of leaf 2 there seems to be a marginal note by lines 2 and 3 in the right margin, but this is not possible to read now.

### **2.3 Lacuna**

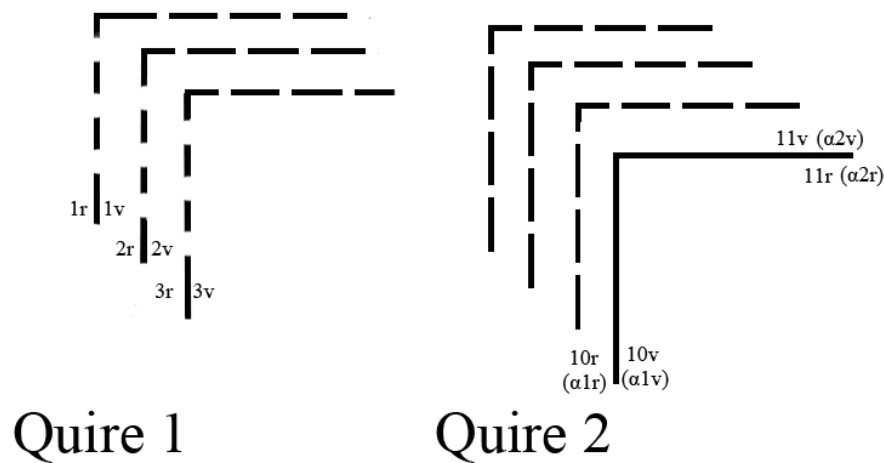
In order to approximate the lacuna and size of the manuscript book that the fragment AM 162 B α fol. could have belonged to, a word count of the corresponding normalized text of *Reykjabók* was used (*Njáls saga*, 2003). The preserved text in fragment α corresponds to 5.497 characters with spaces in *Reykjabók*, which gives 1.374,25 characters with spaces per page of α. The full text of *Reykjabók* contains 535.911 characters with spaces. If α used to belong to a manuscript (Xα) whose text corresponded to that of the *Reykjabók*, this manuscript would contain 194,9 leaves. Usually, the quire of a parchment manuscript book is made from four conjoint leaves—also referred to as bifolia—which equals eight leaves or 16 pages (de Hamel 2001, 39; Clemens and Graham 2007, 14). If the hypothetical manuscript Xα followed this trend, it would be a manuscript of 24 gatherings.

To establish the position of the fragment α in the hypothetical manuscript Xα, one needs to calculate how many characters would have been counted in the lacunae (from the beginning of the saga to the beginning of α). Based again on the text of *Reykjabók*, this figure would be 23.626 characters with spaces, which gives us 17,19 pages (8,5 leaves) missing. If the fragment belonged to a manuscript book with a “typical” organization of quires, then fragment α would be placed in the second quire, or leaves 12r-13v, with the assumption that four bifolia create one quire (I quire: 1+8, 2+7, 3+6, 4+5; II quire: 9+16, 10+15, 11+14, 12+13). The text of *Njáls saga* would then have had begun on leaf 3v and continued throughout next 17 pages (3v, 4r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7r, 7v, 8r, 8v, 9r, 9v, 10r, 10v, 11r, 11v), to reach the text of α on the leaf 12r. But if the first quire contained three conjoint leaves instead of four (I quire: 1+6, 2+4, 3+4; II quire: 7+14, 8+13, 9+12, 10+11), then the fragment α would have been placed in the second quire, or leaves 10r-11v (Img. 3). In this case, the text of the saga would

have had to begun on the leaf 1v. This possibility seems to be more reasonable, since there are examples of medieval manuscripts which start on the verso side, for example, the *Skafinskinna* (GKS 2868 4to) where the text of *Njáls saga* starts on 1v.

Of course, these calculations are clearly hypothetical, since we do not know how close the text of  $\alpha$  would have followed that of *Reykjabók*. As it is shown in chapter 9, the text of  $\alpha$  does not belong to the same branch of the manuscripts as *Reykjabók*, but creates, together with  $\beta$ , a separate group within the X-branch.

**Img. 3. Position of fragment  $\alpha$  in hypothetical quires of X $\alpha$ .**



### 3. Contents of the manuscript

The AM 162 B  $\alpha$  fol. contains *Brennu-Njáls saga*, one of the longest and most popular sagas about early Icelanders - *Íslendingasögur*. The manuscript comes from a set of fragments collected under the common shelf number of AM 162 B, for which Árni Magnússon provided rather sparse notes: “Úr Níals Sögu fragment lited. 4to. Sandsynligvis et af fragmenterne 162 B alpha-kappa” (Arne Magnussons håndskriftfortegnelser 1909, 28). However, the fragment itself is marked with notes explaining its contents. In the lower margin of 1r, there is a note reading: “ $\alpha$ ) Níals s. c.7-9” and in the lower margin of 2r another note reads “(Níals s c. 8-9)” but these postdate Árni Magnússon’s times.

This bifolio must have been the innermost bifolium in the gathering, because the text preserved on 1v and 2r of the fragment is continuous. Using the *Njáls saga* edition by Konráð Gíslason (1875) as a point of comparison, the manuscript contains the last thirty lines of chapter 7, the complete chapter 8 (all sixty-three lines as found in Konráð Gíslason's edition), and the first twenty lines of chapter 9. A detailed table of contents can be found below in *Table 1*. To make it easier for the reader, references to the corresponding text in three printed edition of *Njáls saga* are given in *Table 1*: the text from Konráð's 1875 edition, the *Íslenzk fornrit* edition by Einar Ól. Sveinsson (1954), and the edition of the *Reykjabók* text of *Njáls saga* by Sveinn Yngvi Egilsson (2003). The corresponding text has been preserved in many other manuscripts, as discussed at length in the chapter 9, which discusses the textual transmission.

**1. Table of contents of the manuscript**

Folio	Incipit	Explicit	Chapter	Corresponding text in <i>Njála</i> (1875)	Corresponding text in <i>ÍF</i> (1954)	Corresponding text in <i>Reykjabók</i> (2003)
1r1-1r25	“fem bezt”	“einn dag til”	7	7:65-7:95	25 <sup>7</sup> -26 <sup>11</sup>	17 <sup>31</sup> -18 <sup>20</sup>
1v1-1v3	“laugbergf ok lagdi”	“þangat fídan”	7	7:95-7:98	26 <sup>11</sup> -26 <sup>14</sup>	18 <sup>20</sup> - 18 <sup>22</sup>
1v4-1v24	“Rutr kom heim”	“á holm her”	8	8:1-8:24	26 <sup>15</sup> -27 <sup>19</sup>	18 <sup>23</sup> - 19 <sup>9</sup>
2r1-2r24	“a þinginu”	“nauckrum finnum ”	8	8:24-8:52	27 <sup>19</sup> -29 <sup>6</sup>	19 <sup>9</sup> -19 <sup>30</sup>
2v1-2v11	“ok g000...”	“mardar”	8	8:52-8:63	29 <sup>6</sup> -29 <sup>16</sup>	19 <sup>30</sup> -20 <sup>4</sup>
2v11-2v25	“u er þat til”	“halgerdar lang”	9	9:1-9:20	29 <sup>17</sup> -30 <sup>13</sup>	20 <sup>5</sup> - 20 <sup>40</sup>

#### 4. Palaeographical features

The aim of this chapter is to describe the characteristic palaeographic features of the fragment. The first part is devoted to assigning a particular script type to the manuscript, in order to establish the chronological position of the manuscript within the Icelandic scribal tradition. The second part contains descriptions of the letters' particular characteristics and their graphemic variations. The next subchapter briefly presents ligatures and abbreviation marks appearing in the fragment. In the fourth part, the phenomenon of the decorated ascenders in



the top line is discussed, to give a background for the last subchapter focusing on the hand of the fragment.

#### ***4.1 The script type***

In his book on the palaeography of Norway and Iceland, Didrik Arup Seip (1954) distinguished three periods of development of the medieval script in these countries. The first period covers the time-frame from the start of writing in Iceland until c. 1225, the second one runs from c. 1225 to c. 1300, and the third period runs from 1300 onwards. Hreinn Benediktsson (1965, 40–45) has suggested a similar timeframe. Lars Svensson (1974, 169–170) divided the Icelandic script history into: Carolingian minuscule (c. 1150–1225), Carolingian-Insular script (1225–1300), Gothic script (c.1300–1550), New Gothic script (1550–1880), and Latin script (from c. 1880 onwards). Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2004, 64–71) gave a brief overview of Icelandic script types using the terms related to those in continental script studies (Derolez 2003), starting with Carolingian minuscule (12<sup>th</sup> cent.), and continuing with Protogothic, Gothic Textualis, and Gothic cursive etc. up to Humanist Script (19<sup>th</sup> cent.).

A very detailed study by Albert Derolez (2003), together with Bart Jaski's (2013) clear and short summary of Derolez's observations, allows us to assign a particular script type to the fragment. Text of AM 162 B α fol. seems to be written in a subtype of Gothic Cursive called *Cursiva Antiquior* (Ice. árléttiskrift), or to be more precise, *Cursiva Antiquior's* formal, textualized deviation.

The main characteristics of *Cursiva Antiquior* are a two-compartment “a”; loops at the right of ascenders of “b”, “h”, “k”, “l”, and “p”; “f” descending below the baseline, and a predominant two-lobe insular “f” (Derolez 2003, 130–134; Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 418; Verri 2011, 235–236).

Derolez (2003, 133) mentions that these characteristics seem to have been the main features of 13<sup>th</sup> century documentary scripts, and also the earliest cursive book scripts from 14<sup>th</sup> century Scandinavia. According to Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2004, 66–67), cursive

script reached Iceland in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Books in the vernacular were written in Cursiva Antiquior from the 14<sup>th</sup> century up until the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2008, 91).

The formal version of Cursiva Antiquior, which seems to be the script of the AM 162 B α fol., was used mainly in manuscript books. It is distinguished from the traditional Cursiva Antiquior by the “textualization” of the script. Derolez (2003, 128) explains the “textualization” of a cursive as the practice of introducing a greater formality into an informal cursive script, with the intention of employing this script type for books. The main component of this change is, for example, a reduction in the number of ligatures. The letters that were originally linked were separated, although they would often touch each other. The letters often preserved the form they had in the ligature, which resulted in multiple forms of the same letter.

There are some terminological problems, however, that need to be mentioned here. It seems that in Scandinavian literature, “textualized” Cursiva Antiquior, Cursiva Recentior, and Bastarda (Hybrida) are categorized under the common name “Gotisk halvkursiv.” In his overview of Icelandic script, Lars Svensson (1974, 180-188, 195-198) gives an example of “äldre gotisk bokskrift” from *Flateyjarbók* (1387-94), in *Skriptprov 48*, and then “gotisk halvkursiv” from the bishop’s letter (1405) in *Skriptprov 50*, which seems to be written with Cursiva Recentior. However, when referring to Norwegian manuscripts, Svensson (1947, 224-235, 243-249) does not give examples of “halv kursiv”. Instead, he gives examples of “Gotisk bokskrift” in *Skriptprov 59* (c. 1300) and two examples - *Skriptprov 60* (1430) and *Skriptprov 61* (1484) - which represent “Gotisk kursiv.” These examples seem to be Cursiva Recentior in older and younger variants (Derolez 2003, 142-152).

Haugen (2002, 828, 830) calls the script of Holm. perg. 35 4to in fig. 95.8 (ca. 1350) “Gothic half-cursive,” and that seems to be an intermediate form with some ascenders looped and some ascenders not, the “two storey a”, and the “f” descending below the line. But the “cursive” script presented on fig. 95.7 is the typical Cursiva Antiquior used in documents.

On the other hand, Derolez (2003, 131) explains that:

In countries like Germany the same hand may, on the same page, write ascenders with and without loops (following Gumbert we will call such a script *Semihybrida*). In some deluxe scripts, like Burgundian Bastarda, some scribes wrote loops, others used Textualis ascenders, and still the others employed a mixture of both forms. [...] *Hybrida* would be a cursive book script like the other ones, but one in which an essential feature of cursive script [loops on the ascenders] has been given up (Derolez 2003, 131).

If one of the main distinctive features of *Hybrida* is a lack of loops on the ascenders and the “one storey a,” while *Semihybrida* can sometimes have loops as well as the “one storey a,” it has to be strongly emphasised that the term “Icelandic Hybrid” that Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2004, 67) uses in the reference to the example of AM 556 A 4to, has not much in common with these continental variants on which Derolez based his observations. Rather, AM 556 A 4to seems to be in “textualized” Gothic Cursive, which can be confirmed by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson himself (2007, 88) when he simply classifies this manuscript under the term “árléttiskrift.” It seems that the script of AM 556 A 4to is very similar to the type recognized in AM 162 B α fol., with the difference being in the ductus of ascenders of tall letters.

## **4.2 Alphabetic signs**

The most characteristic features of some letterforms used in fragment α are discussed below in subchapters devoted to particular letters. The list of the graphs used in the fragment can be found in Appendix 1, where they are subdivided according to the pattern applied by Lasse Mårtensson (2011) in his palaeographic analysis of AM 557 4to. In addition to that, each paragraph discussing a particular graph-type contains tables showing the suggested ductus of these forms.

### **4.2.1 The letter “a”**

One of the most important features that was used to assign a script type to the fragment and decide between *Cursiva Antiquior* and *Recentior* was the shape of the letter “a”. The so-called “two-storey a” is used throughout the fragment. The ductus of graph “a” seems to be based

on two sweeps of the pen: one for the left-hand side bows and one for the vertical stroke (figure 1). However, a somehow corrupted form of the second “a” in the word “lata” (figure 2) could suggest that there were three moves of pen instead of two. The “two-storey a” is dominant throughout the course of the 14th century, and from the middle of the century it coexisted with the “single-storey a” (Seip 1954, 138; Stefán Karlsson 2002, 836; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2005, 260).

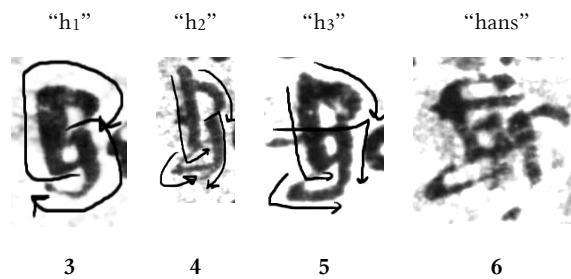


#### 4.2.2 Letters “b”, “h”, “k”, “l”, and “p”

Another distinctive feature of a medieval cursive script type are the looped “b”, “h”, “k”, “l” and “p”, that have been identified in the hand of  $\alpha$ .

The letter “h” is represented with a loop on the ascender and the final lower stroke extending below the baseline. According to Albert Derolez (2003, 129), the ductus of the looped “h” in typical Cursive Antiquior is based on one stroke, which was later replaced by the same shape achieved with a two-stroke ductus. In the fragment  $\alpha$ , there is a big variation in the ductus of the letter “h”. Some letterforms give the impression of the double-stroke ductus that Derolez mentioned, as in form “h<sub>1</sub>” (figure 3), but the majority of the forms are achieved by four movements of the pen (figures 4 and 5). The first movement of the pen, in form “h<sub>3</sub>” (figure 5), created the vertical stroke from top of the letter downwards, which then curves to the right under a strong angle, and finally turns into a hairline. The loop that is the characteristic feature of Cursive is not a continuation of the vertical stroke, but rather the separate curved stroke bending towards the base line, as it is clearly visible in the form “h<sub>2</sub>” (figure 4). The final curve extending below the baseline is also constructed with two movements of the pen. The stroke descending below the baseline is not a continuation of the stroke that creates the lower part of the letter – it is intentionally added when the curved

stroke bends from the left to the right and joins with the vertical stroke, as is clearly visible in “h<sub>2</sub>” (figure 4) and in the example “hans” (figure 6).



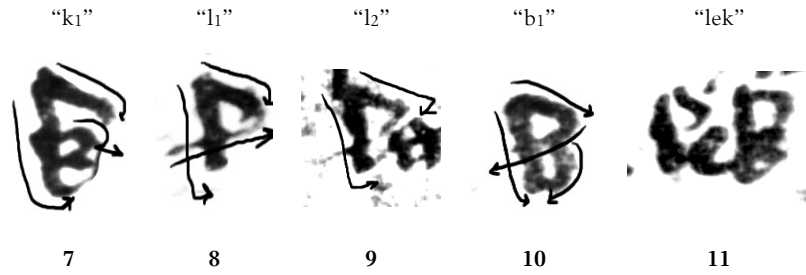
As Derolez (2003, 129) observed:

The cursive letter forms traced originally in one stroke, were now [in formal cursive used in books] often “constructed” in the same way as Textualis letters, with the additional complication that the loops, which in cursive were produced by the natural movement of pen, often had to be added by means of separate strokes (Derolez 2003, 129).

The other letters with looped ascenders show the same tendencies. The shape of the letter “l” seems to be constructed on the three-stroke ductus (figure 8), where an ascender loop is created with two strokes, and the lower one crosses the vertical stroke of the letter. But it is possible that some forms were created with the two-stroke ductus, imitating the one-stroke cursive ductus, as it seems to be the case in form “l<sub>2</sub>” (figure 9).

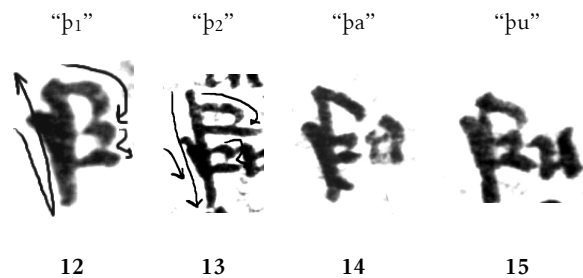
The shape of the letter “b” was achieved in similar way, however, in the case of this letter the construction requires a three- or four-stroke ductus: the ductus of “l” plus one lobe that creates a bow of “b” (figure 10). An analogous occurrence applies to the letter “k”, as in most cases, it seems to have been constructed from three movements of the pen (figure 7). The letter “k” “consists of an “l” to the shaft of which a figure 2 -like stroke has been added” (Derolez 2003, 148). The ascender loop of “k<sub>1</sub>” is created with an additional stroke that bends slightly from the top of the vertical stroke downwards.

The example of the word “lek” (figure 11) demonstrates the letters to be “constructed” or “textualized” as the loops on the ascenders have been intentionally added, rather than appearing as the result of fast cursive writing.



#### 4.2.3 The letter “p”

The letter “p” can be studied together with letters “b”, “h”, “k”, “l”, in the context of the construction of the looped ascenders, and also alongside the letter “f” in the context of “fat” vertical strokes. According to Derolez (2003, 145–146), these strokes are based on a double stroke, created with two movements of the pen: first downwards and then upwards. In form “p<sub>1</sub>” (figure 12), the left-hand stroke is clearly the “fat” stroke that Derolez (2003, 145–146) discusses in the context of “f” and “f”. The 2-shaped form is attached to the shaft, as in the form of “k<sub>1</sub>” (figure 7), and the loop on the ascender is achieved with another movement of the pen, as in “b”, “k”, “l” and “h” (figures 4–11). It seems that the vertical “fat” stroke was constructed from two movements of the pen instead of one, as in form “p<sub>2</sub>” (figure 13). At the very least, this forms seems to be predominant throughout the fragment, as in the word “pa” where strokes clearly cross each other and end in two separate places (figure 13).

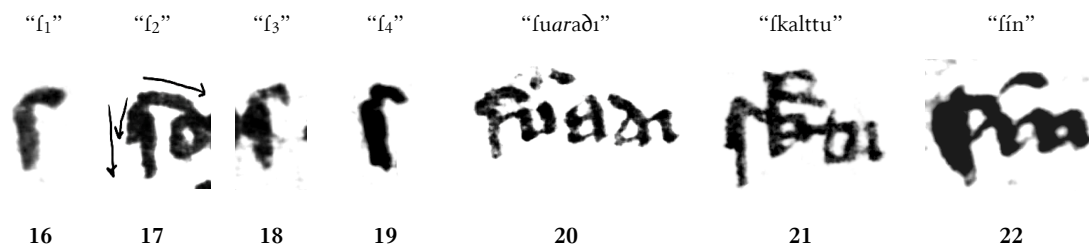


#### 4.2.4 The letter “f”

The scribe denotes s with the letter “f” (the tall s); there are no instances of the “rounded s” in the fragment α. As is shown in the images 16–20 below, the letter “f”

remarkably descends below the base line, which is one of the main characteristics of Cursive script (Derolez 2003, 125, 133, 134). According to Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2005, 261), “f” figures that descended below the line appear in some hands starting in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, but in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, this variation became dominant.

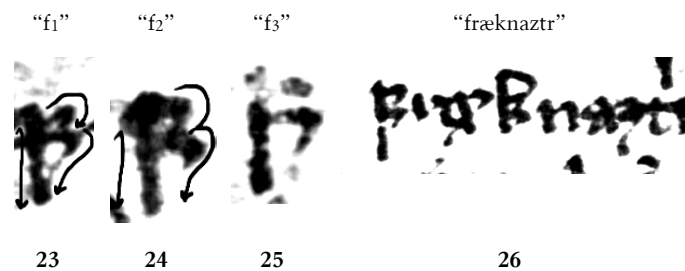
The ductus of the “tall s” varies throughout the fragment. The “f<sub>1</sub>” represents the letterform possibly achieved with one stroke (figure 16), while the ductus of “f<sub>2</sub>” (figure 17) seems to be based on three movements of the pen: one vertical stroke plus two curved strokes for the loop on the top of the letter. The second stroke is omitted in some letterforms, as in the word “fuaradi” (figure 20). The “f<sub>3</sub>” (figure 18) form delivers an example of the “fat” stroke that originates from the downward and upward ductus of “f” (Derolez 2003, 145–146). This feature shows similarities to the “fat strokes” that have also been recognized also in the forms of “p” (figure 12). It is also clearly visible in the word “lín” (figure 22). In some letterforms, the “fat stroke” seems not to have been achieved with a double stroke. Rather, it was formed as an intentional imitation of this form, as in “f<sub>4</sub>” (figure 19), where a shorter vertical stroke is clearly visible to the left of the main vertical stroke.



#### 4.2.5 The letter “f”

The letter “f” is the two-lobe Insular “f”, but in a few cases, it seems like the lobes are not fully closed, as in form “f<sub>3</sub>” (figure 25). The two-lobe “f” is a form that evolved from an Insular “f” by the bending of the horizontal strokes downward towards the vertical stroke. This form became dominant in the 14th century, taking over all hands in the 15th century (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 411). The letter “f” is possibly constructed with two or three

movements of the pen: one move to create the vertical stroke that starts with a hairline at the top left side of the stroke, and a second and third to create the lobes closing with a hairline toward the vertical stroke, as in “f<sub>1</sub>” (figure 23). It is also possible that both lobes in forms like “f<sub>2</sub>” (figure 24) were created with one movement of the hand, in similar way as the “z”-shape attached to the main stroke of “k<sub>1</sub>” (figure 7). The forms of “f” in  $\alpha$  do not show signs of “fat” strokes resulting from the cursive ductus. Instead, it is rather clear that they are built from one vertical stroke, instead of a double stroke.



#### 4.2.7 The letter “d”

The letter “d” has the uncial or round form, “ð”, where the shaft is curved and bends to the left. The typical cursive “d” is looped and traced with one stroke. The loop is a counter-clockwise loop that allows one to connect “d” with the following letter. However, according to Derolez (2003, 137), the loopless “d” appears alongside looped ones in manuscripts from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

In  $\alpha$ , the difference in the shape of the letter “d” can be observed, but there is no evidence of the use of the typical cursive looped “d”. In the first form, “d<sub>1</sub>” (figure 27), consists of a stroke and a bow, presumably written with two movements of the pen. A second type, “d<sub>2</sub>” (figure 28), is also created with two sweeps of the quill, and is constructed from a bow and a curved stroke bending to the left as in “d<sub>1</sub>”, but with the top of the ascender being slightly curved to the right. There seems to also be a third type, “d<sub>3</sub>” (figure 29), where the ascender ends in a right turn, as in “d<sub>2</sub>”, but it seems to be written with a single movement of the pen, as with a typical cursive looped “d”. The loop of the letter would start with the hairline after the pen was tuned, and then would have turned into a thick bow. This is



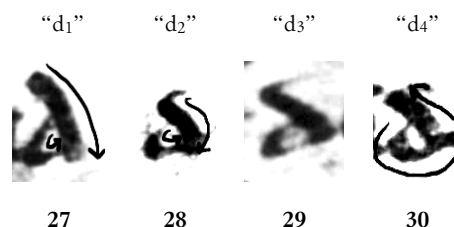
interesting from the perspective of Derolez (2003, 127), who made the following observations about the movements of a pen:

The cursive ductus [...] assumes that the pen can be moved in all directions, and not only in the ‘natural’ directions of downwards and left to right, as in the various forms of Textualis [...]. The technical problem of moving the pen against these directions, of ‘pushing’ the pen upwards and from right to left, especially on rough parchment, has hitherto not received the attention it deserves. The general opinion among calligraphers is that this technique cannot be applied if the pen has a broad nib (as was employed for Textualis). A narrow-nibbed pen, however, that produces a threadlike script, is able to move in all directions and can trace a circle, for example, in one stroke without blotting (Derolez 2003, 127).

Derolez (2003, 127) also states that the bold strokes of cursive script were not achieved by using the broad-nibbed pen, but rather,

by exerting a pressure on the nib, causing its split edge to open and the ink to flow liberally. This is proved by the swelling and diminishing width of such strokes and by their direction, which is diagonal from top left to bottom right or horizontal left to right [...]. It would be impossible to exert a pressure on a pen moving against these natural directions (Derolez 2003, 127).

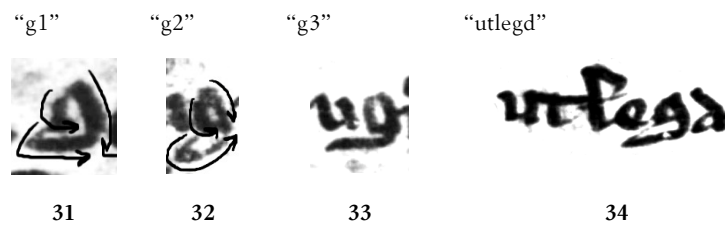
If the scribe of  $\alpha$  used a broad-nibbed pen then the ductus would require two movements, but if he used a narrow-nibbed pen, as seems to be the case throughout the fragment, the bold vertical stroke would not be possible to achieve. Therefore, the form “d<sub>3</sub>” is probably a variation of “d<sub>2</sub>”, where the ends of the stroke and bow meet at exactly the same point, creating the illusion of a continuity of movement. The same problem applies to the ductus of the form “d<sub>4</sub>” (figure 30), that seems to represent a one move ductus.



#### 4.2.8 The letter “g”

The letter “g” in  $\alpha$  appears in the form of the “Rücken-g” (Derolez 2003, 88). The dominating form “g<sub>1</sub>”, with the descender bent to the left and joining the upper lobe with a hairline, seems to be created with three movements of the pen (figure 31): the first one for the

upper “o”-like lobe, the second for the vertical stroke, and the last one for the horizontal stroke that starts with a hairline from the upper lobe. Some letterforms are missing their hairlines, and this creates the form “g<sub>3</sub>” (figure 33). The horizontal line of the descender frequently continues underneath the preceding letter, as in the word “utlegd” (figure 34), which Stefán Karlsson (2002, 837) mentions as a common practice of some 13<sup>th</sup> century scribes. The form “g<sub>2</sub>” (figure 32) appears only once in the fragment and it seems to be a variation of “g<sub>1</sub>” rather than the separate letterform that Stefán Karlsson (2002, 836-837) describes, as he is most likely referring to the lobes as in one of his samples from AM 227 fol.



#### 4.2.9 The letter “z” and “r”

The use of the “r-rotunda”, “z”, after particular letters is one of the most useful features when dating Icelandic medieval manuscripts. Below is a table representing the appearance of both “r” and “z” throughout the fragment.

2. Use of the letter “z” and “r”

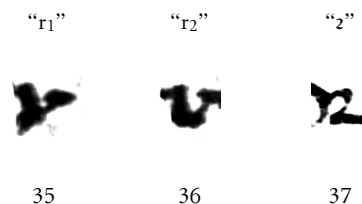
	word initial	a	b	d	e	f	g	h	í	K	l	n	o	p	t	u	y	æ	þ	Sum
<b>z</b>	0	0	8	16	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	21	0	0	1	5	0	0	53
<b>r</b>	21	16	1	0	17	2	0	1	6	4	3	1	0	1	2	5	0	2	7	89
<b>sum</b>	21	16	9	16	18	2	1	1	6	4	3	1	21	1	2	6	5	2	7	142

The scribe exclusively uses “z” after the letters “o”, “d”, “y”, and “g”. “z” dominates following “b” as well, with the exception of “bruttu” (1v5), where the regular “r” was used. “r” dominates following “e” (seventeen examples) with the exception of “z” being used in the

word “bezzt” (2r8). In the fragment, one unclear example in the word “faguzt”<sup>1</sup> (2v12) seems to represent the use of the graph “z” after “u”, while elsewhere, the regular “r” is used following the letter “u” (five examples).

According to Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2005, 259), “z” originally followed only the letter “o” in the oldest manuscripts, as well as in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it began to follow the letters “d” and “ð”, although it did not occur regularly after “p”, “g”, “p” and “b”. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, “z” was used regularly after these previous letters, although after “g”, the regular “r” could be used as well. From the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, “z” could follow other letters such as “a”, “y” and “h”. As of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it could follow any other letter. After 1500, the letter “z” starts to appear in words’ initial position. Based on these features, manuscript  $\alpha$  could have been written in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with the caveat that the scribe does use “z” only after “y” — not after “a” (sixteen examples of “r”) or “h” (just one example).

Both “r” and “z” seem to have a simple single-stroked ductus. The form “r<sub>1</sub>” (figure 35) is angular with a fine hairline visible on the right hand side, while the shape of “r<sub>2</sub>” (figure 36) is more reminiscent of the letter “u”.



#### 4.2.10 Other letters

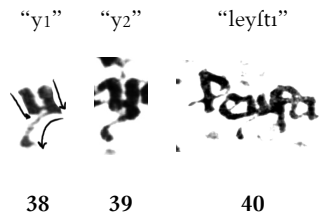
The letter “y” appears in the fragment, in the form of “u” with an attached tail extended below the line and curved almost horizontally to the left and downwards at the end, as in “y<sub>1</sub>” (figure 38). The ductus is based on three strokes, which is clear in the form “y<sub>2</sub>” (figure 39)

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<sup>1</sup> Underlined letters in the examples represent unclear readings from the manuscript.

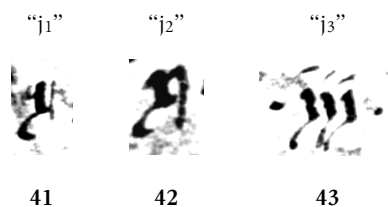
where the tail is constructed from a separate stroke. According to Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2005, 261):

From just before the middle of the fourteenth century, both strokes are sometimes more or less vertical above the line, the right-hand one extending below the line, when this is so, it is sometimes only the superscript dot that distinguishes ‘y’ from ‘ij’ (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2005, 261).



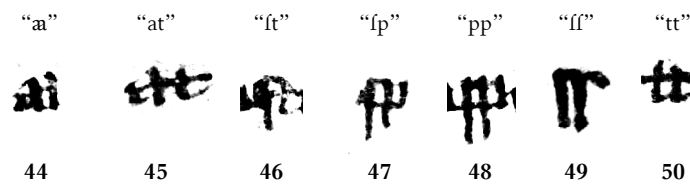
The letter “y” in the fragment, however, does not have the superscript dot that Guðvarður Már talks about. The horizontal descender of the letter frequently continues underneath the preceding letter, as in the word “leyfti” (figure 40).

The letter “j” is used in the initial position, for the preposition “í” and for Roman numerals throughout the fragment. For Roman numerals, an accent mark over the “j” appears (figure 43) but elsewhere, the scribe uses “j” without a dot. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2003, 258) and Stefán Karlsson (2002, 837) mentioned the appearance of the letter “j” in this context as a characteristic feature in Icelandic manuscripts after 1300. The shape of “j” as the preposition “í” has two forms: “j<sub>1</sub>” (figure 41) with a vertical hairline stroke, and “j<sub>2</sub>” (figure 42) with a curl attached on the right hand side of the main stroke. Both forms are without dots or accent marks above them.



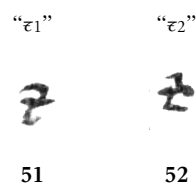
### 4.3 Ligatures and abbreviation marks

The tendency to join letters into ligatures is a characteristic feature of Cursive script. However, in a book script, the number of ligatures was remarkably limited (Derolez 2003, 128, 153). In the fragment, for example, the most common ligature seems to be the ligature “a” that was used for the long vowel á. Also, joined letters for the double consonants “pp”, “ff”, “tt”, and “tall f” followed by “t” or “p” in the preposition “at” are consequently joined throughout the fragment.



Abbreviation marks are special signs used in the manuscript to abbreviate words. A list of signs used in the fragment can be found in Appendix 2, under the categories “*Superscript signs*” and “*Brevigraphs*”, and images for particular signs are also provided.

The Tironian note “ε” is extensively used throughout the fragment for the conjunction *ok*. The form of “ε<sub>1</sub>” (figure 50), with the lower part of the sign curving upwards to the right, dominates in the manuscript, but the variation “ε<sub>2</sub>”, which has a straight lower part, can be also found in the fragment (figure 51).



This abbreviation mark stands for *ok* in Old Norse manuscripts and *et* in Latin manuscripts, and is probably the most common of all abbreviations with lexical reference (Driscoll 2009, 12). The changes in its shape can suggest the manuscript’s possible date of writing. The earliest form of Tironian note, which can be found in Icelandic manuscripts up to the year 1300, has a shape similar to the number seven “7”. Later, a cross bar appeared: “7”. This form

took over in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with the most recent known examples to be found in *Möðruvallabók*. The “z”-shaped Tironian note can be found around 1300, changing into the crossed form “ε” in more recent manuscripts, as for example in *Skarðsbók* – AM 350 fol – dated to 1363 or *Flateyjarbók* – GKS 1005 fol – dated to 1387-1394 (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 91, Jóhannes B. Sigtryggsson 2013, 13).

The most common abbreviation mark without a specific lexical reference is a bar, or the so-called nasal stroke, which often stands for “n” or “m” in the fragment α. The scribe of α uses the superscript “pi” sign that stands for “ra”, the superscript “9” used in the abbreviation for the name *Höskuldur*, the superscript curl that stands for “er”, and the on-line brevisgraph “z” that stands for “rum” (more about abbreviations in chapter 6).

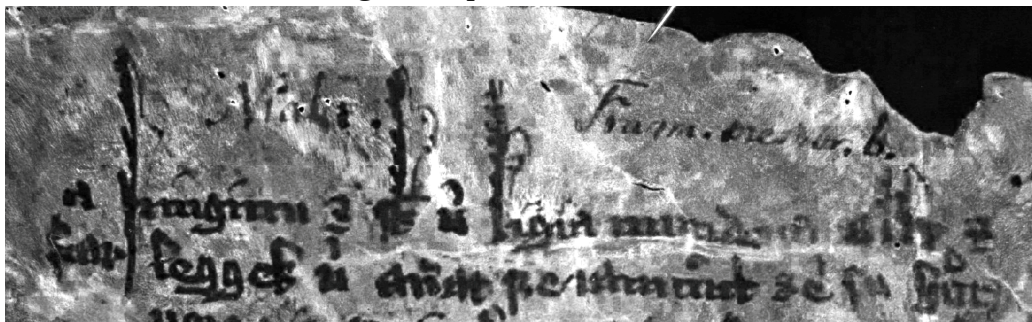
#### **4.4 Decorated ascenders**

The decorated ascenders of the letters on the top lines of each leaf are an interesting feature of the script in AM 162 B α fol (Img. 4). On leaf 1r, decorated ascenders appear on the letters “b”, “p” and “h”, whereas on 1v, they appear on “l”, “b”, “k”, and “p”, and on 2r, they appear on “p”, “k”, and “l”. Shorter and less decorated ascenders appear in the word “allr”, which is written at the end of the leaf where the margin is narrower because a bit of the leaf has been torn off and there is no space for ascenders which are as tall as they are in other letters. This suggests that the bit had already been torn from the parchment at the time of writing. On the leaf 2v, which is in rather poor condition, there are only two clear examples of these ascenders on the letters “h” and “p”, but it seems that other letters also have long ascenders. The text is mostly illegible but the letters having the long ascenders were identified by comparison with other *Njáls saga* manuscripts: *Reykjabók* “hlatr mikill af” (6r26), *Skafinskinna* “hlatr mikill” (5v18), *Oddabók* hlatur mikit af (4r12), *Kálfalækjarbók* “hlatr mikill af” (8r4), *Gráskinna* “hlatr mikill” (6v31), and AM 162 B β fol. “hlatr mikill” (1vb4). All of these manuscripts preserved the phrase “hlatr mikill” which indicates a significant possibility that this version also appears in AM 162 B α and that the letters with the decorated ascenders are “h” and “l”.

It is very interesting that this strictly esthetical feature dictated the choice of particular letters in the top line, as for example, on 1r, where the unclear example of “fiþan” seems to be spelled with “þ” just to add a decorated ascender (Img. 5). Elsewhere, this word is simply spelled with “ð”. Also on 1v, the form “laugberkf” seems to have been chosen for the same reason (Img. 6), since elsewhere the spelling with “g” is found.

The long ascenders with decorations based on a row of little bumps on the left and a hairline that curves on the right hand side appear on all four sides of the bifolio. These features have thus far only been recognized in one other Icelandic manuscript known to the author of this thesis: in a letter with signature DI IV nr. 581 (Img. 7), which was written in Hjarðarholt in Laxárdalr on May 12, 1434 (Stefán Karlsson 1963b, 198). Letterforms that were decorated this way in the letter from 1434 do not exactly match the letters in *α*. In DI IV nr. 581 the characters with decorated ascenders in the top line are l, d, þ, f, b, and h, while in *alpha* the f is never decorated, even though it appears in the top line position. In *alpha*, “k” is decorated, but in the letter, this character does not appear in a top line position. Nevertheless, the style of a decoration is very similar.

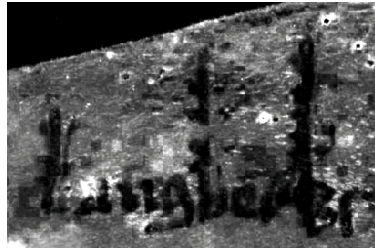
**Img. 4. Top line of the leaf 2r**



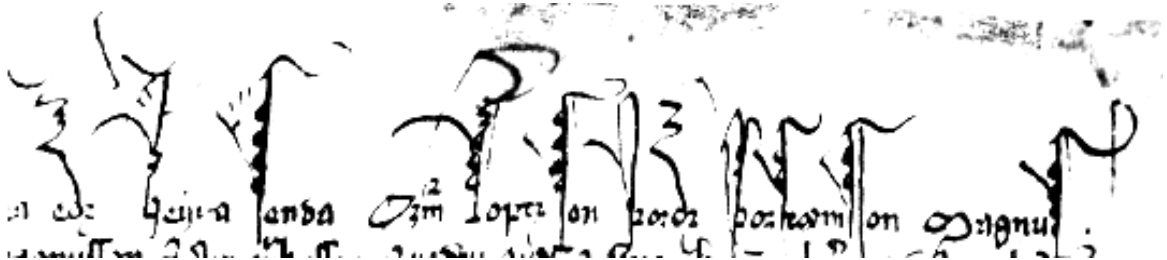
**Img. 5. Decorated ascender of “þ” in “fiþan”**



**Img. 6. Decorated ascender of “k” in “laugberkf”**



**Img. 7. Decorated ascenders of DI IV nr. 580.**



Decorations on long ascenders can be recognized, for example, in DI IV nr. 398 (dated to 1427) and DI IV nr. 552 (dated to 1432), but their shapes are slightly different than the ones from DI IV nr. 581 and the fragment  $\alpha$  of AM 162 B (Stefán Karlsson 1963b, 166, 189).

Nevertheless, decorations on the long ascenders of tall letters are not an invention of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as might be assumed from the documents mentioned above. Manuscript DG 4-7 from the University of Uppsala Library, dated to ca. 1250, contains decorations on the long ascenders on almost every leaf, especially in both hands of *Strengleikar* (Tveitane 1974, 21). Another manuscript from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century – AM 544 4to, *Hauksbók*, on leaves 25v-28v, 29v-31r, 33r-33v also utilised decorated long ascenders. These leaves are believed to have been written in hand of Haukur Erlendsson (?-1334), who presumably wrote the greater part of *Hauksbók*, including ff. 22r-34r in AM 544 4to (Jón Helgason 1960, IX, XX).

Some decorative similarities can also be found in English manuscripts. Take for example, the similar ascender decorations appearing in MS. Bodley 712 (SC. 2619), fol. 140r, dated to c. 1400 (Parkes 2008, 7). Slightly different ascender decorations appear in MS. Bodley 316 (SC. 2752) fol. 71v which is dated to 1394-1397 (Parkes 2008, 5), MS. Bodley



596 (SC. 2376), fol 2r, dated to c. 1415 (Parkes 2008, 14), and MS. Hatton II (SC. 4132), fol. 90r, dated to c. 1412 (Parkes 2008, 23).

#### 4.5 *The hand*

The fragment seems to be written in the same hand throughout but it contains no hint pointing towards the scribe of the manuscript or the place of origin. Therefore, it is difficult to identify the hand. The reason for this has been explained by Stefán Karlsson (1999, 145–146):

Scribes in the fourteenth century used two different types of writing: on the one hand, a style they used for writing codices, which may be called a Gothic book-script, on the other a semicursive which they primarily used in writing charters. It seems that the most productive scribes mastered both styles and there are actually a few examples of a scribe using both style in a single codex. But otherwise it is often almost impossible to recognise the style a scribe uses in writing codices from the one he uses in writing charters, and vice versa (Stefán Karlsson 1999, 145–146).

However, there may be a hint about the hand in a specific type of decoration on the long ascenders in the top lines of each leaf – those that were discussed in the previous subchapter and which seem to bear a close resemblance to decorated forms in the letter DI IV nr. 581, dated to a year 1434 (Stefán Karlsson 1963a, 318; 1963b, 198). As mentioned above, decorated ascenders are found in the hand of Haukur Erlendsson, but the possibility that he wrote the fragment must be eliminated based on the phonological changes that are orthographically represented in the fragment, as these took place around fifty years after his death in 1334 (more about this in chapter 5).

In letter DI IV nr. 581, the names of Ormur Loftsson, Þórður Þorsteinsson, Magnís Aurnolfsson, Ólafur Jónsson, Þorsteinn Magnússon, Ari Markusson, Páll Bjarnason (priest of Hjarðarholt 1434–46) and Sigríður Þorsteinsdóttir are mentioned. The hand of the letter is unknown, but according to the online catalogue *Handrit.is*, the only one of these people who is known to have been an active scribe at the time was Ormur Loftsson. He was the scribe of AM 238 VIII fol. (1425–1450) and parts of Perg. fol. nr. 2 Stockholm (Foote 1962). He was a Norwegian governor who lived in the western part of Northern Iceland (Stefán Karlsson 1999,

141). However, significant differences in the script type prevent us from assigning *alpha* to his hand.

The hint pointing towards the manuscript having a north-western provenance seems to be reasonable also because of the spelling of “reykkja”, that (as it is described in more detail chapter 5), has been recognized in other north-western Icelandic manuscripts. However, due to a lack of strong evidence, the scribe remains unidentified.

## 5. Phonological features

The phonology is one of the most important features used when dating medieval Icelandic manuscripts, as many of the changes that the language has undergone are relatively well dated. In this thesis, normalized word forms are based on the orthography of *Classical Old Norse* (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 103-114) and reflect the vowel system presented in *Table 3* which itself was based on a table by Haraldur Bernharðsson (2013, 137).

**3. The vowel system of Old Icelandic**

	SHORT VOWELS				LONG VOWELS			
	FRONT		BACK		FRONT		BACK	
	Unround	Round	Unround	Round	Unround	Round	Unround	Round
High	i	y		u	í	ý		ú
Mid	e	ø		o	é	ó		ó
Low			a	ǫ	æ		á	

This chapter is divided into nine subchapters, each discussing a particular phonological feature and its appearance in fragment  $\alpha$  of AM 162 B fol. Each subchapter is then followed by a short paragraph comparing of some word forms in  $\alpha$  with their corresponding forms in other medieval manuscripts containing *Njáls saga*. The list of the manuscripts used in the comparison is presented in *Table 4* below, along with each manuscript’s name, the date of its writing according to *Old Norse Prose Dictionary*, and the abbreviations used for each manuscript in the thesis.

#### 4. List of the manuscripts used for linguistic comparison

Shelf number	Name	Date of writing (ONP)	Abbreviation
AM 162 B β fol.		c1300	β
GKS 2870 4to	Gráskinna	c1300	Gr
AM 468 4to	Reykjabók	c1300–1325	R
AM 133 fol.	Kálfalækjarbók	c1350	K
GKS 2868 4to	Skafinskinna	c1350–1400	S
AM 466 4to	Oddabók	c1460	O

#### 5.1 Phonological mergers

The orthography of AM 162 B α fol. suggests that Icelandic’s earliest phonological mergers, dating to the 12th and 13th centuries, had already taken place in the language of the scribe. Take for example, the merger of the long, oral vowels *ǫ* and *á* into the vowel *á* in the spelling of “tala um mal lín” *tala um mál sín* (1v11) acc. neut. pl., for earlier form *mǫl* (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989). This shift dates back to the period around 1200 (Noreen 1923, 97; Hreinn Benediktsson 200b, 57–59; Stefán Karlsson 2004, 11). This sound change also took place in other medieval manuscripts containing the corresponding text “mal”: R(6r1), Gr (6v1), β (1r20b), K (7v3), S (5r28), O (3v21).

The merger of the short, rounded vowels *ɔ* + *o* > *ö* had already taken place before the time of the manuscript’s writing. In the fragment, there is no distinction in the orthography between the representation of the back, low, round vowel *ɔ* and front, mid, round vowel *o*. The vowel *ö* resulting from their merger is presented as “au” and “o”. It seems to be the scribe’s orthographic practice to write “o” after “i” and “u”, as for example, in “fiozdu” *fjörðu* (1r1), “gíozfer” *göfvir* (2r17), and “fuoz” *svör* (1v21), but “au” elsewhere, as in “lauglyfing” *löglysing* (1v17). The merger *ɔ* + *o* > *ö* is dated to the early 13<sup>th</sup> century (Hreinn Benediktsson 2002a, 60–61; Stefán Karlsson 2004, 11; Harladur Bernharðsson 2013, 412–413).

The short rounded vowel merger seems to be more complicated in the other medieval manuscripts that preserve text which corresponds to the *alpha* text. In the footnotes, there is a

list of selected words forms that can be used to observe the language change in these manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> The letterforms that appear there to represent the vowel *ö* are shown in *Table 5* below.

#### 5. Characters used for the vowel *ö* in manuscripts containing text corresponding to *α*

mss.	date (ONP)	letterforms
β - AM 162 B β fol.	c1300	“o”
Gr - GKS 2870 4to	c1300	“o”, “ö”, “a”, “au”
R - AM 468 4to	c1300–1325	“o”, “au”
K - AM 133 fol.	c1350	“o”, “ö”, “a”
S - GKS 2868 4to	c1350–1400	“o”
α - AM 162 B α fol.	c.1400–1500	“o”, “au”
O - AM 466 4to	c1460	“o”

Judging from this section of the *Njáls saga* text, the spelling in *alpha* is comparable to that in *Reykjabók*. It is interesting that the spelling of masc. nom. pl. of pret. part. of *göra* “gíorfer” *gǫrvir* α(2r17) appears in *Reykjabók* as “gíoz|vir”: R(6r20|21), but that in the other manuscripts, it is spelled with a use of an abbreviation mark—“er”—instead. The 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pret. pl. and 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pret. sg. form of *göra* appear in α as “gíozðu” α(1v1) and “gíozdi” α(2v5), but in other manuscripts, these forms are also abbreviated with “er”. The fragment α preserved the acc. fem. sg “gíozd” *gerð* α(1r24), as it is spelled in *Skafinskinna* “gíozd”: S(5r20), but this form is spelled with the “er” abbreviation elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *giorfer*: α(2r17); *gíoz|vir*: R(6r20|21); *gerfir*: Gr(6v24); *omitted*: β; *gervir* K(7v24); *geruir* S(5v12), *gerfer* O(4r8). *lauglyfing*: α(1v17) *lauglyfing*: R(6r6); *lóglyfing*(Gr 6v6); *loglyfing*: β(1r28b); *lóglyfing*: K(7v8); *loglyfing*: S(5r32); *loglyfing*: O(3v34). *gíozd* α(1r24); *gerð*: R(5v23), Gr(6r20), β(1r8b), K(7r21); *gíozd*: S(5r20); *gerd*: O(3v26). *gíozðu* α(1v1); *gerðu*: R(5v24), K(7r22); *gerðo*: Gr(6r24), S(5r22); *omitted*: β; *gerdu*: O(3v27). *gíozdi* α(2v5); *gerði* R(6r29), K(8r7); *lacuna*: Gr; *gerir*: β(1v8b); *omitted*: S; *gerdi* O(4r14). *fiözdu*: α(1r1); *fiözdu* R(5v8), K(7r4); *fiözðo*: Gr(6r3); *fiözþo*: β (1r11b); *fiözdu*: S(5r6), O(3v15). *fiözðum*: α(1r2); *fiözðum* R (5v9), *fiözðom*: Gr(6r4); *omitted*: β; *fiözðum*: K(7r5); *fozdum*: S(5r7), O (3v15|16). *feíau|k*: α(1v12|13); *fe íak* R(6r3); *fe íak* Gr(6v2), K(7v5); *fe íoc*: β(1r22b); *fe íok*: S(5r29), O(3v32). *íaukinn*: α (1v16); *íokin*: R(6r6); *faukin* Gr(6v5); *fokin*: β(1r27b), K(7v7), *fo|kin*: S(5r31|32), *fokinn*: O(3v34).

### 5.1.1 The long vowels merger, $\acute{a} + \acute{o} > \text{æ}$

Table 6 below shows the list of long vowel examples where the merger  $\acute{a} + \acute{o} > \text{æ}$  can be observed.

6. Words with long vowels: Merger $\acute{a} + \acute{o} > \text{æ}$	
Etymological $\acute{a}$	Etymological $\acute{o}$
“mælt” <i>mælt</i> (1v18)	“fæker” <i>sókir</i> (1v19)
“mæli” <i>mæli</i> (1r22)	“fræknaztr” <i>fróknast</i> (2r10)
“bædi” <i>bæði</i> (2r9)	“bædra” <i>bróðra</i> (2r17)
“mæri” <i>mæri</i> (2r19)	“ <u>bættan</u> ” <i>bóttan</i> (2v16)
“ <u>æ00</u> ” <i>ætt</i> (2v15)	
“uæri” <i>væri</i> (2v17)	
“ <u>þa00</u> ” <i>þær</i> (2v20)	

The scribe does not distinguish between the vowels  $\acute{a}$  and  $\acute{o}$  in his orthography, indicating that the merger of these two vowels into  $\text{æ}$  had already taken place. The stressed vowel in all the examples, such as in words like “bædi” and “fræknaztr” are represented with exactly the same symbol “æ”. According to Stefán Karlsson (2002, 838; 2004, 42), in the early stages of the  $\text{æ}$  merger, the resulting vowel was denoted with the use of various characters that previously had been used for merging both the vowels  $\acute{o}$  and  $\acute{a}$ . Shortly after the merger, the symbols “o” and “ö” were used, and later “ø” and “ϕ”. The variant symbols of “e”, “ė”, “æ” and “ë” also made their temporary appearances. The symbol “æ” started to become the predominant form of representation by the year 1400. The merger of these long vowels probably took place in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but was not completed until early in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Hreinn Benediktsson 2002a, 61; Stefán Karlsson 2004, 11; Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 413).

In other manuscripts, we can observe that the change had already taken place, with the resulting vowel denoted by the symbols represented in Table 7 below:

### 7. List of characters used to denote the vowel æ

mss.	date (ONP)	letterforms
β – AM 162 B β fol.	c1300	“æ”, “e”
Gr – GKS 2870 4to	c1300	“æ”, “ee”
R – AM 468 4to	c1300–1325	“e”, “ē”
K – AM 133 fol.	c1350	“æ”
S – GKS 2868 4to	c1350–1400	“e”, “ē”
α – AM 162 B α fol.	c.1400–1500	“æ”
O – AM 466 4to	c1460	“æ”

Fragment β contains spellings with the character “æ”: “mæli ec” (1v3a), “mær” (1v29a); and “e”: “breðza” (1v27a); “fcapbetir” (1v24b). This fragment is a particularly interesting example of orthography in the age of language change. The scribe of this fragment uses “e” for *ó* and “æ” for *æ*.<sup>3</sup> Stefán Karlsson (2002, 838) has observed that when the merger began in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the etymological *æ* was sometimes denoted with the symbol for the etymological *ó*, even as late as the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. However, the scribe of fragment β denotes the etymological *ó* with the symbol characteristic for the etymological *æ*.

### 5.1.2 The mergers *i + y > i*, *í + ý > í*, and *ey + ei > ei*:

Table 8 below represents a list of the examples from α, where possible mergers of high front vowels could have appeared:

### 8. Words with long vowels. Derounding of *y*, *ý* and *ey*.

<i>y</i>	<i>ý</i>	<i>ey</i>
“flytia” <i>flytja</i> (1r2)	“nyum” <i>nýjum</i> (1v2)	“reykiar dalr” <i>Reykjardals</i> (2r14)
“fyzar” <i>fyrir</i> (1r11)	“leyfti” <i>lýsti</i> (1v12, 1v14, 1v15)	“fauðz eyfkr” <i>suðreyskr</i> (2v15)
“ <u>kalldyrum</u> ” <i>karldyrum</i> (1r12)	“lyfti” <i>lýsti</i> (1v16)	“ <u>ey00</u> ” <i>eyjar</i> (2v20)

<sup>3</sup> mæli ek α(1v22); mæli ek: R(6r9), S(5v2); mæli ek Gr(6v10), K(7v12): mæli ec: β(1v3a); mæli eg: O (3v37). bædi α(2r9); bædi: R(6r15); bæde: Gr(6v17); *unclear*: β; bædi: K(7v18); bædi S(5v7); bædi: O(4r4). mæri; α(2r19), β(1v29a), O (4r9); Gr(6v26), K(7v26); mæri: R(6r22); S(5v14). fræknaztr α(2r10); fræknaztr: R (6r16); fræknaztr: Gr(6v18); *unclear*: β; fræknalt: K(7v19); fræknaztr: S(5v20); fræknazt<sup>2</sup>: O(4r4). brædra α(2r17); bræðza: β(1v27a); *omitted*: R, Gr, K, S, O. bb: α (2r13), R(6r18), β(1v22a), K(7v22); bððr: Gr(6v21); bredz S(5v10), bædz: O(4r6). bættan; α(2v16); *unclear*: β; bæti: R(6v8); *lacuna*: Gr; bætt: K (8r15), *omitted*: S; bætt: O(4r20). fkap000:α(2v17); fcapbetir: β(1v24b); fcapbeter: R(6v9); *lacuna*: Gr; fcap bæter: K (8r16); fcapbeter: S (5v29); *unclear*: O.

“heyzanda” <i>heylanda</i> (1v17)	“lauglyfing” <i>løglysing</i> (1v17)	
“heyzer” <i>heyzir</i> (1v20)		
“heyzandi” <i>heyrandi</i> (1v23)		
“heylia” <i>hylja</i> (2v13)		
“00rlynd” <i>orlynd</i> (2v14)		

As shown above, there are no examples in the manuscript that suggest the derounding of *y*, *y*, or *ey*. In all of the examples where the merger could be recognized, words are spelled according to the orthography of the period before the merger, for example, “flytia”, “fyzer”, and “lauglyfing”. There is no reversed spelling in the fragment that would suggest the derounding either.

The merger of *y*, *y* and *ey* into *i*, *i* and *ei* is believed to have started in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and finished in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Björn K. Þórólfsson 1925, XV-XVII; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 1994, 65-70; Stefán Karlsson 2004, 11; Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 157-161). The first examples of the orthographic representation of “i” for *y* can be found as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century, in words like *þykkja* or *fyrir*. However, the reasons behind this phenomenon are different and cannot be considered as part of the general derounding of *y* (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 1994, 32-37; Haraldur Bernharðsson 2004, 130).

The orthographical representation of *y* is interesting because in the words “heylia” and “leyfti”, “ey” coexists in the manuscript with “y”, “lyfti”, which could suggest that in the scribe’s pronunciation, these words contain diphthongs. However, none of the preserved medieval manuscripts of chapter 8 have “ey” spellings in these words. Rather, the forms that appear are “lýfti”<sup>4</sup> or “lyfti” and “hýlia”<sup>5</sup> or “hyla”.<sup>6</sup>

Of the seven medieval manuscripts containing *Njáls saga*, only one shows signs of the derounding of *ey* into *ei* in the text corresponding to the fragment *α*. In *Oddabók*, we can find the forms “heirer” O(3v36) and “heirandi” O(3v38), although the spelling of “heyrandi”

<sup>4</sup> lýfti: *α*(1v16), O(3v32, 3v33, 3v34, 3v34); lyfti (6r3, 6r4, 6r5, 6r6); lýfti: Gr(6v2,6v3,6v4 | 5, 6v6), *β*(1r22b, 1r25b, 1r26b, 1r28b), K(7v5,7v6, 7v7, 7v8), S(5r29, 5r30, 5r31, 5r32).

<sup>5</sup> heylia: *α*(2v13); hýlia: R(6v6), K(8r13), S(5v26); *lacuna*: Gr; hý | lia: *β*(1v18 | 19b); hyla: O(4r18).

<sup>6</sup> “lyfti” B(39r42) R(22r9)

is not certain, due to the condition of the parchment. All other manuscripts preserved the traditional spellings.<sup>7</sup>

## 5.2 The diphthongization before *gi* and *gj*

The short vowel *e* before *gi* can be recognized in the following words:

“feigía” *segja* (1r9)

“alldzeígi” *aldregi* (1r15, 1v4)

Also, there is one example of a possible scribal error which could be missread as a rather unlikely diphthongization before *ggi* in the word:

“hvort ueiggía” *hvártveggja* (2r2/3)

It is clear that the short *e* has already been diphthongized before *gi* to become *ei*. In the fragment, there is no use of the letter “e” for the vowel *e* appearing before *gi*. This change took place relatively early, in the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Alexander Jóhannesson 1923–24, 68; Björn K. Þórólfsson 1925, XII–XII). However, other manuscripts containing chapter 8

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<sup>7</sup> flytia: α(1r2); flytia: R(5v8); flýtia: Gr(6r3), β(1r12a), O(3v15), S(5r6); flýtia: K(7r5). fyzer: α(1r11); fyrir: R(4v14), Gr(6r11), β(1r24a), K(7r12), S(5r12), O(3v20). kalldyrum: α(1r12); karlldýrum: R(5v15); karldýrom: Gr(6r11); kalldyrom: β(1r24a); karl dýrum: K(7r12), karlldýrom: S(5r12); kalldryum: O(3v20). nyum: α(1v2); nýium: R(5v24); nýiom: Gr(6r24); nyom: β(1r9b); nýgium: K(7r23); nyiom: S(5r22); nýum: (3v27). leyfti : α(1v12, 1v 14, 1v15); lyfti: α(1v16), O(3v32, 3v33, 3v34, 3v34); lyfti (6r3, 6r4, 6r5, 6r6); lýfti: Gr(6v2,6v3,6v4|5, 6v6), β(1r22b, 1r25b, 1r26b, 1r28b), K(7v5,7v6, 7v7, 7v8), S(5r29, 5r30, 5r31, 5r32). lauglýfing: α(1v17); læg lýfing: R(6r6); lóglýfing: Gr(6v6); loglyfing: β(1r28b); lóglýfing: K(7v8); loglyfing: S(5r32); loglýfing: O(3v34). heyzanda: α(1v17); heyranda: R(6r6), β(1r28b); heýranda: Gr(6v6), S(5r32); heýranda: K(7v8); heiranda: O(3v35). heyzer: α(1v20); heyrer: R(6r7), β(1r31b); heýrer: Gr(6v8), K(7v10), S(5v1); heirer: O(3v36). heyzandi: α(1v23); heýrandi: R(6r10), K(7v12), S(5v3); heý|rande: Gr(6v10|11); heyrandi: β(1v4a); heirandi: O(3v38). reykiar dalf: α(2r14); reykiar dalf: R (6r19); reýkiar dalf: Gr(6v21), S(5v10|11), K(7v22); reykiar dalf: β(1v23a); Reykiadalf: O(4r6). heylía: α(2v13); hýlia: R(6v6), K(8r13), S(5v26); *lacuna*: Gr; hý|ha: β(1v18|19b); hylia: O(4r18) . 00rlynd: α(2v14); ærlýnd: R(6v6); *lacuna*: Gr; o2|lynd: β(1v19|20b); órlýnd: K(8r13); aurlýnd: S(5v27); *illegible*: O. íudz eyfkr: α(2v15); íudzæyfk: R(6v7); *lacuna*: Gr; íudzeyfcr: β(1v21b); íudz eyfk<sup>2</sup>: K(8r14); íudz eyfkr S(5v27); íudz eyfkr: O(4r19). ey00: α(2v20); eyiar: R(6v10); *lacuna*: Gr; eýiar: β(1v28b); eýiar: K(8r18), S(5v31); eýiar: O(4r22).



do not preserve orthographical representations of this change. In all of them, the spellings suggest a monophthong rather than a diphthong before *gi* and *gj*.<sup>8</sup>

### 5.2.1 The problem of “*rekkja*”

In the context of diphthongization, it is interesting to look at the word form “*reykiu*” *rekkju* (1r5). This example raises the question of whether it is possible that in the scribe’s language, the diphthongization of *e* took place before *kki*. This spelling is perhaps simply due to a scribal error during the copying process, as in the example of “*hvort ueiggia*” *hvartveggja* (2r2/3). Perhaps the scribe traced over the spelling of other words containing a similar sequence of letters, for example, “*reykiar dal*” *Reykjardals* (2r14). This explanation seems to be rather unlikely, not only because “*reykiar dal*” appears 30 lines after the form “*reykkiu*”, but also because this spelling appears in the corresponding text of *Oddabók* (3v17, 3v18) as well.<sup>9</sup> Table 9 below represents the variant spellings of *rekkja* in other medieval manuscripts preserving text that corresponds to the  $\alpha$  text.

9. Variants of *rekkja*

mss.	date (ONP)	variant 1	variant 2	variant 3	variant 4	variant 5
$\beta$ – AM 162 B $\beta$	c. 1300	reckio (1r16a)	ganga <i>tl</i> reckio (1r18a)	hía reckio (1r20a)	oc ligia 1 reckio (1r7a)	oc lagði 1 rec   kio (1r33a   1b)
Gr- GKS 2870 4to	c. 1300	reckio (6r6)	ganga <i>til</i> hvilo (6r7)	hía reckio (6r8)	ok ligia reckio (5v30)	ok lagðiz 1 reckio (6r18)
R – AM 468 4to	c. 1300-1325	rek   kiū (5v10   11)	ganga <i>til</i> huilu (5v12)	hía hvilu (5v13)	ok ligia írekiū (5v6)	ok lagðiz í rekiū (5v20)

<sup>8</sup> *féigía*:  $\alpha$ (1r9); *fegia*: R(5v13), K(7r10), S(5r11); *í*: Gr(6r9); *fegia*:  $\beta$ (1r21a); *féigía*: O(3v19). *allðzeigí*:  $\alpha$ (1r15, 1v4); *allðzegi*: R(5v17), K(7r15); *allð*: R(5v25), Gr(6r25),  $\beta$ (1r29a, 1r10b), K(7r23), S(5r15), O(3v27); *aldzegi*: Gr(6r14); *allðí*: S(5r23); *allð00*: O(3v22). *hv<sup>o</sup>t ueiggía*:  $\alpha$ (2r2/3); *hv<sup>t</sup>ve<sup>g</sup>gia*: R(6r12); *hv<sup>t</sup>vegia*: Gr(6v13); *hv<sup>t</sup>tatveggio*:  $\beta$ (1v8a); *hv<sup>t</sup>vegiá*: K(7v14); *hu<sup>t</sup>tueggia*: S(5v4); *hv<sup>o</sup>tvegia*: O(4r1).

<sup>9</sup> *reykiu*:  $\alpha$ (1r5); *rek | kiū*: R(5v10 | 11), *oz reckio*: Gr(6r6),  $\beta$ (1r16a); *rífa oz rekkiu*: K (7r7), *rísa ur rekkiu* S(5r8 | 9) *rífa úr Reykiu*: O(3v17). *000 til huilu*:  $\alpha$ (1r7) ; *ganga til huilu*: R (5v12); *ganga til hvilo*: Gr (6r7); *ganga tl reckio*:  $\beta$ (1r18a) *ganga til huilu* K(7r9); *ganga til huilo*: S(5r10); *ganga til Reukiū*: O (3v18). *nefna vottar000 00*:  $\alpha$ (1r8 | 9) *hía hvilu*: R (5v13); *hía reckio*: GR(6r8); *hía reckio*:  $\beta$ (1r20a); *hía huilu* K (7r10); *hía rekk | io*: S(5r10 | 11); *hía huilu* O (3r18).

K – AM 133 fol.	c. 1350	rekkiu (7r7)	ganga til huilu (7r9)	hía huilu (7r10)	ok lígía 1 rekiu (7r2)	ok lagði í re   Kíu (7r17   18)
S- GKS 2868 4to	c. 1350-1400	rekkio (5r8   9)	ganga til huilo (5r10)	hía rekk   io (5r10   11)	ok líggia 1 rekkio (5r4)	ok lagdiz 1 rekkio (5r17)
α – AM 162 B α	c. 1400-1500	reykiu (1r5)	000 til huilu (1r7)	nefna vottar 000 (1r8   9)	<i>lacuna</i>	<i>illegible</i>
O – AM 466 4to	c. 1460	Reykiu (3v17)	ganga til Reuki (3v18)	hía huilu (3r18)	ok lígía 1 Reykju (3v13)	ok la 1 Reiku (3v23)

The Icelandic - English dictionary (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874) mentions that the fem. noun. *rekkja* is sometimes spelled as *reykja* or *rjukja*. *Ordbog over det norrøne prosaprog* (ONP) gives 157 examples of "rekkja", with 26 of them spelled "reykia" or "reikia", and 14 examples with the spellings "riockia" and "rjukja", all presented in *Table 10* below:

**10. List of spellings of "rekkja" according to ONP**

Shelf mark, Name	date (ONP)	Work	<i>Rekkja</i>
AM 325 V 4to	c.1300-1320	Rauðulfs þáttr	"reyckio"
AM 234 fol	c. 1340	Maríu saga	"reyckiv"
		Thómass saga erkibyskups	"reyckiv"
AM 657 c 4to	c. 1340-1390	Guðmundar saga byskups	"riokiv", "reykiv", "riockiv"
		Eiríks saga víðförla	"riockivr"
AM 573 4to	c.1350-1375	Breta saga	"reyckiu"
AM 764 4to	c. 1360-1380	Júðítar saga	"reyckiunne"
AM 344 a 4to	c. 1350-1400	Qrvar-Odds saga	<i>non emend.</i> "riokiu"
AM 561 4to	c. 1400	Gull-Þóris saga	"reyckiu"
GKS 1008 fol, Tómasskinna	c. 1400	Thómass saga erkibyskups	"reyckiv"
Holm perg 1 fol, Bergsbók	c. 1400-1425	Rauðulfs þáttr	"reykvr"
		Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar	"riokció", "riockíu", "reíuckíu"
Holm perg 6 4to	c. 1400-1425	Ívents saga	"riokkíu"
		Valvens þáttr	"reiukkju", <i>non emend.</i> "rjukkjuna", <i>non emend.</i> "rjukjunni"
NKS 1824 b 4to	c. 1400-1425	Ragnars saga loðbrókar	"reyckiu"
		Völsunga saga	"reyckiu", "reykkiu"

AM 557 4to	c. 1420-1450	Hallfreðar saga	“reykna”
AM 162 C 5 fol	c. 1420-1450	Þorsteins saga stamgarhöggs	“reyckiu”
Holm perg 2 fol	c. 1425-1445	Marteins saga byskups	“reyckiu”
AM 640 4to	c. 1450-1500	Nikuláss saga erkibyskups	“reyckiv”
Holm perg 7 fol	c. 1450-1475	Elíss saga ok Rósamundar	<i>non emend.</i> “reiokkju”
AM 81 a fol, Skálholtsbók yngsta	c. 1450-1475	Sverris saga	“reyckium”
AM 466 4to, Oddabók	c. 1460	Njáls saga	“reykkju”
AM 309 4to, Bæjarbók í Flóa	1498	Njáls saga	“reykium”
Holm perg 8 fol	c. 1500 (69r-81v)	Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar	<i>non emend.</i> “reyku”
AM 155 fol.	c. 1600-1700	Hrafns saga Sveinbjarnarsonar	“reyckiu”
AM 638 4to	c. 1700-1725	Nikuláss saga erkibyskups	“reyckíu”

The earliest example registered in *ONP* is dated as early as c. 1300-1320, as preserved in the text of *Ólafs saga helga* in AM 325 V 4to, and is given in the apparatus of the saga’s edition: “Síðan gecc konungr til reckív síNar ok var þar uel umbuíz” (variants of line 10: “reckiv: reyckio 325V; hvilv 75 α”) (Johnsen and Jón Helgason 1941, 667).

The next earliest examples are preserved in Hand 1 of the manuscript AM 234 fol. (Unger 1871, XI-X). This manuscript is dated to c. 1340 and contains *Heilagra manna sögur*. In the text of *Mariu saga*, the word form can be found in the context: “ok var sva boðit, at VII. daga fra því er konan fæddi sveinbarnn, þaa skyldi hvn i savmv reyckiv hvila...” (Unger 1871, 371). In *Thómass saga erkibyskups*: “þriv mmisseri hafði hvn alldregi æ sinn fot stigt ok la hvn i reyckiv alla þa stvnd ok var jafnan nær ætlat davða” (Unger 1869, 554).

The oldest registered form of “riokiv”, as preserved in *Guðmundar saga byskups* on leaf 15r30 (Jensen 1983, CXCIV), is found in manuscript AM 657c 4to, which has been dated to 1340-1390. The forms with “ey” and “io” seem to appear frequently in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and in the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. For example, in *Júdítar saga*, “Sidan tok hon hiup hanf | hinn dyza en uellti blonum o2 reyckiunne æ io2þ” (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2000, 115), as is preserved in manuscript AM 764 4to, dated 1360-1380, according to *ONP*. A more precise date of 1376-1386 is given by Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir

(2000, 79). Other saga manuscripts contain additional forms, as for example: “reíuckíu” in Holm perg 1 fol of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, dated to 1350-1400, “reyckiu” in AM 561 4to, the manuscript of *Gull Þóris saga* which has been dated to 1400, “riokkíu” in Holm perg 6 4to of *Ívents saga* from c. 1400-1425, or “riockiu” NKS 1824 b 4to of *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* dated to c. 1400-1425 (ONP). In NKS 1824 b 4to, there are the preserved forms “Reyckiu” (4r16), (32r20|21), (37v1), (59r5), (61v15) alongside with “Rekkíu” (7v20) and “Reckíu” (34r7)(37v14). Magnus Olsen (1906-08, XXVII) states that in NKS 1824 b 4to, “ey” is the orthographic representation of *ø*, in words like “fleyia” and “valsleyngur”. Moreover, in her edition of *Eiríks saga víðfjrla*, Helle Jensen, while discussing characteristic features of AM 657 c 4to, observes that spellings of this sort appear in manuscripts that seem to be related and which may belong to the same scribal school:

AMKO’s samlinger har bl.a. belæg på riokkja frá Sth. perg. 4to nr. 6, Sth. perg. fol. nr 1 (Bergsbók) og Ny kgl. sml. 1824 b 4to, tre håndskrifter fra ca. 1400 eller begyndelsen af det 15. årh., som undgør en skriverkonstitueret håndskriftgruppe (Jensen 1983, CXIV).

If these manuscripts can indeed create a group representing particular orthographic features, it is worth mentioning that the same hands have been identified as writing these manuscripts. Stefán Karlsson (1967, 77) notes that Hand A of *Bergsbók* is the same hand as Hand A of Holm perg 6 4to, and also:

E-hönd Perg. fol. nr. 1 (Bergsbókar) og B-hönd Perg. 4to nr. 6 í Stokkhólmi væru sama höndin. Síðan hefur komið í ljós að þessi hönd er einnig á mestum hluta NKS 1824 4to, sem hefur að geyma Völsunga sögu, Ragnars sögu loðbrókar og Krákumál (Stefán Karlsson 1970, 368).

In the introduction to his edition of *Mírmans saga*, Desmond Slay (1997, XVI-XXXIII) states that it is evident that scribe A and B of Perg. 4to nr 6 were contemporaries and cooperated with each other. He suggests the Northern quarter of Iceland as the possible provenance of the part of the manuscript that was presumably written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

What is even more interesting is that *Bergsbók* preserved the text corresponding to AM 325 V 4to, the manuscript that preserved the oldest registered form of “reyckio”, as

mentioned above. Both manuscripts belong to the A-class manuscripts in the stemma of *Ólaf's saga helga* (Johnsen and Jón Helgason 1941, 1103).

If the “reykia”-group can be distinguished, perhaps similar observations can be made for “riokia”. Helle Jensen (1983, CXIV) observed in the orthography of AM 657 c 4to, dated to 1340-1390, that *e* is represented with “io”. For example, “hiordin”, “hiorot”, and “riockivr”. She mentions that the form “hiorot” has an analogous form in AM 656 I 4to, dated to 1200-1300, where the form “hiorvdum” appeared (Louis-Jensen 1979, 235). It is worth mentioning that according to Jonna Louis-Jensen (1979, 219), AM 656 I 4to and AM 325 V 4to seem to be written in the same hand.

Stefán Karlsson (2002, 838; 2004, 41) suggested that the digraphs “eo” and “ey” were used in a few manuscripts from 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries after the merger of *ø* and *ϕ* to represent the original *ø*. However, he states that it was relatively rare in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

In the *ONP* dictionary, there are no other forms spelled with “y” in the environment “ekkj”, “ekj”, “ekki”, or “eki”, which might indeed reflect the scribal practice of some particular group of scribes which could be identified with a larger sample of manuscripts. This question requires further research. However, it is worth mentioning that in the *ONP* dictionary, the forms “heylía” *hylja* and “leyftí” *lýsti* are not registered as variants of verbs *hylja* and *lýsa*, which could be another feature which would help in identifying similarities between the manuscripts.

The word *rekkja* appears with both “ey” and “io” spellings in a number of the 22 manuscripts alongside the regular “e”. Many of these manuscripts appear to be related. The spelling “ey” is known to have been used to render the front rounded vowel *ø*, which later merged with the back rounded *ϕ*. The spellings “ey” in *rekkja* could thus reflect the variant *røkkja*, later *rökkja* after the merger *ø* + *ϕ* > *ö*. The form *røkkja* could have been a dialectal variant of *rekkja* and to judge from the examples on record, it was at least part of the language in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is more complicated to interpret the more rare spellings with

“io”, but these could perhaps be accounted for as representing the variant pronunciation of *rjökkja*.

### 5.3 The diphthongization before *ng/nk*

In the manuscript, the short vowel *e* before the consonant cluster *ng* in the stressed syllable appear as given below in the *Table 11*’s exhaustive list of examples:

**11. Words with *e* before *ng***

<i>e</i>	<i>Ei</i>
“gengu” <i>gengu</i> (1v11)	„leingi” <i>lengi</i> (1r3)
	“dreing fkap” <i>drengskap</i> (1v20)
	„feingfaum” <i>fengsøm</i> (2v14)
	“eingi” <i>engi</i> (2v17) – pron.

The given examples suggest that *e* before *ng* was diphthongized, and the scribe is almost consistent in representing this change in the manuscript. However, no signs of the diphthongization of *a* can be found; the scribe is consistent in spellings as “þangat” *þangat* (1v3). Also the problem of the diphthongization of *ö* is not resolved since there are two examples that are uncertain. In the words “holmgaunguna” (2r6)<sup>10</sup>, and “aunguan”(1v6), the sound *ö* is represented as “au”, however, it does not prove the diphthongization of this vowel. It could just be the graphical representation of the phoneme *ö*, which seems to be a common practice of this scribe, who uses “au” and “o” to represent *ö*, as was already stated in the chapter about palaeographical representations of the sounds. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that the spelling could have been influenced by the ongoing diphthongization and that the choice of “au” instead of “o”, in this case, was intentional.

The vowel change *e* > *ei* before *ng* first appears around a year 1300, when short vowels that appeared before the consonant clusters *ng/nk* changed their values. The high vowels were lengthened, while others were diphthongised. For example, *e* was diphthongised to *ei*, and *ö* to *au*, while *i* was lengthened to *í*, *y* to *ý* and *u* to *ú* (Noreen 1923, 110; Alexander

<sup>10</sup> “holmgaunguna” – /ö/ appears in the second syllable, where is the additional stress, because the word is a compound word.

Jóhannesson 1923–24, 68; Jóhannes L.L. Jóhannsson 1924, 19–24; Stefán Karlsson 2004, 14). The change in the sounds *e* (“*ę*”), *ö* (“*q*”) before *ng/nk*, according to Jóhannes L. L. Jóhannsson (1924, 20), had two steps of development. First, the short vowel was lengthened, for example “*strengr*” – “*strængr*”, “*spöng* – *spöng*”, and later became diphthongs “*streingr*”, “*spaung*”.

The dating based on the diphthongization of *e* into *ei* before *ng/nk* suggests that the manuscript cannot be older than the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the high level of diphthongal spellings would suggest a date in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century or later (Jóhannes L.L. Jóhannsson 1924, 19; Björn K. Þórólfsson 1925, XII; Bandle 1956, 45–46, Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 415).

Analysis of the other manuscripts containing chapter 8 of *Njáls saga*, presented in Table 10, reveals that the diphthongization of *e* before *ng/nk* is manifest in AM 466 4to *Oddabók*, from around 1460, in the examples “*leingi*” O(3v16) and “*ðreíng fkap*” O(3v36), and had already begun during the writing of AM 468 4to, *Reykjabók*, from around 1300–1325, with “*leingi*” R(5v9) for example. *ONP* dictionary does not register variants from *Reykjabók*, giving the earliest examples of AM 580 4to dated to c1300–1325/1350 and NKS 1642 4to dated to 1300–1350, which makes *Reykjabók*, dated to 1300–1325, one of the oldest examples of this change. Spellings in other manuscripts containing corresponding to  $\alpha$  text, presented in the Table 12, do not suggest this diphthongization.<sup>11</sup>

**12. Diphthongization of *e* in manuscripts containing corresponding text**

<b>mss.</b>	<b>date ONP</b>	<b><i>lengi</i></b>	<b><i>gengu</i></b>	<b><i>Drengskap</i></b>	<b><i>engi</i></b>
$\beta$ – AM 162 B $\beta$	c. 1300	“ <i>lengi</i> ”	“ <i>gengo</i> ”	<i>Illegible</i>	“ <i>engi</i> ”
Gr– GKS 2870 4to	c. 1300	“ <i>lengi</i> ”	“ <i>gengo</i> ”	“ <i>dzengfcap</i> ”	<i>lacuna</i>
R – AM 468 4to	c. 1300–1325	“ <i>leingi</i> ”	“ <i>gengu</i> ”	“ <i>ðzengfkap</i> ”	“ <i>en   gi</i> ”

<sup>11</sup> It seems possible that the diphthongization appears earlier before the cluster /ngi/ than just /ng/, which can suggest, for example form “*gengu*”, represented in the Table 6,. is not diphthongized in  $\alpha$  as well as in all other manuscripts: *leingi*: R(5v9); *lengi*: GR(6r4),  $\beta$ (1r13a), K(7r6); S(5r7); *leíngi*: O(3v16). *gengu*:  $\alpha$ (1v11), O(3v32); *gengu*: R(6r2), K(7v4); *gengo*: Gr(6v2); *gengo*:  $\beta$ (1r21b); *gíngi*: S(5r29). *ðreíng fkap*:  $\alpha$ (1v20), O(3v36); *ðzengfkap*: R(6r8); *dzengfcap*: Gr(6v8); *dzeng fkap*: K(7v10); *illegible*:  $\beta$ . *drengfkap*: S(5v1). *feíngfaum*:  $\alpha$ (2v14); *omitted*: R, K, S, O; *feng faum*:  $\beta$ (1v20b); *lecnuae*: Gr. *eingi*:  $\alpha$ (2v17); *en | gi*: R(6v8 | 9); *engi*:  $\beta$ (1v24b), K(8r16), S(5v29); *lacuna*: Gr; *illegible*: O.

K – AM 133 fol.	c. 1350	“lengi”	“gengu”	“dzeng fkap”	“engi”
S– GKS 2868 4to	c. 1350-1400	“lengi”	“gingo “	“drengfkap”	“engi”
α – AM 162 B α	c. 1400-1500	“leingi”	“gengu “	“ðreíng fkap”	“eingí”
O – AM 466 4to	c. 1460	“leíngi”	“gengu”	“ðreíng fkap”	<i>illegible</i>

#### 5.4 The change “vá” > “vo”

Evidence in AM 162 B α fol. for the orthographic change from “vá” to “vo” is displayed in the *Table 13*.

13. Words with “va” and “vo”

“va”	“vo”
“ <u>kuanfang</u> ” kvánfang (2v24/25)	“uott0” vátta (1r8, 1r11, 1v12)
	“ <u>fu</u> o” svá (1r13) fuo (1v23, 2v5, 2v13)
	“uottar” vátтар (1v23)
	“uoter” vátir (2r16)

The spelling “uo” is dominant in the scribe’s orthography and there is only one instance where the form “uá” seems to appear. However this example is not definite due to the condition of the parchment.

The orthographic change of “vá” to “vo” began in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the older literature, this change was interpreted as a two-step process, a progressive umlaut, when in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century *vá* changed into *vó* and then not earlier than around 1600 *vó* into *vo* (Björn K. Þórólfsson 1925, XI-XII, Jóhannes L. Jóhannsson 1924, 36). However, in the later scholarship, a different explanation is favoured. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century *á* has become a diphthong, *au*, everywhere except immediately following *v*, where it remained as a monophthong. As the diphthongized vowel retained its old spelling (“á”, “a”, etc.) the orthographic representation of *vá* gradually changed to “vo”, “uo” or similar. As far as the sequence *vá* is concerned, no phonetic change took place, and it is most probably only a matter of orthography (Hreinn Benediktsson 2002b, 231-232). However, some scholars do not



reject the possibility of intermediate stage when *vá* would change into *vó* (Stefán Karlsson 1981, 259; Stefán Karlsson 2004, 14).

In the manuscript there are eleven examples of spellings with “uo” and only one with “ua” – abbreviated forms cannot be used as an evidence (read more in chapter 7). It seems to be clear that in our fragment, the diphthongization of *á* had already taken place, and the usage of “vo” is already a common practice, or at least it is predominant in the preserved fragment.

The earliest evidence of the orthographic change from “vá” into “vo” can be found in document from 1311, where the adverb “svá” is spelled “suo” and in a letter from 1341, where the dative form of “hafnarváðum” appears as “hafnarvodum” (Björn K. Þórólfsson 1925, XI-XII; Hreinn Benediktsson 2002b, 231). However, according to Stefán Karlsson (1982, 55), the general change cannot become widespread much earlier than 1380. This feature would push the date of the manuscript’s writing to not earlier than the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

In the context of this language change, the orthography of  $\alpha$  is closest to the orthography of *Oddabók*, where we can find forms as “uotta” O(3v18), “uot|nefna” O(3v19|20), “uoter” O(4r8) or “uo<sup>a</sup>ði” O(3v23), where by contrast other manuscripts preserved spellings with “ua”. Also the abbreviations of the word “svá” with a superscript “a” suggest that the change did not take place in other manuscripts besides *Oddabók*, where the superscript “o” is used: “f<sup>a</sup>”  $\beta$ (1r25), “s<sup>a</sup>” S(5r13), “s<sup>o</sup>” O(3v20). However it is important to emphasise that abbreviations tend to be conservative and do not have to reflect general spelling of the manuscript. The distribution of particular forms can be found in *Table 14*. Moreover, only  $\alpha$  and *Oddabók* used the superscript “o” to abbreviate hv<sup>o</sup>t ueiggía:  $\alpha$ (2r2/3); hv<sup>o</sup>tvegia: O(4r1), other manuscripts use the superscript letter “r”, which tends to stand for “ar”.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> uott:  $\alpha$ (1r8); uaða: R(5v12), Gr(6r8), K(7r10); uatta:  $\beta$ (1r20a), S(5r10); uotta: O(3v18). uott000:  $\alpha$ (1r11); vatnefno: R(5v14); uatnefno: Gr(6r11); vatnefno:  $\beta$ (1r23a); uat nefnu: K(7r12); uatta nefno:

#### 14. Change “vá” to “vo” in other manuscripts containing the corresponding text

mss.	date ONP	<i>vátta</i>	<i>vátta</i>	<i>svá</i>	<i>váttar</i>	<i>vátir</i>	<i>kvánfang</i>
β – AM 162 B β	c. 1300	“uatta”	“vaínefno”	“fua”	“vattar”	<i>illegible</i>	“ <u>cuan</u> fang”
Gr- GKS 2870 4to	c. 1300	“uaða”	“uaínefno”	“fva”, “fua”	“vaðar”	“uater”	<i>lacuna</i>
R – AM 468 4to	c. 1300-1325	“uaða”	“vaínefno”	“fua”	“vattar”	“uater”	“kuanfang”
K – AM 133 fol.	c. 1350	“uaða”	“uat nefno”	“fva”, “fua”	“vaðar”	“uater”	“kuanfang”
S- GKS 2868 4to	c. 1350-1400	“uatta”	“uatta nefno”	“fua”	“uattar”	“uater”	“kuanfang”
α – AM 162 B α	c. 1400-1500	“uott0”	“ <u>uott000</u> ”	“fuo”	“uottar”	“uoter”	“kuanfang”
O – AM 466 4to	c. 1460	“uotta”	“uot nefna”	“fuo”	“uottar”	“uoter”	<i>illegible</i>

#### 5.5 The fricativization *t* > *ð* in word-final position

The fricativization of the dental stop *t* into the dental fricative *ð* in word final position in AM

162 B α fol. appears as follows:

“þangat” *þangat* (1v3)

“farít” *farit* pret. ptc. (1r24)

“b2ugðit” *brugðit* (1r25)

“annat” *annat* (1v7, 2r2)

“iammicit” *jafnmikit* (2r2)

“féit” *féit* (2r3, 2r9)

“farít” *farit* pret. ptc. (2r9)

“forðit” *sorðit* (2r22)

“hingat” *hingat* (2v5)

“at” *at* (1v2, 1v8, 1v10, 1v10, 1v16, 1v17, 1v17, 1v23, 1v24, 1v24, 2r7, 2r8, 2r11, 2r12, 2r14, 2r22, 2r24, 2v4, 2v13, 2v15, 2v25)

“þat” *þat* (2v11)

“þvi at” *þvi at* (1v21, 2r7, 2r9)

“mikit” *mikit* (2r11, 2r12, 2r16, 2v13)

The orthography of the scribe of this fragment seems to be consistent and all forms have the final “t” preserved. There is no reversed spelling which could suggest the change. This can

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S(5r12); uot|nefna: O(3v19|20). fuo: α(1r13); fua: R(5v15); fva: Gr(6r12); f<sup>a</sup>: β(1r25), fva: K(7r13); s<sup>a</sup>: S(5r13); s<sup>o</sup>: O(3v20). fuo: α(1v23, 2v5, 2v13); sua: R(6r9, 6r29, 6v6), Gr(6v10, *lacuna*); fua: β(1v3a; 1v8b, *illegible*), K(7v12); s<sup>a</sup>: S(5v2, *omitted*, 5v26), s<sup>o</sup>: O(3v37, 4r14, 4r18). uotta: α(1v12); uaða: R(6r3), K(7v5); vaða: Gr(6v2), β(1r22b); uatta: S(5r29); uotta: O(3v32). uottar: α(1v23); vattar: R(6r10); vaðar: Gr(6v11), K(7v12); vattar: β(1v4a); uattar: S(5v3); uottar: O(3v38). uoter: α(2r16); uater: R(6r20), Gr(6v24) K(7v24); *illegible*: β; uater: S(5v12); uoter: O(4r8). kuanfang: α(2v24/25); kuanfang: R(6v13); *lacuna*: Gr; cuan fang: β(1v34b); kuanfang: K(8r21), S(5v33); *illegible*: O. uoradi: α(1r18); varaði: R(5v19); vara0: Gr(6r17); v<sup>a</sup>ri: β(1r33a); vatað: K(7r17); uaradi: S(5r17); uozadi: O(3v23). hv<sup>o</sup>t ueiggia: α(2r2/3); hv<sup>t</sup>vegia: R(6r12); hv<sup>t</sup>vegia: Gr(6v13); hv<sup>t</sup>tatveggio: β(1v8a); hv<sup>t</sup>vegia: K(7v14); hu<sup>t</sup>ueggia: S(5v4); hv<sup>o</sup>vegia: O(4r1).

mean that either the fricativization of *t* into *ð* did not take place, or that the scribe is archaizing his language, possibly basing it on the exemplar. The fricativization of *t* in unstressed word-final position appears in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Björn K. Þórólfsson 1925, XXVII, XXXII; Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 414; Stefán Karlsson 2004, 19). However, occasional spellings with “t” persist as late as the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Bandle 1956, 170; Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 414). The use of “t” in 41 forms (21 – “at”, 3 – “þvi at”, 1–“þat”, 15–other words with “t” in unstressed word-final position) in the short fragment *α*, suggests that perhaps the scribe uses archaic orthography by copying the exemplar very consistently.

AM 350 fol, *Skarðsbók* Jónsbókar – dated not earlier than 1363 – preserved the forms with “t” on the side with “ð” (Jón Helgason 1926, s. 46, 70), while the orthography of *Helgastaðabók*, Perg. 4to nr. 16, dated not earlier than second half of 14<sup>th</sup> century, contains forms with “d” along with older “t” (Stefán Karlsson 1982, 72,75). The orthography of the scribe of the *α* seems to be consistent in this aspect – even if the text is not very long, it is remarkable that there is not a single instance of “d” for the earlier “t” in the fragment. Therefore it can be assumed that the scribe was possibly archaizing his language, maybe following his exemplar.

However, this seems to be a common practice for scribes of all the medieval manuscripts containing chapter 8 of *Njáls saga*, because the dominating form in this text is “t” in the word final position. There are though two exceptions though: *Reykjabók*, AM 468 4to, from around 1300–1325 preserved forms with “ð” or “d” in the word final position in the past participle “farıð” R(6r16), “farıd” R(5v23); on the other hand, *Oddabók*, AM 466 4to, dated to 1460, preserved the definite form of noun “fé” “fed” O(4r4). Other examined instances seem to suggest the usage of “t” throughout the corresponding text, which presumably reflects a strong orthographic tradition to preserve archaic forms in the 14<sup>th</sup> century book writing.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> farıt: *α*(1r24); farıd: R(5v23); farıt: Gr(6r22); farıt: *β*(1r7b), K(7r21); farı: S(5r20); farıt: O(3v26). *bzugdit*: *α*(1r25); *bzugðit*: R(5v24), Gr(6r23), *β*(1r8b), K(7r22); *b00gdit*: S(5r21); *bzugdit*: O(3v26). *þangat*: *α*(1v3); *omitted*: R, Gr, *β*, S, O; *illegible*: K. *annat*: *α*(1v7, 2r2); *annat*: R(5v28, 6r11), *β*(1r15b), K(7r26, 7v14), S(5r26, 5v4), O(4r1); *anı*: Gr (6r28,6v12); *anı*: O(3v29). *ıammıcit*: *α*(2r2); *ıafnmıķ*:

## 5.6 The fricativization $k > g$ in word-final position

The evidence for the fricativization of  $k$  in unstressed word-final position is shown in *Table 15* below.

**15. Examples of words with  $k$  in word-final position**

“k”	“g”
“ek” <i>ek</i> (1r14, 1r25, 1v21, 1v22, 1v22, 1v24, 2r2, 2r21, 2r22, 2r23, 2v8)	”fíg” <i>sik</i> (2v13)
”þik” <i>þik</i> (2r23)	”miog” <i>mjok</i> (1v8)
”míok” <i>mjok</i> (1v4, 2r16, 2r20)	

The orthography of the fragment shows signs of the fricativization of  $k$  into  $g$  in word final position. The younger forms “fíg” and “miog” appear along with older “míok” and “þik”, however, older forms are dominant, for example in all eleven cases of the personal pronoun “ek”. That suggests that either the change is ongoing at the time of writing of the manuscript and that the scribe is inconsistent in his orthography, or that he is intentionally archaizing his language to match the language of the exemplar, and that these two examples would be his “scribal errors” reflecting his pronunciation.

The fricativization of  $k$  in the unstressed word-final position appears in the orthography of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but the older form with “k” is preserved in the orthography of some manuscripts as late as the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Alexander Jóhannesson 1923–24, 150; Bandle 1956, 147; Stefán Karlsson 2004, 19; Harladur Bernharðsson 2013, 5).

Other manuscripts that preserved corresponding to  $\alpha$  text, tend to preserve “k” in first person personal pronoun “ek”, only *Oddabók*, AM 466 4to, from around 1460, presents the new spelling with “eg”. However, in the second and third person of the personal pronouns, manuscripts differ.

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R(6r11); iafnmíkít: Gr(6v12); *illegible*:  $\beta$ ; iamíkít: K(7v14); iam mīk: S(5v4); iafnm’it: O(4r1). feít:  $\alpha$ (2r3, 2r9); feit: R(6r12); feet: Gr(6v13,6v17); *illegible*:  $\beta$ ; feit: K(7v18); 00|it: S(5v7|8); fed: O(4r4). farít:  $\alpha$ (2r9); farið: R(6r16); farít: Gr(6v17); farit:  $\beta$ (1v7a), K(7v19); far it: O(4r4). oððit: R(6r20); oðdner:  $\alpha$ (2r16); uoððit: Gr (6v23); *illegible*:  $\beta$ ; oððit: K(7v24), oððit: S(5v12); oððit: O(4r8). íoðdít:  $\alpha$ (2r22); íoððit: R(6r24), *illegible*: Gr; *illegible*:  $\beta$ ; íoððit: K(8r2); kuafat: S(5v16); íoððit: O(4r11). híngat:  $\alpha$ (2v5); hing<sup>t</sup>: R(6r); *lacuna*: Gr; hing0:  $\beta$ (1v7b); híngat: K(8r6), S(5v21); hing<sup>t</sup>: O(4r14). líf:  $\alpha$ (2r9), R(6r15), Gr(6v17), S(5v7), O(4r4); *illegible*:  $\beta$ ; lífit: K(7v18).

The forms with the letter “c” used for *k* are preserved in AM 162 B β fol., from around 1300, and *Gráskinna*, GKS 2870 4to, dated to circa the same time, representing the oldest language of examined *Njáls saga* manuscripts. AM 468 4to, *Reykjabók*, dated to around 1300-1325 preserved only spellings with “k” exclusively in this part of the *Njáls saga*, what suggests an older provenance of *Reykjabók* than the manuscripts where “g” makes its appearance: AM 162 B α fol, *Kálfalækjarbók*, AM 133 fol., from around 1350, and *Skafinskinna*, GKS 2868 4to, dated to 1350-1400. The youngest language is represented in *Oddabók*, AM 466 4to, which is from around 1460, where all forms are spelled exclusively with “g”. The distribution of these forms can be found below in *Table 16*.<sup>14</sup>

**16. Fricativization of *k* in manuscripts containing corresponding text**

mss.	date ONP	nom. 1p. pers. pron.: <i>ek</i>	acc. 2p. pers. pron.: <i>þik</i>	acc. 3p. pers. pron.: <i>sik</i>	<i>mjok</i>
β – AM 162 B β	c. 1300	“ec”	“þic”	“fic”	“mioc”
Gr- GKS 2870 4to	c. 1300	“ec”, “ek”	“þic”	<i>lacuna</i>	“mioc”, “míoc”
R – AM 468 4to	c. 1300-1325	“ek”	“þik”	“fic”	“miok”
K – AM 133 fol.	c. 1350	“ek”	“þik”	“fig”	“míok”, “míog”
S- GKS 2868 4to	c. 1350-1400	“ek”	“þig”	“fig”	“miok”, “míog”
α – AM 162 B α	c. 1400-1500	“ek”	“þik”	“fig”	“míok”, “míog”
O – AM 466 4to	c. 1460	“eg”	<i>abbreviated</i>	<i>illegible</i>	“miok”, “míog”

<sup>14</sup> ek: α(1r14, 1r25, 1v21, 1v22, 1v22, 1v24, 2r2, 2r21, 2r22, 2r23, 2v8), R(5v17, 5v23, 6r8, 6r9, 6r9, 6r10, 6r11, 6r23, 6r25, 6r25, 6r1), Gr(6r22, 6v9, 6v10, 6v10, 6v29), K(7r14, 7r21, 7v11, 7v12, 7v12, 7v13, 8r1, 8r2 8r2, 8r9), S(5r14, 5r21, 5v1, 5v2, 5v3, 5v5, 5v16, 5v17, 5v23); ec: Gr(6r14, 6v11, 6v12, 6v28, 6v29), β(1r28a, 1v34a, 1v3a, 1v3a, 1v5a); eg: O(3v21, 3v26, 3v36, 3v37, 3v37, 3v38, 4r10, 4r11, 4r11, 4r16). míok: α(1v4, 2r16, 2r20); miok: R(5v26, 5v29, 6r23), S(5v14), O(3v28), mioc: Gr(6r26, 6v27), β(1r12b, 1r17b); míoc: Gr(6r29); míok: K(7r24, 7v1); míog: S(5r24, 5r27); m<sup>o</sup>k: O(4r9); míog: α(1v8), O(3v30); míog: K(7v26). þik α(2r23); R (6r25), K(8r2) þíc Gr: (6v29), þic: β(1v35), þig: S(5v17), þ<sup>c</sup>: O(4r11). fig α(2v13), S(5v27); fik : R(6v6), K(8r13) lacuna: Gr; fic: β(1v19b); illegible: O.

## 5.7 Vowel epenthesis

The complete list of non-abbreviated words, where the *u*-epenthesis could be found, is given below:

17. Examples of word with possible *u*-epenthesis

Form without epenthetic <i>u</i>	Form with epenthetic <i>u</i>	Ambivalent examples (use of <i>z</i> )	Inverted spellings
“kemr” <i>kemr</i> (1r14)	“fagu <sup>z</sup> t” <i>fagrt</i> (2v12)	“hennd <sup>z</sup> ” <i>hendr</i> (1r15, 1v13)	“fau <sup>z</sup> d” <i>føður</i> (1v2), dat. sg.
“[0]ið <sup>z</sup> ” <i>riðr</i> (1r16)		“mund <sup>z</sup> inn” <i>mundrinn</i> (2r1)	“nauckrum” <i>noðkkurum</i> (2r24), neut. dat. pl. – inv. spel. or a syncopated stem
“unnr” <i>Unnr</i> (1v2)		“fau <sup>z</sup> dzeyfkr” <i>suðreyskr</i> (2v15)	
“allr” <i>allr</i> (2r1)		“nefn <sup>z</sup> d” <i>nefnr</i> (2v18)	
“fræknaztr” <i>fræknastr</i> (2r10)		“bzað <sup>z</sup> ” <i>bráðr</i> (2v23)	
“þíofstolfr” <i>Þjófstólfr</i> (2r15)			
“[00]ngr gull” <i>fingrgull</i> (2v6)			
“íterkr” <i>sterkr</i> (2v15)			

In the vast majority of instances, there are no orthographic signs of the epenthetic vowel, however the scribe is not consistent in his orthography. Basing on the abbreviated forms, it is not possible to make any strong conclusion regarding the epenthetic *u*, however it seems that the superscript “*z*” represents in majority the forms with the epenthetic vowel (read more in the chapter 7). The only written-out examples, which suggest that the change already took place, is the form “fagu<sup>z</sup>t” (2v12) and the reversed spelling of the masc. dat. sing. “fau<sup>z</sup>d” *føður* (1v4), where a non-epenthetic “*u*” is not spelled. This may therefore, be characterized as a reversed (or inverted) spelling, but one should perhaps not exclude the possibility that the rounded “*r*”, “*z*”. stands for “*ur*”, as it does for example in *Guðbrandsbiblía*

(Bandle 1956, 156-157). Than in the forms: “henndz” (1r15, 1v13), “0iðz” (1r16), “mundzinn” (2r1), “fauðzeyfkr” (2v15), “nefnðz” (2v18), “bzaðz” (2v23), the “z” could represent the endings with epenthetic *u*.

In the examples from other manuscripts, containing text which corresponds to the  $\alpha$  text, the epenthetic “u” is not in evidence. We can state that in AM 162 B  $\beta$  fol, dated to around 1300, “z” stands for *r*, so the change had not taken place at the time of writing of  $\beta$ , but in other manuscripts, the use of “z” is not clear: no pattern was discovered by comparing forms from corresponding to  $\alpha$  texts.<sup>15</sup>

A similar problem to the one discussed above in the form masc. dat. sing. “fauðz” *fþður* (1v4) is a spelling of the form neut. dat. pl “nauckrum” *nøkkurum* (2r24), where “r” can stand for *r* and this form represents a new form of the syncopated stem, or can be the inverted spelling of the disyllabic stem containing *ur*: the form *nokkurum* (Luxner 2011, 21). According to Hreinn Benediktsson (2002c, 500), the monosyllabic stem form *nokkr-*, which becomes dominant in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, originated in the change that started earlier. The earliest examples from medieval charters are dat. sing. masc. “nauckrum” from DI

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<sup>15</sup> kemr:  $\alpha$ (1r14), Gr(6r13),  $\beta$ (1r28a), K(7r14), S(5r14), O(3v21); kemr: R(5v16). henndz:  $\alpha$ (1r15); hendz: R(5v17), Gr(6r15),  $\beta$ (1r29a), K(7r15), S(5r15), O(3v22). 0iðz:  $\alpha$ (1r16); riðz: R(5v18),  $\beta$ (1r29a), K(7r15); reið: GR(6r15), S(5r15), Riðr: O(3v22). unnr:  $\alpha$ (1v2), S(5r22); yñr: R(5v25), K(7r23); uñr: Gr(6r24),  $\beta$ (1r10b); unnz: O(3v27). fauðz:  $\alpha$ (1v2); fæður: R(5v25); fedz: Gr(6r25); foþoz:  $\beta$ (1r10b); fæðz: K(7r23), foður: S(5r22), fedz: S(3v27). henndz:  $\alpha$ (1v13); hendz: R(6r3), Gr(6v2), O(3v32); hendr:  $\beta$ (1r23b); hendz: K(7v5); hendr: S(5r30). mundzinn :  $\alpha$ (2r1); mundziñ: R(6r11); mundzin: Gr(6v12); mondrin:  $\beta$ (1v6a); mundzin: K(7r13); 000|rinn: S(5v3|4); mundzin: O(3v38). allr:  $\alpha$ (2r1), R(6r11),  $\beta$ (1v6a), K(7r13), O(3v38) omitted: Gr, S. fræknaztr  $\alpha$ (2r10); fræknaztr: R (6r16); fræknazltr: Gr(6v18); unclear:  $\beta$ ; fræknaft: K(7v19); freknaztr: S(5v20); fræknazt<sup>2</sup>: O(4r4). þioftolfr:  $\alpha$ (2r15); þioftolfr: R(6r19), Gr(6v22),  $\beta$ (1v24a), S(5v11); þioftóllfr: K(7v23), O(4r7). nauckrum:  $\alpha$ (2r24); nækurum: R(6r26); nockozom: Gr(6v31); noccorum:  $\beta$ (1v2b); nõkorum: K(8r3); nokkozum: S(5v18); nockuzum: O(4r12). 00ngr gull:  $\alpha$ (2v6); fingr gull: R(6r29), K(8r7); lacuna: Gr; fing0 gull:  $\beta$ (1v8b); fingz gull: S(5v21), O(4r14). fāudz eyfkr:  $\alpha$ (2v15); fuðzæyfk: R(6v7); lacuna: Gr; fudzeyfcr:  $\beta$ (1v21b); fuðz eyfk<sup>2</sup>: K(8r14); fydz eyfkr S(5v27); fudz eyfkr: O(4r19). fterkr:  $\alpha$ (2v15), O(4r19); ftyrkr: R(6v7, 6v12); lacuna: Gr; ftyrcr:  $\beta$ (1v22b); ftyrkr: K(8r14); omitted: S. nefnðz:  $\alpha$ (2v18); nefnðz: R(6v9), K(8r16), S(5v29), O(4r21); lacuna: Gr; nef000:  $\beta$ (1v25b). bzaðz:  $\alpha$ (2v23); braðz: R(6v12); lacuna: Gr; illegible:  $\beta$ , O; bzaðz: K(8r19); brað: S(5v32).

III No. 34 written in Skálholt in 1449. The other one is the acc. plur. masc. form “nockrra” from DI V No. 67, written c. 1433–1478. However, Stefán Karlsson has suggested that in the case of the second example, the first “r” in the second syllable is a copy of the document that had “2” in this position. So it should be expanded as “ur”, because the scribal practice in these documents suggests as much (Hreinn Benediktsson 2002c, 500).

In the Modern Icelandic declension of many words with a disyllabic stem, the unstressed vowel is syncopated when the ending starts with the vowel, so this could explain the syncope of *u* in our example of “nauckrum” *nøkkurum* (2r24). Björn K. Þórólfsson (1925, 49–50) suggested that this change in the declension of *nøkkur* had already started in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and had become the common form after the year 1400. Stefán Karlsson (2004, 29), Haraldur Bernharðsson (2013, 315) and Bernhard Luxner (2011, 75) point to the 15<sup>th</sup> century as the period when the new stem becomes dominant. New stem forms appear in the younger texts, for example in *Guðbrandsbiblíá* from 1584 (Bandle 1956, 368–369), but not in older texts, such as *Möðruvallabók*, AM 132 fol., dated to the time period 1330–1370 (de Leeuw van Weenen 2000, 212). All other medieval manuscripts that preserved corresponding text represent the form with the disyllabic stem: “nækurum” R(6r26), “nockozom” Gr(6v31), “noccorum” β(1v2b), “nøkorum” K(8r3), “nokkozum” S(5v18), “nockuzum” O(4r12).

The insertion of *u* began in the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when *r* appears between true consonants, for example, words like *fegrð* became *fegurð*. In the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the epenthetic *u* can be found before *r* in word final position preceded by hard stops such as *p*, *t*, *k*: for example, in words such as *hestr* became *hestur*. The *u*-insertion becomes predominant in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (Ari Páll Kristinsson 1992, 16; Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 185–187, 415). Thereby the environment that favoured the *u*-epenthesis in words like “fræknaztr”, “fterkr”, or “fauðzeyfkr”, should show tendencies towards the *u*-insertion in the first place, but it does not appear in the manuscript. That the scribe is somewhat archaic in his orthographic practice is



borne out by the fact that the only evidence for *u*-epenthesis is in one written-out form and in the form of inverted spellings.

### 5.8 The diphthongization of *é*

The written out forms, where the diphthongization of *é* could be recognized, appear as follows:

- “feít” *féið* (1r2, 1v22)
- “þer” *þér* (1r6, abb: 1v22, 1v23,2 2r21)
- “fēlau|k” *fēsok* (1v12|13)
- “fer” *sér* (2r10, 2v24)
- “leku” *léku* (2r18)
- “lek” *lék* (2r19)
- “feck” *fékk* (2v9)
- “het” *hét* (2v14)

As seen in the list above, there are no examples with the diphthongization *é* [e:] > [ie] > [je] in the fragment. It is another example of archaic orthography by the scribe.

The diphthongization of long monothongs in Icelandic manuscripts appears sporadically as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century, becomes more common in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and becomes prominent in the course of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Initially, diphthongization is manifested in spellings “ie”/”ie” for the long *e* (Konráð Gíslason 1846, 39-40; Björn K. Þórólfsson 1925, XIII-XIV; Jóhannes Jóhannsson 1924, 11; Bandle 1956, 45-46; Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 166-169, 415-416).

At the same time, when the diphthongization of long *e* took place, the diphthongization of long *a* was in progress. It is visible mainly through the orthographic change from “vá” into “vo”, as discussed earlier. However, in  $\alpha$ , there is an interesting example of the abbreviated form “fía<sup>2</sup>h eimtuni” 2r4/5. It can be expanded as “fíarheimtunni” with the superscript “2” standing for “r”, or as

“*fiaurheimtunni*”. Thus the expansion is “*ur*” which presumably could reflect the diphthongised long *a* > *au*.

The other medieval manuscripts containing text which corresponds to  $\alpha$  text do not show signs of the diphthongization in the examined fragments. Only *Oddabók*, AM 466 4to, dated to around 1460, contains the consistent spelling “*þier*” O(3v17, 3v37, 3v38, 4r10, 4r11) what suggests that the change already took place at the time of writing of this manuscript.<sup>16</sup>

### 5.9 Consonant epenthesis

In the manuscript, there is only one example of the written out word where the epenthetic *t* could be recognized:

“*kalldyzum*” *karldyrum* (1r12)

There are also forms containing *nn*, such as:

“*einn*” *einn* (1r25)

“*einn hvern*” *einnhvern* (1v11)

“*fueinnenn*” *sveinninn* (2v5)

In the fragment there is no signs of spellings with “*dl*” for *ll*, *rl*, or “*dn*” for *nn*, *rn*, or “*rn*” for *nn*. However, the spelling “*kalldyrum*” indicates that *rl* and *ll* were already pronounced in the same way, presumably as *tl*. But it also could be an effect of the assimilation *rl* with *ll*, which is known to be a form of a scribal practice from around 1320, when form “*kallmenn*” appears in DI II 382.

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<sup>16</sup> *feit*:  $\alpha$ (1r2, 1v22); *fe fit*: R(5v8|9), K(7r5), Gr(6r3); *fe fitt*:  $\beta$ (1r12a), O(3v15); S(5r7); *feit*:  $\beta$ (1v2a), K(7v14); *feet*: Gr(6v17); *fed*: O(4r4). *þer*:  $\alpha$ (1r6),  $\beta$ (1r16a); *þer*:  $\alpha$ (2v22, 1v23, 2r21), R(5v11, 6r9, 6r10, 6r25), Gr(6r8, 6v10, 6v11),  $\beta$ (1r18a, 1v5a), S(5r10, 5v3, 5v16), K(7r9, 7v12, 7v13, 7v15, 8r1); *þier*: O(3v17, 3v37, 3v38, 4r10, 4r11). *feſau|k*:  $\alpha$ (1v12|13); *fe fauk*: R(6r3), Gr (6v2), K(7v5); *fe loc*:  $\beta$ (1r22b); *fe lok*: S(5r29), O(3v32). *fer*:  $\alpha$ (2r10, 2v24), K(7v19, 7v25, 8r21), O(4r9); *ser*: R(6r16, 6v13),  $\beta$ (1v17a, 1v34b), S(5v8, 5v33), O(4r4, 4r24). *leku*:  $\alpha$ (2r18), O(4r9); *lëku*: R(6r22); *leko*:  $\beta$ (1v27a), Gr(6v25), S(5v13); *leiku*: K(7v25). *lek*:  $\alpha$ (2r19),  $\beta$ (1v29a), Gr (6v26), S(5v14), K(7v26), O(4r9); *lëk*: R(6r22). *feck*:  $\alpha$ (2v9),  $\beta$ (1v12b), O(4r16); *fek*: R(6v2); *fekk*: S(5v23). *het*:  $\alpha$ (2v14), S(5v27), K(8r14); *omitted*: R, *illegible*:  $\beta$ ; *het*: O(4r19).

Presumably in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the long consonant *ll* and the cluster *rl* became to be pronounced as *tl*, also the long consonant *nn* and the cluster *rn* following a long vowel or a diphthong became to be pronounced as *tn*. According to Alexander Jóhannesson (1923-24, 132) this language change had to take place in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, however, he does not provide any evidence for that. He suggested that the evidence for *tl* and *tn* in pronunciation can be registered from the first part of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but Björn K. Þórólfsson (1925, XXXII) disagreed; emphasising that in from the 14<sup>th</sup> up to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries short *l* and *n* can create the rhymes with long *ll* and *nn*, for example, *til:vill*, *flein:einn*. However, the first examples of orthographic representations of this change appeared in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century in “Olleifr” for *Oddleifr* in *Hauksbók* dated to c. 1302-1310 and “Orny” for *Oddný* in a charter from 1332. Later, forms as “kadl” for *karl* or “fadla” for *falla* become common (Bandle 1973,45; Stefán Karlsson 1978, 98; Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 190-193).

None of the other medieval manuscripts, examined with the references to the corresponding text suggest that this language change had already taken place.<sup>17</sup>

## 6. Orthographic features

### 6.1 The dentals

In the manuscript, there are 67 instances of dental fricatives in the non-initial position and in all cases, these are denoted with a the rounded “d”: “ð”. There is only instance which is unclear, due to the condition of the parchment – the example “siþan” (1r1) – which seems to include “þ” for the dental fricative in the mid-word position. At the same time, this example can be explained by the esthetical practice of the scribe to use the letters with long ascenders in the top line of each leaf (read more in chapter 4.4).

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<sup>17</sup> *kalldyzum*: α(1r12); *karlldyrum*: R(5v5); *kalldyrom*: β(1r24a); *karldyrom*: Gr(6r11); *karl dyrum*: K(7r12); *karlldyrom*: S(5r12); *kalldyrum*: O(3v20). *einn*: α(1r25), β: (1r8b); omitted: R, Gr, K, O, S. *einn hvern*” α(1v11), S(5r29), O(3v32); *Eiñhvern*: R(5v2); *Eiñ huern*: β(1r21b), Gr(6v1); *Eiñ huern*: K(7v4). *fueinnenn*” α(2v5); *fueimn̄v* R (5v28,5v29); *fueim̄nn*: β(1v10b), lacuane: Gr; *fueim̄n*: K(8r7, 8r8); *fueim̄nn*: O(4r14, 4r15); *fueim̄nn̄*: S(5v21, 5v22).

According to Stefán Karlsson (2002, 835), “þ” in the non-initial position was rather rare from around 1300 onwards, but sporadically appears up to 1400. The rounded “d” started to replace the letter “ð” in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, becoming dominant in mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. He states that under the Norwegian influence, after the year 1400, the letter “ð” barely appears and “d” is used instead.

According to Hreinn Benediktsson (1965, 74), in the early stage, in some hands, the rounded “d” is used to denote the fricative ð when straight “d” is used for the stop, but in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, this distinction was abolished and the rounded “d” became dominant. On the other hand, as Hreinn Benediktsson suggests, after the consonants *l* and *n*, the distinction was preserved, and until the 14<sup>th</sup> century, for example, in the preterit forms *valði*, *vandi* and the substantives *valdi*, *vandi*. There are only sporadic examples of “ld” and “nd” in the 13<sup>th</sup> century for earlier denotation “lþ/lð” or “nþ/nð”. (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 74).

The fragment α of AM 162 B fol. is written in Cursive Script that has only rounded form of “d”, and this form is used for both dental fricative “ð” and stop “d”, as shown in the *Table 18*.

#### 18. Representation of the etymological ð and d

etymological ð	etymological d	etymological lð	etymological ld
”fagdi” <i>sagði</i> (1v1)	”dag” <i>dag</i> (1v11)	”taldi” <i>talði</i> (1v13)	”gíallda” <i>gjalda</i> (1v14)
”fidan” <i>síðan</i> (1v3)	”laxar dal” <i>Laxardals</i> (1r12)		
”fiozdu” <i>fjorðu</i> (1r1)			

The letter “d” used for dental fricatives in the non-word initial position is a characteristic feature of the manuscripts dated to the period after 1375 (Bandle 1956, 115-116; Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 410).

The other manuscripts that preserved the corresponding to α text show that the oldest orthography is preserved in AM 162 B β fol., where “þ” in mid-word position appears in all examined examples, as shown in *Table 19*. All manuscripts, other than *Gráskinna* and *Oddabók*, represent a strong orthographic tradition to spell *síðan* with “þ”, not only when the word is abbreviated but also in written-out forms. In other words than *síðan Skafinskinna* and

the fragment  $\alpha$  preserved the spellings with “d”, when Kálfalækjarbók preserved “ð”, in *Reykjabók* both forms appear. The youngest orthography is represented in *Oddabók*, that uses exclusively “d”.<sup>18</sup>

#### 19. Dental fricatives in mid-word position

mss.	date ONP	<i>síðan</i>	<i>sagði</i>	<i>talði</i>	<i>fǫður</i>	<i>fjörðu</i>	<i>fjörðum</i>
$\beta$ – AM 162 B $\beta$	c. 1300	“fíþan”	<i>abbr.</i>	“tal   þi”	“foþoz”	“fiozþo”	<i>omitted</i>
Gr- GKS 2870 4to	c. 1300	“síðan”	<i>abbr.</i>	talðe	“feðz”	“fiozðo”	“fiozðom”
R – AM 468 4to	c. 1300-1325	“síðan”, “fíþan”	<i>abbr.</i>	“taldi”	“fæður”	“fiozðu”	“fiozðum”
K – AM 133 fol.	c. 1350	“síþan”	“lagði”	<i>illegabile</i>	“fæðz”	“fiozðu”	“fiozðum”
S- GKS 2868 4to	c. 1350-1400	“fíþan”	“lagði”	“taldi”	“fodur”	“fiozdu”	“fozdum”
$\alpha$ – AM 162 B $\alpha$	c. 1400-1500	“fíðan”, “fíþan”	“lagði”	“taldi”	“fauðz”	“fiozdu”	“fiozðum”
O – AM 466 4to	c. 1460	“fíðann”	“leger”	“talddi”	“fedz”	“fiozdu”	“fozdum”

### 6.2 The middle voice

The middle voice in the fragment is denoted as follows:

“beríazt” *berjask* (2r4, 2r11, 2r24),

“retz” *rézk* (2r5)

“berzt” *bersk* (2r8)

“fan0zt”<sup>19</sup> *fannsk* (2v25)

As shown above, there are not many examples of the middle voice in the fragment, but the scribe is relatively consistent in its orthographic representation. The *mediopassive* forms that are used in the manuscript are endings “zt” and once the letter “z” in the form “retz”, which helps in narrowing the date of writing of the manuscript.

According to Haraldur Bernharðsson (2013, 410), the middle voice is especially useful for dating manuscripts from the late period c. 1375/1400. According to Kjartan G. Ottósson

<sup>18</sup> fíþan:  $\alpha$ (1r1), R(6v2); síðan: R(5v8), Gr(6r2); síþan:  $\beta$ (1r10a); síþan: K(7r4), S(5r6); fíðann: O(3v15). lagði:  $\alpha$ (1v1), S(5r21); f.: R(5v24),  $\beta$ (1r8b), Gr(6r23); lagði: K(7r22); leger: O(3v27). fíðan:  $\alpha$ (1v3); fíðan: R(5v25), Gr(6r25); fíþan:  $\beta$ (1r11b); fíþan: S(5r23); 00þan: K(7r23); fíðann: O(3v28). ðag:  $\alpha$ (1v11), R(6r2), K(7v4), S(5r29); d:  $\beta$ (1r21b), Gr(6v1), O(3v32). laxar ðalf:  $\alpha$ (1r12); laxar dalf: R(5v15),  $\beta$ (1r25a), Gr(6r12), K(7r12|13), S(5r13); lag0 dale: O(3v20). “alði:  $\alpha$ (1v13); talði: R(6r3), S(5r30); tal | þi:  $\beta$ (1r23|24b); talðe: Gr(6v3), illegabile: K; talddi: O(3v33). fauðz:  $\alpha$ (1v2); fæður: R(5v25); feðz: Gr(6r25); foþoz:  $\beta$ (1r10b); fæðz: K(7r23), fodur: S(5r22), fedz: O(3v27). fiozðu:  $\alpha$ (1r1); fiozðu R(5v8), K(7r4); fíððo: Gr(6r3); fiozþo:  $\beta$  (1r11b); fiozdu: S(5r6), O(3v15). fíozðum:  $\alpha$ (1r2); fíozðum R (5v9), fíozðom: Gr(6r4); omitted:  $\beta$ ; fíozðum: K(7r5); fozdum: S(5r7), O (3v15|16).

<sup>19</sup> “0” in “fan0zt” means illegible character due to the condition of the parchment.

(1992, 121–122), “z” was the predominant notation for the middle voice after 1300, but some of the scribes frequently used “zt” and “st” in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Kjartan G. Ottósson 1992, 112). The *mediopassive* ending “zt” appears for the first time in the second half of 14<sup>th</sup> century, in a letter from 1363, in the forms “kaulluduzt” and “profuadzit” (Stefán Karlsson 1960, 181 after Kjartan G. Ottósson 1992, 121–122). The “zt” ending was an usual notation for a few Icelandic scribes: *Króksfjarðarbók* (3) – AM 122 a fol dated to 1350–1370; AM 194 8vo (2) dated to 1387, *Þorskfirðinga saga* preserved in AM 561 4to, dated to 1390–1410; it is represented in around half of *Örvar-Odds saga* in AM 344 a 4to, dated to 1350–1400; and is rather common in the AM 194 8vo (1). However, some other 14<sup>th</sup> century scribes used this notation to a limited extent, together with predominant “z” (Kjartan Ottosson 1992, 122–123). In the manuscript books from around 1400, the most common notation of *mediopassive* is still “z”, but “zt” takes over and becomes more common than “z” in the first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Forms with “zt” were dominant around 1450 until around 1525, and slowly disappeared after 1575 (Kjartan G. Ottósson 1992, 123–124).

The other manuscripts that preserved the corresponding text, represented in the *Table 20*, suggest that the youngest orthography appears in α and AM 466 4to, *Oddabók*, dated to around 1460, with the spellings with “zt”, with the exception in *Oddabók* of “fanz” and of “retz” in α. The oldest orthography appears in GKS 2870 4to, *Gráskinna*, dated to around 1300 and in AM 468 4to, *Reykjabók*, dated to around 1300–1325, where the “ft” ending for 2nd pers. sg. was preserved alongside the “z” ending. There is no data available from the corresponding text preserved in AM 162 B β fol. due to the condition of the fragment.<sup>20</sup>

**20. Mediopassive in manuscripts the contain corresponding text**

mss.	date ONP	<i>berjask</i>	<i>rézk</i>	<i>bezt</i>	<i>fanzt</i>
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<sup>20</sup> beriaz: α(2r4, 2r11, 2r24); beriaz R(6r12, 6r17, 6r25), Gr(6v14, 6v19, 6v30), S(5v5, 5v9, 5v17), K(7v15, 7v20); beriaz: K(8r3); beriaz: O(4r2, 4r5, 4r11). retz: α(2r5); reðz: R(6r13); rez: Gr(6v15), K(7v16), S(5v6); Ræzt: O(4r2). berzt: α(2r8); berft: R(6r15); berft: Gr(6v17); berz: K(7v18), S(5v7); berzt: O(4r4). fan0zt: α(2v25); fandz: R(6v14), lacuna: β, Gr; fanz: K(8r21); fanzt: S(3v33); fanz: O(4r25).

β – AM 162 B β	c. 1300	<i>illegible</i>	<i>illegible</i>	<i>illegible</i>	<i>lacuna</i>
Gr- GKS 2870 4to	c. 1300	“beriaz”	“rez”	“berft”	<i>lacuna</i>
R – AM 468 4to	c. 1300-1325	“beriaz”	“reðz”	“berft”	“fandz”
K – AM 133 fol.	c. 1350	“beriaz”	“rez”	“berz”	“fanz”
S- GKS 2868 4to	c. 1350-1400	“beriaz”	“rez”	“berz”	“fanzt”
α – AM 162 B α	c. 1400-1500	“beriaz”	“retz”	“berzt”	“fan0zt”
O – AM 466 4to	c. 1460	“beriaz”	“Ræzt”	“berzt”	“fanz”

### 6.3 The palatalization of *g* and *k*

The complete list of words where the palatalization of *g* and *k* could have been recognized is given below:

“rada giord” *ráðagorð* (1r24)

“giorðu” *gørðu* (1v1)

“giordi” *gørði* (2v5)

“giorfer” *gørvir* (2r17)

“geck” *gekk* (1r25)

“kemr” *kemr* (1r14)

“gengu” *gengu* (1v11)

Of the seven instances of words where the palatalized *g* appears, four of them reflect the palatalization orthographically. The scribe denotes palatalization before *ö* - the final sound of the merger of *q* and *ø* - “giorfer” *gørvir* (2r17), but he does not do so before *e*. This practice appears in the 14<sup>th</sup> century when palatalization is denoted orthographically before the vowels *æ* and *ö* (from *ø*) and occasionally *e*. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the palatalization appears more often and increasingly before *e* (Stefán Karlsson 2004, 45; Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 417).

The other manuscripts that preserved corresponding text seem to be very conservative in the orthography, there are no signs of the palatalization of *g* and *k*, except one instance in AM 468 4to, *Reykjabók*, dated to around 1300-1325: *gioz|vir*: R(6r20|21). However it needs to be emphasised that in most of the manuscripts, the abbreviation mark “er” is used for the forms delivered from *gøra*.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *giozd* α(1r24); *gerð*: R(5v23), Gr(6r20), β(1r8b), K(7r21); *giozðu* α(1v1); *gerðu*: R(5v24), K(7r22); *gerðo*: Gr(6r24), S(5r22); *omitted*: β; *gerdu*: O(3v27). *giozði* α(2v5); *gerði* R(6r29), K(8r7); *lacuna*: Gr;

## 7. Abbreviations by the superscript letters.

Fragment  $\alpha$  contains examples of all types of abbreviations. There is no room for an analysis of all of them therefore, and so only abbreviations by superscript characters are discussed in this chapter because of their possible phonological value. Examples of particular types of abbreviations can be found in Appendix 3.

Superscript characters appear in the fragment with high frequency. The most common function of superscript letters in the fragment is to substitute for letter combinations. When a superscript letter is a consonant (C), it usually stands for one of the combinations *eC*, *iC*, or *aC*. When it is vowel, it stands for that same vowel in combination with a consonant, as it is shown in *Table 21* below.

**21. Superscript letters.**

<b>r</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>z</b>	<b>d</b>	<b>c</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>o</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>u</b>
44	36	21	8	8	8	7	2	2	2	1
ar	ið, il, ig	ur, r	ed	ik	an	or	it	re	a	u

The most frequent superscript letters in the fragment are “r”, “i” and “z”. The superscript “i” is often used to abbreviate words such as: “fyrir” (1r21), “eigi” (2v22), “uið” (1v1) and “til” (1r4), and it is also used once for the cluster *ig* in “eiga” (2r7).

A superscript “r” stands exclusively for “ar”, as in “uar” (1v5), “fínar” (1v13), and “sumar” (1v7), while the superscript “z” is more ambiguous. The superscript “z” stands for “ur” in the gen. sg. and dat. sig. of fem. noun *dóttir* “dottur” (1v13, 1v20), but for “r” in the forms “hunndrada” (1v14) and “fprotin” (2v3). In all other instances abbreviation by a superscript “z” appear in the word final position of words that fragment  $\alpha$  did not preserved in their written-out forms. In the edition of the fragment  $\alpha$  the superscript “z” in the word final

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*gerir*:  $\beta$ (1v8b); *omitted*: S; *gerd* O(4r14). *geck*:  $\alpha$ (1r25), Gr(6r23); *gak*: R(5v24); *gecc*:  $\beta$ (1r8b); *gek*: K(7r22); *gekk*: S(5r21); *abbr*: O(3v26). *kemr*:  $\alpha$ (1r14), Gr(6r13),  $\beta$ (1r28a), K(7r14), S(5r14), O(3v21); *kemr*: R(5v16). *gengu*:  $\alpha$ (1v11), O(3v32); *gengu*: R(6r2), K(7v4); *gengo*: Gr(6v2); *gengo*:  $\beta$ (1r21b); *g $\underline{u}$ ngo*: S(5r29). *gíorfer*:  $\alpha$ (2r17); *gíoz|vir*: R(6r20|21); *gerfir*: Gr(6v24); *omitted*:  $\beta$ ; *gervir* K(7v24); *geruir* S(5v12), *gerfer* O(4r8).



position was expanded with “ur”, as in the forms “ueftur” (1r1, 1r3, 1v3, 2r14, 2v10) or “ftilltur” (1v5), basing on the fact that *u* – epenthesis already took place, at the time of writing (read more in chapter 5.7).

A superscript “t” is used twice in the word final position: both times it was expanded as “it” since no example of the fricativization of *t* into *ð* had been identified throughout the fragment. A superscript “c” appears eight times in the personal pronoun “mik” and the adjective “mikit”/“mikill”. It was expanded as “ik” since there is no written-out forms that could suggest spellings with “c”. However, it is not impossible that the superscript “t” and “c” both stand for fricatives and that these become “fossilized” as abbreviations.

A superscript “u” is used in the word “ueízlu luei|nar”(2r18|19) and it was expanded as “u”. Superscript “a” is used twice: once for an abbreviation of “manna” (2r10) and the other time in the word “fkapí” (2v23), where it was expanded just as “a”. An uncertain form of “fíarh|eimtuní” (2r4|5) is discussed in the notes on the transcription.

## 8. Date

The date of the manuscript varies in many scholarly analyses. In the introduction to the Latin translation of the saga, Skúli Thorlacius stated that, according to Jón Johnsonius, all fragments of AM 162 B fol. are dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, based on the orthography and script (*Níals saga* 1809, XXIII).

However, another date is given in Kålund’s Katalog, where AM 162 B α fol. is dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century (*Katalog* 1889, 117-118). The same dating can be found in the edition of *Njáls saga* by Finnur Jónsson (1902, XLI), and the edition by Einar Ól. Sveinsson (1954, CLI), as well as in his book on the manuscript tradition of *Njáls saga* (Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1953, 11). In the *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog* (1989, 434) the given date is c. 1400-1500.

An earlier dating was given by Jón Þorkelsson (1889, 773), in his article *Om håndskrifterne af Njála*, where he suggested a date around 1320 for the fragment α. In the article, references to Jón Sigurðsson’s dating can be found: Jón Sigurðsson wanted to believe

that this fragment was from the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Jón Sigurðsson AM 394 fol 177r after Jón Þorkelsson 1889, 676).

The dating below was established with reference to the palaeographic features described in chapter 4, the phonological changes described in chapter 5 and the orthographic features described in chapter 6.

Palaeographical analysis allows us to characterize the script as *Cursiva Antiquior*. Cursive script reached Iceland in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and it can be found in the charters as early as 1330, for example, in charter DI II nr. 397 from July 5, 1330 (Stefán Karlsson 1963a, 6; 1963b, 10; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2004, 66-67; 2008, 91). Cursive appears in manuscript books dated to the end of 14<sup>th</sup> century, for example in AM 194 8vo dated to 1387 or the *Flateyjarbók* GKS 1005 fol. dated to 1387-1394 (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007, 66-69). Thanks to a consultation with Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, it is possible to point out that the particular script type found in  $\alpha$  seems to have more in common with 15<sup>th</sup> century cursive than with that of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. An interesting feature of  $\alpha$  are the long ascenders in the top lines of each leaf—they closely resemble decorations of the charter DI IV nr. 581, dated to 1434, which was written also in *Cursiva Antiquior*.

In linguistic analysis the rule of thumb has been that a absence of evidence of a change is less informative than direct or indirect (e.g. through inverse spellings) evidence of change. Therefore archaic spelling with “k” in the word final position, and without signs of fricativization is not the proof of an earlier date of the manuscript’s writing, but rather an example of conservative spellings that were possibly taken straight from the exemplar. The linguistic features that have been used to establish the manuscript date are listed in *Table 21* below. The main criteria taken under consideration are the completed long vowel merger, and the diphthongization of short *e* before *ng*, which both hint that the manuscript was written not earlier than the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

In orthographical analysis the same rule as with phonological change has been employed. Therefore, the features that were the most informative were the notations of the fricatives and the middle voice: both point to the date being after the year 1375.

**22. List of linguistics and orthographic features used for dating.**

<b>Criterion</b>	<b>AM 162 B α fol.</b>	<b>Date</b>
Dental fricatives in non-final position	“þ” used once in the internal position; 66 instances of “d” but none of “ð”; the letter “ð” is not used at all.	The letter “ð” gradually falls out of use in the course of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century and is very rarely seen after 1400. The absence of “ð” could thus point to the 3rd quarter of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century, but more likely to the 4 <sup>th</sup> quarter or later.
Orthographic form of the middle voice ending	Predominantly “zt”, once “z” in “retz”.	The spelling “zt” appear sporadically in the first half of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century, but gains ground in the second half and becomes the predominant spelling in the first quarter of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century. This spelling thus points to the late 14 <sup>th</sup> century or later.
Merger $\acute{x} + \acute{o} > \acute{x}$	“æ” used exclusively to represent vowel resulting from the merger.	Shortly after the merger various symbols were used to denote the resulting vowel, but later “æ” starts to dominate. It becomes the predominant form by 1400. This spelling thus points to the late 14 <sup>th</sup> century or later.
Derounding of <i>y</i> into <i>i</i>	Not in evidence.	x
The diphthongization before <i>gi</i>	In evidence.	The orthographic representation of the diphthongization before <i>gi</i> is dated to the period after 1300.
The diphthongization before <i>ng/nk</i>	Only one form without signs of diphthongization.	The prevalence of diphthongal spellings suggests a date in the late 14 <sup>th</sup> century or later.
Orthographic change “vo” for “vá”	“vá” used once, but “vo” used 11 times.	The high incidence of orthographic “vo” suggests a date in the 14 <sup>th</sup> century or later.

The fricativization of word-final <i>t</i>	Not in evidence.	This is a very archaic feature that could be consistent with early 14 <sup>th</sup> century orthography, but it appears alongside with the innovative features mentioned above.
The fricativization of word-final <i>k</i>	“g” used 2 times – change already took place (16 with “k”).	This pattern could be consistent with 14 <sup>th</sup> century orthography.
Diphthongization of <i>é</i>	Not in evidence.	This could be consistent with 14 <sup>th</sup> century orthography.
Vowel epenthesis	Only one example: “faguzt”. Reversed spelling: “faudz”, scribe uses “z” interchangeably with “r”. Superscript “z” used in abbreviated forms “vestur” and “stilltur”.	The <i>u</i> -insertion began in the last quarter of the 13 <sup>th</sup> century when <i>r</i> appears between true consonants. In the second half of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century, however, the epenthetic <i>u</i> can be found before <i>r</i> in the word final position preceded by the hard stops <i>p</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>k</i> . The evidence from <i>α</i> suggests a date in the second half of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century.
Consonant epenthesis	Reversed spelling “kalldyrum”.	The long consonants <i>ll</i> and <i>nn</i> , when following a long vowel or a diphthong, and <i>rl</i> and <i>rn</i> fell together in the pronunciation as <i>tl</i> and <i>tn</i> in the course of 14 <sup>th</sup> century.
Palatalization of <i>g</i> and <i>k</i>	Orthographical representation of palatalization before <i>ö</i> from earlier <i>o</i> , but no evidence before <i>e</i> .	In the 14 <sup>th</sup> century, palatalization is denoted orthographically before the vowels <i>æ</i> and <i>ö</i> (from <i>o</i> ) and occasionally <i>e</i> . In the 15 <sup>th</sup> century, palatalization appears more often and increasingly before <i>e</i> .

Two manuscripts with established absolute date can be used for a comparative analysis with the orthography of *α*: AM 350 fol., *Skarðsbók* Jónsbókar, dated to 1363, and GKS 1005 fol., *Flateyjarbók*, dated to 1387-1394. The orthography of *Skarðsbók* was described by Jón Helgason (1926), and the orthography of *Flateyjarbók* was analysed by Kolbrún Haraldsdóttir (2004). In *Table 23* below, the particular changes that are described in both publications were compared with AM 162 *α* fol. to establish similarities in the orthography.

### 23. Comparison of orthography in alpha with AM 350 fol. and GKS 1005 fol.

Criterion	AM 162 B $\alpha$ fol., (1400-1500)	AM 350 fol., (1363)	GKS 1005 fol., (1387-1394)
Merger $\acute{x} + \acute{o} > \acute{x}$	+	+	+
Derounding of $y$ into $i$	-	+	+
The diphthongization before -gi	+	+	+
The diphthongization before $ng/nk$	+	-	+
Orthographic change “vo” for “vá”	+	-	+
The fricativization of word-final $t$	-	+	+
The fricativization of word-final $k$	+	-	+
Diphthongization of $\acute{e}$	-	(+)	+
Palatalization of $g$ and $k$	+	+	+

Based on the comparison presented above in the *Table 22* the orthography of  $\alpha$  bears a closer resemblance to the orthography of GKS 1005, *Flateyjarbók*, dated to 1387-1394, than to that of *Skarðsbók*. The changes that are registered in the orthography of  $\alpha$  and *Flateyjarbók* but not in *Skarðsbók*, are: the diphthongization before  $ng/nk$ , the orthographic change of “vá” into “vo”, and the fricativization of word-final  $k$ . However,  $\alpha$  has several features which are not seen in either of the other manuscripts: more archaic orthography in the case of the diphthongization of  $\acute{e}$ , the fricativization of word-final  $t$ , and the derounding of  $y$  into  $i$ .

To sum up, the date of the writing of the manuscript, as based on the aforementioned criteria can hardly be any earlier than 1375. The orthography of  $\alpha$  shows a mixture of innovative and archaic features, but the innovative features are bound to carry more weight than the archaic ones, as the latter could be attributed to the influence of the exemplar. There are no examples of language change or orthographical evidence that would limit the time of writing to only after the year 1400. However the orthography of  $\alpha$  frequently parallels that of GKS 2868, *Skafinskinna*, dated to around 1350-1400 and AM 466 4to, *Oddabók*, dated to around 1460, sometimes showing more similarities to the younger one. This suggests that  $\alpha$  may be placed between the two in a relative chronological order.

The extensive use of *Cursiva Antiquior* in manuscript books dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the fact that the scribe of  $\alpha$  uses “zt” and “z” to denote the middle voice, as well as the usage of “z” not only after “o” and “d” but also following “b”, “g”, “u”, “y”, alongside with

the similarities in the orthography of *Flateyjarbók* (1387-1394) and analogies in decorations of ascenders in DI IV nr. 581 (1434), allows us to safely date the manuscript's writing somewhere between the last decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (1490-1540).

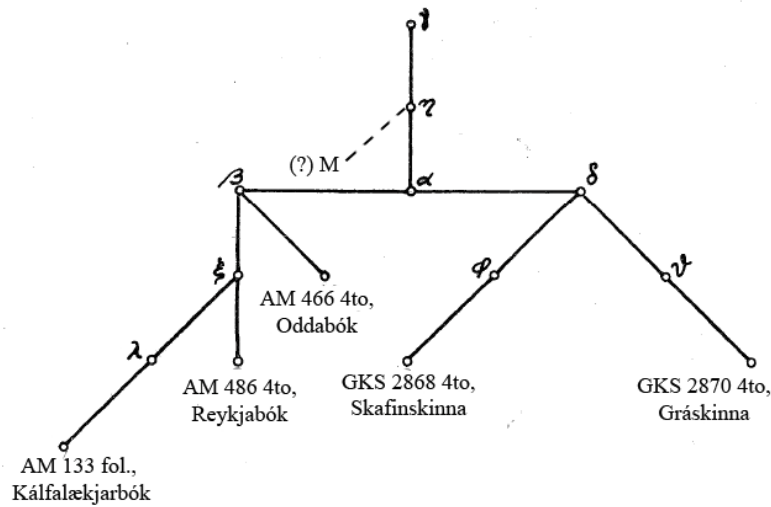
## **9. The transmission of the text**

*Brennu-Njáls saga* is preserved in over 60 manuscripts and fragments. Its complicated and interesting history of transmission is the subject of an aforementioned research project "*The Variance of Njáls saga*". In this chapter an attempt to revise the position of fragment  $\alpha$  in the existing stemmas is presented, preceded by a presentation of the state of research on this topic.

### ***9.1 State of research on the transmission of Njáls saga***

The first scholar who classified the medieval manuscripts of *Njáls saga* was Hanns Schnorr von Carolsfeld, who presented the first stemma of this work (Lehmann and Schnorr von Carolsfeld 1883, 146). As it is shown below in *Image. 8*, that reproduces Schnorr von Carolsfeld's stemma, Hanns Schnorr von Carolsfeld did not include the fragments, as AM 162 B  $\alpha$ , in his analysis. From the perspective of this research it is noteworthy that Hanns Schnorr von Carolsfeld puts AM 466 to, *Oddabók* in the same branch as AM 486 4to, *Reykjabók*, and AM 133 fol., *Kálfalækjarbók*. However *Oddabók* is closer to the archetype than the other two, which were derived from a common ancestor – " $\epsilon$ ". GKS 2868, *Skafinskinna* and GKS 2870 4to, *Gráskinna* are place in the other branch which was derived from a common ancestor – " $\delta$ ".

Img. 8. Stemma by Hans Schnorr von Carolsfeld.



The analysis of manuscripts of *Njáls saga* by Jón Þorkelsson results in another stemma that is presented below (Img. 9). In Jón Þorkelsson's stemma the small letters represent manuscripts which no longer exist and which are supposed to be common ancestors for existing manuscripts. These existing manuscripts are represented with capital letters. Although fragments are not included in the stemma itself, Jón Þorkelsson did make some important observations about these:

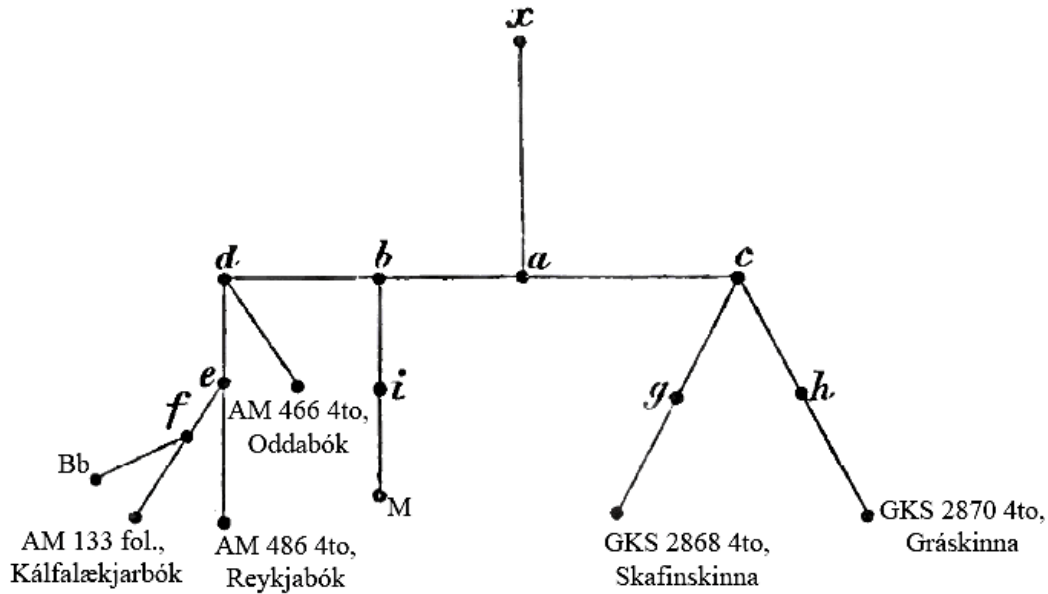
Af det foran fremsatte om de mindre fragmenter kan man også udfinde deres plads i schemaet; de høre alle udelukkende til FB-klassen [Reykjabók–Kálfalækjarbók group], og de fleste ligge henholdsvis imellem D [AM 309 4to., *Bæjarbók*], B [*Kálfalækjarbók*] og F [*Reykjabók*] (Jón Þorkelsson 1889, 783).

Referring to  $\alpha$ , he states:

C $\alpha$  [AM 162 B  $\alpha$  fol.] synes at stå B [*Kálfalækjarbók*] nærmest, men I [*Gráskinna*] fjernest af de membraner, som kan sammenlignes med det; medens det har 83 læsemåder fælles med B, har det kun 41 læsemåder fælles med I, samt med følgende håndskrifter omtrent følgende antal: med F [*Reykjabók*] 80, med E [*Oddabók*] 70, med C $\beta$  [AM 162 B  $\beta$  fol.] 68, med G [*Skafinskinna*] 59 (Jón Þorkelsson 1889, 777).

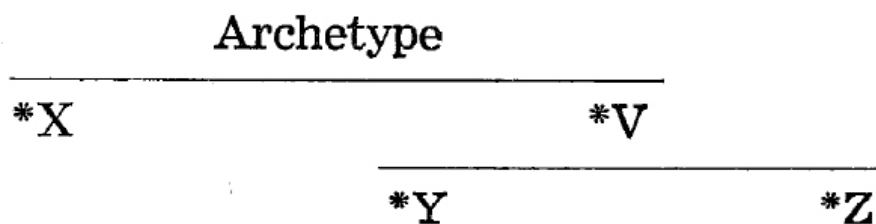
When referring to the fragment  $\beta$  of AM 162 B fol. he emphasised that this fragment is closely related to Reykjabók and Kálfalækjarbók, as well as to the fragment  $\alpha$  of AM 162 B fol. (Jón Þorkelsson 1889, 778).

Img. 9. Stemma by Jón Þorkelsson.



The stemmas by Hans Schnorr von Carolsfeld and Jón Þorkelsson were revisited by Einar Ól Sveinsson (1951, 1953, 1954). He took under consideration all medieval fragments as well as more complete medieval manuscripts and organized them in a new stemma. Einar Ól. Sveinsson divided all the medieval manuscripts into two main branches derived from the common ancestors X and V. Since there are no manuscripts descending directly from V in this branch, two sub-classes were created: Y and Z, as presented in *Image 10* below.

Img. 10. Stemma by Einar Ól. Sveinsson



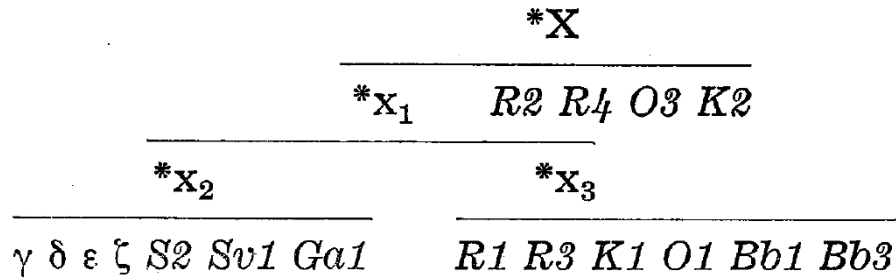
Einar Ól Sveinsson confirmed what Jón Þorkelsson wrote about fragments  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , stating that they definitely do not belong to class Z, because when they differ from Z they follow X. However they cannot be compared to any of the Y-class manuscripts, because non



of the manuscripts in Y class preserved corresponding to  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  text (Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1953, 87). The stemma of class X is presented below in *Image 11*.

**Img. 11. Stemma by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, the X-class.**

## 2) The X-class.



Einar Ól. Sveinsson emphasises that  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  do belong to class X, but to some other textual branch than  $x_3$  – the branch that *Reykjabók* (R1), *Kálfalækjarbók* (K1) and *Oddabók* (O1) are derived from. Because of the lack of other texts which would have contained corresponding text the precise establishment of this relationship is not possible (Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1953, 88). He sums up his observations:

In chs. 1–19 the three manuscripts R [*Reykjabók*], K [*Kálfalækjarbók*] and O [*Oddabók*] represent  $x_3$ . The two fragments  $\beta$  and  $\alpha$  belong to some other textual line within the X-class, and PjII is closely akin with R (Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1953, 139).

While discussing the position of AM 162 B  $\beta$  fol. Einar Ól. Sveinsson noticed some similarities between  $\beta$  and Z class of manuscripts, such as *Gráskinna* and *Skafinskinna*.

He states:

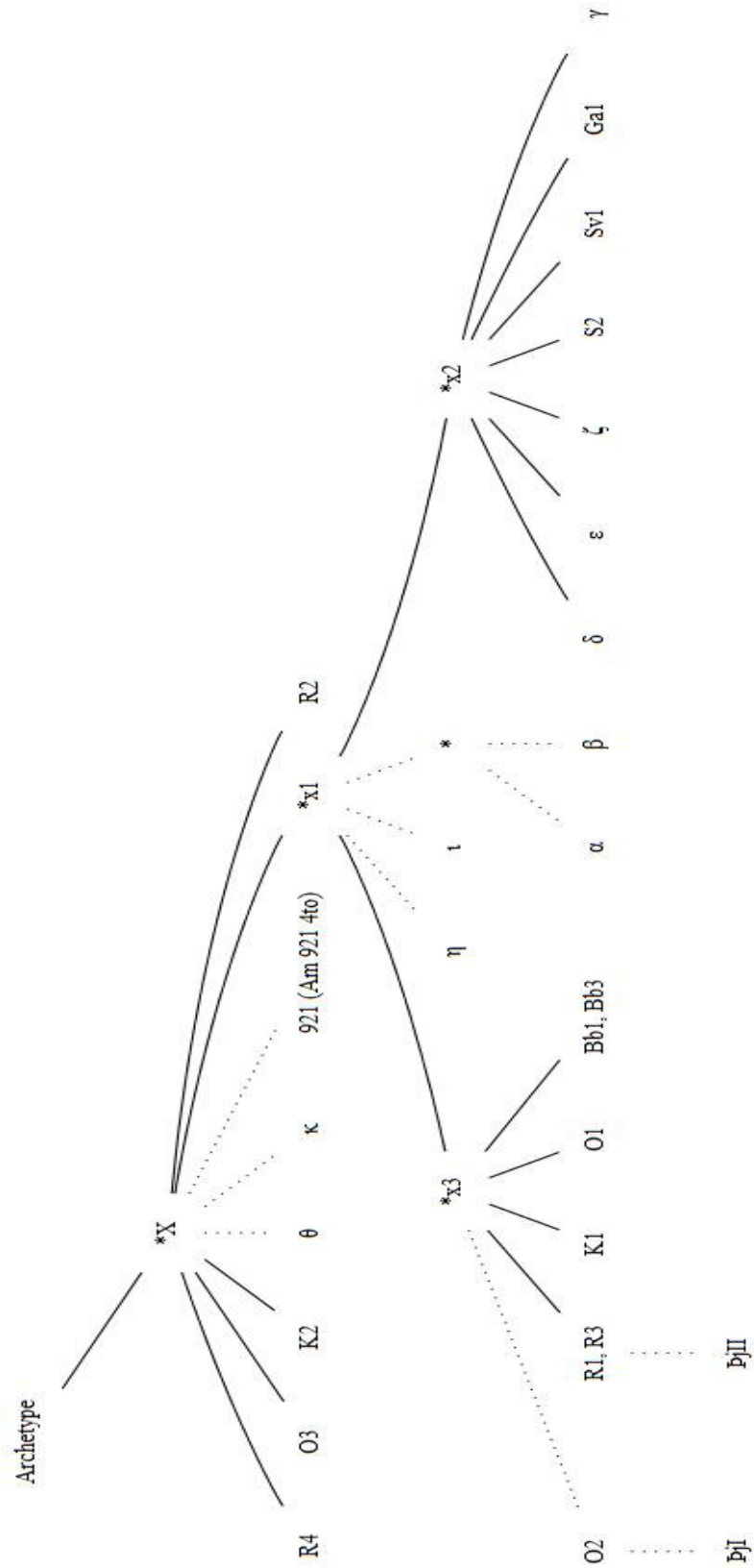
I should like to call attention to [...] the relation of  $\beta$  (and  $\alpha$ ) to RK [...].  $\beta$  derives obviously from another manuscript than  $x_3$ , it seems to treat the text more freely than RK, but on the other hand there are examples that show its wording to be closer to Z than RK (Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1953, 119).

It is worth noting that unlike previous scholars Einar Ól. Sveinsson treated particular parts of the text preserved in discussed manuscripts separately in his stemma, giving them additional numbers. He suggested that R1, R3, K1 and O1 are all derived from the common ancestor  $X_3$ , without any intermediate manuscript, but that O3, together with R2, R4, and K2 are direct descendants of X. Both Hans Schnorr von Carolsfeld and Jón Þorkelsson placed entire text of

*Oddabók* in a separate branch (Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1953, 86, 117, 119, 171; Njála 1954, CLII–CLIII).

Building on Einar Ól. Sveinsson’s (1953) observations Alaric Hall (2013) is the first scholar to actually put all the fragments into a graphic representation of the stemma, pointing out the similarities between the fragments belonging to AM 162 B fol, which were not included in Einar Ól. Sveinsson’s stemma. He introduced a nod “\*” that is a common ancestor of the fragments *alpha* and *beta* and suggested that “\*” is related to the fragments *eta* and *iota*, being delivered straight from  $x_1$ . In *Image. 12* below, part of the Hall’s stemma is presented. It is restricted to the area representing the branch X, that describes the relationship between  $\alpha$  and other manuscripts within this branch. For a complete stemma and for more references see Hall (2013) and Zeevaert et. al (forthcoming).

Img. 12. Stemma by Alaric Hall, The X-class.



## 9.2 A new stemma

All researchers mentioned above determined that fragment  $\alpha$  of AM 162 B fol. shares a close relationship with AM 468 4to, *Reykjabók* and AM 133 fol., *Kálfalækjarbók*. This places it in the Einar Ól. Sveinsson's X-class of *Njáls saga* manuscripts. Einar Ól. Sveinsson's (1951, 1953, 1954) analysis of the textual variation seems to be based mainly on the chapters not preserved in fragment  $\alpha$ . His observations about the fragment  $\alpha$  seem to be based largely on Jón Þorkelsson's conclusions about the agreement between the different manuscripts. The limited discussion on AM 162 B  $\alpha$  fol in earlier scholarship calls for a more detailed examination of the textual variation between  $\alpha$  and the other *Njáls saga* manuscripts containing corresponding text.

The aim of this subchapter is to revise the classification of the fragment  $\alpha$  in the stemma using and computer-assisted methods. A new stemma of chapter 8 of *Njáls saga* was created for this purpose, using the software Pars and Draw Tree (Felsenstein version 3.69). Additionally, in order to verify the results achieved by computer analysis, an apparatus with a complete set of variant readings was prepared.

The idea of preparing a computer-based stemma was inspired by one of the advanced group workshops offered during the 2013 *Arnarnagðæan Summer School in Manuscript Studies* which coordinated by Alaric Hall. The aim of the workshop was to prepare a computer-assisted stemma of all manuscripts containing Chapter 86 of *Njáls saga*. A description of the project and its results can be found in an article prepared by Ludger Zeevaert et. al. (forthcoming). According to O'Hara and Robinson (1993) the idea of computer assisted analysis of the text's transmission was motivated by the observed similarities between stemmatics and biological systematics. Both disciplines share a common aim, namely to reconstruct a tree of descent based on the comparison of descendants which share a common ancestor. The historical survey of cladistic analysis with use of phylogenetic software and the main methodological problems have been described in a number of publications (O'Hara and Robinson 1993, 1996; Robinson 1997; Hall and Parsons 2013; Hall 2014).

The choice of chapter 8 of *Njáls saga* was dictated by contents of the fragment  $\alpha$  and the fact that an effective analysis, based on certain variant readings, can be done only for the leaves 1v and 2r (read about the condition of the fragment in chapter 2). This limits the text to the lines 7<sup>95</sup> – 8<sup>52</sup> in Konráð Gíslason edition (1875). However, as will be discussed later in this chapter, an attempt to create a stemma for the entire chapter was also made. Texts which correspond to AM 162 B  $\alpha$  fol, and are preserved in the following medieval parchment manuscripts were used for the analysis:

**24. Medieval manuscripts used for a textual comparison**

<b>abbr.</b>	<b>name</b>	<b>shelf mark</b>	<b>text</b>
R	<i>Reykjabók</i>	AM 468 4to	complete
K	<i>Kálfalækjarbók</i>	AM 133 fol.	complete
$\beta$		AM 162B $\beta$ fol.	<i>lacuna</i> from 9 <sup>18</sup>
S	<i>Skafinskinna</i>	GKS 2868 4to	complete
O	<i>Oddabók</i>	AM 466 4to	complete
Gr	<i>Gráskinna</i>	GKS 2870 4to	<i>lacuna</i> from 8 <sup>52</sup>

Additionally, following the suggestion of Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, two post-medieval paper manuscripts were used in this research in order to establish a relation between  $\alpha$  and a *Gullskinna*-branch of manuscripts: AM 136 fol., dated around 1640, and AM 469 4to dated to around 1705. A lost medieval manuscript called *Gullskinna* is believed to be an ancestor of many post-medieval paper manuscripts that need to be examined for the purpose of achieving a complete overview of the transmission of the saga (Jón Þorkelsson 1889, Már Jónsson 1996, Zeevaert forthcoming). Both chosen manuscripts are believed to be a direct descendants of *Gullskinna*. To make it easier for references the letters “G” and “F” were assigned to these manuscripts. The letter “F” was assigned to AM 469 4to, *Fagureyjarbók* (Jón Þorkelsson 1889, 737) and the letter “G” was assigned to AM 136 fol. which Árni Magnússon received from Sveinn Torfason from Gaulverjabær, and which, for the sake of convenience, will be referred

to here as *Gaulverjabæjarbók* (Jón Þorkelson 1889, 721–722). Text corresponding to  $\alpha$  is preserved in both manuscripts:

## 25. Manuscripts from a Gullskinna branch used for a textual comparison

abbr.	name	shelf mark	text
G	<i>Gaulverjabæjarbók</i>	AM 136 fol.	complete
F	<i>Fagureyjarbók</i>	AM 469 4to	complete

Following Alaric’s Hall practice for this analysis, two main computer tools were employed: cladistic analysis and variant database analysis. For the cladistic analysis the aforementioned phylogenetic softwares Pars and Draw Tree were used. In order to create a stemma based on textual variants all manuscripts were transcribed into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Orthographic variants were considered in this research, therefore, the orthography was normalized by applying the same rules as were applied when normalizing the transcription of  $\alpha$  (discussed in chapter 11).

At first, a text which corresponds to each line of  $\alpha$  was transcribed, starting with the line 1v1 of  $\alpha$ , that is, in chapter 7 of *Njáls saga*. In lines where textual variants were recognized the text of a transcription was divided into smaller parts to make the variants more accurate. Take, for example, line 1v5: “er kona hans var í burtu ok var hann stiltr vel hann”. This was divided into columns H –J, as can be seen in *Table 26* below. In column “H”, manuscripts  $\alpha$ , R, K, O, Gr, and F share the same reading, but in column “J” manuscripts R, K, O, G, and F oppose  $\alpha$ , which shares a reading only with  $\beta$ .

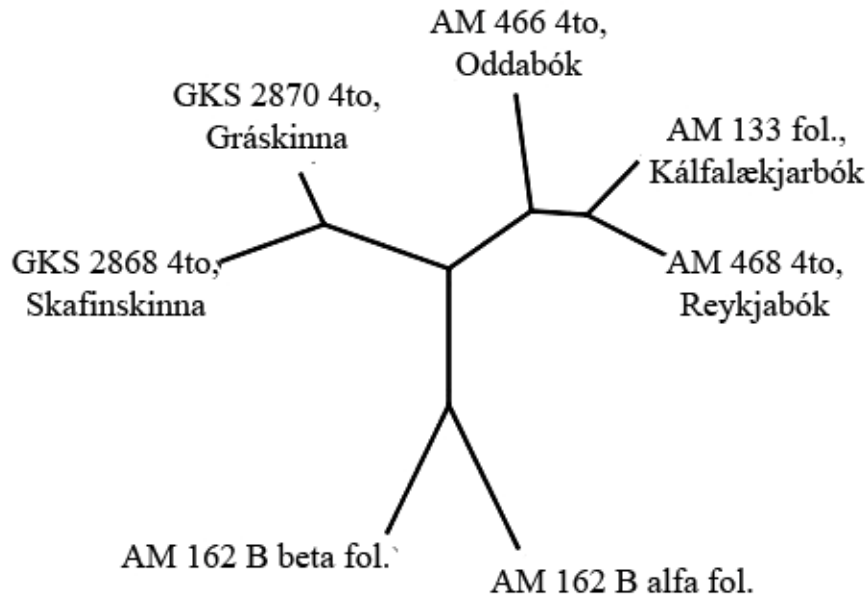
## 26. Spread-sheet, columns H-K

mss.	H	I	J	K
AM 162 B $\alpha$ fol	er kona hans var í brautu	ok var hann stilltr vel	hann var	heima öll þau misseri
AM 162 B $\alpha$ fol	1	1	1	1
AM 468 4to -Reykjabók	er kona hans var í brautu	ok er þo vel stilltr	ok var	heima öll þau misseri
AM 468 4to -Reykjabók	1	2	2	2
AM 133 fol - Kálfalækjarbók	er kona hans var í brautu	ok er þo vel stilltr	ok var	heima öll þau misseri
AM 133 fol - Kálfalækjarbók	1	2	2	2
AM 466 4to - Oddabók	er kona hans var í brautu	ok var þo mjög stilltr	ok var	heima öll þau misseri
AM 466 4to - Oddabók	1	4	2	2

Gl. kgl. saml. 2870 - Gráskinna	er kona hans var í brautu	ok var þo vel stilltr	var	heima öll þau misseri
Gl. kgl. saml. 2870 - Gráskinna	1	5	3	1
Gl.kgl.sml 2868 4to - Skafinskinna	er ga hans var í brautu	ok var þo vel stilltr	var hann	heima öll þau misseri
Gl.kgl.sml 2868 4to - Skafinskinna	2	5	4	3
AM 162 B beta fol.	er hún var í brautu	ok var þo vel stilltr	hann var	heima öll þau misseri
AM 162 B beta fol.	3	5	1	1
AM 136 fol. - Gaulverjabæjarbók	er kona hans var burt	en var þo vel stilltr	ok var	heima öll þau misseri
AM 136 fol. - Gaulverjabæjarbók	4	5	2	2
AM 469 4to - Fagureyjarbók	er kona hans var í brautu	ok er þo vel stilltr	ok var	heima öll þau misseri
AM 469 4to - Fagureyjarbók	1	2	2	2

Sveral attempts to create a reliable stemma and establish relations between the manuscripts were made. There is no space here for an expansive discussion of the entire process, and so instead the two main components of the research will be discussed. The first step was to use the software to generate the unrooted-stemma of the manuscripts which appear in Einar Ól. Sveinsson's stemma. The transcription into the spreadsheet covered corresponding to  $\alpha$  text from line 1v1 to 2v10. The number values were assigned to particular variants readings, in order to prepare data in a numerical form that software can process (*Table 23* above). In places where readings were illegible, or where a manuscript had a lacuna in the text which made it impossible to specify the correct variant, a question mark was used. The numerical data, from seven manuscripts (R, K, O, Gr, S,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ) with 118 variants for each manuscript (118 columns in the spread-sheet) was first processed by the software programme Pars and. Then, the software programme Draw Tree was used to obtain a graphic representation of the Pars results. As a result an unrooted stemma was achieved, which is presented in the *Image 13* below.

Img. 13. The unrooted stemma for manuscripts discussed by Einar Ól. Sveinsson



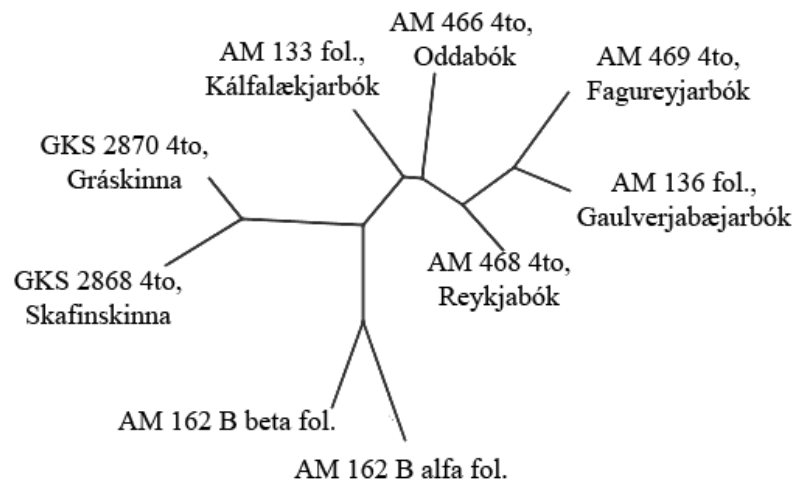
It is clear in *Image 13* that *Reykjabók*, *Kálfalækjarbók* and *Oddabók* appear close to each other on one branch, suggesting that there are close similarities among them. *Gráskinna* and *Skafinskinna* share a common ancestor, which creates the another branch. Also, both fragments from AM 162 B fol. share a common ancestor and  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  create the third independent group of manuscripts. The results achieved with the software correspond well with the Einar Ól. Sveinsson's stemma, where early parts of *Njáls saga*, as preserved in *Reykjabók* (R1), *Kálfalækjarbók* (K1), and *Oddabók* (O1) all belong together to the  $X_3$  class (Img. 10), and *Gráskinna* (Gr), together with the early parts of the saga which are preserved in *Skafinskinna* (S1), belongs to class Z. At the same time the common ancestor of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  suggested by Alaric Hall as a nod "\*" has been confirmed (Img. 12).

At this point, when the effectiveness of the software was confirmed against Einar Ól. Sveinsson's stemma and the position of  $\alpha$  was confirmed, the readings from *Gullskinna*-branch: AM 469 4to, *Fagureyjarbók* and AM 136 fol., *Gaulverjabæjarbók* were added to the spreadsheet. The new data, drawn from nine manuscripts with 118 variants, was processed by



the programmes Pars and Draw Tree, in order to achieve the unrooted stemma presented below (Img. 14).

**Img. 14. The unrooted stemma including *Gullskinna*-branch manuscripts**



In this stemma *Fagureyjarbók* and *Gaulverjabæjarbók* are placed in a close proximity to the R, K, O group, and both share a common ancestor that could possibly be the lost medieval manuscript *Gullskinna*. What is important from the perspective of our research is that their readings did not influence the position of AM 162 B  $\alpha$  fol. in the stemma: it still shows the closest similarity with the AM 162 B  $\beta$  fol..

In order to verify the results achieved during the computer-based analysis, and to examine the relationships among the manuscripts, the traditional interpretation method of textual variation was employed. Because of the orthographical comparison, that was presented in chapter 5 and 6, a new set of variant readings was prepared for chapter 8 of *Njáls saga*. The variants were recorded independently from the apparatus in the edition by Konráð Gíslason and the variants in the spread-sheet, which were used for a computer-assisted analysis. At this point the use of these linguistic variants instead of the normalized spreadsheet was dictated by the question of whether the manuscripts which belong to the same branch also share linguistic variants.

The readings that were counted were only these variant readings where one or more manuscripts stand against the others. This excluded reading where all manuscripts share the same variant. Therefore, the numbers given below are smaller than the ones presented by Jón Þorkelsson (1889, 777). The results of this comparison, as presented in the *Table 24* below, showed that the highest degree of agreement in textual variants exists among fragment  $\alpha$  and *Kálfalækjarbók* and *Oddabók*. Also, *Reykjabók* and *Gaulverjabæjarbók* show significant agreement with  $\alpha$ . Fragment  $\alpha$  agrees 24 times with fragment  $\beta$  of AM 162 B fol. and 22 times with *Fagureyjarbók*, but only 13 times with *Skafinskinna* and 11 times with *Gráskinna*. It is worth mentioning that 25 of the common readings between  $\alpha$  and *Gaulverjabæjarbók* are also common readings with *Reykjabók*. That means that  $\alpha$  joins G only once against R, specifically, in the reading: “ok gistu at lundi”  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and G; “Höskuldr ok Hrútr gistu at lundi” R, K, F, Gr, S, and O. All common readings for  $\alpha$  and *Fagureyjarbók* are also common readings with R, which means that  $\alpha$  never joins F against *Reykjabók*.

**27. Textual agreement between alpha and other manuscripts containing corresponding text.**

mss.	agreement with AM 162 B $\alpha$ fol.
K: <i>Kálfalækjarbók</i> , AM 133 fol.	28
O: <i>Oddabók</i> – AM 466 4to	28
R: <i>Reykjabók</i> , AM 468 4to	26
G: <i>Gaulverjabæjarbók</i> , AM 136 fol.	26
$\beta$ : AM 162B $\beta$ fol.	24
F: <i>Fagureyjarbók</i> , AM 469 4to	22
S: <i>Skafinskinna</i> , GKS 2868 4to	13
Gr: <i>Gráskinna</i> – GKS 2870	11

From the perspective of the research on the transmission of the text preserved in the fragment  $\alpha$ , it is significant, that  $\alpha$  has many unique readings and that it stands alone 32 times, against all the other manuscripts, as for example:

- “er Hrúti vel farit”  $\alpha$ ; “er honum vel farit” R, K, O, F, G; “ok er honum farit vel”: S, Gr; illegible  $\beta$ .
- “þvi at hann er”  $\alpha$ ; “hann er” R, K, O,  $\beta$ , F, G; “er” S, Gr.
- “villdi”  $\alpha$ ; “mundi” R, K, O, F, G, S, Gr, illegible  $\beta$ .
- “ok uoru menn”  $\alpha$ ; “ok hqfðu menn” R, O, F, Gr, S; “mikit og hqfðu menn” K; “og verðu menn” G; omitted  $\beta$ .

- “fveinar tveir”  $\alpha$ ; “en fveinar tveir” R, K, F, G, Gr, S; “tveir fveinar” O; illegible  $\beta$ .
- “giorvir elldar”  $\alpha$ ; “giorvir málelldar” R,  $\beta$ ; “giorvir langelldar”: K, O, Gr, S; “giorvir malelldar” F; “málelldar giorvir” G.
- “riða menn nu heim af þingi”  $\alpha$ ; “ok siðan riða menn heim a þingi” R; “siðan riða menn heim af þingi” Gr, G; “ok siðan ridu menn heim af þingi”  $\beta$ ; “ok fiðan riða menn heim af þingi” K; “ok siðan riðu menn af þingi” O, F.

The traditional apparatus clearly shows that text preserved in fragment  $\alpha$  is much different than the text preserved in *Reykjabók*, *Kálfalækjarbók*, *Oddabók*, *Gaulverjabæjarbók* and *Fagureyjarbók*. At the same time, it shares more readings with this group of manuscripts than with *Gráskinna* and *Skafinskinna*.

The relationship of fragment  $\alpha$  with fragment  $\beta$  needs more attention, since both Alaric Hall’s stemma (Img. 12), and the Pars’ stemmas (Img. 13 and 14) suggest that the fragments  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are the descendants of a common ancestor. The textual variation shows that the reading of fragment  $\alpha$  agrees with the reading of the fragment  $\beta$  24 times. This calculations includes six examples where these two stand against all the other manuscripts and seven examples where readings of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  join R, K, and O against Gr and S.

Thanks to a comparison of the textual variation with the results obtained by Pars, and with the context of the Einar Ól. Sveinsson’s observations it is possible to establish the significant probability of fragment  $\alpha$ ’s position in the stemma. It seems to be clear that the texts of *Njáls saga*’s chapter 8 which are preserved in *Reykjabók*, *Kálfalækjarbók*, *Oddabók*, *Gaulverjabæjarbók* and *Fagureyjarbók* belong to one group, which Einar Ól. Sveinsson called  $x_3$  and that they share a common ancestor with the fragments  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . So all together, these manuscripts belong to the X-class of manuscripts of *Njáls saga*. On the other side *Gáskinna* and *Skafinskinna* stand together and correspond with Einar Ól. Sveinsson’s Z-class. Thanks to a consultation with Alaric Hall, it is possible to explain why there is no additional nod between the manuscripts belonging to the branch Z and  $x_1$  in the unrooted stemma: the software does not search for the archetype as the traditional stemmatology does. Rather, it examines the similarities between given material. Without additional readings that would be

much different from the variants used in the research, the software does not have a reason to add supplementary nods in the stemma.

## 10. Earlier editions

The text of AM 162 B alpha fol. has not been edited as a whole, but its readings were used in the apparatus of at least three critical editions of the saga, published in Havniæ in 1809, Copenhagen in 1875 and Reykjavík in 1954.

The oldest edition that gives variant reading of  $\alpha$  is the translation of Njáls saga into Latin, by Jón Jónssonius from 1809, under the title *Nials saga. Historia Niali et filiorum, latinae reddita, com ajecta chronologia, variis textus islandici lectionibus, earumque crisi, nec non glosatio et indice rerum ac locorum*. References to AM 162 B fol. are given under an incorrect shelf number: AM 309 4to—the number of *Bæjarbók*. In this edition the shelf mark of *Reykjabók* is also incorrect: instead of 468, it is referred to as 298. The fragment  $\alpha$  is mentioned as “fragm. membr. b” or “B”, matching the way that it is marked in the upper margin of leaf 2r. In this edition only some major textual variants can be found (Nials saga 1809, XXIII, Kålund 1889, s. 121; Jón Helgason 1962, XVII).

The monumental critical edition of Njáls saga entitled *Njála udgivet efter gamle håndskrifter 1* by Konráð Gíslason and Eiríkur Jónsson gives almost exhaustive list of textual variants of  $\alpha$  among the other manuscripts (Njála 1875).

To a significantly smaller extent the readings from the fragment  $\alpha$  were used in the edition entitled *Brennu-Njáls Saga* in Íslenzk fornrit series, volume XIII. The edition by Einar Ól. Sveinsson gives variants from  $\alpha$  in particular only twice. The first one is as a variant of “langeldar K, O, Z; máleldar R,  $\beta$ ; eldar:  $\alpha$ ” (p.29) and the second references to the omission “ok því – kǫlluð R, K, O; sl.  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , S.” (p.29). Elsewhere, Einar Ól. Sveinsson references the group of manuscripts generally, using his X, Y, and Z divisions (Brennu-Njáls Saga 1954).

## 11. This edition

One of the aims of this thesis, as was stated in the introduction, was to prepare a text of a fragment  $\alpha$  of AM 162 B for a publication in the *Medieval Nordic Text Archive*

(MENOTA). Therefore, the transcription was done electronically with the use of Extensible Mark-up Language (XML) for encoding, and the software Oxygen Editor running on an academic use licence.

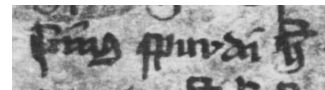
This edition of the text preserved in  $\alpha$ , presented as an appendix to this thesis, was prepared on three levels of transcription - facsimile, diplomatic and normalized - prepared simultaneously in Oxygen Editor following the *Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange* which are available on the homepage of the *Text Encoding Initiative* (Driscoll 2006). Particular levels of transcription are shown below in the example of the beginning of a line 9 on the verso side of leaf nr. 1 (Img. 15-19).

```

2570 </w>
2571 <w lemma="u" me:msa="u">
2572   <choice>
2573     <me:facsimile>al<lb n="9"/>þing</me:facsimile>
2574     <me:dipl>al<lb n="9"/>þing</me:dipl>
2575     <me:norm>al<lb n="9"/>þing</me:norm>
2576   </choice>
2577 </w>
2578 <me:punct>
2579   <choice>
2580     <me:facsimile></me:facsimile>
2581     <me:dipl></me:dipl>
2582     <me:norm>,</me:norm>
2583   </choice>
2584 </me:punct>
2585 <w lemma="u" me:msa="u">
2586   <choice>
2587     <me:facsimile>&slong;pur&dropt;í</me:facsimile>
2588     <me:dipl>&slong;purði</me:dipl>
2589     <me:norm>spurði</me:norm>
2590   </choice>
2591 </w>
2592 <w lemma="u" me:msa="u">
2593   <choice>
2594     <me:facsimile>h<am>&bar;</am></me:facsimile>
2595     <me:dipl>h<ex>ann</ex></me:dipl>
2596     <me:norm>hann</me:norm>
2597   </choice>
2598 </w>

```

Img. 15. Beginning of line 1v9 in XML-file



Img. 16. Beginning of line 1v9 in a manuscript

þing spurði h

Img. 17. Beginning of line 1v9 in a transcription on a facsimile level

þing spurði hann

Img. 18. Beginning of line 1v9 in a transcription on a diplomatic level

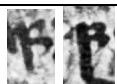

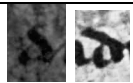



alþing, spurði hann

Img. 19. Beginning of line 1v9 in a transcription on a normalized level

The facsimile level is indeed a strict diplomatic transcription that preserves the text as close to the original as it is possible presenting the reader a text with a minimum of the editor's arbitrary influence (Driscoll 2006, 2010). Therefore, on this level, all so-called "accidentals"

(Gregg 1950-51, 21) such as spelling, line breaks or punctuation are reproduced following the layout of the manuscript. Abbreviations are not expanded and are encoded according to the *Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange* and the guidelines given by Matthew Driscoll (2009). However, particular letterforms are reproduced referring to their general shapes, and not reflecting individual scribal practice. For example all “f” in the document are represented with entity the “&finsclose;” regardless of whether the loops are fully closed or seem to be slightly open (Table 26). The same rule applies to other characters, as some examples in Table 25 below will show. The punctuation marks are placed on the writing line, regardless of whether are slightly elevated in the manuscript they. Only ligatures such as “æ”, “œ” are represented as ligatures. Due to the cursive script type, other joined letters were divided into separate characters: as for example, the ligature of long “f” and “t” is not reproduced as the ligature “ft” rather as the separate characters “ft”. Lacunae in the text are given as such, represented by supplied the rows of zeros. Unclear readings are marked as underlined.

**28. The standardisation of palaeographic symbols on facsimile level of transcription.**

character	form in manuscript	xml entity	form in transcription
F		&finsclose;	
D		&drot;	
J		&jnodot;	

The diplomatic transcription level reproduces the text in a more standardized form. The word spellings are preserved according to the scribe’s practice, but the letterforms are limited to basics-only letterforms that can carry some linguistic value, as for example “f” was reproduced in unchanged form. Others were standardized, for example “&finsclose;” was

replaced by regular “f”. Abbreviations are expanded and marked in italics. Because of the length of the fragment the expanded forms are based on the presumed value of the abbreviation rather than written-out forms of the same word. Word-division, punctuation and capitalization are reproduced as on facsimile level, but the line division is not retained. The lacunas in a text are represented as zeros, without any supplied text. On three occasions—when a letter was unclear, but still seemed obvious to the editor—the letters were supplied in pointed brackets. All unclear readings are marked as underlined.

The normalized level gives a text in a fully standardized form following the “Classical Old Icelandic” spellings, this type of normalization dominates in the editions published in the Íslenzk fornrit series. All abbreviations are expanded without marking them in any way, The punctuation was supplied following the edition by Einar Ól. Sveinsson. The language changes and the variations in spelling were not preserved therefore the normalized level represents a version of the text which is easily accessible to even inexperienced readers of Old Icelandic. Gaps in the text on the normalized level were supplied with the text from the editions by Konráð Gíslason and Eiríkur Jónsson as well as the edition by Einar Ól. Sveinsson and marked with pointed brackets. However, when the lacunae were too big in the subjective opinion of the editor, they are reproduced as such: in practice with a row of zeros.

## 12. Conclusions

Such an in depth analysis of the fragment  $\alpha$  of AM 162 B fol. has never been attempted before. This short fragment, which preserved text of *Njáls saga*, was examined using codicological, palaeographical and linguistic methods. The analysis was mainly aimed at establishing the date of the manuscript’s writing.

The linguistic analysis highlighted the appearance of archaic forms in the fragment, such as lack of evidence for the fricativization of *k* and *t* in the word-final position, as well as a lack of evidence for the diphthongisation of *é*. These conservative spellings coexist with relatively young features such as diphthongization before *ng* and the orthographic change

from “vá” into “vo”. The orthography of the fragment lets us to date it to the period from the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

The palaeographic analysis- which revealed the use of rounded “r” not only following “d” and “o”, but also “b”, “g” “u” and “y”, as well as a *Cursiva Antiquior* script type and the characteristic decorations on the long ascenders – suggest that the writing occurred between the late 14<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately it was not possible to identify the hand of the fragment in other manuscripts. But for further research it is worth taking under consideration that a scribal milieu could possibly be located in the north-west of Iceland. The provenance of the letter DI IV nr. 581, where very similar decorations on the long decorated ascenders were found, as well as diphthongal spellings appearing in the fragment  $\alpha$ , such as discussed in chapter 5 form “reykja”, could be foundation for a further research.

The transcription of the text preserved in the fragment  $\alpha$  of AM 162 B fol. was prepared with use of XML-language and software Oxygen Editor and is presented on three leavels: facsimile, diplomatic and normalized. This representation of the text on three leavels allows the reader to choose what informations is interesting from the prespective of his own research, and to employ the data in a suitable way for further research.

In addition, the size of a manuscript that  $\alpha$  perhaps originally belonged to was estimated, based on the transcription of  $\alpha$  and the edition of the text of *Reykjabók* (2003), The hypothetical manuscript ( $X\alpha$ ) would count around 194,9 leaves, in 24 gatherings, and the fragment  $\alpha$  would have been placed in the second quire (leaves 10r-11v). These calculations are clearly hypothetical, since we do not know how close the text of  $\alpha$  would have followed that of *Reykjabók*. As it is shown in chapter 9, the text of  $\alpha$  does not belong to the same branch of the manuscripts as *Reykjabók*, but creates, together with  $\beta$ , a separate group within the X-branch. However referring to the size of the manuscript, that is relatively small (204 mm x 149 mm), the manuscript of *Njáls saga* ( $X\alpha$ ), that  $\alpha$  originally belonged to, would have to count around 190 leaves.



The text of the saga preserved in  $\alpha$  was compared with readings from other medieval manuscripts that preserve corresponding text. Data was processed by the software programmes Pars and Draw Tree with the purpose of creating a unrooted stemma of examined material. As a result, the first stemma of chapter 8 of *Njáls saga* has been presented, including two manuscripts that are believed to be direct descendants of the lost medieval manuscript *Gullskinna*. The research here confirms the claim of Einar Ól Sveinsson, namely that a close relationship between fragment  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  of AM 162 B fol.. The research also confirms the complicated position of *Oddabók* in stemmas as presented by Hans Schnorr von Carolsfeld and Jón Þorkelsson. For further research, an examination of the relationship between postmedieval manuscripts that preserved corresponding to  $\alpha$  text is needed in order to find out whether there are some manuscripts that could be descendants of  $\alpha$  which would contribute to the existing research on the transmission of *Njáls saga*.

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## Appendix A. Transcription of the text of AM 162 B a fol.

### A.1 Facsimile level

1r -----

- 1    fē bez[0] íþ [000] h þa j þio2ðu uel<sup>z</sup> τ lígm  
u[000] [00] [00] [0] [00] h þly<sup>z</sup>ia allz þeiz uel<sup>z</sup>an  
þ [00 00 0] þ[00 0] þio2ðu uel<sup>z</sup> τ úa j burz lēig<sup>1</sup>  
4    f[000...000] þa [00] m ríða t þingí τ all' èu  
[000...000] [000] [000] ætla fku rífa ur reyk<sup>u</sup>  
[00] 000 000 000 000 m þer faurunauza þína  
7    [000...000] t huilu þínar  
[000...000] þa f<sup>z</sup> neþna uo<sup>z</sup>τ  
[000...000] fēigía f<sup>z</sup>il<sup>z</sup> ú h lag  
10    [0000...000] az Alþingí malí  
[000...000] laugū flíka uo<sup>z</sup>za fku haþa þy<sup>z</sup>  
kallðy<sup>z</sup>ú íð ríð þu æ b200<sup>z</sup> τ ríð lax<sup>z</sup> ðalf heíðí  
13    τ fuo t hollza uo2ðu heíð τ ríð þ τ mī þín mū  
lei[0]at t hruza þiarð en è þu kēr t mī mū ek  
[0] [00] malínu fku allðeígí íð kōa hm j heñðz  
16    [00] [0] iðz nu hēi aþ þingí τ ú r hēi kōín τ þagn  
[000] h[0] ho z[00] uel malí hf [0] ú ú h blíð þra í  
[000...000] en è uaðí zok hū fo<sup>z</sup>τ  
19    [00] lagð[00] [000...000] [0]el<sup>z</sup> j þio2ðu τ bað hī  
[000...000] þingí bio hu þð lína  
a b2[000] [00] þoz [000] aull[0] [000] hī ú þ lagz τ reíð a

- 22 [0000] [00000] [000000000] le<sub>it</sub>[000] heñar ɾ þundu  
 ĥa [000] [000] ɹok [000] [000] [000000] lĩĩ ɾ ʃpurðĩ ĥa hũf  
 u ĥu heþðĩ m[0] þarĩɹ raða gĩoɹð ĥĩ hũgĩ heþĩ  
 25 ek aþ [00]u<sub>gðĩɹ</sub> ʃa<sub>ðĩ</sub> ĥu ĥu geck eĩn ðag ɹĩl

lv -----

- 1 laugberkf ɾ ʃagðĩ ʃkĩlĩɹ ù .R. ʃɹɹa gĩoɹðu m̄  
 aɹ nyum ɹĩðĩndũ un̄r þoɹ heĩ m̄ þauðɹ lĩnũ  
 ɾ kō allðzeĩgĩ uefɹ þangaz ʃĩð  
 4 RUTR kom heĩ ɾ b2a mĩok j b2ũ  
 e' kona ĥĩ ù j bruɹɹu ɾ ù ĥ ʃtĩllɹ uel ĥn  
 ù heĩa aull þau mĩĩ ɾ reð ù aungũ mañ um  
 7 ʃĩɹɹ mal añaz ʃum̄ epɹ' reĩð .R. ɹ ʃĩngĩ ɾ .h. b2oð'  
 ĥĩ m̄ ĥm ɾ þĩolm̄ɹu mĩog. Eñ è ĥ ù komĩn̄ a al  
 þĩng ʃpurðĩ ĥ az .M. gĩgĩa ùĩ a þĩngĩ ĥm ù ʃa  
 10 gɹ az ĥ ù þar æɹluðu ʃ m̄ az ʃr mundu ɹa  
 la ũ mal lĩn eñ ʃ ù eckĩ eĩn hũn ðag è m̄ gēg  
 u ɹ laugbergf neþndĩ .M. f uoɹɹa ɾ leyfɹĩ þefau  
 13 k a heñðɹ .R. ũ þe mal ðoɹɹ ʃm̄ ɾ talðĩ nĩutĩgĩ  
 huñðaða leyfɹĩ ĥ þa ɹ gĩallða ɾ uɹ ġĩzlu ɾ leɹ  
 uĩrða .j̄j̄j̄. m̄ka uɹlegð ĥ leyfɹĩ ʃbĩoɹðũgĩ ðom  
 16 ʃn fē ʃaukĩn̄ attĩ j az koma az laugũ lyfɹĩ ĥ  
 lauglyĩng az heɹzandɑ hlĩoðĩ az laugbgi eñ è  
 ĥ haþðĩ ʃɹɹa mæɹɹ ʃũaðĩ .R. meĩr heĩɹ þu ʃ  
 19 ɹa mal eða ʃæk' m̄ þĩar a gĩrnd̄ kappĩ è ɹ  
 heɹɹ' ðoɹɹ ʃĩnar eñ m̄ goðuĩlĩa ɾ ðĩng ʃkap  
 eñða mũ ek her laɹa ʃuoɹ jmoɹĩ kōa ʃɹ þu

22 heṑ' è þeít ȝ hendr þ' ƿ e' ek þ' m̃. Mæli ek  
 fuo þ' az ƿr fe aller heyzandí uoʒʒ' è hía èu  
 az laugbergí az ek ſkoza þ' m̃. æ holm h'

2r

1 a þíngínu ƿ ſk̃ ú lígía mundziñ allr ƿ  
 þar legg ek ú añaz þe iamm̃it ƿ è ſa hūʒ  
 ueiggía þeít è aþ audʒ ber eñ eþ þu  
 4 uillt è beríazt ú m̃ þa ſktu aþ allrí þǽah  
 eimʒuí þa þagnadí .m. ƿ retz ū ú uíní ſi  
 na ū holmgaunguna h̃m ſúadí jozundʒ godí  
 7 è þarþʒu az èa rad̃ ú ofí ū ƿʒʒa mal ƿʒþu  
 mazʒ ƿ uíʒa eþ þu bezʒt ú .r̃. az þu munt  
 bæðí laʒa lıþ ƿ þeít è .r̃. uel þíz. ƿʒ h̃ è  
 10 m̃ill aþ ſíalþū fer ƿ m̃ þræknazʒ þa kuað 'm̃.  
 ƿ upp az h̃ uillðí è beriazʒ ú .r̃. nu ūð op m̃íz  
 az laugbergí ƿ ohlíod m̃íz ƿ haþðí .m̃. ína me  
 13 ſtu ſuíuírdíng rıða m̃ nu heī aþ þíngí ƿr ʒb  
 .h̃. r̃. rıðu ueíʒ ʒ reykiðalʒ ƿ gıʒʒu az lundr  
 þar bío þíofʒolþr ſon bíarñ gullbera regn ha  
 16 þðí úíz m̃íz ū dagín ƿ ū m̃ ozðñ uoʒ míoʒ ūu  
 þa gíoʒþ' ellð ſaz þíofʒólþ ȝ millū þra bzæð̃  
 ſueīar ʒueír leku æ golþínu ƿ ūu ueízlu ſ̃ei  
 19 ñ ƿ ūu ueízlu ſuíñ þíofʒolþí mæʒ eín lek hía  
 þm ƿr ūu malger míoʒ ƿ ouíʒrer añar m̃li  
 ek ſk̃ þ' m̃ ūa ƿ ſʒeþna þ' aþ kōunní ƿ þína

22 þ <sup>ˈ</sup> t az þ þá eckí foðdít añar fúaðí ek fē þ' .ṛ  
 úa rek ek þík aþ allrí þíhēīzūī eþ þu þoʔ  
 è az beríazz ú m̄ þzta m̄lu þr nauckrū línū

2v

- 1    τ g[000...000] hl[000...000] m[0]k[0]ll aþ heīa m̄m þa reī  
       ððīzz h.<sup>o</sup> τ laufz f[0000] m̄ fproza þn fem .ṁ.  
       neþð[000] eñ fþozi kō j [00]l[000] z fþ[0000] þ
- 4    .h.<sup>o</sup> m. u fueíní· útu uzi τ ðg [0]ck[0] fpozt az ofí  
       .ṛ. m. gack híngaz <sup>ˈ</sup> t min fueīnēñ gīoðdī fuo  
       .ṛ. ðzo [00]ngz gull aþ h[0]n̄de f[00] τ gaþ hm [000...000]
- 7    þ j b<sub>z</sub>[00]z τ leíza a [000...000]  
       fíð [000...000] m̄lī þín[00] f[0] ek [00] h[000]  
       ða. aþ þfu þeck [000...000] h
- 10   ēīan uef<sub>z</sub> τ è [000...000] m̄ð  
       U e þaz <sup>ˈ</sup> t m[000...000] hallg[00] uex [0]p [000...000]  
       τ è k[000...000] τ m[000] uexzi τ paguzz [0]
- 13   ríz τ fuo m̄īz az hn mazzī heylía fíg m̄ hn [000...000]  
       rlynd τ þeíngfau τ fkapaurð þíofzolþ hez þo[0]z[00]  
       har h ú fauðz eyfkr az æ[00] h ú fzkr m[000...000]
- 16   uel τ [0]aþðí m̄gañ mañ ðzeþ τ bæzē a[0]gū þ[0]  
       þ ú m̄l az h uærí hal[0000] eíngī fkapb[000...000]  
       aðz è neþnðz þozuallðz h [000...000] of[000]z<sub>f</sub> h bīo
- 19   æ me[0]alþellðz fz[000...000] h u [000...000]  
       azzí ey[00] þær è biarn ey[00] he[000] þæ[0] hggía uz [000]  
       eíða þ[0]rdí það<sup>n</sup> haþð[0] h [000]l [00] fkreíð f[00] h þu

- 22 rþr1 þozuallð2 ú m[000...000] zeif z nauk[000]  
 bzaðz [0] fkp1 þ ú [000] hue[000] f[0]m [00] þr þeð[0] [000]  
 luðu [0] m fer h1 þoz[000...000] a leiza u kua
- 25 nþang eñ þ þan[00]z æ az [00]2[0000]ð1 þozz1 [00] h1  
 g1 þullkofza ofu1þ [000...000] b[00]ia hallgðr lang

## A.2 Diplomatic level

|| 1r || fem bez[0] fiþan [000] hann fara ı fiordu ueftur ok figmu[000] [00] [00] [0] [00] hann  
flytia allt feit ueftan þat [00] [00] [0] þ[00] [0] fiordum ueftur ok uera ı burt leingi f[000...000]  
þa [00] menn rida til þings ok aller eru [000...000] [000] [000] ætla fkalta rífa ur reykiu [00]  
[000] [000] [000] [000] med þer faurunauta þína [000...000] til huilu þínar [000...000] þa fkalta  
nefna uott [000...000] leigía fskilit uid hann lag[000...000] at Alþingif mali [000...000] laugum  
flíka uotta fkalta hafa fyrir kalldyrum fídan rid þu a br[00]t ok rid laxar dalf heidi ok fuo til  
hollta uordu heidar ok rid þar til min þín mun lei[0]at til hruta fiardar enn er þu kemr til min  
mun ek [00] [00] malinu fkalta alldreígí fídan koma honum ı henndr [00] [0]idr nu heim af  
þingi ok uar rutr heim komin ok fagnar [000] h[0] hun t[00] uel mali hanf [0] uar uid hann  
blid þeira f[000...000] enn er uoradi tok hun fott [00] lagd[00] [000...000] [0]eifr ı fiordu ok  
bad henni [000...000] þingi bio hun ferd fína a br[000] [00] for [000] aull[0] [000] henní uar  
fyrir fagt ok reid a [0000] [00000] [000000000] leit[000] hennar ok fundu hana [00] [000] tok  
[000] [000] [000000] finní ok fpurdi hana huerf u hun hefdí med farít rada giord hanf huergí  
hefi ek af [00]ugdít fagdí hun hun geck éinn dag til || 1v || laugberkf ok fagdí fskilit uid rut  
þetta giordu menn at nyum tíðindum unnr for heim med faudr fínum ok kom alldreigi ueftur  
þangat fídan

### [8. kafli]

RUTR kom heim ok bra miok ı brun er kona hanf uar ı bruttu ok uar hann ftiltur uel hann  
uar heima aull þau míserí ok red uid aunguan mann um fítt mal annat fúmar epter reíd rutr til  
þingf ok hqskuldr broder hanf med honum ok fiolmenntu miog. Enn er hann uar kominn a  
alþing fpurdi hann at mordur gigía ueri a þingi honum uar fagt at hann uar þar ætludu þat  
menn at þeir mundu tala um mal fín enn þat uar eckí éinn huern dag er menn gengu til  
laugbergf nefndi mordur fer uotta ok leyftí felauf a henndr rutí um fe mal dottur finnar ok  
taldí niutigi hunndrada leyftí hann þa til gíallda ok ut greízlu ok let uírda .ííí. marka utlegd  
hann leyftí fíordungf dom þann fem faukínn attí ı at koma at laugum lyfti hann lauglyfing at

heyranda hliodi at laugbergi enn er hann hafði þetta mælt fúaradí rutr meír heimter þu þetta  
 mal eda fæker med fíar æ gírnd kappíer til heyrer dottur þínar enn med goduília ok dréing íkap  
 ennda mun ek her lata fuor ímotí koma þuiat þu hefer eigi feít í hendi þer þat er ek fer med.  
 Mæli ek fuo fyrir at þeir íe aller heyrandi uottar er hía eru at laugbergi at ek íkora þer mordur  
 æ holm her || 2r || a þíngínu ok íkal uid lígía mundrinn allr ok þar legg ek uid annat íe  
 íammikit ok eigi ía huortueiggía feít er af audrum ber enn ef þu uillt eigi beríazt uid mik þa  
 íkaltu af allrí fíraheimtunní þa þagnadi mordur ok retz um uid uini fína um holmgaunguna  
 honum fúaradí íorundr godí eigi þarftu at eiga rad uid off um þetta mal þvi at þu matt þat úíta  
 ef þu berzt uid rut at þu munt bædí lata lifit ok feít er ruti uel farít. þvi at hann er mikill af  
 fíalfum íer ok manna fræknaztr þa kuad mordur þat upp at hann uilldí eigi beríazt uid rut nu  
 uard op mikít at laugbergi ok ohlíod mikít ok hafði mordur ína me ítu íuíuírdíng rida menn nu  
 heim af þíngi þeir brædr hoskuldr rutr rídu ueftur til reykiar dalí ok gíftu at lundi þar bío  
 þíofstolfr íon bíarnar gullbera regn hafdi uerit mikít um daginn ok uoru menn ordner uoter  
 míok uoru þa gíorfer elldar íat þíofstólfr í millum þeira brædra íueinar tueir leku æ golfinu þat  
 uoru ueizlu íeuiinar þat uoru ueizlu íuínar þíofstolff mæer ein lek hía þeim þeir uoru malger míok  
 ok ouitrer annar malti ek íkal þer mordur uera ok ítefna þer af konunni ok finna þat til at þ(u)  
 íaer eckí íordít annar fúaradí ek íkal þer rutr uera rek ek þik af allrí ííarheimtunní ef þu þorer  
 eigi at beríazt uid mik þetta mæltu þeir nauckrum íínnum || 2v || ok g[000...000]  
 hl[000...000] m[0]k[0]ll af heima monnum þa reiddizt hoskuldr ok lauít í[0000] m íprotu þann  
 íem mordur nefnd[000] enn íprotinn kom í [00]ll[000] ok íp[0000] fyrir hoskuldr mælti uid  
 íueininn uertu uti ok drag [0]ck[0] ípott at off rutr mælti gack híngat til min íueinnenn gíordi  
 íuo rutr dro [00]ngr gull af h[0]nnde í[00] ok gaf honum [000...000] íar í br[00]t ok leíta a  
 [000...000] íidan [000...000] mælti þín[00] ek [00] b[000] ían af þeffu íeck [000...000] íeiman  
 ueftur ok er [000...000] mardar

## [9. kafli]

[N]U e[r] þat til m[000...000] hallger[00] uex [0]p [000...000] ok er k[000...000] ok m[000]  
 uexti ok íagurt [0]rít ok íuo mikít at hun matti heylía ííg med hun [000...000] rlynd ok



feínglaum ok fkaphaurd þíofstólfr het fo[0]t[00] hennar hann uar faudreyfkr at æ[00] hann uar fterkr m[000...000] uel ok [0]afdí margann mann drepit ok bættan a[0]guan f[0] þat uar mælt at hann uæri hal[0000] eingi fkapb[000...000] adr er nefndr þorualldr hann [000...000] of[000]rf hann bio æ me[0]alfelldz ft[000...000] hann uar [000...000] attí ey[00] þær er biarn ey[00] he[000] þæ[0] liggía ut [000...000] eída f[0]rdí þadan hafð[0] hann [000]l [00] fkreíd f[00] hann þurftí þorualldr uar m[000...000] teíf ok nauk[000] bradr [0] fkapí þat uar [000] hue[000] f[0]ni [00] þeir fed[0]ar [000...000]luðu [0] med fer huar þor[000...000] æ leita um kuanfang enn þat fan[00]t æ at [00]r[000]di þotti [00] huergi fullkosta ofuifr [000...000] b[00]ía hallgerdar lang

### ***A.3 Normalized level***

“[...] sem bez[t]. Síðan [mun] hann fara í fjörðu vestr ok Sigmu[ndr] [með honum, ok mun] hann flytja allt féit vestan þat [er hann á] þ[ar] [í] fjörðum vestr ok vera í burt lengi sumars. [En] þá er menn ríða til þings ok allir eru [þaðan riðnir þeir sem ríða] ætla, skaltu rísa úr rekkju [ok kveðja menn til ferðar] með þér. Förunauta þína [...] til hvílu þinnar [...] þá skalt nefna vátt [...] segja skilit við hann lag[...] at alþingis máli [...] lögum. Slíka vátta skaltu hafa fyrir karldyrum. Síðan ríð þú á br[au]t ok ríð Laxárdalsheiði ok svá til Holtavörðuheidar, ok ríð þar til mín. Þín mun leitast til Hrutafjarðar, en er þú kemr til mín mun ek [sjá fyrir] málinu. Skaltú aldregi síðan koma honum í hendr.”

[Hon] ríðr nú heim af þingi, ok v[ar] Hrutr heim kominn ok fagnar [vel] [henni]. Hon [tók] vel máli hans [ok] var við hann blíð. Þeira s[amfar][...]. En er váraði, tók hon sótt [ok] lag[ðisk] [...] [v]estr í fjörðu ok bað henni [...] þingi, bjó hon ferð sína a br[aut] [ok] fór [með] öllu [sem] henni var fyrir sagt ok reið á [þing síðan]. [Herðsmenn] lei[tuðu] hennar ok fundu hana [eigi]. [Mörðr] tók [vel við dóttur] sinni ok spurði hana, hversu hon hefði með farit ráðagörð hans. "Hvergi hefi ek af brugðit," [sagði] hon. Hon gekk einn dag til lögbergs ok sagði skilit við Hrut. Þetta gördu menn at nýjum tíðendum. Unnr fór heim með föður sínum ok kom aldregi vestr þangat síðan.

### **[8. kafli]**

Hrutr kom heim ok brá mjök í brún, er kona hans var í brottu, ok var hann stilltr vel. Hann var heima öll þau misseri ok réð við öngvan mann um sitt mál. Annat sumar eptir reið Hrutr til þings ok Hǫskuldr, bróðir hans, með honum ok fjölmenntu mjök. En er hann var kominn á alþing, spurði hann at Mörðr gígja væri á þingi. Honum var sagt, at hann var þar. Ætluðu þat menn, at þeir mundu tala um mál sín, en þat var ekki.

Einn hvern dag, er menn gengu til lögbergs, nefndi Mörðr sér vátta ok lýsti fésök á hendr Hrutu um fémál dóttur sinnar ok talði níu tigi hundraða: lýsti hann þá til gjalda ok útgreizlu ok lét virða þriggja marka útleð. Hann lýsti í fjórðungsdóm þann, sem sǫkin átti í at koma at lögum. Lýsti hann lög lýsing at heyranda hljóði at lögbergi. En er hann hafði þetta

mælt, svaraði Hrútr: "Meir heimtir þú þetta mál eða sækir með fjár ágirnd [ok] kappi er til heyrir dóttur þinnar en með góðvilja ok drengskap, enda mun ek hér láta svör í móti koma, því at þú hefir eigi féit í hendi þér, þat er ek fer með. Mæli ek svá fyrir, at þeir sé allir heyrandi vátar, er hjá eru at lögbergi, at ek skora þér, Mqrðr, á hólmi hér á þinginu, ok skal við liggja mundrinn allr, ok þar legg ek við annat fé jafnmikit, ok eigi sá hvártveggja féit, er af qðrum berr, en ef þú villt eigi berjask við mik, þá skaltu af allri fjárheimtunni." Þá þagnaði Mqrðr ok rézk um við vini sína um hólmgönguna. Honum svaraði Jqrundr goði: "Eigi þarftu at eiga ráð við oss um þetta mál, því at þú mátt þat vita, ef þú bersk við Hrút, at þú munt bæði láta lífit ok féit; er Hrúti vel farit; því at hann er mikill af sjálfum sér ok manna fræknastr." Þá kvað Mqrðr þat upp, at hann vildi eigi berjask við Hrút. Nú varð óp mikit at lögbergi ok óhljóð mikit ok hafði Mqrðr ina mestu svívirðing.

Ríða menn nú heim af þingi. Þeir bræðr Hqskuldr [ok] Hrútr riðu vestr til Reykjardals ok gistu at Lundi. Þar bjó Þjóstólfr, son Bjarnar gullbera. Regn hafði verit mikit um daginn, ok váru menn orðnir vátir mjök; váru þá gqrvir eldar. Sat Þjóstólfr í millum þeira bræðra. Sveinar tveir léku á gólfinu; þat váru veizlusveinar; þat váru veizlusveinar Þjóstólfs. Mær ein lék hjá þeim. Þeir váru málgir mjök ok óvitrir. Annar mælti: "Ek skal þér Mqrðr vera ok stefna þér af konunni ok finna þat til at þú fáir ekki sorðit." Annar svaraði: "Ek skal þér Hrútr vera. Rek ek þik af allri fjárheimtunni, ef þú þorir eigi at berjask við mik." Þetta mæltu þeir nokkurum sinnum ok g[...] hl[...] mikill af heimamönnum. Þá reiddi[sk] Hqskuldr ok laust s[veininn] m[eð] sprota, þann sem Mqrðr nefn[disk] en sprotinn kom í [andlitit] ok sp[rakk] [fyrir]. Hqskuldr mælti við sveininn: "Vertú úti ok [drag] [ekki] spott at oss." Hrútr mælti: "Gakk hingat til mín." Sveinninn gqrdi svá. Hrútr dró fingr gull af hendi s[ér] ok gaf honum [ok mælti]: "Far í braut ok leita á [...] síðan." [Sveinninn fór í braut ok mælti]: "Þin[um] [drengskap skal] ek [við bregða æ] síðan." Af þessu fekk [Hrútr gott orð]. [Síðan fóru þeir] heiman vestr ok er [nú lokit þætti þeirra] Marðar.

## [9. kafli]

[N]ú er þat til m[áls] [at taka at] Hallgerðr vex [up]p [dóttir Høskulds], ok er k[venna] [fríðust] [sýn]um ok mikil vexti, ok fagrt hárit ok svá mikit, at hon mátti h[ylja] sik með. Hon [var] [ø]rlynd ok fengsöm ok skaphørð. Þjóstólfr hét fóstri hennar; hann var suðreyskr at [ætt]. Hann var sterkr m[aðr] [ok vígr] vel ok [h]afði margan m[ann] [d]rept ok bættan öngvan fé. Þat var mælt, at hann væri Hal[lgerði] engi skap[bætir].

[M]aðr er nefndr Þorvaldr; hann [var] [son] Ós[víf]rs. Hann bjó á Meðalfells st[rönd]. Hann var [...] átti eyjar þær, er Bjarn eyjar heita; þær liggja út [...] Breiða firði; þaðan hafði hann [mjøl] [ok] skreið [sem] [hann] þurfti. Þorvaldr var m[aðr] [knár] [ok] [kur]teiss, ok nökkut bráðr [í] skapi. Þat var [einu] hverju sinni, [at] þeir feðgar [tø]luðu [um] með sér, hvar Þor[valdr] [myndi] á leita um kvánfang, en þat fannsk á, at [Þorvaldi] þótti [sér] hvergi fullkosta. Ósvífr [mælti]: "[Vill þú] b[ið]ja Hallgerðar lang[brókar][...]"

## Appendix B. Notes on the transcription

All forms that appear as underlined in the transcriptions on diplomatic and facsimile level were either unclear or readings were problematic. Especially *recto* side of leaf nr. 1 and *verso* side of leaf nr. 2 delivers many problematic readings due to the condition of parchment. Illegible readings are marked in a transcription on facs and dipl level with [0], and supplied text based on Einar Ól. Sveinsson's and Konráð Gíslason's edition is provided on norm level, in square brackets. Not all of these examples are described below, giving priority to the ones with linguistic value.

The forms abbreviated with superscript character “z” were expanded as “ur” on the diplomatic level, but on the same level the character “z” written on-line, was represented as “r”. The abbreviation of word *fyrir* was expanded as “fyrer” where abbreviated with the superscript “er”-curl, but as “fyrir”, when abbreviated with the superscript “i”.

“bezt” (1r1) “z” is unclear and “t” was supplied on normalized level.

“fiþan” (1r1) “þ” is unclear, but probably was used in the top line in purpose to add decorations on the ascender, elsewhere spelling “fiðan” appears. In a transcription on facs and dipl levels “þ” appears, on normalized “ð”.

“hann” (1r1) an abbreviation bar on “h” is unclear, it is expanded as *hann* on dipl level.

“fara” (1r1) superscript “r” is unclear.

“j” (1r1) appears on facs and dipl level, but on norm it appears as “i” since it stands for this preposition.

“uera” (1r3) the abbreviation mark looks more like a superscript “c” than “er” abbreviation, basing on the usual shape of “er” abbreviation it is also possible that part of the “er” abbreviation was damaged and is illegible now.

“aller” (1r4) “er” – abbreviation mark was expanded as “er” basing on the written out form “aller” (1v23).

“til” (1r13) superscript “i” is barely visible and it seems to join the descended curve of “x” from the line above.

“uar” (1r16) superscript “r” is barely visible

“laugberks” (1v1) *løgbergs* seems to be spelled with “k” to allow scribe adding decorated ascender in the top line.

“hann” (1v5) abbreviation looks exactly the same as abbreviation for “hún” it is contraction with written out “h” and “n” with abbreviation bar above.

“ætludu” (1v10) – scribal error “g” corrected into “u”.

“fírah|eimtunní” (2r4|5) – superscript character that appears between “í” and “a” is problematic. It shapes seems to be “r” superscript, overlapping accent mark of “í”. The expansion is problematic, if the abbreviation mark was over a it could be expanded as “r” in “hundrada” (1v13) or as “ur” in “dottur” (1v13). But with this position it can be interpreted as a scribal error for *fjarheimtunni*. Especially because there is another form “fjarheimtunní” (2r23) abbreviated with superscript “r”.

“þat váru veizlusveinar” (2r18-19) dittography, with scribal error in second appearance of *sveinar* “fuínar”.

“þ” (2r22) scribal error, supplied “u” on dipl and norm level













“e” (2v11) scribal error, supplied “r” on dipl and norm level





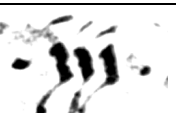









“heylía” (2v13) *hylja*, this reading is unclear since cluster “ey” does not look like usual.

“faudzeyfkr” (2v15) – the curved bar above the “a” can mean that scribe indicated this way error.








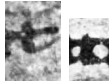

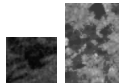




“fkapi” (2v23) superscript “a” seems to stand for single character, what is rather unusual.



## Appendix c. The alphabet of alpha

Phono-grapheme	Graph-type	Graph – type variant	Graph
/a/	/a/	a	
/á/	/a/	ǣ	
/b/	/b/	b	
/d/	/d/	d <sub>1</sub>	
		d <sub>2</sub>	
/e/	/e/	e	
/f/	/f/	f <sub>1</sub>	
		f <sub>2</sub>	
/g/	/g/	g <sub>1</sub>	
		g <sub>2</sub>	
/h/	/h/	h <sub>1</sub>	
		h <sub>2</sub>	



















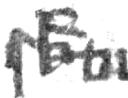


/i/	/i/	i <sub>1</sub>	
		i <sub>2</sub>	
	/j/	j <sub>1</sub>	
		j <sub>2</sub>	
		j <sub>3</sub>	
/k/	/k/	k	
	/c/	c	
/l/	/l/	l	
/m/	/m/	m	
	/M/	M <sub>1</sub>	
		M <sub>2</sub>	
/n/	/n/	n	
/o/	/o/	o	
/p/	/p/	p <sub>1</sub>	



		$p_2$	
$/r/$	$/r/$	$r$	
	$/z/$	$z$	
	$/R/$	$R_1$	
		$R_2$	
$/s/$	$/f/$	$f_1$	
		$f_2$	
$/t/$	$/t/$	$t_1$	
$/u/$	$/u/$	$u$	
$/x/$	$/x/$	$x$	
$/y/$	$/y/$	$y_1$	
		$y_2$	
$/p/$	$/p/$	$p$	
$/æ/$	$/æ/$	$æ$	

/z/	/z/	$z_1$	
		$z_2$	

## Appendix D. Types of the abbreviations of alpha

<i>D.1 Abbreviations with a lexical reference</i>					
Suspensions		Contractions		Brevigraphs with lexical reference	
Example of abbreviation	Expansion	Example of abbreviation	Expansion	Example of abbreviation	Expansion
	<i>hann</i>		<i>hanf</i>		<i>ok</i>
	<i>þat</i>		<i>mæltu</i>		
	<i>fkal</i>		<i>þeir</i>		
	<i>bræður</i>		<i>uoru</i>		
	<i>eigi</i>		<i>uar</i>		
	<i>fyrir</i>		<i>með</i>		
	<i>við</i>		<i>mik</i>		
	<i>til</i>		<i>manna</i>		
	<i>menn</i>		<i>fkalta</i>		
	<i>Mordr</i>				
	<i>Rutr</i>				

## D.2 Abbreviations with a specific graphemic reference

Superscript signs		Superscript letters		Linear brevigraphs	
Example of abbreviation	Expansion	Example of abbreviation	Expansion	Example of abbreviation	Expansion
	kom		dreíng fkap		audrum
	brædra		huort		
	hǫskuldur		íammíkit		
	er		fídan		
	verít		lífit		
	unnr		marka		
			dottur		
			hunndrada		