On the dative singular *-u* ending in monosyllabic strong feminine *ō*-stem substantives in Old Icelandic

An overview and longitudinal study

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September 2018

Table of Contents

Abstract

The dative singular ending form of monosyllabic strong feminine $\bar{o}$-stem substantives in Modern Icelandic is typically a null, or zero, ending, where there was at a much earlier stage a -*u* ending. This archaic dative singular -*u* ending was already on the decline in Old Icelandic but can still be seen at this time in select lexical items. The transition from the archaic -*u* ending to the null ending in monosyllabic strong feminine $\bar{o}$-stem substantives took place during the development from Old to Modern Icelandic. The dative singular -*u* endings decline began before any texts that remain intact today were produced and can be seen in its infrequent use throughout Icelandic literature, with this archaic ending still occasionally appearing today in fixed phrases and poetic language.

This work examines which specific monosyllabic strong feminine $\bar{o}$-stem substantives are known to have appeared in Old Icelandic with the archaic dative singular -*u* ending and provides direct evidence of these appearances. Special attention is paid to evidence of lexical items appearing in direct variation with the opposing dative singular endings. This work then examines the time frame of monosyllabic strong feminine $\bar{o}$-stem substantives and the dative singular ending form transition from the -*u* to null ending in *Jónsbók* manuscripts and one printed edition ranging from the 13th to 16th century.

Ágrip

Í nútímaíslensku er endingarform sterkra einatkvæðis kvenkyns $\bar{o}$-stofna nafnorða í þágufalli eintölu er venjulega engin, þau eru endingarlaus, en þau voru áður fyrr með -*u* endingu. Þessi forna -*u* ending í þágufalli eintölu fór þó minnkandi í forníslensku en finnst ennþá í ákveðnum

orðum. Umbreytingin frá gömlu -*u* endingunni til engrar endingar í sterkum einatkvæðis kvenkyns *ō*-stofna nafnorðum fór fram þegar íslenska þróaðist úr forníslensku í nútímaíslensku. Minnkun á notkun -*u* endingum í þágufalli eintölu hófst áður en nokkur rit sem til eru í dag voru skrifuð og er sjaldgæf í íslenskum bókmenntum, með þessari fornu endingu sem kemur stundum ennþá fram í dag í ákveðnum orðasamböndum og ljóðum.

Þetta verk rannsakar ákveðin sterk einatkvæðis kvenkyns *ō*-stofna nafnorð sem vitað er að voru notuð í forníslensku með gömlu -*u* endingunni í þágufalli eintölu og gefur bein sönnunargögn um tilvist þeirra. Sérstök áhersla er lögð á vísbendingar um framkomu mismunandi afbrigða orða en þeirra með aðrar þágufalls eintölu endingar. Þetta verk rannsakar einnig tímabilið sem sterk einatkvæða kvenkyns *ō*-stofna nafnorð og ending þeirra í þágufalli eintölu þróaðist úr -*u* endingu í enga í *Jónsbók* og einni prentaðri útgáfu sem nær allt yfir þrettándu og sextándu öld.

Acknowledgments

List of abbreviations

acc.	accusative
dat.	dative
gen.	genitive
Go.	Gothic
ind.	indicative
inst.	intramental
masc.	masculine
mid.	middle
nom.	nominative
PGmc.	Proto-Germanic
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
plur.	plural
pres.	present
PrN	Proto-Norse
sing.	singular
OS	Old Saxon
OHG	Old High German
OE	Old English
ON	Old Norse

1. Introduction

In Old Icelandic, the feminine dative singular ending in monosyllabic strong $\bar{o}$-stem substantives presented as both a *-u* and null. Examples of this duality of ending forms can be seen in the following lexical items: *jǫrð* 'earth' (*jǫrðu/jǫrð)*, *hel* 'death' (*helju/hel*), and *sól* 'sun' (*sólu/sól*). The dat. sing. ending *-u* in monosyllabic strong $\bar{o}$-stem substantives is considered by scholars to be an archaism, with the younger null ending continuing to gain ground in the steady march into Modern Icelandic. This development is not well documented or completely understood and would benefit from more meticulous study. This thesis aims to gather and present data to promote further understanding of the morphological change in Old Icelandic from the archaic ending *-u* to null, as observed in monosyllabic strong feminine $\bar{o}$-stem substantivess.

Chapter two will provide an outline of what is already known about this inflectional class. Following a brief overview of modern understanding of the dat. sing. ending in monosyllabic strong feminine $\bar{o}$-stem substantives the dominant theories on this morphological development will be presented and discussed, and the history of the form examined with particular help from Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir's 2007 paper, *The Dative Singular of $\bar{o}$-Stems in Old Norse*, as well as some of the standard handbooks. A brief discussion of those lexical items not included in this work will be included following this.

Chapter three will introduce the lexical items specified in the handbooks as having appeared in the dat. sing. with the archaic *-u* ending, collected and compiled into a more comprehensive and accessible list. This collection of lexical items is examined further through a search of each item as it appears in the online resource *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose — Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog*, found at http://onp.ku.dk/, to provide information on the

status of the dat. sing. ending of the monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives. This examination will lead to a more refined list of lexical items, supported by direct evidence as having appeared with the ending -*u* in Old Icelandic.

Chapter four will look at the development of the dat. sing. ending in monosyllabic strong ō-stem feminine substantives from a longitudinal perspective through the transmission of the lawbook *Jónsbók*. Iceland has a rich and well documented legal history, beginning in 930 with the creation of the Icelandic parliament (Schulman 2010). After Iceland lost independence to Norway in 1262-1264, the king of Norway, Magnús Hákonarsson, revised Norwegian law to be more suitable for Iceland, and by 1281 the legal text *Jónsbók* was introduced and adopted in Iceland (Schulman 2010). Since its introduction in 1281, *Jónsbók*, by virtue of its importance as a central legal code, has been copied extensively throughout the centuries and, consequently, survived in numerous manuscripts and later printed editions. Evidence of *Jónsbók's* many surviving copies is easily demonstrated through a quick search on handrit.is, a site which provides access to hundreds of years' worth of historical manuscripts.

For this longitudinal study eight manuscripts, ranging in date from 1281 to 1449 and one printed edition from 1578 were consulted. The data collected is presented and analyzed in this fourth chapter. The manuscripts and printed edition of *Jónsbók* consulted were copied, and printed in the case of the printed edition, in Iceland for an Icelandic audience. They offer samples of the language of the scribe at the time each of the manuscripts was copied and of the editor at the time of the printed edition, and through affiliation the language of the Icelandic population at the time as well. By comparing the form the dat. sing. monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantive ending takes at the different times these manuscripts and printed edition represent in Icelandic's linguistic history, a better understanding of the time frame

surrounding the morphological change from the archaic -*u* ending to null ending can hopefully be established.

The goals of this work were first, to collect and present an overview of the scholarship on strong monosyllabic feminine *ō*-stem substantives and the dat. sing. forms they take. Second, to collect a more complete list of lexical items that present the dat. sing. ending -*u*, and to locate primary sources and direct instances of this form in use. Finally, to take a diachronic view of the dat. sing. -*u* ending and create a timeframe showing the development of this morpheme, from archaic -*u* to a null ending, in the history of Icelandic.

To achieve these goals, the following research questions guided this study. The overarching question was that in (1).

(1) What was the fate of the ending -*u* in the dat. sing. for monosyllabic strong feminine *ō*-stem substantives?

This overarching question was further focused through the three following questions:

(2) a. Which lexical items retained the dat. sing. -*u* ending in Old Icelandic?

  b. When was the archaic -*u* form replaced by the null form?

  c. Why was the ending preserved in these lexical items?

2. Prehistory of the dat. sing. ending forms

2.1 Status within Modern Icelandic

Scholarship on monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives agrees that these lexical items previously had the dat. sing. *-u* ending, an ending which was already rare in Old Icelandic and continued to become more archaic as time passed. This section will provide a brief overview of what previous scholars have had to say on the topic and the status of the ending form in Modern Icelandic through the examination of two modern works on Icelandic language and grammar.

Stefán Einarsson's 1949 grammar of modern Icelandic, *Icelandic: grammar, texts, glossary*, divides strong feminine ō-stem substantives into three main categories (Stefán Einarsson 1949, 38-39):

1. Those with the gen. sing. ending *-ar* and gen. pl. ending *-ar*

2. Those with the gen. sing. ending *-ar* and gen. pl. ending *-ir*

3. Those with the gen. sing. ending *-ar* (*-ur*, *-ir*) and gen. pl. ending *-ur* (*-ir*)

The second category is credited as possessing the most lexical items, some of which infrequently take the archaic *-u* ending in the dat. sing. and sometimes acc. sing. (Stefán Einarsson 1949, 40). The single lexical item *sól* 'sun' is provided as an example of lexical items of this category which Stefán Einarsson found to infrequently appear with a dat. and/or acc. sing. *-u* ending. He also notes that this archaic form is more commonly found in poetic language.

In *Málið á Ævisögu Jóns Steingrímssonar*, Jóhannes B. Sigtryggsson (2011) examines the language of the autobiography of Jón Steingrímsson which was written between 1778 and 1791

and provides a sample of the Icelandic language during the end of the 18th century. Jóhannes B. Sigtryggsson (2011, 124-125) says that strong feminine ō-stem substantives, in Old Icelandic, sometimes take the archaic dat. sing. form, but goes on to note that even in Old Icelandic this form was rare and in Modern Icelandic it has become even less common. For feminine *i*-stem substantives Jóhannes B. Sigtryggsson writes that items of this type typically take the dat. sing. null ending in both Old and Modern Icelandic but can sometimes be found with the *-u* ending instead (2011, 131). Specific to his observations of the language of Jón Steingrímssons autobiography, and through association the language of 18th century Iceland, Jóhanness B. Sigtryggsson found that monosyllabic strong feminine substantives of the plain ō-stem type appeared only with the dat. sing. null ending and not the archaic *-u* ending (2011, 125).

Stefán Einarsson's grammar and Jóhannes B. Sigtryggsson's detailed examination of the language represented through a singular work of the 18th century are examples of the current understanding of the dat. sing. ending in monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives. More precisely that this morphological form was previously a *-u* ending, can sometimes in archaic or poetic language still appear as the –u ending, but in current regular use is a null ending.

2.2 History and development

In her paper *The Dative Singular of ō-stems in Old-Norse*, 2007, Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir provides an overview of the history of the monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantive dat. sing. forms, organizing and discussing the prominent theories that have been put forth on the topic, as well as providing her own insightful conclusions. Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir goes so far as to call finding an explanation for the varying *-u* and null forms in this inflectional class the "most

elusive problem" in the history of North Germanic thematic feminine inflection (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 329).

The first prominent theory discussed by Guðrún is that of the Indo-European instrumental as the origin for the dative forms of Old Saxon, Old High German, and Old Norse. With a dat. sing. ending -*u* in Old Saxon *gebu*, Old High German *gebu*, and Proto-Norse **gebu* 'gift', a shared origin is a natural and easy conclusion (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 330). The shared origin, in this theory, is the Proto-Germanic **-ō* from Proto-Indo-European inst. sing. **-ah$_2$h$_1$* (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 330). The simplicity of this theory makes it particularly appealing. But this theory fails to account for some factors, making it a less than perfect history for the dat. sing. ending -*u* in Old Icelandic strong monosyllabic feminine substantives. With the Indo-European instrumental, it would be expected for the Proto-Norse ending **-u* to be syncopated during the development from Proto-Norse to Old Norse (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 330), and therefore syncopated in Old Icelandic as well.

This problem is illustrated by examples provided by Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir (2007, 330), as seen in the development of the nom. sing. ending of the *ō*-stem substantives, as in PrN **gebu* > ON *gjǫf* 'gift', and the 1 sing. present indicative, PGmc. **-ō* > PrN **-u* > ON *-∅*, as seen in Runic Norse *gibu* and ON *gef* 'I give'. The PrN **-u* ending, in regard to the 1st person sing., only survived into ON in the middle voice, where the enclitic pronoun shielded the final vowel from syncope, 1st sing. pres. ind. mid. **kǫllu-mik* > *kǫllu-mk* 'I am called' (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 330). A theory based on the Proto-Indo-European instrumental as the source of the monosyllabic strong feminine *ō*-stem substantive dat. sing. ending can account for the null ending but fails in accounting for the -*u* ending.

The explanation was made that analogical restoration of the PrN **-u* had occurred in chronological stages (Van Helten 1910, 455). First, the loss of -*u* following long syllables,

coupled with the restoration of -*u* with long-stemmed $\bar{o}$-stems. Second, the loss of the -*u* after short syllables, there again the -*u* being analogically restored. The necessity of this restoration is explained as a means in which the surviving -*u* ending was presented to promote the distinction between the dative and nominative cases (Krause 1971, 88).

There are, as pointed out by Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir, several weaknesses to this theory. Foremost is the reliance on a later restoration of the ending -*u* to be made plausible. Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir (2007, 331) succinctly identifies the problems as such; first, the nom. and dat. sing. have shared an identical form for a long period of time, challenging the reasoning that the language was in need of morphological distinction between the two cases. Second, this restoration of the dat. sing. *-*u* would have been taking place as the $\bar{o}$-stem, *i*-stem, and consonant stem items were paradigmatically merging and becoming more similar, not more distinct (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 331).

Another prominent origin theory is based on the Indo-European dative as a source for the dat. sing. form of the $\bar{o}$-stems. Under this theory, the dative ending is expected to surface as a PGmc. long diphthong which is shortened, resulting in the dat. sing. $\bar{o}$-stem ending in Gothic and Old English dat. sing. ending, PIE diphthong *ah_2-*ei* > *-$\bar{a}i$ > PGmc. *- $\bar{o}i$ > *-*oi* > *-*ai* > Go. -*ai,* OE -*e* (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 331). The Old Norse ending -*u* has also been traced back to the Indo-European dative. Hesselman (1913, 60-4) proposed phonological shortening of the PGmc. diphthong *- $\bar{a}\underset{\smile}{i}$ > *- *ai* followed by analogical lengthening from other singular forms at the time, which all contained an $\bar{a}$ in their endings, as well as from the masculine *a*-stem endings, which are characterized in the singular paradigm as having an *o.* Syrett (1994, 116-8) also drew on the Indo-European dative in his account of the ending -*u*. Syrret's proposal called for the restoration of the dat. sing. ending *- $\bar{o}i$, which then underwent

raising, creating *-*ūi*, before the loss of the *i*. This resulted in the PrN *-*ū* which would go on to become the Old Norse -*u* ending.

Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir (2007, 332) points out that both Hesselman and Syrett fail to account for the derivation of the ON ending -*u* from the Indo-European dative in a completely satisfactorily way. Each rely on analogical change and propose weakly supported steps to get from the origin to the contemporary form. Guðrún makes the positive note that both Hesselman and Syrett make two important observations, that the -*u* was the genuine ending for dat. sing. *ō*-stem lexical class, and that "this could have developed phonologically from a Proto-Norse *-*ō* or *-*ū*" (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 332).

A third explanation on the origins of the dat. sing. forms of the *ō*-stems is proposed by Boutkan (1995, 228). His proposal is, that the ending -*u* was the secondary ending, analogically transferred through the influence of the feminine *n*-stems, such as *saga* 'story', to better distinguish the dative from other cases. Boutkan begins the ending -*u* in the personal feminine names following this paradigm. Guðrún is quick to point out that analogical transfer from the *n*-stems is unlikely due to the known distribution of the -*u* and -∅ endings in the *ō*-stem substantives, as well as this theory not allowing enough time for the analogical transfer to function properly. It is also highly unlikely that the null ending preceded the ending -*u* in the development of this paradigm based on the distribution of the endings (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 333-4).

Guðrún shows the lack of scholarly consensus on the origins of the dat. sing. forms of monosyllabic strong *ō*-stems in Old Norse. Many possibilities have been proposed with three theories outlined above. An origin with the Indo-European instrumental, the Indo-European dative, and late analogical transfer, all with their own merits and failings. If the null ending of the dat. sing. had developed phonologically from the Indo-European instrumental the

motivation pushing the change from the dat. sing. -*u* to null ending is not sufficiently explained, PIE inst. sg. *-*ah₂h₁* > PGmc. *-*ō* > Pr.-N. *-*u* > ON -∅ (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 334). The second theory, based on the Indo-European dative, requires one to believe that the PIE dat. sing. *-*ah₂ei* resulted in two separate endings in ON. The third explanation, analogical transference from the *n*-stem paradigm, is poorly supported by chronological evidence as well as the distribution of the endings -*u* and -∅ (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 334).

In light of these inadequate explanations, Guðrún proposes a fourth solution to explain the *ō*-stems dat. sing. ending forms and distribution, attempting to side-step the failings of previously proposed origins. The distribution of the variants demonstrates that the inherited ending of the *ō*-stem dat. sing. is -*u*, while the null ending is a later transfer from the *i*-stem paradigm (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 335). Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir keeps her proposal simple, using the PIE instrumental as the starting point, PIE *-*ah₂h₁* > PGmc. *-*ō*, which was then systematically shortened in Proto-Norse, more specifically the Proto-Norse *- *ū*, undergoing systematic shortening of long vowels in word final syllables (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 335). Proto-Germanic *ō*-stems, in the North Germanic branch, had a long monophthong in every ending (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 335). After word final shortening of long vowels took place this pattern changed. In the nominative this can be observed as a phonological process, nom. sing. **sakū* > **saku* > ON *sǫk*, while in the dative the development shows phonological change as well coupled with analogical transference of length (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 335-6).

In dat. sing., up until this point developing from the PIE instr. sing. *-*ah₂h₁* > PGmc. *- *ō* > *-*ū*, a purely phonological process would have resulted in a dative ending shorter than its accusative counterpart, an unprecedented pattern (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 335).

Because of this, Guðrún proposes that at this point in its development the length of the dat. sing. ending *-$\bar{u}$ was restored, dat. sing. *$laug\bar{u}$ > *$laugu$ → *$laug\bar{u}$ > ON $laugu$, through the analogical transfer of length (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 335).

This analogically lengthened *-$\bar{u}$ is preserved phonologically for centuries while other substantive classes became more systematic in their dative forms, and most substantive classes are believed to have long monophthong endings by the 6th century (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 336). Between the years 600 and 800 these long vowels were shortened:

$\bar{o}$-stem dat. sing. *-$\bar{u}$ > ON -u

a-stem dat. sing. *-$\bar{e}$ > ON -i

u-stem dat. sing. *-$\bar{\imath}$ > ON -i, etc.

The endingless dative form began to gain ground during the near merger of the $\bar{o}$-stem, i-stem, and consonant stem paradigms during Late-Proto-Norse (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2007, 336). This merging not only resulted in the transfer of the -∅ ending from the i-stems into the $\bar{o}$-stems, it accounts for the appearance of -u ending substantives in the i-stem and consonant stem classes as well, with the transfer going both ways, if not as equally strong in the different directions of transfer. This proposed history of the dat. sing. ending forms found in monosyllabic strong feminine $\bar{o}$-stem substantivess is elegant in its simplicity, merging the best of two previous theories while managing to side-step the difficulties they left unresolved.

2.3 Items not included in the study

Frequently mentioned alongside discussions of the monosyllabic strong feminine $\bar{o}$-stem substantive dat. sing. form but excluded from this study are feminine substantives which end in *-ing* or *-ung*, such as *kerling* 'old woman', *dróttning* 'mistress, queen', *lausung* 'falsehood, loose

life', and *verðung* 'kings men' (Zoëga 1910). Lexical items of this type, mentioned in each handbook and discussion of the archaic ending –*u*, followed a different developmental path than the monosyllabic strong feminine substantives this work focuses on. While both the monosyllabic strong feminine substantives and the feminine –*ing/–ung* ending substantives went through the process of leveling, with their dat. and acc. sing. forms becoming identical, rather than –*u* ending loss in dat. sing., –*ing* and –*ung* ending items not only maintained but expanded the productivity of this ending in the dat. sing. In its development to Modern Icelandic, the ending –*u* went so far as to spread into the acc. sing. form as well. This follows a common pattern in Icelandic, where the majority of feminine substantives classes the dat. and acc. sing. forms are identical (Wurzel 2002, 260).

This is shown in the ending declensions for the *ō*-stem, *i*-stem, and feminine substantives ending in –*ing/–ung* declensions, nom. sing. –∅ acc. sing. –∅, dat. sing. –*u*, gen. sing. –*ar*, in Old Icelandic. The –*ing/–ung* class diverged from the regular *ō*-stem and *i*-stem declensions in the development into its modern form. Where the *ō*-stem and *i*-stem items lost the dat. sing. ending –*u*, resulting in an identical acc. and dat. null form, the –*ing/–ung* items spread the ending –*u* into the acc. sing., also resulting in an identical acc. and dat. sing. form (Wurzel 2002, 260).

The preservation of the dat. sing. –*u*, as well as its spread into the acc. sing., is a well-documented phenomenon, the ending –*u* having spread into the acc. sing. in Old Icelandic, especially in –*ing* ending items (Noreen 1923, 124). The tendency in the dat. and acc. sing. tendency towards assimilation is affirmed, with the majority of –*ing* ending feminine items taking the ending –*u* in the dat. and acc. sing. by the 16th century (Noreen 1923, 125). In some cases these items can also be see taking the null ending in both the dat. and acc. sing., showing its leaning towards identical forms (Noreen 1923, 125).

Oskar Bandle's, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblía. Orthographie und Laute, Formen*, is an in depth look at the language of *Guðbrandsbiblía* from 1584, the first complete printed Icelandic translation of the Bible. Bandle (1956, 214) provides four paradigms for feminine substantives: *laug*, *skál*, *á*, and *eptirlíking*. Of these, *skál* and *eptirlíking* show the ending *-u* in the dat. sing. declension, and only the *-ing* ending item *eptirlíking* had the ending *-u* in both the dat. and acc. sing (Bandle 1956, 214). In *Guðbrandsbiblía* Bandle found that the majority of *-ing* and *-ung* ending feminines took the *-u* form in the dat. sing., with some also taking it in the acc. sing. as well (Bandle 1956, 216). Because of this clear divergence in the paradigmatic development between monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives and the feminine substantives ending in *-ing/-ung,* these items have been excluded from this study.

Also excluded from this study are feminine proper nouns, including women's names and feminine place names. Similar to the *-ing/-ung* items, proper nouns not only maintained the dat. sing. ending *-u* but spread this form to the acc. sing. as well. Proper nouns and common nouns are also distinct subgroups of the larger substantive category. Due to this they often function differently grammatically and are therefore treated separately. This includes the womens names *Katrín, Kristín,* and *Margrét*, as well as those feminine names ending in *-bjǫrg*, *-laug*, *-rún*, *-veig*, and *-vǫr*, which also tend to have the *-u* ending in the acc. sing. as well (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2016, 275).

3. Status within Old Icelandic

3.1 Methodology and overview

The following chapter presents data collected from the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose — Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog*, which has an online database available at http://onp.ku.dk/, and will be subsequently abbreviated as ONP. The ONP is a dictionary built from a selection of excerpts

collected by editors from the Old Norse literary corpus. The practice of excerpting is, by its nature, a selective process. The resulting dictionary is not a complete collection and cannot be relied upon to quantifiably represent the entirety of the Old Norse language as a true corpus would. The samples included in the ONP were chosen based on the discretion of editors, and therefore must be assumed to reflect in some degree the imprecision of human discretion. Despite its lack of exhaustive abilities, the ONP provides an extensive sampling of Old Icelandic, making it a tool which allows for a thorough examination of the language. In this small study it has been employed to better the understanding of strong feminine $\bar{o}$-stem substantives in the dat. sing. form, specifically in the understanding of which lexical items can be attested as appearing with the dat. sing. -*u* form, as well as providing information on the environments in which this ending form is used.

The data presented below is gathered exclusively from the ONP and ranges in date from the 12th to 18th centuries. In the collection of this data the ONP advanced wordlist search function was used to search each lexical item proposed by the before mentioned handbooks as appearing with the dat. sing. ending -*u* in Old Icelandic. Applicable findings from this search were then compiled. This includes, for each lexical item, the total number of appearances of the item, including all cases and numbers, the number of appearances with the dat. sing. -*u* ending, and appearances with the dat. sing. definite article, both with and without the -*u* ending in combination with the definite article. These numeric findings can be found in *Tables 1* and *2* below. And while this data does not offer statistic results it does reveal which monosyllabic feminine substantive items have evidence in the ONP as appearing with archaic the dat. sing. -*u* ending, as well as providing a basic overview of what items appeared more or less frequently with this archaic ending and in which context. Due to the limited nature of this study instances of the items with the dat. sing. null ending were not recorded and so the ratio of dat. sing. -*u*

ending to null ending is not analyzed in this work. This aspect of the monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives dat. sing. inflection was not considered in this work because the ONP is not a corpus and therefore cannot be used to provide statistical information on the ratio of dat. sing. -*u* ending to null ending forms. As the purpose of this chapter is primarily to record and establish the relevant lexical items more exhaustively than the previous literature has done, the statistical analysis of -*u* ending to null ending ratio in monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives in the dat. sing. is left to future researchers.

Following the numeric data is a presentation of each item which was found to have the -*u* ending, including the -*u* + definite article form, in the ONP. Five of these instances were chosen to best reflect the entirety of the data; showing date range, common environments, and any instances of particular interest, and are featured below the lexical item. For items which have seven or fewer appearances with the dat. sing. -*u* ending all instances are presented.

The presented samples appear in the original orthography cited by the ONP and are not normalized to align with Classical Old Icelandic orthographic standards. Most notably this manifests as the dat. sing. -*u* appearing as its orthographic variations "u", "v", or "o", as well as the definite article appearing as "nni", "nne", "ɴi", or "ɴe". These orthographic variations do not contribute to the understanding of the research questions approached in this study and can be ignored. The choice to maintain the medieval orthography as it appears in the ONP rather than normalization was made in consideration of time along with the large number of examples presented.

3.2 Findings from the ONP

This section will present an overview of which items resulted in a positive search and which items did not show any examples of the dat. sing. -*u* ending within the ONP database. Following

this presentation of examples of those items which produced instances on the dat. sing. *-u*. Finally, this information will be considered in the submission of an updated and more complete list of monosyllabic strong feminine substantantives which are known to have appeared in Old Icelandic with the ending *-u* in the dat. sing. form.

The following list was compiled from the consultation of various handbooks, the most influential in the collection of monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives thought to have taken the archaic dat. sing. *-u* ending in Old Icelandic being: *Íslenzk tunga í fornöld* by Alexander Jóhannesson (1924), *Norrøn grammatikk* by Eskil Hanssen, Else Mundal, and Kåre Skadberg (1975), and *Altisländische und Altnordische Grammatik 1* by Adolf Noreen (1923). These handbooks present various lexical items as having appeared with the archaic *-u* ending without referencing primary sources or direct evidence to support their statements on lexical items appearing with the archaic ending.

In order to better inform this list, the aim of this section is to investigate these proposed items and determine which lexical items did or did not take the dat. sing. ending *-u* in Old Icelandic. The resulting list will in no way be an exhaustive representation of every strong monosyllabic ō-stem feminine substantive to ever appear in the Old Icelandic literary corpus with the ending *-u* in the dative singular. What it will do is contribute to the understanding of these items and ending, as well as gathering together a collection of primary sources with evidence of this archaic form. In this way a more accurate inventory of lexical items attested to have the dat. sing. *-u* ending in Old Icelandic can be assembled. This refined list of attested items will be presented at the end of the section, following the presentation of the ONP data and its discussion.

The list of strong monosyllabic ō-stem feminine substantives directly referenced in the consulted handbooks as having appeared with the dat. sing. *-u* form is collected below. This list

of lexical items is organized into two sub-lists, namely those items which fall into the plain *ō*-stem, *i*-stem, and consonant stem category and those which are in the *iō-/jō*-stem and *wō*-stem category. The decision to organize the lexical items in this way, rather than into lists for each of the stem types (plain *ō*-stems, *i*-stems, consonant stems, *iō-/jō*-stems, and *wō*-stems) was made because of the complex origins of many of these lexical items etymology. Classification is often difficult because of the evolving nature of language, the morphology changes over time, including which stem type a particular lexical item is understood to be a part of. Declension patterns often overlap, further complicating the classification of items based on stem type over time. An etymological *ō*-stem can adopt an *i*-stem or consonant stem plural pattern. These lists are presented below in full:

(a) plain *ō*-stems, *i*-stems, and consonant stems: *ál (ól)* 'strap', *ár* 'oar', *borg* 'stronghold', *braut* 'way', *fold* 'earth', *fǫr* 'journey', *gift (gipt)* 'gift', *grund* 'green field', *hjǫrð* 'herd', *hlið* 'side', *hurð* 'door', *hǫll* 'hall', *jǫrð* 'earth', *laut* 'hollow', *leið* 'way', *mold* 'earth', *mǫrk* 'forest', *reið* 'service', *rein* 'strip of land' *(akrrein* 'field-strip of land', *kauprein* 'bargain-strip of land', *markrein* 'token-strip of land', *tóftarein* 'homestead-strip of land'), *rǫdd* 'voice', *rǫnd* 'edge', *rǫst* 'distance, current', *sál* 'soul', *skuld* 'debt', *snót* 'gentlewoman', *spǫng* 'metal plate', *sól* 'sun', *stund* 'length of time', *strǫnd* 'coast', *stǫng* 'staff', *tǫng* 'smith's tongs', *ull* 'wool', *ván* 'hope', *verǫld* 'world', *vist* 'lodging', *þjóð* 'people', *ǫld* 'time', *ǫnd* 'breath'

(b) *iō-/jō*-stems and *wō*-stems: *dǫgg* 'dew', *egg* 'edge', *ey* 'island', *hel* 'death', *lǫgg* 'groove', *mǽr* 'maid', *rǫgg* 'tuft', *stǫð* 'place', *trygg* 'security', *vin* 'meadow', *þrǫng* 'crowd', *þý* 'bondwoman', *ǫr* 'arrow'

There is considerable overlap in these inflectional patterns, in particular in the plain *ō*-stem and *i*-stem lexical items; which, depending on the handbook, are organized into either of the two stem types. For example, items *borg* 'stronghold', *braut* 'way', *gift (gipt)* 'gift', *grund* 'green field', *mold* 'earth', *rǫdd* 'voice', *ván* 'hope', *vist* 'lodging', *þjóð* 'people', and *ǫnd* 'breath' are listed as plain *ō*-stem items in *Íslenzk tunga í fornöld* (Alexander Jóhannesson 1924) but listed as *i*-stem items in both *Norrøn grammatikk* (Eskil Hanssen, Else Mundal, and Kåre Skadberg 1975) and *Altisländische und Altnordische Grammatik 1* (Noreen 1923). Many *i*-stem lexical items descend from what were previously categorized as *ō*-stem items (Alexander Jóhannesson 1924, 204). In his handbook Alexander Jóhannesson even goes so far as to list several of the items in both the *ō*-stem and *i*-stem categories, namely *fold* 'earth', *hǫll* 'hall', *jǫrð* 'earth', *sól* 'sun', and *ǫld* 'time' are noted as being in both categories. It is due to these sometimes-overlapping lines of classification that the stem types have been grouped in the two more inclusive lists, plain *ō*-stems, *i*-stems, and consonant stems and *iō*-/*jō*-stems and *wō*-stems.

The numeric data collected from the ONP findings on each lexical item searched is presented below in *Table 1* and *Table 2* in order to facilitate efficient reading and understanding of any quantitative implications that can be drawn. These tables are strictly included to present organized data as it was collected and to allow the reader to easily access any quantitative information they might have an interest in. The ONP, as a dictionary created by human editors collecting and documenting lexical items as they see fit rather than a complete corpus, does not provide the correct platform from which to draw definite statistical conclusions and should rather be used to obtain a general overview of the lexical items in question.

plain ō-stems, i-stems, and consonant stems	total # of examples in the ONP (all case forms)	# with the dat. sing. -u ending (with no article)	# with the dat. sing. -u ending & the definite article	# with the dat. sing. null ending & definite article
ál (ól) 'strap'	11	1	0	0
ár 'oar'	74	1	0	1
borg 'stronghold'	191	0	0	15
braut 'way'	552	107	0	1
fold 'earth'	6	0	0	2
fǫr 'journey'	234	1	0	0
gift (gipt) 'gift'	55	1	0	0
grund 'green field'	48	3	4	5
hjǫrð 'herd'	71	4	0	1
hlið 'side'	34	1	0	0
hurð 'door'	113	12	11	1
hǫll 'hall'	201	0	5	28
jǫrð 'earth'	339	77	15	2
laut 'hollow'	1	0	0	0
leið 'way'	540	1	0	12
mold 'earth'	107	49	3	0
mǫrk 'forest'	130	8	0	17
reið 'service'	104	0	0	4
rein 'strip of land' (akrrein 'field-strip of land', kauprein 'bargain-strip of land', markrein 'token-strip of land', tóftarein 'homestead-strip of land')	10	0	0	0
rǫdd 'voice'	109	26	0	1
rǫnd 'border'	47	0	1	1
rǫst 'distance, current'	51	0	0	3
sál 'soul'	93	7	0	1

skuld 'debt'	178	0	0	0
snót 'gentlewoman'	2	0	0	0
spǫng 'metal plate'	20	0	0	2
sól 'sun'	213	32	6	7
stund 'length of time'	520	94	0	1
strǫnd 'coast'	53	4	2	7
stǫng 'staff'	106	2	0	8
tǫng 'smith's tongs'	33	1	1	3
ull 'wool'	33	7	1	0
ván 'hope'	398	37	0	1
verǫld 'world'	151	24	10	22
vist 'lodging'	234	0	0	0
þjóð 'people, nation'	75	7	0	0
ǫld 'time'	79	0	0	0
ǫnd 'breath'	191	11	9	3

Table 1: plain *ō*-stems, *i*-stems, and consonant stems numeric ONP findings

iō-/jō-stems and *wō*-stems	total # of examples in the ONP (all case forms)	# with the dat. sing.-u ending (with no article)	# with the dat. sing. -u ending & definite article	# with the dat. sig. null ending & definite article
dǫgg 'dew'	52	2	0	0
egg 'edge'	85	29	0	6
ey 'island'	233	11	3	13
hel 'death'	179	47	0	0
lǫgg 'groove'	22	0	0	0
mǽr 'maid'	173	8	1	0
rǫgg 'tuft'	2	0	0	0
stǫð 'place'	14	2	0	1
trygg 'security'	9	0	0	0
vin 'meadow'	0	0	0	0
þrǫng 'crowd'	60	1	2	4
þý 'bondwoman'	8	1	0	0
ǫr 'arrow'	98	20	0	1

Table 2: *iō-/jō*-stems and *wō*-stems ONP numeric findings

Based on the above findings a new list of strong feminine lexical items known to have appeared in Old Icelandic with the ending -*u* in dat. sing. has been created. This list includes those items which have been shown to have appeared at least once with the dat. sing. ending -*u*. This list is not the concluding word on which items appear with the archaic dative form and it is likely that further investigation into this topic will result in the finding of more lexical items which appear with the dat. sing. ending -*u* in Old Icelandic. This list, along with the rest of this thesis, can act as a starting line for further investigation.

Based on the findings from the ONP the list of monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives that are known to have appeared in Old Icelandic with the archaic dat. sing. -*u* ending are presented below:

(c) plain ō-stems, *i*-stems, and consonant stems: *ál (ól)* 'strap', *ár* 'oar', *braut* 'way', *fǫr* 'journey', *gift (gipt)* 'gift', *grund* 'green field', *hjǫrð* 'herd', *hlið* 'side', *hurð* 'door', *hǫll* 'hall', *jǫrð* 'earth', *leið* 'way', *mold* 'earth', *mǫrk* 'forest', *rǫdd* 'voice', *rǫnd* 'edge', *sál* 'soul', *sól* 'sun', *stund* 'length of time', *strǫnd* 'coast', *stǫng* 'staff', *tǫng* 'smith's tongs', *ull* 'wool', *ván* 'hope', *verǫld* 'world', *þjóð* 'people', *ǫnd* 'breath'

(d) iō-/jō-stems and wō-stems: *dǫgg* 'dew', *egg* 'edge', *ey* 'island', *hel* 'death', *mær* 'maid, *þrǫng* 'crowd', *þý* 'bondwoman', *ǫr* 'arrow'

3.3 On braut*, an exception to the class, and fixed phrases*

The monosyllabic strong feminine strong ō-stem *braut* 'way' is regularly found in the phrase *í braut(u)* 'on track, away', prompting a need for separate consideration from the other lexical items examined in this work. For this reason, the monosyllabic strong feminine strong ō-stem *braut* 'way', while included in the list of lexical items known to have appeared in the dat. sing. with the archaic ending -*u*, is otherwise being treated as an outlier in this study.

A brief history of *away* in English sheds some light on the development of *í braut(u)* in Icelandic. From Old English, *on weg*, literally translated as 'on the way' (Klein 1971, 135). Overtime the prepositional phrase *on weg* in Old English became a fixed expression, in Middle English is had developed into *away*, *awei*, and in Modern English *away* is decidedly an adverb understood by modern speakers as a single unit rather than the sum of two parts. A similar trajectory is followed by *í braut(u)*, developing from a prepositional phrase into an adverb. The prepositional phrase *í braut(u)* stopped being perceived by speakers of the language as a

prepositional phrase, with a distinct preposition and substantive, and began to be understood and used as an adverb in the fixed phrase (*í) braut(u)* "away", with the preposition *í* often being left of the phrase as it was written in Old Icelandic manuscripts. As a fixed phrase *í braut(u)* did not develop in the same way as the substantive *braut* 'way', favoring the archaic form to a higher degree than the substantive functioning outside the fixed expression. This is reflected in the data collected from the ONP, where *braut* 'way' was recorded 552 times in all cases and numbers, 107 of those instances with the archaic dat. sing. *-u* ending.

A fixed phrase is a phrase whose parts are, for lack of a better word, fixed in a specific order, even if the meaning could be expressed just as well with a different phrasal order. This is because the phrase becomes fixed in the speaker's lexicon, the speaker understands the phrase as a whole rather than a sum of its parts, and the fixed phrase will often have a more specific meaning than the expression literally translated. For the speaker, it becomes ungrammatical on a linguistic level to change a fixed expression and a speaker would not naturally change the order of the words or delete or swap synonyms because it would sound "wrong". Idioms are among the most recognizable fixed expressions, take for example the English idioms *piece of cake*, *cut corners*, and *on the ball* or the Icelandic idiom *algjört rassgat* 'an absolute butt'. Idioms of this type often make little sense to non-native speaker's due to their fixed nature and have to be learned as a whole rather than understood literally. In English, this results for the most part in an aversion by the speaker in changing the word order of a fixed phrase, because English has a low rates of inflectional morphology it relies heavily on word order to convey grammar. Icelandic, with a higher morpheme to word ratio than English, is less dependent on word order with signifiantly more productive case ending forms, this can be seen in the preservation of archaic ending forms past their productive lifespan in the vernacular.

Once *í braut(u)* became fixed in the language and took on a meaning greater than the sum of its parts, developing from a prepositional phrase into an adverb, its form became less susceptible to change, resulting in the preservation of the archaic dat. sing. ending *-u* far more than in other monosyllabic strong feminine *ō*-stem substantives when used in the dat. sing. in contemporary language. Other examples of fixed phrases that have preserved the dat. sing. archaic ending *-u* through this process of fixation include but are not limited to, *á góðri stundu* 'a good moment', *með hárri röddu* 'with a loud voice', *svo á jörðu sem á himni* 'so on earth as in heaven', and *í höllu Skúla jarls* 'in earl Skúli's hall' (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2016, 275-6).

3.4 A note on poetic language

Similar to fixed phrases, poetic language can encourage the preservation of archaisms within an otherwise advancing language. The fixed phrase mentioned above, *í höllu Skúla jarls* 'in earl Skuli's hall' is noted as being a poetic phrase (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2016, 276). The dat. sing. *-u* ending of monosyllabic strong feminine *ō*-stem substantives appears more frequently in poetic language (Stefán Einarsson's 1949, 40). Poetic language is distinct and separate from the standard language in various ways. Poetic langugae can have a partially separate lexicon, phraseology, and grammatical forms from the standard language (Mukařovský 2014, 42). These differences help poetic language achieve its artistic goals, setting it apart from the standard language and focusing an audiences attention.

The structure and prestigue of poetry also encourage its use of forms outside that norm of standard language, such as the dat. sing. *-u* ending found in *höllu* of *í höllu Skúla jarls* 'in earl Skúli's hall'. Poetry often follows strict rules concerning meter and diction, discouraging changes in syllable count and pronunciation. If a poem was first created with a lexical item ending in the archaic dat. sing. *-u*, the loss of this morpheme in favor of the null ending would

28

disrupt both the meter and diction. This, coupled with poetic languages aim to draw attention, makes the maintinence of an ending like the monosyllabic strong feminine $\bar{o}$-stem substantives dat. sing. -*u* ending beyond its productivity within the standard language make more sense in poetic language.

3.5 Lexical items and select ONP examples

Each lexical item which was found with the dat. sing. ending -*u* in the ONP is located below, organized first by stem type and then alphabetically, with individual instances in descending chronological order. As previously stated, individual instances from the ONP are presented in the orthography as it appears in the ONP. English glosses for the lexical items come from Zoëga's (1910) dictionary and are cross referenced against their ONP entry. Formatting of examples that display variations are shown in brackets with the variant item italicized followed by source, page[line], date. The target item with the ending -*u* is presented in bold. Sources are shown in parentheses with ONP source abbreviation, page[line], date. A more in-depth inspection of those examples which show variation between the -*u* and null ending can be found in section 3.6. Source abbreviations follow the ONP's pre-established abbreviations and can be found along with further source information on the ONP website, http://onp.ku.dk/, in the sections "bibliografi", "håndskriftregister", or "værkregister".

Plain $\bar{o}$-stems, *i*-stems, and consonant stems

    (1) ***ál*** f. 'strap'

        a. hann var i bryniu ok graám kufli ok hafði gyrðan sik með **aálu** (Stu[I]K 564[23], c1350–1370)

(2) *ár* f. 'oar'

    a.   rinda scal manne ham der forfølger drabsmanden ef vill. oc **áro** scal til sció̈ta oc austkere (Frost[x], 161[26], c1700)

(3) *fǫr* f. 'journey'

    a.   Þá var nǫkkut á **fǫru** virkit Bersa, en nú lét hann bœta virkit (Korm 259[16], c1330–1370)

(4) *gift* (gipt) f. 'gift'

    a.   Velldr ᴀɴᴀʀ æ hugi eðr nckur til felli af manna vlldum. þa ma vera at bætiz með yðᴠᴀʀi gipt [*gíptu* AM 54 fol "C1", c1375-1600] yður ok hamingia (ÞorvTÓT 94[15], c1350-1375)

(5) *grund* f. 'green field'

    a.   j. **grundu** lande (JarðKálf 47b[11], c1360)

    b.   er hann sidan teken ok brendur ut a sletri **grvndrv** at ollvm a siavndum (Æv AM 240 XV fol 2r[22], c1400-1500)

    c.   la þar þa a **grundunni** Falr daudr (Vikt 32[2], c1450-1475)

    d.   honvm synndizt alltt jafnt barnet sithia æ **grvndvnne** þangat til at hann kom ad landennv (ChrisReyk 283[30], c1530-1540)

    e.   leikvr sier nidr æ **grvnndvnne** hjæ kongvnvm (OsvReyk 84[20], c1530-1540)

(6) **hjǫrð** f. 'herd'

    a.   Postolar kallasc réttlega hirþar. þuíat þeir somnoþo saman goþs **hiorþo** of allan héim (HómÍsl[7](1993) 7r[30], c1200)

    b.   hirðar foro fra **hiorðu** sinni ok læitaðo drottens. en þeir hurfo aptr til hiarðar er þæir funno hann (HómNo[4] 42[13], c1200-1225)

    c.   Hó, hó, ofharmr, ofharmr þat, er gyðingar með mikilli slœgð ok illzku skulu búa svá nær guðs **hiörðu** (AM 234 fol "A", c1340)

    d.   hann (er) ... samteingdr **hirodu** rettlatra manna (Martin[3] 640[7], c1425-1445)

(7) **hlið** f. 'side'

    a.   Litom ver sva sem af **hliþo** til allz þess er i hemi er (Hóm677 55[5], c1200–1225)

(8) **hurð** f. 'door'

    a.   Hljópu þeir menn þá upp ... ok kómu aptr **hurðu** [*hurdinni* OrknFlat[II] 502[28], c1387–1398] (Orkn[x] 295[15], c1700)

    b.   hofdu hleypt i las **hurdunne** [*hurdinni* HákFlat 73[22], c1387–1395] (Hák81 413[16], c1450–1475)

(9) **hǫll** f. 'hall'

    a.   j **hollunne** [*hollinni* HákFris 418[24], c1340–1370; hallinni HákFlat 362[7], c1387–1395] (Hák81 346[3], c1450–1475)

    b.   Sigurðr ... stilti þá svó hátt, at dvergmála kvað í **höllunni** (Bós 46[2], c1450–1500)

    c.   sumir vóru uppi á **höllunni** ok skynjuðu, hvat inni var (Bós 47[13], c1450–1500)

    d.   Eptir þad kuǫlldar og drijfa menn ad **hǫllunni** (Hrólf[x] 75[14], 1654& c1700)

e. varð mannfátt eptir í **hǫllunni** (Stu[I]R440[x] 2[14], c1650)

(10) *jǫrð* f. 'earth'

a. sól es meira hlut déogra fyr ofan iorþ en under [*iorþo* Hóm686c ci[11], c1200-1225] (HómÍsl[24](1993) 35r[15], c1200)

b. Imbru dagar vm vetr ero til þess settir at guðs miskunn lati eigi sua mikinn þela verða i iorð [*iorþo* HómÍsl[13](1993) 16v[8], c1200; *iordu* Hóm114 260[12], c1330-1350] at (HómHauksb[3] 172[24], c1290-1334)

c. lagdi hann vid **jordv** konvngin (ÓH1 833[29], c1400-1425)

d. hvíla á **iaurðunni** (Rómv[1] 52[26], c1325-1350)

e. settvz gvþin vpp í sǽti sin ok rettv doma sina ok miɴtvz, hvaþan dvergar hofþv qviknat i moldvɴi ok niðri í **iorþvɴi** (SnE 20[19], c1300-1350)

(11) *leið* f. 'way/assembly'

a. ef barn andaz a þæirri **lǽiðu** með slikri skirn sem nu er talt þa (BorgKr[1] 340[6], c1300)

(12) *mold* f. 'earth'

a. eyss hann **molldu** í hofuð ser (Alex 57[13], c1280)

b. var þeira atgangr heldr úmannligr, þvíat þeir ruddu upp jǫrðu ok grjóti sem lausri **moldu** (ǪrvA 133[12], c1450-1475)

c. Epter þad til grafarinnar er komid sie likid sett nidur og **molldu** avsit (DI[X] 152[23], c1541-1550)

d. settvz gvþin vpp í sǽti sin ok rettv doma sina ok miɴtvz, hvaþan dvergar hofþv qviknat i **moldvɴi** ok niðri í iorþvɴi (SnE 20[19], c1300–1350)

e. Þat er hin þriðia nattura iarðar þa er hon er opnuð ok graufín þa grær gras a þeiri **molldu** er ęfzt er a **molldunni** (SnEW[1] 2[5], c1350)

(13)   *mǫrk* f. 'forest'

a. ef haucar bua i **morco**. þa scal sa hava er leigðt hever iorð (Gul[I] 39[3], c1250–1300)

b. Siglingar menn skolu ecki hogga i annars manz **morku** nema til elldz nøytis (Bl 279[4], c1325–1350)

c. ef þu finnr mann vegenn a **morku** uti. þa scal hann hylia þat lik fyst (Gul[I] 63[18], c1250–1300)

d. Ef maðr hittir dauðan mann í **mörcu** sinni. eða annars manns **mörco**. þa (Frost[x] 166[4], c1700)

(14)   *rǫdd* f. 'voice'

a. at fyrdǫma sialfan sic með siɴi **roddo** (Prosper677 3[29], c1200–1225)

b. tok hon þa at kalla mikilli **roddo** (StjC 492[12], c1300–1325)

c. þegar duergurinn sa þat æpte hann hare **rauddu** ok mællti (Sams 25[15], c1450–1475)

d. kallar hann harri **roddu** og kuad (HeiðrU[x] 152[12], c1650)

e. huerier med hropanndi **rauddu** skulu opinnberliga wtbyta wm veraulldina þui dýrmæta liggiannda fie (DI[X] 250[29], c1600)

(15)   *rǫnd* f. 'edge'

33

a. Þá var fram borinn skjöldr hans … ok var hengdr á öxl honum steindr með allskonar steinum. Á **röndunni** [*röndinni* AM 180 c fol "A", c1400] utan váru merktar 4 heimsættir ok allskonar veðrátta … þar var merktr á himinn ok jörð, sól ok tungl, með miklum hagleik skrifat (Klma 440[5], c1450-1500)

(16)   *sál* f. 'soul'

a. i morgum stoðum orðit til at hętta beði lifi oc **salo** (ÓH 71[13], c1250-1300)

b. Þui er hæidit morð uærra en cristið at firi faret er þæss manz **salo** [*sal* NKS 1642 4° "B", c1300-1500] er hæiðin dǫyr (BorgKr[1] 340[15], c1300)

c. Næst **sálu** siálfs síns á maðr at elska önd annars mannz (MarS 13[25], c1325-1375)

d. hverr þeirra er misþyrmir kirkiv fride hefir fyrir giort hialp sinne eilifri og **salv** sinne vit gud (DI I (*[c1176]›AM 186) 231[21], c1480)

e. **Salu** mínne (GlossPsalt 31[1], c1550-1600)

(17)   *sól* f. 'sun'

a. Huerso es eiɴ goþ i þreɴningo. Magister. Sua sem þu ser þrenning í **solo** [*sol* Eluc675(1989) 9[6], c1290-1334]. þat es eldr oc hite oc lios (Eluc674(1989) 9[1], c1150-1200)

b. at **solo** [*sol* AM 119 a 8[ox] "D"] vpp rennandi (Gibb 50[6], c1400)

c. Allr dagr at stefnu at upvesande **solo** (Gul[1] 86[16], c1250-1300)

d. enge ma fra oþrom scilia í **solonne** [*solinne* Eluc675(1989) 9[7], c1290-1334] (Eluc674(1989) 9[3], c1150-1200)

e. ek veit önga frægri enn þá undir **sólunni** (ÞorstVík 441[20], c1500-1525)

(18)   *stund* f. 'a length of time'

a. a hvɛʀe **stundo** lífs várs (HómÍsl[26](1993) 39r[15], c1200)

b. verdr nv gengit vtt **stonðv** siðar (KonrA 57[17], c1300-1325)

c. a. þeirri stunndi [*stunðu* BarlA 8[31], c1275] (AM 230 fol "c", c1350-1400)

d. Sigualldi uard hliodur miog uit þetta ... og mællti þa af annare **stundu** (Jvs510 47[21], c1550)

e. Mun þér nú eigi verða þeira kvenna dæmi, er þat gráta á annarri **stundu**, er eggja á annarri (ÞStang[x] 81[20], c1600-1700)

(19)   *strǫnd* f. 'edge/coast'

a. Enn at morni stoð Jesus a **straundu** [*strondinni* Pétr2Ax 162[11], c1600-1700] (PP 286[20], c1300-1325)

b. æ þeirri somu **strondu** (Andr SÁM 1 36va[23], c1350-1375)

c. hvar likami hans var rekinn a **strondu** (Vinc 326[1], c1425-1445)

d. þa for hann ofann til siovar med flokk siɴ ok ætladi at vera æ **straundu** fyrer er þeir Eyvindr kvæmi at landi (HrafnA[x] 226[19], c1600-1700)

e. sa hann þar skip .ii. standa a **straundunni** [*strondinni* Pétr[2]A[x] 159[30], c1600-1700] (PP 284[3], c1300-1325)

f. at hurdir .ij. uoru recknar þar **straundunne** (Egid 72[2], c1450-1500)

(20)   *stǫng* f. 'staff'

a. Maðr stingr a manne staure. æða **stongu**. æða oxar skapte. æða spiotskapte. þa (Gul[I] 69[28], c1250-1300)

b. Sa eiɴ em ek at ek mvn rada halfri **staungu** vid þik (KlmA1980 32[4], c1400)

(21)   *tǫng* f. 'smith's tongs'

a. Enn bratt er hann cemr þanneg, bacar hann fotinn, oc drogv II carllar beinit or fætinum með **tavngo**, aþr brot gecc (Stu[I]K 141[10], c1350-1370)

b. Scerþv til iarnsens sva at vel megi na með tꜹnginni [**tꜹnguɴe** AM 325 VII 4°, c1250-1300] fa mer siþan oc lat mic kippa (ÓH 585[16], c1250-1300)

(22)   *ull* f. 'wool'

a. Allt þetta fe gillt oc i **ullo** (GrgKon[II] 193[26], c1250)

b. skal þetta fe giallda i uaþmalum ok allri skinna uoru i **ullu** ok i huðum (Jb GKS 3271 4° 5v9, c1330)

c. hana segia þeir fundit hafa margskonar listir. ok mikils hattar manuit. ok einkannliga allar þær sem af **ullu** uerda goruar (Stj[1] 174[32], c1360-1370)

d. þær voru hagar a uefsmid en hofdu verkefni litil. þær vonduzt at stela **ullunni** fra Skrymi kongi (Sams 34[15], c1450-1475)

e. er her hus hvert fullt af **ullo**. oc verðr ecki til verþz haldit (FærK[x] 97[2], c1675-1700)

(23)   *ván* f. 'hope'

a. hann kom at landeno **vono** nærmæir (ÓHLeg 16[24], c1225-1250)

b. oc mællti þó **vano** [*uán* Jvs7 25[16], c1300-1325] braþara (Jvs291 99[5], c1275-1300)

c. hun uard svo bleik sem favlnad gras ok **vonv** [*vonn* Marg AM 433 a 12° 17v[12], c1500] meir fiell hræzlladaudans a hana (Marg AM 430 12° 14v[4], c1400-1500)

d. Kom þa ok **vanu** bradara lid eptir þeim (Hák81 558[1], c1450-1475)

36

e. hóf rót kerlingar í móti veðri, ok þótti fara eigi **vánu** seinna (Gr 250[10], c1500)

(24) *verǫld* f. 'world/age'

a. alldri a fyrstri verolld [*fyrstu* **verolldu** Holm perg 1 4° "E", c1450–1500] bar sva til, at (MarS 187[7], c1325–1375)

b. lífi þeir milldliga með rett visi ok hofsemi i þessi verolld [***uerolldu*** GKS 1005 fol "D²", c1387–1500] (ÓT[II] 192[12], c1350–1375)

c. muntu … i okominni verolld [***verolldu*** GKS 1005 fol "D²", c1387–1500] niota eilifrar sæmdar ok sælu (ÞórhÓT 185[5], c1350–1375)

d. meðan er hann var i verolldenne [***verolldvnni*** Barl AM 232 fol 16ra[18], c1300] (BarlA 84[31], c1275)

e. ætlum vær þessi ord **verolldunne** [*verulldinnj* Nik Holm perg 16 4° 4v[31], c1375–1400] miogh naudsaunligh (Nik AM 640 4° 4r[11], c1450–1500)

(25) *þjóð* f. 'people/nation'

a. ᴇɴ sivci svaraþi a þa tungo. sem hann hefþi með þeirri **þioþo** fódr verit (GregDialA 137[12], c1200–1225)

b. sua er ritet at með hverre **þioþo** er guþe þegr sa er með retlete uiþr (PlacA(1998) 4[6], c1250–1275)

c. lofaðr af allri **þioðu** [*alþyðu* Pétr²A[x] 169[7], c1600–1700] Gyðinga (PP 290[12], c1300–1325)

d. veit ek vist, at drottinn dæmir eigi at heims virðingu, helldr er honum þægr i hverri **þioðu** [*þioð* Pétr²A[x] 169[27], c1600–1700] sa, er a hann truir (PP 290[34], c1300–1325)

e. hann va sigr a **þiodo** þeirri er Gothi heitir (VerA 57[14], c1300–1325)

f. Kristr giordi enda æ likamligri skurdarskirn, en hann hof andliga skirn hiartans, þa er fyrir var heitin allri **þiodu** [*þiod* AM 238 VII fol "Fr.", c1350–1375] til syndalausnar (Silv 265[23], c1425–1445)

g. hverri borg og hverri **þiodv** rada einglar. og kenna þeim rett lavg (Eluc238XVIII(1989) 117[6], c1500–1550)

(26)   **ǫnd** f. 'breath'

a. þa skal han kiot eta oc biaʀga sva **ondo** sinni (GulKr315f 12[5], c1175–1200)

b. bidi þann fulltings i dag sinni **aundu** ok likama fyrir augliti guds (Thom[2] 466[14], c1400)

c. elldr matti eigi granda ond [*aundu* AM 235 fol "B", c1400] (Dionys 317[26], c1425–1445)

d. varp hann mœðiliga **ǫndunni** (NjR1908 407[24], c1300–1325)

e. hann skytr upp **ondunni** [*ondinní* JJ AM 239 fol o34v(68)[27], c1360–1375] (JJ SÁM 1 77vb[24], c1350–1375)

iō-/jō-stems and *wō*-stems

(27)   **dǫgg** f. 'dew'

a. Sløcþv allan scaþligan hita licamaɴs i þeim. meþ **dǿᴳo** himnescrar milde (Mth[2]Cod645 122[6], c 1150–1220)

b. ok slokk þu med **doggu** [*daugg* AM 235 fol "B", c1400] heilags anda þenna elld (Dionys 317[35], c1425–1445)

(28)   *egg* f. 'edge'

  a. þa verr hinn odde oc **eggiu** (Gul[I] 53[14], c1250–1300)

  b. Ef menn forða fiörvi frum lavps manz. þes er a verk lét fylgia sva at þeir veri hann oddi eða **ᴇɢio** oc varðar þat fiör bavgs garð ef eigi er á vett vangi (GrgStað 300[17], c1260–1270)

  c. Etla ec helldr yðr sat til at segia at søkia oddi oc **ᴇɢio** frendleifð mina (ÓH 72[9], c1250–1300)

  d. Scal ec fara i Noreg oc eyða land þat oddi oc **ᴇɢio** [*egg* AM 75 c fol "75c", c1325] oc brenna allt var. (ÓH 143[11], c1250–1300)

  e. Af **æggiu** kirkiu tæker prestr a huale (JarðKálf 35b[21], c1360)

(29)   *ey* f. 'island'

  a. hann bio i ey [*eyiu* AM 242 fol "W", c1350] þeiri, er nv er kollvð Hlesey (SnE 78[1], c1300–1350)

  b. i ey [*eyíu* Holm perg 1 fol "C[2]", c1400–1460] þeiri (ÓT[I] 39[1], c1350–1375)

  c. var hinn fiorda ok þridia uetr. i eireks. **eyiu** [*ey* Eir544 31[28], c1302–1310] (Eir557 31[29], c1420–1450)

  d. þeir voro i **eyionni**. þar til er þeir foro or skirnar klæðvm ok styrkðe þa hvern dag i helgvm keningvm (ÓTOddS 45[23], c1300)

  e. buðu þeir honum eyna við at taka [at taka við **eyjunni** [AM 343 a 4° "A", c1450–1475] (QrvM 192[2], c1350–1400)

(30)   *hel* f. 'death'

   a.   nu munu þer konungiɴ i hel setia [*j heliu hafa* Sv81 114[20], c1450–1475] (Sv 95[1], c1300)

   b.   þóttist Tristram hafa úr **helju** heimtan í annat sinn (Trist[2] 54[19], c1450)

   c.   þori hann eigi at ganga ut af borginn til bardaga þa munu uer sækia stadinn med oddi og eggiu. og alldri fyr afleggia en hann er ȷ **heliu** (Saulus 31[20], c1450–1475)

   d.   hverr þóttisk annan ór **helju** heimtan hafa (Gr 9[4], c1500)

   e.   var nu fagnafundur med konge og sÿne hans. þöttist hann nu hafa heymt hann or **heliu** (VSj[y] 36[7], c1600–1700)

(31)   *mǽr* f. 'maid'

   a.   scal sa hallda i hond **meyio** [*mey* ÁKr AM 351 fol, c1360–1400] eða kono (ÁKr 37[3], c1300)

   b.   eptir þvi sem til heyrir mey [*meýíu* AM 53 fol "B", c1375–1400] (ÓT[II] 81[19], c1350–1375)

   c.   at hann mundi fra meẏ [*meẏío* Pétr Holm perg 19 4° 58r[5], c1374–1375] beraz lata æ iarð riki (Pétr SÁM 1 20va[31], 1350–1375)

   d.   fœddr af Máriu **meyju** [*mey* GKS 3268 4° "a", c1350] (Jb 17[6], c1360–1400)

   e.   Esja bauð **meyjunni** til fóstrs til sín (Kjaln 60[3], c1450–1500)

(32)   *þrǫng* f. 'crowd'

   a.   Þorolfr rympill sleiz or þesi **þrongu** [*þraunginnni* SvEirsp 352[35], c1300–1325] (Sv 110[5], c1300)

40

b. reið hann þá or þrönginni [**þröngunni** AM 180 a fol "a", c1450–1500] harmandi skaða sinna manna (KlmA 350², c1400)

c. stefndi hann sem skjótast or þrönginni [**þröngunni** AM 180 a fol "a", c1450–1500] ok létti eigi fyrr en hann kom á brekku nökkura (KlmA 350¹⁵, c1400)

(33)   *þý* f. 'bondwoman'

a. drottning ... kallar til sin eina arma **þygiu** er þionadi j gardinum. hun tti bonda og .iij. born (Nit 15⁴, c1500–1550)

(34)   *ǫr* f. 'arrow'

a. var fiǫrþrinn allr fullr af skipom, er allr lýþrinn sótti eftir **ǫro** hann af lífi at taka (Ágr 17⁵, c1225)

b. Philippus ... var lostinn með **auro** (Sv 172⁷, c1300)

c. þa skaut Finnr hinn litle **oru** ok kom su r a Þord midian (ÓHFlat 88¹⁷, c1387–1395)

d. Þa war suo næʀ, at þeir lusto **oru** or stafnni æ kongsskipinu æ skip Hallwardar (Sv81 215³, c1450–1475)

e. var lostenn **aru** i armenn (FskBˣ 47², c1700)

3.6 Textual variations as seen in the ONP

A feature of the ONP that is of particular interest is the inclusion in some examples of variant forms. In the case of the dat. sing. ending this offers a straightforward comparison of several of the strong monosyllabic *ō*-stem feminine substantives, in the same environment but produced at different times, and presenting different ending forms. These variant presenting examples

have been collected and organized below. From these examples, and the alternation between the dat. sing. ending *-u* and the null ending which they showcase, the dating attributed to the source is noted to give a better idea of the time frame for the *-u* ending. Several of the examples can also be seen in section 3.4. The list below includes all instances of variation noted in the ONP between the ending *-u* and the null ending on the target feminine substantives. The formatting of examples remains the same as that found in section 3.4. Note that examples 3a, 4a, and 14h below contain multiple instances of direct variation within the singular example.

Plain *ō*-stems, *i*-stems, and consonant stems

(1) **gift** f. 'gift'

    a. Velldr aɴaʀ æ hugi eðr nockur til felli af manna vlldum. þa ma vera at bætiz með yðvaʀi gipt [***gíptu*** AM 54 fol "C1", c1300–1600] yður ok hamingia (ÞorvTÓT 94[15], c1350–1375)

(2) **hurð** f. 'door'

    a. Hljópu þeir menn þá upp ... ok kómu aptr **hurðu** [*hurdinni* OrknFlat[II] 502[28], c1387–1398] (Orkn[x] 295[15], c1700)

    b. hofdu hleypt i las **hurdunne** [*hurdinni* HákFlat 73[22], c1387–1395] (Hák81 413[16], c1450–1475)

(3) **hǫll** f. 'hall'

    a.   j **hollunne** [*hollinni* HákFris 418^{24}, c1340–1370; hallinni HákFlat 362^{7}, c1387–

        1395] (Hák81 346^{3}, c1450–1475)

(4) **jǫrð** f. 'earth'

    a.   Imbru dagar vm vetr ero til þess settir at guðs miskunn lati eigi sua mikinn þela

        verða i iorð [***iorþo*** HómÍsl^{13}(1993) 16v^{8}, c1200; ***iordu*** Hóm114 260^{12}, c1330–

        1350] at (HómHauksb^{3} 172^{24}, c1290–1334)

    b.   Svá skal **jǫrðu** [*iorð* Jb GKS 3271 4° 26r^{16}, c1330] skipta, at allir teigar þikki

        jafngóðir eptir leiguburð (Jb 141^{14}, c1360–1400)

(5) **mold** f. 'earth'

    a.   hon dræifði molld [***molldu*** AM 227 fol "B", c1350] i hfvð ser (StjC 520^{30},

        c1300–1325)

(6) **rǫdd** f. 'voice'

    a.   kallar hvn a mennina hari rodd [*med harre* ***roddu*** Holm perg 1 4° "E", c1450–

        1500] (Mar655XXXII 433^{25}, c1300–1400)

(7) **rǫnd** f. 'edge'

    a.   Þá var fram borinn skjöldr hans ... ok var hengdr á öxl honum steindr með

        allskonar steinum. Á **röndunni** [*röndinni* KlmA AM 180 c fol, c1400] utan váru

        merktar 4 heimsættir ok allskonar veðrátta ... þar var merktr á himinn ok jörð,

        sól ok tungl, með miklum hagleik skrifat (Klma 440^{5}, c1450–1500)

(8) **sál** f. 'soul'

    a.   Þui er hæidit morð uærra en cristið at firi faret er þæss manz **salo** [*sal* NKS 1642

         4° "B", c1300-1500] er hæiðin døyr (BorgKr[1] 340[15], c1300)

(9) **sól** f. 'sun'

    a.   Huerso es eiɴ goþ i þreɴningo. Magister. Sua sem þu ser þrenning í **solo** [*sol*

         Eluc675(1989) 9[6], c1290-1334] þat es eldr oc hite oc lios (Eluc674(1989) 9[1],

         c1150-1200)

    b.   at **solo** [*sol* AM 119 a 8°ˣ "D"] vpp rennandi (Gibb 50[6], c1400)

    c.   enge ma fra oþrom scilia í **solonne** [*solinne* Eluc675(1989) 9[7], c1290-1334]

         (Eluc674(1989) 9[3], c1150-1200)

(10)   **strǫnd** f. 'coast'

    a.   Enn at morni stoð Jesus a **straundu** [*strondinni* Pétr[2]Aˣ 162[11], c1600-1700] (PP

         286[20], c1300-1325)

    b.   sa hann þar skip .ii. standa a **straundunni** [*strondinni* Pétr[2]Aˣ 159[30], c1600-

         1700] (PP 284[3], c1300-1325)

(11)   **stund** f. 'length of time'

    a.   noccoʀi **stundo** [*nockuru stunnd* Sv81 79[26], c1450-1475] siðaʀ eptir fall Jonga

         konungs (Sv 68[1], c1300)

(12)   **tǫng** f. 'smith's tongs'

a. Scerþv til iarnsens sva at vel megi na með tǫnginni [*tʌnguɴe* AM 325 VII 4°, c1250-1300] fa mer siþan oc lat mic kippa (ÓH 585[16], c1250-1300)

(13)   **ván** f. 'hope'

a. oc mællti þó **vano** [*uán* Jvs7 25[16], c1300-1325] braþara (Jvs291 99[5], c1275-1300)

b. hun uard svo bleik sem favlnad gras ok **vonv** [*vonn* Marg AM 433 a 12° 17v[12], c1500] meir fiell hræzlladaudans a hana (Marg AM 430 12° 14v[4], c1400-1500)

(14)   **verǫld** f. 'world/age'

a. alldri a fyrstri verolld [*fyrstu* **verolldu** Holm perg 1 4° "E", c1450-1500] bar sva til, at (MarS 187[7], c1325-1375)

b. lífi þeir milldliga með rett visi ok hofsemi i þessi verolld [***uerolldu*** GKS 1005 fol "D[2]", c1387-1500] (ÓT[II] 192[12], c1350-1375)

c. muntu ... i okominni verolld [***verolldu*** GKS 1005 fol "D[2]", c1387-1500] niota eilifrar sæmdar ok sælu (ÞórhÓT 185[5], c1350-1375)

d. i þeim tima varo menn marger. staðugir stolppar. heilagrar kirkkiv oc kristni viða i verollddenne [***verolldoɴe*** Barl AM 232 fol 4vb[29], c1300] (BarlA 558, c1275)

e. meðan er hann var i verolldenne [***verolldvnni*** Barl AM 232 fol 16ra[18], c1300] (BarlA 84[31], c1275)

f. ma þat þa sem eptir er i **verolldvnni** [*werolldínní* ÁKr AM 351 fol 81vb[12], c1360-1400] læitacs ser forræða æf licar (ÁKr 39[3], c1300)

g. ætlum vær þessi ord **verolldunne** [*verulldinnj* Nik Holm perg 16 4° 4v[31], c1375-1400] miogh naudsaunligh (Nik AM 640 4° 4r[11], c1450-1500)

h. koma þeir ... vpp æ eitt fiall storliga hatt j verulldinnj [*verlldínne* Nik AM 638 4°[x] 21r[12], c1700-1725; *verolldunne* Nik Holm perg 16 4° 10v[20], c1375-1400] (Nik AM 640 4° 11r[5], c1450-1500)

(15)   **ǫnd** f. 'breath'

a. elldr matti eigi granda ond [***aundu*** AM 235 fol "B", c1400] (Dionys 317[26], c1425-1445)

b. hann skytr upp **ondunni** [*ondinní* JJ AM 239 fol o34v(68)[27,] c1360-1370] (JJ SÁM 1 77vb[24], c1350-1375)

(16)   **þjóð** f. 'people'

a. veit ek vist, at drottinn dæmir eigi at heims virðingu, helldr er honum þægr i hverri **þioðu** [*þioð* Pétr[2]A[x] 169[27], c1600-1700] sa, er a hann truir (PP 290[34], c1300-1325)

b. Kristr girdi enda æ likamligri skurdarskirn, en hann hof andliga skirn hiartans, þa er fyrir var heitin allri **þiodu** [*þiod* AM 238 VII fol "Fr.", c1350-1375] til syndalausnar (Silv 265[23], c1425-1445)

The predicted outcome of this data was that those examples showing variation between the *-u* ending and the null ending, would greatly favor an older source when it came to the ending *-u*, as this is the known archaic ending. Instead, the number of examples in which the item with the ending *-u* came from a younger source, 15, is almost the same as those that came from an older

source, 11. There were 7 total examples with overlapping source dates. The distribution of data containing variations is as such: 16 distinct lexical items with 33 total examples of items with the –*u* and null ending in direct variation. Furthermore, when the general margin of error of +/- 25 years is applied to this data the number of variants that overlap increases to 20, leaving 8 occurrences with the –*u* ending in the older source and 5 with the –*u* ending in the younger source. The majority of variant examples occurred in overlapping sources. Those which were found to have been produced in sources occurring with time between them showed similar numbers for the dat. sing. –*u* ending being found in both the older and younger of the sources. Overall this shows the majority of variation between the archaic dat. sing. –*u* and null ending were occurring within the same general period of time.

Of the 33 total instances of direct variation between the dat. sing. –*u* and null endings found in the ONP those examples where the dat. sing. –*u* ending occurred in the older source are as follows: 4a *jǫrð* 'earth' (in the first instance of variation within this example), 9a and 9b *sól* 'sun', 10a and 10b *strǫnd* 'coast', 11a *stund* 'length of time', 14f *verǫld* 'world/age', and 16a *þjóð* 'people'. Instances where the dat. sing. –*u* ending occurred in the younger source can be found in the following examples: 2a and 2b *hurð* 'door', 3a *hǫll* 'hall' (in both instances of variation within this example), and 14a *verǫld* 'world/age'. All other examples occurred within sources whose dating overlapped with a +/- 25 year margin of error. *Table 3* below presents the distribution of the dat. sing. –*u* ending in monosyllabic strong feminine ō–stem substantives as it was found in overlapping sources, older sources, and younger sources.
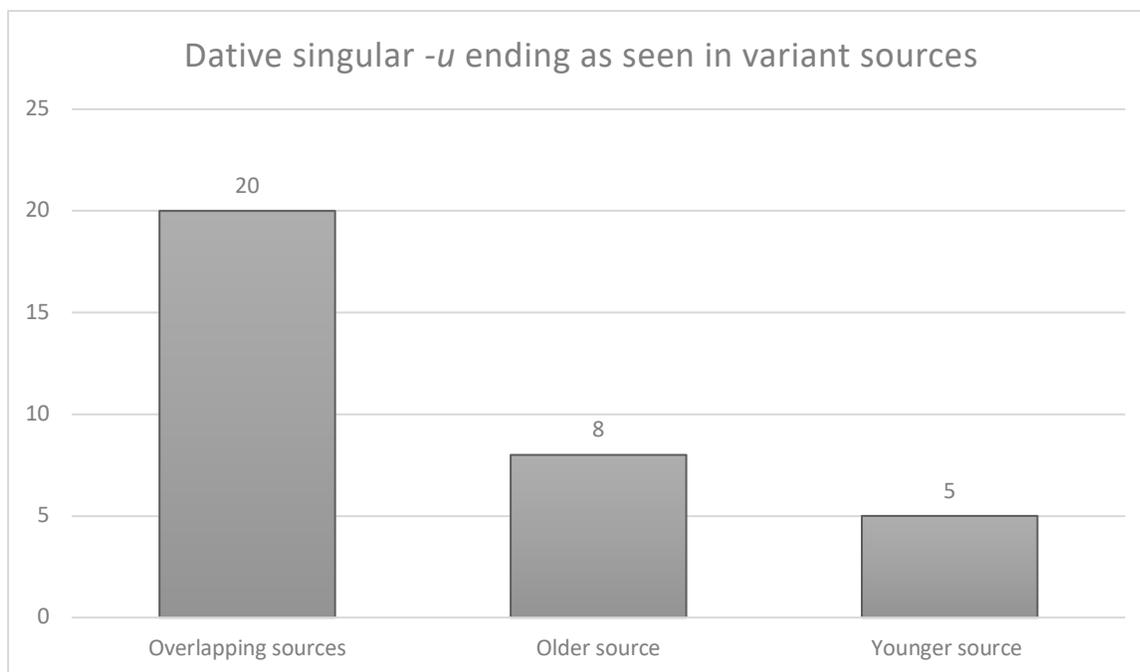
Table 3: Dat. sing. –*u* and null endings in monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substatnives as seen in direct variation; showing overlapping sources, –*u* ending item in older source, and –*u* ending item in younger source

The dat. sing. ending –*u* in direct variation with the null ending was found in the majority of examples to occur in sources with overlapping dates. Only 13 instances of this ending variation was found to occur in sources with a notable disparity in age. Those found to have the -*u* ending in the older source occur at a slightly higher frequency than those found to have the -*u* ending in the younger source, but with a small data set and close numbers a clear tendency of the dat. sing. –*u* ending as it appears in variation with the null ending to occur in older sources cannot be definitively concluded. This is surprising because it is known that that ending –*u* is the older form already declining in favor of the null ending in Old Icelandic. One possible explanation is that the inability of these variant examples to demonstrate the dat. sing. -*u* endings decline in monosyllabic strong feminine substantives is due to synchronic linguistic variation, reflecting regional dialects within Iceland, some having the -*u* ending while others had the null ending.

Regrettably few manuscripts can be substantially localized and there is no information on the geographic distribution of these variant forms.

Another possible explanation for the overall tendency of having the *-u* ending continuing to appear in younger sources is that scribes purposefully chose to re-incorporate this declining linguistic form. The prestige of an archaic form along with a cultural affinity towards linguistic conservatism could explain this. Modern Icelandic tends towards linguistic conservatism. This tendency to turn towards the language of the past could be a cultural propensity inherited from previous generations, and visible in the above data from Old Icelandic. In the late 16th century bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson wrote about the necessity of actively eliminating Danicisms from works translated into Icelandic (Kjartan G. Ottósson 1990, 17) and Reverend Argrímur Jónsson professed his belief that Modern Icelandic was the original Scandinavian language, saying that "only the Icelanders have preserved the language intact" (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2016, 467), showing a marked amount of pride at the 'purity' of the Icelandic language.

During the 17th and 18th century the adoption of archaisms became increasingly popular. In 1779 *Hið íslenska lærdómslistafélag* was founded, with the goal to preserve the Nordic language and to expel it of foreign lexemes (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2016, 467). Its annual publications were also written in a mildly archaic orthography, as was fashionable, and used many neologisms to avoid the impurity of a borrowed lexical item. The idea that Icelandic is the oldest language spoken continues to be popular and the Icelandic language is cherished by its native speakers as a source of pride and identity in a way few other languages inspire.

Perhaps most famously, this preoccupation with linguistic purity and turning towards the past is the continued dedication to neologisms. Rather than borrowing foreign words that typically accompany foreign technology, the official policy is to create a new word out of older lexical items already in the language, in order to keep foreign influence from perverting the

language (Íslensk málnefnd 2018). In light of Icelandics linguistic culture of preservation and pride in being an "old" language, the tendancy to continue to use an archaic dat. sing. form such as the -*u* ending seen in the monosyllabic strong *ō*-stem feminine substantives becomes less surprising. Icelandic already has documented tendencies to turn towards the past when faced with linguistic innovation. This tendancy is a possible and/or partial explanation of the continued appearence of the archaic -*u* ending.

4. A longitudinal look at the dat. sing. -*u* in Jónsbók

4.1 Methodology and overview of the sources

This study focuses on a longitudinal investiture of data with a selection of sources produced in Iceland ranging in date from the late 13th century through to the end of the 16th century. Data has been gathered from eight *Jónsbók* manuscripts and one printed edition, with seventeen unique examples represented in these nine sources, identified in *Table 4*. This data has been examined for instances of strong feminine *ō*-stem substantives that appear on the formerly established list of lexical items presented in the handbooks as having sometimes appeared with the archaic dat. sing. -*u* ending. The data used in this study was assembled to provide a longitudinal overview of the dat. sing. ending in strong feminine *ō*-stem substantives, focusing on the performance of the archaic dat. sing. -*u* form.

For this purpose, a foundational text was chosen in order to best track the dat. sing. form within a relatively controlled environment over time. Due to its importance in Icelandic history as well as its regular reproduction, *Jónsbók* was chosen as the foundational text. Printed in 1904 and edited by Ólafur Halldórsson, this version of *Jónsbók* is primarily based off AM 351 fol. dated 1360–1400. This version of *Jónsbók* also includes variations taken from a wide range of other manuscripts and emendations with the intention of producing a text as close to the

"original" *Jónsbók* as possible (Ólafur Halldórsson 1904). *Wortschatz der Jónsbók* by Hans Fix (1984) is a wordlist as well as a concordance, providing each lexical item appearing in Jónsbók along with their forms and grammatical identifications. Fix also provides the number of times each item appears in *Jónsbók* as well as up to the first twelve locations.

Assembling the data for this study began with searching Fix's concordance for the previously established list of lexical items (see 3.2 *Findings from the ONP*) known to have appeared with the dat. sing. -*u* ending. The locations and environments of those -*u* ending items were subsequently documented for further investigation. The relevant feminine substantives that appear this 1904 foundational version of *Jónsbók* with the dat. sing. ending -*u* are: *egg* 'edge', *jǫrð* 'earth', *kauprein* 'bargain–strip of land', *mær* 'maid', *sól* 'sun', and *ull* 'wool'. Following the identification of these items, each of the nine sources were examined for the corresponding instance of the item, which was then recorded. This provides a controlled environment with the dependent variable, whether the target word has the -*u* or null ending, to be examined as it appears over time. The distribution of items with the ending -*u* varies greatly. The most frequent item is *jǫrð* 'earth', appearing 113 times in the dat. sing. in *Jónsbók* according to Fix's concordance. The rest of the items appeared significantly fewer times in the dat. sing.: *egg* 'edge' (3 times), *kauprein* 'bargain- strip of land' (once), *mær* 'maid' (once), *sól* 'sun' (4 times), and *ull* 'wool' (3 times).

Each of the nine *Jónsbók* sources were examined for instances of strong feminine $\bar{o}$-stem substantives in the dat. sing. in order to better establish a time frame for the change in the dat. sing. from the archaic -*u* ending to the more common null ending that now predominates. Within this area of study the goal was to establish a clearer time frame from which to view the dat. sing. -*u* as well as to better understand its transitionary position in the development of the Icelandic language. The study of Icelandic tends to focus on either the very old or the very new forms of

the language, with little investigation into what connects the two. This work hopes to contribute to the understanding of Icelandic's development over time.

An overview of the texts is presented in *Table 4* below. The shelf marks and dates of the sources are in accordance with the online manuscript catalog *Handrit.is* (http://handrit.is), with the exception of *Lögbók Íslendinga*, which is a printed edition rather than a manuscript, published in 1578, here abbreviated Jb 1578. *Lögbók Íslendinga* is available in full on the National and University Library of Iceland website *Bækur.is* (http://baekur.is/) in color images. Of the other eight sources AM 134 4°, AM 154 4°, AM 350 fol, and AM 344 fol are available in color images at *Handrit.is* (http://handrit.is). The remaining sources, GKS 3271 4°, GKS 3268 4°, AM 354 fol, and AM 128 4°, are available in black and white photos at the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies library, located in Reykjavík, Iceland.

AM 134 4°, *Jónsbók*	c1281–1294
AM 154 4°, *Jónsbók*	c1320–1330
GKS 3271 4°, *Jónsbók*	c1330
GKS 3268 4°, *Jónsbók*	c1340–1360
AM 350 fol, *Jónsbók*	c1363
AM 344 fol, *Jónsbók*	c1375–1400
AM 354 fol, *Jónsbók*	c1397–1410
AM 128 4°, *Jónsbók*	c1450–1499
Jb 1578, *Lögbók Íslendinga*	c1578

Table 4: An overview of Jónsbók manuscripts and one printed edition used in this study

4.2 Why Jónsbók?

Jónsbók, first ratified in 1281 as the royal code of law, is a central legal text and so enjoyed regular reproduction. This makes it an excellent source from which to monitor changes in the language. Scribes did often conform to the language of their exemplar, copying out older forms than what might have been regularly used in the vernacular of the time. There are limits to this adherence though, a scribe would not copy out linguistic features which had become completely obsolete and ungrammatical in the contemporary language. This can be seen in Berglaug Ásmundardóttirs BA thesis *Örlög orðmyndarinnar* þessur (2017). In this thesis Berglaug examines the development of the pronominal form *þessur* 'this', which was replaced by *þessi* in the early 15th century through the examination of *Jónsbók* texts from the 13th to 16th centuries (Berglaug Ásmundardóttir 2017, 47). Her findings pinpointed the period in which the form *þessur* was used before it was systematically replaced by the form *þessi*. The scribes' choice to stop using *þessur* and uniformly replace it with *þessi* shows that scribes can and did supersede their exemplars and replaced or changed archaic forms which no longer survived in the contemporary language.

Did the strong feminine dat. sing. endings examined in this study follow the same pattern of *þessur/þessi*, showing a uniform and predictable transition from one form to another. If the older ending *–u* is completely replaced in the steady reproduction of *Jónsbók* texts it would suggest that, like Berglaug's study of *þessur/þessi*, the older form was lost in an identifiable time period as scribes replaced it with its newer, understandable, form. If the older ending *–u* lingered in the *Jónsbók* texts the implications are that that older form was in some way still understood and accepted enough by the contemporary scribes to be reproduced rather than replaced.

The following section presents data collected from the sources listed in *Table 4* in a longitudinal survey of dat. sing. endings of strong feminine ō-stem substantives as found in *Jónsbók* from the late 13th century through the end of the 16th century. There are 17 unique phrases presented containing dat. sing. feminine substantives of interest. The data is first organized by phrase and then source in descending chronological order. Due to the fragmentary nature of manuscripts not every phrase could be found in each source. Spelling has been normalized and abbreviations used in the sources have been expanded to better fit the modern format as well as for ease of use. Each lexical item found in Hans Fix's 1984 *Wortschatz der Jónsbók* to have the dat. sing. –u ending has at least one entry. Items that are more frequent in *Jónsbók*, such as *jǫrð* 'earth', are more frequently represented in the data.

(1) "er getinn er af krapti heilags anda ok fœddr af Máríu **meyju**" (Jb 17[6])

   a. **mey**   (AM 134 4°, 1r13)

   b. **mey**   (AM 154 4°, 6r12)

   c. **meyju**   (GKS 3271 4°, 3v15)

   d. **mey**   (GKS 3268 4°, 13[10])

   e. **mey**   (AM 350 fol, 5vb13)

   f. **mey**   (AM 344 fol, 5va33)

   g. **mey**   (AM 354 fol, 52v29)

   h. **meyju**   (AM 128 4°, 10[17])

   i. **meyju**   (Jb 1578, 32[4])

(2) "Skal þetta fé gjaldaz í vaðmálum ok í allri skinnavǫru, í **ullu** ok í húðum" (Jb 32^6)

     a. **ullu**   (AM 154 4°, 9r6)

     b. **ullu**   (GKS 3271 4°, 5v9)

     c. **ullu**   (GKS 3268, 24^{17})

     d. **ullu**   (AM 350 fol, 9rb8)

     e. **ullu**   (AM 344 fol, 8va16)

     f. **ullu**   (AM 354 fol, 61r24)

     g. **ullu**   (AM 128 4°, 12^{22})

     h. **ullu**   (Jb 1578, 55^4)

(3) "þá skal hon þat eitt hafa ór **jǫrðu** aft arfi hans er hon hafði heiman" (Jb 75^7)

     a. **jǫrðu**   (AM 134 4°, 4v21)

     b. **jǫrðu**   (AM 154 4°, 21r1)

     c. **jǫrðu**   (GKS 3271 4°, 14r23)

     d. **jǫrðu**   (GKS 3268 4°, 57^6)

     e. **jǫrðu**   (AM 350 fol, 20va7)

     f. **jǫrðu**   (AM 344 fol, 17rb18)

     g. **jǫrðu**   (AM 354 fol, 75v17)

     h. **jǫrðu**   (AM 128 4°, 34^{28})

     i. **jǫrðu**   (Jb 1578, 129^{13})

(4) "at þar er innstœðueyrir fullr .v. hundrat fyrir úmaga hvern í **jǫrðu** eða því fé" (Jb 91^{10})

     a. **jǫrðu**   (AM 134 4°, 6v18)

b. **jǫrðu** (AM 154 4°, 25v18)

c. **jǫrðu** (GKS 3268 4°, 69[1])

d. **jǫrðu** (AM 350 fol, 24vb26)

e. **jǫrðu** (AM 344 fol, 20va31)

f. **jǫrðu** (AM 354 fol, 81r15)

g. **jǫrðu** (AM 128 4°, 43[6])

h. **jǫrðu** (Jb 1578, 157[4])

(5) "Nú koma þeir þar, ok verr hann oddi ok **eggju**" (Jb 97[14])

a. **eggju** (AM 134 4°, 8v21)

b. **eggju** (AM 154 4°, 27r27)

c. **eggju** (GKS 3271 4°, 17v26)

d. **eggju** (GKS 3268 4°, 72[19])

e. **eggju** (AM 350 fol, 26rb23)

f. **eggju** (AM 344 fol, 21vb28)

g. **eggju** (AM 354 fol, 82r4)

h. **eggju** (AM 128 4°, 46[2])

i. **eggju** (Jb 1578, 166[20])

(6) "Eigi skal flytja fátœka menn síðan **sólu** er sett." (Jb 108[1])

a. **sólu** (AM 134 4°, 11v7)

b. **sól** (AM 154 4°, 30r6)

c. **sólu** (GKS 3271 4°, 20v7)

d. **sólu** (GKS 3268 4°, 80[4])

e. **sólu**   (AM 350 fol, 29ra17)

f. **sólu**   (AM 344 fol, 23vb6)

g. **sólu**   (AM 354 fol, 86r19)

h. **sólu**   (AM 128 4°, 51[14])

i. **sólu**   (Jb 1578, 184[19])

(7) "Nú skal fátœka men herbergja um nætr, en reka eigi út síðan **sólu** er sett" (Jb 108[10])

a. **sólu**   (AM 134 4°, 11v17)

b. **sól**   (AM 154 4°, 30r16)

c. **sólu**   (GKS 3271 4°, 20v15)

d. **sólu**   (GKS 3268 4°, 80[14])

e. **sólu**   (AM 350 fol, 29rb7)

f. **sólu**   (AM 344 fol, 23vb23)

g. **sólu**   (AM 354 fol, 86v2)

h. **sólu**   (AM 128 4°, 51[23])

i. **sólu**   (Jb 1578, 185[17])

(8) "Engi skal boð bera á hǫnd ǫðrum síðan **sólu** er sett á sumar" (Jb 112[5])

a. **sólu**   (AM 134 4°, 12v24)

b. **sólu**   (AM 154 4°, 31r13)

c. **sólu**   (GKS 3271 4°, 21r26)

d. **sólu**   (GKS 3268 4°, 83[6])

e. **sólu**   (AM 350 fol, 30rb6)

f. **sólu**   (AM 344 fol, 24va14)

g. **sólu**   (AM 354 fol, 87v16)

h. **sólu**   (AM 128 4°, 53^{25})

i. **sólu**   (Jb 1578, 192^4)

(9) "En ef fleiri menn búa á einni **jǫrðu**, þá skulu þeir skipta at jafnaði meðal sín eptir

bónda vild" (Jb 112^{12})

a. **jǫrðu**   (AM 134 4°, 13r3)

b. **jǫrðu**   (AM 154 4°, 31r20)

c. **jǫrðu**   (GKS 3271 4°, 21v1)

d. **jǫrðu**   (GKS 3268 4°, 83^{13})

e. **jǫrðu**   (AM 350 fol, 30rb18)

f. **jǫrðu**   (AM 344 fol, 24va25)

g. **jǫrðu**   (AM 354 fol, 87v23)

h. **jǫrðu**   (AM 128 4°, 54^4)

i. **jǫrðu**   (Jb 1578, 192^{18})

(10)   "En ef aðrir menn skeðja þar **jǫrðu** eða gera þar ǫnnur spjǫll á landi" (Jb 126^2)

a. **jǫrðu**   (AM 154 4°, 34v5)

b. **jǫrðu**   (GKS 3268 4°, 92^{16})

c. **jǫrðu**   (AM 350 fol 33ra20)

d. **jǫrðu**   (AM 344 fol, 26vb27)

e. **jǫrðu**   (AM 354 fol, 91r11)

f. **jǫrðu**   (AM 128 4°, 59^{19})

g. **jǫrðu**   (Jb 1578, 211^{13})

(11)   "Nú á hann eldibranda þar eptir, er hann fer af **jǫrðu**, þá skal landsdrottinn" (Jb

136^{3})

a. **jǫrðu**   (AM 154 4°, 37r17)

b. **jǫrðu**   (GKS 3271 4°, 25r13)

c. **jǫrðu**   (GKS 3268 4°, 100^{13})

d. **jǫrðu**   (AM 350 fol, 36ra1)

e. **jǫrðu**   (AM 344 fol, 28vb9)

f. **jǫrðu**   (AM 354 fol, 94v2)

g. **jǫrðu**   (AM 128 4°, 65^{10})

h. **jǫrðu**   (Jb 1578, 230^{16})

(12)   "En ef nokkurr verr oddi eða **eggju**, veri úgildr, hvárt sem hann fær sár eða

aðrar ákomur" (Jb 140^{2})

a. **eggju**   (AM 154 4°, 38v3)

b. **eggju**   (GKS 3271 4°, 25v13)

c. **eggju**   (GKS 3268 4°, 103^{16})

d. **eggju**   (AM 350 fol, 37ra1)

e. **eggju**   (AM 344 fol, 29va19)

f. **eggju**   (AM 354 fol, 95v16)

g. **eggju**   (AM 128 4°, 67^{10})

h. **eggju**   (Jb 1578, 237^{2})

(13)   "Nú er farhirðir eigi skyldr at flytja lengr en til þess er **sólu** er sett" (Jb 175[14])

      a. **sól**   (AM 134 4°, 24r9)

      b. **sól**   (AM 154 4°, 49r11)

      c. **sól**   (GKS 3271 4°, 32v5)

      d. **sólu**   (GKS 3268 4°, 131[13])

      e. **sólu**   (AM 350 fol, 46va15)

      f. **sólu**   (AM 344 fol, 37ra34)

      g. **sólu**   (AM 354 fol, 107v15)

      h. **sólu**   (AM 128 4°, 87[14])

      i. **sólu**   (Jb 1578, 299[2])

(14)   "Nú standa menn fyrir ok veria með oddi ok **eggju**" (Jb 212[13])

      a. **eggju**   (AM 134 4°, 28r19)

      b. **eggju**   (AM 154 4°, 59v28)

      c. **eggju**   (GKS 3268 4°, 160[18])

      d. **eggju**   (AM 350 fol, 56ra8)

      e. **eggju**   (AM 344 fol, 44vb31)

      f. **eggju**   (AM 354 fol, 119v3)

      g. **eggju**   (AM 128 4°, 107[7])

      h. **eggju**   (Jb 1578, 359[22])

(15)   "Alt þetta fé gilt ok í **ullu**." (Jb 216[3])

      a. **ullu**   (AM 134 4°, 29v9)

      b. **ullu**   (GKS 3271 4°, 39r21)

c. **ullu**   (AM 350 fol, 57ra3)

d. **ullu**   (AM 344 fol, 45va26)

e. **ullu**   (AM 354 fol, 120v7)

f. **ullu**   (AM 128 4°, 109^2)

g. **ullu**   (Jb 1578, 365^{17})

(16)   "Þá er ok hverjum manni rétt stefnt, ef stefnt erá **kaupreinu** þar sem þeir

keyptuz við." (Jb 219^7)

a. **kaupreinu**   (AM 134 4°, 30v19)

b. **kaupreini**   (AM 154 4°, 61v23)

c. **kaupreinu**   (GKS 2371 4°, 39v25)

d. **kaupreinu**   (GKS 2368 4°, 163^7)

e. **kaupreinu**   (AM 344 fol, 46rb15)

f. **kaupreinu**   (AM 354 fol, 121v13)

g. **kaupreinu**   (AM 128 4°, 110^{24})

h. **kauprein**   (Jb 1578, 371^8)

(17)   "rétt goldinn í vaðmálum ok í **ullu** ok allri skinnavǫru ok í ǫllu kvikfé eptir því

sem flestra manna austrœnum varningi"

a. **ullu**   (GKS 2371 4°, 52v16)

b. **ullu**   (AM 350 fol, 72ra17)

c. **ullu**   (AM 344 fol, 57vb31)

d. **ullu**   (AM 354 fol, 138v20)

e. **ullu**   (AM 128 4°, 142^{14})

f. **ullu** (Jb 1578, 467[16])

This *Jónsbók* study was intended to test the endurance of the ending *-u* in a few select lexical items. The dat. sing. ending *-u* remains surprisingly consistent in these lexical items. Unlike Berglaug Ásmundardóttir's findings on the change from *þessur* to *þessi*, which showed the change in lexical form happening at a specific time, the ending *-u* is not uniformly replaced by the null ending in any specific and identifiable time frame. This suggests that the archaic ending *-u* maintained some hold within the language and continued to be understood by contemporary speakers enough to warrant reproduction until at least the 16th century.

The endurance of the dat. sing. *-u* ending can be attributed to several factors. Written language is regularly more static and resistant to the rapid changes observed in spoken language. Written language also tends to favor a more formal register, especially in law texts like *Jónsbók*. Formality is often based on an older form of the language while the new innovations in a language are considered informal. Because of this, archaisms are more common in written language that favors a formal, and through association older, linguistic register.

"In terms of style, the language of the law is often archaic, formal, impersonal, and wordy or redundant" (Gibbons 2008, 7). The language of the law is also a register which, due to its precise nature is often transcribed more accurately than other registers due to the precision and accuracy which is valued in the legal system. This is not to say that legal language is completely devoid of innovative language, when needed legal texts can be quite contemporary and coin neologisms, but innovative language in legal texts arises from necessity and adaptation rather than desire and the coining of new terms or changing of forms is discouraged where the language already has a term and form in use (Gibbons 2008, 16-17). A

scribe would therefore avoid linguistic change unless the old form was no longer understood in the contemporary language and would cause confusion in its use.

Despite the possibility that over the course of the 300 years these nine sources represent the various scribes and editors each individually chose to maintain an ending form which was becoming increasingly archaic, it is unlikely that multiple individuals would choose to reproduce a form which had become completely unnatural to their contemporary language. For the dat. sing. ending -*u* to maintain this level of consistency in these lexical items until the end of the 16th century, as has been demonstrated by the data above, it was most likely maintained in some aspect of the Icelandic language until the 16th century if not later. This could explain why the scribes and editors producing these texts chose to maintain the dat. sing. ending -*u* so consistently in these items.

4.4 Findings

The majority of examples have the dat. sing. -*u* in every source in which they could be found. This includes items in 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, and 17, all of which universally display the -*u* form over the 300-year span represented in the sources surveyed. Examples 6 and 7 each had the ending -*u* in every source but one, where the null ending was present. For both examples 6 and 7, the AM 154 4° entry (6b, 7b) had the dat. sing. null ending. More than any other source AM 154 4° favored the null ending. In addition to examples 6b and 7b, AM 154 4° favored the null ending in examples 1b, 13b, and 16b. It is possible for *sól* 'sun' in example 6 to be interpreted in the nominative case rather than the dative. This leaves the AM 154 4° entry 6b with the possible scribal interpretations as nom. sing. or as dat. sing. with the null ending. As all other instances of *sól* 'sun' in example 6 are interpreted as dative and have

the archaic *-u* ending it is more likely that the scribe interpreted 6b as the dat. sing. with the null ending.

In 16b, AM 154 4° shows the compound *kauprein* 'bargain-strip of land' in the dat. sing. as "kɔpreini". In Icelandic, the right most, typically second, item in the compound acts as the head and thereby determines the grammatical gender of the unified lexeme (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2016, 236). The compound *kauprein* is made of two substantives, *kaup* 'bargain' and *rein* 'strip of land', *kaup* being neuter while *rein* is feminine. With feminine *rein* as the head, *kauprein* becomes a feminine compound. Example 16b shows "kɔpreini", with the dat. sing. ending *-i*, an ending found in feminine substantives following the *ermr* 'sleeve' type paradigm (nom. sing. *ermr*, acc. sing. *ermi*, dat. sing. *ermi*, gen sing. *ermar*) (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2016, 276). The ending *-i* in the dat. sing. is also seen in the neuter substantive paradigm, as represented by the item *barn* 'child' (nom. sing. *barn*, acc. sing. *barn*, dat. sing. *barni*, gen. sing. *barns*) (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2016, 490). In the case of 16b, "*kaupreini*", the item was either interpreted by the scribe as part of the feminine *ermr* type, or the gender of the compound was reinterpreted to reflect the first member of the compound rather than the traditional head, resulting in a neuter ending. This type of confusion and scribal error is common, but perhaps it is more common in a manuscript like AM 154 4° which has already demonstrated inconsistency in the use of monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives dat. sing. endings, as seen in its uses of both the dat. sing. null (1b, 6b, 7b, 13b, and 16b) and archaic *-u* (2a, 3b, 4b, 5b, 8b, 9b, 10a, 11a, 12a, and 14b) endings.

Another example of interest is 13, "en til þess er **sólu** er sett" (Jb 175[14]). Of the four instances of *sól* in the dat. sing. in *Jónsbók*, this was the only instance where the phrase *er sólu er sett* was not preceded by the word *síðan*. The other 3 examples, i.e., those containing *síðan*, are 6, 7, and 8. Example 7 shows all sources with the *-u* ending except one, 7b, which is from

AM 154 4°. Example 6 likewise shows all *-u* endings outside of 6b, from manuscript AM 154 4°. The sources of example 8 universally display the dat. sing. *-u* ending, including AM 154 4°.

If *síðan er sólu er sett* is a fixed phrase promoting the continued use of the archaic dat. sing. *-u* ending, then the lack of *síðan* preceding *sól* and prompting the *-u* ending that is consistently observed in the complete phrase is a possible explanation. Another possibility can be found in the interpretation of *sól* within the phrase. In example 13, the full phrase demonstrates that *sól* can be interpreted as both nominative and dat. sing. in this instance: "Nú er farhirðir eigi skyldr at flytja lengr en til þess er **sólu** er sett" (Jb 175[14])

The intended case depends on the scribe's interpretation of the item. As the dat. sing. displays either the *-u* or null endings it is impossible to know if *sól*, as it is presented in 13a–c with a null ending, was intended as dat. sing., or nom. sing., which consistently carries the null ending. This presents the impossible task of distinguishing between two identical forms appearing in identical environments.

Example 1 is the only dat. sing. instance of *mǽr* 'maid' found in *Jónsbók* and was present in all 9 sources; only 3 of which have the *-u* ending. These are found in GKS 3271 4°, AM 128 4°, and Jb 1578. The lexical item *mǽr* has an alternate form, *mey*. In examples 1a–i the alternate form, *mey*, is used; 1c, 1h, and 1i being those with the archaic *-u* ending form (*meyju*). The ealiest known inflection of *mǽr* in Old Icelandic being nom. sing. *mǽr*, acc. sing. *mey*, dat. sing. *mey(ju)*, gen. sing. *meyjar* (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2016, 243). A paradigmatic split arose as this inflection was generalized based on both the *mǽr* and *mey(j)* stems, resulting in two inflections for the item *mǽr* 'maid', seen below in *Table 5* (Haraldur Bernharðsson 2016, 243). More than any other item *mǽr* appears with the null ending, perhaps in part due to the generalization and following paradigmatic split this lexical items underwent, resulting in two viable inflectional patterns within the language.

Sing.	Nominative	*mǽr*	*mey*
	Accusative	*mǽr*	*mey*
	Dative	*mǽr*	*mey(ju)*
	Genitive	*mǽrar*	*meyar*

Table 5: Paradigms resulting from paradigmatic split of *mǽr* due to the generalization of stems *mǽr* and *mey(j)*

Despite the general agreement in the literature that the dat. sing. ending *-u* in monosyllabic strong feminine *ō*-stem substantives was rare and quickly losing ground to its younger counterpart the null ending, *Table 6* below shows an element of tenacity in this archaic ending. This is not to say that the ending *-u* was productive or even common, or that it continued to be used in Modern Icelandic outside select fixed phrases. The small data sample taken from this *Jónsbók* study does not show many lexical items using the archaic dat. sing. form, only six items from the original list of 57 items were found in *Jónsbók* with the ending *-u*. What this data does show is that, in a few lexical items, the ending *-u* was tenacious in its preservation. The youngest text consulted, Jb 1578, printed in 1578, had every lexical item of the data set accounted for and in every instance the item took the archaic ending *-u*.

Table 6 shows the instances of the archaic ending *-u* recorded with a '+' mark. Instances with the null ending are recorded with a '-' mark. Instances where the item was not present in the source are marked 'NA'.

lexical items	example number	AM 134 4o, c1281-1294	AM 154 4o, c1320-1330	GKS 3271 4o, c1330	GKS 3268 4o, c1340-1360	AM 350 fol, c1363	AM 344 fol, c1375-1400	AM 354 fol, c1397-1410	AM 128 4o, c1450-1499	Jb 1578, c1578
egg 'edge'	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	12	NA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	14	+	+	NA	+	+	+	+	+	+
jǫrð 'earth'	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	4	+	+	NA	+	+	+	+	+	+
	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	10	NA	+	NA	+	+	+	+	+	+
	11	NA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
kauprein 'strip of land'	16	+	+	+	+	NA	+	+	+	+
mær 'maid'	1	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
sól 'sun'	6	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	7	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	13	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
ull 'wool'	2	NA	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	15	+	NA	+	NA	+	+	+	+	+
	17	NA	NA	+	NA	+	+	+	+	+

Table 6: Dat. sing. ending forms over time, as observed in Jónsbók texts

5. Conclusion

This work set out to collect and present the previously published information on the dat. sing. ending forms *-u* and *-Ø* in monosyllabic strong feminine *ō*-stem substantives. Furthermore, it aimed to compile and present a list of those words which have been previously noted in the literature as having appeared with the archaic dat. sing. *-u* ending and then refine said list into a more accurate and accessible dataset. After the compilation of lexical items referenced in various handbooks as having appeared in Old Icelandic with this archaic dat. sing. form, the ONP was utilized to efficiently search for these lexical items in context, providing examples of the dat. sing. and which form(s) the items took.

     While many of the lexical items referenced in the surveyed literature could be found in the dat. sing. with the archaic *-u* form, some could not. But, some evidence is greater than no evidence and so these words which were not found in the ONP with the archaic form are still mentioned in this thesis for future researchers who may wish to investigate further (see 3.2 *Findings from the ONP*). A second, edited list of lexical items found in the ONP to have appeared in Old Icelandic with the dat. sing. ending *-u* was then presented. Following this second list, select data from the ONP was presented, providing evidence from primary sources of the dat. sing *-u* endings use as well as direct evidence of which monosyllabic strong feminine *ō*-stem substantives can be directly linked to the dat. sing. *-u* ending.

     Careful attention was paid to those instances found in the ONP of direct variation between the dat. sing. *-u* ending and null ending (see 3.5 *Textual variations as seen in the ONP*). Examination of these instances did not show any great evidence of the archaic *-u* ending being used more frequently in older sources, with the distribution of ending variation overlapping in the majority of examples, and then occurring in almost equal parts with the *-u* ending in both

the younger and older source. It is important to note that this sample size was small, only 33 instances of variation found in total of 16 unique lexical items. Further study of direct variation between items as they appear with the dat. sing. ending *-u* and null forms could contribute more evidence and understanding to this topic.

As previously mentioned, the ONP is not a corpus representing the complete works of Old Icelandic literature and so cannot be relied upon to give more than a sampling of the language. An example of the discrepancies that may occur in the ONP can be found in chapter 4, where the lexical item *rein* 'strip of land', which did not appear in the ONP with the dat. sing. *-u* form, was found in the *Jónsbók* manuscripts in the compound *kauprein* 'bargain-strip of land' with the *-u* form. For this reason, this lexical item has been included on the final list, presented below, of lexical items which have been found and documented by this work to have appeared in Old Icelandic in the dat. sing. *-u* ending.

(e) plain *ō*-stem, *i*-stem, and consonant stem: *ál (ól)* 'strap', *ár* 'oar', *braut* 'way', *fǫr* 'journey', *gift (gipt)* 'gift', *grund* 'green field', *hjǫrð* 'herd', *hlið* 'side', *hurð* 'door', *hǫll* 'hall'*, *jǫrð* 'earth', *leið* 'way', *mold* 'earth'*, *mǫrk* 'forest'*, *rein* 'strip of land', *rǫdd* 'voice', *rǫnd* 'edge', *sál* 'soul', *sól* 'sun', *stund* 'length of time', *strǫnd* 'coast', *stǫng* 'staff', *tǫng* 'smith's tongs', *ull* 'wool', *ván* 'hope', *verǫld* 'world', *þjóð* 'people', *ǫnd* 'breath'

(f) *iō-/jō*-stem and *wō*-stem: *dǫgg* 'dew', *egg* 'edge'*, *ey* 'island', *hel* 'death'*, *mær* 'maid, *þrǫng* 'crowd', *þý* 'bondwoman'*, *ǫr* 'arrow'

It is beyond the means of the present work to examine each instance and source found in further detail. A more extensive study than the capacity of this paper is needed in order to investigate the environments and sources of each monosyllabic strong feminine dative

substantives form in more detail. Continued study of these items and the transition of the dative singular form will continue to shed light on the morphological development of the Icelandic language. This work strove to identify and provide evidence for monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives appearing with the dat. sing. ending form *-u* in Old Icelandic, as well as to identify if possible a more precise timeline of the decline of this archaic ending. Unlike the transition of *þessur* 'this' to *þessi*, which underwent systematic replacement during the early 15th century (Berglaug Ásmundardóttir 2017), the timeline for the transition of the *-u* to null ending in dat. sing. monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives was found to be less sudden.

In the examination of monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives as they appear in *Jónsbók* from the 13th to 16th centuries the archaic *-u* ending in the dat. sing. continued to appear regularly, so much so that it appeared in all surveyed lexical items in the youngest text examined, the printed edition of *Jónsbók* published in 1578. This suggests first, while the dat. sing. ending in monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives had for the most part taken the null form, the dat. sing. *-u* ending maintained at least a small part of its position in the Icelandic language within these specific lexical items. Secondly, this suggests that unlike the change from *þessur* 'this' to *þessi* the change in dat. sing. ending form did not happen at a neatly identafiable time and has rather undergone a much longer and slower transition. The inconclusive findings of this work on the timeframe of the dat. sing. *-u* ending leave further study to future researchers.

As previously stated, a more comprehensive study is needed to further understand when the dat. sing. ending in monosyllabic strong feminine ō-stem substantives changed from the *-u* to null enidng, as well as why the archaic *-u* form remained in use in some few lexical items into atleast the 16th century, as seen in the writing of *Jónsbók* from the 13th to 16th centuries. It

is left to future reaserch to continue the understanding of this morphological form and its development. It has been the goal of this paper to gather a comprehensive list of lexical items that present the dat. sing. ending -*u*, and to locate primary sources and direct instances of this form in use and then to take a diachronic view of the dat. sing. -*u* ending and study the development of this morpheme, from archaic -*u* to a null ending, in the history of Icelandic.

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