

**Háskóli Íslands
Hugvísindasvið
Viking and Medieval Norse Studies**

Icelandic or Norwegian Scribe?

***An Empirical Study of AM 310 4to, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and
AM 655 XIV 4to***

Ritgerð til MA-prófs í Viking and Medieval Norse Studies

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May 2016

ABSTRACT

The manuscript AM 310 4to from the 13th century has been the subject of many scholarly studies since the middle of the 19th century. The main research question has always been whether we talk about an Icelandic or a Norwegian manuscript due to the high number of Norwegianisms exhibited by the scribe. The starting point of the present thesis will give an outline of the earlier scholarship and the manifold theories about the provenance of AM 310 4to. In addition to this, with the help of Ole Widding's palaeographical analysis light will be shed on the relationship of the manuscript with AM 655 XII-XIII and 655 XIV 4to. The next section will be devoted to discuss the problematics about Norwegianisms and the main differences between Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian. Based on this information a comparative palaeographical and linguistic analysis of the three manuscripts will be conducted in order to find out if they were written by three scribes or perhaps a single scribe, and also if the scribe(s) was (were) Icelandic or Norwegian.

ÁGRIP

Handritið AM 310 4to frá þrettánda öld hefur verið viðfangsefni fræðimanna allar götur frá því á 19. öld. Í handritinu eru æði mörg norsk einkenni á máli og stafsetningu og því hafa fræðimenn velt því fyrir sér hvort skrifarinn muni hafa verið íslenskur eða norskur. Í ritgerð þessari verður fyrst gefið yfirlit yfir rannsóknasöguna og ólíkar hugmyndir fræðimanna um uppruna handritsins. Enn fremur verða rædd tengsl AM 310 4to við handritsbrotin í AM 655 XII-XIII og 655 XIV 4to og þar byggt á rannsóknnum Ole Widding. Þá verður fjallað um norsk áhrif í íslenskum miðaldahandritum eða svonefnda norvagsisma og nokkur þeirra atriða sem greina á milli forníslensku og fornnorsku. Á grunni þessa verður borin saman skrift og stafsetning á handritunum þremur og þess freistað að skera úr um það hvort þau muni hafa verið skrifuð af einum skrifara eða fleirum og hvort líklegt sé að skrifararnir eða skrifarinn hafi verið norskur eða íslenskur.

Keywords: Norwegianism, AM 310 4to, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to, AM 655 XIV 4to, palaeography, Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar, Ólafs saga Odds, comparative linguistics, sociolinguistics

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1. Introduction

The 13th-century vellum manuscript AM 310 4to in the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen consists of 45 leaves, containing two texts, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* and the *Ten Plagues of Egypt*. The latter one, however, occupies only the last leaf, written by a different hand. The peculiarity of the part containing *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* is an interesting mixture of Norwegian and Icelandic linguistic and orthographic features, including many interesting and rare aspects, leading to uncertainty, about whether the manuscript was written by an Icelandic or a Norwegian hand. This is a rather important question, especially from the point of view of date and location of the manuscript's writing. The manuscript has been the subject of several studies since the end of the 19th century. It has been analysed from different aspects, including dialectology, orthography, and palaeography. Even though these studies give us valuable information about the manuscript, there are several questions that are still open regarding the origins and the language of the book. One of the most recent studies on both Norwegianisms and AM 310 4to is included in an article written by Stefán Karlsson (1978). Besides discussing other manuscripts, he also made a short summary of the existing literature on AM 310 4to and two supposedly related fragments, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to. These two fragments and AM 310 4to show a high degree of palaeographical similarity (Widding, 1952), and it has also been pointed out that they might have been written by the same, Icelandic scribe (Stefán Karlsson 1978). However, Stefán Karlsson's conclusions are mostly based on the palaeographical examinations, and thus, the validity of the research done before is not fully included. Such important research is the linguistic analysis done by Marius Hægstad (1935), who tried to find the possible origin of the manuscript with the help of dialectology or the detailed orthographical examination of Ole Widding (1952).

The three leaves of AM 655 XII-XIII 4to contains fragments of lives of the apostles Pétr, Jakob, Bartholomeus, Matheus, Símon, and Júdas. AM 655 XIV 4to consists of two leaves with a fragment of *Jóns saga postola* and *Stephanus saga*. Their relationship with AM 310 4to is rather interesting, since AM 655 XII-XIII was probably written in Iceland, and as was pointed out by Stefán Karlsson (1978, 180), Þingeyrar, Iceland, seems to be a very plausible place of origin for all the three manuscripts.

The aim of this thesis is to shed light on the origins of AM 310 4to, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to, through an examination of palaeographic, orthographic and linguistic features. In case it is possible to confirm that the three manuscripts were written by a single scribe, it is also possible to take the research further. We can examine whether the manuscripts were written by a Norwegian working in Iceland under Icelandic influence, or he was an Icelander working in a Norwegian environment, who tried to adopt Norwegian linguistic and orthographic practices.

The different parts and methods are going to be divided into several sections. The first section will be devoted to the discussion of the research history since the 19th century. It is, however, important to approach the different ideas and theories with a critical view, in order to stay objective about the questions arising. The main ideas and theories are going to be highlighted and summarized in a chronological order. The second section will address the problem of Norwegianisms. This is a crucial part of the thesis, as the definition and theories behind the term ‘Norwegianism’ are forming a core part of the research on the provenance of the manuscripts. This part will address questions about the origins of Norwegianisms, a theoretical distinction between different levels of Norwegianisms and the linguistic differentiation of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, in the period of 1200-1400. The third section is an empirical study of AM 310 4to, and the two fragments, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to, attributed

to the same scribe. After a palaeographical description and comparison of the three documents, a linguistic analysis will be conducted in order to identify the Norwegian linguistic and orthographic traits. Once the theoretical part and the analysis is done, the last section will sum up and conclude the research results on the research questions.

Due to the restricted length of the thesis it is not possible to list Norwegianisms and give a full description from the entire manuscript. Therefore a selected sample from the beginning, middle and end of the material is going to form the basis of my conclusions.

2. Research history of AM 310 4to

2.1 Overview

Since the middle of the 19th century, there has been a scholarly discussion about the language, provenance, and history of the manuscript AM 310 4to. The main focus of the research revolves around the question of whether the manuscript was written by a Norwegian or an Icelandic hand, and whether it was written in Iceland or Norway. If one studies the data, one may not find the diverse opinions surprising, since the manuscript contains several conflicting features which make it difficult to reach a definitive conclusion. The majority of the studies conducted on the topic take different aspects into consideration, including dialectology, palaeography, and orthography, culture and history. However, it is important to highlight, that each and every aspect can be decisive, or can reveal information that is missing from another. Therefore, it is imperative to carefully study the earlier literature, and re-examine all the most relevant data. In accordance with this, the following section is going to present the earlier material about the book. A chronological order seems to be the most efficient way to do so, as it enables us to see how differing opinions changed during the past century and a half, and how certain study methods and fields gained more weight.

2.2 The earliest studies and P.A. Munch 1853

The *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* text of AM 310 4to was first published in 1835 in the *Formanna sögur* series. At this time, the publishers thought it most probable, that the manuscript was written in Norway (Stefán Karlsson 1978, 179). Nearly two decades later P.A. Munch shared the same view and added, that the book was written by a genuine Norwegian hand and with a 13th-century Norwegian orthography (Munch 1853, XXII). However, his reasons and thoughts concerning this conclusion are not explained in

detail; only notes are taken about the observations on the orthography, which are not sufficient grounds to come to such a conclusion.

2.3 Konráð Gíslason 1860

Konráð Gíslason (1860, VII) was the first one to disagree with this view. He maintained that the manuscript was written by an Icelandic hand, rather than a Norwegian. He also narrowed down the time frame for the writing into the second half of the 13th century (Konráð Gíslason 1860, VII). Nevertheless, he does not discuss the data upon which he bases his conclusions, still leaving us without information about the main features which can be important for further research.

2.4 P. Groth 1895

P. Groth (1895, XXXXVIII), was the first one to present a more detailed analysis of the orthography and language of the manuscript. Based on a single instance of the broken *iak* form of Old Icelandic *ek* “I” (first person personal pronoun) Groth concluded that the manuscript has an East Norwegian origin.

2.5 Marius Hægstad 1935¹

The first deeper analysis of AM 310 4to in the 20th century was conducted by Marius Hægstad (1935, 41-44). His main focus was on linguistic features. He took dialectal differences into consideration as well and tried to narrow down the provenance of the

¹ Hægstad’s work was published posthumously in 1935; Finnur Jónsson agreed with his views in his publication from 1932. See: https://snl.no/Marius_H%C3%A6gstad

manuscript and claimed a South-West Norwegian origin (Hægstad 1935, 44). As part of his analysis he provided reasons and examples in order to support his view.

According to his observations, the writing technique is “trøndsk”, i.e. it is from the Trøndelag region around Trondheim of West-Norway, but the use of the letter “þ” to denote a voiced dental also points towards West-Norwegian writings. As he explains, *u*-umlaut is not fully spelled out, especially before dentals (e.g. “aðrum”, for *ǫðrum*, “annur” for *ǫnnur* ‘other’), and *e* and *æ* are not distinguished from each other in stem syllables, which are common Norwegian features. However, all these ideas are unclear and he does not specify what he really means. As he further argues, he did not find vowel harmony between the unstressed vowels *e*, *i*, *o* and *u* and the preceding syllables, as the unstressed vowels are mostly *i* and *u*. According to his observations, this points towards a transitional language use, nearly East Norwegian, in Sudvald, or the seaside of Agder. This location is not known where to be found, as he most probably builds his comments on his contemporary knowledge without additional references. Further features are to be found in the lexicon, with words which are East Norwegian, or at least they have most widely spread in that region: “arum” for *ǫrum* dat. ‘eagle’, “regna” for *riġna* ‘to rain upon’, “varðr” for *verðr* of *verða* ‘becomes’ etc. South Norwegian phenomenon is the privative prefix *ú-*, instead of *ó-*, too. Hægstad further argues that whether the weakening in case declension has its roots in South-East Norwegian is uncertain, but not unreasonable. However, the use of the broken form “iak” for *ek* is even more uncertain, whether it is an East or South-East Norwegian innovation. Hægstad does not explain his ideas regarding this matter in details, and he leaves this question open.

Hægstad counts on Icelandic influence regarding the use of word-initial *hn*, *hl*, and *hr*, instead of the Norwegian *n* (“hneisu” for Norw. *neisu*), *l* (e.g. “hlaupit” for Norw.

laupið) and *r* (e.g. “*hræddr*” for Norw. *ræddr*). He counted 222 forms without *h*, and 84 with *h*, they are used throughout verses, regardless of whether their presence is needed or not for metric reasons (as for instance in 14 cases). He concluded that the verses were copied from Icelandic, either immediately or they were added later. In prose he found orthographic “*hl*” 12 times out of 194 times of etymological *hl*, “*hn*” 3 times out of 10, and “*hr*” 55 times out of 88. He also admits that the spellings with “*h*” point towards an Icelandic scribe, as the spelling of “*h*” with this degree of accuracy is not expected from a Norwegian scribe for whom such spellings had no linguistic basis anymore.

The evidence he found is conflicting, as there are features which are clearly Norwegian. On the other hand, there are other features which are unambiguously Icelandic. Nonetheless, he still insists on a Norwegian scribe in accordance with his meaning of a distinctively Norwegian vocabulary, because why would a scribe replace originally Icelandic words with Norwegian ones, if the scribe was not a Norwegian? His solution for the question is Icelandic influence from using or copying an original Icelandic exemplar (even though Groth believed that it was a direct copy from a Latin original, and Hægstad had also found Latin influence, mostly on the syntax and reflexive verbal forms with passive sense). Hægstad presents the following words as examples for Icelandic vocabulary: *bygð* ‘colonisation’, *ráðahagr* ‘marriage’ for Old Norwegian *ráðafar*, *útlagðr* ‘outlawed’ for Old Norwegian *útlægr*. In addition to the East Norwegian influences, there is a general distinction between the long vowels *æ* and *ó*, lack of the orthographic representation of *u*-umlaut before non-syncopated *u* in forms like “*sannaðu*” for *sǫnnuðu* ‘proved’, the use of the 3rd person ending in the 1st person in the present indicative, as in *hefir ec* for *hefi ek* or *hef ek* ‘I have’, “*skalú*” for *skulu* ‘shall’, unbound article in the beginning of the words, and substantives with the suffixed

definite article before a genitive. However, he does not specify these observations in details and he does not give examples either.

Hægstad dated the manuscript for to the first half of the 13th century, with the restriction that it is certainly not younger. He based this conclusion on observations of the use of dental fricative after *l*, *n* and *m*, e.g. “dreymði” ‘dreamed’ (which was in use in Sudvald until 1300), mixed use of middle voice “-z” and “-sk”, use of “-umk” in first person sing. and plur., verbal ending -a in first person sing. (*ætlaða* ‘intended’, and *hefða* ‘to acquire right to do something’), forms like “sonu” in acc. plur., adjective endings in -a (although he does not specify which adjectives and which forms), dem. pronoun “sia” ‘this/that’ for “þessi”, first pers. sing. “hefir” ‘have/has’ two times, weakened vowels in case endings, and doubtful forms, like “langi” ‘long’ for *langa*.

Hægstad’s study is valuable, and he builds a lot on the knowledge we have about 13th-century Norwegian dialects. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that, at the same time, he also strictly excludes certain possibilities and insists on a Norwegian origin with an Icelandic exemplar.

2.6 Finnur Jónsson 1932

When Finnur Jónsson published his version of Óláfs saga based on AM 310 4to in 1932, he agreed with Hægstad and Groth that the provenance of the manuscript is South-West Norwegian, but he also claimed that the original work in Latin was first translated into Icelandic. However, he does not discuss details about a possible Icelandic exemplar. He dated the manuscript to the second half of the 13th century, but he also believed, that the third quarter of the century is also a possibility. In his edition, Finnur Jónsson also used the text of Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar in DG 4-7 fol. and Holm perg. 18 4to to complete the saga. In his view, the three manuscripts are either copies of the Icelandic

translation of the Latin original, or Holm perg. 18 4to is based on the other two manuscripts, which in turn are copies of the Icelandic translation (Finnur Jónsson 1932, XIX).

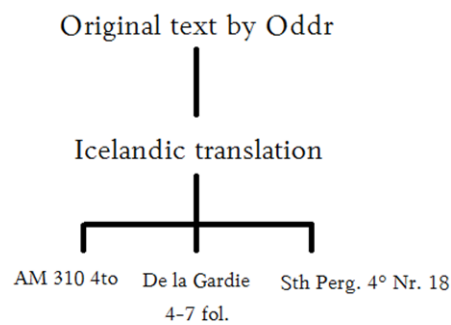


Fig. 1. The relationship of the three manuscripts

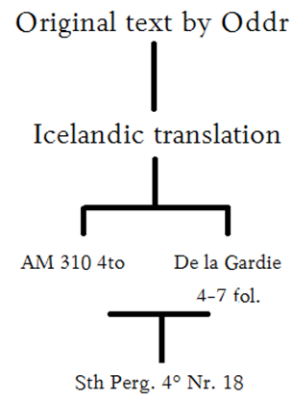


Fig. 2. The relationship of the three manuscripts

On the relevance of the relationship of the three manuscripts, see more in chapter 5.3.

2.7 D. A. Seip 1938

D. A. Seip also addressed the question regarding the provenance of AM 310 4to, and he gave an explanation that narrows down the time frame of writing. According to his general theory, traits of any original manuscripts can be seen even in later copies, that is to say, for instance forms that are alien to the Icelandic language are indications for a Norwegian original (Seip 1954, 2). For example, an orthography that uses predominantly “i” and “o” to denote the unstressed vowels *i* and *u*, but has traces of *e*-*u* vowel harmony, could have a Norwegian original (Seip 1954, 23). Hreinn Benediktsson has pointed out, however, that in the 13th century, “e” and “o” were still used sporadically in Icelandic manuscripts to denote *i* and *u*, in part mainly due to mechanical copying. In this sense, it is not necessarily a feature coming from a Norwegian original, but rather from a system that was in use in the earliest Icelandic

scripts (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 72). In addition to this, Seip also emphasizes, that these manuscripts could have been dictated to the scribes, and in this case we also have to take into consideration the dialect of the person dictating (Seip 1954, 219).

The idea that a number of extant copies of Icelandic manuscripts are in fact copies of manuscripts originally written in Norway, was especially maintained by Seip. However, as it has been pointed out by Hreinn Benediktsson (1965, 20), his theories are not convincing enough in the complete absence of Norwegian comparative material older than 1150 on the one hand, and the lack of Seip's studies of manuscripts of genuinely Icelandic work on the other hand.

A single instance of the broken form "iak" was an indication for P. Groth that the script was written by a scribe from East-Norway ("østlending"), and Seip (1954, 222-224) seems to agree with this view, as this form is an example of the scribe's language. Seip points out that the form "iak" also appears in AM 655 XXIX 4to containing *Alexanders saga*. This work was translated by Brandr Jónsson during his stay in Niðarós with King Hákon and Magnús, in 1262-63. In several other manuscripts, containing this saga, there are Norwegianisms to be found, most probably due to the influence of Brandr's translation. Furthermore, Seip explains that the use of "iak" in AM 655 XXIX 4to is contemporaneous with AM 310 4to, i.e. in the third quarter of the 13th century. This form establishes a connection between AM 310 4to and Brandr and his sojourn in Norway.

During the 1240s, Hákon was the bishop of Oslo (from 1248), archbishop of Niðarós (from 1267), and headmaster of the school in Oslo, i.e. rector of the cathedral school. He was close to King Hákon, but mostly closest to Magnús. During the summer of 1262, as it is written in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, Brandr Jónsson visited the archbishoprics of Niðarós from Iceland. In the autumn, the kings travelled to

Brándheim, where Brandr met them. As Seip explains, it was natural that a cleric or another literate person from among King Magnús' friends, i.e. bishop Hákon followed the king to the north with the task to copy those literary works that Brandr provided upon the request of the king. Seip argued, that it is quite possible that the copy of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* in AM 310 4to belongs to this Oslo group, the king and his circle, i.e. the form "iak" is not just at the same time, but also from the same Norwegian environment. It leads to the conclusion, that it is possible to date the manuscript based on these two examples to 1250–1275, or more precisely 1250–1263, in accordance with the work of this group (Seip 1954, 222–224).

This sounds somewhat speculative and hard to follow, and without further examples and proof, it is not entirely convincing to narrow down the date of writing to only thirteen years, and assign the work to a very specific group of people, based only on two words from otherwise two independent manuscripts.

2.8 Ole Widding 1952

In his article from 1952, Ole Widding took a different manuscript and different field as a starting point. According to his observations, two fragments, AM 655 XII–XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to, show close orthographic and palaeographic resemblance to AM 310 4to. However, he highlights that even though AM 655 XIV 4to shows great similarity with AM 655 XII–XIII, the so-called *Höskuldsstaðabók* from Höskuldsstaðir (in Húnavatnsýssla, Iceland), it is not part of the manuscript (1952, 158). Furthermore, he claims that there is nothing in the way to say that AM 655 XIV 4to and AM 310 4to were also written there (1952, 164).

The fragment AM 655 XIV 4to consists of two leaves, one with *Jóns saga postola*, the other one with *Stephanus saga*. Widding provided a list of Norwegianisms that can

be found in the fragment. The most common ones are missing *u*-umlauts (for instance “aðrom” for *ǫðrum*, “allum” for *ǫllum*, “hafuð” for *hǫfuð* etc.), sometimes *e* used for expected *æ* (like in “veri” for *væri* ‘be’, or “melti” for *mælti* ‘said’), and use of “av” (ligature of “a” and “v”) for *æ* as in Norwegian writings. He also highlights, that the vowel system does not fit with the Icelandic system described in the First Grammatical Treatise, but rather with the Norwegian one. One is that, the scribe distinguishes between *ǣ* and *ó*. This distinction started to gradually disappear in Icelandic in the second half of the 13th century. According to Widding’s observations, the phonological system shows hesitation in the manuscript, as most probably it was different in the original one, so the scribe or copier started to follow his own rules and style relatively quickly. Widding dated the fragment to around 1250, but he writes that maybe it is closer to the second half of 13th century. In addition to this, he also listed palaeographical and orthographical features for all the three manuscripts, namely AM 310 4to, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to, and based his comparison on them (Widding 1952, 143-171). The following short list is a summary of Widding’s observations on the common features of the three manuscripts.

1. Use of “d” with straight ascender, and use of “ð” with left-slanting ascender:

In AM 310 4to, “ð” is dominant, while “d” is found sporadically word initially, otherwise it is used in abbreviations. AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to tend to have a preference of “d” in certain words, and more or less in word-initial position.

2. Use of “f”:

All the three manuscripts have “safna” with “f”, except for AM 655 XII-XIII 4to on 2v6 has “samnaði”. In other places in AM 310 4to and AM 655 XII-XIII it alters.

3. Use of the letters “k” and “c”:

The palatal rule is observed in all the three manuscripts, “c” is used, but turns into “k” before “e, i, y”. The long “k” is denoted as “ck”, but it turns into “cq” before the combination of “v” and a vowel.

4. Use of “ll”, “l” and “nn”, “n” before “d, t, and þ”:

All three manuscripts denotes the sound *l* as “ll” before the dental stop *d*, but “l” before the dental fricative *ð*.

5. Use of “r” and “z”:

AM 655 XIV 4to and AM 310 4to have a ratio of 1:2 of “r” and “z” after “o”, and there are some sporadic examples of the use of rotunda after “ð”, “ð” and “ø”, except for AM 655 XII-XIII to. In AM 655 XII-XIII 4to an interesting feature is the use of long-r, “r̄”, which was more common in Norwegian, except for Vestlandet. However, he does not mention whether it was an East Norwegian feature. This feature comes up, however, only once in “harðla” 1r22 (Widding 1952, 161).

6. Use of letters “u”, “v”, “p” and “f”:

Both in AM 655 XIV 4to and AM 310 4to, “p” and “f” are used in intervocalic position. The letter “u” is used after “s, þ, h, t”. In all the three manuscripts, all the three letters are found word initially, although with altering preference.

7. Use of “þ” and “ð”:

Both in AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM XIV 4to, “þ” used in word-initial position, but word-medially it alternates with “ð”. In AM 310 4to “þ” and “ð” alternate in both word-initial and word-final position, but there is a general preference for “ð” over “þ”.

8. Denotation of long consonants:

The system is essentially the same in all the three manuscripts. Long consonants are marked with double letters, which are rarely seen in Norwegian manuscripts. Sometimes “n” alters with “ñ”.

Widding further argues, that one may say that these similarities found in the three manuscripts are not necessarily proofs for that the three manuscripts were written by a single scribe, but the corpus we have at hand is so manifold, that such high degree of similarity raises suspicion. Furthermore, AM 310 4to is, in his view, the work of a Norwegian, which is consistent with the proposed date of 1250. However, it is important to highlight, that Widding also acknowledges the Norwegian influence of the time. As he points out, one has to count with a Norwegian scribe, or at least, taking clearly Norwegian forms into consideration, with a scribe who received his training in Norway. As the last point he also adds that AM 310 4to must have had an Icelandic original, i.e. the Latin work of Oddr was first translated into Icelandic, and then it was copied into this manuscript. He coins the question, if it had a Norwegian original text, why do the other two fragments have the same traits? The most reasonable answer is that they were written by the same hand, hence the same features and Norwegianisms. The orthographical analysis conducted in his paper is thorough and up to the point, based

on tangible evidence in these manuscripts. Nevertheless, certain points Widding made are influenced by the work of Seip, which we should treat rather carefully.

2.9 Anne Holtsmark 1974

Anne Holtsmark (1974) also discusses the origins of AM 310 4to. As she explains, Oddr's saga is preserved as a shorter version in Holm Perg. 18 4to in the Royal Library of Stockholm, an Icelandic manuscript from around 1300. In addition, we have a Norwegian copy, DG 4-7 fol. preserved in the University Library of Uppsala, two leaves, containing the ending of the saga. In her introduction, she does not refer to Widding's 1952 paper where he associated AM 310 4to with the two fragments, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to (as pointed out by Stefán Karlsson 2000, 181). According to her, there is nothing in the way to say that AM 310 4to was written in Bergen (Holtsmark 1974, 11). However, she also acknowledges that the manuscript does not have a uniform consistency in language use. There are forms which usually count as East Norwegian, but at the same time, there are also examples from West Norwegian and Icelandic.

She notes that the unstressed vowels are generally spelled “a”, “i”, and “u”, they only rarely appear as “e” and “o”. There is no sign of vowel harmony, which makes it improbable that the writer is from East or North West Norway. The scribe altered between “a” and “o” at certain forms, like for instance “hafuð”/“hofuð” ‘head’, “gafugr”/“gofugr” ‘noble’, etc. As Icelandicism, she highlights the preserved *h* before *l*, *n*, and *r* in scaldic strophes and low-frequency words. Most of the time it is missing from regular words. The writer distinguishes *æ* and *ó* from each other, and in some cases, we can find analogical *v* in front of *u* and *o*, e.g. “vurðu”, ‘became’ “vox” ‘grew’, etc. As pointed out by Holtsmark, there is no reason to think that the manuscript was written later than 1250. She further argues, that the preserved *h* can be due to an Icelandic

original, or the manuscript was written by an Icelander who tried to imitate a Norwegian writing style. This would explain why there are forms from different dialectal territories from Norway. However, she does not go into the details of dialectal inconsistency. Regarding the “iak” form that comes up once, she supports the theory, that it is just a literary stylistic marker, an effective means of reply to an important situation by Sigvalde Jarl (Hødnebo 1971, 150-151), and not an example of dialectal language use. This point is not explained in details either, in neither of the books.

According to her theory, none of the three manuscripts, AM 310 4to, DG 4-7 fol., and Holm perg. 18 4to, are copies of each other, what is more, the verses in the saga were not translated into Latin, but they were inserted directly from Icelandic. She dates Oddr's work for around 1170 and adds that AM 310 4to is most probably a Norwegian copy of an Icelandic original. Based on palaeographical evidence and language use, both Norwegian manuscripts were probably written in Bergen, and are from the 13th century. AM 310 4to is written by one professional hand. The scribe used “o” to denote u-umlauted a (ǫ). The “g” used in the book is ornate, just like in the Book of Homilies (probably written in or near Bergen around 1200), and in DG 4-7 fol. at all four hands (probably written in Bergen around 1250). The lack of vowel harmony indicates that the scribe was not East or North-West Norwegian, but more likely a South-West Norwegian with influence from different Norwegian scribal traditions and by an Icelandic original. Alternatively, he could be an Icelander who tried to conform to Norwegian scribal traditions.

One may question this theory whether the saga was really copied twice at the same time in Bergen. It can be possible in case there was a demand for more copies of the saga, keeping in mind that Óláfr Tryggvason is a great figure in the history of

Norway. However, without external evidence, it remains a theory with the possibility that it may not cover the truth.

2.10 Stefán Karlsson 1978

The most recent article that includes a discussion on AM 310 4to was written by Stefán Karlsson in 1978. He included Widding's (1952) observations on the palaeographical and orthographical relationship between AM 310 4to, 655 XII-XIII 4to, and 655 XIV 4o. Stefán Karlsson agrees with the opinion that the three manuscripts, AM 310 4to, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to, were written by the same scribe. On the other hand he disagrees with the observation on the denotation of long consonants, namely that the scribe was not influenced by the First Grammatical Treatise is not necessarily an indicator, as it is not expected for every Icelandic scribe to have been influenced by the treatise in the 13th century. He also highlights that the use of small capitals is more regular in AM 310 4to than in other Norwegian manuscripts. In addition to this, the denotation of long consonants is essentially the same in 310 4to and the two fragments, as in a copy of Grágas in AM 279a 4to, which belongs to and was most probably written in the cloister of Þingeyrar. Moreover, Stefán Karlsson (2000, 182) points out that the last page of AM 310 4to is clearly written by an Icelandic hand. This is, however, an additional Biblical material, and not *Óláfs Saga Tryggvasonar*, which further strengthens the Icelandic connection.

Besides the information that 655 XIV 4to belonged to Höskuldsstaðir, just as like Þingeyrar belonged to Höskuldsstaðir, Stefán Karlsson also points out that the presumed author of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* in AM 310 4to, Oddr Snorrason, was also a Þingeyrar monk. The copy of the saga in 310 4to is an Old Norse translation with interpolations from several other Icelandic scripts, among others Gunnlaugr Leifsson's *Óláfs Saga*, who

was also a Þingeyrar monk. Therefore, the most reasonable place of origin for the manuscript is Þingeyrar. Stefán Karlsson dated the manuscript between 1225 and 1275, but if it is Icelandic, 1250–1275 is more probable in accordance with the palaeography. We do not know that much about the work in Þingeyrar in this time period, but we know that from 1238 to 1268 in Skálholt, and up to 1260 in Hólar there were Norwegian bishops in Iceland, bringing Norwegian influence onto the whole Church of Iceland (Stefán Karlsson 1978).

This is a rather strong and well-established opinion on this matter. On the one hand, he took into consideration previous research materials and used the relevant parts to draw conclusions, however, on the other hand, Stefán Karlsson only reflected on the provenance of the book. He leaves the question of language and nationality of the scribe open.

2.11 Other versions of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*

2.11.1 Overview

As have we learnt from the previous section, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* is preserved in several manuscripts. However, their length varies between texts. The passage preserved in AM 310 4to is supplemented with the shorter version found in Holm Perg. 18 4to of the Royal Library of Stockholm, while the end of the saga is preserved in a manuscript kept in the University Library of Uppsala, namely DG 4–7 folio. Since it is most probable, that these three versions, or at least two of them, are copies of the Old Norse translation of Oddr’s Latin work (Finnur Jónsson 1932, III.), it is imperative to have a closer look at the other two versions as well. The main focus here is not on the provenance of these manuscripts, but rather on the language, with a special focus on Norwegianisms and Icelandic traits. The discussion of their language can give us further

possibilities regarding comparative methods during the analysis of 310 4to and the two fragments in later chapters. For a broader explanation about the relevance and use of this method, see chapter 5.3 *Data collection*.

2.11.2 Holm perg. 18 4to

Bjarni Einarsson (1986, 39–43) examined the manuscript and gave a description of the most important features he found.

The scribe of *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*, together with the other hands in the manuscript most probably worked around 1300. The saga starts on fol. 35r in Holm perg. 18 4to, without a title, the only heading is the word ‘prologus’ (Bjarni Einarsson 1986, 11). The text stretches over three gatherings (from 35r to 54v) with a lacuna in the first gathering. Besides the common superscript signs, the scribe used a particularly Icelandic symbol to denote /ll/, namely “l” (for instance 45v18 “vǫlum” “field”, and 47v3 “oǫ” “all”), which points towards an Icelandic scribe. In many cases, *y* is derounded, as in “þikkir” ‘thinks’ (35r22) and “þiker” (37r38), even though this verb is often spelled with “y”. We also find *y* in “byscop” and “byskop” ‘bishop’, and two times “yv” for *jú* in “dryvpa” ‘to drip’ (54r22) and “dryvgari” comp. ‘substantial’ (44v30). The symbol “æ” is used for *ǣ*, *e*, *é* and *ó*. This is another typical feature of an Icelandic scribe, namely the non-distinction of *ǣ* and *ó* after their merger. The negative prefix usually appears as “v”, although sporadic instances of “o” are found. In unstressed syllables, the vowels are spelled with “i” and “e” in more or less equal proportions, whereas “o” is more frequent than “v”. Forms of *gera/göra* ‘to do’ are normally written with “e”, as “gera, gerðe, gert”, etc., but it is “gøri” in 35r3. Adverbial forms like “hinvg, þanvg, hvernog, þingat” ‘there’ are to be found in the text. The old form “umb” is used, but “um” ‘about, around’ is more regular. The neuter ending of adjectives in *-ligr* are

denoted as *-likt*. On the lexical level, the superlative of *góðr* ‘good’ is “*baztr*”, and numerals like “*tyfvar*” and “*þryfvar*” ‘thrice’ are used.

2.11.3 DG 4-7 fol.

Finn Hødnebo took a closer look at DG 4-7 fol., and summarized his findings of the most important features in the manuscript (1987, 92-94).

The manuscript DG 4-7 folio contains the end of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* on leaves 1 and 2. It is considered to be a Norwegian copy of an Icelandic translation of Oddr Snorrason’s original work, dated between ca. 1250 and 1270. In the relationship between “o” and “u” in unstressed syllables, there are only a few exceptions from the vowel harmony, a feature of certain Medieval Norwegian dialects of East and North-West Norway, as well as the Trøndelag area; for a more detailed map, cf. chapter 4.4 *Palaeographic and linguistic criteria*. U-umlaut and the privative prefix *ó-* is present in the text, which are usually associated with Icelandic scribes. They were considered to be influences from the Icelandic original.

The saga fragment has been studied in more details earlier, and the following has been highlighted (Hægstad 1935, 45-52): The *u*-umlaut of *a* has been fully carried out, for instance in “*foður*” ‘father’, “*logðu*” ‘laid’, and “*oðrum*” ‘other’. However, in trisyllabic forms it is not always present. There are forms both like “*ætlaðu*” ‘intended’, and “*ætloðu*”. The privative prefix is usually *ó-*, but it is *ú-* twice, as in “*vvinom*” ‘enemy’ and “*vþyrmir*” ‘merciless being’. The most frequently used ending vowel is rendered with “i” (“*sigldi*” ‘sailed’, “*undir*” ‘under’, “*belkti*”, etc), but in accordance with the vowel harmony, both “o” and “u” are used for the round unstressed vowel (“*fello*” ‘framework’, “*retto*” ‘straightened up’, “*voro*” ‘were’, “*systur*” ‘sister’, “*kistu*” ‘chest’, “*biugguzt*” ‘prepared’, etc.). The suffixed definite article contains “i” rather

often, but occasionally it turns into “e”. Loss of *h* in front of *l*, *n*, and *r* is consistent throughout the whole manuscript, while *v* is lost in words like “unnit” ‘worked’, “urdu”, but restored in “silfrvofnum” ‘wrapped in silver’ or “orvum” ‘arrow’. The vowels, *æ* and *ó* are distinguished more often than not. The vowel *æ* is denoted as “æ”, and sometimes written as “e”; *ó* is denoted as “ö”. However, there are instances where it is also denoted as “e”, for instance as “degr” (<*dógr*), and “norrænn” (< *norrónn*). The consistent loss of *h* and the distinction between *æ* and *ó* are usually treated as features of a Norwegian scribe.

2.12 Summary

As we could see, the data and research material on the topic is rather large and varied. It is also true, that in the beginning the explanations and decisions over the provenance of AM 310 4to were not detailed, and thus they are not always comprehensible. However, it is due to the lack of comparative material that was discovered and pointed out later, namely the relationship between AM 310 4to and the two fragments, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to. Ole Widding’s and Stefán Karlsson’s work is highly valueable, and contains important observations.

At the same time, we are left with questions that still need to be answered. The palaeographical analysis of the three manuscripts is not explained in details, although this is an important step in the process of clarifying the relationship of them. This can prove whether the manuscripts were written by one single hand, or they are not related to each other in this sense. In addition to this, the linguistic analysis of the Norwegianisms in the texts can help us discover more information about the nationality of the scribe.

3. On the problematics of Norwegianisms

3.1 Historical background

It is of foremost importance to first clarify the origins and meaning of Norwegianisms in order to find proper and satisfying answers to the research questions proposed earlier. To understand why Norwegianisms are complex in this context, it is necessary to study the background history and linguistic properties behind the term itself. Also useful is to find methods for marking a difference between Icelandic and Norwegian scribes and scribal traditions.

As it has been summarized by Haraldur Bernharðsson (2013, 391–392), from the second half of the 13th century and throughout the 14th century there are Norwegian linguistic and orthographic traits to be found in Icelandic manuscripts, which are consequences of the Norwegian influence on Icelandic cultural and political life. In 1262–63, Icelanders swore alliance to the Norwegian king in an agreement that outlined their responsibilities and rights, sea transportation and trade were secured between the two countries. Magnús Hákonarson lagabótir (‘the law reformer’) sent the law code *Járnsíða* to Icelanders in 1271, which was replaced by the law book *Jónsbók* in 1281, a partially Norwegian book in its origins. In addition to this, the Church also represented a major force in Iceland: both Skálholt in the south, and Hólar in the north were part of the archdiocese of Niðarós (Trondheim). Monasteries in the 14th century belonging to Hólar included the Benedictian Þingeyrar, Þverá, Reynistaðr, and the Augustinian Mõðruvellir. Monasteries belonging to Skálholt included Þykkivibór in Álftaver, Helgafell in Víðey, and Kirkjubór in Síða (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 391). As it is expected, Norwegian bishops and their officials served in Skálholt and Hólar, alongside Norwegian monks and abbots. The monasteries and the bishop’s seats were not only centres for culture and education, but also for book production. However, with the

arrival of the Black Death, trade with Norway started to decline from the second half of the 14th century. The pandemic raged between 1349 and 1350. The political centre shifted to Copenhagen, Denmark, leaving Norway on the periphery. As Haralður Bernharðsson explains, Norwegian cultural and political impact in Iceland disappeared gradually starting in the second half of the 14th century, and ending with the break-up of the administrative ties with Niðarós in 1537 (2013, 392). By this time, foreign relations also changed and trade with the English became more significant (Haralður Bernharðsson 2013, 392). In the relationship between Iceland and Norway, the latter was the dominant partner. That Icelanders adopted linguistic and orthographic features is not entirely surprising, as Norwegian must have been the dominant partner in this cultural and political relationship.

Concerning Norway, by the 13th century, Niðarós became the capital of the kingdom. The archdiocese built up the spiritual and literary life, also in the form of religious literature. Legends were especially translated into Norwegian, however, Skard does not specify what type of legends (1967, 71). The written language in use before 1152 was more dialectal, but the archdiocese had a normalizing practice and influence. The Eastern part of Norway belonged to Niðarós in Church matters, and part of the cleric education happened here, too. Under King Hákon Hákonarson (reigned between 1217–1263) the chancellery moved to Björgvin (Bergen), which became the capital again. In this area, a mixed language was used with and without vowel harmony, and with different West Norwegian dialectal traits. The reason behind this phenomenon is the movement of many people into this area during the 13th century, as it is described in the sagas, *ór öðrum löndum* ‘from other lands’. It has the possibility that it was also represented in the written language, too. The ‘trøndsk’ (Trondheim) norm was modified by the Bergen practice, in accordance with the promotion of Bergen into a leading city.

Under King Magnús lagabótir (1263–1280) and his works of the law, the Bergen variety of the language became influential. Through copies of law codes, the Bergen variety spread over the country (Seip 1955, 103–104). With the growth of population, East Norway came closer to the rest of Europe. From 1299, Oslo became the capital. The king collected learned and literate people, and opened writing schools in Bergen and Oslo (Skard 1967, 75).

3.2 The Definition and Source of Norwegianisms

One may ask the question then: how would be Norwegianisms defined? It is important to highlight, that the definition of the term depends highly on the context. By studying languages which show the considerable difference from Norwegian, it is easier to point out what the term does cover. This is the case with Old Swedish and Old Danish texts from the High Middle Ages. When it comes to Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, one has to realise that it is difficult to decide whether a certain element is part of the Icelandic or Norwegian written language. This is first and foremost due to the high degree of similarity between the two languages during the 13th and 14th centuries. One solution for this question can be to conclude that a Norwegianism in an Icelandic text is an expression or writing characteristic which is better known in Norwegian texts than in Icelandic ones, although they can be found in Icelandic texts, too (Stefán Karlsson 1978, 173–174). Going further with this definition, there is a possibility to differentiate between levels of Norwegianisms. The definition that Stefán Karlsson (1978, 173–174) gave is a *prima facie* Norwegianism. A development that is genuine for Norwegian exclusively is a *bona fide* Norwegianism. Finally, in the third case, in which such an element reached Iceland, we can speak about incorporated Norwegianism (Kjartan Ottósson 1992, 167). The *prima facie* type is of varying degree. They also depend on

the scribe and his tradition, along with the type of text. For instance, the lack of *u*-umlaut, loss of word initial *h*, negative prefix *ú-*, in orthography “*æi/æy*” for *ei/ey* and “*gh*” for the fricative *g* are included in this group. In addition to this, one would also need to consider the influence of Icelandic language on Norwegian:

1. During the stay of Norwegians in Iceland
2. Many Icelandic scribes in Norway
3. Book export brought Icelandic written forms with itself

The idea that Norwegian features are suggesting a Norwegian original in case of an Icelandic text has been maintained from the early 20th century, first and foremost by Seip (Rindal, 1997, 113). He even claimed a Norwegian exemplar for the Codex Regius, dating prior 1200. His view on this matter has been challenged by Hans Kuhn, pointing out that a general Norwegian influence can be accounted for the features shown by Seip. Today it is now a generally accepted view, that the work of Seip has weaknesses, and he has gone too far to prove the Norwegian origins of Icelandic works (Rindal, 1997, 113). It is a relatively new tradition to take Norwegian influence into consideration, instead of suspecting a Norwegian original. Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen and Stefán Karlsson were one of the first scholars in the late 20th century who opposed ideas supporting the earlier theories about Norwegian originals (Rindal, 1997, 114). Jón Helgason in his preface to *Elucidarius* gave three possibilities for the source of Norwegian forms (1957, XX):

1. Norwegian original
2. Forms coming from Norway to Iceland without gaining permanent foothold in Icelandic, and later disappearing
3. General tendency to imitate Norwegians by Icelanders, without having a Norwegian original or change in the mother tongue

Stefán Karlsson (1978, 175) supplemented this with two additional points:

4. Forms are overtaken from an older Icelandic original
5. Forms are coming from a conservative dialect of the scribe, or a dialect that the scribe may know well

It is nonetheless uncertain whether Icelandic was really lower in prestige than Norwegian. Iceland had a rich literature, skaldic poetry and sagas. Rindal (1997, 118-119) argues that Norwegian influence could be of several different types:

1. There were many Norwegians in Iceland
2. There were many Icelandic scribes in Norway
3. During the book export to Norway, scribes adopted Norwegian linguistic and orthographic characteristics and optimized their speech to the Norwegian readers
4. Norwegian written language had higher prestige than Icelandic (uncertain)

Since it is impossible to say more about the nationality of the scribe without external evidence, one may ask the question that has been raised before: if Norwegian and Icelandic have been so similar in this time period, and we can talk about a common linguistic and cultural community, would it not be satisfactory to conclude a common Norwegian and Icelandic cultural heritage (Rindal 1997, 119)? Manuscripts are written documents, and as such, it is highly problematic to find out how much they represent the actual spoken language. *Norwegian* and *Icelandic* are national terms, and thus, they refer to the debate that was the highest during the 1800s over the ownership of medieval literature. The cultural and linguistic fellowship between the two nations is a fact that makes the dichotomy of Norwegian *or* Icelandic problematic. It is without a doubt true that the greater part of the literature was written in Iceland, but the period of 1180-1280 was also a blossoming time for Norwegian literature. Yet, the answer to the question is

certainly *no*, as placing the manuscripts based on linguistic features is still a relevant question, even if this debate nowadays is not currently prominent (Kyrkjebo 2003, 17).

3.3 Palaeographic and Linguistic Criteria

The language of the manuscripts is multi-layered. The extant text or copy includes not only the language of the original manuscript where it has been copied from, but also the idiolect and the orthographic practice of the scribe. Many texts contain a mixture of elements that need to be carefully analysed. On the one hand, it is hard to distinguish whether the extant copy reflects the dialect of the scribe or the original manuscript. On the other hand, if we know other texts written by the same scribe, presumably copied from different exemplars, we can study them, note similarities and differences, and this will make it possible to distinguish features copied from the exemplars from features that are part of the scribe's own language. The question is even more complex if one keeps in mind that there were both Norwegians in Iceland, and Icelanders in Norway. Therefore, the possibility that the scribe was Norwegian, and that his language was influenced by Icelandic must be kept open (Kyrkjebo 2003, 22).

Palaeographic criteria must be seen together with language criteria in order to localize the manuscript. However, when we attempt to recreate the dialects of Norway, in order to understand what kind of Norwegian forms can come up in a text, we face a vicious circle in the reasoning. The dialects of Medieval Norway are recreated with the help of manuscripts, and these manuscripts are placed geographically with the help of dialectal forms. Diplomas, however, are usually dated and placed, and thus they lay down the best base for making a difference between Icelandic and Norwegian (Kyrkjebo 2003, 21). It is, of course, impossible to give a completely reliable and accurate representation of Medieval Norwegian dialects. It has nonetheless been attempted to

recreate a reasonable map for the major dialectal differences. The greatest difference is between the Western and Eastern part of the country (Hagland 2002, 1015-1018), cf.

Fig 3.

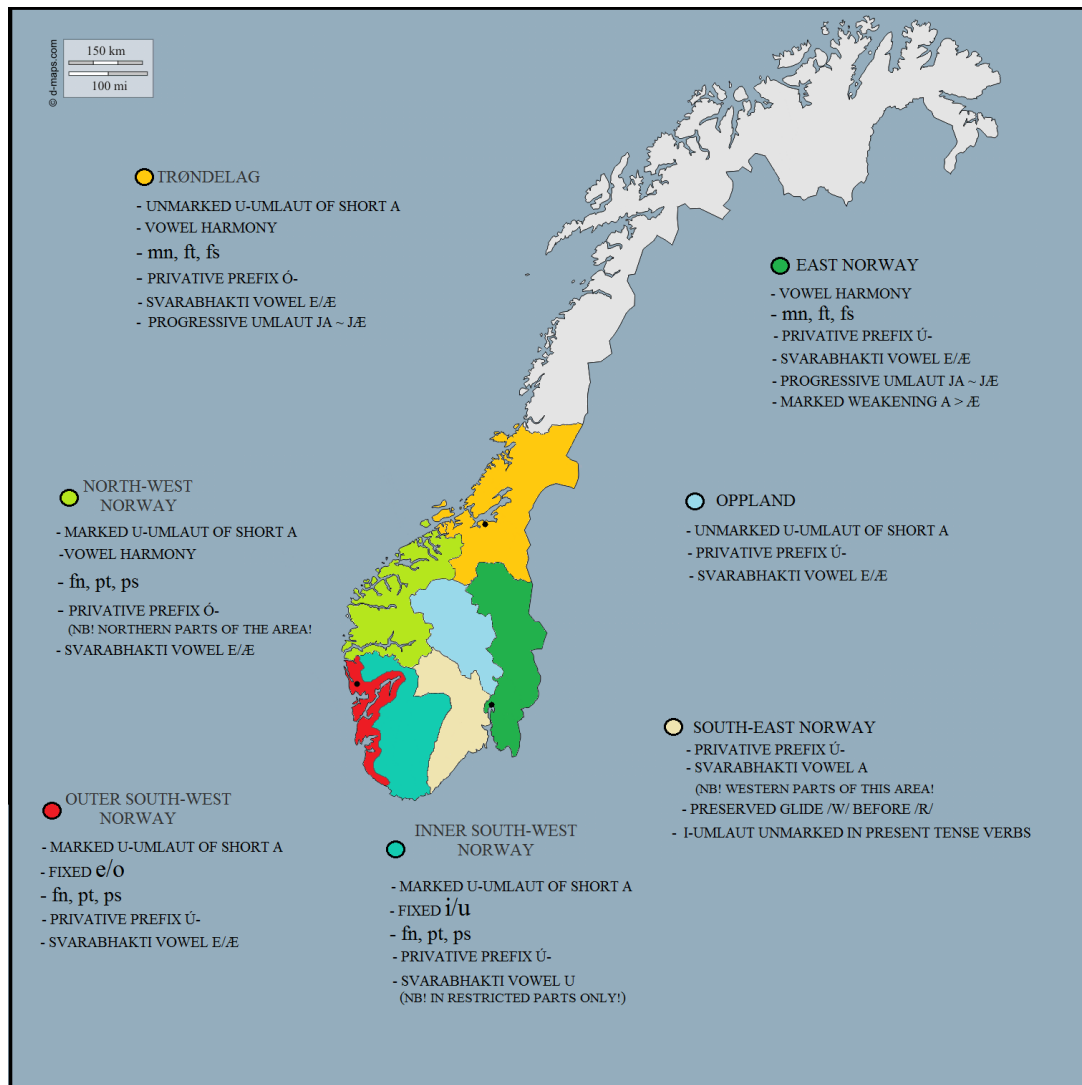


Fig. 3. The Medieval Dialects of Norway (Hagland 2002, 1015-1018)²

² „Outline of Norway / Kongeriket Norge,” basic map retrieved from: http://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=15018&lang=en. Modified by the author of the present thesis in accordance with the work of Hagland to fit the dialects.

Kyrkjebø (2003, 30–34) has identified some of the most significant characteristics of Icelandic and Norwegian which can help in the decision regarding the languages.

Icelandic phonological traces:

1. The Old Icelandic phonemic merger of *ó* and *æ* into *æ*, beginning in the middle of the 13th century, as it can be seen in the gradual loss of orthographic distinction in Iceland. E.g. *bóta* ‘improve’ written as “bæta”
2. The long vowel *é*: diphthongised into *ei*, and later *ie*, e.g. *mér* ‘to me’ as “mer” > “mier”
3. $\varphi + \theta > \ddot{o}$ (e.g. *fǫður* > *föður* ‘father’, *ǫrendi* > *örendi* ‘breath’)

Norwegian phonological traces:

1. Loss of *h* before *l*, *r* and *n* (possible traces of hypercorrection) e.g. “lutr” for *hlutr* ‘share, thing’
2. Vowel harmony, which is an agreement in tongue height, e.g. a stressed high vowel is followed by a high unstressed vowel: *lande* ‘land’ vs. *skírði* ‘purified’, and *gengo* ‘went’ vs. *gærðum* ‘did’
3. Reduction of unstressed *a*: *enda* ‘even if’ > *ende*

Other phonological criteria:

1. U-umlaut is fully spelled out in Icelandic (in trisyllabic words, too) and also known in Norwegian. E.g. *kǫstuðu* ‘casted’.
2. Icelandic rounding of *e* into *ø* in the forms of *engi* ‘none’. E.g. “ongvan, augvan”.
3. Svarabhakti vowel *u* in Icelandic, whereas *e* and *a* for Norwegian. In inner South-West Norwegian it is also *u*.

4. The forms with v-inflection, “yðvarr, ongvann, nockvat” for *yðarr, ongan, nockat* was used longer in Icelandic than in Norwegian.
5. Use of “gh” for spirantic *g* in Norwegian. E.g. “dagh” for acc. *dag* ‘day’.

Morphological criteria in Norwegian:

1. 2./3. person ending in 1. person singular. E.g. “ek gengr, hefir ek” ‘I go, have I’.
2. Use of the form “mann” for *maðr* ‘man’.
3. Pronouns “mið, mér” for *við, vér* ‘we’.

Lexical criteria:

1. The preposition *of* has been replaced by *um* in Norwegian, in Icelandic it was used longer.
2. Norwegian adverbs: *alþingis* “quite”, *hneppiliga* ‘scarcely’.
3. Norwegian substantives: *augist, fantr* ‘servant’, *grimðarmaðr*.

3.4 A Sociolinguistic Approach

Language and society form an inseparable unit, thus, a change in language can be an indicator of change in the society, and vica versa. Certain theories of sociolinguistics are necessary tools for understanding the mechanism behind the linguistic change.

First language acquisition is one of them. According to Labov’s theory (2010, 7-9), children learning their native language have to acquire the core components of the linguistic system of their first language during the critical period, in order to obtain full proficiency. This critical period ends around puberty. After this period it is still possible to learn a language, of course, but this ability declines rapidly. In other words, in order to acquire new elements of grammar, children have to be exposed to a broader linguistic

community and learn the most efficient means of communication. Adults are not capable of learning new elements with the accuracy and speed of children, but they are still able to change their linguistic system to a certain degree. In the light of this, it can be concluded, that the transmission of change is the result of first language acquisition. The diffusion of the change is limited, as most linguistic contacts are made by adults (Labov 2010, 311).

How can this be applied to better understand the development of the language in Iceland considering the historical background described? It seems that the situation in this context does not fulfil necessary criteria discussed above. It is certainly true that the high degree of similarity between Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, and the political pressure from Norwegians were influential. However, since people involved in the mutual communication are adults, their linguistic systems were already fully developed and not entirely capable of changing in a high degree. They could not thoroughly incorporate Norwegianisms into their native language. Children were not exposed to the new linguistic system in proper proportion and time-length, if they were exposed at all. Thus, it is highly possible that Norwegianisms were not deep-rooted in Icelandic. The corpus of texts preserved from Medieval Iceland was written by and for highly restricted social groups. Writing was not monopolized by the Church. Wealthy farmers were also writing manuscripts and had manuscripts written for themselves, though sociolects probably did not exist. This was mainly due to an insufficient number of upper-class people, who could not maintain a sociolect. There were no merchant towns, but rather small urban conglomerations of mostly seasonally stationed fishermen. Those who lived at the bishop's seats were present only for a limited time-period. In accordance with this we talk about registers meant for a special purpose, which was

different from the mother tongue of the highly trained scribes (Kjartan Ottósson 1992, 165-166).

3.5 Summary

In the light of this brief summary on the problematics of Norwegianisms, it is understandable why it is so complicated and hard to draw conclusions on the provenance and language of certain manuscripts, including the main topic of this present thesis, namely AM 310 4to. However, now that more information was revealed about the nature and mechanism of Norwegianisms, it is possible to continue with an empirical research. Certain traits on several linguistic levels have been pointed out and cleared, helping us to focus on features that can help us gaining relevant and important data from 310 and the two fragments.

4. The script of AM 310 4to, AM 655 XII-XIII, and XIV 4to

4.1 Research design

As we could see in the previous sections, the challenges raised by Norwegianisms are rather complex. Work that has been conducted by earlier scholars throughout nearly one and a half centuries had a result of many and differing views and theories on the provenance of AM 310 4to and the two fragments. Therefore, two major goals are going to be set in the following sections. Firstly, the palaeographical and orthographical research of the three manuscripts is needed. AM 310 4to, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to were indicated as three manuscripts written most likely by the same scribe. The fragments have ties to Iceland, and therefore it is crucial to examine the claim whether they were written by the same hand or by closely related hands from the same scribal school. Secondly, the linguistic analysis of the language in the manuscripts can help us discover more about the language and nationality of the scribe(s). As an addition, I will also point out some similar or differing features of the two manuscripts copied from the same translation of Oddr's Latin work, namely DG 4-7 fol., and Holm perg. 18 4to. Since these two other *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* texts were written by two other scribes, they can help us to discover not only their similarities, but also the differences that the scribe of AM 310 4to exhibits in his work. The importance of these examinations is explained in detail in the following sections.

4.2 Research tools

The linguistic and palaeographical analysis of AM 310 4to, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to will be the most important part of the research. The three manuscripts will be compared against each other in order to see the similarities and differences

among letter forms and other signs used in the scripts. The most convenient way to illuminate these aspects is to take letter and symbol samples from all the three manuscripts, and then put them next to each other in a comprehensive table. After this, a deeper and thorough explanation of the main features is needed, in order to conclude whether the three documents were written by the same hand or not.

The second element of this research is going to be the comparison of the linguistic features of AM 310 4to and the two fragments while at the same time, a comparison of the data to DG 4-7 fol. and Holm perg. 18 4to is undertaken. Due to the limits imposed on this thesis, it is not possible to conduct such detailed analysis of the other two manuscripts as well. Nonetheless, it should be enough to compare the detailed features of AM 310 4to and the two fragments to the outlined and most relevant/important features of the language used in the above-mentioned manuscripts.




4.3 Data collection

The findings of this research are going to be summarised in comprehensive tables and lists. This set of data and information will provide a fertile ground for drawing conclusions both on the provenance of AM 310 4to and the two fragments, and the nationality of the scribe. The question may arise, why is it not enough to study these manuscripts only? The reason behind this necessity is important. AM 310 4to in itself represents only one version of the language that the scribe used. If it is possible to prove that AM 655 XII-XIII 4to and AM 655 XIV 4to were written by the same hand, it is also possible to see those linguistic elements that the scribe exhibits in all the three documents. If this information is compared to the other two copies of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, written by two different hands, it is possible to make a distinction between the influence of the original text and the scribe's own use of the language. The most

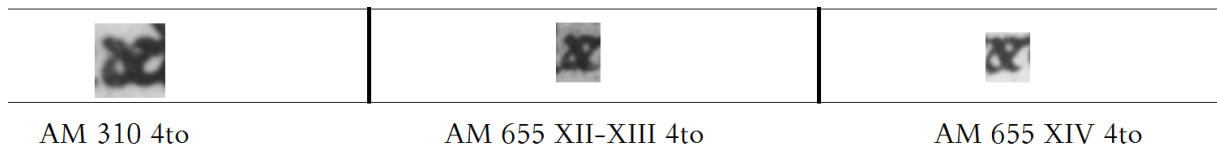
important part of this analysis is, of course, to compare AM 310 4to and the two fragments to each other and reveal the linguistic features of the scribe, and thus the emphasis of the research will be placed on this part. However, it is possible to use another method as well. Let us suppose for a second, that the scribe of 310 exhibits the linguistic feature ‘x’ in all the three documents. If element ‘x’ is not to be found in the other two copies of the saga, it can be an indication that element ‘x’ is part of the scribe’s language or dialect, and it is not an influence from the original translation. Another possibility is that element ‘x’ is found in the three copies of *Óláfs saga*, including 310, but not in the two fragments associated with the scribe of 310. This can be an indication of the influence of the original text as the scribe could not exhibit the same feature in the two fragments without aid

4.4 Palaeographical analysis of AM 310 4to, AM 655 XII-XIII and XIV 4to

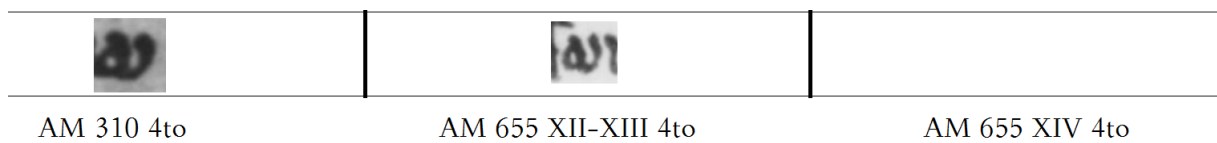
The three documents show great similarities in the use of orthographical symbols. This similarity raised the suspicion that there is a possibility that they were written by the same hand. After careful examination of the letters, the following is visible (the features are true for all the three texts, except when indicated otherwise):

		
AM 310 4to	AM 655 XII-XIII 4to	AM 655 XIV 4to

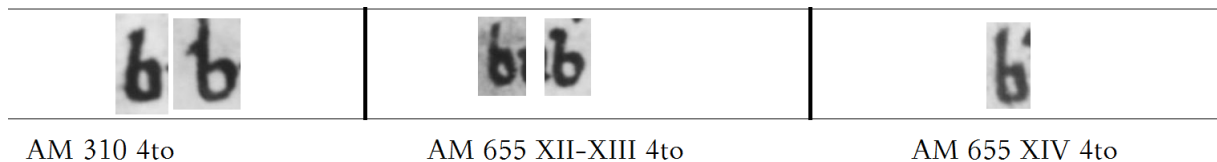
“a”: The letter has a wave-like back and a bow. The back never touches the bow, i.e. there are no examples of two-storey “a” in the manuscripts. The three manuscripts show a relative uniformity in the shape of the letter.



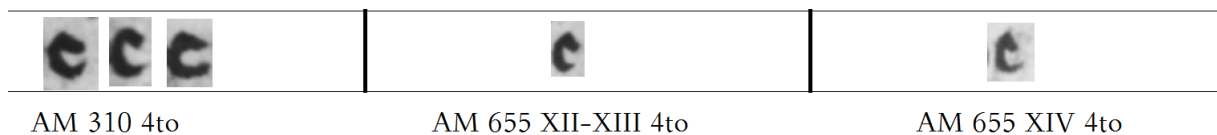
“æ”: The “a” part of the ligature has the same wave-like back, connected to the “e” part. The difference is in the upper part of the “a”, namely that the back does not curve downwards. The bow of the “a” seems to be a bit smaller. Comparing the three manuscripts, we find the same shape in all of them.








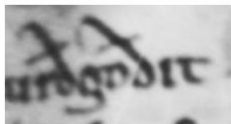
“ǣ”: The ‘v’ part of the ligature exhibits the same slanted stroke on the left side as the simple ‘v’. However, this letter was not found in 655 XIV, only in the other two manuscripts. The ligature in the two texts seems to be identical.



“b”: The letter has a straight ascender with or without serif. In 655 XIV the bow is a bit more angular than in the other two manuscripts.



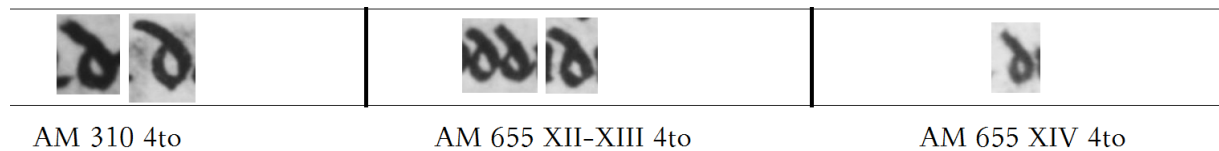
“c”: The letter consists of two strokes. First, there is a stroke going upwards, and the second one coming downwards from the top left part. The angularity of the letter stems from the joining point of the two strokes. The letters is identical in all the three manuscripts.

	1		 
	2		
AM 310 4to		AM 655 XII-XIII 4to	AM 655 XIV 4to

“ð”: The upper part of the letter is not properly crossed most of the time, only a small curved stroke on the right side of the ascender distinguishes it from the letter “d”. Let us call this letter “ð₁”. This letter is uniform in all the three manuscripts. This can be an indicium that it was written by the same hand. However, when the manuscripts had more space, on the top margin of the page, the ascender is longer and has a perpendicular stroke going through the ascender, here referred to as “ð₂”. This “ð₂” is, however, absent from AM 655 XIV, most probably only accidentally as the text does not call for such a letter in the top line of the preserved fragment. On the one hand, the existing fragment does not have such stretched “ð” on the top margin. On the other hand, it is important to observe that on 2r1 there are three other letters with stretched ascenders, namely the “p” in “pui”, the “h” in “h̄”, and the capital “E” in “En” (cf. the image of capital E for 655 XIV). This can be an indication to the same habit as with the “ð₂”, but unfortunately there are no more preserved leaves from this fragment to verify whether the same stlye was used somewhere else. However, the scribe of 655 XII-XIII 4to, who is maybe the same scribe, exhibits the same long letters on the top of the fragment, and this is feature is present in AM 310 4to as well, to a certain degree.

It is hard to predict the regularity of “ð₂”, due to the restricted length of extant texts. In 310, it is found regularly in the top line, as the manuscript consists of many pages. The two fragments are, however, relatively short, and thus, we can only assume that the scribe may used the same practice in 655 XIV, too, based on the observations

about the other stretched letters. In addition to this, it is visible in 310 as well, that the scribe used both “ð₁” and “ð₂” in the top lines. In 655 XIV only “ð₁” is used, but this does not exclude the possibility that “ð₂” was also used on another, now lost page. It seems that it is the amount of free space on the top margin that is decisive in using the letter different letter forms.



“d”: Round, slanted, insular “ð” is used in the majority of the cases in the three manuscripts. In 310 4to, the “d” with straight ascender is used when other supralinear signs and abbreviations would make it ambiguous to read. If we look at 10v1 “vinðlandi” *Vindlandi* for instance, if the scribe used the slanted “ð”, together with the abbreviation marker before, it would look like the symbol for “ð”. See *Fig. 4*. The three manuscripts exhibit otherwise the same shape for the letter.

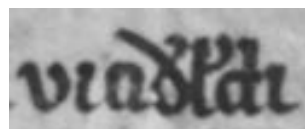
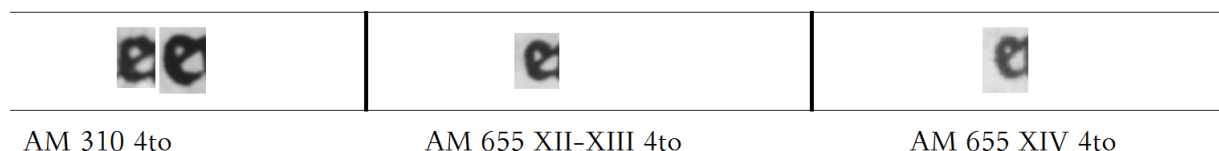
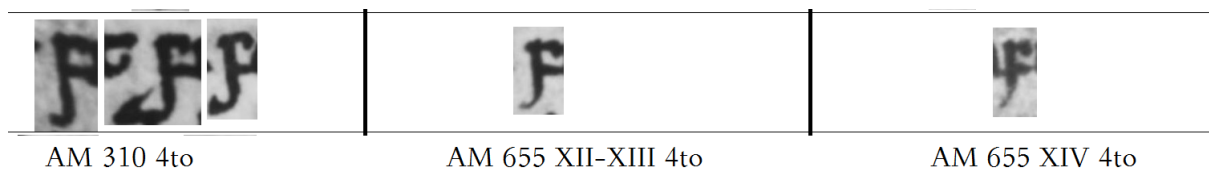


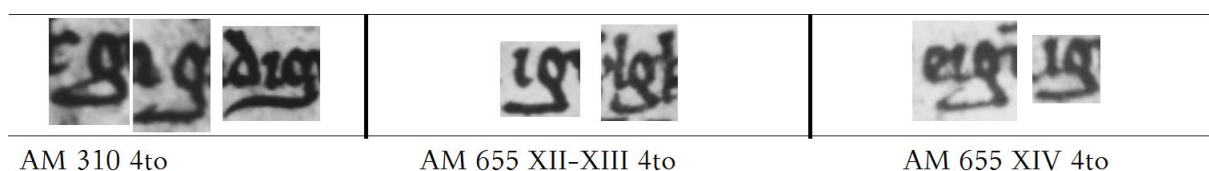
Fig. 4. The word *Vindlandi*



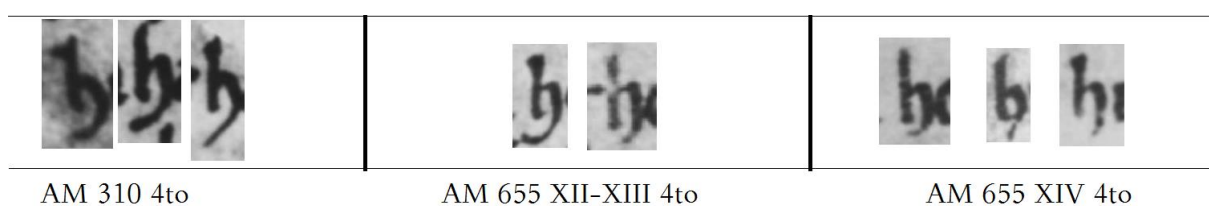
“e”: In all the three manuscripts, the bar of the letter is slanted in the same way, coming down with a slightly thicker line towards the bottom.



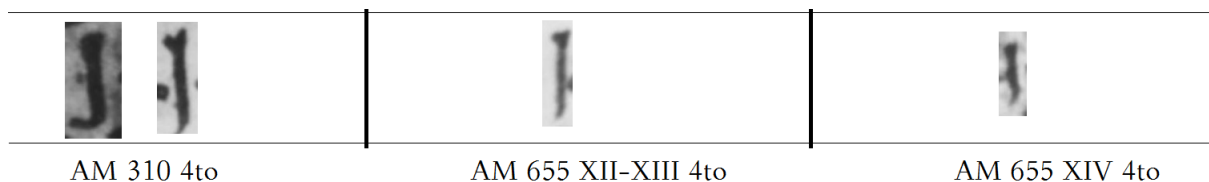
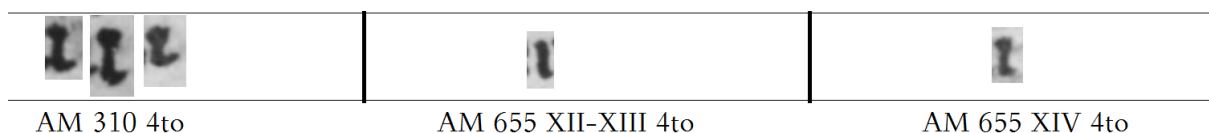
“f”: The Anglo-Saxon letterform is used with two bars, the upper one curves a bit downwards, but the lower one is straight. The descender curves to the left, and sometimes it makes a horizontal line at the bottom. Since the range of corpus is wider in AM 310 4to, there’s a greater selection for variants, but the main type is nearly uniform in the three manuscripts. The feature of descenders can be observed in the letter “g” as well.



“g”: The most peculiar feature of this letter is the long, horizontal line in the descender. Sometimes it curves back like a peak, sometimes it looks like an ornate wave. This variation is found in all the three manuscripts.



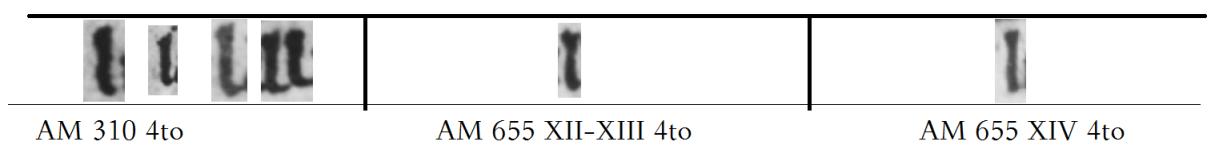
“h”: The descender of the letter curves to the left. The ascender of the letter in all the three manuscripts is sometimes forked, sometimes not, showing a relative uniformity.



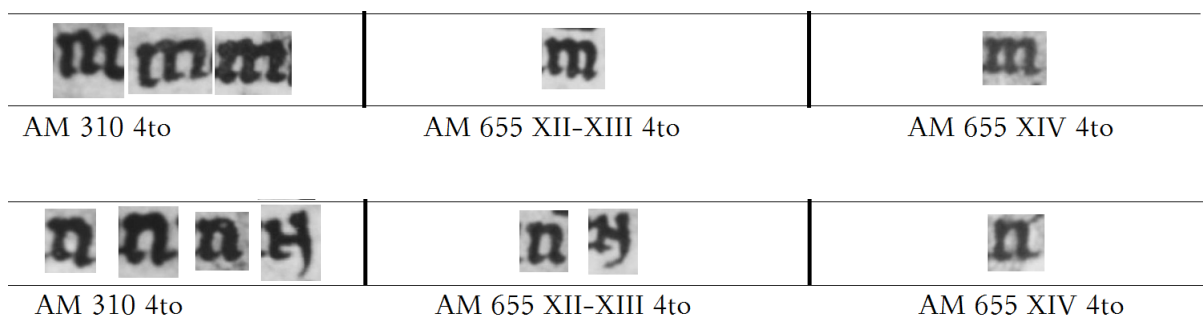
“i” and “j”: In the three manuscripts, the top of the minim is slightly thicker, and the bottom curves to the right in “i”, and to the left in “j”.



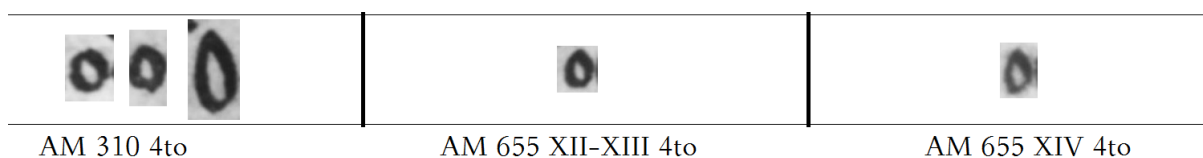
“k”: The letter has a straight ascender and a bow with a foot. The ascender is sometimes forked, sometimes not. The shape of the letter is the same in the three manuscripts, although in AM 310 4to there are some small variations which is expected at handwriting.



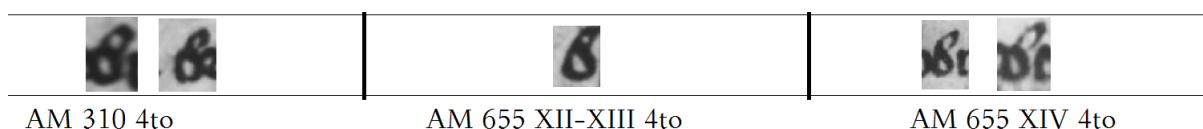
“l”: As the letter “i/j”, the top is a bit thicker, The bottom curves to the right.



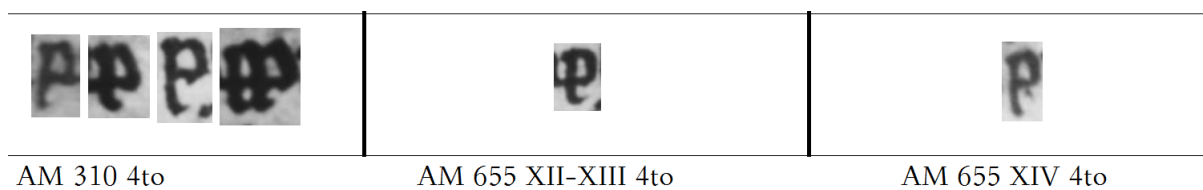
“m, n”: No thin hair-lines, but rather thicker lines connect the minims. The feet of the minims are curving to the right in all the three manuscripts. There is a descending line in the small capital letter “n”, curving to the left. The small capital “n” looks identical in 310 and 655 XII-XIII 4to while it is absent from 655 XIV, possibly because the fragment contains a relatively short text.



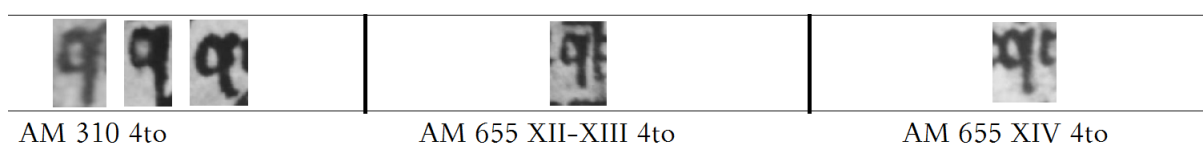
“o”: The letter is oval, but also a bit angular in the manuscripts, especially the capital “O”.



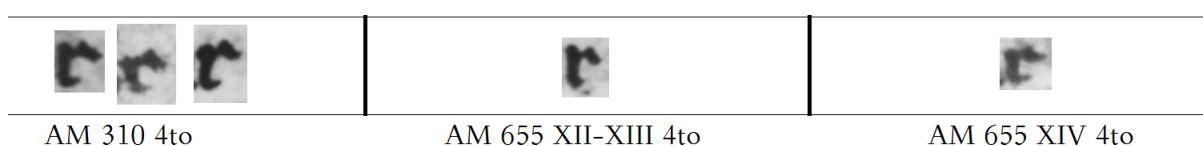
“ø”: The interesting feature of this symbol is that the loop on top does not go from the right to the left, but the other way round. If the scribe(s) were right-handed, he/they could write the letter with one continuous line easier, than if they were left-handed. The top of the loop in 310 is sometimes a bit more flat, but most probably it is due to variation in hand- writing, otherwise the shape is uniform in the three manuscripts. In 655 XIV the loop gets very thin by the time it reaches the lower part of the letter, but in my point of view, it still connects, it is just very thin.



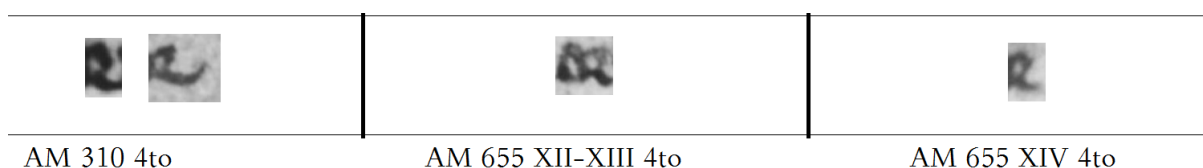
“p”: The shape of the letter is angular, the foot of the descender curves to the right in the three manuscripts.



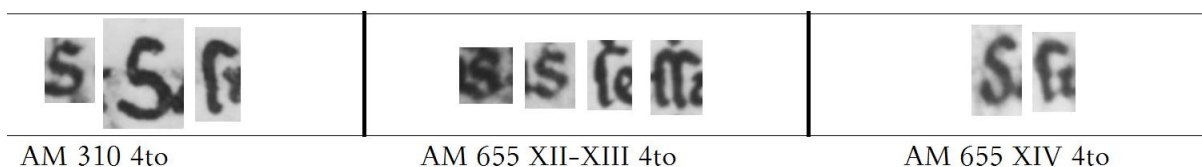
“q”: This is a bit rounder than the “p”, but the foot of the minim still curves to the right in each manuscript.



“r”: The basic structure of the letter looks identical in all the three manuscripts. The foot of “r” curves to the right, while the horizontal bar seems to be made by two strokes, thus making it a bit angular.

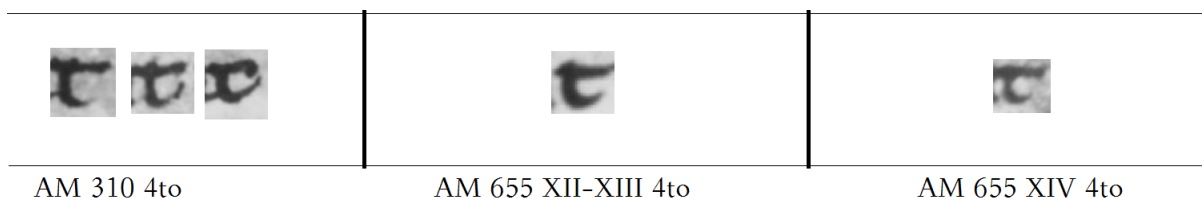


“z”: The letter is round and has a wave-like line in the texts. About the regularity of this letter, see the discussion of Ole Widding (ch. 2.8).

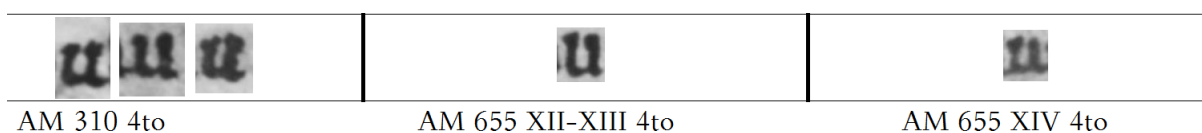


“s”: The manuscripts used both round and tall “s” in the texts. The round “s” seems to be composed of three strokes. One for the top, one for the middle part of the letter, and one curved shape for the bottom. In 655 XII-XIII, the bottom curve seems to be more angular, most probably due to an additional stroke.

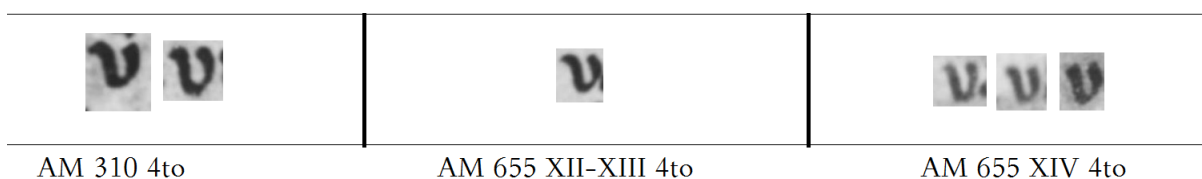
“f”: It has the same shape in all the three texts: one horizontal, sometimes a little bit slanted bar on the top, and a downstroke for the main line of the letter.



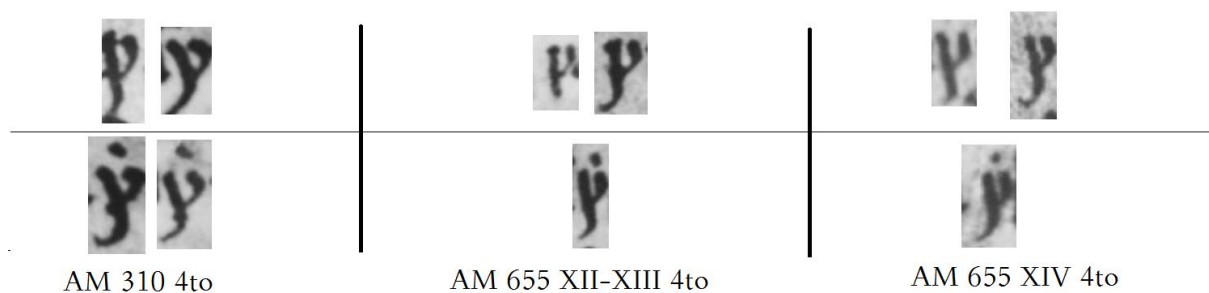
“t”: The letter has a flat top, and the foot curves to the right in all the three manuscripts.



“u”: The top of the two minims have thickenings.

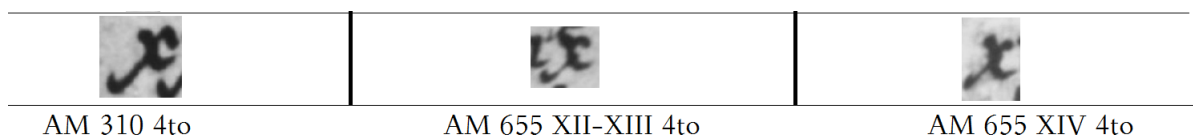


“v”: The left minim is slightly slanted and curved. In 655 XIV it is less slanted, although there are occasional instances where it looks a bit more like in the other two manuscripts.

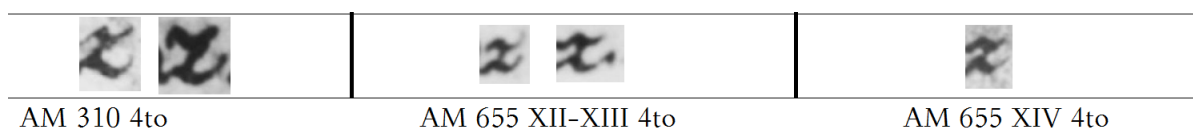


“p”: The symbol “p”, or insular “v” is used to denote the voiced *v*, and sometimes the voiceless *f*. The main stroke of the letter is on the left side, descending below the baseline and curving to the left. The secondary stroke comes from the right, and the top curves a bit to the left. If we compare the three texts, it is visible that 310 exhibits a greater variation on the shapes of the letter, which is not surprising since *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* in AM 310 4to is a much longer text than the two fragments. The upper part of the main stroke seems to curve more to the left, than in the other two, where they look straighter. It resembles somewhat the case of “v”, where in 310 it tended to curve more. Otherwise, the secondary stroke is somewhat similar in all the three manuscripts.

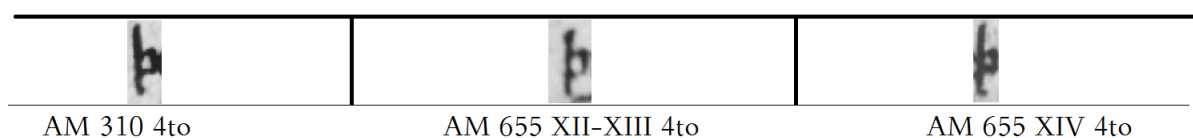
“þ”: This symbol is essentially identical to the insular “v”. It is written exactly the same way, except for the superscript dot that keeps them apart. The main difference is that the latter stands for the vowels *y* and *ý*. As Hreinn Benediktsson has pointed out (1965, 42, 51), in 655 XII-XIII it is not always marked with the superscript dot when it stands for *y* or *ý*, i.e. it is not distinguished from the insular “v”, as for instance in 1v9 “dþrþ” *dýrð* ‘glory’. If we carefully study the other two manuscripts as well, we learn that it is not always distinguished in 655 XIV either, as for instance in 2r14 “hþggio” *hyggju* ‘thought’. Nor in 310 4to, as for instance in 28r9 “mañkþnǫf” “*mannkyins*” ‘mankind’s’. That is to say, the use of “þ” is essentially the same in the three manuscripts.



“x”: The bottom left stem is slightly longer and curves backwards in all of the manuscripts.

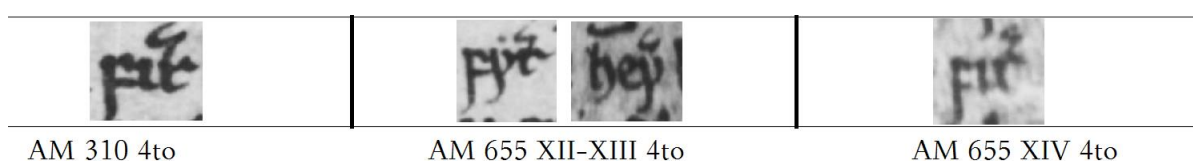


“z”: The two horizontal strokes are wavy, and the letter is not crossed in the middle in none of the manuscripts.


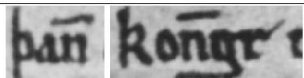
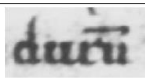


“p”: The letter has a long main stroke, and a smaller, rather an angular bowl in all the three manuscripts.


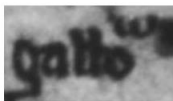
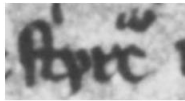
Some selected abbreviation markers and additional information:





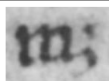
ir/er-marker, ‘: The upper part of the marker is slightly curved, while the lower part is usually one straight stroke in the three manuscripts.

		
AM 310 4to	AM 655 XII-XIII 4to	AM 655 XIV 4to

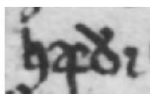
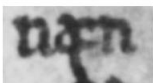
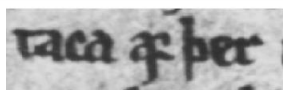
nasal bar: Sometimes the right end of the bar has a peak, as the pen was driven downwards.

		
AM 310 4to	AM 655 XII-XIII 4to	AM 655 XIV 4to

ra/ar marker: Similar to the Greek omega sign in all the texts.

		
AM 310 4to	AM 655 XII-XIII 4to	AM 655 XIV 4to

ed-abbreviation: The scribe(s) used the semicolon variant: “m;” *með* ‘with’ in all the three texts.

		
AM 310 4to	AM 655 XII-XIII 4to	AM 655 XIV 4to

a + f fusion: An occasional and identical fusion of “a” and “f” can be observed in all the three manuscripts, where the neck and bow of the “a” fuses with the straight main shaft of the “f”.

The detailed comparison of the three texts seems to support the claim that AM 310 4to and the two fragments were written by the same scribe. Stefán Karlsson’s observations were correct (2000, 181-183), and this is a major step forward in the process of discovering the provenance of 310 4to. The letter and abbreviation forms are extremely similar. There is only a small variation among them. Since these manuscripts

are hand-written, this kind of limited, internal variation in the hand is expected and has been accounted for when one observes the corpus. However, the similarities clearly outweigh the differences which can have different reasons, for instance, different date of writing, or the differing length of the extant texts (as it is in the case of “ δ_2 ”).

Some of the most interesting common features of the manuscripts are the letter “ δ ”, which is most of the time not crossed properly (except if there is more free space on the margin), the long and curved descender of “ f ” and “ g ”, and the fusion of “ a ” and “ f ”. However, what seems to be the most interesting is the insular “ v ” with, or without the superscript dot. It is not only the shape of the letter that matches in a high grade in all the three texts, but also the use of them. While “ \dot{p} ” is used exclusively for y and \acute{y} , “ p ”, besides the regular denotation of v and f , is also used for y and \acute{y} . This is not a feature that every 13th-century scribe exhibited. It is especially peculiar that it can be found in all the three texts. In my point of view, this can serve as a strong indication that we face the works of the same scribe.

Handwriting by its nature is not consistent all the time. Therefore, it is expected that at least a minimal degree of variation can be found in the manuscripts, even if they were written by the same hand. As it is seen in the examples it is especially true for AM 310 4to, where the extant text is much longer than in the two fragments, and thus it gives more ground for variation. Some differences, like the absence of “ δ_2 ” in AM 655 XIV 4to can also be accounted for by the fact that the manuscript is only a fragment and maybe the page that contains such a feature is now lost. However, these differences are rather small compared to the similarity of the handwriting in the three manuscripts.

Since there is now a wider range of independent corpus by the same scribe, it provides the possibility to take a closer look at the linguistic details of the texts, and establish a solid foundation for further comparative research.

5. The language of AM 310 4to, 655 XII-XIII, and XIV 4to

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, selected linguistic features that are relevant for deciding whether the scribe may have been Icelandic or Norwegian will be discussed. However, it is important to highlight that it does not contain every linguistic element of the manuscripts, only the most important and relevant parts. Furthermore, only a short list of selected examples is presented here; for the extensive and detailed data-set see the appendix.

A sample of several leaves from the beginning, the middle, and end of AM 310 4to have been examined to identify the Norwegianisms and other relevant features that the scribe exhibited in 310. Alongside this analysis, an attempt was made to verify whether or not the elements changed during the writing process. Facsimiles of AM 310 4to in Halvorsen's edition (1974) were used along with the transcription of Finnur Jónsson (1932), as well as the normalized text in *Íslensk fornrit* XXV (2006).

For the facsimile of AM 655 XII-XIII 4to, which manuscript is stored in Copenhagen, black and white photos of the actual fragment were used. The photos are owned by Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Reykjavík, Iceland. For the diplomatic, Unger's *Postola sögur* edition (1874) was used. The normalized orthography of the selected examples in Classical Old Icelandic was arranged by the writer of the present thesis in the absence of further sources.

In the case of AM 655 XIV, also stored in Copenhagen, it was studied with the help of black and white photos of the actual manuscript. The photos are owned by Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Reykjavík, Iceland. The diplomatic transcription by Ole Widding's (1952) *Stephanus saga* edition was used. The normalized orthography was made with the help of a modern Icelandic edition of *Stefanus saga* (2007), in the absence

of other sources. Since this is a modern Icelandic version of the saga, the classical Old Icelandic level was reconstructed.

5.2 Distinction of *æ* and *ó*

The attempted orthographic distinction of *æ* and *ó* is a Norwegianism that is in evidence in the works of a few Icelandic scribes. The two vowels merged together in Icelandic, beginning in the middle of the 13th century. This change did not happen in Norwegian, however. As a consequence, the attempt by Icelandic scribes to distinguish between *æ* and *ó*, was not successful. Stefán Karlsson (2000, 174–175) pointed out, however, that the orthographic distinction of the two vowels by an Icelandic scribe can also be due to an earlier Icelandic exemplar where he has still kept them apart in the orthography or represents the conservative dialect of the scribe. It is possible that the change had not taken place in the dialect yet, i.e. it is not necessarily due to Norwegian influence (as in Haraldur Bernharðsson, 2013, 400).

Data from AM 310 4to:

“ætti” <i>ætti</i> ‘had, owned’ 4r2, 9v14	“föra” <i>fóra</i> ‘travelled’ 45r5, 45r6, 47v11
“hetti” <i>hátti</i> ‘cease’ 4r16, 5r19, 46r7	“gðzku fuller” <i>gðzkufullir</i> ‘full of goodness’ 8v12
“agetligr” <i>ágætligr</i> ‘excellent’ 6r12, 9v3	“föðri” <i>fórði</i> ‘travelled’ 4r9, 8r24, 46v2
“fær” <i>fær</i> ‘gets’ 14v15	“föþingi” <i>fóðingi</i> ‘native’ 6r41
“hasæti” <i>hásæti</i> ‘high-seat’ 6r3, 32r24	“böndr” <i>bóndr</i> ‘farmers’ 34r11, 34r28
“agetliga” <i>ágætliga</i> ‘excellent’ 6r8	“fözlu” <i>fózlu</i> ‘food’ 45v30, 46r27

Data from AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

bæpi <i>bæði</i> ‘both’ 1r11, 1r25, 1r33, 1v34, 2r6, 2r42	sókia <i>sókja</i> ‘seek’ 1v23, 3r47
“purpura clæpi” <i>purpuraklæði</i> ‘purple cloth’ 3r26	“sómð” <i>sómd</i> ‘honor’ 2r6
“fullsælu” <i>fullsælu</i> ‘wealth’ 1v45	“bócr” <i>bókr</i> ‘books’ 1r41
“læsti” <i>læsti</i> ‘locked’ 1v33	“kómi” <i>kómi</i> ‘came’ 1v19
“frændsimi” <i>frændsemi</i> ‘kinship’ 2r3	“góði” <i>góði</i> ‘good-will, profit’ 2v19
“auþræþum” <i>auðræðum</i> ‘means, property’ 1v30	“bróðr” <i>bróðr</i> ‘brother’ 2r5, 2r7, 2v28

Data from AM 655 XIV 4to:

“læri sueinum” <i>lærisveinum</i> ‘disciples’ 1v38, 2r21, 2r24	“sókia” <i>sókja</i> ‘seek’ 1v1
“austr ætt” <i>austrétt</i> ‘east’ 2r37	“bónir” <i>bónir</i> ‘prayers’ 2v35
“ræzlu” <i>hræzlu</i> ‘dread, fear’ 2v6	“bóna stað” <i>bónastað</i> ‘place of worship’ 2v5
“samþrælar” <i>samþrælar</i> ‘fellow-slaves’ 1v42	“bóiar monnum” <i>bójarmonnum</i> ‘inhabitants of a town’ 2v14
“hallæri” <i>hallæri</i> ‘famine’ 2v2	“bróðr” <i>bróðr</i> ‘brother’ 1v42
“ræddumc” <i>hræddumsk</i> ‘was afraid’ 2r30	“bóttisc” <i>bóttisk</i> ‘bettered’ 2v31

As the data reveals, the vowels *æ* and *ó* have been perfectly distinguished from each other in all the three manuscripts. In AM 310, “e, æ” and “é” are used to denote the long, front, unrounded vowel *æ*, while “ø” and “o” are used to denote the long front rounded *ó*. Both in 655 XII-XIII and XIV the scribe used “e” and “æ” to denote *æ*, and “ø” to denote *ó*, and the short *ø*. This seems to be the same practice exhibited in the three texts. In the sample of 310, there is an instance of mistake, “ðælp” is written for *dóld* on 33r30 (not included in the data set of the main text of the thesis, see appendix). This is a good example to remind us that since we are dealing with handwriting, it is impossible to expect 100% accuracy without any variation *or* mistakes, hence the use of “æ” in *dóld*. There may be other sporadic instances of non-distinction between *æ* and *ó* outside of the present sample. However, these are probably only marginal mistakes and they may have a lesser value than the predominant number of other distinctions between *æ* and *ó* exhibited by the scribe. In case we would assume that the scribe could keep the two vowels apart with the help of the original exemplar, it would be strange that he was also able to distinguish between them in the two fragments. This high degree of accuracy is most probably only possible with a native-level command over the vowel distinction. Furthermore, Holm perg. 18 4to does not distinguish the two vowels. It also contradicts the idea of help from an exemplar for the distinction, as the scribe could not make a difference between *æ* and *ó*, even if the exemplar made a distinction. It would point towards an own distinction of the vowels in AM 310 4to and the two fragments.

As it was mentioned earlier, the merger of these two vowels is an Icelandic phonological trait. Does this mean that the scribe is most probably Norwegian? Not necessarily. This merger happened around the middle of the 13th century and was not completed until the early 14th century (Stefán Karlsson 2004, 11 and Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 413). The manuscripts AM 310 4to and the fragments are more

likely to be written in the third quarter of the 13th century, i.e. in the early stage of this merger. However, the merger did not spread through the country at once, but it took time to happen. In other words, there is a possibility that the scribe was able to distinguish between the vowels due to an archaic dialect of Icelandic as mothertongue where the distinction was still made. Another indicator for a more archaic tongue can be the many hypercorrections of fricativizations of *t*, as a proof for uncertainty in the use (for a list of hypercorrections cf. the appendix).

5.3 Loss of *h* in word initial *hl*, *hr*, *hn*

In Both West and East Norwegian, word-initial *h* was lost before *r*, *l*, and *n*. In Icelandic, this change did not take place. However, orthographic forms without “h” appear in Icelandic manuscripts due to Norwegian influence. They appear first in the 13th century and are common throughout the 14th century. In the 15th century, there is a steep decline in their occurrence (Stefán Karlsson 2004, 48, Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 393–394).

Data from AM 310 4to:

“luti” <i>hluti</i> ‘piece, part’ 4r35, 6r24, 6v35, 7r34, 8v34, 9v3, 31v21, 32v6, 34r6, 46v18, 46v23, 47v19	“liop” <i>hljóp</i> ‘ran’ 10r25, 45r32, 45r35, 45r36, 45v1, 46r24, 47r27
“neisu” <i>hneisu</i> ‘disgrace’ 5v32	“rið” <i>hríð</i> ‘storm’ 7v32, 46r1, 47v23
“ræddr” <i>hræddr</i> ‘afraid’ 8v2	“garðz liðs” <i>garðshliðs</i> ‘gate’ 4r16

Data from AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“liop” <i>hljóp</i> ‘ran’ 1r22	“liotim” <i>hljótim</i> ‘get’ 1v42
“lyp” <i>hlýð</i> imp. ‘listen’ 2r23	“lut” <i>hlut</i> ‘piece, part’ 2r25
“lypi” <i>hlýði</i> ‘listen’ 2v32	“luti” <i>hluti</i> ‘piece, part’ 2v43
“lutir” <i>hlutir</i> ‘piece, part’ 3r19	“luta” <i>luta</i> ‘piece, part’ 3r48

Data from AM 655 XIV 4to:

“lutir” <i>hlutir</i> ‘piece, part’ 1v7, 1v8	“ræzlu” <i>hræzlu</i> ‘afraid’ 2v6
“ræddumc” <i>hræddumk</i> ‘were afraid’ 2r30	“reinlifr” <i>hreinlifr</i> ‘pure of life’ 2r38
“lypa” <i>hlýða</i> ‘listen’ 1v41	“lioþs” <i>hljóðs</i> ‘silence’ 1v20

This feature is not completed in any of the three texts, i.e. the scribe is not consistent – sometimes he writes “h” and sometimes he leaves it out. In 310, two longer samples were examined. The first sample is between and including 4r and 8r (Ch. 4-8). In this part 5 forms were with word-initial *h*, and 20 without *h*. This gives us a ratio of 1:4. The second sample was taken from 34v to 38v (Ch. 57-66). The text had the same length and brought the same results. There were 7 forms without word-initial *h*, and 29 with *h*. With some extremely minimal difference, it gives the same ratio, 1:4 (25% “h” spellings).

In 655 XIV the ratio is strikingly similar. The two pages contain 3 forms with word-initial *h*, and 15 without them. This gives a ratio of 1:5, or 16% – 84%. Forms without *h* are somewhat more regular. However, this can be due to the shortness of the extant text.

The other fragment shows a considerable difference from the other two manuscripts. In 655 XII-XIII, there are 6 forms with word-initial *h*, and 8 forms without *h*. It gives a percentage of 42% – 57%, i.e. the ratio is nearly 1:1. However, since the examples are so few, statistically seen it does not lead to a striking difference.

It seems possible that the dropping of “h” in the three manuscripts is only a learned feature. Had the scribe been a native speaker of a language with *h*-loss fully carried through, then the *h*-loss would also be universal in his writing. This is the case for the Norwegian manuscript DG 4-7 fol., where the scribe dropped consistently the “h” in accordance with the Norwegian loss of *h* in front of *r*, *n*, and *l*. The difference between the degrees of use can have different reasons. One reason may be cultural pressure. Namely, that *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* is about a great figure of Norwegian history. Thus it is possible that the scribe paid more attention to the use of Norwegian features. However, the loss of word-initial *h* is not consistent, which can have several reasons. The scribe could be an Icelander who was trying to imitate Norwegian spelling practices, or he was copying from a Norwegian exemplar. Alternatively, the scribe could be a Norwegian who was copying from an Icelandic exemplar.

5.4 Loss of *v* before round vowels

During the Proto-Norse period *v* was lost before the round vowels *o*, *ó* and *ú* in verb forms. Before *ø* and *ý* the *v* was kept. However, in Old Norwegian the lost *v* was analogically restored in a number of verbal forms, as in several forms of the verb *verða* ‘to become’, e.g. 3rd pret. *urðu* → *vurðu*, pret. ptc. *orðinn* → *vorðinn*. Due to Norwegian influence, the analogical restoration of *v* in front of round vowels can be found in 13th and 14th-century Icelandic manuscripts (Stefán Karlsson, 2004, 48, and Haraldur Bernharðsson, 2013, 395–396).

Data from AM 310 4to:

“vurðu” <i>urðu</i> ‘became’ 5v35, 45v11	“uox” <i>óx</i> ‘grew’ 7v31
“vox” <i>óx</i> ‘grew’ 8r3	“uurðu” <i>urðu</i> ‘became’ 31v27, 46r16

AM 310 4to shows some examples of analogical restoration of *v* before round vowels, albeit, only sporadically (six examples in forms of *verða* and *vaxa*). The two fragments do not exhibit this feature. In 655 XIV for instance 1r21 and 1v39 have *urðu* without *v*, and AM 655 XII-XIII has *hurfu* on 1r27, and *urðu* on 1r32 and 1r39. Examples for the restoration are scarce even in a longer text like *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*. It is then not surprising that the two short fragments do not exhibit the feature. We have to keep in mind that these verb forms are also less frequent.

DG 4-7 fol. also exhibits few examples of analogical *v* restoration in front of round vowels. However, even in a supposedly Norwegian copy of *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* it is hardly seen. It is most probable that the scribe of 310 was copying the Icelandic translation of Oddr’s work, and did not have help from the original exemplar on where to restore the *v*. These features are potentially only stylistic markers to fit a Norwegian reader’s needs. It is not very likely that these were part of the scribe’s own language use.

5.5 Missing nominative ending in personal names

Polysyllabic names can appear without the nominative *-r*, although this feature was not consistent in Old Norwegian. It became more and more regular after 1300 (Skard 1967, 95 and Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 401).

Data from AM 310 4to:

“Azstrið” <i>Ástriðr</i> pers. name 4r2, 46v5, 46v8, 46v15	“Astrið” <i>Ástriðr</i> pers. name 4r35, 6r21, 46v21
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The nominative ending *–r* was missing sporadically in the personal name *Ástriðr*. In other names, at least in the sample, the ending was always used. There is no evidence for this feature from the other two fragments, which can also be due to the different type of names, like the Latin name Stefanus, where we simply do not have the Old Icelandic nominative ending. In accordance with this, it is largely only a stylistic variation, and not an element from the scribe’s tongue.

5.6 Unmarked *u*-umlaut of short *a*

The unround, short vowel *a* has been rounded by *u/w*-umlaut before *u* or *w* in late – Proto-Norse. As Haraldur Bernharðsson explains, this development can be divided into two subgroups. It depends on whether the *u* or *w* that caused the umlaut was lost or preserved in literary times (2013, 394). In the first group we have instances of *u/w*-umlaut before *u* or *w* that was lost, e.g. nom. sing. fem. *ǫll* < **allu* of adj. *allr* ‘all’. It has a clear orthographic representation in both West and East Norse already at the earliest stage, for instance, “o”, or “q”. The second group includes instances of the rounding of *a* before *u* that was not syncopated, e.g. nom. sing. n. *hǫfuð* ‘head’. In this case, the distinct orthographical representation of the umlaut is found only in Icelandic and some West Norwegian manuscripts. In East Norwegian manuscripts, such as manuscripts from Trøndelag, orthographic “a” is present in this position e.g. dat. sing. masc. *allum* of adj. *allr* ‘all’. This holds true for Old Swedish and Old Danish manuscripts.

It has been pointed out by Hreinn Benediktsson (1963, 409–431), however, that in these instances the *u*-umlaut did not necessarily fail to operate in East Norwegian and East Norse. Rather, in the position before a retained *u* the opposition of *a* and *ø* was neutralized. Due to this neutralization speakers had some freedom in the pronunciation of *a* and *ø* which could be pronounced midway between the two vowels or approximating one of them. In accordance with this, the orthographic representation of the vowel in this position could be rendered with the symbol denoting *a*, or the one denoting *ø* (as also in Haraldur Bernharðsson, 2013, 395).

Orthographic forms with “a” instead of an expected “ø” are in evidence from 13th and 14th-century Icelandic manuscripts. They are particularly common in trisyllabic words, e.g. “kallaðu” for *kølluðu*. This is in harmony with the features of DG 4–7 fol., where *u*-umlaut has been fully carried out, as an influence from the Icelandic exemplar. However, there are trisyllabic word forms where the umlaut is not denoted, as the manuscript is considered to be Norwegian.

Data from AM 310 4to

“allu” <i>øllu</i> ‘all’ 4r19, 6v8, 7v20, 9r29, 33r17, 33v26, 45v14	“hanum” <i>honum</i> ‘to him’ 34r5, 45r9
“hafum” <i>høfum</i> ‘have’ 6v27, 9v31, 45v22	“hafðu” <i>høfðu</i> ‘had’ 4v25, 6r21, 8r11, 8r30, 31r35, 45r3, 45v12, 47r11
“sannuþu” <i>sønnuðu</i> ‘asserted’ 7v1	“hafuð smiðr” <i>høfuðsmiðr</i> ‘chief builder’ 33v7

Data from AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“gavug” <i>gøfug</i> ‘noble’ 1r14	“aðrum” <i>øðrum</i> ‘other’ 1v9, 1v20, 2r8, 2v46, 3r28
“allum” <i>øllum</i> ‘all’ 1v25, 1v32, 02v14, 2v35, 3r15, 3r16, 3r44	“hanum” <i>honum</i> ‘to him’ 1r33
“manndrapum” <i>manndrøpum</i> ‘mannslaughter’ 1v20	“man” <i>mun</i> ‘shall’ 1r4, 1r4, 1r5, 1r15, 2r23, 2r23, 2v37, 2v40, 2v41, 3r16

Data from AM 655 XIV 4to:

“allum” <i>øllum</i> ‘all’ 1v11, 2v14	“hafþu” <i>høfðu</i> ‘had’ 2r10
“aðrom” <i>øðrum</i> ‘other’ 2r25	“hafuð kirkju” <i>høfuðkirkju</i> ‘high church’ 2v32
“hanum” <i>honum</i> ‘to him’ 1v31, 2r22	“hafuð” <i>høfuð</i> ‘head’ 2v31

This feature is not consistent in none of the three texts, although the manuscripts seem to exhibit the same level of not marking the *u*-umlaut. It seems that in the majority of cases, the scribe did not mark the *u*-umlaut in high-frequency words, e.g. in “hafum” for *høfum*, or “allum” *øllum*. It is also interesting to note that in most instances the disyllabic words are exhibiting unmarked *u*-umlaut, such as “aðrum” *øðrum*. There are also sporadic examples of monosyllabic words with this feature in all the three texts. The least frequent ones are the trisyllabic word forms without *u*-umlaut. It is, in fact, an understandable phenomenon. It is almost as if the scribe did not have this feature in his mothertongue, but only learnt it. It is easier to recognise and leave out the umlaut in a

word form where the short *a* and the preserved *u* are in two consecutive syllables, especially in high-frequency words. This is the case for *ǫllum* or *ǫðrum*. It is, however, less straightforward in forms like *honum*, where the process *hánun > hōnum > honum* is less transparent and clear. This may explain why these instances are less frequent. In other examples where the umlaut has been processed, the orthographic representation of *ǫ* is “o”. This is a distinctive feature of Icelandic manuscripts and some West Norwegian manuscripts, too (Haraldur Bernharðsson, 2013, 394).

The three manuscripts are exhibiting this feature in roughly the same manner. It does not seem to be used consistently. What is even more important, it is fairly unlikely that the three manuscripts were using exemplars that had this feature in approximately the degree.

5.7 Privative prefix *ú > ó* in contrast with the analogical restoration of *v* before *o, ó, and ú* in verbs

The privative prefix in Old Icelandic is *ó-*, while in Old Norwegian it is *ú-*. Many 13th and 14th-century Icelandic manuscripts use the prefix *ú-* instead of the expected *ó-* (Haraldur Bernharðsson, 2013, 395).

Data from AM 310 4to:

“ukunnir” <i>ókunnir</i> ‘unknown, strange’ 4v7	“uvinum” <i>óvinum</i> ‘enemies’ 8r20, 9r21
“uleyfi” <i>óleyfi</i> phra. ‘without one’s leave’ 31r23	“utalit” <i>ótalit</i> ‘uncounted, untold’ 33r32

“uhreinstu” <i>óhreinstu</i> ‘unpure’ 47v27	“uscynsamlegum” <i>óskynsamlegum</i> ‘irrational’ 47v27
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Data from AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“utali” <i>ótali</i> ‘uncounted’ 1r29	“uqveþa” <i>ókvæða</i> ‘unrecited’ 1r31
“ugetinn” <i>ógetinn</i> ‘not begotten’ 3r8	“utru” <i>ótrú</i> ‘untrue’ 2r13, 3r44
“uskiptiligr” <i>óskiptiligr</i> ‘indivisible’ 3r8	“udauðlegar” <i>ódauðligar</i> ‘immortal’ 3r13

Data from AM 655 XIV 4to:

“ufriþ” <i>ófrið</i> ‘not free’ 2r23	“utru” <i>ótrú</i> ‘untrue’ 1v21, 1v22, 1v24, 1v25
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While the use of the privative prefix *ú* is relatively frequent in all the three manuscripts, the analogical restoration of *v* before a round vowel was only scarce. They can, in fact, be put in contrast with each other to show why the restoration of *v* is less common. The use of a different prefix is a feature that can be learnt relatively easily, since the prefix existed in both languages. They were just possibly different generalizations of two variants conditioned by different stress (Noreen 1923, 46–47, and Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 395–396). On the other hand, the restoration of a phoneme that levelled out in certain paradigmes in the scribe’s language is a more difficult task. Thus, it is not expected to be used as frequently as a feature that exists and is still in use in both languages, with only a small alteration. That is to say, it is reasonable to propose that the use of a different privative prefix is only a learned feature,

and not part of the scribe's native language. In addition to this, the consistent use of the privative prefix in all the three manuscripts makes the role of an exemplar unlikely, unless they were all copied from an exemplar with *ú-*. This is of course not impossible, but is not very likely.

5.8 Orthographic variation of “e” and “æ”

Some variations are purely orthographic in their nature. For instance, the change of “e” to “æ”, especially in the diphthong *ei*, is Norwegian in its origins and was dominant from the second half of the 13th century up to the end of the 14th century (Stefán Karlsson 2004, 47–48 and Haraldur Bernharðsson 2013, 401).

Data from AM 310 4to:

“glæði” <i>gleði</i> ‘gladness, joy’ 5r21	“ændr nyiaðr” <i>endrnýjaðr</i> ‘repeated’ 8r25
“ælsku” <i>elsku</i> ‘love’ 32r1	“ængill” <i>engill</i> ‘angel’ 32v10
“þænna” <i>penna</i> ‘this’ 47r19	“scynsæmi” <i>skynsemi</i> ‘reason’ 47v25

Data from AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“formælændr” <i>formælendr</i> ‘spokesman’ 1v42	“læmia” <i>lemja</i> ‘to thrash’ 3r37	“hænnar” <i>hennar</i> ‘her’ 1v21, 2r4
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Data from AM 655 XIV 4to:

“stæinþro” <i>steinþró</i> ‘stone coffin’ 2r24
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This trait seems to be frequent in 310, and there are relatively many examples in 655 XII-XIII. This is in accordance with the length of the extant text. In 655 XIV, however, there is only one example of this variation in the diphthong *ei*, represented as “æi”. It is perhaps not surprising why we find so many instances of this kind of orthographic representation. Let us assume that an Icelandic scribe received his training from a Norwegian master (either in Iceland or in Norway), then it is reasonable to suppose that he was able to relatively easily learn this orthographic practice. It is not a linguistic change that the scribe cannot memorize and use with absolute confidence even as an adult. Since this variation is only orthographic in its nature, a professional scribe could master and use it for his works.

5.9 Weakenings in unaccented position: *i* > *æ*?

This trait is not a Norwegianism, but certainly an interesting feature that is worth examining. In some extremely few cases, ‘æ’ is used instead of the expected ‘i’ in word final, unaccented positions. This would raise the question whether we can talk about weakened case endings or not. This trait of the scribe’s language use can be found in 310 and 655 XII-XIII.

Data from AM 310 4to:

“mærræ” <i>meiri</i> ‘more’ 10r1	“skirpæ” <i>skírði</i> ‘purified’ 12r7
“minnæ” <i>minni</i> ‘smaller’ 45v27	

Data from AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“orþæ” <i>orði</i> ‘word’ 1v4

In Old Norwegian, this process began in the 12th century, and by the 13th century we find examples of “e” for expected “a” (e.g. “hægre”). In the 14th century it appears also in plural forms (“manædær”), pronouns (“hennær”, earlier *hennar*), and verbs (“orkæ”, “orkær” for *orka*, *orkar*). In this period, East Norwegian began to weaken full vowels in word final positions in disyllabic word forms, when the root vowel was long, but kept full vowels in the case of a short root vowel. This weakening led to the reduction of *a* and *u* to a schwa (Skard 1967, 89). It raises suspicion, however, that the “æ” ligature appears in place of the vowel *i*.

The orthographic representation of the unstressed vowels *i*, *a*, *u* in the earliest manuscripts were “e”, “a” and “o”. This changed following the merger $e + \varphi > e$ during the 12th century. As a consequence, the orthographic representation shifted to “i” “a” “u” in the late 12th and 13th century (Hreinn Benediktsson, 1965, 72, and Haraldur Bernharðsson, 2013, 138). As it is seen in the texts, the scribe uses both “e/o” and “i/u” to denote *i* and *u* in unstressed syllables.

It seems thus that the representation of word-final *i* as “æ” is not proof for the weakening of unstressed vowels as in Norwegian. Rather, it is due to a two-step change. First of all, the old vowel denotation, “e” “a” “o”, has not entirely changed in the script of the scribe to “i” “a” “u”. He uses both “e” and “i” to denote the -i ending. Secondly, the orthographical variation of “e/æ” is also present in the texts. This is a feature frequently used by the scribe. The “æ” ending is most probably due to the denotation of *i* as “e”, represented by a different orthography. Namely “æ” is used instead of the expected “e”.

5.10 Summary

It seems that the three manuscripts show a relative uniformity in the occurrence of Norwegianisms. There are of course differences between the ratios of certain features, but the extant length of the manuscripts can account for them. This can actually mean that they were not copied from an exemplar since it would mean that all the three were copied from the same exemplar, or the exemplars themselves were also very similar to each other. While this is not impossible, it is reasonable to say that it is also very unlikely. These Norwegian features seem to stem from a learned behaviour rather than from a native speaker. They are not consistent and the scribe does not use them thoroughly. The exception is the distinction of the vowels *æ* and *ó*, but it can also be explained with an archaic dialect of an Icelandic scribe.

6 Dating of the manuscript

It has been pointed out that AM 310 4to was written in the second half of the 13th century. Yet based on palaeographical evidence, Stefán Karlsson (2000, 182) concluded that the third quarter of the century is more reasonable. Both of the orthographical symbols, “þ” and “ð”, are present in the manuscript, together with the insular “f” with two horizontal bars. This points towards a ca. 1225–1375. The middle voice is denoted with “z” or with “fc”, giving a greater restriction on the dating, namely to ca. 1250–1275. Word-final *t* in unstressed position is sometimes fricativised (e.g. in 310 4to, 5v12 “við” for *vit* “we”), a feature that is in evidence in many hands from the second half of the 13th century. However, there are as many hypercorrections, too, giving additional evidence for fricativization. The insular “p” and the uncial “ð” with a slanted shaft are used predominantly in the script. Both are features of a scribe writing prior to 1300. The use of the “r” rotunda and “a” is a bit archaic, as the “z” is used after “o” and some there are only sporadic examples of the use of rotunda after “ð”, “ð” and “ð”. That the “a” has only a neck and a bow instead being the two-storey “a”, further supports this. The script is narrow, some double letters are conjoined (e.g. “pp” in 14v32), but the script itself is connected, too (e.g. the feet are touching the immediately following letters). The letter “o” is oval, and the roundness of other letters are gaining angularity. Minims and ascenders are sometimes thickened, and their feet curve to the right. This indicates a script type that underwent a transition to Textualis, a script in use starting in the second half of the 13th century (Haraldur Bernharðsson, 2013, 409–419). Based on these features, it is possible to date the script to 1225–1275. In a narrower sense, the third quarter of the century is also reasonable, as it has been proposed by Stefán Karlsson (1978, 173–187).

7. Final conclusions

As we can see, the three manuscripts are exhibiting many features that are associated with Norwegian influence. However, the nature and degree of their use can be different due to several reasons. On the one hand, the vowel distinction of *ǣ* and *ó* points towards a Norwegian scribe, as this degree of accuracy in all the three texts of where to use *ǣ*, and where to use *ó*, is not expected from an Icelander. Alternatively, it could be an Icelander who still had this distinction in his mother tongue. Since the manuscripts were written around that time when the two vowels merged together in Icelandic, it is possible that the scribe simply spoke an archaic dialect of the language. On the other hand, one could also argue that the scribe used an exemplar to distinguish the vowels from each other, where the language showed an earlier stage in its development. However, Holmperg. 18 4to did not exhibit this feature, even though it can be a copy of the same original translation, which is a sign for an Icelandic scribe. The two other fragments are also distinguishing *ǣ* and *ó* with the same frequency, which would make the role of an exemplar less plausible.

The loss of word-initial *h* in *hr*, *hn*, and *hl* shows differences in the degree it is implemented in AM 310 4to and the two fragments. In contrast with the vowel distinction of *ǣ* and *ó*, where the scribe used it thoroughly and showed a seemingly native command over the feature, the loss of *h* is not implemented consistently and even the manuscripts show difference among themselves. While in AM 310 4to and 655 XIV 4to the Norwegian forms clearly outweigh the Icelandic ones, 655 XII-XIII uses forms with and without word-initial *h* nearly equally. We have to keep in mind that while the vowel distinction is a feature where the scribe had no help, to learn that “h” is not used word initially before “l, r” and “n” is relatively easy. A professional scribe

who studied in a Norwegian environment, or from a Norwegian master, could easily learn how to incorporate this Norwegianism into his text.

Forms without marked *u*-umlaut are found to the same degree in all the three manuscripts, although they are not thoroughly carried out. This Norwegianism is usually most common in trisyllabic word forms, however, it seems that they are the least common examples in the texts. As it has been pointed out in the previous section, it was easier to leave out the umlaut where the short *a* and the preserved *u* are in two consecutive syllables.

Other linguistic traits like the missing nominative *-r*, the use of *ú* instead of *ó* as a privative prefix, or purely orthographical traits like the variation between “e” and “æ”, do not need an exemplar in order to be implemented in the texts. In other words, these features can easily be learned by someone who is trained to be a professional scribe. In accordance with this, we find many examples in all the three documents for them. However, in the case of analogical restoration of *v* before round vowels, the instances are few. This may be due to the fact that in Icelandic the lost *v* in this position was not restored, and thus it is not expected from an Icelandic scribe to be able to restore them thoroughly either. All this together makes it reasonable to say that these Norwegianisms exhibited in the manuscripts are learned forms, rather than traits of a native speaker. The use of an exemplar is also rather unlikely since this would mean that the three manuscripts were copied from either the same exemplar, or from three exemplars with the same features and linguistic traits.

As the last step, it is imperative to comment on the previous scholarship with the help of the present analysis of the manuscript and draw a conclusion on the matter.

Many of the previous scholars found the broken form “iak” interesting and proof for the scribe’s own East Norwegian language use. It is nonetheless reasonable, as

pointed out in the earlier sections, that this is only a stylistic marker. It is not an indicator for a Norwegian scribe. It is hardly likely that we can draw any far-reaching conclusions, including date of creation and authorship of the manuscript, based only on one single word in the manuscript. Several other Norwegianisms and features have been pointed out as Norwegian. However, according to the recent state of scholarship, it is not necessarily proof against an Icelandic scribe. Seip also pointed out that forms alien from Icelandic are coming from a Norwegian original. This is not necessarily true either, as we have to take into consideration Norwegian influence on Icelandic scribes and archaic dialects. Although, it is an interesting idea that the text may have been dictated by a second person, and thus the text had been influenced in a passive way.

It is problematic that most of the Norwegian characteristics that have been highlighted are either not implemented properly and fully in AM 310 4to, or they are only orthographic variations, and thus they do not show a native level language use. In both cases, these features could have been learnt by an Icelandic scribe. Hægstad highlighted traits such as the lack of u-umlaut, lexical features, and the privative prefix *ú*. As discussed before, these are all characteristics that could have been learnt while being tutored by a Norwegian master, or alternatively picked up when the Norwegian influence reached Iceland in the 13th century. The denotation of *o* as “o” rather than “a”, for instance in “gongur” for *gongur*, mentioned by Ole Widding, is also an Icelandic orthographic feature that was present in some West Norwegian manuscripts as well (1952, 157-158). Hægstad (1935, 41-44) also raised the question, why would an Icelandic scribe use Norwegian vocabulary (e.g. “regna” for *rigna* “to rain upon”, “varðr” for *verðr* becomes) in his work? The answer is something that can be understood from the nature of Norwegianisms. The ultimate purpose of this kind of language use is to fit the language to a Norwegian audience. A distinctive Norwegian vocabulary is

something that a scribe can implement in order to “Norwegianize” the text at a deeper level. In addition to this, Hægstad also recognized the fact that the h-drop in word-initial position is not thorough, and it would be surprising for a Norwegian to be able to reconstruct it properly. Still, the Norwegian distinction between *æ* and *ó* is a feature that could easily be part of an Icelander’s natural speech, due to the early stage of the merger of the two vowels.

On the palaeographic level, Ole Widding (1952, 143-171) and Stefán Karlsson (1978, 173-187) conducted a valuable and highly important work by establishing the connection between the three manuscripts, AM 310 4to, AM 655 XII-XIII 4to, and AM 655 XIV 4to. The observation that all the three manuscripts were written by the same scribe provides a great opportunity to conduct comparative research on the language use of the person and also helps to place the manuscript geographically. As discussed earlier, Stefán Karlsson has already made a proposal regarding the place of origin, as there are several facts pointing towards Þingeyrar, among many that Oddr Snorrason was also a Þingeyrar monk. Based on observations and the palaeographical description, this theory is valid, forming a solid background for further linguistics analysis.

One may ask the question: would it be possible that the reverse scenario happened? Namely, that a Norwegian scribe was imitating Icelandic scribal traditions? At this point, it is important to highlight two points. First of all, it is reasonable to consider Norwegian as the superstratum in the relationship between Icelandic and Norwegian language in this time period. This would mean that since Norway was the superior political partner (keeping in mind that Þingeyrar and Hólar belonged to Niðarós, and that Þingeyrar was mentioned to be a plausible place of origin for the manuscripts), it is more probable that Norwegian had the greater influence in the language contact. Due to the high degree of similarity, it was easier for Icelanders to

adjust their speech to their Norwegian partners'. At the same time, we have to keep in mind that some Norwegian charters and manuscripts show Icelandic influence – as pointed out by Magnus Rindal (1997, 116-118). Secondly, the Norwegian characteristics found in the manuscript would represent a scribe with a mixed language, including dialectal traits from all over Norway (cf. the map of Medieval Norwegian dialectal features). This theory is not highly probable as during the first language acquisition the person would learn a basic language or dialect, and then would implement learned features. The basic characteristics in AM 310 and the two fragments are more likely to be by an Icelander's archaic tongue, mixed with professionally learned Norwegian language elements from different parts of Norway. This possibility was pointed out by Anne Holtsmark as well (1974, 9-20).

The only way to come to a well-established conclusion is to take every aspect into consideration and analyse the manuscripts in a comparative manner. Now that we have summarised the findings and the analysis, it is time to turn our attention to the conclusion of the thesis. AM 655 XII-XIII 4to was written in Iceland, Höskuldsstaðir, and the paleographical relationship among the three manuscripts connects them to the same scribe. The manuscripts AM 310 4to, AM 655 XII-XIII and XIV 4to, were most probably written by the same Icelandic scribe in the period 1225-1275 (more probably 1250-1275), who was connected with, or was working in Þingeyrar. The scribe was either an Icelander under the influence of Norwegian language or an Icelander who studied Norwegian scribal traditions under the supervision of a master. At the very last, the scribe spent a considerable amount of time in Norway, learning features of Norwegian. Evident in the present study, it is necessary to look at all the most important features of the texts at the same time and use comparative methods to broaden the foundations of the research in order to reach a meaningful conclusion. The use of earlier

scholarship can give us valuable information about the answers to our research questions, but we have to be critical of them. We must carefully approach what to accept and incorporate into the study. In the absence of external evidence, it is crucial to include as many relevant features as possible into the research material, as one feature can explain the presence of another, or question the value and importance of the other trait.

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Acknowledgement:

I would like to express my first and foremost gratitude towards my thesis advisor, Haraldur Bernharðsson, who helped me writing about historical linguistics for the first time in my life. I owe a debt of gratitude also to my teachers and thesis workshop leaders, Torfi H. Tulinius and Viðar Pálsson. I am grateful for all the comments and help I received from fellow-medievalists in Reykjavík, Eduardo Ramos, Hannah Hethmon, Janina Fontanive, Karyn Bellamy-Dagneau, Malo Adeux, Oliver Organista, Viktória Gyönki, Will Biel, Yoav Tirosh and Zuzana Stankovitsova. I would like to thank all the wonderful friends I got to know during my stay in Iceland, who supported me during the academic year: Aleksandra Milinkovic, Kendall Waterman, Marek Czernek, Megan Monson, Paola Girani and Veronica Arridu. Last, but not least, thank you for all my friends who never questioned my goals and dreams during my studies, and supported me in one way or another: Adrianna Gregersen, Ákos Fábián, Balázs Búza, Bálint Szarka, Borisz Sarafutgyinov, Isabella Violet Fábián, Márk Szekér, Sarolta Zala and Szandra Budai.

Appendices

Appendix A: The denotation of *æ* and *ó*

In AM 310 4to:

“agetir” <i>ágætir</i> 4r6	“ageta” <i>ágæta</i> 7v21, 9r10, 45v21, 46r9
“ageta uel” <i>ágætavel</i> 8v36	“agetan” <i>ágætan</i> 8r4
“agetasta” <i>ágætasta</i> 47r15	“agetliga” <i>ágætliga</i> 06r8
“agetligan” <i>ágætligan</i> 45v13	“agetligum” <i>ágætligum</i> 8r24, 9v12, 47r6
“agetligan” <i>ágætligan</i> 32r15	“agetligr” <i>ágætligr</i> 6r12, 09v3
“agetr” <i>ágætr</i> 47r3	“agett” <i>ágætt</i> 33r29
“agezstum” <i>ágæztu</i> 46r34	“all fræg” <i>allfræg</i> 9v11
“beði” <i>bæði</i> 8v18	“bæði” <i>bæði</i> 5v1, 5v19, 9v4, 9v5, 9v10
“bæði” <i>bæði</i> 7r4, 8v34, 33r20, 33r35, 47r35	“bæþi” <i>bæði</i> 9v12, 33r31
“byrsæll” <i>byrsæll</i> 31v18	“clæði” <i>klæði</i> 6r38, 45v10
“clæðum” <i>klæðum</i> 7v23, 9r1, 32r13	“farsæligum” <i>farsæligum</i> 9v16
“farsæligum” <i>farsæligum</i> 7v31	“farsæligum” <i>farsæligum</i> 33r25
“fastmælum” <i>fastmælum</i> 31v1	“fiarrlæg” <i>fjarlæg</i> 47v20
“fiarrlægio” <i>fjarlægju</i> 7r12	“fiarrlægiom” <i>fjarlægjum</i> 33r6
“flærða full” <i>flærðafull</i> 5v3	“forræðis” <i>forræðis</i> 8r12
“fregþar hogg” <i>frægðarhogg</i> 7r33	“frenda” <i>frænda</i> 07r11, 07r17, 07r23, 32v15
“frendi” <i>frændi</i> 6v30	“frendr” <i>frændr</i> 5v2
“frendum” <i>frændum</i> 5r30	“frægð” <i>frægð</i> 47r17
“frægia” <i>frægja</i> 7v21, 45v13	“frægt” <i>frægt</i> 33r28
“frægþ” <i>frægð</i> 33v27	“frægþar verk” <i>frægðarverk</i> 8r27
“frændr” <i>frændr</i> 34r18	“fæ” <i>fæ</i> 7v13
“fæð” <i>fæð</i> 32v16	“fær” <i>fær</i> 5v31, 6r22, 9r27
“fær” <i>fær</i> 14v14	“færeyiar” <i>Færeyjar</i> 32v19

“færi” <i>færi</i> 33v22	“geta” <i>gæta</i> 9r18
“get” <i>gætt</i> 46r20	“gætti” <i>gætti</i> 8v28
“gezlu maðr” <i>gæzlumaðr</i> 46r21	“halægiom” <i>hálægjum</i> 7v8
“hasæti” <i>hásæti</i> 6r3, 32r24	“hasæti” <i>hásæti</i> 9v11
”hetti” <i>hætti</i> 4r16, 5r19, 46r7	“hæra” <i>hára</i> 31v7
“hætta” <i>hætta</i> 5v30	“hættu” <i>hættu</i> 8v3
“iarðlægt” <i>jarðlægt</i> 33r32	“lær” <i>lær</i> 4r29
“lecndi” <i>lækndi</i> 46v8	“litillættir” <i>lítillættir</i> 8v1
“lægrí” <i>lægri</i> 33v14	“lægrí” <i>lægri</i> 45v28
“lætr” <i>lætr</i> 34r22	“melli” <i>mælti</i> 46r22
“mæl” <i>mæl</i> 5v24	“mæla” <i>mæla</i> 9r16, 34r9, 34r12
“mæli” <i>mæli</i> 5v23, 45v31	“mælt” <i>mælt</i> 34r1
“mæri” <i>Mæri</i> 34r29	“mætti” <i>mætti</i> 46r3
“nær” <i>nær</i> 4v14, 32r5	“næsta” <i>næsta</i> 4v33
“nætrinnar” <i>nætrinnar</i> 32r16	“rænt” <i>rænt</i> 45v20
“ræddr” <i>hræddr</i> 8v2	“sigrsæli” <i>sigrsæli</i> 31r26
“slæ” <i>slæ</i> 5v25	“snæða” <i>snæða</i> 4v1, 4v27
“storlæti” <i>stórlæti</i> 9r35	“stræti” <i>stræti</i> 7r17
“suæfi” <i>svæfi</i> 31v26	“sæi” <i>sæi</i> 4r27, 6r4
“sælu” <i>sælu</i> 47r13	“særðr” <i>særðr</i> 46v8
“sæti” <i>sæti</i> 8r9, 32r24, 32v1, 46r21	“sætinu” <i>sætinu</i> 46r24
“tvær” <i>tvær</i> 33v22	“venntir” <i>vænntir</i> 5r28
“væntir” <i>væntir</i> 7v12	“vænnte” <i>vænti</i> 9r15
“vænti” <i>vænti</i> 33v12	“vættiz” <i>vættiz</i> 31v36
“þrelkan” <i>þrélkan</i> 6r28	“þreldom” <i>þrældóm</i> 7r12
“þræll” <i>þræll</i> 5v20, 5v32, 7v28	“þræll” <i>þræll</i> 6v14
“þrældomi” <i>þrældómi</i> 6v33	“þrætu” <i>þrætu</i> 31r35
“þær” <i>þær</i> 9v27, 9v30, 9v32, 45v11	“æ” <i>æ</i> 7r7, 46r10 adv. “never”

“ærir” <i>ærir</i> 45r17	“ætla” <i>ætla</i> 9r11, 46v24
“ætlaði” <i>ætlaði</i> 6r23	“ætlar” <i>ætlar</i> 4r9, 5r36, 5v14, 7r29
“ætlið” <i>ætlið</i> 47v15	“ætluðu” <i>ætluðu</i> 6r22, 31v26, 34r8, 34r33, 45v5
“ætt” <i>ætt</i> 6v20, 7v28, 7v29, 47r34	“ætti” <i>ætti</i> 4r2, 9v14
“ættið” <i>ættið</i> 9v28	“ættiorð” <i>ættjorð</i> 6v21
“very” <i>væri</i> 5v28, 45r19	“yfirlæti” <i>yfirlæti</i> 7r15
“örventu” <i>orvæntu</i> 4v26	“dysæðinga” <i>dysæðinga</i> 45r16

“bó” <i>bó</i> 46r20	”bóar” <i>bójar</i> 5r16
“bón” <i>bón</i> 32r2, 33v18	“bóna” <i>bóna</i> 31v22
”bóta” <i>bóta</i> 5r32, 5r32, 45v24	“bótr” <i>bótr</i> 46r18
“bótt” <i>bótt</i> 46v26	“fatókir” <i>fátókir</i> 4v7
”fóra” <i>fóra</i> 45r5, 45r6, 47v11	”fórði” <i>fórði</i> 4r9, 8r24, 46v2
“fórir” <i>fórir</i> 8v8	”fórit” <i>fórið</i> 4r9
“fórt” <i>fórt</i> 33v6, 46v25, 47v19	“fözlu” <i>fózlu</i> 45v30, 46r27
“fözlum” <i>fózlum</i> 4v29	“föþir” <i>fóðir</i> 5r34
“föpa” <i>fóða</i> 4v5, 5r29, 7r12	“föþaz” <i>fóðask</i> 6r10, 9r26
“föþingi” <i>fóðingi</i> 6r41	“glöp” <i>glöp</i> 45v20
“grónland” <i>Grónland</i> 32v19	”gröþara” <i>gróðara</i> 47v29
“gróddr” <i>gróddr</i> 47v6	“gróddu” <i>gróddu</i> 47v4
“gözku” <i>gózku</i> 45v31	“gözku fullir” <i>gózkufullir</i> 8v12
“göddu” <i>góddu</i> 7v30	“hróraz” <i>hrórask</i> 47v4
“höfir” <i>hófir</i> 31v21	“höfir” <i>hófir</i> 31v12, 34r24
“höft” <i>hóft</i> 33v29	“högri” <i>hógri</i> 31v15
“hötti” <i>hótti</i> 32r18	“kønn” <i>kónn</i> 8r17
“kônstir” <i>kónstir</i> 8r1	“lögis” <i>lógis</i> 8v20

“lōpi” <i>hlōpi</i> 3rd pl. pret. subj. of <i>hlaupa</i> “to run” 45r2	“dōtr” <i>dótr</i> 8v22
“mōþi” <i>móði</i> 47v1	“norðna” <i>norróna</i> 33v23
“nófrliga” <i>nófrliga</i> 8r18	“nōra” <i>nóra</i> 45v35
“rōgþu” <i>rógðu</i> 8v12	“rōtt” <i>rótt</i> 46v16
“rōtask” <i>rótask</i> 9v21	“rōþu” <i>róðu</i> 4r10
“rōþan” <i>róðan</i> 5v16	“rōddi” <i>róddi</i> 8r36
„rōþum” <i>róðum</i> 7v15	“stōrrum” <i>stórrum</i> 45r4
“rōddu” <i>róddu</i> 4v23	“sōmð” <i>sómð</i> 8r2, 8r6, 8v11
“stōþi” <i>stóði</i> 33r3	“sōmiliga” <i>sómiliga</i> 9r13
“sōmðar” <i>sómðar</i> 8v28	“sōmilegsta” <i>sómilegsta</i> 33v15
“sōmiligt” <i>sómiligt</i> 6v12	“vapn fōrir” <i>vápnfórir</i> 33v ²⁶
“tōki” <i>tóki</i> 6r4, 34r5	“þolinmōþi” <i>þolinmóði</i> 4r19
“viðar rōtr” <i>viðarrótr</i> 4v21	“ōrna” <i>órna</i> 47v24
“ōrit” <i>órit</i> 5v32, 6r19, 46v16	“ōscu allðri” <i>óskualdri</i> 46v27
“ōscu” <i>ósku</i> 8v1	“ōskilegum” <i>óskiligum</i> 5r34
“ōskilegr” <i>óskiligr</i> 6v14	“dōm” <i>dóm</i> 33v34
“ōztu” <i>óztu</i> 47r15	“dōmi” > <i>dómi</i> 45r22
“dōma” <i>dóma</i> 33v9	
“dōmum” <i>dómum</i> 47v7	

Mistakes in AM 310 4to:

“dælp” <i>dóld</i> 33r30	“fōrn” <i>fórn</i> 46v25
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In AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“auþræpum” <i>auðráðum</i> 1v30	“bæpi” <i>bæði</i> 1r11, 1r25, 1r33, 1v34, 2r6, 2r42
“bæþim” <i>bæðim</i> 3r11	“embætti” <i>embætti</i> 1r30
“formælendr” <i>formælendr</i> 1v42	“frændsimi” <i>frændsemi</i> 2r3
“fullsælu” <i>fullsælu</i> 1v45	“hæra” <i>hæra</i> 2v39
“hætti” <i>hætti</i> 2v33	“hæþ” <i>hæð</i> 2v47
“litillæti” <i>litillæti</i> 1v14	“lærisuein” <i>lærisvein</i> 2r16
“lærisueinn” <i>lærisveinn</i> 2r24	“lærisueinn” <i>lærisveinn</i> 3r27
“lærisueinum” <i>lærisveinum</i> 2r13	“læsti” <i>læsti</i> 1v33
“meinlæti” <i>meinlæti</i> 1r8	“mæla” <i>mæla</i> 1r11
“mæli” <i>mæli</i> 2r27	“mæri” <i>mæri</i> 2v33
“mætis maðr” <i>mætismaðr</i> 3r47	“purpura clæpi” <i>purpurakléði</i> 3r26
“ræna” <i>ræna</i> 1r10	“sannmællt” <i>sannmælt</i> 1r4
“selu” <i>sælu</i> 2r2	“streti” <i>stræti</i> 1r18
“stræti” <i>stræti</i> 1v22	“sæti” <i>sæti</i> 2v40
“sætt” <i>sætt</i> 2v11	“sæzc” <i>sæsk</i> 2r23
“sævar” <i>sævar</i> 2v9	“tær” <i>tær</i> 3r20
“very” <i>væri</i> 2v26	“þær” <i>þær</i> 1v4, 2r14, 2v8, 2v8, 2v8
“ætlat” <i>ætlat</i> 1r12	“ætlaþr” <i>ætlaðr</i> 1r20
“ætt” <i>ætt</i> 2v29	“ættim” <i>ættim</i> 2r39
“ævi” <i>ævi</i> 1r5, 1v35	“ævilok” <i>ævilok</i> 1r5
“væri” <i>væri</i> 1v22	
“bröþr” <i>bróðr</i> 2r5, 2r7, 2v28	“böcr” <i>bókr</i> 1r41
“bónir” <i>bónir</i> 1v4	“endrbóta” <i>endrbóta</i> 2v36
“fatócra” <i>fátókra</i> 2v46	“föra” <i>fóra</i> 1r15, 1r17, 1r28, 3r34, 3r40
“fórir” <i>fórir</i> 1v10	“fórþi” <i>fórði</i> 1r29

“fótr” <i>fótr</i> 2v7, 2v42	“fözlu” <i>fózlu</i> 2v43
“gródda” <i>gródda</i> 3r15	“göpi” <i>góði</i> 2v19
“hógri” <i>hógri</i> 2v49	“kómi” <i>kómi</i> 1v19
“móta” <i>móta</i> 1r37	“móttu” <i>móttu</i> 1r12
“róra” <i>róra</i> 2r25, 3r1	“röpir” <i>róðir</i> 2v41
“röpa” <i>róða</i> 3r37	“slögþ” <i>slógð</i> 2v17
“störri” <i>störri</i> 1v11	“störstu” <i>stórstu</i> 1v24
“sókia” <i>sókja</i> 1v23, 3r47	“sómð” <i>sómð</i> 2r6
“udöma uerc” <i>údómaverk</i> 3r40	“öfsta” <i>ófsta</i> 1v43
“öfstu” <i>ófstu</i> 1v35	“özstu” <i>óztu</i> 1v26, 1v44
“özt” <i>ózt</i> 1v36	“özti” <i>ózti</i> 1v14
“öztr” <i>óztr</i> 1v25	“öztu” <i>óztu</i> 1v4
“öztum” <i>óztum</i> 1v32	“döma” <i>dóma</i> 1v25
“dömþr” <i>dómðr</i> 2v27	

In AM 655 XIV 4to:

“austr ætt” <i>austrétt</i> 2r37	“hallæri” <i>hallæri</i> 2v2
“hætti” <i>hætti</i> 1v37	“læri sueinum” <i>lærisveinum</i> 1v38, 2r21, 2r24
“melti” <i>mælti</i> 2v1	“mætti” <i>mætti</i> 2r20
“næsti” <i>næsti</i> 1v41	“ræzlu” <i>hræzlu</i> 2v6
“ræddr” <i>hræddr</i> 1v5	“ræddumc” <i>hræddumsk</i> 2r30
“samþrælar” <i>samþrælar</i> 1v42	“snær” <i>snær</i> 2r35
“ueri” <i>væri</i> 2r20	“veri” <i>væri</i> 2r33
“ætla” <i>ætla</i> 2v13	

“brǫþr” <i>bróðr</i> 1v42	“bð” <i>bó</i> 2r18, 2r25, 2v4
“bðiar monnum” <i>bójarmonnum</i> 2v14	“bðna stað” <i>bónastað</i> 2v5
“bðnar” <i>bónar</i> 2r27	“bðnir” <i>bónir</i> 2v35
“bóttisc” <i>bóttisk</i> 2v31	“dðmþir” <i>dómðir</i> 1v1
“fðra” <i>fóra</i> 2v10	“fðrþi” <i>fórði</i> 2r18, 2v32
“fðzlu” <i>fózlu</i> 2r29	“hðgri” <i>hógri</i> 2r37
“mðþi” <i>móði</i> 1v21	“urðc” <i>úrók</i> 2v2
“urðcð” <i>úrókð</i> 2v6	“urðcþer” <i>úrókðir</i> 2v1
“urðcþer” <i>úrókðir</i> 2r30	“urðcþir” <i>úrókðir</i> 2r13
“ðzzi” <i>ózzi</i> 1v21	“ðstan” <i>óstan</i> 1v29

Appendix B: Missing word initial *h* in *hn*, *hl*, *hr*

In AM 310 4to:

“garðz liðs” <i>garðshliðs</i> 4r16	“laðhomrum” <i>Hlaðhqmrum</i> 33r29
“laupa” <i>hlaupa</i> 10r26	“laupit” <i>hlaupið</i> 10r24
“laþit” <i>hlaupit</i> 45r5	“lioðlega” <i>hljóðliga</i> 32r4
“liop” <i>hljóp</i> 10r25, 45r32, 45r35, 45r36, 45v1, 46r24, 47r27	“liopu” <i>hljópu</i> 10r27, 45r5
“liota” <i>hljóta</i> 9r17	“lut” <i>hlut</i> 5v10, 5v11, 33v9, 45v32, 46v1
“lutir” <i>hlutir</i> 4r1, 7v6	“luta” <i>hluta</i> 6v15
“luti” <i>hluti</i> 4r35, 6r24, 6v35, 7r34, 8v34, 9v3, 31v21, 32v6, 34r6, 46v18, 46v23, 47v19	“lutum” <i>hlutum</i> 5v4, 5v11, 7v18, 7v31, 7v34, 9v16, 31v20, 33r26, 33v27, 47r3
“lutum” <i>hlutum</i> 33v16	“lyðit” “hlýðit” 32v14, 46r13
“lyðni” <i>hlýðni</i> 9v34	“lyðninnar” <i>hlýðninnar</i> 46r6
“neisu” <i>hneisu</i> 5v32	“rið” <i>hrið</i> 7v32, 46r1, 47v23

“ræddr” <i>hræddr</i> 8v2

In AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“liop” <i>hljóp</i> 1r22	“liotim” <i>hljótím</i> 1v42
“lut” <i>hlut</i> 2r25	“luta” <i>hluta</i> 3r48
“luti” <i>hluti</i> 2v43	“lutir” <i>hlutir</i> 3r19
“lyþi” <i>hlýði</i> 2v32	“lyþ” <i>hlýð</i> 2r22

In AM 655 XIV 4to:

“liops” <i>hljóðs</i> 1v20	“lut” <i>hlut</i> 2r17
“lutir” <i>hlutir</i> 1v7, 1v8	“luti” <i>hluti</i> 2v33
“lutum” <i>hlutum</i> 2r33	“lyð” <i>hlýð</i> 2v21
“lyþa” <i>hlýða</i> 1v41	“lyði” <i>hlýði</i> 1v12
“lyþr” <i>hlýðr</i> 1v16	“lyþu” <i>hlýðu</i> 1v28
“reinflifr” <i>hreinlifr</i> 2r38	“ræzlu” <i>hræzlu</i> 2v6
“ræddr” <i>hræddr</i> 1v5	“ræddumc” <i>hræddumk</i> 2r30

Appendix C: Unmarked *u*-umalut of short *a*

In AM 310 4to:

“aðru” <i>qðru</i> 47v12	“aðrum” <i>qðrum</i> 6v13, 7v1, 9v16, 31r34, 33v9, 46r28, 47r15, 47r16
“aðrum” <i>qðrum</i> 5r30, 8r2, 33r25, 47r14, 47v11	“allu” <i>qllu</i> 4r19, 6v8, 7v20, 9r29, 33r17, 33v26, 45v14
“allum” <i>qllum</i> 4v1, 4v10, 7v8, 8r2, 9r13, 9r32, 31v18, 33r25, 33r26, 33v27	“allum” <i>qllum</i> 7v10, 7v26, 7v34, 8v37, 9r27, 9r36, 9v22, 9v25, 33v15, 47v31
“annur” <i>qnnur</i> 45r22	“andaðum” <i>qnduðum</i> 45v15

“gafugr” <i>gøfugr</i> 32v7	“gafugs” <i>gøfugs</i> 7r36
“hafðu” <i>høfðu</i> 4v25, 6r21, 8r11, 8r30, 31r35, 45r3, 45v12, 47r11	”hafum” <i>høfum</i> 6v27, 9v31, 45v22
“hafuð” <i>høfuð</i> 32r13, 45r31	“hafuð smiðr” <i>høfuðsmiðr</i> 33v7
“hafuð stað” <i>høfuðstað</i> 8v26	“hafuðhof” <i>høfuðhof</i> 34r30
”hanum” <i>honum</i> 34r5, 45r9	“havum” <i>høfum</i> 47v36
“iorsalum” <i>Jørsølum</i> 47v17	“man” <i>mun</i> 4r31, 4v3, 5r25, 6r10, 6r13, 6r13, 6r14, 6r19, 7r2, 7r3, 7v14, 7v26, 8r14, 8r15, 9r5, 9v19, 33v12, 45r18
“mannum” <i>mønnum</i> 33v33	“mannt” <i>munt</i> 9r26, 34r22
“manum” <i>munum</i> 46v1	“margum” <i>mørgum</i> 46v8
“sagu” <i>søgu</i> 46v31	“sagðu” <i>søgðu</i> 7r35, 45v9
“samu” <i>sømu</i> 4v28	“sannu” <i>sønnu</i> 9r24
“sannuðu” <i>sønnuðu</i> 7v1	“dalum” <i>Dølum</i> 31v31
“dalum” <i>Dølum</i> 32v8	

In AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“aðrom” <i>øðrum</i> 2v48	“aðrum” <i>øðrum</i> 1v9, 1v20, 2r8, 2v46, 3r28
“allum” <i>øllum</i> 1v25, 1v32, 2v14, 2v35, 3r15, 3r16, 3r44	“gavo” <i>gøfu</i> 2v43
“gavug” <i>gøfug</i> 1r14	“hanum” <i>honum</i> 1r33
“man” <i>mun</i> 1r4, 1r4, 1r5, 1r15, 2r23, 2r23, 2v37, 2v40, 2v41, 3r16	“mannt” <i>munt</i> 1r16, 1r37, 2r19, 2v44
“mant” <i>munt</i> 2r40, 2v13	“manndrapum” <i>manndrøpum</i> 1v20
“naðut” <i>nøðut</i> 1r2	“strupanum” <i>strøpunum</i> 1r22

In AM 655 XIV 4to:

“man” <i>mun</i> 2r28, 2r34	“aðrom” <i>oðrum</i> 2r25
“allum” <i>ollum</i> 1v11, 2v14	“hafuð” <i>hofuð</i> 2v31
“hafuð kirkju” <i>hofuðkirkju</i> 2v32	“hafpu” <i>hofðu</i> 2r10
“hanum” <i>honum</i> 1v31, 2r22	

Appendix D: Missing nominative –r

In AM 310 4to:

“Azstrið” <i>Ástriðr</i> 4r2, 46v5, 46v8, 46v15	“Astrið” <i>Ástriðr</i> 4r35, 6r21, 46v21
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Appendix E: Orthographical variation of “e” and “æ”

In AM 310 4to:

“Ærlings” <i>Erlings</i> 46v18	“ærfiði” <i>erfiði</i> 46r12, 46r14
“ærfð” <i>erfð</i> 46v29	“ær” <i>er</i> 5v12, 33r11
“æpli” <i>epli</i> 46r5	“ændr nyiaðr” <i>endrnýjaðr</i> 08r25
“ængla konungs” <i>Englakonungs</i> 47r1	“ængill” <i>engill</i> 32v10
“ænn” <i>enn</i> 45r17	“ælscu” <i>elsku</i> 32r1
“ælldz” <i>elds</i> 45r19	“æincar” <i>einkar</i> 12r19
“æina” <i>eina</i> 13v35	“æinn” <i>einn</i> 47v10
“æin” <i>ein</i> 14v9	“æfndi” <i>efndi</i> 32r19
“æfnaði” <i>efnaði</i> 33r12	“æða” <i>eða</i> 32v8
“þænna” <i>þenna</i> 47r19	“þrænnum” <i>þrennum</i> 46r9
“vænni” <i>vænni</i> 34r1	“væitat” <i>veitat</i> 45r16
“sændr” <i>sendr</i> 32v6, 32v10	“slæðann” <i>sleðann</i> 47r33
“scynsæmi” <i>skinsemi</i> 47v25	“hærra” <i>herra</i> 33v18, 46r17, 47v12
“hænnar” <i>hennar</i> 8v28	“hæimsins” <i>heimsins</i> 6r17

“hæill” <i>heill</i> 46v9	“glæði” <i>gleði</i> 5r21
“fræmþar verk” <i>fremðarverk</i> 8r1	

In AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“formælændr” <i>formælendr</i> 1v42	“hænnar” <i>hennar</i> 1v21, 2r4
“læmia” <i>lemja</i> 3r37	

In AM 655 XIV 4to:

“stæinþro” <i>steinþró</i> 2r24

Appendix F: Weakening of *i* to *æ*?

In AM 310 4to:

“mærræ” <i>meiri</i> 10r1	“skirþæ” <i>skírði</i> 12r7
“minnæ” <i>minni</i> 45v27	

In AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“orþæ” <i>orði</i> 1v4

Appendix G: Privative prefix *ó* > *ú*

In AM 310 4to:

“ufalr” <i>ófalr</i> 7r4	“ufrelsi” <i>ófrelsi</i> 06r36
“ugiptubragði” <i>ógíptubragði</i> 8v9	“uhreinstu” <i>óhreinstu</i> 47v28
“ukunnandi” <i>ókunnandi</i> 32v17	“ukunnigr” <i>ókunnigr</i> 46v16
“ukunnir” <i>ókunnir</i> 4v7	“uleyfi” <i>óleyfi</i> 31r23

“ulik” <i>ólik</i> 9v16	“umegnni” <i>ómegni</i> 45v34
“urikum” <i>óríkum</i> 8r2	“uscynsamlegum” <i>óskynsamligum</i> 47v27
“utalit” <i>ótalit</i> 33r32	“uvin” <i>óvin</i> 7r18
“uvinir” <i>óvinir</i> 45v4	“uvina” <i>óvina</i> 9r21
“uvinir” <i>óvinir</i> 45v8, 47v5	“uvinum” <i>óvinum</i> 8r20, 9r21
“uvitanda” <i>óvitanda</i> 7r13, 7r16	“uvizku” <i>óvizku</i> 32v17
“udiarfir” <i>ódjarfir</i> 32v16	

In AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“udauðlegar” <i>ódauðligar</i> 3r13	“ugetinn” <i>ógetinn</i> 3r8
“uqveþa” <i>ókveða</i> 1r31	“uskiptiligr” <i>óskiptiligr</i> 3r8
“utali” <i>ótali</i> 1r29	“utru” <i>ótrú</i> 2r13, 3r44
“uveginn” <i>óveginn</i> 1v13	“uvini” <i>óvini</i> 2r40

In AM 655 XIV 4to:

“ufriþ” <i>ófrið</i> 2r23	“utru” <i>ótrú</i> 1v21, 1v22, 1v24, 1v25
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Appendix H: Analogical restoration of *v* before round vowels

In AM 310 4to:

“vurðu” <i>urðu</i> 5v35, 45v11	“uox” <i>óx</i> 7v31
“vox” <i>óx</i> 8r3	“uurðu” <i>urðu</i> 31v27, 46r16

Appendix I: Fricativization of word final *t*

Fricativizations in AM 310 4to:

“farið” <i>farit</i> neuter pret. part. of <i>fara</i> “to travel” 5v8	“litið” <i>lítit</i> neuter form of <i>lítill</i> “small” 7v14
“loptið” <i>loptit</i> definite form of neut. acc. sing. <i>lopt</i> “air” 11r6	“slitið” <i>slitit</i> neuter pret. part. of <i>slíta</i> “to snap, break” 15r28, 34r28
“við” <i>vit</i> first pers. du. nom. pron. “we” 46r23	

Hypercorrections in AM 310 4to:

“bioðit” <i>bjóðið</i> 2nd pers. plur. pres. ind. act. of <i>bjóða</i> “to offer” 9r14	“bunat” <i>búnað</i> masc. acc. sing. of <i>búnaðr</i> “household” 8r18
“finnit” <i>finnið</i> 2nd pers. plur. pres. ind. act. of <i>finna</i> “to find” 9r25	“fòrit” <i>fórið</i> 2nd pers. plur. pres. ind. act. of <i>fóra</i> “to bring, convey” 4r9
“gefit” <i>gefið</i> 2nd pers. plur. pres. ind. act. of <i>gefa</i> “to give” 9r30	“gerðit” <i>gerðið</i> 2nd pers. pl. pret. subj. act. of <i>gera</i> “to do” 9r12
“gerit” <i>gerið</i> 2nd pers. plur. pres. ind. act. of <i>gera</i> “to do” 10v21, 14v13	“laupit” <i>hlaupið</i> 2nd pers. plur. pres. ind. act. of <i>hlaupa</i> “to run” 10r24
“leitit” <i>leitið</i> 2nd pers. plur. pres. ind. act. of <i>leita</i> “to search, seek” 9r26	“segit” <i>segið</i> 2nd pers. plur. pres. ind. act. of <i>segja</i> “to say” 16r21

Fricativization in AM 655 XII-XIII 4to:

“að” <i>at</i> adv. “that” 01r24
