



HÁSKÓLI ÍSLANDS

Hugvísindasvið

From *inn* to *hinn*

*The Development of the Independent Definite Article in Old
Icelandic and Acquisition of Word-Initial h- in the 13th and 14th
Centuries*

Ritgerð til MA-prófs í Medieval Icelandic Studies

Brenden Driscoll

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Abstract

In the end of the 12th century, the Old Icelandic independent definite article *inn, in, it*, was represented without word initial *h-*. The demonstrative pronoun *hinn, hin, hitt*, ‘this very one; this other one’ with word-initial *h-*, had an almost identical paradigm. By the end of the 16th century, the independent definite article was almost universally represented with word-initial *h-* meaning that the two paradigms of the independent definite article and the demonstrative pronoun were now only contrastive in the neuter nominative-accusative singular. This was a general change that occurred gradually and is represented sporadically: many early sources show little to no presence of word-initial *h-* orthographically even after the change had presumably begun in the spoken language. Conversely, many later sources continue to represent the independent definite article without word-initial *h-* long after the change has become widespread and forms with word-initial *h-* had become typical.

This paper examines the separate roles of the definite article and the demonstrative, contrasts their paradigms, and examines the change of *inn, in, it*, to *hinn, hin, hit* on the analogy of the demonstrative *hinn, hin, hitt*. This paper examines the etymology of both words and contrasts two conflicting theories as to their respective origins. Twenty-four sources with twenty-five identifiable hands are then examined for instances of the independent definite article in regards to word-initial *h-*. Throughout, special attention is paid to the neuter nominative-accusative singular, as this remains the sole form of the definite article and the demonstrative that remains diagnostic after the former acquires word-initial *h-*.

Abstract

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List of abbreviations

acc.	accusative
dat.	dative
gen.	genitive
masc.	masculine
nom.	nominative
plur.	plural
sing.	singular

1. Introduction

In Icelandic, in the 12th and 13th centuries, the independent definite article, meaning ‘the’, was represented as *inn, in, it* without word-initial *h-* and with word-final short *-t* in the neuter nominative-accusative singular; presumably it typically received little sentential stress. The demonstrative pronoun, meaning ‘this very one’ or ‘this other one’, was represented as *hinn, hin, hitt*, with word-initial *h-* and neuter nominative-accusative singular word-final long *-tt* and always received some syntactic stress. The paradigm of the independent definite article was extremely similar to that of the demonstrative pronoun, as shown in 2.1 below (Faarlund 2004, 56-59; Noreen 1923, 312, 316). By the end of the 16th century, the independent definite article was regularly represented with word-initial *h-*, as *hinn, hin, hit*, making it even more similar to the demonstrative pronoun paradigm, as it is to this day (see Höskuldur Thráinsson 2007, 89 for the state of the independent definite article in the modern language). At some point during the intervening 400 years, the independent definite article went from being represented without word-initial *h-* to being represented with word-initial *h-*. There does not appear to be any morphological or phonological reason for this. There is no evidence for a general phonological change in Icelandic at the time whereby words beginning with *i-* (or any other vowel, for that matter), acquired a word-initial *h-*. Consequently, it is assumed that this change is due to analogy with the phonologically and morphologically similar demonstrative pronoun. The goal of this current study is to outline that shift from *h-*-less forms of the independent definite article to forms represented with word-initial *h-*.

The following chapter will introduce the paradigms of the independent definite article and also of the demonstrative pronoun and examine their semantic and syntactic significance as well as contrasting the independent definite article with the enclitic definite article. The following chapter will also outline the change that took place between the 12th and 16th

centuries. A brief summary of the findings of this study will be presented and compared to the findings of the *Old Norwegian Homily Book* for contrast.

The third chapter will examine the etymology of the independent definite article and the demonstrative pronoun as presented by Torp (1919), Pokorny (1959), de Vries (1962), and others. Two different explanations in the scholarship on the origin of the definite article will be presented. One of the theories relies on cognates found in related languages that are seen as supporting the claim that the independent definite article *inn*, *in*, *it*, and the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*, *hin*, *hitt*, arose from two distinctly separate though related sources. Runic inscriptions from Norway, Denmark and Sweden, however, are used as support for the second theory, which argues that the independent definite article is descended from the demonstrative pronoun and through syntactic lack of stress came to lose its distinctive word-initial *h-* and the shortening of word-final long *-tt* in the neuter nominative-accusative singular, leading to the distinctive two paradigms of the two words.

The fourth chapter will examine 24 different sources with 25 different identifiable hands dating from the middle of the 12th century to the end of the 16th. These sources will be examined for instances of the independent definite article with regards to word-initial *h-*. The demonstrative pronoun will be examined as well, as it is assumed to be on the analogy of the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*, *hin*, *hitt*, the independent definite article, *inn*, *in*, *it*, acquired word-initial *h-*. The neuter nominative-accusative singular will also be examined, as it remains the only contrastive form in the paradigm after the acquisition of word-initial *h-* by the independent definite article. It will be seen that the earliest sources dating from the latter part of the 12th century represent forms of the independent definite article exclusively without word-initial *h-*. From the very beginning of the 13th century, however, instances occur of the independent definite article spelled with word-initial *h-*, though forms without *h-* still have preference. Throughout the 13th century forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* receive growing representation. It is, however, not until the 14th century that they

become widespread. Even in the 14th century, however, forms of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-* are common, and it is not until the 15th century that forms without word-initial *h-* become rare. Throughout the 15th century, forms of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-* predominate, but at the end of the 15th century and going into the 16th century, there is an apparent resurgence of forms of the independent definite article spelled without word-initial *h-*. This archaic representation remains sporadic but attested through the end of the 16th century and the latest sources examined in this study.

The final chapter will examine GKS 1157 fol., *Grágás*, in greater detail, specifically examining the environment of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* and comparing it to that of instances that lack word-initial *h-* in an attempt to establish a common environment for forms of the independent definite article represented with word-initial *h-* as opposed to those represented without word-initial *h-*. As will be seen, no such common environment can be found, with only marginal or statistically negligible results. With the absence of an inciting environment, it is left to assume that this was a general change that was represented only sporadically. It is left to the final chapter to conclude this study and summarize the findings.

2. The independent definite article and the demonstrative pronoun in Old Icelandic

2.1 The paradigm

The Old Icelandic definite article is fully inflected for case: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive; for gender: masculine, feminine, neuter; and for number: singular and plural. As a determiner, the definite article must accompany a head with which it must agree in grammatical inflection. The paradigms of the definite article, *inn*, and the demonstrative

pronoun, *hinn*, are shown in *Table 2.1* below, as presented by the standard handbooks, such as Noreen 1923, 312, 316.

	The definite article <i>inn</i>			The demonstrative pronoun <i>hinn</i>			
Sing.		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
	Nom.	inn	in	it	hinn	hin	hitt
	Acc.	inn	ina	it	hinn	hina	hitt
	Dat.	inum	inni	inu	hinum	hinni	hinu
	Gen.	ins	innar	ins	hins	hinnar	hins
Plural							
	Nom.	inir	inar	in	hinir	hinar	hin
	Acc.	ina	inar	in	hina	hinar	hin
	Dat.	inum	inum	inum	hinum	hinum	hinum
	Gen.	inna	inna	inna	hinna	hinna	hinna

Table 2.1: Paradigms for the definite article and the demonstrative *hinn* in Old Icelandic.

It becomes apparent from the above table, that there are only two differences between the two paradigms: the first difference is the word-initial *h-* of the demonstrative pronoun and the lack thereof in the definite article. The second difference is the neuter nominative-accusative singular word-final short *-t* of the definite article as opposed to the long *-tt* of the demonstrative pronoun. This latter distinction remains the only distinction between the two paradigms after the definite article acquires word-initial *h-*.

2.2 The spelling of unstressed vowels in the definite article

The definite article probably was unstressed in most instances (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874, 262-263 [*hinn, hin hit*]), and there were two ways to represent unstressed front vowels in Old Icelandic orthography (Hreinn Benediktsson 1962, 79-80). In 12th-century Old Icelandic, there were, among other vowels, the two stressed front vowels /i/ and /e/ that could occur

long or short and only one unstressed front vowel [ɪ], always short. The high front vowels [i] and [i:] were both spelled “i” (or sometimes “í”) while the mid front vowels [e] and [e:] were both spelled “e” (or, especially the long vowel, sometimes “é”, “ê”, or “æ”); the unstressed high-mid front vowel [ɪ] was interpreted as being closer to the mid vowel /e/ than to the high vowel /i/, and so was spelled “e”; see example (1a). In the late 12th and early 13th centuries, there was a shift of pronunciation: short stressed [i] was lowered to [ɪ] while [i:] remained unchanged. Likewise, short stressed [e] was lowered to [ɛ] while [e:] remained unchanged. This meant that unstressed [ɪ] now had a value that was probably very similar to the stressed short /i/, resulting in the unstressed front vowel being spelled “i” rather than “e”; see example (1b). Thence earlier spellings of the definite article use “e” to represent the root vowel and the ending of the nominative masculine plural and the dative feminine singular, while in later manuscripts, the definite article is spelled with “i”.

- (1) a. Afþui do hann þegar **ens** iþra manns dauða. ([1] AM 674 a 4to, *Elucidarius*, 17r14)
 ‘From this he died at once **the** inner man’s death.’
- b. En þriþia vetr verþr stakt **it** þriþia sevar fall. ([2] GKS 1812 IV 4to, *Rímbegla*, 7:5)
 ‘But in the third winter, **the** third sea tide takes place separately.’

Old Icelandic orthography is normalised with “i” for the unstressed front vowel, so the definite article is spelled “inn” in the body of this paper, but is frequently spelled “enn” in quotations.

In a like manner to the above, there were two ways to represent unstressed back rounded vowels in Old Icelandic orthography. In Old Icelandic, there were two stressed back

rounded vowels /u/ and /o/ that could occur long or short and only one unstressed back rounded vowel [ʊ], always short. The high back rounded vowels [u] and [u:] were both spelled “u” or “ú” while the mid back rounded vowels [o] and [o:] were both spelled “o” or “ó”; the unstressed high-mid back rounded vowel [ʊ] was interpreted as being closer to the mid vowel /o/ than to the high vowel /u/, and so was spelled “o”; see example (2a). A bit later than the corresponding shift of the front vowels, there was a shift of pronunciation of the back vowels: short stressed [u] was lowered to [ʊ] while [u:] remained unchanged. Likewise, short stressed [o] was lowered to [ɔ] while [o:] remained unchanged. This meant that unstressed [ʊ] now had the same value as stressed short /u/, resulting in the unstressed back rounded vowel being spelled “u” rather than “o”; see example (2b). Thence earlier spellings of the definite article use “o” as the vowel in inflectional endings, while in later manuscripts, the definite article is spelled with “u”.

- (2) a. þa á sa maðr at taca þat fe er skyllztr er **enom** davða her alande. ([5] GKS 1157 fol., *Grágás*, 123617)

‘Then is this man to take that property which is most closely related to **the** dead man here on the land’.

- b. Allt veit ek óþiη hvar þv avga falt. i þeim **envm** mæra mimis bruηi ([9] Uppsala DG 11, *Snorri Sturluson’s Edda*, 9:22)

‘I know it all, Odin, where thou hid the eye in this **the** great well of Mímir.’

Old Icelandic orthography, as with the front unstressed vowel, is normalised with “u” for the unstressed back rounded vowel, so the definite article is spelled “inu” in the body of this paper, but is frequently spelled “ino” in quotations. It is worth noting that, although in general the unstressed front vowel shifted from orthographic “e” to “i”, about a half century

before the orthographic shift of “o” to “u”. As with example (2b), this was far from absolute and exceptions abound.

2.3 The independent definite article and the enclitic definite article

In Old Icelandic, the definite article, *inn, in, it*, could occur independently before the head, see examples (3a-c) or cliticized after the head, (4a-c) (Faarlund 2004, 56-59). In both positions, the definite article was inflected for case: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive; gender: masculine, feminine, neuter; and number: singular and plural. The independent form was originally used when a definite head was modified by an adjective, in which case the independent definite article would immediately precede the adjective (3a-c). The enclitic form of the definite article is used with a substantive and is cliticized to the substantive after the former’s inflectional ending, (4a-c). If the inflectional ending ended in a vowel, the vowel of the definite article was lost, (4b), and the dative plural ending *-um* combined with the dative plural of the enclitic definite article, *inum*, to give *-unum*, see example (4c).

- (3) a. **inn** gamli maðr (nom. sing. masc.)
‘**The** old man.’
- b. **inna** gømlu manna (gen. plur. masc.)
‘[Of] **the** old men.’
- c. **inum** gømlum mǫnnum (dat. plur. masc.)
‘[For] **the** old men.’
- (4) a. gamli maðr**inn** (nom. sing. masc.)
‘**The** old man.’
- b. gømlu mannana (gen. plur. masc.)
‘[Of] **the** old men.’

- c. gømlum mōnnun**um** (dat. plur. masc.)

‘[For] **the** old men.’

As can be seen from the above examples, the inflection of the independent definite article and the enclitic definite article are the same, and it is only the root that is affected by the cliticization.

2.4 The different roles of the definite article and the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*

In their Icelandic-English dictionary, Cleasby and Vigfusson (1874, 262-263 [*hinn, hin, hit*]) list the definite article as etymologically related to the demonstrative *hinn* (for more on this, see chapter 3). The definite article generally could not be stressed or used in rhymes or alliteration. The authors note that *inn* is often spelled with word initial “h”, which they denote as spurious, though this paper takes the view that this is the onset of the shift from *h*-less forms of the independent definite article to forms with word-initial *h*- in its early stages. The independent form of the definite article was used when the head was modified by an attributive adjective as in example (5a) or the head was a substantive adjective, as in example (5b), or when the predicate was in apposition with the head (5c). When the head of the definite article was an adjective, the independent form was usually used whereas when there was no adjective, the definite article would be enclitic, as in example (5d) (Faarlund 2004, 56-59).

- (5) a. þa melte hon **en** sivca kona, iþvi es hon þotesc síá hann. ([4] AM 645 4to, *St. Þorlákr’s Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints*, 31:11)
‘Then said she, **the** sick woman, when she thought she saw him.’

- b. þuiat þessom mislicáþe þat es hiner volþo ser ilt en þesser fylgþo þegar **enog**þa. ([1] AM 674 a 4to, *Elucidarius*, 9v9)
 ‘Because these disliked this when these others chose for themselves evil, but these followed already **the** good.’
- c. PAska helgi eigvm ver at hallda. þat erv dagar .iiij. pascha dag **inn** fyrsta. ([5] GKS 1157 fol., *Grágás*, 102905)
 ‘We are to hold Holy Easter, those are four days, and Easter day **the** first.’
- d. Og med þat seinazta vrdv þeir vmm þat asatter ad drottning**inn** skyllde faa sinn vilia þo j sodan matha at hvn leyse hann efter þvi sem þeir villdv aa sethia. ([24] Holm perg. 3 fol., *Reykjahólabók*, 28:30)
 ‘And on that last matter, they concurred in this that **the** queen should have her will.’

The definite article was independent when the head was an adjective or was modified by an adjective, if the head was a substantive, then the definite article was cliticized to the end.

Cleasby and Vigfusson (1874, 263–264 [*hinn, hin, hitt*]) define *hinn* as a demonstrative pronoun with either emphatic force ‘this very one’ or referring to another pronoun ‘the former, farther, the other’ as in examples (6a–b). In contrast to *inn*, *hinn* is fully accented and can be used in rhymes and alliteration and can stand alone as a pronoun or be used attributively as a determiner.

- (6) a. Oc fyr þui scolom vér at **hino** hygea at eigi verþe sva illa. (Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, 101r33)
 ‘And because of this, we should think about **this other thing** lest it goes this badly.’

- b. *Discipulus* Hver bleztaþe þessom eþa boluaþe **hinom**. (AM 674 a 4to, *Elucidarius*, 20v14)
 ‘Disciple: Who blessed this one or cursed **that other one**?’
- c. komu at þeim bæðrum .xi. menn ok sottu at þeim. lauk sua þeirra viðskiptum at þeir bræðr tueir sigruðu **hina** ellifu. (AM 132 fol., *Möðruvallabók* 126rb33).
 ‘Came at the brothers eleven men and attacked them. Their encounter resulted so that the two brothers overcame **the** eleven.’

The two words are somewhat similar semantically as well as formally, as can be seen from example (6c) above: *ina ellifu* ‘the eleven’ would have made equal sense given the context, as here *hina ellifu* can simply be read as ‘the eleven’ but the reading *these other eleven* is also a perfectly acceptable reading, given the context. Thus, both formally and semantically the independent definite article and the demonstrative pronoun can be quite similar.

2.5 The independent definite article acquires word-initial *h*-

As discussed in greater detail in chapter 4 below, at the end of the 12th century, the independent definite article had the form *inn*, *in*, *it*, without word-initial *h*-. By the beginning of the 13th century, however, forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h*- begin to appear, see examples (7a-b). Throughout the 13th century, the independent definite article is sporadically represented with word-initial *h*- and into the 14th century, where representation with word-initial *h*- increases. By the 15th and 16th centuries, the independent definite article is represented with word-initial *h*- almost universally, making the independent definite article almost identical formally to the demonstrative pronoun (the neuter nominative-accusative singular remaining the only diagnostic form, see 2.1, above). No phonetic or morphological explanation for this phenomenon is forthcoming, so it is assumed

to be through the influence of the demonstrative pronoun *hinn* that the independent definite article acquired word-initial *h-*. This change will be examined and discussed more thoroughly in chapter 4 below.

- (7) a. *Sa maðr skal fara er vættis quaddi oc fina þa menn er ivætte voro með **hinom** siúca.* (GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, 220207)
- This man shall go who summoned the witnesses and find those men who were in the witness stand with **the** sick man.’
- b. *þa tok S(igurdur) **hina** uænnuztu gripi .ij. horn spijru og skurnn og gaf konginum.* (AM 152 fol., *Sigurðar saga þøgla*, 251:11)
- ‘Then Sigurd took **the** most beautiful treasure, two spars of horn and eggshell and gave [it] to the king.’

These forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* are typical of the 15th and 16th centuries. The context is now an important element in distinguishing the independent definite article from the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*, as, excepting the neuter nominative-accusative singular, they have become formally identical.

2.6 AM 619 4to, *The Old Norwegian Homily Book*

AM 619 4to, the *Old Norwegian Homily Book*, is dated to around 1200-1225 in the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose—Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog*, the online database is available at <http://onp.ku.dk/>. The language is Old Norwegian and already shows a marked distinction from Old Icelandic. Gustav Indrebø’s 1931 edition is used for this study. Using Holtsmark’s 1955 wordlist, 92 instances of the independent definite article were identified in the *Old Norwegian Homily Book*, all of which were spelled with word-initial *h-*. Already by the

beginning of the 13th century, in the language of this Norwegian scribe, the independent definite article is systematically represented with word-initial *h-*. This change was only just beginning at the time in Old Icelandic, and would not become widespread for another hundred and fifty years. Even by the end of the 16th century, there were still instances in Icelandic of the independent definite article occurring without word-initial *h-*.

3. The etymology of *inn* and *hinn*

3.1 Overview

There are two theories that have been presented regarding the etymological development of the Old Icelandic definite article *inn* and the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*: The theory espoused by Pokorny (1959, 319-320 [*eno-*], 609 [*ko-*, *ke-*]), among others, here referred to as the **two-source theory**, traces *inn* and *hinn* to two different stems and have both words developing along two separate paths. The other position, supported by Finnur Jónsson (1921, 315) and Torp (1919, 214 [*hin*]), here referred to as the **one-source theory**, argues that *inn* developed from *hinn* by loss of word-initial *h-* in unstressed position. The first theory, the two-source theory, is supported primarily by the presence of cognates in other languages for both *hinn* and *inn* separately, while the second theory, the one-source theory, would be supported, to a great extent, by runic inscriptions which seem to represent the definite article as *hin(n)*, with word-initial *h-*, very early.

The two-source theory holds that Old Icelandic *inn* derived from Proto-Germanic **jena-/*ena-* ‘yon’ ultimately from Proto-Indo-European **ieno-*, from **ē *i̯* ‘hither’ + **(e)no-* ‘that’. This is supported by the myriad cognates that Old Norse *inn* has in other Germanic languages such as Old English *geon*, Modern English *yon*; Old Frisian *jen*; Middle Dutch *gene*; Middle Low German *jene*; Old High German *jenēr* and Middle High German *jeiner*; Gothic *jains*; as well as having cognates in other more distantly related languages such as Sanskrit *anēna*, *anáya* ‘through this’; Avestan *ana* and Greek *ἔνῃ* ‘third (yonder) day’; Greek *ἔνῃ* and

ἔνιοι, ‘some’; Lithuanian *aĩs*, Old Bulgarian *onb*, and Old Slavic *onъ* ‘that one’; Latin *enim* ‘then’, and Hittite *eni* ‘the latter’ (Krahe and Meid 1969: 2, 68-69; Lehmann 1986, 182-183 [hi-]; Pokorny 1959, 319-320 [eno-]; de Vries 1962, 286 [inn]; Alexander Jóhannesson 1956, 251-252 [k̂o-, k̂e-, k̂i-, k̂(i)jo-]; Feist 1939, 300 [jains]). The presence of so many cognates in other languages, is a strong argument to support the claim that *inn* developed independently, from a distinct and separate stem from the one which *hinn* developed from.

The two-source theory holds Old Icelandic *hinn* developing from Proto-Germanic **hi-* ‘here; this’ plus *inn* as addressed above. The Proto-Germanic element **hi-* is well attested with a number of cognates in other Germanic languages such as Gothic *himma* and *hina*, ‘this’, *hita* ‘now’; Old English, Old Saxon, and Old High German *hē*, ‘he’; Old English *hēo-dæg*, Old Frisian *hiu-dega*, Old Saxon *hiu-diga*, *hiu-du*, Old High German *hiu-tu* ‘today’; Old English *hider* ‘hither’; as well as in other languages such as Lithuanian *ši-s* and Old Bulgarian *sv* ‘this’; and Latin *ci-s*, *ci-tra* ‘this (side)’; French *ceci* ‘this here’ and *cela* ‘that there’; Latin *ce-do* ‘gimme’, *huius-ce*, *ecce* ‘look here, here is’; and Hittite *ka-a-aš* ‘this’ (Krahe and Meid 1969: 2, 68-69; Lehmann 1986, 182-183 [hi-]; Sihler 1976, 185 [ἐκεῖνος]). There is strong evidence that Proto-Germanic **hi-* ‘this; here’ was a productive element and that *hinn* may have originated from Proto-Germanic **hi-* plus *inn* as discussed above, rather than *inn* developing from *hinn* as according to the one-source theory discussed below.

There is a complete cognate to Old Icelandic *hinn* in the Greek demonstrative (ἐ)κεῖνος ‘that’ ‘yon’ which comes from Proto-Indo-European **k̂i-*, **k̂(i)jo-*, **k̂o-*, **k̂e-* ‘this here’ + **eno-* ‘that’ (Krahe and Meid 1969 2, 68-69; Lehmann 1986, 182-183 [hi-]; Pokorny 1959, 609 [k̂o-, k̂e-]; de Vries 1962, 228 [hinn]; Alexander Jóhannesson 1956, 251-252 [k̂o-, k̂e-, k̂i-, k̂(i)jo-]; Sihler 1976, 185 [ἐκεῖνος]; Rix 1976, 185 [ἐκεῖνος]). The presence of this cognate would argue that *hinn* has a stem that dates all the way back to Proto-Indo-European, meaning that Old Icelandic *hinn* has a separate and distinct development from *inn*.

The one-source theory derives the Old Icelandic definite article *inn* from the demonstrative *hinn* through syntactic destressing and subsequent loss of word-initial *h-*. The one-source theory traces *hinn* to Proto-Indo-European **k̑e-eno-s*, with the Greek cognate (ἐ)κεῖνος ‘that’ just as the two-source theory does. The definite article *inn*, however, is not derived from a Proto-Indo-European stem **eno-*, but is a weakened form of the demonstrative pronoun (Finnur Jónsson 1921, 315; Torp 1919, 214; Krause 1971, 53; Bugge 1910, 41). In support of this are the early runic inscriptions that represent the definite article with word-initial *h-* throughout and fail to represent the definite article without word-initial *h-*. If the definite article *inn* had developed separately from the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*, we should expect to find at least some forms represented without word-initial *h-*, yet we do not.

3.2 The two-source theory

Krahe and Meid (1969: 2, 68-69) trace *inn* back to Proto-Germanic **je-na-* from Proto-Indo-European **i̯e-no-* ‘that’. The Proto-Germanic semi-vowel **i̯-* became the glide **j-* in all the other Germanic languages, but in Old Norse, Proto-Germanic **i̯-* was lost, e.g. Proto-Germanic **jāra-* became Old Norse *ár* (Krahe and Meid 1969: 1, 95-96). Thence Proto-Germanic **i̯e-na-* ‘that’ becomes Old Norse **e-na-*. In unstressed position and before a nasal consonant plus another consonant, Proto-Germanic **e* becomes Old Norse *i* (Krahe and Meid 1969: 1, 57, 65), so **e-na-* becomes Old Norse **i-na-*. This is cognate with German *jener* ‘yon’, Gothic *jains*, Old English *jeon/geon*, Middle Low German *jene*, and Old High German *jenēr* (Krahe and Meid 1969: 2, 68-69). By contrast, Krahe and Meid (1969: 2, 68-69) trace *hinn* back to the Proto-Germanic element **hi-* ‘this’ from Proto-Indo-European **k̑i-* ‘this’ plus the already discussed element *inn*. The Germanic element **hi-* has cognates Lithuanian *šì-s* and Old Bulgarian *sb* ‘this’, and Latin *ci-s*, *ci-tra* ‘this (side)’. The presence of so many

cognates for *inn* strongly argues that it was a separate word from *hinn* in Old Norse and developed along a different route. The presence of so many cognates to Proto-Germanic **hi-* is a strong argument in favour of *hinn* being the result of **hi-* plus *inn* rather than the other way round: *inn* with loss of word-initial *h-* from *hinn*, which is the proposition of the one-source theory.

Lehmann (1986, 182-183 [*hi-*]) traces *inn* from Proto-Germanic **jena-/*ena-* ‘that’ from Proto-Indo-European **(e)no-* ‘that one’ with cognates in Old English *geon* whence Modern English *yon*, Old Frisian *jen*, Middle Low German *jene*, Middle Dutch *gene*, Old High German *jenēr*, Sanskrit *anéna*, *anáya* ‘through this’, Avestan *ana*, Greek *ἔνῃ* ‘third (yonder) day’, Lithuanian *añs*, Old Slavic *onъ* ‘that one’, Latin *enim* ‘then’, Hittite *eni* ‘the latter’. Lehmann (1986, 182-183 [*hi-*]) traces *hinn* from Proto-Germanic **hi-* ‘this; here’ from Proto-Indo-European **k̑ey-* ‘here; this’ plus the already discussed *inn*. Old Norse *hinn* has a cognate in Greek *ἐκεῖνος*, ‘that there’. The Proto-Germanic element **hi-* has the cognates Gothic *himma* ‘this’, *hina* ‘this’, *hita* ‘now’ ‘here’; Old English, Old Saxon, and Old High German *hē*, ‘he’; Old English *hina*, *hinan(a)* ‘from here’, ‘from now on’; Old English, Old Frisian *hit*, ‘it’; Old English *hēo-dæg*, Old Frisian *hiu-dega*, Old Saxon *hiu-diga*, *hiu-du*, Old High German *hiu-tu* ‘today’; Old English *hider* ‘hither’; Latin *cis*, *ci-tra* ‘this side’. The number of cognates in other languages for *inn* is a strong argument in favour of *inn* being an independent word from *hinn* etymologically. The number of cognates for Proto-Germanic **hi-* and even a full cognate for *hinn* is a strong argument in favour of *hinn* being a etymologically separate word from *inn*.

Pokorny (1959, 319-320 [*eno-*]) traces Old Icelandic *inn* back to the Proto-Indo-European root **e-no-*, **ono-*, **no-*, **-ne-*, ‘that’ cognate with Old High German *ienēr*, Middle High German *gainer/jainer*, Old English *geon*, Gothic *jains* which is from **janjis* by influence of *ains* ‘one’; the form **e-no-* itself being an expansion from **ē*, **ō*, ‘nearby’ ‘it’ from the pronominal stem **e-*, **ei-*, **i-*, and feminine *ī-*, whence Latin *is*, *id* and Italic *eo-*, *eā*, ‘it’ ‘he,

she' and Gothic *is* 'he', *it-a* 'it'. Pokorny (1959, 609 [*k̑o-*, *k̑e-*]) traces *hinn* back to the Proto-Indo-European element **k̑o-*, **k̑e-*, 'this' 'this here' suffixed with **-eno-*, whence also derives Old Icelandic *hann* masculine third singular personal pronoun 'he' from Proto-Old-Norse **hānar*, in turn from Proto-Indo-European **k̑ēnos* from **k̑e-eno-*s with a cognate in Greek, (ἐ)-κεῖνος 'that'. The cognates to *inn* make for a strong argument that *inn* developed along independent lines from *hinn*, while *hinn* developed along lines more closely related to *hann* than to *inn* with a full cognate in Greek.

De Vries (1962, 286 [*inn*]) lists *inn* as the definite article descended from Proto-Indo-European **e* + **no* whence also Old English *geon* (Modern English 'yon'), Old Frisian. *jen*, Middle Low German *jene*, Middle Dutch *gene*, *gone*, *geune*, Old High German *jenēr*, *enēr*, and even Latin *enim*, 'indeed', and Greek ἔννη and ἔννοι, 'some'. De Vries (1962, 228 [*hinn*]) lists *hinn* as a demonstrative pronoun 'that' and traces *hinn* back to Proto-Indo-European **k̑o*, **k̑e* + **eno* 'this here, that' whence also Old Icelandic masculine third singular personal pronoun *hann* 'he' (de Vries 1962, 209) with a cognate in Greek κεῖνος, 'that' from **κε-εν-ος*. The cognates to *inn* support the claim that *inn* developed independently of *hinn*, and the cognate to *hinn* supports the claim that *hinn* developed independently of *inn*.

Alexander Jóhannesson (1956, 251-252 [*k̑o-*, *k̑e-*, *k̑i-*, *k̑(i)jo-*]) traces *inn* back to Proto-Indo-European **e* + **no* with the cognates Gothic *jains*, Old High German *jenēr*, Middle Low German *jene*, *gene*, Dutch *gene*, Old English *geon* whence Modern English *yon*. Alexander Jóhannesson (1956, 251-252 [*k̑o-*, *k̑e-*, *k̑i-*, *k̑(i)jo-*]) traces *hinn* and Old Norse *hann* 'he' back to Proto-Indo-European **k̑e-eno-*, cognate with Greek κεῖνος, ἐκεῖνος 'that'. The presence of separate cognates for both *inn* and *hinn* supports the argument that the two words have distinct separate origins.

Feist (1939, 300 [*jains*]) lists *inn* as the Old Icelandic definite article and traces it back to the Proto-Germanic root **ena-* from Proto-Indo-European root **eno-* 'this, here'. Cognates include Gothic *jains* 'yon', Old High German *jenēr* thence Middle High German

geinir to Modern German *jener*, Old English *geon* whence Modern English *yon*, Middle Dutch *jene* whence Dutch *gene*, Sanskrit *anéna*, *anáya* ‘through this, this’, Greek ἔννη ‘third day’, Old Bulgarian *onb* and Lithuanian *añs* ‘yon’. Although Feist only addresses *inn* and not *hinn*, it is important to note that he claims *inn* is descended from the same stem as Krahe and Meid, Lehmann, Pokorny, de Vries, and Alexander Jóhannesson, rather than being a weakening of *hinn* with loss of word-initial *h*-.

The Greek demonstrative ἐκεῖνος ‘yon’ is the cognate to *hinn* listed by Lehmann, Pokorny, de Vries, and Alexander Jóhannesson. Sihler (1995, 390–391 [ἐκεῖνος]) traces Greek ἐκεῖνος ‘yon’ back to *κε-ενος. The first element, *κε ‘that (over there)’ from the Proto-Indo-European deictic particle **ke-*, **ko-*, **k̑i-* ‘hither’, whence also derives Gothic *himma*, Modern English *hither*, *here*, Modern High German *heraus* ‘come out’ or ‘go out’, French *ceci* ‘this here’ and *cela* ‘that there’; Latin *ce-do* ‘gimme’, *huius-ce*, *ecce* ‘look here, here is’; and Hittite *ka-a-aš* ‘this’. The second element *ενος is cognate with Indic *ana-* ‘this’, Old Church Slavonic *onŭ* ‘that yonder’, and Latin *enim* ‘now’. Rix (1976, 185 [ἐκεῖνος]) traces Greek ἐκεῖνος ‘yon’ back to Proto-Indo-European **k̑e-* ‘here’ plus **eno-*, **eneə₂-* ‘yon’. This is consonant with what Lehmann, Pokorny, de Vries, and Alexander Jóhannesson claim and supports the argument that *hinn* developed from a distinct separate stem from the one that *inn* developed from.

3.3 The one-source theory

Finnur Jónsson (1921, 315) argues that *hinn* was the original Old Norse article, as evidenced by several runic inscriptions (nom. *hin*, Rök; acc. *hin* Skivum, Skærn I, gen. *hins* Sønder Vissing, Hune, Oddernes—see (9a-f), below) which use the form *hinn* and never *inn* as the definite article. Based on this Finnur Jónsson concludes that *inn* is a weakening of *hinn*.

Torp (1919, 198 [*han*], 214 [*hin*]) has Old Norse *hinn* developing from Proto-Germanic **hîna-* from the pronominal stem **he*, cognate to the Latin intensifier *-ce* ‘this’ and Greek ἐκεῖ ‘there’, and ἐκεῖνος ‘that’ (from ἐ- ‘here’ κε- ‘this’ and -ενο- ‘that, yon’). From the stem **he*, Torp also traces the development of Old Norse *hann* from **hánn*. Torp argues that *hinn* and *inn* must have influenced one another and that *inn* is a weakened form of *hinn* having lost *h-* due to the syntactic lack of stress.

The two earliest runic inscriptions representing the form *hin(n)* represent the demonstrative pronoun, examples (8a-b). These date from around 600 and 700 respectively (Krause and Jahnkuhn 1966, 110-113, 227-235). The following six examples are all of the definite article spelled with word-initial *h-*, examples (9a-f). No instances of the definite article without word-initial *h-* are registered, which puts strong support on the contention that the definite article *inn* developed from the demonstrative *hinn*, used as the definite article and unstressed which led to loss of word-initial *h-*, as claimed by Finnur Jónsson (1921, 315) and Torp (1919, 214 [*hin*]).

The whetstone from Strøm, South-Trøndelag, Norway, is dated to around 600 (Krause and Jankuhn 1966, 110-113). The inscription is transcribed below, in example (8a) with my own translation. Here, *hino* is the demonstrative. The flagstone from Eggja, Sogn, Norway, is dated to around 700 (Krause and Jankuhn 1966, 227-235). The inscription is transcribed below, in example (8b) with my own translation. Here, as above with the Strøm whetstone inscription, *hinn* is the demonstrative pronoun rather than the definite article.

- (8) a. watehālihinohornā
‘[A] horn wettens **this** stone.’
- b. **hin**wArbnAseumāRmAdēþAimkAibAibormoþAhuni

‘**This** (stone) here (the) man (= the Rune-Master) sprinkled with “corpse-sea” (= with blood), rubbed with him (= with the blood?) the oarlock (?) in the weary-worn boat.’

The two earliest instances of the form *hinn* in runic inscription, represented here, are of the demonstrative pronoun.

The inscription from Rök, Sweden is dated to 830-840 (Bugge 1910, 41, 149, 224); a transcription is below in (9a). The definite article is represented as *hin(n)*, which would seem to support Finnur Jónsson’s argument, that the definite article *inn* was a weakened form of *hin(n)*, originally from the demonstrative *hinn*. The Skivum stone inscription is dated to around 900-1050 (Jacobsen and Moltke 1942, 36). The transcription is below, example (9b).

The Skern stone 2 inscription is dated to around 900-1050 (Jacobsen and Moltke 1942, 21). The transcription is below in (9c). The Sønder-Vissing stone inscription is dated to the second half of the 11th century (Jacobsen and Moltke 1942, 14). The transcription is below in (9d). The Hune stone inscription is dated to around 900-1050 (Jacobsen and Moltke 1942, 43). The transcription is below (9e). The Glemming stone inscription is dated to around 900-1050 (Jacobsen and Moltke 1942, 90-91). The transcription is below (9f). Throughout, the definite article is represented with word-initial *h-*.

(9) a. þiaurikr **hin** þurmuþi

‘Theodoric **the** bold.’

b. : þau : muþ(r)kin : | þurui : auk [:] uþinkau(r) : a(u)k : kuþmu | ntr : þri[u :
ra]is(þ)[u :] kumbl : | þausi : aift : ki[xx] : **hin** : huþska | ...

‘The mother of Thyr and the sons of Odinkar and Gudmund, the three raised these stones after Gisli **the** (one) from Hø(de) ...’

- c. saʒkiriþr : risþi : stin : finulfs : tutir : at : uþinkaur : usbiarnar : sun : þaḡ : tura
: uk : **hin** : turutin : fasta : ...
‘Sasgerd, Finulf’s daughter, raised (this) stone after Odinkar, Osbjörn’s son,
the dear and **the** loyal ...’
- d. tufa · lEt ■ kaurua · kubl | mistiuis · tutir · uft · muþur | sina · harats · **hins** ·
kuþa · kurms ... kuna ... sunar
‘Tova, Mistive’s daughter, of Harold **the** good, wife of Gorm’s son, had these
stones raised after her mother.’
- e. hufi · þurkil · þurbiurn : satu : stin : runulfs : **hins** · raþ · sbaka · | · faþur · sins ·
‘Hove, Thorkil (and) Thorbjörn set (this) stone to their father, Runulf **the**
well-spoken.’
- f. x suine : sati : stin : þasi : iftir : tusta : **hin** : skarba ^[.] fauþur | sin : harpa :
kuþan : buta : uirþi : at : rata : huas : ub | briuti
‘Sven set this stone after his father, Töste **the** sharp, a very wellborn farmer.
He shall become a “ræte” (a curse of some kind), who breaks [the stone or
grave].’

The definite article is represented with word-initial *h-* throughout. All these inscriptions conform to the formula of NAME **the** TITLE, which may have been a set formula with word-initial *h-*, but without other constructions to contrast it against, it is impossible to say. Five of these examples are taken from Denmark (Skivum, Skern, Sønder-Vissing, Hune and Glemming) and one from Sweden (Rök), which represent Old East Norse, and Old West Norse may have been represented somewhat differently, but based on these examples, there is considerable strength to the claim that the definite article *inn* originated from the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*.

While the two earliest inscriptions of *hin(n)*, Strøm and Eggja, are of the demonstrative pronoun, these later six inscriptions all represent the definite article, all spelled with word-initial *h-*. By the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century, the definite article was represented with word-initial *h-* in Swedish and Danish runes. The presence of the definite article with word-initial *h-* and the complete absence of forms without word-initial *h-* are both strong arguments to support the claim that the definite article *inn* developed from the demonstrative pronoun *hinn* which was used as a definite article and subsequently lost syntactic stress and word-initial *h-*, as is claimed by Finnur Jónsson (1921, 315) and Torp (1919, 214 [*hin*]).

3.4 Conclusion

The two-source theory uses the cognates found in the Germanic languages as well as other Indo-European languages to support the claim that the definite article *inn* and the demonstrative pronoun *hinn* developed separately from one another from two separate and distinct stems. Cognates for *inn* can be found in many languages, indicating that *inn* developed on its own.

The one-source theory has the definite article *inn* developing from the demonstrative *hinn*. The complete absence of forms of the definite article without word-initial *h-* is taken as evidence that the definite article developed from the demonstrative *hinn*, and then later lost word-initial *h-*. If the definite article *inn* had developed on its own, we should find instances of the definite article without word-initial *h-*, but we do not.

There is considerable evidence for both theories, and yet neither theory is able to explain the objections of the other. If *inn* developed independently of *hinn*, why do we not find it represented in the earlier runic sources? If *inn* developed from *hinn*, why are there so many cognates that line up so perfectly with *inn*? Whether *inn* without word initial *h-*

developed from an older form with word-initial *h-*, by the 12th century, the Icelandic definite article lacked word-initial *h-*. By the 16th century, however, the independent definite article was rarely found without word-initial *h-*.

4. The change from *inn* to *hinn*

4.1 Methodology and overview of the sources

This chapter will examine the data gathered from 24 different sources with 25 identifiable hands as pertains to the change of *inn* to *hinn*. These sources have been examined for instances of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* as opposed to instances of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-*.

This current study examines a selection of texts from the 12th century down towards the end of the 16th century. Each text was examined for instances of the independent definite article *inn*, *in*, *it*, targeting all four cases, singular and plural, and all three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter. Within each text, the goal was to determine the proportion of forms with word-initial *h-* to those without. The texts examined in this study range over a period of around 400 years, from the late 12th century to the late 16th century. This range encompasses the majority of the time concerned for the change for which written records are available, with the change showing its first signs in the beginning of the 13th century and seemingly nearing completion by the end of the 16th. An overview of the texts examined is presented in *Table 4.1* below. The dates of the manuscripts are in accordance with the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose—Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog*, here referred to as ONP. The ONP database is available online at <http://onp.ku.dk/>.

The dataset used in this study was assembled with a combination of different methods. Many of the earlier sources were available in diplomatic editions of the manuscripts along with complete wordlists or detailed linguistic descriptions. For many more of the texts, the data was collected through examination of either diplomatic transcription of the texts or

electronic images of the manuscript pages themselves. Many of the texts were examined in their entirety, while some of the longer manuscripts were sampled systematically until a critical mass of target forms had been collected that might be viewed as indicative of the whole.

The rest of this chapter will focus on the data gathered from the texts, as well as the texts themselves, the methods employed in gathering the data for each text, and representative examples of critical forms such as forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*, forms of the independent definite article without *h-* and examples of the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*, *hin*, *hitt*, which, excepting the neuter nominative-accusative singular, shares its phonetic expression with the independent definite article after the latter acquires *h-*.

The neuter nominative-accusative singular is the only form of the independent definite article, after it acquired *h-*, that is distinguished phonetically and orthographically from the demonstrative pronoun; the independent definite article having a short *-t*, while the demonstrative pronoun is expressed with the geminate *-tt*. This distinction becomes more pronounced as word-final short *-t* following an unstressed vowel is lenited to *-ð*, while word-final geminate *-tt*, even after an unstressed vowel, remains unaffected (Björn K. Þórólfsson 1925). This leads to the two forms being more distinctly differentiated between the independent definite article and the demonstrative pronoun: *hið* and *hitt* respectively.

[1]	AM 674 a 4to, <i>Elucidarius</i>	c1150-1200
[2]	GKS 1812 IV 4to, <i>Rímbegla</i>	c1192
[3]	Holm perg. 15 4to, <i>Icelandic Homily Book</i>	c1200
[4]	AM 645 I 4to, <i>St. Þorlákr's Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints</i>	c1220
[5]	GKS 1157 fol., <i>Codex Regius of Grágás</i>	c1250
[6]	GKS 2365 4to, <i>Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda</i>	c1270
[7]	GKS 1009 fol., <i>Morkinskinna</i>	c1275

[8]	AM 519 a 4to, <i>Alexanders saga</i>	c1280
[9]	Uppsala DG 11, <i>Snorri Sturluson's Edda</i>	c1300-1325
[10]	AM 132 fol., <i>Möðruvallabók</i>	c1330-1370
[11]	GKS 1005 fol., <i>Flateyjarbók</i> , Jón Þórðarson's hand	1387-1394
[12]	GKS 1005 fol., <i>Flateyjarbók</i> , Magnús Þórhallsson's hand	1387-1394
[13]	Holm perg. 6 4to, <i>Bevens saga</i>	c1400-1425
[14]	AM 81 a fol., <i>Skálholtsbók yngsta</i> , <i>Sverris saga</i>	c1450-1475
[15]	AM 343 a 4to, <i>Saulus saga ok Nikanors</i>	c1450-1475
[16]	Holm perg. 7 fol., <i>Sigurðar saga fóts</i>	c1450-1475
[17]	Holm perg. 7 fol., <i>Viktors saga ok Blávus</i>	c1450-1475
[18]	AM 589 c 4to, <i>Valdimars saga</i>	c1450-1500
[19]	AM 556 b 4to, <i>Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns</i>	c1475-1500
[20]	AM 180 b fol., <i>Laurentius saga biskups</i>	c1500
[21]	AM 624 4to, <i>Miðaldaævintýri</i>	c1500
[22]	AM 152 fol., <i>Sigurðar saga þogla</i>	c1500-1525
[23]	AM 586 4to, <i>Vilmundar saga viðutan</i>	c1500-1525
[24]	Holm perg. 3 fol., <i>Reykjahólabók</i>	c1530-1540
[25]	<i>Bible translation of Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson (Guðbrandsbiblía)</i>	1584

Table 4.1: An overview of the sources used in this study.

In the sources discussed below, examples have been provided for the first ten sources to illustrate the instances examined, but they have been discontinued after that, as their inclusion would have proved redundant. Excepting the GKS 2365 4to, *Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda*, the translations are all my own with considerable help from my advisor, Haraldur Bernharðsson.

4.2 [1] AM 674 a 4to, *Elucidarius*

AM 674 a 4to is dated to around 1150-1200 in ONP. AM 674a 4to contains the text *Elucidarius*, a translation of a treatise on theology. The manuscript consists of 33 leaves and is now incomplete with four major lacunae and several badly damaged pages (Firchow and Grimstad 1989 xxiii-xxx; Hreinn Benediktsson 1965 13-15, vi). By Larsson's 1891 wordlist and Firchow and Grimstad's 1989 edition, sixteen instances were registered of the demonstrative pronoun *hinn* and 46 of the definite article, none of which have word-initial *h-*. Although a small sample size, the consistency of the spelling of the definite article is consonant with [2] GKS 1812 IV 4to, *Rímbeḡla*, discussed below (4.3). Examples (10a-c) are of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-* while examples (11a-b) are of the demonstrative pronoun as well as an occurrence in (10a).

- (10) a. þuiat þessom mislicaþe þat es hiner volþo ser ilt en þesser fylgþo þegar
enogþa. (9v9)
'Because these disliked this when these others chose for themselves evil, but these followed already **the** good.'
- b. Afþui do hann þegar **ens** iþra manns dauþa. (17r14)
'From this he died at once **the** inner man's death.'
- c. Hue lenge vas hann ahimne. Magister Eige alla eina stund þuiat hann viltesc
þegar es hann vas scapaþr oc fvr let **et** sana. (7r6)
'How long was he in heaven. The Master: Not a full hour, because he strayed off at once when he was created and abandoned **the** true thing'.
- (11) a. oc hafa þo quol sem **hiner** es ihelvite breña. (7v1)
'And yet they have torment as **these others** who burn in hell.'
- b. *Discipulus* Hver bleztaþe þessom eþa boluaþe **hinom**. (20v14)
'Disciple: Who blessed this one or cursed **that other one**?'

The evidence gathered from [1] AM 674 a 4to, *Elucidarius*, indicates that in the scribe's language, the definite article had not yet begun to acquire word-initial *h-*. By the end of the twelfth century, the change had not yet begun.

4.3 [2] GKS 1812 IV 4to, *Rímbegla*

GKS 1812 IV 4to, *Rímbegla*, dated to around 1192 in ONP, is a treatise consisting of eleven leaves (fols. 24-34 of the codex in its present form) on computation and calendars, the earliest of its kind in Old Icelandic, and a section contains a Latin-Icelandic glossary (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 13-15, v). Using Larsson's 1891 word list and his 1883 edition of the text, thirteen instances of the demonstrative pronoun *hinn* have been identified and 228 instances of the independent definite article, none of which have word-initial *h-*. Both the demonstrative and the definite article are quite well represented, rendering a clear picture of the separation of *h-* and *h-*less forms: The definite article invariably lacks *h-*. Examples (12a-c) are of the independent definite article without *h-* while examples (13a-b) are of the demonstrative pronoun.

- (12) a. September heiter **en** fyrste monöþr ipacta old. (9:3)
 'The first month of the cycle of epacts is called September.'
- b. En þriþia vetr verþr stakt **it** þriþia sevar fall. (7:5)
 'But in the third winter, the third sea tide takes place separately.'
- c. EN odde talþe at þeir dagar vøre iamnlangar Andreas messa oc **en** .v. dagr iola.
 (31:6)
 'But Oddi reckoned that these days were equally long, Andreas' mass and the fifth day of Christmas.'

- (13) a. . iii . nætr . oc iiiv vikor þær koma við **hina** eina oc fylgia þa .iiii. nætr. (24:5)
 ‘Three nights and four weeks come in addition to **this other** one and follow then four nights.’
- b. oc .ii nætr . fylgia . þær **hinom** .v. oc tekr December .vii. nætr. (24:11)
 ‘And two nights follow **these other** five and December takes seven nights.’

The evidence from [2] GKS 1812 IV 4to, *Rímbeǵla*, is consonant with that from [1] AM 674 a 4to, *Elucidarius*, and suggests that in the scribe’s language the definite article did not yet have word-initial *h-*. The change seems not to have begun to be represented yet.

4.4 [3] Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*

Holm perg. 15 4to, the *Icelandic Homily Book* is dated to around 1200 in ONP. This manuscript is a collection of sermons, commentaries and prayers, consisting of 102 leaves and it shares eleven of its sermons with AM 619 4to, the *Norwegian Homily Book*, discussed in chapter 2.4, to which it has often been compared. There is much debate over the extent of Norwegian influence on the manuscript, and little can be said for sure as there is evidence both for and against Norwegianisms (de Leeuw van Weenen 1993, 3-4, 7-15, 18-19, 21). In the *Norwegian Homily Book*, 100% of the instances of the independent definite article represents word-initial *h-*, as we saw in chapter 2.6, suggesting that, in Norway, by around 1200, in the language of the scribes of the *Norwegian Homily Book* at least, the change of *inn*, *in*, *it* to *hinn*, *hin*, *hit* was already complete.

Using Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen’s 2004 lemmatized index and her 1993 diplomatic edition of the *Icelandic Homily Book*, 85 instances were identified of the demonstrative pronoun *hinn* and 770 of the independent definite article, of which 28 have *h-*. This is only 3.6% of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*. These are the

earliest indications of this change in Old Icelandic. It is certainly worth considering the possible influence the Norwegian language may have had on the Icelandic language and how it was represented in the writing thereof, leaving one to wonder if this could be a Norwegianism that coincidentally heralds the coming change, or is this the first instance of that change itself. Examples (14a-b) are of the independent definite article without *h-*, examples (15a-b) are of the independent definite article with *h-* and examples (16a-b) are of the demonstrative pronoun.

- (14) a. Sa **en** same þriþr i nafne oc éin i goddóme laþe os blíþlega sín bǫrn þa er ver kómom fyr dómstól hans. (29v6)

‘May this **the** same trinity in name and one in godhood receive us, his children, kindly when we come before his judgement seat.’

- b. syngva þa eigi fære pater noster **en** .vii. oc biþia os sva siafaldrar giftar **ins** helga anda. (49v13)

‘Then not fewer than seven sing the *pater noster* and so pray we may receive the sevenfold gifts of **the** Holy Spirit.’

- (15) a. Stephanus vas fullr **hins** helga anda oc gerþe margar iartéiner. (80v4)

‘Stephan was full of **the** Holy Spirit and performed many miracles.’

- b. oc kuno þeir skilia **hin** hásto tǫcn himneskra hluta. (41v20)

‘And they could understand **the** highest tokens of heavenly parts.’

- (16) a. Oc fyr þui scolom vér at **hino** hygea at eigi verþe sva illa. (101r33)

‘And because of this, we should think about **this other** lest it goes this badly.’

- b. han scal viþ manen skipa. hve maþr **en** hefer a mót ráþet. **heldr** **hit** éir huat guþ býþr honom. (51v11)

‘... how he shal handle the man, how the man has acted in opposition, rather only **this other** which god commands him.’

It is worth considering the neuter nominative–accusative singular separately, as the demonstrative kept the distinctive form *hitt* with long final *-tt*, while the independent definite article neuter nominative–accusative singular *it* acquired *h-* rendering *hit*. There are 35 instances of *hitt*, three of *hit* and 240 of *it*, one of which is actually spelled “ett” showing that gemination was not too strictly represented by the orthography. Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen (1993, 68) notes that geminated consonants are also frequently written with a single consonant. There are 35 instances of *hitt* with long *-tt*, all of which are demonstrative. Of the three instances of *hit* with word initial *h-* and short *-t*, however, two are the definite article, shown in (17a–b), while one is demonstrative, presented in (17c).

- (17) a. Líf þetta er hundrað vetra **hit** lengsta. (69r2)
 ‘This life is a hundred winters at **the** longest.’
- b. Afþui vas gabriel hōfuþengell sendr til mariam. heldr an ein hver anar engell.
 þuiat hæfoþ áor vas maclegr at boþa **hit** hásta eorende. (41r9)
 ‘Therefore Gabriel, the archangel, was sent to Mary, rather than some other
 angel, for it was fitting for the head messenger to announce **the** highest
 message.’
- c. oc sva **hit** meþ at gora sem flest got. (73v23)
 ‘... and also **this other** along with it, to do as many good things (as possible).’

[3] Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, shows the earliest signs of the change in Icelandic, from forms of the independent definite article represented without word-initial *h-* to forms represented with word-initial *h-*. While the vast majority of the recorded forms of the independent definite article are without word-initial *h-*, the change manifests itself in a few forms—3.6%—with word-initial *h-*. It has long been suggested that the two homily books,

Holm per. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, and AM619 4to, *Norwegian Homily Book*, may be related. The discussion has been inconclusive, however. This may possibly be a Norwegianism creeping into the text of the *Icelandic Homily Book*, or it may simply be the earliest sign of the shift from *h*-less forms to forms with *h*-, with no Norwegian influence. This will be discussed further below in the conclusion 4.26.

4.5 [4] AM 645 4to, *St. Þorlákr's Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints*

AM 645 4to, *St. Þorlákr's Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints*, is dated to around 1220 in ONP. It contains the lives of saints and the apostles and the miracles of the first native saint, St. Þorlákr. The manuscript now contains 42 leaves (1-42 of the codex) and is incomplete (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 13-15, xx). Using Larsson's 1891 wordlist based on his 1885 edition of the text, seven instances of the demonstrative pronoun were identified and 319 instances of the independent definite article, all of which lack word-initial *h*- except for one lone instance (19a). This constitutes less than one percent of the total instances of the independent definite article (0.3%). As with [1] AM 674 a 4to, *Elucidarius*, and [2] GKS 1812 IV 4to, *Rímbeġla*, above, [4] AM 645 4to almost entirely lacks independent definite article forms with *h*-, but does show a single instance indicating that the change was already present to some extent in the language of the scribe. Examples (18a-c) show the independent definite article without *h*- and example (20a) the demonstrative pronoun.

- (18) a. þa melte hon **en** sivca kona, iþvi es hon þotesc síá hann. (31:11)
 'Then said she, **the** sick woman, when she thought she saw him'.
- b. Petrus Melte, Þat **it** sama scal simone verþa at miclo hlógi, es hann þykesc þér hafa til meins gert. (55:12)

‘Peter said: This **the** same shall become a great ridicule to Simon, which he thinks he has done done to pain thee.’

c. þa leit hann þann diofvl freista sin er ifer ste of en fyrsta man. (103:19)

‘Then he allowed that devil to tempt him, who conquered **the** first man’.

(19) a. þa var candacis sendr. oc **hiner** gofgusto hirþmenn konungs. með honom post postolanom. (115:11)

‘Then was Candacis sent and **the** most noble retainers of the king with him after the apostle.’

(20) a. Enhin veg lácþo . at of nott . cayrþi scip þat ióþa veþre . at biórgom nóçqeriom . i ey þeire er cipros heiter (40:24)

‘But it ended in **this other** way, that during night that ship was driven in furious weather towards some cliffs on that island that is called Cyprus.’

The evidence gathered from [4] AM 645 4to, *St. Þorlákr’s Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints*, indicates that, in the language of the scribe, the independent definite article had begun to acquire word-initial *h-*. The independent definite article with word-initial *h-* is orthographically represented quite poorly, however, even though [4] AM 645 4to is dated slightly later than [3] Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, which shows the earliest instances of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* in Icelandic, indicating the change had not yet become widespread outside of [3] Holm perg. 15 4to.

4.6 [5] GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*

GKS 1157 fol., *Grágás*, is dated around 1250 in ONP. It is an early book of Icelandic laws and legal provisions. It has 93 leaves and is complete except for one lacuna after the 37th leaf (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 13–15, xxxi; Finsen 1852, i). Using Beck’s 1993 wordlist, 498

instances of the demonstrative pronoun were identified and 666 of the independent definite article, of which 37 have *h-*. This accounts for 5% of the independent definite article which is still quite a low figure, but considering the date of the text, still makes it one of the earliest to show this change. As with [3] Holm perg. 15 4to, *The Icelandic Homily Book*, the independent definite article is still overwhelmingly expressed without *h-*, and suggests this change was only in its initial stages at this point. Examples (21a-b) are of the independent definite article without *h-*, examples (22a-b) are of the independent definite article with *h-*, and example (23a) is of the demonstrative pronoun. Beck (1993) lists the entries as a single six digit number, referring to finsen's 1852 edition, the first digit indicates which book of *Grágás* (1 or 2), the next three digits are the page numbers in Finsen's 1852 edition, and the last two digits are the line numbers in the edition.

- (21) a. PAska helgi eigvm ver at hallda. þat erv dagar .iiij. pascha dag **inn** fyrsta.
(102905)

‘We are to hold Holy Easter, those are four days, and Easter day **the** first.’

- b. þa á sa maðr at taca þat fe er skyllztr er **enom** davða her alande. (123617)
‘Then is this man to take that property which is most closely related to **the** dead man here on the land’.

- (22) a. Sa maðr scal fara er vættis quaddi oc fina þa menn er ivætte voro með **hinom** siúca. (220207)

This man shall go who summoned the witnesses and find those men who were in the witness stand with **the** sick man.’

- b. Eigi scal **hinom** sama manne föra fleire omaga en ein a meðal þingia tuegia.
(201005)

‘To **the** same man shall not be assigned more than one dependent between two assemblies.’

- (23) a. *hann a at beiða ser biarg quiðar at bera vm þat hvart hann hygðe at **hiN** ein ætte scógiN er honom lofaðe eða eigi.* (210915)

‘He is to ask for acquittal for himself concerning that whether he had thought that **the other** alone had the forest which permitted him or not.’

As noted before, it is worth examining the development of the neuter nominative-accusative singular, as the independent definite article retained its short *-t* distinguishing it from the demonstrative pronoun with its long *-tt*, and this is exactly what we find. There are eight instances of “hitt” with geminate *-tt*, two of “hit” with word-initial *h-* and short *-t*, and 144 instances of *it* without word-initial *h-*. All eight instances of *hitt* are demonstrative, while both instances of *hit* are the definite article which is what is predicted. Examples (24a-b) are of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-*, examples (25a-b) are of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*, and examples (26a-b) are of the demonstrative pronoun.

- (24) a. *at huerr bóande scal sitia **et** næsta avðrom scolo sva hreppar allir settir sem nu ero.* (217111)

‘That each farmer shall sit **the** next to the other, so shall all counties be settled as they are now.’

- b. *slict **et** sama er mælt vm framsetning scips.* (207212)

‘Such **the** same is said about the launching of a ship’

- (25) a. *Þat er drep **hit** þriðia.* (114921)

‘That is **the** third blow.’

- b. ***hit** næsta alþingi eptir.* (209901)

‘**The** next Althing after.’

- (26) a. *hann vill hafa þat eða **hitt** er hann atte aðr.* (215511)

‘He wants to have that or *this other* which he had before.’

- b. *Scal þat þeirra er byscoþ lofar scilnað hafa sliþan lut fiar við anaf sem hitt hafe for ótta lavst scilnað gervan.* (204222).

‘Shall that one, to whom the bishop has granted divorce, have such money in addition to other properties, as *the other one* had the division made without a cause of forfeiture.’

The evidence collected from [5] GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, indicates the presence of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*, still in the early stages of the shift. [5] GKS 1157 fol. displays a more advanced stage than [3] Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, with 5% of the forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* as opposed to the latter’s 3.6%, but this is still clearly an early stage of the change.

4.7 [6] GKS 2365 4to, *Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda*

GKS 2365 4to, *Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda*, is dated around 1270 in ONP. It contains the *Poetic Edda* and it is what Hreinn Benediktsson (1965, 14) calls “the most celebrated of all Icelandic manuscripts”. [6] GKS 2365 4to contains 45 leaves and is complete except for one lacuna (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 13–15, xxxvii). Using a forthcoming electronic edition from the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies (provided by Haraldur Bernharðsson), a word search returns 28 instances of the demonstrative pronoun and 283 of the independent definite article, all of which lack *h-*. This is consonant with [1] AM 674 a 4to, *Elucidarius*, and [2] GKS 1812 IV 4to, *Rímþegla*, and to a lesser degree with [4] AM 645 4to, *St. Þorlákr’s Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints*, as the latter displays but one instance of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* (0.3%), but [6] GKS 2365 4to, *Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda*, stands out as both [3] Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*,

(c1200) and [5] GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, (c1250) are older and yet show more evidence of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*. It should also be noted, that [6] GKS 2365 4to, *Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda*, contains mostly poetry, and the language may often be archaic to begin with. In examining the neuter nominative-accusative singular, 14 instances spelled “hitt” with long *-tt* have been identified, three instances spelled “hit” with word-initial *h-* and short *-t* that are all suffixed and demonstrative as shown in examples (31a-c), and 67 with form “it” or “ip” without word-initial *h-*. The examples (27a-b) are of the independent definite article without *h-*; examples (28a-b) are of the demonstrative; examples (29a-b) are of the neuter nominative-accusative singular independent definite article without *h-*; examples (30a-b) are of the neuter nominative-accusative singular demonstrative pronoun with long *-tt*; examples (31a-c) are of the neuter nominative-accusative singular demonstrative with short *-t* and suffixed. The English translations are taken from Hollander (1962).

- (27) a. Þa kǫmr **in** micli mǫgr sigfǫðvr víðar vega at vel dyri. (2v15, *Vǫluspá* 53)
‘Strides forth Víthar, Valfather’s son,
the fearless fighter, Fenrir to slay;’
- b. Comin er hingat konr sigmǫndar segr **in** snaraþi til sala vára. (29v14,
Reginmál 13)
‘Hither has come the kinsman of Sigmund,
the keen atheling, to our hall;’
- (28) a. Jn com in arma iotna systir **hin** er brúþ fiar biþia þorði. (17v30, *Þrymskviða*
29)
‘In stepped the etins’ starveling sister,
a bridal gift she dared beg from **her** (lit. **the other**);’

- b. Osnotr er meþ alder kǫmr þat er bazt at han þegi. engi þat véit at han ekki kan nema han meili til mart. ueita maþr **hin** er vetki ueit þott han meili til mart.

(3v23, Hávamál 27)

‘The unwise man among others who comes,
let him be sparing of speech;
for no one knows **that** naught is in him,
but he open his mouth too much.’

- (29) a. Reið varð þa freyia oc fnasasi allr ása salr vndir bifðiz. ftæcc þat **ip** micla men brisinga. mic veiztv verþa ver,giarnafta ef ec ek meþ þer i iotvn heima. (17v2, Þrymskviða 13)

‘Wroth grew Freya, foamed with rage;
the shining halls shook with her wrath,
the Brísing’s a necklace burst asunder:
“Most mad after men thou mayst call me,
if I wed with thee to the world of etins”.’

- b. Mvndilfóri heitir han er mána faþir oc svo solar **ip** sama. himin hverfa þa scolu hverian dag aeldom at ár tali. (8r14, Vafþrúðnismál 23)

‘Mundilferi is hight the Moon’s father,
and **the** Sun’s also;
they must daily wander the walkin about,
to tell the time for men.’

- (30) a. Aprt ec hvárf oc vna þotumz visom vilia fra. **hitt** ec hvgða at ec hafa mynda geð hentar alt oc gaman. (5v22, Hávamál 99)

‘Back I went; to win her love
I let myself be misled;
for I did think (**this**), enthralled by love,

to work my will with her.’

- b. **Hítt** qvaþ þa gv_{NAR} gramr hækftalda hlęraþv af þvi heipt byr v_{ndir}. giorn kona glawþ ágolfi aþ þer góds viti. (35r23, Sigurðarkviða 31)

‘(**This**) [s]aid then Gunnar, the goodly king:

“Thou laughest not, vengeful lady,

so gleefully as though glad thy heart:

wherefore wholly hueless grow’st thou,

fiendish woman? I ween thee fey”.’

- (31) a. Vęsall maþr oc illa scapi hlęr at hvivetna. **hit** ki han veit er han vita þyrpti at han er vamma vanr. (3v13, Hávamál 22)

‘The ill-minded man who meanly thinks,

fleers at both foul and fair;

he does not know (**this**), as know he ought,

that he is not free from flaws.’

- b. Osnotr maþr hygr ser alla vera við hlęiendr víni. **hit** ki han fiþr þot þeir vm han fár lesi ef han meþ snotrom sitr. (3v17, Hávamál 24)

‘The unwise man weens that all

who laugh with him, like him, too;

nor sees (**that**) their scorn, though they sneer at him,

on bench ‘midst the sage when he sits.’

- c. Osnotr maþr þicciz alt vita ef han a ser i va vero. **hit** ki han veit hvat han scal við qveþa ef hans freift firar. (3v20, Hávamál 26)

‘The unwise man ween he knows all,

if from harm he is far at home;

but knows not (**that**) ever what answer to make

when others ask him aught.’

The evidence from [6] GKS 2365 4to, *Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda*, indicates that, at this later stage of the language, there were still some scribes who persisted in employing forms of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-*, despite the progression shown by [3] Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, and [5] GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*. Whether this was a phonetic reality that went unexpressed orthographically cannot be concluded on the evidence of this study, but [6] GKS 2365 4to indicates that some scribes were meticulous in their use of *h-*less forms, at least in writing, whether or not this reflects accurately the state of the spoken language.

4.8 [7] GKS 1009 fol., *Morkinskinna*

GKS 1009 fol., *Morkinskinna*, is dated around 1275 in ONP. The manuscript tells an account of the lives of the kings of Norway, it contains 37 leaves and is defective (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 13-15, xxxviii). Kjeldsen (2013, 253) analyses the text and examines the independent definite article and the demonstrative pronoun. 299 instances of the demonstrative pronoun are identified and 683 of the independent definite article, none of which have *h-*. Thus [7] GKS 1009 fol. is consonant with [1] AM 674 a 4to, *Elucidarius*, [2] GKS 1812 IV 4to, *Rímbeġla*, and [6] GKS 2365 4to, *Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda*, in that it contains no instances of the independent definite article with *h-*.

4.9 [8] AM 519 a 4to, *Alexanders saga*

AM 519 a 4to, *Alexanders saga*, is dated around 1280 in ONP. It is a translation of a Latin poem, *Alexandreis*, composed by Walter of Châtillon (Philippe Gautier de Lille) in around 1176. The manuscript contains 37 leaves and is complete except for one lacuna (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965, 13-15, liii; de Leeuw van Weenen 2009, 5-7, 20). Using Andrea de Leeuw

van Weenen's index (2009) in the same edition returns eight instances of the demonstrative pronoun and 298 of the independent definite article, all of which lack *h-*. When looking at the neuter nominative/accusative singular, there is only one instance of *hitt*, which is demonstrative (34a), ten of *it* and none of *hit*. Examples (32a-b) are of the independent definite article and examples (33a-b) are of the demonstrative pronoun.

- (32) a. *Philippus konungr faðer .alexanderi hafðe fengit honom lækne þann er oc hét philippus þesse eñ same maðr var viðr staddr röðo konungsins. (7r13).*
 'King Philip, the father of Alexander, had provided him with this physician who was also called Philip; this **the** same man was present at the king's speech.'
- b. *undir sek [Darius konungr] hefir lagt allt Asian. ok eñ ágeta konung porum með ollo hans rike. (35r27).*
 'King Darius has lain all Asia under him, and **the** noble king Porum with all his kingdom.'
- (33) a. *En þar ímot freistar eñ frækne hversvetna fyr en yfir hann luke ok er hann hefir reynt til fullz v̄ sin for log. þa er honom sem hinom lofat at deyia. (23r8).*
 'Fighting this, the valiant tries everything before he gives up, and when he has tested his destiny to the full extent, then he is allowed to die like **the others**.'
- b. *geriz nu þo sar mioc. ok þa ser hiñ er styrir filnum at konungr mon lataz burt fyrir atsoen grickia. (32v26).*
 '... becomes yet seriously wounded and then sees **this other one** who steers the elephant that the king will lose his life because the attack of the Greeks.'
- (34) a. *Micla stund leggr hamingian áat hefia margan mann. en eigi er hitt minnr fra hversv sciott er hon kann at legia þann sama er hon hefir aðr vpp hafet. (30r7).*

‘The happiness puts great effort into exalting many a man, but *the other* is no less prominent, how quickly happiness can demote the one she has earlier exalted.’

The evidence collected from [8] AM 519 a 4to, *Alexanders saga*, is in consonance with that gathered from [6] GKS 2365 4to, *Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda* and [7] GKS 1009 fol., *Morkinskinna*, in that it displays no instances of the change of *h*-less forms of the independent definite article to forms with word-initial *h*-, even though it is dated later than either [3] Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, or [5] GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás* which both do display instances of the independent definite article with word-initial *h*-. It will be seen to be the last work examined in this paper to fit this pattern (for the exceptional [19] AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*, see 4.19 and the conclusion 4.26).

4.10 [9] Uppsala DG 11, *Snorri Sturluson’s Edda*

The Uppsala manuscript DG 11, *Snorri Sturluson’s Edda*, is dated around 1300 in ONP. The manuscript contains 56 leaves and is written in a single hand with a later addition (Grape, Kallstenius and Thorell, 1977, ix). Using the wordlist found in the same edition, 15 instances of the demonstrative pronoun have been identified and 171 of the independent definite article, of which 22 have *h*-, constituting 13% of all the forms of the independent definite article. There are four instances of *hitt* all of which are the demonstrative, one of *hit* which is the independent definite article (38a) and 24 of *it*. Thus, [9] Uppsala DG 11 displays the expected use of double *-tt* for the demonstrative and the sole use of single *-t* yet with word-initial *h*- is the independent definite article. Examples (35a-b) are of the independent definite article without word-initial *h*-, examples (36a-b) are of the independent definite article with word-initial *h*-, and examples (37a-b) are of the demonstrative pronoun.

- (35) a. þat ero liþhendvǫr er **iñ** sami stafr stendr fyrir hendingar. (106:4)
 ‘It is called *liðhendur* when the same letter stand before the rhymes.’
- b. Allt veit ek óþiñ hvar þv avga falt. i þeim **envm** mæra mimis bruñi (9:22)
 ‘I know it all, Odin, where thou hid the eye, in this **the** great well of Mímir.’
- (36) a. Gramr **hiñ** gavfgasti gladdi hirð sina. (61:19).
 ‘Gram **the** most noble gladdened his court.’
- b. visi **hiñ** vigdiarfi vakti hañ baldr þeygi. (61:25).
 ‘**The** valiant chieftain, not did he awaken Baldr.’
- (37) a. **Hiñ** er varp a viþa vinda avndor disar. (57:17).
 ‘**This other one** who cast [eyes] on the wide winds of Qndurdís.’
- b. En .viiij. þeir er siðar ero ritarþir hava halft hlioð við **hina**. (92:16).
 ‘Still these eight which are later written have half a sound compared to **these other ones**.’
- (38) a. Hverneg skal keña frið ... vana goþ. vana dís. **hit** grat fagra goþ. (56:27).
 ‘How shall Frigg be referred to? ... the god of Vanir, the goddess of the Vanir **the** tear-fair god.’

The evidence gathered from [9] Uppsala DG 11, *Snorri Sturluson’s Edda*, shows a much more advanced stage of the change from *h*-less forms of the independent definite article to forms with word-initial *h*- than any of the other previously examined sources. With 13% of the forms of the independent definite article showing word-initial *h*-, [9] Uppsala DG 11 shows the change beginning to spread.

4.11 [10] AM 132 fol., *Möðruvallabók*

AM 132 fol., *Möðruvallabók*, is dated to around 1330–1370 in ONP. It contains eleven sagas and 202 leaves (handrit.is). Using Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen’s 1987 index for her 1987 edition of the text, 107 instances have been identified of the demonstrative pronoun and 1191 of the independent definite article, of which, 294 have *h-*. This constitutes as much as 25% of the forms of the independent definite article, and indicates that the article’s acquisition of *h-* is already somewhat advanced. In examining the neuter nominative–accusative plural, 54 instances have been registered of “hitt” with long *-tt*; 6 of “hit” with word-initial *h-* and short *-t*; and 157 of “it” without word-initial *h-*. Of the 54 instances of “hitt”, 50 are demonstrative and the other 4 are the independent definite article. All of the instances of *hit* are the definite article. The examples (39a–b) are of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-*, examples (40a–b) are of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* and examples (41a–b) are of the demonstrative.

- (39) a. vggi ek at illa takiz *tíl þv*iat alfr er **enn** vesti maðr *ok* suik raðafullr. (103vb26)
‘I fear that this will go badly, because Álfr is the worst of men and treacherous.’
- b. Havskir sitr nu i bui sinu *ok* geriz hniginn a **enn** efra alldr. (164ra11)
‘Hauskir sits now at his farm and sinks down to **the** later life.’
- (40) a. var maðr stor auðigr *ok* **hinn** mesti virðinga maðr. (87va33)
‘The man was very wealthy and **the** most respected man.’
- b. hann hafði verit **hinn** mesti vinr þorolfs. (70rb35)
‘He had been **the** best friend of Thorolf.’
- (41) a. en **hinir** voru þo miklu fleiri ... (175vb39)
‘But **these others** were many more, though ...’
- b. en **hina** siai .íj. er hann lagði a ofan. (110va24)

‘But *these others* see the two which he laid down.’

The evidence from [10] AM 132 fol., *Möðruvallabók*, shows a fairly advanced stage of the change of *h*-less forms of the independent definite article to forms with word-initial *h*-. This is in consonance with [9] Uppsala DG 11, *Snorri Sturluson’s Edda*, and represents a proportionate increase from 13% to 25% of forms of the independent definite article having word-initial *h*-.

4.12 [11] and [12] GKS 1005 fol., *Flateyjarbók*

GKS 1005 fol., *Flateyjarbók*, is dated to 1387-1394 in ONP. The manuscript is the largest medieval manuscript from Iceland (Pagani 2015, 10), containing 202 leaves, each leaf so large that it took half a calfskin to make (Kolbrún Haraldsdóttir 2003, 14). The manuscript summarizes the lives of the Norwegian kings from about 850 to around 1260, including the lives of the two Olafs, Sverrir and Hákon Hákonarson (Pagani 2015, 11). The text was written by two scribes: Jón Þórðarson (Scribe I) and Magnús Þórhallsson (Scribe II). Pagani makes a thorough comparison of the two hands and concludes that Magnús was the elder more experienced scribe. Magnús has more conservative orthography while Jón’s is more innovative. Magnús exemplifies a number of Norwegianisms which Jón lacks, which is indicative of an older hand since Magnús would have been trained earlier when Norwegianisms were still more fashionable while Jón would have been trained later when Norwegianisms had largely gone out of style. By way of contrast, Magnús displays a more innovative script, but it is a carefully controlled, elegant adaptation borne of experience and skill, while Jón’s more conservative script is characterised by much less discipline and an awkwardness indicative of less experience than the more learned of the two hands (2015, 4, 10, 45-47, 66, 68).

This paper examines the leaves 3r-6r, 50r-51r, 120r-121r, 150r-150v, 220r-220v as they are found in the online facsimile edition of the text found on *handrit.is*. The distinction between the two scribes in respect to their conservative and innovative styles can be clearly seen in each scribe's spelling of the definite article.

Leaves 4v-6r, 50r-51r, 120r-121r, denoted here under [11], are in the hand of the, generally, more innovative Jón Þórðarson (Scribe I). Nine instances of the demonstrative have been identified and 46 of the independent definite article, 36 of which have *h-*. This constitutes 75% of all the instances of the independent definite article; a fairly advanced state of the shift from *h*-less forms to forms with word-initial *h-*. There are four instances of the neuter nominative-accusative singular; there are no instances spelled “it” without word-initial *h-*, one is spelled “hitt” with word-initial *h-* and long *-tt* which is demonstrative, and three are spelled “hit” with word-initial *h-* and short *-t* which are all the independent definite article, which is exactly what we would expect.

The results found in the hand of the first scribe contrast sharply with those found in the hand of the second scribe, Magnús Þórhallsson. Leaves 3r-4r, 150r-150v, 220r-220v, denoted here under [12], are in the hand of the second scribe (Scribe II). Eight instances of the demonstrative have been registered and 58 of the independent definite article, of which only 10 have *h-*. This constitutes only 17% of all the forms of the independent definite article registered in this study. There is only one instance of the neuter nominative-accusative singular in the leaves looked at, which is spelled “hitt” and is demonstrative

The evidence from [11] and [12] GKS 1005 fol., *Flateyjarbók*, perhaps more than any other source, represents the divided and at times sporadic nature of the change of *h*-less forms of the independent definite article to forms with word-initial *h-*. Between the two scribes, there is a disparity of 58%. [12] Magnús displays a conservative style, even more so than [10] AM 132 fol., *Möðruvallabók*, while [11] Jón displays the highest percentage of forms of the independent definite article yet. That these two were contemporaries and worked on the same

manuscript almost simultaneously is testament to the disparity in writing, if not also the language, in respect to forms of the independent definite article regarding word-initial *h-*.

4.13 [13] Holm perg. 6 4to, *Beyvers saga*

Holm perg. 6 4to, dated to around 1400–1425 in ONP, contains the text *Beyvers saga* along with several other texts. The current manuscript contains 20 leaves (Sanders 2001, xv). The text of *Beyvers saga* in Sanders’ 2001 edition was examined. This resulted in one demonstrative being registered and 36 instances of the definite article, all of which have word-initial *h-*. There are four instances of the neuter nominative–accusative singular, all the independent definite article; two are spelled “hith” and the other two are spelled “hitt”, demonstrating that orthographic gemination did not always reflect phonetic realisation.

The evidence from [13] Holm perg. 6 4to, *Beyvers saga*, indicates that the shift from *h-*less forms of the independent definite article to forms with word-initial *h-* had become widespread and commonplace by the time this scribe was writing. While later sources would still show occasional uses of forms of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-*, from here on, with one exception (4.19), this would always be a minority.

4.14 [14] AM 81 a fol., *Skálholtsbók yngsta*, *Sverris saga*

AM 81 a fol. (*Skálholtsbók yngsta*), *Sverris saga*, is dated to around 1450–1475 in ONP. *Sverris saga* tells the story of King Sverrir of Norway. It now contains 120 leaves (Kjær and Holm-Olsen 1986, xi). A thorough search was made through pages 1–133 which returned four instances of the demonstrative and 78 of the definite article, all of which have *h-*. There are 21 instances of the neuter nominative–accusative singular in the section looked at here; four instances are spelled “hitt” of these two are the demonstrative, and two of these are the independent definite article, which is yet another indication the orthographic gemination is

not necessarily realised phonetically, at least not consistently. There are 4 spellings of “hit”, all the independent definite article and nine spellings of “hid” for “hið”.

The evidence taken from [14] AM 81 a fol., *Sverris saga*, indicates that, in the language of this scribe, forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* have become the norm. This is continuing from [13] Holm perg. 6 4to, *Beyvers saga*, with all forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*.

4.15 [15] AM 343 a 4to, *Saulus saga ok Nikanors*

AM 343 a 4to, *Saulus saga ok Nikanors*, is dated around 1450–1475 in ONP. The manuscript consists of 11 leaves and is complete (Loth 1963: A, vii). As no index exists, a thorough examination by hand has been made of the 1963 edition by Loth which has resulted in one instance of the demonstrative and 111 of the definite article, all of which have *h-*. There are eleven instances of the neuter nominative–accusative singular, nine are spelled “hit” and are definite and one is spelled “hid” for “hið”, which is expected.

The evidence from [15] AM 343 a 4to, *Saulus saga ok Nikanors*, indicates that, in the language of this scribe, forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* had taken over as the common form. This is consonant with [13] Holm perg. 6 4to, *Beyvers saga*, and [14] AM 81 a fol., *Sverris saga*, and indicates forms with word-initial *h-* have become the norm.

4.16 [16] Holm perg. 7 fol., *Sigurðar saga fóts*

Holm perg. 7 fol., *Sigurðar saga fóts*, is dated to around 1450–1500 in ONP. *Sigurðar saga fóts* begins on fo. 55v, col. 2 and ends on fo. 57r, col. 2 (Loth 1963: B, ix). As no index exists for this text, a thorough search has been made and returned no instances of the demonstrative and seven of the independent definite article, all of which have *h-*. There is only one instance

of the neuter nominative-accusative singular, spelled “hit” which is the independent definite article.

The evidence recovered from [16] Holm perg. 7 fol., *Sigurðar saga fóts*, is consonant with [13] Holm perg. 6 4to, *Bervers saga*, [14] AM 81 a fol., *Sverris saga*, and [15] AM 343 a 4to, *Saulus saga ok Nikanors*, in that all the forms of the independent definite article have word-initial *h-*.

4.17 [17] Holm perg. 7 fol., *Viktors saga ok Blávus*

Holm perg. 7 fol., *Viktors saga ok Blávus*, is dated to around 1450–1475 in ONP. Holm perg. 7 fol. contains eleven sagas, with *Viktors saga ok Blávus* taking 68 leaves (Jónas Kristjánsson 1964, ix). As no index exists for this text, a thorough examination has been done by hand of Jónas Kristjánsson’s 1964 edition. This has resulted in two instances of the demonstrative and 34 of the definite article, of which 33 have *h-*. This makes 97% instances of the definite article with *h-*. Eight instances of the neuter nominative-accusative singular have been registered; one is spelled “hitt” and is demonstrative, five are spelled “hit” and are definite, and three are spelled “hid” for “hið” and are all definite, as predicted.

The evidence from [17] Holm perg. 7 fol., *Viktors saga ok Blávus*, represents a lower percentage than [13] Holm perg. 6 4to, *Bervers saga*, [14] AM 81 a fol., *Sverris saga*, [15] AM 343 a 4to, *Saulus saga ok Nikanors*, or [16] Holm perg. 7 fol., *Sigurðar saga fóts*, at 97% of the forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*, however this is still a quite high percentage constituted by a single instance, and does little to erode the general observed tendency towards the typical form with word initial *h-*.

4.18 [18] AM 589 c 4to, *Valdimars saga*

AM 589 c 4to, *Valdimars saga*, is dated around 1450-1500 in ONP. *Valdimars saga* begins on fo. 1r and ends on fo. 8v (Loth 1962, ix). As no index exists, a thorough examination of the Loth's 1962 edition has been made and returned two instances of the demonstrative pronoun, and eight of the independent definite article, all of which have *h-*. There are three instances of the neuter nominative-accusative singular, one spelled "hitt" which is demonstrative and two that are spelled "hit", both are definite.

The results gleaned from [18] AM 589 c 4to, *Valdimars saga*, are consonant with those recovered from [13] Holm perg. 6 4to, *Beyers saga*, [14] AM 81 a fol., *Sverris saga*, [15] AM 343 a 4to, *Saulus saga ok Nikanors*, [16] Holm perg. 7 fol., *Sigurðar saga fóts*, and even [17] Holm perg. 7 fol., *Viktors saga ok Blávus*, in that it displays typified word initial *h-* for forms of the independent definite article.

4.19 [19] AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*

AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*, is dated around 1475-1500 in ONP. *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns* extends from fo. 25r to fo. 35r without lacuna (Loth 1963: B, vii). As no index exists for this text, a thorough examination by hand has been made, which has yielded very surprising results. Two instances of the demonstrative pronoun are registered and eleven of the independent definite article, however, none of those eleven forms have word-initial *h-*. This is the only source from the period to show complete lack of *h-* for the definite article. It should be noted, however, that only eleven instances of the independent definite article were found, as the suffixed definite article has become the far more common form. It should also be noted that [22] AM 152 fol., *Sigurðar saga þögla* (4.22) has half as many independent forms of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-*, but it has so many more examples of forms with word-initial *h-* as to make marginal those occurrences that lack word-

initial *h-*; and also [24] Holm perg. 3 fol., *Reykjahólabók*, will be discussed later (4.24). [19] AM 556 b 4to remains singular, however, in its total lack of independent definite forms with word-initial *h-*, given its late date.

Whether the total absence of forms of the independent definite article represented with word-initial *h-* is due to the low number of total instances of the independent definite article (only 10 in all, a fairly small sample size) or if this is indicative of the scribe's normal hand is unclear, given the single text examined in this study. What is clear from the data here examined is that it is entirely possible for even late scribes to employ forms of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-*, even to the exclusion of forms with word-initial *h-*. This raises the question of whether this is the result of meticulously faithful copying of the original on the part of the scribe or if this is idiomatic of this particular scribe. There remains the distinct possibility that this is purely an orthographic archaicism, and the spoken language of the scribe may not have been especially anomalous, but this scribe's writing may simply be imitative of an older orthography before the independent definite article had acquired word-initial *h-*. See 4.24 and 4.26 for further discussion of these anomalous archaic forms.

4.20 [20] AM 180 b fol., *Laurentius saga biskups*

AM 180 b fol., *Laurentius saga biskups*, is dated to around 1500 in ONP. The manuscript contains seven sagas and consists of 52 leaves with one lacuna in the text (Árni Björnsson 1969, xxvii-xxviii, lxxii-lxxiii). As no index exists, a thorough search has been made of Árni Björnsson's 1969 edition. This has returned seven instances of the demonstrative and 45 of the definite article, of which 44 have *h-* (98%). There are six instances of the neuter nominative-accusative singular, all spelled "hit" and all definite.

The evidence gathered from [20] AM 180 b fol., *Laurentius saga biskups*, with 98% of forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*, only one instance of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-* still indicates that word-initial *h-* has become the typical form, but that isolated forms without word-initial *h-* are still possible by this point in time. The phrase *ið sama* ‘the same’ may have become formulaic and frozen, thus allowing for an archaic form to survive. As with [19] AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*, it is impossible to say whether this orthographic anomaly is reflective of a phonetic reality, but it is entirely possible that it may be a purely orthographic archaicism.

4.21 [21] AM 624 4to, *Miðaldaævintýri*

AM 624 4to, *Miðaldaævintýri*, is dated around 1500 in ONP. The text is a translation of a series of English poems, and can be found on four of the manuscript pages (Einar Pétursson 1976, xiii-xiv). As no index exists for this text, a search has been made by hand of Einar Pétursson’s 1976 edition. This has resulted in thirteen instances of the demonstrative and 27 of the independent definite article, of which 24 have *h-* (87%). There are four examples of the neuter nominative-accusative singular, two are spelled “hid” and are definite and two are spelled “id” and are naturally definite.

The evidence from [21] AM 624 4to, *Miðaldaævintýri*, is still fairly consonant with the tendency towards forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*. Though at 87%, [21] AM 624 4to has a lower percentage than any other source examined from the 15th century onwards (with the exceptions of [19] AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*, and [24] Holm perg. 3 fol., *Reykjahólabók*), this is only three instances, in all, and still indicates a strong tendency towards forms with word-initial *h-*, but it also indicates that forms without word-initial *h-* are also still possible to be used. Whether this is a conscientious archaicism or reflective of a phonetic reality in the scribe’s language is still uncertain.

4.22 [22] AM 152 fol., *Sigurðar saga þogla*

AM 152 fol., *Sigurðar saga þogla*, is dated around 1500–1525 in ONP. The saga extends from fo. 69v, col. 2 to fo. 88v, col. 1 and is without lacuna (Loth 1963: A, vii). As no index exists for this text, a close examination has been made which has yielded eight instances of the demonstrative pronoun and 76 of the independent definite article, of which 71 have *h-* (93%). There are 23 instances of the neuter nominative–accusative singular, three are spelled “hitt”, two of which are demonstrative and one is definite, 17 are spelled “hit” and are definite, one is spelled “hith” and is definite, one is spelled “hid” and is definite, one is spelled “hijd” and is definite, and one is spelled “id” and is naturally definite.

The evidence gathered from [22] AM 152 fol., *Sigurðar saga þogla*, is consonant with the other sources from the 16th century, in that it primarily displays forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*, but also displays a handful of forms without word-initial *h-*. With only five instances of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-*, [22] AM 152 fol. has the second largest register of said occurrences until [24] Holm perg. 3 fol., *Reykjahólabók* (4.24), indicating that independent definite forms with word-initial *h-* were typical, but that forms without word-initial *h-* were still usable.

4.23 [23] AM 586 4to, *Vilmundar saga viðutan*

AM 586 4to, *Vilmundar saga viðutan*, is dated around 1500–1525 in ONP. The saga is the penultimate of fifteen in the manuscript and starts at fo. 19r and ends at fo. 25r with one lacuna (Loth 1964, viii). As no index exists for the text, a scrupulous search has been made of Loth’s 1964 edition of the text resulting in one instance of the demonstrative pronoun and 18 of the independent definite article, all of which have *h-*. There are no instances of the neuter nominative–accusative singular.

The evidence collected from [23] AM 586 4to, *Vilmundar saga viðutan*, indicates that forms of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-* were anomalous, and that forms with word-initial *h-* had become typified, however, the register of only eighteen instances is still a fairly small sample size. The evidence presented by [23] AM 586 4to and the other sources from the 16th century still show a definite shift towards forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*.

4.24 [24] Holm perg. 3 fol., *Reykjahólabók*

Holm perg. 3 fol., *Reykjahólabók*, is dated around 1530–1540 in ONP. The manuscript tells the lives of the saints, it contains 168 leaves, though a number of these are badly damaged (Loth 1969, ix–xiii). Using an OCR file of Loth’s 1969 edition of the text, the first volume, a word search returns 65 instances of the demonstrative pronoun and 374 verifiable instances of the independent definite article, of which only 281 have *h-*. This is only 75% of the total number of instances of the independent definite article—a quite low ratio given the source’s late date. As with [19] AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*, this is surprisingly late for forms without *h-*.

A total of 60 instances of the neuter nominative-accusative singular are registered, six are spelled “hitt” with word-initial *h-* and long *-tt*, of which two are the demonstrative pronoun and four are the independent definite article, eight are spelled “hit” with word-initial *h-* and short *-t*, of which one is demonstrative and seven are definite, four are spelled “hid” with word-initial *h-* and lenited *-t*, all the definite article, three are spelled “et” without word-initial *h-*, one is spelled “eth” without word-initial *h-* and with lenited *-t*, and 38 are spelled “ed” without word-initial *h-* and with lenited final *-t*.

[24] Holm perg. 3 fol., *Reykjahólabók*, is fairly anomalous in the frequent occurrences of forms of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-*. Excluding the unique

[19] AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns* (4.19), with its complete absence of forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*, [24] Holm perg. 3 fol. has largest number of occurrences of forms with word-initial *h-* since the beginning of the 15th century, and with only 75% of the forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*, this is a proportionate anomaly. As with [19] AM 556 b 4to, it is unclear whether the high level of occurrences of forms without word-initial *h-* is purely orthographic or whether this could reflect a phonetic variety in the spoken language of the scribe. It is yet to be seen whether this disparity between [24] Holm perg. 3 fol. and the other sources from the 15th and 16th centuries in regards to forms without word-initial *h-* is due in part to the meticulous copying of the original text by the scribe with an eye to forms without word-initial *h-*, whether it is the use of idiom and formulas that would freeze and preserve older forms without word-initial *h-*, or whether it is stylistic to the particular scribe. The current study has not made more than a cursory survey of the context of these occurrences with little to no conclusions based thereon; the high frequency of the phrase *inn sami* may indicate a formulaic frozen phrase, but the presence of such phrases as *inn gamli* and *inn mikla* are not appreciably formulaic. Regardless of these considerations, this study has not made sufficient note of these factors to reach any meaningful conclusion and must offer up this consideration to later scholarship.

4.25 [25] *Guðbrandsbiblía*

Guðbrandsbiblía is a printed book dated to 1584. It is a translation of the bible by Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson and his collaborators. Bandle (1956, 355) observes that the spelling “enn” without word-initial *h-* and with the older spelling of the vowel with “e” is in sharp decline and “inn” without word-initial *h-* and with the younger spelling of the vowel as “i” is only used in archaic speech while “hinn” with word-initial *h-* occurs 92% of the time and

the forms “enn” and “inn” only 8% (Bandle 1956, 354). Following a definite marker, *hinn* and *enn* often take weak adjective endings, but only those ending in *-u*. Sometimes *hinn* and *enn* would take weak endings even when not preceded by a definite marker. Such weak forms can already be found in the 14th and 15th centuries (Bandle 1956, 355). Bandle considers *sá* to be in competition with both *hinn* and *inn*, but slightly favoured in the *Guðbrandsbiblíá* text. All three occur primarily in attributive position pre-adjective. While forms with free articles can be found, such as *hinn gamli maður* for *sá*, *hinn* and *inn* and also *sá + hinn* or *inn*, Bandle says that the form *hinn gamli maðurinn*, with double definiteness, is increasingly common (Bandle 1956, 357-359).

4.26 Conclusion

A general pattern emerges from the data, as we see a definite shift from *h*-less forms of the independent definite article in the 13th century to forms with word-initial *h*- by the 16th. More of the data fits an expected trajectory than does not, but what does not is quite fascinating. From the very end of the 12th and into the 13th century, we find [1] AM 674 4to, *Elucidarius*, [2] GKS 1812 IV 4to, *Rímbeġla*, [6] GKS 2365 4to, *Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda*, [7] GKS 1009 fol., *Morkinskinna*, and [8] AM 519 a 4to, *Alexanders saga*, all with no instances of forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h*-. [3] Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, and [5] GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, both date from this period, and we find the former with 3.6% forms with word-initial *h*- and the latter with 5%. This is a fairly clear indication that the change had already started to some extent in the spoken language, but that it had little to no effect on the orthography of the time. [4] AM 645 4to, *St. Þorlákr's Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints*, contains but a single instance of the independent definite article spelled with word-initial *h*- constituting only 0.3% out of the 319 instances of the independent definite article; which indicates that the change had already

begun, but was meticulously avoided in spelling. From the 14th century, we find the percentages of forms with word-initial *h-* are rising: [9] Uppsala DG 11, *Snorri Sturluson's Edda*, with 13%, [10] AM 132 fol., *Möðruvallabók*, with 25%, and [11] and [12] GKS 1005 fol., *Flateyjarbók*, with its two scribes, with their two hands ranging from as high as 75% to as low as 15%. In the 15th century, the shift if *h-*less forms to forms with word-initial *h-* seems to be quite progressed, with [13] Holm perg. 6 4to, *Bevens saga*, [14] AM 81 a fol., *Sverris saga*, [15] AM 343 a 4to, *Saulus saga ok Nikanors*, [16] Holm perg. 7 fol., *Sigurðar saga fóts*, and [18]AM 589 c 4to, *Valdimars saga*, all having 100% of the forms with word-initial *h-*, and [17] Holm perg. 7 fol., *Viktors saga ok Blávus*, with 97% of forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*. Only [19] AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*, is an outlier here, with zero forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*. As can be seen in Tables 4.2 and 4.3, this makes a startling gap in the general trend towards forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*. In the 16th century, the data seems very close to the generally expected trajectory, but it still lies somewhat outside it: [23] AM 586 4to, *Vilmundar saga viðutan*, has 100% forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*, and [20] AM 180 b fol., *Laurentius saga biskups*, and [22] AM 152 fol., *Sigurðar saga þøgla*, have 98% and 93% respectively, while [21] AM 624 4to, *Miðaldaævintýri*, is as low as 87% but these are constituted by only three examples, and [24] Holm perg. 3 fol., *Reykjahólabók*, is only at 75% of forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*. Even by the end of the 16th century, [25] *Guðbrandsbiblía* only has 98% of its forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* showing that the *h-*less forms, though rare, were still being used. This would seem to indicate that the change of *h-*less forms to forms with *h-* was not as widespread as it may have previously seemed.

[1]	AM 674 a 4to, <i>Elucidarius</i>	c1150–1200	0%
[2]	GKS 1812 IV 4to, <i>Rímbeġla</i>	c1192	0%

[3]	Holm perg. 15 4to, <i>Icelandic Homily Book</i>	c1200	3.6%
[4]	AM 645 I 4to, <i>St. Þorlákr's Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints</i>	c1220	0.3%
[5]	GKS 1157 fol., <i>Codex Regius of Grágás</i>	c1250	5%
[6]	GKS 2365 4to, <i>Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda</i>	c1270	0%
[7]	GKS 1009 fol., <i>Morkinskinna</i>	c1275	0%
[8]	AM 519 a 4to, <i>Alexanders saga</i>	c1280	0%
[9]	Uppsala DG 11, <i>Snorri Sturluson's Edda</i>	c1300-1325	13%
[10]	AM 132 fol., <i>Möðruvallabók</i>	c1330-1370	25%
[11]	GKS 1005 fol. <i>Flateyjarbók</i> , Jón Þórðarson's hand	1387-1394	75%
[12]	GKS 1005 fol. <i>Flateyjarbók</i> , Magnús Þórhallsson's hand	1387-1394	17%
[13]	Holm perg. 6 4to, <i>Bervers saga</i>	c1400-1425	100%
[14]	AM 81 a fol., <i>Skálholtsbók yngsta, Sverris saga</i>	c1450	100%
[15]	AM 343 a 4to, <i>Saulus saga ok Nikanors</i>	c1450-1475	100%
[16]	Holm perg. 7 fol., <i>Sigurðar saga fóts</i>	c1450-1475	100%
[17]	Holm perg. 7 fol., <i>Viktors saga ok Blávus</i>	c1450-1475	97%
[18]	AM 589 c 4to, <i>Valdimars saga</i>	c1450-1500	100%
[19]	AM 556 b 4to, <i>Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns</i>	c1475-1500	0%
[20]	AM 180 b fol., <i>Laurentius saga biskups</i>	c1500	98%
[21]	AM 624 4to, <i>Miðaldaævintýri</i>	c1500	87%
[22]	AM 152 fol., <i>Sigurðar saga þøgla</i>	c1500-1525	93%
[23]	AM 586 4to, <i>Vilmundar saga viðutan</i>	c1500-1525	100%
[24]	Holm perg. 3 fol., <i>Reykjahólabók</i>	c1530-1540	75%
[25]	<i>Bible translation of Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson</i> (<i>Guðbrandsbiblíá</i>)	1584	98%

Table 4.2: An overview of the sources used in this study complete with percentages of instances of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*.

As can be seen from the above in Table 4.2, and below in Table 4.3, orthographic representation of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* occurs quite early in about 1200 in [3] Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, and about 1250 in [5] GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, but is seen to taper off during the rest of the 13th century. The presence of a single instance of the independent definite article spelled with word-initial *h-* in 1220 [4] AM 645 I 4to, *St. Þorlákr's Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints*, indicates that

while the independent definite article could, at least occasionally, occur with word-initial *h-*, it was largely unrepresented orthographically.

The 14th century sees a predicted upwards curve in the percentages of occasions of the independent definite article represented with word-initial *h-*, with only the more conservative second scribe, Magnús Þórhallsson, in 1387-1394, [12] GKS 1005 fol., *Flateyjarbók*. With the exception of the truly unique [19] AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*, in around 1475-1500, the 15th century is exactly as predicted. The 16th century, however, see a resurgence of archaic forms of the independent definite article spelled without word-initial *h-*.

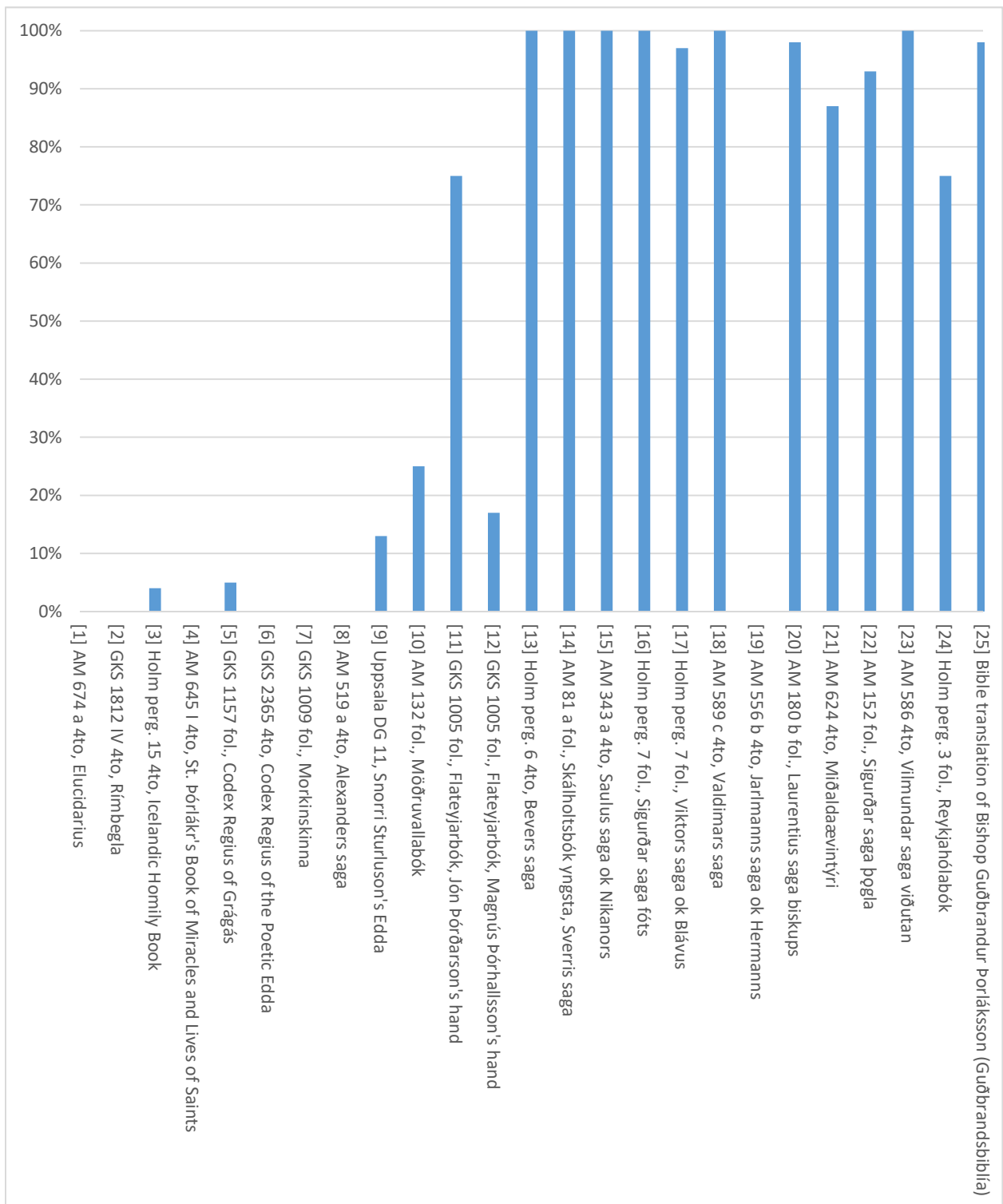


Table 4.3: Percentages of forms of the independent definite article represented with word-initial *h*- sorted by source.

It must be considered that the use of forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* were being used in the spoken language before they were represented in the orthography. Hence, it would seem logical to suppose that use of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* was already in use at least minutely before its first appearance in [3] Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, at around 1200. It would seem safe to conclude that at least by 1199, the independent definite article was sometimes phonetically expressed with word-initial *h-*. During the later part of the 13th century, the independent definite article was never spelled with word-initial *h-*, except for [3] GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, where it still only occurs 5% of the time with word-initial *h-* and a single occurrence in [4] AM 645 I 4to, *St. Þorlákr's Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints*. Hence it can be seen that while the practice of affixing *h-* to the independent definite article was somewhat employed during the 13th century, it was largely avoided in writing. It may be that this was a stylistic choice to represent orthographically the phonetic reality of the scribe of [3] GKS 1157 fol. or that it was unconscious errata on the part of the scribe by allowing their own spoken language to slip into their spelling. This is, however, unknown and beyond the purview of this study, but the scarcity of occurrences that bear word-initial *h-* combined with the paucity of any diagnostic features that might indicate an inciting environment for the change may be read as possible evidence for a general change that is more realised phonetically but rarely represented orthographically. Hence, the particular scribe of GKS 1157 fol. may have been more prone to accurately representing the phonetic reality of his spoken language than his contemporaries, but he more than likely forewent to do so more often than not. See chapter 5 for a more in depth discussion of [3] GKS 1157 fol. in particular.

By the 14th century, the representation of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* is far more widespread. The sources examined in this study ranged from 13% to 75% of the forms of the independent definite article represented with word-initial *h-*. The case of [11] and [12] GKS 1005 fol., *Flateyjarbók*, is especially enlightening as it reveals that

roughly contemporary scribes could vary drastically in how faithfully they represented the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*. Magnús Þórhallsson [12], whom Pagani (2015, 4, 10, 45-47, 66-68) considers the elder more conservative of the two scribes, displaying a more conservative spelling of the independent definite article (17%), while Jón Þórðarson [11], whom Pagani considers the younger more innovative scribe displays a more radical shift towards forms of the independent definite article spelled with word-initial *h-* (75%). This would suggest that orthographic tradition and training in different schools may have been a factor in the orthographic representation of the independent definite article, but that, however, even contemporaries were somewhat inconsistent in their representation of word-initial *h-*, whether this is purely orthographic or whether it represents a phonetic reality is unclear given the present study.

By the 15th century, forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* had become the norm, and forms spelled without word-initial *h-* were rare. This is with the single exception of [19] AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*, with not a single instance of the independent definite article represented with word initial *h-*. It certainly would seem a peculiarity for a single scribe, writing at the end of the 15th century, when all his contemporaries now represent the independent definite article almost exclusively with word-initial *h-*, to still retain no trace of word-initial *h-* phonetically leading to the persuasion that this is the result of meticulously faithful copying of a source that predated the tendency to represent word-initial *h-*, or that this is a deliberate archaicism on the part of the scribe, but the possibility of a dialectal variant should not be discounted altogether. More research will be needed into the hand of this scribe and into contemporary hands. The presence of a single instance of the independent definite article spelled without word-initial *h-* in [17] Holm perg. 7 fol., *Viktors saga ok Blávus*, however, reveals that the practice of employing a now archaic orthography was not entirely unique to [19] AM 556 b 4to.

The 16th century sees a rise in forms of the independent definite article represented without word-initial *h-*. Rare and sporadic, forms of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-* however do occur in every source dating from the 16th century except [23] AM 586 4to, *Vilmundar saga viðutan*, which has only eighteen instances of the independent definite article, making it the smallest sample size from this period. In comparison to the other sources dating from the 16th century, however, [24] Holm perg. 3 fol., *Reykjahólabók*, still stands out. While the other sources range from 87%, 93%, 98% (twice), and 100%, [24] Holm perg. 3 fol. has merely 75% of its forms of the independent definite article spelled with word-initial *h-*. This may be read as an indication that now archaic forms of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-* may be more stylistic and orthographic than representative and a phonetic reality. The fact that forms without word-initial *h-* are also frequently spelled with the older vowel “e” while forms with word-initial *h-* never are may also be read as an archaic orthographic feature in accordance with orthographic representation in the 13th and 14th centuries.

From the very beginning of the 13th century, the independent definite article was probably affixed with word-initial *h-* at least sporadically. Whether this was a more widespread change or confined to a relative few, and whether this was more widespread in the language of the affected or more confined is unknown. What is known is that by the beginning of the 13th century the independent definite article was occasionally represented orthographically with word-initial *h-*. It remained rare, however, to represent the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*, until the 14th century, when more and more instances of the independent definite article were represented with word-initial *h-*. By the 15th and 16th centuries, it had become common to spell the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* and rare not to. Occasionally, however, the independent definite article was represented without word-initial *h-*, and in [19] AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*, and in [24] Holm perg. 3 fol., *Reykjahólabók*, this archaicism is much greater. While forms of the independent

definite article were typically spelled with word-initial *h-*, presumably representing a phonetic reality, archaic forms without word-initial *h-* were still in use quite late, presumably an orthographic archaicism.

5. Conclusion

The definite article *inn*, *in*, *it*, could be cliticized if the head was a substantive, but when the head was an adjective, it was normally independent standing before the head (Faarlund 2004, 56-59). Two conflicting theories exist as to the origin of the definite article: the two-source theory is that the definite article *inn*, *in*, *it*, developed independently from the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*, *hin*, *hitt*, from the Proto-Indo-European stem **e-no-*, whence also English *yon*, Gothic *jains*, Dutch *gene*, to name a few cognates; while the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*, *hin*, *hitt*, developed from the Proto-Indo-European stem **k̑e-eno-*, whence also Greek (ἐ)κεῖνος ‘that’ (Pokorny 1959, 319-320 [*eno-*], 609 [*k̑o-*, *k̑e-*]). The one-source theory is that the definite article *inn*, *in*, *it*, developed from the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*, *hin*, *hitt*, and lost word-initial *h-* due to sentential lack of stress. Either way, by the 12th century, the definite article was represented by *inn*, *in*, *it*, without word-initial *h-*. By the 16th century, however, *inn*, *in*, *it* had become *hinn*, *hin*, *hið*, formally distinct from the demonstrative pronoun *hinn*, only in the neuter nominative accusative singular.

In 12th century and into the 13th, in Icelandic, the independent definite article was consistently represented without word-initial *h-*. As early as 1200, however, Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, shows forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*. Word-initial *h-* remains largely unrepresented throughout the 13th century, however, with AM 645 I 4to, *St Þorlákr’s Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints*, having only one instance with word-initial *h-* out of 320 instances of the independent definite article, leading to the conclusion that a more general phonetic reality of word-initial *h-* must have been largely

unrepresented orthographically. A closer examination of GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, fails to return a diagnostically inciting environment for the acquisition of word-initial *h-*, leading to the conclusion that this shift must have been a more general change, rather than environmentally specific. The 14th century sees a pronounced rise in the representation of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*, yet GKS 1005 fol., *Flateyjarbók*, with its two scribes and their distinctive hands shows that representation of word-initial *h-* could differ by scribe. By the 15th century, forms of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-* seem to have died out, except for AM 556 b 4to, *Jarlmanns saga ok Hermanns*, with eleven instances of the independent definite article without word-initial *h-* and not one with. The 16th century sees a number of sources that represent the independent definite article without word-initial *h-*, but Holm perg. 3 fol., *Reykjahólabók*, is the most pronounced. By the end of the 16th century, though rare and by now archaic, the independent definite article could still be represented without word-initial *h-*. The phonetic change must have begun quite early, as the evidence taken from Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book*, AM 645 I 4to, *St Þorlákr's Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints*, and GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, attests, yet it remained largely unattested orthographically. The practice of orthographically representing the independent definite article without word-initial *h-* also survived much longer than the presumed phonetic change. The general nature of the change and the disparity even among the contemporary scribes of GKS 1005 fol., *Flateyjarbók*, speak to the sporadic nature of the orthographic representation and the gradual nature of the change.

It is beyond the scope of the current study to examine each source in close detail, or to speculate as to possible triggers for the change from *h-*less forms of the independent definite article to forms with word-initial *h-*, but special attention has been paid to GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*. This text, dating from around 1250, is one of the earliest manuscripts examined in this paper. With 93 leaves, it is one of the larger texts; with 666

instances of the definite article, a representational pool is possible. While 5% of those forms have word-initial *h-*, the change is in its early stages, but already more progressed than either Holm perg. 15 4to, *Icelandic Homily Book* at 3% or AM 645 I 4to, *St. Þorlákr's Book of Miracles and Lives of Saints*, with only 0.3%. GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, is a fine example for possible environmental factors that may have acted as inciting catalysts for the change from *h*-less forms of the independent definite article to forms with word-initial *h-*.

A number of criteria were examined for GKS 1157 fol., including comparative and superlative adjectival heads, relative positions, positions of apposition, and the predicate of the copula. Often the only way to tell the difference between the demonstrative pronoun and the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* is context. In example (42a) *hina ellifu* could equally well be rendered as *ina ellifu* ‘the eleven’. The reading of *hina ellifu*, however, as ‘these other eleven’ does make a sort of sense, given the context. It is such instances where a simple definite form is expected but a more emphatic or contrastive demonstrative form may be desired that might be seen as a possible environment to trigger the shift of *h*-less forms of the independent definite article to forms with word-initial *h-*, as the extra emphatic form of the demonstrative corresponds with the contrastive semantics of the sentence.

(42) a. komu at þeim bræðrum .xi. menn ok sattu at þeim. lauk sua þeirra viðskiptum at þeir bræðr tueur sigruðu **hina** ellifu. (AM 132 fol., *Möðruvallabók* 126rb33).

‘Came at the brothers eleven men and attacked them. Their encounter resulted so that the two brothers overcame **the** eleven.’

The above passage illustrates an environment where a contrastive emphatic force is desired for the definite marker, *i.e.* *hina* can be read as a definite marker that carries emphatic and/or contrastive force.

A hypothesis used in this study was that the comparative and superlative adjective heads were another such environment when a more emphatic and/or contrastive form of the definite marker may be desired. The comparative, by its very nature, is contrastive, as the claim *inn stórri* ‘the greater’ implicitly claims the existence of *inn minni* ‘the lesser’. The hypothesis was that in such an environment that was already semantically contrastive, a stronger, more contrastive form of the definite marker may be desirable and so the form *hinn*, with its added force of ‘this other’ might be used. This is, however, not what we find.

There is a pronounced preference for adjectival heads rather than substantive heads, which is not surprising (see 2.3 for more on this). Ten instances of substantive heads against 656 instances of adjectival heads (98%). Of these 656 instances of the independent definite article with an adjectival head, 33 instances have word-initial *h-* (5%) while 623 instances of the independent definite article with an adjectival head are without word-initial *h-* (95%). Of these 656 instances of adjectival heads, 397 are positive, 91 are comparative and 172 are superlative. Of the 397 instances of the independent definite article with a positive adjectival head, 22 have word-initial *h-* (5%), the exact same ratio as the overall percentage of instances of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-*. Of the 91 instances of the independent definite article with a comparative adjective pronoun, only five have word-initial *h-* (5%)—again, hardly diagnostic. Of the 172 instances of the independent definite article with a superlative adjectival head, only six have word-initial *h-*, a mere 2% of the total instances of the independent definite article with a superlative adjectival head.

The other environments examined in this study were apposition, relative position and predicate of the copula. Apposition occurs when a predicate describes a head without the copula, as in examples (2a-b). The relative position is here confined to when the independent definite article immediately followed a relative pronoun as in example (2c). The predicate of the copula is confined to when the independent definite article is immediately followed by the copula as in example (2d). Each of these environments modifies a referent already

modified in the sentence, and so it is hypothesised to have an extra emphatic and/or contrastive force that might act as an inciting environment for the definite marker.

- (2)
- a. Oláfr **inn** hælgi (GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, 219713)
‘Olaf **the** holy’
 - b. iola dag **inn** fyrsta (GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, 102817)
‘Christmas day, **the** first’
 - c. þeir scolo man fa or þingi hverio **eno** forna. (GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, 107220)
‘They shall receive a man from the assembly which [is] **the** former’
 - d. Þat er **et** .vii. (GKS 1157 fol., *Codex Regius of Grágás*, 114418)
‘That is **the** seventh’

The hypothesis was that since all of these heads modify referents that are also modified elsewhere in the phrase, particularly those where the other modifiers stood in close proximity to the head, a more emphatic and/or contrastive form for the definite marker would be desired. While a slight preference for forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h-* may emerge, the margin is much too thin to be diagnostic.

There are 127 instances of apposition, nineteen of the independent definite article in relative position, and sixteen of the predicate of the copula. Of the 127 instances of apposition, only four have word-initial *h-* (4%), which is lower than the overall ratio of *h-*less forms to forms with word-initial *h-*. Of the nineteen instances of the independent definite article in relative position, three have word-initial *h-*, which constitutes 16%, but is such a small sample size as to be undiagnostic. Of the sixteen instances of the predicate of the copula, two have word-initial *h-*, which is 13%, but is an even smaller sample size than the relative, and is statistically insignificant.

With the absence of any identified environmental factors that may have triggered the shift from *h*-less forms of the independent definite article to forms with word-initial *h*-, it must be supposed that this represents a more general shift. The occurrences of forms of the independent definite article with word-initial *h*- is sporadic and irregular. While this is only one source, it is an important source from a crucial point in the change and may be seen as somewhat representative of the beginning of the change.

As noted above, a study more comprehensive than the scope of this paper is required to examine possible environmental factors for the acquisition of word-initial *h*- by the independent definite article. It is left to future research to identify any environmental factors that may or may not have had an effect on the acquisition of word-initial *h*- by the independent definite article. It has been the goal of this paper to examine the development of the independent definite article through the 12th to 16th centuries, and to register instances of word-initial *h*-, it is left to future research as to possible causes.

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