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THE SO-CALLED
SECOND GRAMMATICAL TREATISE

ED. BY F. D. RASCHELLA

LE MONNIER

FILOLOGIA GERMANICA
TESTI E STUDI
II

THE SO-CALLED
SECOND GRAMMATICAL TREATISE

EDITION, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY
BY

FABRIZIO D. RASCHELLA



FIRENZE
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1982

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Errata corrige

place	wrong	right
page 3, note 6, line 4	deceptive	deceptive
page 5, note 9, line 2	1920-24	1920-24, II,
page 7, note 13, line 5	note	not
page 10, line 7	in recent	in more recent
page 12, line 18	Sturlungs	Sturlung
page 16, line 16	which been	which have been
page 20, line 8	.	:
page 23, note 65, line 3	Bibliographical References	Bibliography
page 27, upper left margin	1	91
page 45, line 1	a iafna	at iafna
page 56, circular figure	kuk k lal	[kuk] [k] [lal]
page 110, l. 1	text	texts
page 111, l. 32	not in the habit	not the habit
p. 126, l. 15 (diagram)	<i>s is missing in the diagram</i>	<i>add s below p</i>
p. 136, l. 1	Hallvarðsson	Hallvarðsson,

FILOLOGIA GERMANICA
TESTI E STUDI

Collana diretta da Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda
e Piergiuseppe Scardigli

II

THE SO-CALLED
SECOND GRAMMATICAL TREATISE

AN ORTHOGRAPHIC PATTERN
OF LATE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ICELANDIC

EDITION, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY
BY

FABRIZIO D. RASCHELLÀ



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PROPRIETÀ LETTERARIA RISERVATA

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*To Daniela:
she knows why*

C.M. 660.020

Dicembre 1982

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della S.p.A. Armando Paoletti - Firenze

PREFACE

During the last half century or so, scholarly interest in early Icelandic grammatical literature has been limited almost exclusively to the so-called "First Grammatical Treatise" (FGT). The other three extant treatises, originating in the same cultural tradition, have been put in the shade or even disregarded, so much so that the expression "grammatical treatise" has occasionally been used to refer to FGT alone (e. g., in S. Nordal 1953, pp. 190-95).

In 1975, F. Albano Leoni made the first formal complaint concerning this neglect (pp. 34-35), and, while stressing the importance of, and the necessity for, a critical comparison between the FGT and the "Second Grammatical Treatise" (SGT), he implicitly expressed the need for a deeper knowledge of the latter.

In fact, critical research on the last three treatises came to a virtual standstill by the end of the nineteenth century. Interest in SGT was particularly intense during the last two decades of that same century, when it was at the centre of a lively controversy, principally concerning its relationship with Snorri's Edda and, in consequence, the treatise's purpose for being. However, by 1898, Finnur Jónsson's acute criticism of E. Mogk's essay on SGT seemed to put an end to the whole question (although a number of central problems still remained unsolved), and the treatise was no longer considered except occasionally and on a merely informative level.

Since then, our knowledge of the linguistic and cultural landscape of medieval Iceland has deepened, and notable progress has also been made in the study of grammatical activity during the Middle

Ages and in the techniques of textual criticism, so that the time seems ripe for a radical revision of work previously done in this field.

This study is therefore meant to be a first attempt to resume, by introducing new elements that have come to light as knowledge has grown, a discussion long since abandoned, although of primary importance for the history of Icelandic culture. Its principal aim, in addition to furnishing an updated edition of the text, is to sum up and reconsider critically the main points made in earlier research, thereby bringing to the fore those aspects which have been neglected or not sufficiently examined by previous commentators — for instance, the problem of the “sources” and the dating of the treatise.

I wish to express my thanks to all those who have contributed, in one way or another, to make this work possible. I owe particular gratitude to the staff of the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen for their courtesy and assistance during my stay in Denmark in autumn 1980; to the late Prof. Jan Pinborg, of the Institute for Greek and Latin Medieval Philology at the University of Copenhagen, whose suggestions were invaluable in the search for possible theoretical connections between SGT and the medieval grammatical doctrines; and to my maestro, Piergiuseppe Scardigli, professor of Germanic Philology at the University of Florence, who devoted so much of his time to following the study and whose help and encouragement went far beyond the purely professional aspect. I would also like to thank the University of Florence and the Italian National Research Council (CNR) for their contributions without which it would have been impossible to meet the heavy publishing costs involved.

Prato (Florence), October 1982

FABRIZIO D. RASCHELLÀ

CONTENTS

PREFACE	VII
1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. <i>The Place of the “Second Grammatical Treatise” in the Icelandic Grammatical Tradition</i>	1
1.2. <i>The SGT and Snorri’s Edda</i>	4
1.3. <i>Aim and Value of SGT</i>	9
1.4. <i>The Manuscript Transmission of SGT</i>	10
1.4.1. <i>The Codex Upsaliensis</i>	11
1.4.2. <i>The Codex Wormianus</i>	14
1.4.3. <i>Secondary Manuscripts</i>	16
1.4.4. <i>Relationships between the Two Principal Witnesses of SGT and Determination of the Base Text</i>	16
1.5. <i>Sketch of Earlier Research</i>	21
1.5.1. <i>Editions</i>	21
1.5.2. <i>Other Studies</i>	24
2. TEXT, NOTES, TRANSLATION	25
2.1. <i>Parallel Transcription of the Two Versions</i>	25
2.2. <i>Restored Text and Translation</i>	48
3. COMMENTARY	77
3.1. <i>The Composition of the Text</i>	77
3.1.1. <i>The Introductory Section</i>	77
3.1.2. <i>The Circular Figure and the Classification of the Letters</i>	80

3.1.2.1. The Non-Final Letters	80
3.1.2.2. The Simple Consonants	83
3.1.2.3. The Vowels	84
3.1.2.3a. Simple Vowels	84
3.1.2.3b. Ligatures	84
3.1.2.3c. Digraphs	92
3.1.2.3d. The 'Variable'	92
3.1.2.3e. General Remarks on Vowels	94
3.1.2.4. The Geminate Consonants	95
3.1.2.5. The Non-Initial Letters and the Abbreviation Marks	96
3.1.2.5a. The 'Sub-Letters'	97
3.1.2.5b. The 'Tittles' and Their Values	99
3.1.2.6. The Names of the Letters	101
3.1.3. The Rectangular Figure and the Combination of Letters	103
3.2. <i>The Theoretical Foundations</i>	107
3.3. <i>The Technical Terminology</i>	114
3.4. <i>The Phoneme Inventory Underlying the Orthographic System of SGT</i>	122
3.4.1. Vowel Inventory	123
3.4.2. Consonant Inventory	125
3.5. <i>Dating SGT</i>	126
3.6. <i>The Question of the Author</i>	132
BIBLIOGRAPHY	137
INDEXES	143
<i>Index of Words and Topics</i>	145
<i>Index of Proper Names</i>	148
FACSIMILES	151
<i>Codex Upsaliensis 88-92</i>	153
<i>Codex Wormianus 91-94</i>	159

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE PLACE OF THE "SECOND GRAMMATICAL TREATISE" IN THE ICELANDIC GRAMMATICAL TRADITION

Not long after the middle of the fourteenth century, at a date which cannot be established more precisely, a learned Icelander had the laudable idea of collecting several pieces which had been written at different times on matters concerning his native language. These items were appended to a manuscript containing a number of writings on early Scandinavian mythology and poetry, a collection later known as the Prose Edda, or, more commonly, Snorri's Edda, after the name of its author, the celebrated Icelandic historian and politician Snorri Sturluson (1179-1241). The manuscript, one of the most important containing Snorri's Edda, is known as the Codex Wormianus ⁽¹⁾.

The body of writings on the vernacular falls into four main sections. Despite differences in subject matter, modern critics have called all of these sections "grammatical treatises" ⁽²⁾. Subsequently, in the absence of more specific designations, each treatise has been referred to simply by means of an ordinal number, according to its position in the Codex Wormianus: hence the names "First", "Second", "Third" and "Fourth" Grammatical Treatise (for which the abbreviations FGT, SGT, TGT and FoGT, respectively, will be used here). Since it has generally been maintained that such a succession also reflects the chronological order of

⁽¹⁾ Aptly referred to by D. Strömbäck as a "handbok i samtidens poetiska och språkliga vetande" (1935 p. 92).

⁽²⁾ In the preface to his edition of Snorri's Edda (1818), R. K. Rask used alternately terms such as *málslistarrit*, *ritgerðir um málslistarefni* and *ritgerðir um málslistina*, which, in that they refer to the "art of language" in general as opposed to grammar alone, seem more appropriate than the modern designation.

the treatises, the above names have gradually become definitive in the specific literature⁽³⁾.

These remarks, in themselves, do not add anything new to what has already been set forth by many a scholar in the more than one century of research on early Icelandic grammatical literature. They do, however, provide an indirect explanation of the name by which the text under investigation is commonly known, and they are primarily intended to direct the attention of the reader to the fact that the name of the four treatises is purely conventional, and that their actual chronology does not necessarily correspond to their succession in the Codex Wormianus. It will, in fact, be one of the points of the present study to show that the traditionally accepted view on the chronological order of the treatises may seriously be questioned, though only as concerns SGT and TGT (see § 3.5 below). In this connection it should also be observed that, while FGT and FoGT are known only from the Codex Wormianus, SGT and TGT, or parts of them, are also preserved in other manuscripts.

As mentioned above, all four treatises have been traditionally referred to with the term "grammatical". However, strictly speaking, TGT alone fully deserves such a title. It is the only one which, aside from dealing with letters and sounds, also includes an extensive treatment of the higher speech units (in particular of the syllable and its *accidentia*), and of the parts of speech according to the classical grammatical tradition; it also contains a compendium of stylistics and rhetoric. As for the other three, FGT and SGT deal almost exclusively with orthography (even though their methods and aims are fundamentally different), while FoGT is devoted to stylistic topics only and may therefore be considered a continuation and a completion of TGT.

It is therefore clear that the treatise with which SGT shows the closest affinity is FGT. Even disregarding the version of SGT preserved in the Codex Wormianus — in which, as we will see more clearly in the next chapters, several passages seem to be taken over directly from the text of FGT (either in the form in which it appears in the Codex Wormianus or in some earlier version)⁽⁴⁾ — it can be seen that certain parts are so similar in the two treatises that they can hardly be thought of as mutually independent⁽⁵⁾. Thus, since there can be no doubt that SGT is

⁽³⁾ See, most recently, H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 14. To the best of my knowledge, the established relative chronology of the grammatical treatises has only been questioned to date by the Italian Scandinavianist F. Albano Leoni, who, in his study of FGT (1975 and 1977), advanced the hypothesis that SGT, or at least its central part, might go further back in time than FGT (see also n. 6 below).

⁽⁴⁾ In this connection, see E. Haugen 1972 p. 56n4.

⁽⁵⁾ See, especially, §§ 3.1.2.3e and 3.1.2.4 below.

considerably later than FGT, it seems reasonable to infer that the author of SGT knew, and partially utilized, the work of his predecessor⁽⁶⁾. However, in spite of these similarities, the two treatises show, as has already been observed, considerable differences in more than one respect. Not only is the discussion of individual topics in FGT much more comprehensive and detailed, but also the theoretical grounding on which it is based is quite different from that of SGT. In particular, while the author of the latter presents a classification of letters which lacks any parallel whatsoever in the grammatical literature presently known and employs a technical vocabulary that seems to derive for the most part from an old indigenous tradition (see § 3.3 below), the author of FGT accepts more or less in their entirety the teachings of traditional Latin grammar, although, in applying them to Icelandic, he comes to a quite original and, for that time, absolutely exceptional elaboration. Another difference lies in the purpose for which each treatise was written. The FGT, by its author's own admission, tackles the problem of operating on the Latin alphabet in such a way as to make it suitable for the Icelandic language; it may, therefore, be said to have an intention of reform as a point of departure. On the other hand, SGT does not contain, explicitly at least, any proposal of change. It simply states a set of rules concerning what, in the author's opinion, is, or should be, the correct writing of contemporary Icelandic; at the most it suggests some alternative notations, but it never troubles itself to say which alternative should be preferred. In other words, it is, in normative terms, simply a recording of orthographic rules. Finally, it can be observed that, while FGT always keeps closely to its central subject, SGT has a somewhat heterogeneous structure. The latter incorporates extraneous elements, such as the classification of natural sounds and the comparison of speech sounds with the notes of musical instruments, which, although significant for a better understanding of the cultural background of the author (see § 3.6 below), have very little, if any, bearing on the proper subject of the treatise and remain, therefore, at the level of a mere curiosity.

As can be expected, some correspondences are also to be found between SGT and the first part of TGT. These are, however, more superficial than may appear at first glance. Both treatises start with a description and

⁽⁶⁾ The allegedly "more archaic nature" (*maggiore arcaicità*) of SGT — pointed out by F. Albano Leoni (1975 pp. 40-42 and 64-66), who sees in FGT a learned, Latinizing elaboration of an earlier Icelandic model represented by the nucleus of SGT — is, in my opinion, only deceptive. Such an impression stems not so much from an insufficiently deep analysis of SGT as from attributing a primary role to the version in the Codex Wormianus (the more distant from the original, as shown in § 1.4.4 below).

classification of natural sounds of a type to be found frequently in logical and rhetorical writings dating from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards (see § 3.2 below). Yet while the material is so succinctly and atypically expounded in SGT that it becomes impossible to trace it back to any specific source, the text of TGT is, by contrast, scrupulously observant of the canons of traditional medieval scholarship. Therefore in the latter it is not difficult to find clear, although not always explicit, references to the great masters of ancient Greek speculative philosophy or to their medieval epigones, as well as to the established authorities of medieval Latin grammar; in fact, both Plato, on the one hand, and Priscian, on the other, are expressly mentioned, although they are certainly not the only sources for the statements contained in TGT (7). The discussion concerning letters and their attributes, the syllable, and the parts of speech (with the exception of the paragraph on runic letters) is also based on traditional Latin grammar, particularly on Priscian's *Institutiones* (8). It is precisely in this section that we find some terminological correspondences with SGT, which, as will be shown later, prove to be of great interest in establishing certain characteristics of SGT. At any rate, it must be pointed out that, while there are good reasons to believe that the author of SGT was influenced to some extent by the theories set forth in FGT, there is no conclusive evidence that he also drew direct inspiration from TGT, even if, as we will see, the latter was in all likelihood written at an earlier date.

All of the points of contact between SGT and the other grammatical treatises discussed so far will be examined in more detail in Chapter 3.

1.2. THE SGT AND SNORRI'S EDDA

For many years critical opinion on the function and the intrinsic value of SGT has been subordinated to the definition of its relationship with one of the other sections of Snorri's Edda, namely the *Háttatal*, the fundamental work on the basic principles of Old Norse versification. Therefore, before considering the intentions of the author of SGT and the results he achieved, it is necessary to retrace in broad outline the main points of a dispute which, although perhaps definitively settled today, has

(7) Cf. the footnotes in the Arnarnagæan edition (ESS.II) pp. 62-67 and, particularly, in B. M. Olsen 1884 pp. 33-36.

(8) Persistent attempts were made by B. M. Olsen (1883, esp. p. 79, and 1884 pp. xxiii-xxiv) to attribute the original draft of this paragraph to Þóróddr Gamlaðson rúnameistari (b. ca. 1085). This assumption was strongly opposed by F. Jónsson (1920-24 pp. 921-23).

furnished ample material for discussion during the last two decades of the past century.

In the introductory essay to his edition of TGT and FoGT (1884) — which is certainly the most careful and exhaustive investigation to date of early Icelandic grammatical literature as a whole — B. M. Olsen firmly maintained (pp. xlvii-xlviii) that, although all of the four grammatical treatises have been preserved in manuscripts containing Snorri's Edda, the connection could only in part be considered original. It surely did not apply to FGT and SGT, because, aside from their remoteness in terms of subject matter from Snorri's work, they were, according to Olsen, considerably older: while the generally accepted time of composition of the Edda is ca. 1220, he dated the first two treatises to, respectively, about the middle of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Instead, Olsen maintained, the connection between the grammatical treatises and the Edda took place later, viz. around the middle of the thirteenth century, and he ventured the opinion that the first to operate this fusion was Óláfr Þórðarson hvítaskáld, the author of TGT. At any rate, the idea of associating grammatical writings with works dealing with poetic technique and metrics no doubt derived from an analogous Latin practice, with the fundamental difference that, while metrics was subordinated to grammar in the classical and medieval Latin tradition, the Icelandic authors had inverted the relationship (9).

Olsen's view is generally accepted today in its main lines (10). But critical opinion has not always been so peaceful, at least as far as SGT is concerned. Its extraneousness to the Edda had already been hinted at by K. Müllenhoff (1883 p. 168) before Olsen's essay made its appearance and was later confirmed by F. Jónsson in his edition of the treatise (1886). In the meantime, however, a different opinion had gradually gained ground: there was a tendency, especially widespread among German Scandinavianists, to regard SGT as a kind of prelude to the *Háttatal*, which immediately follows it in one of the two manuscripts containing the treatise, the Codex Upsaliensis. Such a connection was first assumed by T. Möbius (1879-81 II p. 41 Anm.) on the basis of certain terminological correspondences between the two writings. But the most intransigent supporters of this view were O. Brenner and E. Mogk. Brenner (1888) maintained that the so-called "zweite grammatische abhandlung" (a designation which he rejected) was not a grammatical, i.e. orthographic,

(9) On the close connection between poetry and grammar (in the word's broadest sense) in the old Scandinavian tradition, see F. Jónsson 1920-24 pp. 912-13 and 1933 pp. 3-4, and, with special regard to the MS transmission of the grammatical treatises, R. C. Boer 1924 pp. 190-92.

(10) See, for example, H. Benediktsson 1972 pp. 20-21.

treatise, but an introduction to the Háttatal, composed with the sole intention of illustrating the possible ways of combining letters in view of application to the metre of scaldic poetry. The following quotations from his article will better show his position:

Die Isolierung und Verbindung der lauten nun, gewissermaßen als wissenschaftliche Grundlage für die spätere Definition des Reimes (Hátt. 2¹³⁻²⁶) ist es, was der Verfasser des Traktates darstellen wollte; (p. 274).

And further, below, after having pointed out some alleged connections between SGT and the Háttatal:

Man möchte fast glauben, dass der Traktat dazu bestimmt war, in die Einleitung des Háttatalcommentars verarbeitet zu werden. (Ibid.).

And finally:

Der Inhalt des Traktates ist zusammengestellt mit Rücksicht auf die Bedeutung der *hljóðsgrein* für die Skaldendichtung, für die *stafa setning*. (p. 275).

The arguments adduced by Brenner to prove his statements form a series of manifest, albeit cleverly organized, forcings of the text, all of which are aimed at interpreting every single passage of the treatise in terms of metrics; nor are they entirely free from banality and evident contradiction, as when, for instance, he states, against the text of the treatise itself, that the letters 'ð', 'z' and 'x' "nur im Silbenauslaut stehen können" (p. 278) ⁽¹¹⁾.

E. Mogk's position (1889a) was analogous, although his motivations were quite different. According to Mogk, SGT contained only "bemerkungen über die bestehenden buchstaben oder laute, die nur zu einem bestimmten zwecke, im Hinblick auf ein bestimmtes werk geschrieben sind." (p. 130). This view soon became quite explicit when, following the example of Brenner, he rejected the designation "grammatical treatise" and proposed that of "sprachliche einleitung zum Háttatal" (Ibid.). He maintained that the writing in question was only associated with the other treatises at a later date, and that this took place merely because of a misinterpretation on the part of a re-elaborator of Snorri's work. Mogk's position is more palatable than Brenner's because he, at least, did no violence to the text of the treatise. Although they were questionable, his arguments in favour of the dependence of SGT upon the Háttatal were based upon the assumption that all parts of the Edda contained in the Codex Upsaliensis (or at least their first draft) stemmed from Snorri's own hand. The

⁽¹¹⁾ Cf. § 3.1.2.5a below.

supposition obviously also applied to SGT. However, while it was possible that a rough sketch of the treatise might have derived from Snorri's pen, the definitive elaboration of it should, according to Mogk, be ascribed to one of his disciples (and not even to one of the most diligent), to whom Snorri presumably entrusted the task of inserting it, with a brief commentary, before the Háttatal. Thus Mogk maintained that everything which was less clear and less pertinent to the proper aim of the treatise should be attributed to this not particularly clever collaborator of Snorri's ⁽¹²⁾. In other words, all of the observations concerning orthography, or what is generally referred to as the nucleus of SGT, had nothing to do with its original version and its real aim. Accordingly, although declaring himself in agreement with Brenner's point of departure, Mogk rejected the whole of his interpretation of the treatise as a work on metrics:

Ich vermag deshalb auch das nicht in ihnen [= allerlei Schreibregeln] zu finden, was Brenner aus ihnen herausliest ...; ebensowenig wie zu grammatischen zwecken, ebensowenig sind sie auch zu metrischen zwecken geschaffen. (p. 158).

The reasoning behind the interpretation of SGT on the part of what may be referred to as "the German school" was principally anchored to the following two elements: (1) the presence in the Codex Upsaliensis of a heading at the bottom of p. 87 (i.e. immediately before the beginning of the treatise), which, with the aid of the diplomatic transcription provided by F. Jónsson (1886 p. 56), can be reconstructed as *her segir af setningo hatta lykilsins* 'Here it speaks of the composition of the metrical key' ⁽¹³⁾, and (2) the formal correspondence between some technical terms used in both SGT and the Háttatal. The heading was interpreted as the real title of the treatise ⁽¹⁴⁾. Accordingly, the treatise, which did not contain any reference whatsoever to metres (*hættir*), was regarded as a sort of preamble to the Háttatal (perhaps improperly referred to in the manuscript as Háttalykill, after the name of an earlier work containing similar subject matter), which was specifically devoted to such questions.

⁽¹²⁾ See, especially, the internal divisions of the treatise set up by Mogk on p. 158.

⁽¹³⁾ The heading is written, as all the other headings in the MS, in red ink and is placed on a previously erased line. It is now very faded and only partially legible, which is due, in all likelihood, to a treatment with chemical reagents applied at some indeterminate time (cf. A. Grape 1962-77 II p. 168). The transcription given by R. K. Rask (1818 p. 289n1), *Hér segir frá hljóðsgreinum*, does not derive, as one might suppose, from a misreading, but is directly drawn from one of the transcripts he used in his edition of Snorri's Edda (cf. A. Grape 1962-77 I p. 95n11).

⁽¹⁴⁾ T. Möbius 1879-81 II p. 41 Anm.; O. Brenner 1888 p. 272 (in the actual title of his article); E. Mogk 1889a pp. 149-50.

As for the terminological correspondences, it was assumed that the formal identity of certain terms such as *hljóðsgrein*, *stafasetning* and *hending*, which occur in both SGT and in the commentary to the Háttatal, also implied an equivalence at the semantic level. This was ostensibly true because they were used in both texts with more or less explicit reference to the combination of letters and sounds in the basic metrical units (i.e. in alliterating syllables, internal rhymes, etc.)⁽¹⁵⁾. It was pointed out that, while SGT presented these terms in their general (linguistic) meanings, the Háttatal furnished the specific (metrical) ones⁽¹⁶⁾.

All of the above arguments were opposed, point by point, by F. Jónsson, who, in replying to the theses put forward by E. Mogk, resolutely asserted the total independence of the treatise from the Háttatal and insisted upon its purely grammatical nature⁽¹⁷⁾. He laid particular stress on the fact that Mogk, in order to defend his theory, had been compelled to look upon many parts of the treatise, and precisely those sections which stood out from the others for their originality, as interpolations. According to Jónsson, there was not, at any rate, a single word in the treatise which had any bearing on the subject matter of the Háttatal, i.e. metrics, and this was particularly true of the parts which Mogk considered the only original ones. As for the heading, he pointed out, confirming a view previously expressed in his edition of the treatise (1886 pp. 87-88), that headings and titles were often placed in a wrong position, in the Codex Upsaliensis as in many other manuscripts, because they were, as a rule, added after the whole text had been copied out, i.e. when the scribe could already have forgotten the content of the single paragraphs. He mentioned some instances of headings in the Codex Upsaliensis that had been wrongly placed and observed that this could easily be the case for the one in question. The latter actually would have been much more appropriate if it had appeared before the Háttatal, which has none. As a title of SGT it was inconceivable, even if one followed Mogk's interpretation.

F. Jónsson's criticism seems to have been definitive. His objections remained unanswered, and his general standpoint was taken up and supported once more several decades later by another eminent authority on Icelandic cultural history, S. Nordal, who also was an expert on Snorri. Indeed, the following judgement which Nordal expressed on SGT represents the view which is now widely accepted⁽¹⁸⁾:

There is ... no reason to ... regard the treatise as an integral part of the Edda, an introduction to Háttatal. It has no more to do with the Edda itself than those lists

⁽¹⁵⁾ T. Möbius, *ibid.*

⁽¹⁶⁾ O. Brenner 1888 pp. 274 and 279.

⁽¹⁷⁾ F. Jónsson 1898 pp. 326-30.

⁽¹⁸⁾ S. Nordal 1931 p. 13.

of skalds and lawspeakers and that genealogy of the Sturlungs which the scribe of the Upsala manuscript found at Reykjaholt and was tempted to include in his copy or adaptation of the Edda⁽¹⁹⁾.

Therefore, we can safely say in conclusion that, although certain external features may cause some perplexity in establishing the proper aim of SGT, the treatise must nevertheless be considered in all respects a grammatical or, more precisely, an orthographic work. Any differing characterization of it is bound to proceed from a wrong or tendentious evaluation of its content.

1.3. AIM AND VALUE OF SGT

With very few exceptions, SGT has never been assigned a role of great importance in the history of Icelandic grammatical scholarship, nor has its documentary value vis-à-vis the intellectual life of medieval Iceland ever been much appreciated. This explains, among other things, the scarcity of specific studies to date. Before the appearance of F. Jónsson's edition (1886), there was general agreement that the principal merit of SGT lay in the fact that it had introduced the letter 'ð' into the Icelandic alphabet⁽²⁰⁾. Such an assumption was obviously based upon an early dating of the treatise, which was presumed to have been written around 1200, i.e. at a time in which the use of this letter was still unknown to Icelandic scribes (see § 3.5 below). The only appreciation of SGT that went beyond this acknowledgement came from B. M. Ólsen, who, in emphasizing the originality and the stylistic sobriety of the central section, openly admitted its importance "både i sig selv og på grund af dets berøringspunkter både med runeafsnittet i Afh. III og med Afh. I." (1884 pp. xxxi-xxxii).

F. Jónsson disclaimed even the few merits which, rightly or wrongly, had been attributed to the treatise. As all of his predecessors had done, he, too, asserted the lesser importance of SGT when compared with FGT. He observed that, while FGT sprang from an urgent need for orthographic reform and therefore played a primary role in the establishment of a writing system consonant with the peculiar demands of the Icelandic language, the same could not be said for SGT, which "har aldrig haft eller fået noget betydning." (1886 p. xxix). It did not contain any previously unknown notion or rule, and must therefore be regarded as a simple handbook of orthography, a sort of primer to be used in the schools for

⁽¹⁹⁾ Cf. F. Jónsson 1898 pp. 328-29.

⁽²⁰⁾ See, for example, ESS.II p. 44n1 and B.M. Ólsen 1884 p. xxix.

the teaching of the first elements of grammar to the students of the Trivium. As for the letter 'ð', Jónsson, starting from the premise that SGT could not have been written before the middle of the thirteenth century (see § 3.5 below), maintained that the incorporation of this letter into the Icelandic alphabet was no doubt anterior to it.

more Since Jónsson's time, there seems to have been general agreement on the merely compilatory character of SGT. Thus, also in recent times, it has been stated that "Die 2. gr. abh. kodifiziert im allgemeinen nur bereits geltende regeln;" (21). Even if this is fundamentally true, it does not seem fair to dismiss the importance of the treatise so hastily. While SGT's value certainly does not lie in the enunciation of new orthographic rules, it is nevertheless noteworthy for its original descriptive method and also for its overall independence from the Latin grammatical model. Moreover, although the author did not introduce any new rules, it cannot be denied that at least he operated a critical choice.

A comparison between the orthographic rules set forth in SGT and the contemporary Icelandic scribal practice would entail an extensive and careful examination of dozens of manuscripts, which obviously cannot be done here. It must be noted, at any rate, that the rules contained in SGT are by no means rigid: many alternatives are granted (such as between 'æ' and 'ǣ', 'æ' and 'ǣ', to denote unlauded vowels; or between double minuscule and simple majuscule in the notation of geminate consonants), not to mention the presence of really obscure points (as concerning, for example, the distribution of 'þ' and 'ð', 'k' and 'c'; see, especially, § 3.1.2.5a below), on which, however hard one may try, it is impossible to shed light.

In all likelihood, the principal reason which moved the author to write this treatise was that certain phonological changes which had been affecting the Icelandic language for quite some time had gradually become definitive, and therefore needed a new and stable orthographic norm. In other words, the task of our author did not consist in creating new orthographic means, but, above all, in systematizing some particularly heterogeneous orthographic material, which already existed but had been used for too long without logical discrimination and consistency.

1.4. THE MANUSCRIPT TRANSMISSION OF SGT

The history of the text of SGT is, of course, closely connected with that of the two principal manuscripts in which it is preserved, currently known as the Codex Upsaliensis and the Codex Wormianus. This is obviously not

(21) H. Spehr 1929 p. 98.

the right place for a detailed report on the history and the formal characteristics of the two manuscripts, of which SGT represents only a small portion. They have already been the object of several specific investigations, and reference can be made to these works for minute information (22). For the purposes of the present study it will suffice to furnish the essential data on the history of the two codices from their presumed time of origin up to the time in which they became part of their respective collections.

1.4.1. The Codex Upsaliensis

Codex Upsaliensis is the name of the vellum manuscript DG:11 (4to) in the University Library of Uppsala (23). The codex, which is preserved in its entirety and is on the whole in excellent conditions, is written by one hand throughout (with the exception of the numerous marginal notes, added for the most part in later times). It contains quite a number of illustrations; these, too, are presumably posterior to the compilation of the codex itself. The text of SGT occupies little less than five pages (88:1-92:19).

The certain data at our disposal on the history of the Codex Upsaliensis are very few indeed; in any case, they do not go further back than the early seventeenth century. At that time the manuscript belonged to

(22) The most exhaustive description of the Codex Upsaliensis, together with a detailed account of its history, can be found in A. Grape 1962-77 (see the following note). Among the studies which preceded it the following three deserve particular mention: F. Jónsson (in ESS.III) 1887 pp. lxi-lxix, V. Gödel 1892 pp. 11-16 and, again, F. Jónsson 1931 pp. x-xiii. The Codex Wormianus does not yet have any study as comprehensive as Grape's on the Codex Upsaliensis. The most extensive and careful description, mainly consisting in an analysis of its paleographic characteristics, is the one carried out by F. Jónsson in ESS.III (1887 pp. xlv-lxi). Jónsson's introduction to the diplomatic edition of the codex (1924 pp. i-viii) may be considered a completion of the above. Valuable information may also be found in the Arnarnagæan *Katalog* (1889-94 I pp. 213-15), together with S. Nordal's preface to the phototypic edition of the codex (1931); the latter, however, is not so much concerned with describing the codex as such as with the historical and cultural circumstances behind it. Finally, mention should be made of the concise but very careful description in H. Benediktsson 1972 (pp. 16-19), especially in connection with the dating of the MS.

(23) A phototypic edition of the codex, with an ample historical introduction by A. Grape, was published in 1962 under the title *Snorre Sturlasons Edda*. An additional volume came out in 1977 (started by Grape himself in collaboration with G. Kallstenius and completed after their death by Ö. Thorell). In addition to a diplomatic transcription of the whole MS, the second volume contains a thorough paleographic commentary and a complete word index, together with a collection of technical data concerning the MS as a whole and, particularly, its writing.

Brynjólfur Sveinsson (1605-1675), bishop of Skálholt, who, in 1639, presented it to one of his friends, the Danish historian Stephanus Johannis Stephanus (1599-1650) ⁽²⁴⁾. Everything we know about its earlier history is based exclusively upon suppositions.

An analysis of the paleographic, orthographic and linguistic characteristics of the codex reveals that it can hardly have been written before 1300 ⁽²⁵⁾. Actually, the first quarter of the fourteenth century has been indicated as the most likely date of origin ⁽²⁶⁾.

As regards its provenance, there are elements in the composition of the codex itself which could be interpreted as evidence that the codex, or at least the model from which it derives, was written somewhere in south-western Iceland. It contains some minor sections, traditionally known as *Skáldatal* (pp. 43-47), *Ættartala Sturlunga* (p. 48:1-19) and *Lögsögumannatal* (pp. 48:20/49:12), respectively, which cannot be found in any other manuscript of the Edda and which bear very little, if any, relation to the other subjects dealt with in the book. They are simple lists of names and genealogies, which mention, among others, some distinguished members of the Sturlunga family (Snorri's own), including Snorri himself and his closest relatives. From this it has been inferred that the compiler of the manuscript could be connected in some way with the family in question and consequently with its traditional residence, which, as is well known, was located in south-western Iceland, in the region around Reykjavík (Borgarfjörður) ⁽²⁷⁾.

A topic which has been closely associated with the earlier history of the manuscript is the so-called "Gunnarr question". Right after the end of SGT (p. 92) there appears a short doggerel rhyme in the form of a cryptogram, where a certain Gunnarr is mentioned as the owner of the manuscript. Since the writing clearly originates from the same hand which wrote all the rest of the codex, it was once assumed that the name

⁽²⁴⁾ The donation is clearly attested in a letter from Stephanus to Ole Worm dated 16.5.1639 (cf. F. Jónsson 1887 p. lxiii).

⁽²⁵⁾ Particularly significant, in this respect, are the following features: the regular notation 'æ' for earlier *ǣ* and *ǿ*, which testifies to the merger of the two vowel phonemes; the frequent occurrence of the dental spirant (denoted by 'ð' or, less frequently, by 'þ') in place of *t* in word final position, and, finally, the presence of simple post-consonantal *r* in many forms where etymology requires *ur*, which is a manifest hypercorrectism indicating that the epenthesis rule, characteristic of Modern Icelandic, had already made its entrance. Although all of these features (especially the first one) already occurred more or less sporadically in the later part of the thirteenth century, they reached full development only in the course of the fourteenth century. Thus, their relative frequency in our codex shows that it was written in a time of transition, i.e. around 1300 (cf. F. Jónsson 1887 p. lxxviii).

⁽²⁶⁾ See A. Grape 1962-77 II p. ix.

⁽²⁷⁾ See *ibid.* I pp. 11-12, with ref. to F. Jónsson 1931 p. xi.

referred to was that of the copyist himself of the Codex Upsaliensis ⁽²⁸⁾. However, a closer examination of the writing reveals that the verse must be a transcription from some earlier manuscript. The hypothesis has been advanced that it could have derived from the same exemplar from which SGT was copied ⁽²⁹⁾. In fact, it presents one orthographic characteristic, viz. the use of 'c' in place of 'k' in medial and final position, which is not found elsewhere in the codex, but which, instead, seems to be in agreement with one of the rules set forth in SGT (see § 3.1.2.5a below) ⁽³⁰⁾. Thus, although it is not particularly helpful in establishing with more precision the circumstances in which the manuscript came into being, the "Gunnarr question" has nevertheless some bearing on the subject of the present study. If Grape's suggestion is feasible, and there is no reason why it should not be, it implies that an early copy of SGT could have been in the hands of a certain Gunnarr, whose identity, however, cannot be determined, for the present, with greater precision. This subject will be touched upon again in § 3.6 below.

It must also be noted that the many marginal notes, which appear in the codex and which can be traced back to different times, are a clear sign that it had a considerable number of owners. In particular, there is a note in the lower margin of p. 64 in which the volume is said to belong to a priest by the name of Þorlákr. The note has been assumed to date from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and the Þorlákr in question to be the person from whom the Bishop Brynjólfur received the manuscript ⁽³¹⁾. At any rate, his precise identity, like that of the above-mentioned Gunnarr, seems bound to remain unknown.

After Stephanus' death, his library was sold in bulk by his widow. The Edda manuscript, together with the other manuscripts owned by Stephanus, was purchased (on behalf, it seems, of Queen Kristina of Sweden herself) by the Swedish State Chancellor and renowned patron of

⁽²⁸⁾ See F. Jónsson 1887 pp. lxiv-lxv. Jónsson also attempted to establish the exact identity of this Gunnarr. He suggested that he might have been a certain Gunnarr rásvinn, a Norwegian who is known to have come to Iceland in 1319 in company with Jón Egilsson murti, one of Snorri's great-nephews. This hypothesis, however, was later questioned by Jónsson himself (1931 p. xi) on account of the fact that the MS does not seem to have gone outside of Iceland before 1639.

⁽²⁹⁾ A. Grape 1962-77 I p. 14.

⁽³⁰⁾ Less indicative, in this respect, is the presence (also pointed out by Grape) of the continental-type 'f' in the brief Latin aphorism to be found on the line immediately below. This, too, is a characteristic that does not occur in any other part of the MS except in the lists of consonants in SGT. Although it cannot be excluded that the sentence in question was in the same MS containing the above-mentioned verse and SGT, it may well have been copied out from still another MS.

⁽³¹⁾ F. Jónsson 1887 p. lxiv; cf. F. Jónsson 1931 p. xi.

the arts Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, who transferred it definitively to the University Library of Uppsala in 1662 (the official deed of gift, however, is dated 18.1.1669) ⁽³²⁾. Since that time the manuscript has not undergone further removals worth mentioning, except, perhaps, a temporary transfer to the College of Antiquities in Stockholm towards the end of the same century ⁽³³⁾.

1.4.2. The Codex Wormianus

The other vellum manuscript containing the text of SGT, traditionally known as the Codex Wormianus of Snorri's Edda, is preserved in the great manuscript collection of the Arnamagnæan Institute (University of Copenhagen) ⁽³⁴⁾ under the signum AM. 242, fol. ⁽³⁵⁾. The state of preservation of the manuscript, which is entirely written by the same hand, is fairly good, aside from the absence of some pages partially replaced with paper leaves in the seventeenth century and the considerable fading of the writing in several places. The text of SGT extends from p. 91:1 to p. 94:7 according to the present pagination, which also includes the later paper leaves ⁽³⁶⁾.

⁽³²⁾ According to a different version, which was credited up to the middle of the last century, the MS was presumably carried to Sweden directly from Iceland by a certain Jón Jónsson, an Icelander who landed in Sweden in 1658 by mere chance (he was aboard a Danish vessel seized by the Swedes) and then naturalized there with the name Jonas Rugman (after the name of his birthplace, Rügstaðir, in northern Iceland). He was not particularly outstanding from a cultural point of view; however, principally in virtue of his being a native Icelandic speaker, he became the assistant of Olof Verelius, an eminent scholar of national antiquities in Uppsala. Rugman made, among other things, a complete transcript of the Codex Upsaliensis, now preserved in the University Library of Uppsala under the signum R:683 (see § 1.4.3 below). The assumption of the Rugman connection was in fact so deep-rooted that his name was added to the very title-page of the codex in 1834. This erroneous indication was later emended by Jón Sigurðsson (see F. Jónsson 1887 p. lxii and A. Grape 1962-77 I pp. 19-20).

⁽³³⁾ See A. Grape 1962-77 I p. 38.

⁽³⁴⁾ Since 1976 in the new seat of the Faculty of Human Sciences at Amager.

⁽³⁵⁾ A phototypic edition of the codex, with a preface by S. Nordal, appeared in 1931.

⁽³⁶⁾ A blank space at the top of p. 91, apparently corresponding to seven lines, separates the text of SGT from that of FGT, while the boundary between SGT and TGT is simply marked by the beginning of a new paragraph with a large extra-marginal initial. Marginal and interlinear notes, written mostly by Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík (1705-1779), are scattered throughout the text of the treatise. (On Jón Ólafsson and his activities, see J. Helgason 1926). Of particular interest is the one in the upper margin of p. 91, in which it is stated that (and explained why) "the following seems to originate from another author" (*að því sem*

Although we do not yet have a complete description of it, the codex has been the object of investigation on several occasions ⁽³⁷⁾, and it may therefore be said that it is well known, at least in its main characteristics. On the basis of internal evidence (analysis of writing, etc.), the manuscript may safely be dated to the third quarter of the fourteenth century ⁽³⁸⁾. As for its place of origin, it is generally agreed that the codex was written in the district of Húnavatnssýsla, in the north-western part of Iceland, perhaps at Þingeyrar, the seat of the earliest Icelandic monastery ⁽³⁹⁾.

We have no information whatsoever concerning the history of the codex from its origins down to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The first significant clue is given by a name which appears in abbreviated form in the lower margin of p. 147 (p. 117 according to the original pagination). This has been read as Jón Sigmundsson (or Sigmundarson) ⁽⁴⁰⁾, and the person referred to has been identified with a Jón Sigmundsson who was a legal figure in the northern and western districts of Iceland during the second decade of the sixteenth century. What makes this supposition likely is that the monogram of Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson (1542-1627) appears immediately below the name; the bishop was a grandson of Jón's, and may have inherited the manuscript from his grandfather. It must be pointed out, however, that the reading "Jón Sigmundsson" is by no means certain, and doubts have even been cast on its authenticity ⁽⁴¹⁾. From Guðbrandur, the manuscript must have passed into the hands of the Rev. Árnrímur Jónsson the Learned, for we know for certain that it was in the latter's possession before 1628. On September 4 of that year Árnrímur sent the manuscript to his distinguished Danish friend Ole Worm, who welcomed it, perhaps wrongly, as a present ⁽⁴²⁾. The codex remained the property of the Worm family for two more generations (for this reason and in honour of its first Danish owner it came to be referred to as "Codex Wormianus"), until Ole's grandson, the Bishop Christian Worm, presented it to Árni

nú kemr sýnist annar auctor), i.e. from an author different from the one of FGT; the person, however, is erroneously identified with Óláfr Þórðarson, who, as mentioned in § 1.2 above, is the author of TGT.

⁽³⁷⁾ See n. 22 above and H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 18n1.

⁽³⁸⁾ Cf., for example, S. Nordal 1931 pp. 5 and 16 and H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 18.

⁽³⁹⁾ See F. Jónsson 1886 p. xi and 1887 p. xlv.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ See F. Jónsson 1887 p. xlv and 1924 p. i.

⁽⁴¹⁾ See H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 17.

⁽⁴²⁾ It seems that Worm deliberately misinterpreted a sentence contained in the letter which Árnrímur sent to him together with the MS (cf. F. Jónsson 1887 p. xlv).

Magnússon in 1706. Thus it became part of the great Arnamagnæan Collection, of which it is still today one of the most valuable items.

1.4.3. Secondary Manuscripts

A large number of transcripts, all on paper manuscripts, have been made of both the Codex Upsaliensis and the Codex Wormianus. This took place for the most part in the seventeenth century. Not a few of them also include SGT (obviously, where copies of the Codex Wormianus are concerned, together with one or more of the other treatises). Very often, however, the text of the treatise appears in an either incomplete or abridged form. Since all of the transcripts are known to be, without exception, apographs of the two chief manuscripts (or even copies of copies), they have of course no immediate value for textual criticism ⁽⁴³⁾. Consequently, a complete list, aside from being practically impossible (the catalogues do not always furnish the exact contents of the manuscripts), would be of no practical use. We may therefore limit ourselves to mentioning below only a few of the manuscripts which have been used as a check for the present edition, grouping them under their respective archetype:

- (1) According to the Codex Upsaliensis: Papp. 4:o nr 49 in the Royal Library of Stockholm (second half of the seventeenth century); R:683 (= Salanska saml. n:o 28 folio) in the University Library of Uppsala (second half of the seventeenth century), including a Latin translation; AM.913, 4to in the Arnamagnæan Collection, Copenhagen (ca. 1700).
- (2) According to the Codex Wormianus: AM.158, 8vo in the Arnamagnæan Collection (seventeenth century); AM.753, 4to, in the same collection (the manuscript, which was written about 1700, is in reality a transcript of the Codex Upsaliensis; however, it includes FGT and SGT according to the text of the Codex Wormianus); Ny kgl. sml. 1878a, 4to in the Royal Library of Copenhagen (second half of the eighteenth century).
- (3) Finally, a manuscript should be mentioned in which the versions of the two main codices appear to be mixed. This is the manuscript AM.166a, 8vo (Arnamagnæan Collection, seventeenth century).

1.4.4. Relationships between the Two Principal Witnesses of SGT and Determination of the Base Text

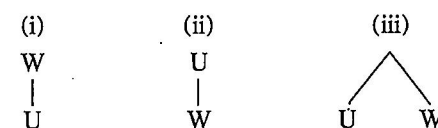
The situation which characterizes the manuscript transmission of SGT is typical of any tradition represented by only two witnesses with

⁽⁴³⁾ Cf. F. Jónsson 1887 p. cxi and H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 19n1.

independent value. Its characteristics are clearly outlined in the following statement ⁽⁴⁴⁾:

When only two manuscripts have survived, the determination of their relationship is a binary problem — one or neither is an ancestor of the other — and the number of experiments ... can be kept to a minimum.

Thus, indicating the two versions of SGT preserved in the Codex Upsaliensis and in the Codex Wormianus with U and W respectively, the theoretically possible cases of interrelationship may be schematically represented as follows:



That is to say: (i) U depends on W; (ii) W depends on U; (iii) U and W are mutually independent, or, in other words, they are the product of a ramification. Let us examine each of these three possibilities in the order in which we have presented them.

(i) The first hypothesis must be absolutely excluded. The Codex Upsaliensis was written about half a century earlier than the Codex Wormianus and can therefore in no way be derived from it. At any rate, the non-dependence of U on W can be proved even if we leave aside this important chronological consideration, namely, by simply comparing the text structure of the two versions. The following two points are particularly relevant in this respect:

(1) U contains two illustrative figures (which are continually referred to in the text) together with other parts essential to the structure of the treatise and strictly pertinent to its subject matter, which are absent in W. While it seems likely that W omitted them, it is hardly conceivable that U added them independently.

(2) On the other hand, W includes some passages, especially in the initial and final sections, which bear no relation to the rest of the treatise or at least do not harmonize with it. They consist for the most part in general remarks on the intellectual and expressive faculties of man as a Divine creature together with suggestions as to the most suitable way of using these faculties in praise of God. There is no doubt that the passages were inserted into the treatise in order to give it a religious imprint which was totally absent in the original. Further interpolations — partly taken over

⁽⁴⁴⁾ V. A. Dearing 1974 p. 126.

from the text of FGT and partly of unknown origin (in all likelihood formulated *ad hoc* by W's scribe himself or by one of his predecessors) — can also be found in the grammatical section ⁽⁴⁵⁾.

It must be noted, however, that, in spite of its later origins, W's linguistic form is more accurate and, in certain respects, even more archaic than that of U. This could easily lead to the assumption that W, although lacking several essential parts and full of interpolations, preserves the wording of the original more closely ⁽⁴⁶⁾. Yet a careful examination clearly reveals that both the apparent accuracy and archaic quality of W's form are due to a marked tendency on the part of its scribe to make the text more elegant than it was originally. Such a trend appears in some points to such an exaggerated extent that it undermines the overall syntactic and stylistic coherence of the text ⁽⁴⁷⁾.

(ii) The inverse hypothesis, i.e., that W may in some way descend from U, is thus theoretically possible. If it were so, U would rise to the rank of archetype, of which W would be but a strongly re-elaborated abridgement with a considerable number of omissions, modifications and interpolations. For this to be true, however, there is one important condition: U, in conformity with the requirements of the archetype, should contain all of the better readings ⁽⁴⁸⁾. This is not the case. In several places W offers readings which are unquestionably better than those of U (or right readings where U's are wrong), and these cannot simply be attributed to embellishments or conjectural emendations ⁽⁴⁹⁾. Thus, this hypothesis must also be discarded.

(iii) The third alternative is therefore the only one we have left. That the relationship between U and W is the one indicated under (iii) is proved in

⁽⁴⁵⁾ For a detailed analysis of all these interpolations, and remarks on their lack of pertinence to SGT, see F. Jónsson 1886 pp. xxiv-xxvii. It should be observed, further, that granting more reliability to W has led scholars to regard the treatise as being without a beginning (see, for example, ESS.II p. v and p. 46n3). Such an impression has been caused by the presence of a passage in W (91:8) which clearly acts as a link between the preamble and the proper text of SGT: *Nú hafa þessir hlutir hljóð, sumir rödd ok sumir mál, sem sagi var*. 'Now, (some of) these things have a sound, some (others) a voice and some (others) a language, as was said (above).' The passage has been interpreted, understandably enough, as a reference to something that once came first and was subsequently lost. On the contrary, it is only an anticipation of what is to follow immediately below, and it merely shows that the scribe had read the text of the whole treatise before starting to copy it. After all, W does also contain an anticipation in the immediately preceding passage (91:6-8; cf. n. 17-19 to the restored text, § 2.2 below).

⁽⁴⁶⁾ This view was actually held by F. Jónsson (1886 p. xxviii).

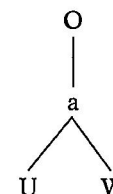
⁽⁴⁷⁾ Evidence for this can be found almost everywhere in the notes to the restored text (§ 2.2 below).

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Cf. V. A. Dearing 1974 p. 131.

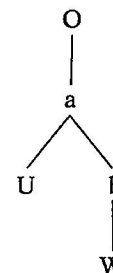
⁽⁴⁹⁾ See, especially, nn. 28, 35, 37a, and 55 to the restored text (§ 2.2 below).

the first place by the fact that the two versions have a number of significant errors in common. These consist chiefly in transpositions of passages which, as will be shown below, can be traced back to a common ancestor of the two extant copies ⁽⁵⁰⁾. The presence of some passages which are clearly corrupt (although in different ways) in both U and W also leads us in the same direction ⁽⁵¹⁾. We may therefore conclude that the two copies proceed from a ramification.

It now remains to establish whether they are directly derived from the original or not. The answer is clearly negative. Since both of them, as has been noted above, contain errors which imply a corruption that already existed in their exemplar, this can obviously not be the original. It is therefore necessary to postulate at least one intermediate link between the two extant copies and the original, as in the diagram below:



As far as U is concerned, the relationship with the original (O) may actually be the one indicated by the diagram. It is in fact chronologically so close to the original (which, as we will see later on, can be placed in the late thirteenth century) as to justify the assumption that only the exemplar 'a' interposes between them. As for W, the fact that it is considerably later than U may entitle us to posit a further intermediary. Accordingly, the preceding diagram may be modified as follows:



⁽⁵⁰⁾ See nn. 36-37 and 44-45 to the restored text.

⁽⁵¹⁾ See nn. 11-12 and 38-39 to the restored text. It should be noted further in this connection that also in those parts of the treatise which are found only in U (i.e. in the two figures and in the final section), there occur omissions and other inconsistencies typically due to miscopying (see the notes corresponding to these passages in the critical apparatus, § 2.2).

In this case, W would have as its model a manuscript 'b', more or less contemporary with U, which, among other things, could still have contained those parts of the treatise which are missing in W ⁽⁵²⁾.

At any rate, it is important to observe that, even though the genealogical and chronological relationship between the two extant versions of SGT is clearly definable in its main lines, the choice between concurrent readings is often problematic. Of particular interest, in this connection, is the following statement ⁽⁵³⁾↓

the shorter reading, the harder reading, the harsher reading, the rarer form, the reading at first glance apparently wrong, are probably the earlier; emphatic expressions, pious expressions, the more orthodox expressions, are probably the later;

All this fits in particularly well with the specific situation of SGT. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Dearing himself, these are still very subjective criteria, and "what one critic will see as merely hard, harsh, or apparently wrong, another will see as wrong altogether." ⁽⁵⁴⁾ In the final analysis, therefore, the choice is entirely dependent upon the sensibility and the competence of the individual editors ⁽⁵⁵⁾.

What has been observed so far, especially in the discussion concerning our first hypothesis on a connection between U and W, leaves no doubt about which of the two versions of SGT is to be considered the more genuine and close to the original: U's superiority in this respect is beyond all dispute. From this it follows that, in the attempt to restore the original text of SGT, U must constantly be taken as the starting-point, while W can be assigned an equally important function of verification and, if need be, correction ⁽⁵⁶⁾.

⁽⁵²⁾ It must be pointed out that the connection between U and W illustrated in the above diagrams does not necessarily imply the same relationship between the two codices as a whole. As lucidly explained in R. C. Boer 1924 (pp. 190-92), the presence of one or more grammatical treatises in the MSS of Snorri's Edda is totally independent of the connection existing between one MS and the other.

⁽⁵³⁾ V. A. Dearing 1974 p. 54.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Ibid. p. 55.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ A complete list together with a typological classification of all the differences between the two versions of SGT is to be found in F. Jónsson 1886 pp. xvi-xxiv.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ The absolute pre-eminence of U was clearly pointed out for the first time by K. Müllenhoff (1883 pp. 167-68 footnote) and became a definitive fact with the appearance of the first independent edition of SGT (F. Jónsson 1886). Up to then, W, instead, was regarded more or less explicitly as the more reliable version of the treatise and was, accordingly, adopted as the base text in critical editions (see § 1.5.1 below).

1.5. SKETCH OF EARLIER RESEARCH

1.5.1. Editions

The text of SGT was published for the first time in R. K. Rask's critical edition of Snorri's Edda in 1818 (pp. 288-97). In editing the grammatical treatises, Rask followed the Codex Wormianus in almost every detail. For SGT, however, he introduced some variants of U into the text as better readings and listed most of the others in the critical apparatus. He also published in the footnotes the two figures from U with some typographical adaptations, together with the whole passage following the rectangular figure, and in each case added some comments ⁽⁵⁷⁾. Although Rask obviously chose W's version as the base text of SGT, he did not make any serious attempt at a critical comparison between the two versions; he merely limited himself to stating that U contained "a sort of abridgement" (*nockurskonar ágrip*) of the alphabetical treatises preserved in the Codex Wormianus, preceded by a heading which, according to him, was not in keeping with the content (p. 273 footnote).

Exactly thirty years later, a new edition of Snorri's Edda was published by S. Egilsson. It also included the four grammatical treatises, for which Egilsson re-proposed Rask's text practically unchanged. Egilsson had been entrusted by the Arnamagnæan Commission with the Latin translation of the Edda according to the recension of J. Sigurðsson; the latter was simply based upon Rask's edition revised in the light of the Codex Regius. While doing this, he prepared on his own initiative a critical edition which he published in 1848. In terms of SGT (pp. 169-73), Egilsson totally ignored U's version, which he merely considered a later elaboration and enlargement of W ⁽⁵⁸⁾.

In 1852 the second volume of the Arnamagnæan edition of Snorri's Edda (here abbreviated ESS) was published. It contained the four grammatical treatises together with a transcription of the Codex Upsaliensis ⁽⁵⁹⁾ and of other minor fragments of Eddic manuscripts. The authors of this edition

⁽⁵⁷⁾ It should be noted that in this edition Rask did not work from the original MSS (which he nevertheless knew and had used previously), but from transcripts of them (see p. 8 of his preface). This explains, among other things, the presence of a number of readings which cannot be found in any of the chief MSS and which do not derive from Rask's conjectural emendations, such as the particular wording of the heading placed before the text of SGT in the Codex Upsaliensis (see n. 13 above).

⁽⁵⁸⁾ See. p. 250 of his "Eptirmáli".

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Only a few sections were excluded which were not considered in keeping with the proper subject of the MS (see A. Grape 1962-77 I p. 103).

were the two Icelandic scholars mentioned above: J. Sigurðsson, who edited the text and took care of most of the critical notes, and S. Egilsson, who did the Latin translation and "multa etiam de locis difficilioribus sagaciter et docte disseruit" ⁽⁶⁰⁾. As in the two preceding editions, the text of the treatises was based for the most part upon the Codex Wormianus. Variants from other manuscripts (from U as concerns, in particular, SGT) were given in the critical apparatus. As regards a comparative evaluation of the two versions of SGT, it cannot be denied that U was not held in the same esteem as W ⁽⁶¹⁾. Nevertheless, the editors' basic view was that the two texts could be held to complement one another ⁽⁶²⁾.

The first independent edition of SGT was published by F. Jónsson in 1886 in the second volume of a series expressly devoted to early Icelandic grammatical literature ⁽⁶³⁾. Jónsson's work has been referred to on several occasions in the preceding paragraphs and will be again in those to follow, so that there is no need here of more than a summary description of its contents. After an ample introduction on the relationships between the two versions of SGT and a minute analysis of their differences, there are a number of remarks on the treatise itself, in particular about when it was written and about its intrinsic value (see § 1.3 above). A diplomatic transcription of both versions appears in the second part of the volume (after the transcription and text restoration of FGT) and is directly followed by the restored text according to U's version. The whole is, of course, accompanied by critical notes, which, however, do not refer to the restored text but to the transcription of each version ⁽⁶⁴⁾. There is virtually no attempt to examine the treatise's contents critically, especially

⁽⁶⁰⁾ ESS.I p. v.

⁽⁶¹⁾ ESS.II p. v: "Cum hoc tractatu [i.e., W] conferri meretur tractatus brevis, quem codex Upsaliensis clavi metricæ Snorronis præmittit..."

⁽⁶²⁾ "nam ex his tractatibus alter alterum supplere potest." (Ibid.).

⁽⁶³⁾ "Islands grammatiske litteratur i middelalderen" (København, 1884-86). In addition to treating the parts relating to SGT, F. Jónsson contributed, together with V. Dahlerup, to the edition of FGT (see pp. xxxi-xxxii of their preface). The first volume (1884), devoted to TGT and FoGT, was entirely edited by B. M. Olsen.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ In this connection it should be mentioned that F. Jónsson, while unreservedly maintaining U's greater fidelity to the original structure of SGT, nevertheless placed the transcription of W before that of U and referred to the latter as an 'addition' or 'appendix' (*tillæg*). This stand has, correctly, been considered quite contradictory (E. Mogk 1889a p. 130 and A. Grape 1962-77 I p. 110). The inconsistency, however, is only apparent and is for the most part to be ascribed to an improper use of the term *tillæg* on the part of Jónsson. It is actually probable that he did not mean to label U as a witness of minor importance, but rather as a 'complement' to the Codex Wormianus, which contained all four grammatical treatises and which had been taken by Dahlerup and Jónsson as the starting-point for their edition of the first two.

in terms of the orthographic theory which it puts forward. All of the topics touched upon in the commentary are dealt with very succinctly. Despite these defects, Jónsson's work is certainly the most extensive investigation of SGT to date and contains not a few interesting and valuable suggestions; it is only regrettable that these suggestions are not always sufficiently developed.

Within the context of a series of inquiries into Snorri's Edda, E. Mogk published in 1889 a study on SGT. This is the most recent edition and specific investigation to date ⁽⁶⁵⁾. Mogk's aim in this work (partially illustrated in § 1.2 above) consisted for the most part in demonstrating, beyond the proofs already furnished by F. Jónsson, that the earlier and more genuine version of SGT was the one preserved in the Codex Upsaliensis, which offered beyond the shadow of a doubt "nicht nur die richtige, sondern überhaupt die einzig mögliche lesart" (p. 144), and that the text of the treatise, as contained in U, reflected the original thought of the author only to a very small extent and in a distorted manner. Mogk identified this author with Snorri himself and maintained that these notes were written as a mere introduction to the Hattatal. Accordingly, he concluded that the extant version was only the elaboration of a later scribe, with the addition of a number of linguistic-orthographic remarks which had little to do with Snorri's original draft. Mogk's commentary is followed by an edition of the text, using a spelling adjusted in so far as possible to the orthographic rules set forth in the treatise, together with a German translation. Aside from his view on the aim of the treatise — which did not, after all, originate with Mogk but was inherited from his predecessors, T. Möbius and O. Brenner (cf. § 1.2 above) — Mogk's work deserves careful consideration, especially because it takes up again and develops some questions which are not treated adequately in F. Jónsson's edition — although this was carried out quite unsuccessfully, as can be seen from the reply written by Jónsson himself some years later (see *ibid.*). However, it must be said that the reading of the commentary is often made unpleasant by the exceedingly censorious and almost contemptuous tone which Mogk uses throughout in referring to the 'remaker' of W's version, to whom he even ascribes faults the latter certainly never committed.

In referring to the above-mentioned editions the following abbreviations will be used from now on: RR (R. K. Rask 1818); SE (S. Egilsson 1848); JS (J. Sigurðsson 1852) or, alternately, ESS.II; FJ (F. Jónsson 1886); EM (E. Mogk 1889a).

⁽⁶⁵⁾ The work, which appeared as an article in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, was published separately in the same year as "Habilitationsschrift" by Leipzig University (see Bibliographical References below).

1.5.2. *Other Studies*

The only extensive writing specifically devoted to SGT and not including an edition of the text is the article by O. Brenner (1888); it has already been mentioned and commented upon in § 1.2 above. Other works which concern SGT only partially or indirectly have also been referred to in the course of the present introduction, so that they need not be treated again here. An exception must be made, however, for the work of F. Albano Leoni (1975) ⁽⁶⁶⁾, in which large sections are devoted to a discussion of the structural relationships between FGT and SGT (pp. 35-43 and 57-64) ⁽⁶⁷⁾. It also includes an Italian translation of the central part of SGT. In this connection, it may also be mentioned that a German translation of SGT can be found in A. Holtzmann 1870 (pp. 65-66). Aside from being incomplete (it only covers the central section of the treatise), this translation is somewhat summary and, to put it mildly, extremely free. In other words, it may be ignored without too much loss.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ See nn. 3 and 6 above.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Cf. F. Albano Leoni 1977 pp. 81-85.

2. TEXT, NOTES, TRANSLATION

2.1. PARALLEL TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TWO VERSIONS

In addition to putting the actual text of the two versions of SGT at the reader's immediate disposal, the present transcription's chief purpose is to provide a means of direct comparison of the correspondences and differences in the two MSS. To this end, the text has been segmented at the points where the two versions diverge, and no more stress has been laid on purely orthographic and paleographic matters than strictly necessary. There are good diplomatic transcriptions for both versions (those in FJ pp. 50-61 can be regarded as such on the whole), and phototypic editions exist as well (A. Grape 1962-77 I for U and S. Nordal 1931 for W). At any rate, facsimiles of both MSS have been added at the end of the volume. A detailed description of the criteria followed in the transcription is, therefore, not necessary, and the following essential information will suffice. Abbreviations are expanded in accordance with the rules followed in each MS when the same or analogous forms occur in full; they are not specially marked. Since no graphic distinction is made in either MS between *u* and *v* (one or the other symbol being used for both), the symbol which comes closer to the one used in each MS has been adopted here, namely *v* for U and *u* for W, except in the transcription of roman numerals, for which *v* has been used throughout. No normalization has been introduced in the spelling (except for such graphic variants as round vs. long *s*), so that some significant oscillations have remained visible. The acute accent mark, whatever its function, has not been reproduced except in the illustrative examples specifically concerning long vowels (where it denotes, precisely, vowel length), but here, too, only if it occurs in the MS. Conjectural integrations are put within square brackets, while angle brackets are used to denote deletions. Optional additions are put within round brackets. Further details will be supplied in the footnotes when required.

(Absent in U)

(Cf. U 88:17-19)

(Absent in U)

88 ¹Hvað er hlioðs grein. þrenn hver.

þat er ein grein hlioðs er þytr ²veþr eða vatn eða sær eða biorg eða iorþ eða griot hrynr. þetta hlioð ³heitir gnyr ok þrymr ok dynor ok dynr. sva þat hlioð er malmarnir ⁴gera eða manna þyssinn. þat heitir ok gnyr ok glymr ok hliomr. sva þat ok er víþir ⁵brotna eða vapnen mætað. þetta heita brak eða brestir eða enn sem aðr ⁶er ritað. Allt ero þetta vitlavs hlioð. En her vm framm er þat hlioð er ⁷stafina eina skortir til malsins. þat gera horpornar ok enn helldr ⁸hin meiri songfærin. En þat heitir songr.

⁹Avnnr hlioðs grein er sv sem fvglarnir gera eða dyrin ok sækyqvendin. ¹⁰þat heitir rodd. En þær raddir heita a marga lv[n]d. Fvglarnir ¹¹syngia ok gialla ok klaka. ok enn meþ ymsvm hattvm. ok nofnvm ok

88:1. The initial *H* is written in red ink. It extends quite far into the left and upper margins and downwards to l. 3 and takes up an amount of space corresponding to three or four letters at the beginning of each line.

88:3. Before and, presumably, instead of *dynor* the scribe had originally written the word *þyss* (which occurs with suffixed article in the following line); then he crossed it out.

88:10. *lv[n]d*: the *n* has almost completely disappeared because of a hole in the vellum.

88:11. *meþ*: this word is very seldom written in full (five times in the whole codex, according to the word index in A. Grape 1962-77 II p. 240). Only the abbreviated form (i.e. an *m* followed by a semicolon) occurs in the text of SGT. In expanding it, I have chosen the commoner of the two possible variants (as occurring in 35:28, 84:10 and passim); the other form is *með*, which is found only once (3:14).

1 ¹[N]u fyrer þui at maðrinn se skynsamlegum anda skryddr ok pryddr þa skilr hann ok ²greiner all(r)a luti giðrr ok gloggra en onnur kykuendi. Þa næyti ok nioti þess ³lans með guði. hiarta mannz kenner allz ok uíð hiartat liggr bæði barki ok uelendi ok ⁴andblasnar æðar renna þar upp ok rætaz bæði þær æðar er bera uind eða blastr bloð eða ⁵lioð. Ok a annan ueg horfa þær sua at þær mætaz uíð tungu rætr með þui huer(r) er þarf ⁶Renn ok rōdd upp fyrer hueriu orði.

þarf ok með orði hueriu þriar þessar greiner. minni ok uit ok ⁷skilning. Minni at muna orða atkuæði. Uit at hugsa huat hann uill mæla. Skilning til þess ⁸huat ibyr orðunum.

Nu hafa þessar luter hlioð sumer rōdd ok sumer mal sem sagt uar.

(Absent in W)

Su er ⁹æin grein hlioðs er þytr ueðr eða uotn eðr sior eða griot eða biorg eða iorð hrynr. þetta hlioð ¹⁰heiter gnyr eða þrymr dynr eða dunur. Sua þat hlioð er maalmr mætiz eða manna þyss þat ¹¹heiter ok gnyr glymr eða hlymr. Sua þat er uíðer brotna eða gnesta. þat heiter brak eða brester þetta eru ¹²uitlaus hlioð. Enn her umfram er þat hlioð er stafi æina skorter til mals. þat heiter saungr þat ¹³eru horpur eða onnur songfæri. Önnur hlioðs græin er su er fuglar eðr dyr eða sækuikendi ¹⁴hafa. þat heiter rodd. heita þær radder a marga lund. Fuglar syngia eða gialla eða klaka ok þo ¹⁵ymsum haattum. dyra rōdd er greind með mōrgum nofnum.

91:1. [N]u: the initial *N* was never written. The space reserved for it takes up the room of about six letters at the beginning of the first two lines.

91:2. *all(r)a*: thus in MS for *alla*.

91:5. *huer(r)*: the second *r* was added by the scribe after having written *huer* (i.e. *hu* with superscript tittle). This gives a masculine form which is not correct here because the pronoun in question has a feminine reference (*þær*, i.e. *æðar*); hence, the last *r* must be deleted.

- 88 kvnno¹²stvm ero greind ymsa vega dyra nofnin ok kvnnv menn skyn hvat ky¹³qvendin þickiaz benda meþ morgvm sinvm latvm. Sækyqvendin blasa eþa ¹⁴gella. Allar þessar radder ero miok skynlavsar at viti flestra manna. ¹⁵En þriþia hlioðs grein er sv sem menninir hava. þat heitir hlioð ¹⁶ok rodd ok mal. Malit geriz af blæstrinvm ok tvngo bragþino við tenn ¹⁷ok goma ok skipan varanna.

En hverio orþino fylgir minnit ok vitið. ¹⁸Minnit þarf til þess at mvna atkvæþi orþanna. En vitið ok skilnin¹⁹gina til þess at hann mvni at mæla þav orþin er hann vill.

Ef maþr fær ²⁰snilld malsins þa þarf þar til vitip ok orðfræþi ok fy[r]ir ætlan ok þat ²¹miok at hægt se tvngo bragþit. Ef tennrnar ero skavrþot[t]ar. ²²ok missir tvngan þar þat lytir malit. Sva ok ef tvngan er of mikil ²³þa er malit blest. Nv er hon oflitol. þa er sa holgomr. Þat kann ²⁴ok spilla malino ef varrnar ero eigi heilar. Mvþrinn ok tvngan ²⁵er leikvollr orþanna. A þeim velli ero reistir stafir þeir er mal allt ²⁶gera

ok hendir malit ymsa sva til at iafna sem horpv strenger ²⁷eþa ero læster lyklar i simphonie.

(*Abseht in U*)

88:14. A sign probably indicating a longer pause (a sort of colon followed by a small bow opened upwards) is placed at the end of this line.

88:15. This line is considerably shorter than the others; the last word is separated from the right margin by an interval corresponding to six or seven letters. Since this is clearly not a paragraph ending, it is difficult to explain.

88:18. The *M* of *Minnit* is written in the left margin.

88:19. *maþr*: like the preposition *með* (see n. 88:11 above), this word is almost always abbreviated in the Cod. Ups. When written in full, both *maþr* and *maðr* occur (see 28:5 for the former and 33:9 for the latter); *maþr* is slightly more frequent.

88:20. *fy[r]ir*: the medial *r* has entirely disappeared because of a hole in the vellum.

88:21. *skavrþot[t]ar*: *t*'s doubling is not marked in the MS.

- 91 ok kunnu menn skyn huat þickiaz ¹⁶benda i sinum laatum sumum. Sækuikendi blasa eða gialla. Allar þessar radder eru miok sky¹⁷nlausar sua at flestr luti manna uiti. Þriðia hlioðs grein er micklu merkiliguz er menn hafa ¹⁸þat er hlioð ok rodd ok maal. Maalið gioriz af blæstrinum ok tungu bragðinu ok skipan uar¹⁹ranna.

(*Cf. W 91:6-8*)

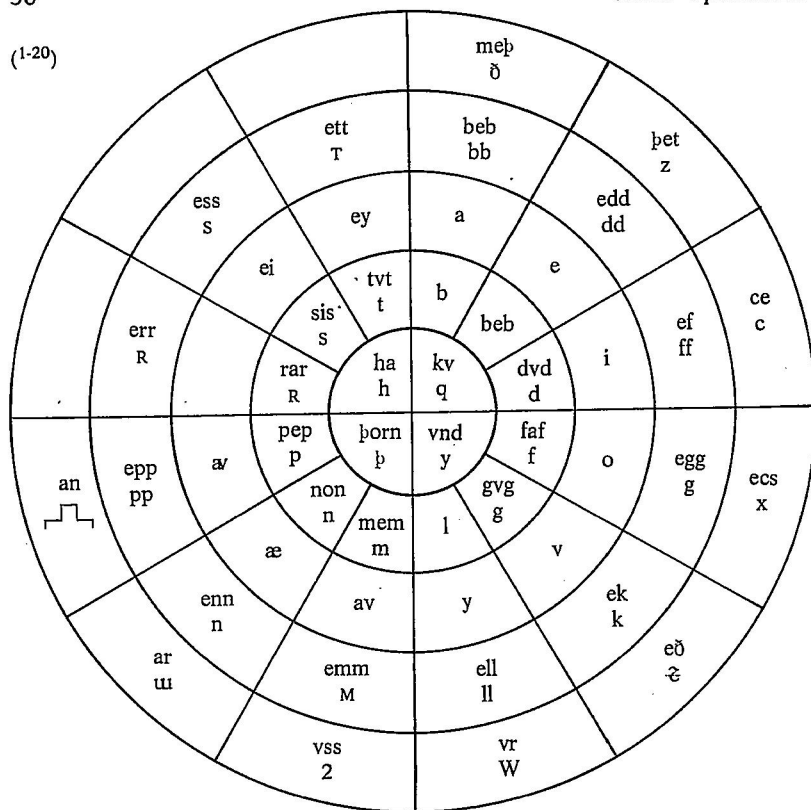
Ef maðr getr mickla malsnilld þa þarf þar til þrent uit ok orð færi ok fyrer ætlun ok ²⁰alhægt tungu bragð. Ef tenn eru skorðottar ok missir tanngarðar. þat lyter malit sua ok ef tun²¹gan er of mikil þa er maalið blest. Nu er hon of litil þa er sa holgomr. þat kann ok spilla ²²maali mannz ef uarrar eru æigi heilar. Muðrinn er leikuollr orðanna en tungan styrið.

²³A þeim leikuelli eru reister þeir stafer er allt maal giora.

(*Cf. W 93:11-12*)

ok v hringar eru um þa stafi sleg²⁴ner eða setter i maals hætti.

89 (1-20)



²¹I fyrsta hring ero iiii stafir. þa ma til enskis annars nyta en vera fyrir
²²öþrvum stofvm. I öþrvum hring ero stafir xi þeir sem heita. ʃ. þ. h. y. ²³h.
 q. malstafir. hverr þeira ma vera bæpi fyrir ok eptir i malino. ²⁴En engi

89:1-20 (Circular figure). First circle (at the centre): y here represents the so-called 'insular v' (see Restored Text n. 28). Third circle: the i is shaped like a j; the y does not have the usual superscript dot and is, therefore, formally identical with the y (or insular v) in the first circle. Fourth circle: for the symbol used for t, see Restored Text n. 58.

89:21. The initial I (shaped like a J) extends along the left margin down to l. 25.

(Absent in W)

- 91 I fyrsta hring eru fiorer stafer er heita hofuð stafer. þa ma til æins²⁵kis
 annars nyta enn uera upp haf ok fyrer oðrum stofum. þ. y. h. q. I þörum
 92 hring eru stafer xii. ¹þeir heita maal(s) stafer huerr þeirra ma uera bæði

91:25. *enn*: perhaps this form should be emended (here as in many other places) to *en*, which is the spelling normally used in MSS when it has the value of a conjunction. But the scribe of the Cod. Worm. does not seem to differentiate graphically between *en* and *enn* and for the most part uses the latter for both. (Instances of *en*, which occurs only as a conjunction, can be found, in W, in 91:22, 92:6, and in a few other places).

92:1. *þeirra*: the genitive of the pronoun third person plural, which is usually abbreviated *þra* throughout the MS, is rendered *þeirra* (instead of *þeira*, as in the transcription of U) in accordance with the expanded form occurring on l. 92:32 below.

- 89 þeira gerir mal af sialfum ser. b. d. f. g. k. l. m. n. p. r. s <s>. t. ²⁵En nofn þeira ero her sett eptir hliopi þeira. I þriþia hring ero xii ²⁶stafir er hlioðstafir heita. þessi grein er þeira stafa. fyrst hei²⁷ta stafir ok skal sva rita. a. e. i. o. v. y. Avnnr grein er sv er heita ²⁸limingar. ok skal sva
- 90 rita. æ. ʰ. ʰ. þessir ero tveir her ero ii hlioðstafir ¹saman limþer því at þessi stafrinn hevir hvern hlvt af hliopi hinna. ²er hann er af gerr. En þriþia grein er þat er heita l[av]sa klofar ³ok skal sva rita. Ey ei. þessir ero ii [ok skal s]va rita at rita ii stafi obreytta. ⁴ok gerr einn af því at hann tekr hlioð hinna beggia. En fyr(ir) ritzhattar ⁵sakir er þessa stafi o hægt saman at binda. Nv er enn tolpti stafr ⁶er skiptingr heitir. þat er i. þat er retrr hlioðstafr ef malstafr ⁷er fyrir hanvm. ok eptir hanvm i samstofvnni. En ef hlioðstafr er næ⁸st eptir hanvm þa skiptiz hann i malstaf. ok geraz þa af hanvm morg fvll ⁹orþ. sva sem er ia eþa iorþ eþa ior(r). Avnnr

89:24. *b. d. ... <s>. t.*: the letter *s* appears two times in the MS, first as 'long *s*' and then as 'round *s*'. Since these are simply two variants of the same letter, only one of them — viz. the first, which is much more common — should be retained as the original one (see also Restored Text n. 30-31).

89:27. *a. e. ... v. y.*: the letter *i* is, as in the figure, shaped like a *j*. It is also interesting to note that the superscript dot over the *y* is missing, whereas it occurs over the *y* representing insular *v* in l. 22 above; just the opposite of the way it should be.

90:2. *l[av]sa*: the letters *av* have almost completely disappeared because of a hole in the vellum. Only the right-hand stroke of the *v* is partially visible.

90:3. *[ok skal s]va*: the first two words of this sequence have entirely disappeared due to a large hole in the vellum. Nevertheless they can be restored easily by comparing this passage with similar ones in the preceding lines. Of *sva*, only the superscript abbreviation mark and a small remnant of the *s* are visible.

90:4. A large spot extending from the third to the fifth line prevents a clear reading of the first two letters of *tekr*.

90:4. *fyr(ir)*: according to the general rule followed in the codex, the abbreviation used in this passage can only be expanded to *fyr* (or *fir*). However, since the forms *fyr* and *fyrir* are both used alternatively throughout the MS, the *-ir* exists as an optional addition.

90:7. *hanvm*: this pronominal form is abbreviated throughout the text of SGT. It is written in full only twice in the whole codex (57:15 and 71:12) and in both cases as *hanvm*, where the *m* is indicated by the nasal stroke over the *v*.

90:9. *ior(r)*: this word is written with majuscule *r*, which, according to the orthographic rules followed in the codex, must be given the value of *rr*. Consequently, the first *r* should be regarded as belonging to the stem and the second as an ending. The stem of this noun, however, is *jó-*, not **jór-*; therefore, one *r* must be deleted.

- 92 fyrer ok epter i orðinu ok giorer þo æingi þeirra mal ²af sialfum ser. b d f g k. l m n p r s t Nofn þeirra eru epter hlioð þeirra. I þriðia hring ³eru xii stafer er hlioðstafer heita. þessi er græin þeirra. fyrst heita stafer ok skal sua heita. ⁴a e i o u y. Önnur er þeirra græin su at þeir heita limingar ok skal þa sua rita æ a u æ. ⁵þesser þrir stafer eru huar tueir hlioðstafer saman limðer þuiat þessi stafr huerr hefer ⁶huern lut af hlioði hinna er hann er af giorr. En þriðia græin er su er þeir stafer hafa er ⁷heita lausa klofar ok skal sua rita ey ok ei þesser tueir stafer eru ritaðer ubræyttir i hua⁸rum stað ok giorr æinn af þui at hann tekr hlioð þeirra beggia ok fyrer ritz haattar saker er þa u⁹hægt saman at binda Tolfti stafr er skiptingr þat er æinn hlioð stafr ef malstafr ¹⁰er fyrer honum ok epter i samstofun. enn ef hlioð stafr er næstr epter hann þa skiptiz hann i malstaf ¹¹ok gioraz þa af honum morg full orð sua sem ia eðr iorð eða ior Önnur

92:4. *æ a u æ*: FJ (51:25) read *æ æ æ*. Actually, the last two ligatures can be easily confused, so the inverse reading is also possible.

90 skipting hans er þat at hann ¹⁰se lavsa klofi sva sem þeir er apr ero ritapir. ok [enn] sva ef malstafr ¹¹stendr fyr(ir) hanvm. En hliod stafr næst eptir. sva sem er biorn eða ¹²biorn eða biorg. Þessir stafir einir saman gera morg fvll orð. En ¹³skamt mal gera þeir. En ef á gerer heillt orþ. þa mez sva sem þv nef¹⁴nir yvir. En i þeir sem fyr(ir) innan. En o eða v þeir skipta vm orþvnm. ¹⁵Sva sem er satt eða vsatt. Menn kalla einn við y. En æ þat er veinvn. ¹⁶En ey heitir þat land sem sior eða vatn fellr vm hverfis. þat er kallat ¹⁷ey eða æ. er alldri þrytr. hliodstafr hava ok tvenna grein at ¹⁸þeir se stytter eða dregnir. En ef skyrt skal rita þa skal draga yvir ¹⁹þann stafinn er seint skal leipa. sem her. Á því ári sem ari var ²⁰fæddr. þat er í míno minni. Optliga skipta orþa leipingar ollo mali ²¹hvert inn sami hliopstafr er leiddr seint eða skiott. lofat er þat ²²i ritzhætti at rita af limingvm helldr en af lyckio. en fvllt a. ²³ok er þa sva. e. p. I fiorþa hring erv xii stafir sva ritapir. bb. dd. ²⁴ff. g. k. l. m. n. pp. r.

90:10. [enn]: this is the word which presumably stood where there is now a hole in the vellum. Most editors agree upon this conjecture; only JS (p. 366) reads *er*.

90:11. *hliod stafr*: thus in the MS for *hliod stafr*.

90:12. A rather large space corresponding to about five letters is left before *Þessir*.

90:13. *sva sem*: the *s* of *sem* has almost disappeared because of a hole in the vellum, which has also caused the disappearance of the right half of the superscript abbreviation mark in *sva*, as well as minor parts of *morg* and *fvll* in the preceding line.

90:14. *þeir* (both occurrences): the particular abbreviation used in this line (a *þ* with a cross-bar on the lower part of the vertical stroke) occurs in other parts of the codex with the unequivocal value of *þeim* (e.g. in 7:13 and 19:25). Since this can in no way be fitted into the present context, the abbreviation has been expanded to *þeir*. See, however, Restored Text n. 49-50.

90:18. *stytter*: the final *r* was originally a *t*; it was corrected to *r* by simply adding a small stroke slanting down to the right to the horizontal of the *t*.

90:20. *fæddr*: the previous editors seem to agree in not identifying the stroke over the *æ* as a length mark; yet the particular context makes it very likely (cf. Restored Text n. 55).

90:20. *minni*: a superscript stroke is visible over the first *i*, which, however, does not indicate vowel length here.

90:23. *erv*: although very rarely, this form can be found in the Cod. Ups. as a variant of the much more common *ero*. Actually, the parchment is slightly damaged in the interval between this word and the following numeral, so that the final vowel is not clearly legible; however, the reading *erv* seems quite certain (cf. A. Grape 1962-77 II pp. 169-70).

90:24. As regards the symbols used in the MS for *L* and *T*, see Restored Text n. 58).

92 skipting er þat ¹²er hann er lausa klofi sua sem aaðr uar ritað. þa er sua ef malstafr stendr fyrer honum ¹³ok hliod stafr epter sua sem bior eða biörn eðr biörg a i o y. þesser giora æiner saman ¹⁴morg orð full. enn skamt mal giora þeir sialfer. Ef a giorer heillt orð. þa metz það ¹⁵sem þu nefner yfer i. o. eða u þat skipter um orðum sua sem er satt eða u satt. Menn kalla ¹⁶y æinn við æ þat er ueinon. kallað er ok æy eða æi þat er alldregi þrytr. hliod stafer ¹⁷hafa tuenna grein þa er optlega skiptaz orðin með. at þeir se studder eða dregner. Er þui ¹⁸betr dregit yfer þann staf er sæint skal at kueða sua sem her er. A þui áari er ari uar ¹⁹fæddr ok ér ertuð hann. þat er i minu minni. Opt skipta orða leiðingar aillu mali huart ²⁰hinn sami hliod stafr er leiddr skiott eða seint. lofat er þat i ritz hætti af hneigin²¹gum helldr a lykkiu enn full a. ok er þa sua. e. p. I fiorða hring eru tolf stafer sua ri²²taðer. K L M N P R S T þesser stafer eru setter huerr fyrer

92:13. *sua*: the scribe had first written *sem* here (that is, the word immediately following); then he summarily corrected it to *sua* by joining the lower crook of the *e* to the first minim of the *m* (thus obtaining a kind of *u*) and inserting the loop of an *a* between the last two minims of the *m*.

92:22. The MS has Greek uncial *k* for *κ*.

- 90 s. t. þessir stafir gera ecki annat en menn við²⁵lia hava þa fyr(ir) ritz hattar sakir ok er settr hverr(r) þeira einn fyr(ir) ii ²⁶malstafi. því at svu orð eða nofn endaz [i] sva fast atkvæpi at ²⁷engi malstafr fær einn borit. sva sem er holl eða fiall eða cross eða ²⁸hross. framm hramm. nv þarf annat
- 91 hvart at rita tysvar einn ¹malstaf eða lata ser lika þanneg at rita. I fimta hring ero ritapir þeir iii ²stafir er kall[apir e]ro vndir stafir. ð. z. x. þessvm staf ma við engan staf ³koma nema þat se eptir hlioð staf. i h[v]erri samstofv. En iiii stafr er .c.

⁴ok hava svmir menn þann ritzhatt at [seti]a hann fyr(ir) konvng.

En hitt eina er rett ⁵hans hlioð at vera sem aprir vndir stafir i enda samstofv. Titlar ero ⁶sva ritapir her sem i opvrm ritzhætti.

90:25. *hverr(r)*: together with the tittle over the *v*, denoting *er*, the scribe used a majuscule *r* here as the last consonant, which, as already observed in n. 90:9 above, has the value of *rr*. This gives three *r*'s, one of which must of course be deleted.

90:26. [i]: the dot situated on the line just half way between *endaz* and *sva* is probably what remains of an original *i* (cf. the corresponding passage in W 92:23).

91:2. *kall[apir e]ro*: due to a hole in the vellum, the bracketed letters have almost completely disappeared. Only their uppermost part is visible.

91:3. *i h[v]erri*: another hole in the vellum has damaged the letters *i*, *h*, and (the second) *r*, while the *v* has entirely disappeared.

91:4. *[seti]a*: a hole in the vellum (the same affecting the preceding line) has caused the disappearance of the verb which originally stood here, sparing only the ending. For the conjectural restoration *setia*, see Restored Text n. 67a.

91:6. A special punctuation mark, resembling the one used at the end of 88:14 above, is placed after *ritzhætti*.

- 92 tua iafna sier i ritz hætti þuiat ²³sum orð endaz i sua fast at kuæði at æingi maalstaf fær æinn borið sua sem hœll eða ²⁴fiall kross eða hross framm eða hramm. Nu þarf annað huart at rita tua maalstafi eðr ²⁵penna æinn. I fimta hring eru ritaðer þeir þrir stafer er heita understafer ð. z. x. ma þeim við ²⁶engan staf koma nema þeir se eptir hlioðstaf i huerri samstofun fiorði stafr er .c.

(Absent in W)

þat er ²⁷rett hans hlioð at hann se i enda samstofu sem aðrer under stafer. Titlar eru her sua ritaðer sem ²⁸i þörum ritzhætti

a	e	i	o	y	v	ɛ	ɒ	ʌ	ei	ey
b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
k	k	k	[k]	[k]	k	k	k	k	k	k
l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
	ð		ð		ð		ð		ð	
þ		þ		þ		þ		þ		þ
	z		z		z		z		z	
y		y		y		y		y		y
	c		c		c		c		c	
h		h		h		h		h		h
	x		x		x		x		x	
q		q		q		q		q		q

91:7-28 (Rectangular figure). As in the circular figure, the symbol *y* placed among the consonants (fifth horizontal row from below) represents insular *v*. Also as in the circular figure, the symbol used for the vowel *y* does not have the superscript dot and therefore coincides with the former. Because of a hole in the vellum, the fifth *k* has disappeared, and the fourth has been strongly damaged.

- 92 ¹Stafa setning sia sem her er ritvð er sva sett til mals sem lyklar ²til hlioðs mvsika ok regor fylgia hlioðstofvm sva s[em] þeir lyklvm. ³Malstafir ero ritapir meþ hverri rego bæþi fyrir ok ep[tir]. ok gera þeir ⁴mal af hendingvm þeiri sem þeir [hav]a við hlioðstafina fyrir eþa eptir. ⁵kollvm ver þat lykla sem þeir ero i fastir. ok ero þeir her sva settir her ⁶sem i spacion[n]e sem lyklar i simphonie. ok skal þeim kippa eþa ⁷hrinda ok drepa sva rego strengina ok tekr þa þat hlioð sem þv ⁸villt haft hava. þessar hendingar ero meiri. en þær sem fyrr ero ⁹ritapir ok hinar minzto þeira sem stafat se til. þvi at her er i ¹⁰hending einn hlioðstafir ok einn malstafir. ok gerir sva margar hendingar ¹¹sem nv er ritað apr i stafa setninginni. her standa vm þvert ¹²blað xi hlioðstafir. En

92:1. The initial *S* is written in red ink.

92:2. *s[em]*: the last two letters of this word have almost completely disappeared because of a hole in the vellum.

92:3. The *M* of *Malstafir* is written in the left margin.

92:3. *rego*: a hole in the vellum has damaged the lower part of the letters *e* and *g*.

92:3. *ep[tir]*: the tittle for *ir* has entirely disappeared because of a hole in the vellum, and only the lower part of the *t* is visible.

92:4. *[hav]a*: a hole in the vellum has spared nothing but the ending of the verb originally written here. The most reliable restoration is perhaps the one proposed by RR (p. 294), viz. *hava*, which was also accepted by EM (162:18); the reading *gera*, introduced by FJ (61:5), should also not be excluded.

92:6. *spacion[n]e*: this word (in normalized spelling, *spáziúnni*) appears in the MS with no distinctive mark for the doubling of *n*.

(Absent in W)

- 92 vm endilangt blað xx malstafir. Ero þeir ¹³sva settir sem lyklar i symphonie. En hlioðstafir [sem] strengir. ¹⁴Malstafir ero xii þeir sem bæði hava hlioð hvart sem kipt er eða hrvn¹⁵dit lyklinvm. En viii þeir er síðarr ero ritapir hava halft hlioð ¹⁶við hina. Svmir taka hlioð er þv kippir at þer. Svmir er þv hrin¹⁷der fra þer. þessir hlioðstafir standa vm þvert. A. e. i. o. y. v. æ. ø. ¹⁸ei ey. þessir ero xii malstafir. b. d. f. g. k. l. m. n. p. r. s. t. þessir ¹⁹ero malstafir ok hava halft hlioð við hina. ð. þ. z. y. c. h. x. q.

(Absent in U)

92:13. [sem]: the first two letters have completely disappeared because of a hole in the vellum; as for the *m*, only the third minim is visible.

92:14. The *M* of *Malstafir* is written in the left margin.

(Absent in W)

- 92 hefer titull ekki æinkar eðli til stafs helldr er hann til skyringar ritz Sol heiter ²⁹titan heiter þaðan af titulus i latinu er uer kollum titul. þat er sem litil sol. þuiat sua sem sol lyser ³⁰hæim allan sua lyser titull orð rett ritin. þesser eru fíorer hófuð stafer þ. y. h. q. Enn þesser eru ³¹sex hófut stafer o bræytter a e i o u y. eru þeir ok limðer saman i ritz hætti. þa eru þesser xii ³²saman maalstafer u bræytter. b d f g k l m n p r s t. þesser eru under stafer. c x z y. ok þeirra ¹ma missa i uaar u maali ef uill. x er samtengðr af c ok s. i latinu. z. hann er samtengðr ²af d ok s ok er ebreskr æ er helldr samstofon en fastr, eru stafaðer saman e ok t. i latinu ³Enn fyrer þui nu at sumer samhliodendr hafa sitt likneski ok nafn ok iartein. enn s[u]mer hafa ⁴hófuð stafs likneski ok skipat stofum. Enn sumer i nafni ok aukit at kueði bæði nafns ⁵ok iarteinar Enn sumer hallda likneski sinu ok er þo minnkat at kueði nafns þeirra ok iartein ⁶su er þeir skulu bera. i malinu þeirri lik er i nafninu uerðr. þa skal nu syna leita bæði likneski ⁷ki þeirra ok sua nōfn fyrer ofan rituð at yfer þeim megi nu allt saman lita er aaðr uar sundr ⁸lausliga um rett. A a o p æ e ú y ý be ebb che ecc de edd. ef. b B c k d d [f] eff ⁹ge egg. eng. ha Ha. f. g g -g- h h el ell em emm. en enn. l L m m n n epp er err es ¹⁰ess te p pp r r s s te ett ex ex et þe -s- r u u) ʒ z x x æ & þ. Nu uerðr þetta allt sa¹¹man stafrof kallat. þesser stafer giora allt maal

92:32. *þeirra*: a majuscule *r* is used here, which denotes *rr*.

93:2. æ: the Tironian nota is not expanded here since it is referred to as an abbreviation mark.

93:3 s[u]mer: the *u* is damaged because of a hole in the vellum.

93:8-10. List of symbols: *κ* = Greek uncial *k*; *d* = straight *d*; *ḍ* = round or uncial *d* (on the use of uncial *d* as a majuscule, and consequently for *dd*, see H. Benediktsson 1965 p. 83); only a vertical stroke is visible of the letter immediately following, nevertheless the context clearly indicates the presence of a minuscule (Caroline) *f* (the same *f*-type can be found elsewhere in this passage and also in the corresponding passage in FGT (Cod. Worm. 88:13-16)); the symbol for the velar nasal (here denoted by -g-) has the same shape as the corresponding symbol in

(Cf. U. 88:26-27)

(Absent in U)

- 93 ok hender maallit ymsa sua til ¹iafna ¹²sem horpu strenger giora hlioð ¹at
eða eru læyster luklar i simphonie

eða þa er organ gengr ¹³upp ok niðr aptr ok framm um allan gamma þann er með ser hefer nitian lukla ok aatta radder. ¹⁴ok nu koma til motz þesser v hringar stafanna er aaðr uar um rætt. kallaz nu huarer uið að ¹⁵ra stafrof ok gammi ok taka nu hlioðstafer þar sin hlioð ok raddar stafer rødd. maallstafer ¹⁶malit ok samnaz til orðanna sua margra at ekki er þess mællt i heiminum at æigi se þesser stafer ¹⁷til hafðer. Nu eru æingi þau læti eða hlioð eða radder at æigi muni þat allt finnaz i ga[m]manum ¹⁸Nu tekr sua fremi mikit um gioraz er orðin hefiar upp ok hliomrenn uex ok raddernar glymia ¹⁹a. Nefniz ok sua fremi spongr er þetta hefer allt til ok nu þyss sia flokkfr framm a leikuþlinn ²⁰ok ollum megin at styrinu þui. er tungan heiter ok heita nu a hana til maalsins ok orðanna ok ²¹spongsins at hon kueði þat allt upp ok hon giorer sua ok hneiger sik til styri man[n]zins ok maler sua ²²Osanna seger hon. þat þyðiz a uaara tungu sua. græð þu oss. Enn þat er a ebresku mællt ok stakk ²³hana natturan til þess fyrer þui at hon uar fyrst ok gekk þa um allan heim þangat til er guð ²⁴skipti þeim. Nu seger þar til at henni þotti hann uera styri maðrinn er hann skapaði hana ok af kristz ²⁵nafni er kristnin kolluð. uer er kristner

FGT, viz. a sort of *q* with a bar across the circle; the 'tittles' are reproduced in accordance with JS (p. 56), however with some perplexity concerning the third and fourth signs.

93:17. *ga[m]manum*: the superscript stroke over the first *a*, giving *am*, was omitted by the scribe.

93:21. *man[n]zins*: the scribe omitted the superscript stroke over the *n*, thus failing to mark the doubling of this consonant (cf. other occurrences of this form, as in 91:3, 91:22, and passim).

(Absent in U)

- 93 erum kollum hann hofuð uuart enn uer hans limer ok ²⁶liðir ok hans sonr er sa er hann sendi hingat i heim ok sa er uarr faðer en uer hans born. uar ok ²⁷faðerinn uenligr til at stiorna sinum bornum sua sem bezt gegndi. uar þi orðit or mess²⁸unni til tekit at hann uissi huerr lofsongr honum þotti mestr framm fluttr þessa heims uið sik ²⁹sialfan. er þar ok uaar hialp oll i folgin er um hans pisl er rætt ok saar er hann þolði a kros³⁰sinum helga er or rann bæði bloð ok uatn ok i þi erum uer skirðir er rett truum a almattkan ³¹guð. ok þat hans holld ok bloð er i messunni er framm flutt er uart farnest þa er uer forum ³²af þessum heimi. Nu skal þat uaan uaar at uætta þess at sua fremi fariz oss uel er sua uerðr ¹sem hann hefer fyrer sieð at bæði se at hann er i fpr með oss ok uer með honum þa er uer forum hæim ²til foður leifðar uaarrar. ok þa er hann hefer skipt sinu liði sier til hægri handar epter ³doms dag. þa skulum uer hefia upp alleluia fyrer þui at þat er æigi iarðneskr spongr. Syngia ⁴þetta þa aller saman tiu fylki guðsengla ok manna þa er allmattigr guð ferr meðr ⁵sina ferð hæim i himinrikis dyrð ok skulum þa una i sifellu sua at alldri skal epter uerða ⁶með guði almatkum þar sem hann er æ ok æ með feðr ok syni ok helgum anda sa er lifer ok riker ⁷æinn guð of allar allder uerallda amen.
- 94

2.2. RESTORED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Due to the objective impossibility of adequately reconstructing the orthography of SGT's original, a normalized spelling has been adopted in the present edition which takes into account, as far as possible, the situation of Icelandic phonology at the time in which SGT was presumably written, i.e. in the late thirteenth century (see § 3.5 below). As an alternative solution, a spelling based on the orthographic rules set forth in the treatise itself could have been applied. Yet such an operation, in addition to being rather questionable from a strictly philological point of view, is bound to meet with two serious setbacks: first, as will be shown below, the spelling rules given in SGT are often vague or even contradictory; second, it cannot be taken for granted that the author of SGT actually applied these rules while writing his work, except, perhaps, in the illustrative examples (cf. E. Haugen 1972 pp. 8-9 with regard to the supposed spelling of FGT's original). Moreover, an experiment of the kind has already been performed by EM, and a simple glance through his restored text is enough to make one realize the artificiality and intrinsic inconsistency of such a proceeding. The spelling used here coincides fundamentally with that used in the Arnarnagnaean edition of Snorri's Edda (ESS). The following should be noted in particular. For the phoneme /ö/, which is usually denoted by *o* or simple *o* in thirteenth-century Icelandic MSS, the symbol *ö* has been used here, in accordance with both SGT's phonological evidence and modern Icelandic practice. An analogous criterion has been followed in adopting *æ* for both etymological /ē/ and /ǣ/. The non-syllabic (consonantal) variants of /i/ and /u/ are denoted by *j* and *v* respectively. For the closed (i.e. non-low) vowels in unstressed syllables, the symbols *i* (front) and *u* (back) have been used. The medio-passive ending, which is almost invariably denoted by *-z* in MSS belonging to the same period as SGT, has been rendered as *-st*, for, in spite of the common scribal practice, it is probable that it had already assumed this value at that time (see B. K. Þórólfsson 1925 pp. 67-69).

The division of the text into paragraphs follows the main topics dealt with in the treatise. The punctuation, mostly in accordance with the rules of modern Icelandic, is my own. Minimal differences between the two versions which do not affect the interpretation of the text are normally not pointed out, it being sufficient for this purpose to compare the two versions directly in the parallel transcription. Conjectural restorations are put within square brackets. Specifically mentioned letters and words in the illustrative examples have been italicized.

In translating the Icelandic text, I have tried to keep to the original as faithfully as possible, departing from it only when a too literal rendering would have compromised the formal correctness of the English text. Integrations which were necessary to make the translation more readable, as well as other useful indications, have been put within round brackets. As for the passages in W which have been excluded from the restored text insofar as alien to the original of SGT, their translation did not seem necessary. However, if they are of interest to the reader, and he is not sufficiently familiar with Icelandic, he can resort to the Latin translation in ESS.II. The following page and line references may be helpful: W 91:1-6 ([N]u ... hueriu orði.) = ESS.II 45:1/47:1 (*Igitur, ... cooriente.*); W 91:8 (Nu ... uar.) = ESS.II 47:6-7 (*Hæ ... est.*); W 91:23-24 (ok ... maals hætti.) = ESS.II 49:9-10 (*quinque ... inclusæ.*); W 92:28/93:11 (hefer ... maal) = ESS.II 53:21/57:10 (*Titulus ... efficiunt.*); W 93:12/94:7 (eða þa ... amen.) = ESS.II 57:13/61:23 (*aut ... Amen.*).

Hvat er hljóðsgrein? Þrenn. Hver?

Þat er ein grein hljóðs, er þýtr veðr, eða vatn eða sær eða björg eða jörð eða grjót hrynr; þetta hljóð heitir gnýr ok þrymr ok dunur ok dynr. Svá þat hljóð, er málmannir gera, eða mannaþyssinn; þat heitir ok gnýr ok glymr ok hljómr. Svá þat ok, er viðir brotna eða vápnin mætast; þetta heita brak eða brestir, eða enn, sem áðr er ritað. Allt eru þetta vitlaus hljóð. En hér umfram er þat hljóð, er stafi eina skortir til máls: þat gera hörpunar ok enn heldr hin meiri söngfæri; en þat heitir söngr.

1. *Hvat ... Hver?*: this introductory formula is found only in U. The dialogue form, consisting in alternating questions and answers, is a well-known characteristic of ancient and medieval educational writings and also occurs in other parts of Snorri's Edda (the opening paragraphs of the Háttatal are a clear example).

2a. *Þat*: W has the fem. pronoun *sú*, which, from a strictly morphological point of view, is more appropriate here than the nt. *þat*. On the other hand, since Icelandic admits the use of *þat* as universal anticipatory pronoun, there is no need to reject the reading of U (cf. EM 159n2).

2b. *vatn*: W *vötn*. Singular and plural are virtually equivalent in this context, both meaning 'running, falling water'.

3. *...ok ...ok ...ok ...*: in most cases where a co-ordinate series of examples is involved, W employs the disjunctive *eða* (or *eðr*) rather than the copulative *ok*. While this is perhaps more effective from a logical point of view, the regularity and fitness of its application gives an impression of artificiality and therefore suggests stylistic embellishment.

4. *er málmannir gera*: W has the reading *er málmr mætist* 'of clashing metal'. As regards the verb, the variant of U, although vaguer in sense, appears fully acceptable (the fact that a plural is used rather than a singular is not relevant here); furthermore, *gera* has the advantage over *mætist* of extending to the following *mannaþyssinn*.

The presence or absence of the suffixed article is quite another problem: it is a question which involves not only this passage, but the whole text of SGT. The frequent use of the suffixed article is generally regarded as a feature denoting recency (see, for example, M. Nygaard 1906 pp. 34-35). In this respect, therefore, W's wording, in which most nouns appear without the suffixed article, should be

How is sound divided? Into three kinds. What (are they)?

One kind of sound is that of the wind whistling, or of water, sea(-waves), cliffs, earth or stones falling down; this sound is called crash, roar, din, and rumble. Likewise that sound which metals make, or the uproar of the crowd; this is also called din, clash, and noise. Likewise that of trees breaking or of weapons clashing; this is called creak or clash or, again, as written above. These are all irrational sounds. In addition, there is that sound for which letters alone are not sufficient to (make a) discourse: this is (the sound) made by harps and, still more (distinctly), by the major musical instruments; it is called music.

considered closer to the original (cf. FJ in his introductory note to the restored text, p. 62). Nevertheless, no matter how far back one may place the first draft of SGT, it is highly improbable that it could have been written at a time when this syntactic feature was not yet widely used. This means that W's scribe (or one of his predecessors) may have altered the original text in order to make it more archaic. At any rate, the criterion followed here is that where the two versions disagree — in the sense that U shows, against W, forms with suffixed article — the article is retained in all cases where the syntactic environment would normally require it.

5a. *hljómr*: in U. W gives *hlymr* 'din, clash'. Here, too, I have followed U, even though the term *hljómr* has a more general meaning which includes the notion of 'sound (of music)'. Precisely because of its greater stylistic effectiveness — in addition to having a more definite meaning it also rhymes with the preceding *glymr* — *hlymr* is suspect because it could have been introduced by the copyist of W in order to make the text more elegant.

5b. The whole phrase *vápnin mætast* is replaced in W by the verb form *gnesta* 'crack', obviously with reference to *viðir*. If, as seems true, U preserves the original reading, it may be concluded that the verb *mætast* was shifted, in W, to the earlier relative clause *er málmr mætist* mentioned in n. 4 above.

7. *gera*: W *eru* 'are'. U's reading is certainly the correct one (cf. FJ pp. 83-84).

8. It is significant that in W the sentence *þat heitir söngr* precedes the reference to the musical instruments instead of following it. Thus the text of W strays from the order of exposition to be found in the preceding passages, where mention is first made of the agents producing a certain type of sound, and then the sound itself is named. The changed position may, in fact, be taken as proof of a further manipulation of the text on the part of W's scribe.

- Önnur hljóðsgrein er sú, sem fuglarnir gera eða dýrin ok sækvikindin; þat
 10 heitir rödd, en þær raddir heita á marga lund. Fuglarnir syngja ok gjalla
 ok klaka, ok þó með ýmsum háttum; ok með mörgum nöfnum er greind
 dýraröddin, ok kunnu menn skyn, hvat kvikindin þykkjast benda með
 mörgum sínum látum. Sækvikindin blása eða gella. Allar þessar raddir eru
 mjök skynlausar at viti flestra manna.
- 15 En þriðja hljóðsgrein er sú, sem menninir hafa; þat heitir hljóð ok rödd ok
 mál. Málit gerist af blæstrinum ok tungubragðinu við tenn ok góma ok
 skipan varranna. En hverju orði fylgir minni ok vit ok skilning; minni þarf
 til þess at muna atkvæði orðanna, en vit ok skilning til þess, at hann muni
 at mæla þau orð, er hann vill. Ef maðr fær snilld málsins, þá þarf þar til

11-12. *ok þó ... dýraröddin*: the whole passage differs considerably in the two MSS. Since neither of the two readings seems satisfactory, a conjectural emendation must be undertaken. The most likely hypothesis is that the archetype from which the two extant versions are descended was affected, in the passage in question, by several lacunae (perhaps due to holes in the vellum) and that these lacunae were filled by different scribes in different ways. The damaged text could have been as follows: *ok [...] með ýmsum háttum [...] nöfnum [...] greind dýrarödd(in)*. If so, the copyist of U might have filled the first gap with *enn*, the second with *ok*, and the third with *ok kunnustum eru*. (In this connection it may be noted that the last-mentioned word sequence, in view of the lack of relevance of the term *kunnusta* 'knowledge, ability' to the context, is likely to be the result of a homoearchon camouflaged by means of an improvised adjustment; the evidence for this is the presence, in the following sentence, of the words *ok kunnu menn*). The copyist might then have interpolated between the last two words a pleonastic as well as gratuitous *ýmsa vega* 'in various ways', and, finally, miscopied *dýrarödd(in)* as *dýraröðnin*. The result of the whole operation was a rather clumsy sentence, which may be roughly translated as follows: 'and still in different ways and (with different) names and devices [?] the names of the animals are variously distinguished'. Unquestionably better is the solution offered by the copyist of W (or of W's exemplar). He filled the first lacuna with *þó* (still leaving out the preposition *með*) and interpreted the rest, from the second lacuna onwards, as a new sentence: [*með mörgum*] *nöfnum* [*er*] *greind dýrarödd*, the word order of which, however, he changed. The solutions proposed by the previous editors appear unsatisfactory in that they accept more or less passively the reading of one or the other version.

12a. *kvikindin*: absent in W; the reference to the animals, is, however, implicit.

Another kind of sound is the one birds, beasts and sea-animals produce; this is called voice, but these voices are named in many ways. Birds sing, shriek, and twitter, and even (that) in different ways, and by many names is differentiated the voice of the animals, and men understand what animals intend to signify with many of their sounds. Sea-animals blow or yell. All of these voices appear quite senseless to the minds of most men. The third kind of sound is that belonging to men: this is called sound, voice, and speech. Speech is made by the breath and the movement of the tongue against the teeth and the palate, and by the position of the lips. Then each word is accompanied by memory, sense, and discernment. Memory is needed to remember the pronunciation of words; sense and discernment to remember to say the words one wishes. In order to possess

12b. *þykkjast*: both MSS have *þikkiaz*, with delabialized root vowel. The merger of /y/ and /i/, which only became definitive in the course of the sixteenth century, is already attested, although sporadically and in certain words only, during the thirteenth century, i.e. from a time anterior to that in which the two MSS were written (see B. K. Þórólfsson 1925 p. xvi). The form *þikkjast* would therefore be fully acceptable. Nevertheless, since we have chosen to adopt a normalized spelling, the restoration of the more orthodox *y* seems advisable, although in contrast with both witnesses.

15. *En ... hafa*: W has the reading *Þriðja hljóðsgrein er miklu merkiligust, er menn hafa*. The exaltation of the human voice, 'by far the most remarkable [or 'meaningful'] kind of sound', perfectly in keeping with the laudatory expressions opening and closing the version of W, is likely to be an addition influenced by the scribe's religious zeal; therefore it must be rejected. Surprisingly enough, the phrase *miklu merkiligust* was put into the restored text by FJ (63:6), who normally resorted to W's readings only in cases of real necessity.

16. *við tenn ok góma*: absent in W.

17-19. *En hverju orði ... er hann vill*: in W the whole passage is shifted to the initial part of the treatise (91:6-8), where it appears in a slightly different form from that of U. Here again W gives the more articulate and elegant reading, which nevertheless must be rejected as a probable manipulation of the original text. U's reading is fully acceptable with a minor addition (see the following note).

18. *ok skilning*: an integration from W which is necessary for a perfect correspondence with the explanatory words to follow (cf. FJ 63:10).

- 20 vit ok orðfræði ok fyrirætlan, ok þat mjök, at hægt sé tungubragðit. Ef tenrnar eru skörðóttar ok missir tungan þar, þat lýtir málit. Svá ok ef tungan er of mikil, þá er málit blest; nú er hon of lítil, þá er sá holgómur. Þat kann ok, spilla málinu, ef varrnar eru eigi heilar.
- 25 Muðrinn ok tungan er leikvöllr orðanna; á þeim leikvelli eru reistir stafir þeir, er mál allt gera, ok hendir málit yrnsa svá til at jafna sem hörpustrengir, eða eru læstir lyklar í simphónie.

19-20. Between *þar til* and *vit*, W inserts *þrennt* 'three things', in clear contradiction with the rest of the sentence where *four* things are mentioned (cf. JS p. 48n1). It is easy to understand how this inconsistency can have arisen if we take U's reading as the original one: here the fourth requirement (*tungubragðit*) is not directly attached to the sequence of the first three but is expanded into a new sentence for the sake of emphasis. This stylistic device may have deceived the copyist of W, who, as he dwelt upon the first sentence, thought that it might be appropriate to enrich it with a *þrennt*. A mistake due to his usual excess of zeal.

20. *orðfræði*: W *orðfæri*. Actually, both variants are appropriate to the context, one meaning 'knowledge of words' (*orðfræði*) and the other 'word fluency' (*orðfæri*). What makes the second less acceptable, is that its meaning — as pointed out by FJ (p. 84n51,8) — almost coincides with that of *alhægt tungubragð*, which follows soon after. Therefore, once again, U's reading must be preferred.

21. *ok missir tungan þar*: W's reading is *ok missir tanngarðar* 'and the tooth-fence is missing'. Although the expression is both formally and semantically correct (and it is not clear why EM (p. 159n24) finds it inexplicable), it is almost a repetition of what has just been said about the teeth. U's version, on the other hand, completes the passage in question logically and is therefore preferable.

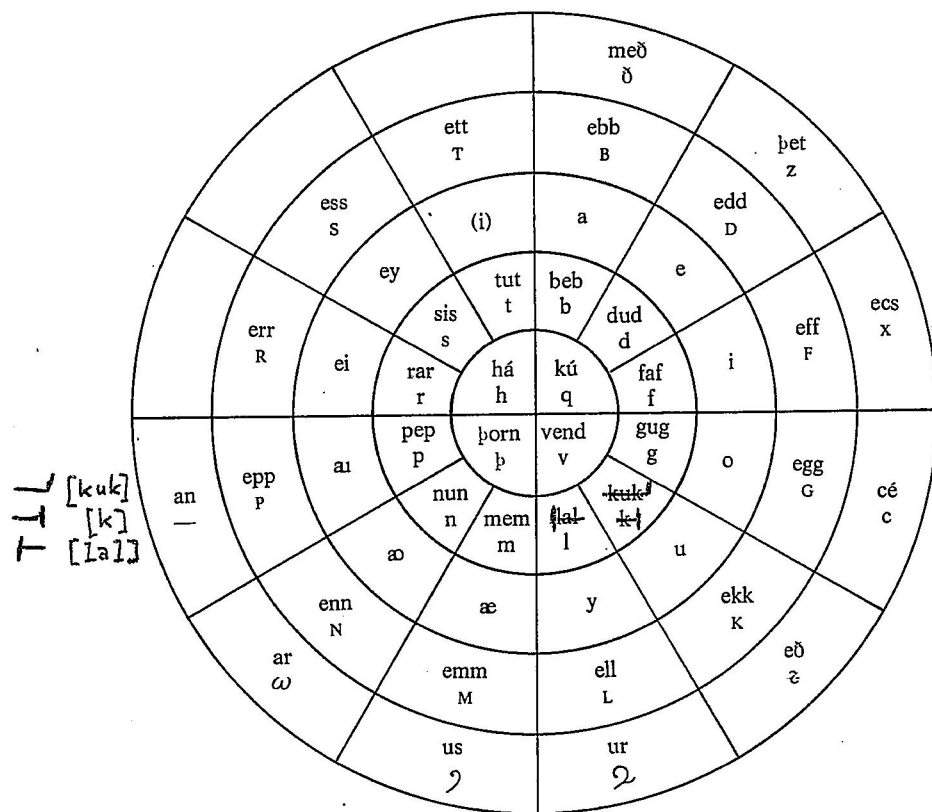
24. *Muðrinn ... orðanna*: W's reading (*Muðrinn er leikvöllr orðanna, en tungan stýrið*) is rather obscure in its second part. As pointed out by EM (p. 142), *stýri*

eloquence, one needs intelligence, knowledge of words, and determination, and, especially, a glib tongue. If there is a gap between the teeth, and the tongue misses there (its mark), this distorts the utterance. Likewise, if the tongue is too big, speech becomes lisping; if it is too little, one mumbles. It may also damage speech if the lips are not whole. The mouth and the tongue are the playing-field of words. On that field are raised those letters which make up the whole language, and language plucks some (of them) like, for example, harp strings, or (as when) the keys of a hurdy-gurdy are locked.

can only mean 'helm, rudder'; hence the association of this term with *leikvöllr* 'playing-field' is at least unusual. In all likelihood, however, it is employed here in a figurative sense ('commander, captain' or something of the sort). The same concept is repeated in W 93:20 (*at stýrinu því, er tungan heitir*).

25-26. *ok hendir ... í simphónie*: in W this passage is placed after the description of the five circles and the various interpolations from FGT, and its original place is filled by a new sentence: *ok fimm hringar eru um þá stafi slegnir eða settir í málshætti*. S. Egilsson (ESS.II p. 49) rendered this rather problematic sentence "quinque circulis circumdatae aut in modos sermonis inclusae". The aim of the manipulation effected by W's scribe is clear enough: since the MS, for reasons which we cannot know, does not contain the two illustrative figures, the scribe is trying to provide a minimum of introduction to the classification of the letters and thus to make up, at least partially, for the lack of the circular figure (cf. FJ p. xvii).

26. *læstir*: W's variant, *leystir* 'loosened, released', is clearly wrong, in that it leads to an interpretation which is diametrically opposed to the correct one. By releasing the keys of a *simphónie* one obtains the interruption, not the production, of sound (for a detailed description of the instrument, see § 3.1.3 below). This incongruity can very likely be explained as a miscopying due to the formal likeness of the two words in question.



CIRCULAR FIGURE. *First circle* (at the centre). U's reading *vnd* is certainly a miswriting for *vend* (see § 3.1.2.6 below).

Second circle. Although they do not appear that way in the MS, the letter *b* and the corresponding name *beb* must occupy a single square in order to preserve the homogeneity of the figure. Once this emendation has been made, a square becomes free which can be filled with the letter *k*. Thus the figure is neatly adjusted and preserved, and there is no longer any disagreement with the text below. The next problem to solve concerns what name to give the letter *l*, since the scribe failed to write it, and the letter *k*, which we have just regained. The vowels inserted between two identical consonants in each square do not seem to have been chosen with any specific criterion in mind. A few hypothetical groupings may be made which cannot, however, be held to have necessarily corresponded with the author's original intentions. The labial consonants, for example, are supported by the vowel *e* (*beb*, *mem*, *pep*); the dentals — if one admits the hypothesis (very likely, indeed) that *non* is a miswriting for **nvn* — are supported by the vowel *u* (*dud*, *nun*, *tut*);

(CIRCULAR FIGURE)

a *u*, again, is used as supporting vowel for the velar *g* (*gug*), which may entitle us to postulate the same vowel for the *k*, too (hence, *kuk*). As for the remaining consonants, all belonging to different articulatory classes, two of them are supported by *a* (*faf*, *rar*) and one, the sibilant, by *i* (*sis*). Considering that *l*, like *r*, is a liquid, we may by analogy fill the lacuna in *U* with a *lal*. At any rate, it must be stressed that the present reconstruction, however functional it may seem, is based on mere supposition. Another emendation is necessary for the letters *r* and *s*. The scribe uses the majuscule variants; this is obviously a mistake, since the use of majuscules is reserved exclusively for the notation of geminates (fourth circle). It is therefore necessary to correct by writing the corresponding minuscules as for the other consonants.

Third circle. See n. 34 below for the three ligatures *æ*, *ω*, *au*. The square is empty which, ideally, should have contained the *skiptingr* (see text below, ll. 41-47). Furthermore, in the diagram in *U* it does not come at the end of the series subsequently described in the text, but occupies the first place in the upper left-hand quadrant, between the ligatures and the digraphs. This inconsistency can only be explained as a miscopying, due either to *U*'s scribe or already existing in his model; an emendation is therefore necessary. Actually, the absence of a specific symbol for the *skiptingr* may depend upon the fact that the square was never filled; after all, the letter in question is the same *i* mentioned not far above among the simple vowels, which, according to the phonetic environment, may assume a consonantal value ([j]) or be reduced to the unstressed element of a diphthong ([ji]). The only symbol used by Icelandic scribes all through the Middle Ages to represent these variants was *i*, *j* normally being used only as a capital letter, whatever its value might have been. Therefore, in compiling the figure, the author could choose between two alternatives: either to repeat the letter *i* or, considering that one *i* was already present in the figure anyway, to leave the square empty. He decided for the second solution.

Fourth circle. Concerning the correct representation of these letters, see n. 58 below. The names are accurately rendered on the whole. The most remarkable error concerns the name of the letter *B*: instead of *ebb*, as comparison with the names of the other letters in the circle suggests, the MS gives *beb* (not *beb*, as read by JS p. 365n and FJ p. 90). That the error is due to a moment's confusion with the names of the consonants in the second circle is more than evident. As for the other names, there are only two minor inexactitudes: *ef* and *ek* instead of *eff* and *ekk* respectively.

Fifth circle. As regards the so-called 'sub-letters' (*ð*, *z*, *c*, *x*), it is necessary first of all to modify the order in which they appear in the figure in *U*: in order to have a perfect correspondence with the text, the positions of the last two must be inverted. Concerning the names of these four letters, see § 3.1.2.6 below, where, among other things, some emendations proposed by previous editors are questioned. The 'tittles' (abbreviation marks) contained in the figure in *U* are somewhat distorted when compared with their usual shape in old Icelandic MSS, including the Cod. Ups. itself. Their correct shape can only be restored on the basis of the 'name' (i.e. the expanded form) accompanying each tittle in its own square. Further details on this subject will be given in the Commentary (§ 3.1.2.5b). Here it will suffice to produce a list of the emendations: *W* → *ʁ* (for *ur*); *2* → *ʔ* (for *us*); *uss* → *us*; *u* → *ω* (for *ar*) and *┐* → *—* (for *an*, or the nasal stroke).

Í fyrsta hring eru fjórir stafir; þá má til einskis annars nýta, en vera fyrir öðrum stöfum: *q*, *v*, *p*, *h*.

30 Í öðrum hring eru stafir tólf, þeir sem heita málstafir. Hverri þeirra má vera bæði fyrir ok eptir í málinu, en engi þeirra gerir mál af sjálfum sér: *b*, *d*, *f*,

27a. W adds after *stafir*: *er heita höfuðstafir*, lit. 'which are called head-letters'. That this is an addition in W and not an omission in U is first of all proved by the fact that in the following sentence W gives a further addition which is closely connected with the first one (see n. 27b below), and we know from experience that when two or more variations in one and the same text are interrelated, they presuppose the scribe's desire to intervene. While the scribe of W might have had some reasons (however questionable) to justify additions in this passage, that of U had none to make deletions. Moreover, the label *höfuðstafir*, applied to this group of letters, is misleading and inadequate: first because the term was currently used by Icelandic grammarians to designate capital letters (being the literal translation of Lat. *litterae capitales*), not all kinds of initials; and second because, stressing the idea of something standing 'at the head', it was not suitable for at least two of the consonants in question, viz. *q* and *v*, which could occur both at the beginning and in the middle of words. Concerning the reasons which could have led W's scribe to make this addition and to choose the label *höfuðstafir*, see § 3.1.2.1 below.

27b. W adds between *vera* and *fyrir*: *upphaf ok* '(at the) beginning and'. This addition must be considered within the context of the observations in the preceding note. Since the next phrase *fyrir öðrum stöfum*, stating that the letters in question must be followed by other letters, implies in itself the initial position, the addition of *upphaf ok* is redundant. Probably W's scribe found the addition necessary in order to provide stronger support for the label *höfuðstafir*, which, as noted above, puts emphasis only on the initial nature of these letters.

28. *q*, *v*, *p*, *h*: there is a mistake in the position of these four letters in U, i.e. they are shifted to the next passage in a quite unsuitable place and in a confused way. The correct reading is drawn from W, the text of which corresponds closely to what is depicted in the circular figure in U. Only the order of the letters has been modified here in order to make it conform to the reading direction followed throughout the figure, which is clockwise, starting from the upper right-hand quadrant. The reason for U's incongruity was convincingly explained by FJ (pp. 91-92): in U's model the four letters in question, which had at first been omitted accidentally, must have been situated in the margin, more or less at the same height as *heita* (see n. 29b), preceded by the sign *ʃ* acting as a reference mark (on the origin and the function of marginal signs in old Icelandic MSS, see B. M. Olsen 1884 pp. I-III). The copyist of U, regarding this marginal addition as a continuation of the line, inserted it in the text as such. In addition to this, he mistook the reference mark for a real letter (the runic *fē*), so that he joined it to the other four, thus compounding the confusion.

In the first circle there are four letters; they can be of no other use than to stand before other letters: *q*, *v*, *p*, *h*.

In the second circle there are twelve letters, which are called consonants. Each of them can stand both before and after (other letters) in discourse, but none of them makes any (piece of) discourse by itself: *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *k*, *l*,

It should also be observed that in both MSS the letter *v* is erroneously represented by the symbol *ý*. As is well known, in the oldest Icelandic MSS the so-called insular *v* had virtually the same shape as *y*, and the scribes, in order to make these two letters more readily distinguishable, used to put a dot over the one representing the phoneme /y/. Both of our copyists, therefore, show that they did not understand which letter their models were actually referring to in the present passage. Concerning the close similarity and the consequent need of differentiation between *y* and insular *v*, detailed information can be found in H. Benediktsson 1965, esp. pp. 25 and 51.

29a. *tólf*: U has *xi*, i.e. 'eleven'. This is clearly an error: either the scribe miscopied his model, or he was deceived by the circular figure, which — due to an error involving the letter *b* and its name (see n. to the circular figure above) — actually contains only eleven letters in this circle. However, that the letters in question must be twelve is proved not only by the fact that both MSS agree in listing twelve consonants, but also by the simple consideration that, if this were not so, the *k* would be the only consonant to be excluded from the group, without any apparent reason. Moreover, as correctly pointed out by EM (p. 160n6), the *k* regularly appears in its proper place in the rectangular figure among the other consonants which can both precede and follow a vowel. Therefore, the thesis put forward by FJ (p. 89), who, in disagreement with all the other commentators, maintained that the author of SGT intentionally excluded the letter *k*, becomes unacceptable.

29b. It is here, between *heita* and *málstafir*, that U's scribe erroneously inserted the letters belonging to the first circle together with the reference mark mentioned in n. 28 above; he also wrote the letter *h* two times.

30. *málinu*: W *orðinu*. The terms *í málinu* and *í orðinu* are virtually equivalent in the present context. I nevertheless prefer *í málinu* because it is more general, since it can refer to the whole 'discourse' (i.e., the spoken chain) as well as to any other unit or fraction of the utterance. At any rate, its most probable meaning in this passage is that of 'syllable' (precisely the term used by FJ (*stavelse*) in his commentary, p. 89).

30-31. *b*, *d*, ... *s*, *t*: as already observed in n. 89:24 to the transcription of U, U gives both graphic variants of *s*, i.e. the long and the round. Maybe by doing this the copyist was trying to be more exhaustive than his model; even so, his behaviour seems rather strange, because throughout the MS he only used the long variant for the simple *s*. At any rate, since the treatise itself restricts the use of the round (majuscule) *s* to the notation of *ss*, only the long *s* can be considered the original, while the other one must be regarded as an arbitrary addition on the part of U.

g, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t; en nöfn þeira eru hér sett eptir hljóði þeira. Í þriðja hring eru tólf stafir, er hljóðstafir heita. Þessi grein er þeira stafa. Fyrst heita stafir, ok skal svá rita: a, e, i, o, u, y. Önnur grein er sú, er heita límingar, ok skal svá rita: æ, ω, au; þessir eru þrír; hér eru tveir
 35 hljóðstafir saman límdir, því at þessi stafrinn hverr hefir hvern hlut af hljóði hinna, er hann er af gerr. Lofat er þat í ritshætti at rita af límingum

31. *eru ... þeira*: W has *eru eptir hljóð þeira*. As pointed out by FJ (p. 84n51,21), W's reading is at least inexact, if not entirely wrong. In fact, a *sett*, or something of the kind, is needed after *eru* (as in U) to complete the sense of the sentence. Moreover, it must be noted that the preposition *eptir*, when it means 'according to, on the basis of', governs, as a rule, the dative (cf. verb patterns like *heita e-n eptir e-m* 'to name somebody after someone', to which the verb phrase *setja nafn* 'give a name' also belongs), while *eptir* + accusative renders, instead, the temporal meaning 'after'. Hence *hljóði* (as in U), not *hljóð* (as in W).

34. *æ, ω, au*: there is considerable discordance between the various places where these letters are represented in the two MSS. The choice of the present notation, with regard to both the shape and the order of the symbols, is based upon a rather complex series of considerations which cannot be summarized adequately in the space normally devoted to a footnote. Therefore, the reader is referred to § 3.1.2.3b in the Commentary, where the subject is treated in detail.

34-35. *þessir ... límdir*: W's version of this passage — *þessir þrír stafir eru hvar tveir hljóðstafir saman límdir* 'these three letters are in each place (made up of) two vowels linked together' — is no doubt the only one which fits into the context appropriately. The reading of U, as it appears in the MS, cannot be accepted; it is at least necessary to emend the first *tveir* to *þrír*, since the entities referred to are actually three, not two (cf. EM p. 161n5). This error may well be due to the attraction of the following *tveir*, especially if we assume that in U's model both numerals were written in (roman) figures, as normally occurred. Other emendations suggested by previous editors (apart from RR and SE, who accepted W's reading) seem quite unconvincing, if not absolutely wrong. JS emended W's *hvar* to *hvárr* (p. 48). This emendation, in addition to not being necessary to the formal correctness of the text, must be rejected for the simple reason that the pronoun *hvárr* can only refer to two entities ('each of the two'), while the letters in question, as noted above, are three. On the contrary, the presence of the distributive adverb *hvar* 'in each place' is fully justified. FJ, although starting from an entirely different premise, strangely enough made the same error as JS: he chose U's reading but emended *hér* to *hvárr*, thus obtaining the following formulation: *þessir ero tveir hvárr; ero .ij. hljóðstafir saman límpir* (63:34), i.e. 'these are two (letters) each; (they) are two vowels linked together', where 'each' had to have the same meaning as in JS's version. Perhaps *hér* could have been more successfully replaced by *hverr*; even so, the overall wording would have remained equally

m, n, p, r, s, t; their names are given here according to their sound. In the third circle there are twelve letters, which are called vowels. The (internal) distinction of these letters is the following. First (come those which) are called (simple) letters and (which) must be written thus: *a, e, i, o, u, y*. The second kind is that (of those letters) which are called ligatures and (which) must be written thus: *æ, ω, au*. These are three; here two vowels are linked together, because each of these letters has every part of the sound of those (letters) it is made of. It is allowed in

unsatisfactory from a stylistic point of view (and yet the editor considered it "en form, der er fuldt så rigtig som cod. Worm.s" (p. 92n58,11). All things considered, the reading of W is the most accurate, at least in terms of logic. But we know, on the other hand, that such an accuracy depended to a large extent on the conscious and subtle manipulation of the scribe. Therefore, once this possibility is set aside as not very likely, the most natural and reliable solution is no doubt the one proposed by EM (see above), which has been chosen for the present edition.

35. Although required by the context, the pronoun *hverr* is missing in U. Its absence there may be due to the fact that, together with *hefir* and *hvern* immediately following, it formed a triad of words which could easily have been confused one with the other when written in their usual abbreviated form: *hvr, hef, hvn* (according to the orthographic rules of the Cod. Ups.) and *hvn*. It is probable, therefore, that, involuntarily, the scribe skipped one of them. As for the suffixed article in *stafrinn*, it probably should be retained, although the preceding *þessi* makes it redundant (which explains its absence in W).

36-37. *Lofat ... æ, ω*: although closely connected with the same subject, this passage is placed in both MSS at a considerable distance from the passage on ligatures, precisely at the end of the description of the third circle. There is no doubt, however, that the right place is here, where it serves as an appendix concerning an alternative writing of ligatures. In order to explain why it was displaced, we may assume that the passage in question had been accidentally omitted in the archetype of the two versions and that it was put back into the text after the whole paragraph on vowels had been written, without any indication as to the point in the text to which it directly referred. A different opinion was expressed by Ö. Brenner (1888 p. 273), who maintained that the passage was not part of the original text but was, on the contrary, added later (from FGT) in order to justify the notation of ligatures presented in the rectangular figure; see also § 3.1.2.3b below.

36a. *at rita*: missing in W. It is certainly an accidental omission, because its absence deprives the sentence of a fundamental component (cf. FJ p. 86n52,16-17).

36b. *límingum*: W's reading, *hneigingum* is no doubt a miswriting originating in the scribe's inattention. *Hneiging* (< *hneigia*) 'to bow (down), bend, incline' means 'inflection' when used in connection with grammar and therefore makes no sense in the present context (cf. FJ p. 86n52,16-17).

heldr *a-lykkju* en fullt *a*, ok er þá svá: *ę*, *ρ*. En þriðja grein er þat er heita lausaklofar, ok skal svá rita: *ei*, *ey*; þessir tveir stafir eru ritaðir óbreyttir í hvárum stað ok gerr einn af, því at hann tekr hljóð hinna beggja, en fyrir ritsháttar sakir er þessa stafi óhægt saman at binda.

40 Nú er enn tólfti stafr, er skiptingr heitir; þat er *i*. Þat er réttir hljóðstafr, ef málstafr er fyrir honum ok eptir honum í samstöfunni; en ef hljóðstafr er næst eptir honum, þá skiptist hann í málstaf, ok gerast þá af honum mörg full orð, svá sem *já* eða *jörð* eða *jór*; ok enn svá, ef málstafr stendr fyrir

45 honum en hljóðstafr næst eptir, svá sem *björn* eða *bjór* eða *björg*. Önnur skipting hans er þat, at hann sé lausaklofi, svá sem þeir, er áðr eru ritaðir.

37a. *heldr a-lykkju en fullt a*: the correct reading is drawn from W. U's variant — *heldr en af lykkju en fullt a* — contains some errors which reveal once more the carelessness and inaccuracy of the scribe: on the one hand, the anticipation of the conjunction *en* repeated below in its right place before *fullt a*, and, on the other, *af lykkju* is written in place of *a-lykkju* probably under the influence of the preceding *af límingum* (cf. FJ p. 93n59,9). However, the text of W is not completely flawless either. The phrase *full a* (with the adjectival stem *full-* without ending) raises some exegetical difficulty: *full*, as an adjective form, can only be a fem. nom. sg. or a nt. nom./acc. pl., while the context clearly requires an acc. sg. (as for the gender, neuter in U, it must be noted that in Old Icelandic the letters of the alphabet (*stafir*) were thought of as being either masculine or neuter according to whether the user was aware or not of the underlying reference to the word *stafr*). Therefore, unless we want to consider the form *full a* a banal miswriting, we must interpret it as the first component of a compound, belonging to the same pattern as, e.g., the nouns *fullmæli*, *fullsaetti*, etc., namely *full-a*. Strange to say, none of the previous editors mention this problem. However, the fact that those who followed W as the base text (RR, SE, and JS) accepted its reading without any emendation shows implicitly that they agreed with this interpretation.

37b. The relative clause *er þeir stafir hafa* which in W comes after the pronoun *þat* has a parenthetic nature and brings no additional information to the understanding of this passage.

38. *ei*, *ey*: this order is to be preferred to the one observed in the text of both versions, not so much because it respects the alphabetical order as for its correspondence with the disposition of the two digraphs in both the figures in U.

38-39. *þessir ... stað*: in W. The difference between the two MSS here is such as to make one suspect that their common ancestor contained some mechanical damage and that, consequently, the copyists were forced to restore the text by conjecture. As far as W in particular is concerned, the phrase *í hvárum stað* is in all likelihood one of the scribe's interpolations to give more clearness and elegance to the text. It is tempting to reconstruct the passage as follows: *þessir eru tveir; hér eru ritaðir tveir stafir óbreyttir*, in other words, with a syntactic structure closely corresponding to the one used in the description of the ligatures. However, for prudence's sake, I prefer to limit myself to choosing one of the two available readings. The reading of W has been adopted because of its greater perspicuity, although it is almost certainly a conjectural paraphrase of the original text. As

writing to write, of the ligatures, the loop of the *a* rather than the whole *a*, and then it is thus: *ę*, *ρ*. The third kind is that (of those letters) which are called digraphs and (which) must be written thus: *ei*, *ey*. These two letters are written unchanged in each part and made into one (letter), because this (letter) takes the sound of both (the letters it is made of); but in writing it is impractical to bind these letters together.

Now there is still the twelfth letter, which is called variable: that is *i*. It is a real vowel if a consonant stands before and after it in the syllable; but if a vowel stands immediately after it, it turns into a consonant, and then many full words are made by means of it, such as *já* ('yes'), or *jörð* ('earth'), or *jór* ('steed'); likewise, too, if a consonant stands before it and a vowel immediately after, as (in) *björn* ('bear'), or *bjór* ('beer'), or *björg* ('protection'). Another of its variants is when it becomes (part of) a diphthong, like those which are written above.

regards the previous editions, it must be said that only EM noticed something suspicious in U's reading, so much so that he introduced several emendations (161:8-9); the solution he suggested, however, is a questionable mixture of the two versions. Moreover, insofar as can be understood from his obscure remarks in the footnote, he interpreted the form *gerr* as the third person sg. of the pres. ind. of *gera* instead of as a past participle and assigned it an impersonal value as can be seen from his translation of the passage (p. 165).

42. *í samstöfunni*: W *í samstöfun*. *Samstafa* and *samstöfun* were free variants of the word for 'syllable'. Both forms occur side by side in FGT (cf. H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 102).

44-45. *ok enn ... björg*: this passage, which in both MSS comes at the end of the paragraph on the *skiptingr*, as though intended for further exemplification of the category of the *lausaklofar*, is actually directly related to the preceding remarks about the consonantal value of the vowel *i*, which in this way is described more fully. Thus we may infer, along with FJ (p. 85n52,3-5) and EM (p. 161n15), that the passage in question was once located in the margin (very likely in the original itself) and that in a later transcript (i.e., in the archetype of the two extant versions) it was inserted in a wrong place in the text. Accordingly, the expositive order of both versions must be modified in order to restore that sequence which must have been the right one according to the author's intention. Concerning the possibility of a different interpretation based on the actual wording of the MSS, see § 3.1.2.3d below.

46. The term *lausaklofi*, translated as 'digraph' in l. 38 above, is rendered here as 'diphthong', this being its only proper meaning in a context dealing with the different positional variants of a phoneme. For further details, see § 3.1.2.3b.

46-47. *svá ... ritaðir*: in U. W's reading, *svá sem áðr var ritað*, is vaguer but, also, more fitting. As a matter of fact, the *lausaklofi* involving the vowel *i* is one only (*ei*), while U's reading necessarily refers to both *lausaklofar*. The scribe of W must have noticed this discrepancy and therefore emended the text, simply referring to what 'has been written above'. At any rate, U's inconsistency is not such, in this case, as to compel us to reject its reading.

Þessir stafir einir saman gera mörg full orð, en skamt mál gera þeir sjálfir. Ef á gerir heilt orð, þá mezt þat svá, sem þú nefnir yfir; en í, þá sem fyrir innan; ó eða ú, þeir skipta um orðunum, svá sem er satt eða úsatt; menn kalla einn við ý; en æ, þat er veinun; en ey heitir þat land, sem sjór eða vatn fellr umhverfis; þat er ok kallat ey eða æ, er aldri þrýtr.

48a. Þessir ... orð: W's version of this sentence contains two errors. First, the sentence is preceded by a sequence of four vowels: á, í, ó, ý; this means, according to W, that the property referred to applies to these vowels only, while the examples, on the contrary, clearly show that the reference is general, i.e. valid for all vowels, or, more precisely, for all the long vowels and the diphthongs. Secondly, we read in W orð full where U has full orð. This almost certainly proceeds from a misunderstanding on the part of W's scribe. If we were to follow his version, we would be led to believe that these vowels (i.e. the ones mentioned at the beginning of the passage) 'make full [i.e. 'complete'] many words'; but such a statement does not seem to make much sense in the context, especially if referred to some vowels only.

48b. sjálfir: in W. Although not indispensable to the correct understanding of the text, the presence of sjálfir makes the passage more finished from a stylistic point of view. Therefore, whether we consider it an omission of U or an addition of W, it seems advisable to put it into the restored text; FJ and EM were of the same opinion.

49. þá mezt þat svá: þat and svá are concurrent readings in the two MSS: the former is found only in W and the latter only in U. Both, however, should be included in the restored text in order to obtain a syntactically complete formulation. At any rate, while þat could be omitted without much damage, svá is necessary as a correlative of sem. It is symptomatic in this connection that, among the previous editors, those who have followed U as the base MS have contented themselves with leaving the text unchanged, while those who have followed W have felt it necessary to add svá, taking it from U.

49-50. en í, þá sem fyrir innan: this sentence is missing in W. As suggested by FJ (p. 86n52,7 and p. 93n58,28-9), the í appearing after the word yfir is perhaps a remnant of the sentence. If so, we must suppose that the absence of this sentence in W is due to an eye-skip on the part of the scribe. This, however, is not the greatest problem involving the passage. The main difficulty, instead, consists in how to interpret the unusual abbreviation found between the words í and sem, which is repeated shortly thereafter in a rather different context. As already observed in the transcription of U (n. 90:14), this abbreviation occurs in other

These letters alone make up many full words, but they (only) make a brief (piece of) discourse by themselves. If á ('on') makes up a whole word, it has about the same value as when you say yfir ('over'); í ('in'), as fyrir innan ('inside'); ó- and ú- ('un-') reverse (the meaning of) words, as satt ('true') vs. úsatt ('untrue'); men call ý ('yew', acc. sg.) a certain tree; æ ('ah!') is a wailing; ey ('island') is called that land which is surrounded by sea or lake; ey ('everlasting') or æ (idem) is also called that which never ends.

parts of the Cod. Ups. with the value of þeim (see A. Grape 1962-77 II p. 169), even though the latter pronominal form usually has a different abbreviation (þm). In other MSS the same abbreviation is used for þeir and þess (see H. Spehr 1929 p. 145 and H. Benediktsson 1965 p. 88); it seems to be, therefore, a rather general abbreviation for various forms of the demonstrative pronoun beginning with þ-. None of the interpretations that have been given of the abbreviation in connection with this passage is sufficiently convincing. According to FJ (p. 93n58,28-9), the only possible readings, from a strictly paleographic point of view, are þau or þeim. Nevertheless, as he admitted himself, neither of the two fits properly into the context; instead, he suggested reading þat. Not even þat, however, suffices alone to give a complete sense to the sentence, so much so that FJ himself was compelled to add an er 'is' at the end. In my opinion, it seems more likely that the original had þá here as in the preceding example and that, therefore, the passage has to be explained as follows: en [ef] í [gerir heilt orð], þá [mezt þat svá] sem [þú nefnir] fyrir innan, that is 'and if í makes up a whole word, then it has about the same value as when you say fyrir innan'. In other words, the passage would have the same semantic structure as the preceding one; only, for the sake of brevity, it would have been reduced to essentials. As for the unusual abbreviation, it could be explained by the influence of þeir in the next sentence, which is abbreviated in the same way. True, this is not even the regular abbreviation for þeir in the Cod. Ups.; perhaps it was in U's exemplar, and U's scribe copied it automatically.

50. þeir: FJ and EM read þau; þeir, however, is more appropriate in view of what has been observed in the preceding note. W's reading þat skiptir, with reference to a singular object, is equally correct, since ó- and ú- were free variants of the same morpheme and could therefore be regarded as a single entity.

51-52. en ey ... umhverfis: missing in W. The omission is made still more conspicuous by the presence of ok in the following sentence (see n. 52a).

52a. þat er ok kallat: the adverbial ok 'also' is missing in U. Its presence, however, is important because it emphasizes the homonymy of the words mentioned here with those in the two preceding examples.

52b. æ: W has ei, still another variant of the word meaning 'ever'.

55 Hljóðstafir hafa ok tvenna grein, at þeir sé styttr eða dregnir; en ef skýrt skal rita, þá skal draga yfir þann staf, er seint skal leiða, sem hér: "Á því ári, sem Ari var fæddr," ok "Ér ertuð hann; þat er í mínu minni." Optliga skipta orðaleiðingar öllu máli, hvárt hinn sami hljóðstafur er leiddr seint eða skjótt.

60 Í fjórða hring eru tólf stafir svá ritaðir: B, D, F, G, K, L, M, N, P, R, S, T. Þessir stafir gera ekki annat, en menn vilja hafa þá fyrir ritsháttar sakir, ok er settir hverr þeira einn fyrir tvá málstafi, því at sum orð eða nöfn endast í svá fast atkvæði, at engi málstafur fær einn borit, svá sem er höll eða fjall

53a. W adds after *grein*: *þá er optlega skiptast orðin með* '(a distinction) by which words often change (their meaning)'. This sentence is virtually a repetition of the concept expressed, in both versions, at the end of this same paragraph.

53b. *styttr*: W's *studdir* (< *styðja*) 'leaned up (against), supported' is no doubt a misreading of the scribe; the word makes no sense in this context.

54. *leiða*: W at *kveða*, with the same meaning.

55. *Ér ertuð hann*: this sentence, which is only found in W, is indispensable to the understanding of the second example. Omitting it, U's scribe fused the two illustrative sentences. Perhaps he thought that the contrast illustrated in the second sentence referred to the pair *mínu/minni* (which, in any case, is not a minimal pair). Or he could have even interpreted the whole passage as a series of examples of words containing long vowels, as the presence of the superscript stroke in *Á*, *í*, *mínu*, and perhaps also in *fæddr*, seems to indicate. Instead, the opposition clearly refers to the different vowel quantity in *ér* and *er*. The integration was accepted by FJ, who did not, however, feel he had to justify it.

58. B, D, ... S, T. Although from the context it is clear that all of the letters in question are capital letters used with the value of geminates, both U and W show several striking deviations. This is particularly true regarding W, which, as we will see below, omits four of the announced twelve letters.

First of all, it must be pointed out that in U, in accordance with the circular figure contained in the same MS, four of the geminates are represented by the usual double minuscules instead of by majuscules (*bb*, *dd*, *ff*, *pp*). Still in agreement with the circular figure, but, here too, against the intention of the author, three more letters are written as simple minuscules: *g*, *k* and *n*. Such an inconsistency is no doubt to be ascribed to the carelessness of the copyist. However, at least as far as *k* is concerned, there may be an explanation. In the original version of SGT, the geminate *kk* must have been represented, as suggested by W's reading, by the

The vowels also have a twofold distinction (according to) whether they are shortened or lengthened, and if one has to write clearly, one must draw (a stroke) over that letter which must be pronounced slowly, as here: "In the year (*ári*) when *Ari* (proper name) was born," and "You (*Ér*) teased him, that is (*er*) on my mind." Often the (different) pronunciation of words changes (the sense of) the whole discourse, (according to) whether the same vowel is pronounced slowly or quickly.

In the fourth circle there are twelve letters, written thus: B, D, F, G, K, L, M, N, P, R, S, T. These letters do nothing else than being used by people for the sake of writing; each of them is put alone in place of two (identical) consonants, because some words or names end in such a fast pronunciation that no (simple) consonant can bear it alone, as (in) *höll*

symbol *lc* (Greek uncial *k*), according to a practice rather widespread among Icelandic scribes. Because of this symbol's resemblance to a simple *k*, it was easy to confuse it with the latter — a fact which is confirmed in the transmission of many other MSS — and this may have been the case with U's scribe. (On the whole question of the use of Greek uncial *k*, see H. Benediktsson 1965 pp. 46, 78n2, and 83-84, where reference is also made to SGT.). As for *g* and *n*, no plausible explanation seems possible. For geminate *l* we find a special symbol, consisting of two simple *l*'s placed side by side, with the first slightly higher above the line than the second. This symbol is a distinctive characteristic of old Icelandic MSS (see H. Benediktsson 1965 p. 47). *τ* is written in both the circular figure and the text with a loop under the vertical stroke, which seems to derive from an earlier ligature of two *l*'s placed one over the other (see H. Spehr 1929 p. 150). The remaining letters are consistently represented by majuscules.

As regards the individual letters, all majuscules, contained in W, there is no particular difficulty; the symbol *lc* has been explained above. The only problem here derives from the fact that only eight of the twelve letters mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph appear in the MS; B, D, F and G are missing (they were added in the left margin by a later hand). Perhaps the absence of these letters in W can be explained by the fact that they correspond to the ones which are written in double minuscules in U (with the exception of *pp*, which regularly appears as a majuscule in W). Actually, it could be assumed that the four letters in question were already represented by double minuscules in the archetype: while U's scribe might have followed his model carefully and left these letters unchanged, W's scribe could, as he became aware of the incongruity, have copied only the majuscules. For the reasons which might have caused the archetype's departure from the original, see § 3.1.2.4 below.

58-60. Þessir ... málstafi: this passage is formulated more succinctly in W: Þessir stafir eru settir hverr fyrir tvá jafna sér í ritshætti 'Each of these letters stands, in writing, for two identical (letters)'.

eða *kross* eða *hross* eða *fram* eða *hramm*; nú þarf annathvært at rita tvisvar einn málstaf eða láta sér líka þannig at rita.

Í fimta hring eru ritaðir þeir þrír stafir, er kallaðir eru undirstafir: *ð*, *z*, *x*.

65 Þessum stöfum má við engan staf koma, nema þat sé eptir hljóðstaf í hverri samstöfu. En fjórði stafr er *c*, ok hafa sumir menn þann ritshátt, at setja hann fyrir *k* eða *q*; en hitt eina er rétt hans hljóð, at vera sem aðrir undirstafir í enda samstöfu.

Titlar eru svá ritaðir hér sem í öðrum ritshætti.

62. *fram*: in normalized spelling, the form *fram* is preferable. Nevertheless, the spelling of the two MSS must be retained here in order to preserve the characteristic which has been assigned to this example, viz. that of a word ending in a double consonant (and also rhyming with *hramm*).

62-63. *nú ... þannig at rita*: here, too, W has a quite different reading, more succinct but less precise: *nú þarf annathvært at rita tvá málstafi eðr þenna einn* 'it is therefore necessary either to write two (identical) consonants or this (consonant) alone'.

65. *stöfum*: U *staf*, in the singular. The emendation from *staf* to *stöfum* (also proposed by FJ and EM) is necessary because the reference involves all three of the letters just mentioned. In W, *þessum stöfum* is replaced by *þeim*, which is certainly a plural. On the other hand, the pronoun *þat* in the following sentence does not need to be emended: it does not necessarily refer to these letters but, rather, to the conditions under which their use is permissible.

66. *En*: only in U. There is no need to read *enn*, against the MS, as FJ and EM did; the overall sense of the passage would not change in an appreciable way. Moreover, sentences beginning with *en* are very frequent in the treatise, while the same is not true for *enn*.

66-67. *ok hafa ... k eða q*: missing in W. For the reasons which might have led W's scribe to omit this passage, see n. 67b.

67a. *setja*: as observed in n. 91:4 to the transcription of U, the MS is so damaged here that the verb form must be restored by conjecture. The first editor to propose *setja* was RR (p. 293n3), and it was also adopted by EM. The latter stated (p. 162n12) that he obtained his reading from a "Stockholmer papierhandschrift" not better identified (probably the codex Papp. 4:o nr 49 in the Royal Library of Stockholm, a late seventeenth-century transcript of the Cod. Ups.), the scribe of which "die hs. noch in besserem zustande vor sich hatte;". It must be pointed out, however, that the same reading can be found in AM. 753, 4to and AM.913, 4to, two transcripts of the Uppsala Edda dating from about 1700. Others suggest *rita* (JS p. 52n3) or, less good, *hafa* (FJ 59:22 and 65:6).

67b. *k eða q*: in U we read *k̅g*, which is the current abbreviation of *konungr* (in the acc. sg.). From this we could infer that the letter *c* was used by some scribes as an abbreviation of the word 'king'; yet this does not seem to be corroborated by any Icelandic MS known so far. The whole passage (*ok hafa ... konung;*), which is

('hall'), or *fjall* ('mountain'), or *kross* ('cross'), or *hross* ('horse'), or *fram* ('forward'), or *hramm* ('claw', acc. sg.); hence it is necessary either to write a single consonant twice or to be content to write in the above way.

In the fifth circle are written those three letters, which are called sub-letters: *ð*, *z*, *x*. These letters cannot be joined with any letter, unless it be after a vowel in each syllable. A fourth letter is *c*; some men have the habit of writing it for *k* or *q*, but its only proper sound is, as (for) the other sub-letters, at the end of a syllable.

The titles are written here as in (any) other writing system.

omitted in W, must have already existed in this corrupt form in the archetype; W's scribe, unable to find a reliable explanation, resolved to eliminate it from the text. The emendation proposed here has been arrived at through comparison with a passage in FGT where the following statement is made about the letter *c*: *ok stafa ek svá við alla raddarstafi sem k eða q*, 'and I shall join it with all vowels in the same way as *k* or *q*' (W 88:18-19, transl. H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 235). It therefore seems likely — even if we do not assume the direct influence of FGT — that the original had the reading *k.e.q* (where *e* was the usual abbreviation of *eða*) or, more simply, *k.q*. The formal similarity of the latter with the abbreviation of *konung* would thus constitute the real origin of the misunderstanding that led, on the one hand, to U's unreliable version and, on the other, to W's rejection. The previous editors either accepted U's reading acritically (FJ 65:7) or proposed an emendation to *k* alone (RR p. 293n3, EM p. 162n12) without explaining the reasons behind their decision.

69. *Titlar ... ritshætti*: this sentence marks the end of the 'nucleus' of SGT, i.e. of the part common to both versions. From this point onwards the two MSS follow quite different paths (except for a single passage, which, for reasons of textual economy, was placed by W's scribe in the final section instead of in the paragraph immediately preceding the description of the five circles; cf. n. 25-26 above). It is not difficult to recognize, as in the two later editions (FJ pp. xxvi-xviii and, even more drastically, EM pp. 138-42), which of the two version carries on the original text. This is true both in terms of the pertinence of the continuation's/subject matter and because of its independence from any other known source: here, too, the primacy belongs to U, the only version containing the rectangular figure where the sounds of speech are compared to those produced by a string instrument, and also providing an accurate description of the mechanism which determines their production. Nothing of the kind is found in W, which, in its last section, irreversibly departs from the initial scheme to debouch in a jumble of interpolations, repetitions, and other sorts of additions which, although skilfully inserted into the text, have no bearing on or even disagree with the overall structure of the treatise. In particular, the whole passage from 92:28 (*hefir titull ...*) to 93:10 (... *z & þ*) is for the most part taken from FGT, viz., following the order in W, from 89:20, 89:24-26, 89:2, 89:4-5, 89:11-13, 89:16-17, and 88:8-16 in the same codex. The only independent section of the passage is the one contained between 92:30 and 92:32 (*þessir eru ... z, y.*), which is only an incomplete and very inaccurate summary of the letters included in the five circles.

- 70 Stafasetning sjá, sem hér er rituð, er svá sett til máls, sem lykklar til hljóðs í músika, ok regur fylgja hljóðstöfum svá, sem þeir lykl[ar málstöf]um. Málstafir eru ritaðir með hverri regu bæði fyrir ok eptir, ok gera þeir mál af hendingum þeim, sem þeir hafa við hljóðstafina fyrir eða eptir. Köllum vér þat lykla, sem þeir eru í fastir, ok eru þeir svá settir hér í spáziunni, sem lykklar í simphóníe, ok skal þeim kippa eða hrinda, ok drepa svá regustrengina, ok tekr þá þat hljóð, sem þú vilt haft hafa.
- 75

71a. *í músika*: the MS only has *músika*. One of the two terms used in medieval Icelandic for 'music' was the compound word *músikalist*, lit. 'art of music'. The other, less technical, was *söngur*, which also occurs in the introductory section of SGT (l. 8). The first component of *músikalist* is, of course, a Latin loanword, which, however, is not recorded as such in any of the Old Norse and Icelandic dictionaries. Not even F. Fischer (1909) included it among words of Latin origin. In A. Jóhannesson's etymological dictionary (1956, p. 1093) we find the entry *músika(list)*, from which it can be inferred that *músika* by itself must have been used somewhere. However, the only available trace of it is in the files of the Arnarnagnæan Dictionary, which contain a card with the entry *músi* (see below), drawn precisely from this passage in FJ's edition of SGT. There is no doubt, therefore, that the form occurring in the treatise is one of the rare records of this word in an Icelandic vernacular text, if not the only one. In order to explain its grammatical function in the present context, two hypotheses can be made: (1) that the term was used, as often happened among learned people, as a pure Latin word, i.e. retaining its original form and case endings. This is supported, for example, by the occurrence of the accusative form *musicam* in a passage in TGT (Cod. Worm. 94:20). Accordingly, it may be assumed that the original of SGT contained here the phrase *í músika*, to be read as the combination of the Icelandic preposition *í* and the Latin ablative *musicā*; (2) that it was adapted to Icelandic morphology as *músi*, i.e. as a weak masculine noun, which is precisely the form registered in the Arnarnagnæan file-card. In this case, it would not be necessary to have it preceded by *í*, since it could be a simple genitive. This second hypothesis is certainly less convincing than the first one: since, in terms of both gender and nominative ending, the introduction of the Latin form into Icelandic as a feminine noun presented no difficulty, there was no reason, and above all no particular use, to transfer it into another morphological class. The emendation to *í músika* was also suggested by FJ (65:11; cf. p. 95n61,2) and EM (162:16), although they did not say why.

71b. *regur*: once again we are in the presence of a hapax. The word *rega* is not known from any Old Icelandic source other than SGT. In a passage from a tale about the Archbishop Absalon (*Fornmanna sögur*, vol. 11 p. 441n6), the noun *riga*

The disposition of letters which is written here is to language as keys (are) to sound in music(al instruments), and the lines are associated with the vowels as the above keys with the consonants. The consonants are written with each line both before and after, and they make a (piece of) discourse through the combinations they have with the vowels (standing) before or after. We call keys (the spaces) where they are situated; they are placed here in the figure as keys in a hurdy-gurdy, and you must pull or push them so as to strike the line-strings, thus obtaining the sound you have wished to have.

(in the acc. sg. *rigu*) is attested with about the same meaning as the one in the treatise (see below); both forms are therefore to be regarded as variants of one and the same word. *Rega*, or *riga*, is not a word of Scandinavian origin; it comes from Old High German *riga* (see F. Kluge 1975 at the entries *Reihe* and *Riege*), in all likelihood through the intermediation of Middle Low German (see A. Lübben 1885-88 at both *rêge* and *rige*). For *riga*, Old Norse dictionaries give the primary meaning 'curve, bending (of the ground)', which is perhaps appropriate for the passage in *Fornmanna sögur* mentioned above. *Rega* is not recorded; however, its most likely translation here is 'line', which was also the primary meaning of the word in Old High German. RR's emendation to *regla* 'rule(r)' in all three occurrences of the word (p. 294) appears quite groundless.

71c. *sem þeir lykl[ar málstöf]um*: an interpretation of this passage as it stands in the MS is hardly possible. EM (p. 162n16) suggested that the scribe must have skipped from *lykl* directly to the ending of the following word (*málstöfum*), which may well be the case. Indeed, EM's emendation, which is adopted in the present edition, has the effect of completing the terms of a proportion, i.e. 'lines (strings) : vowels :: keys : consonants' (cf. text below, ll. 81-82). If the passage were emended differently, there could be several alternative solutions, but they are all rather dubious.

73a. *þeim*: MS *þeiri*, surely due to a misreading.

73b. *hafa*: see n. 92:4 to the transcription of U.

74-75. *ok eru ... simphóníe*: the MS contains two repetitions in this passage. The first *hér* and the first *sem* must be deleted in order to obtain an acceptable text. FJ (65:16) and EM (162:20) preferred to keep the first *hér* rather than the second; in addition, EM omitted the pronoun *þeir*. The phrase *í spáziunni* (< *spázía* 'margin') means here 'in the blanks' or 'in the figure'.

76. *regustrengina*: the identification between the lines (*regur*) of the figure and the strings (*strengir*) of the instrument, which at first was simply understood, is now made explicit by the juxtaposition of the two terms in the compound *regu-strengir*, meaning 'strings represented by lines'.

- Þessar hendingar eru [opt] meiri; en þær, sem fyrr eru ritaðar, eru hinar minnstu þeira, sem stafat sé til, því at hér er í hending einn hljóðstafur ok einn málstafur, ok gerir svá margar hendingar, sem nú er ritað áðr í stafasetninginni. Hér standa um þvert blað ellefu hljóðstafir, en um endilangt blað tuttugu málstafir; eru þeir svá settir, sem lyklar í simphóníe, en hljóðstafir sem strengir. Málstafir eru tólf, þeir sem bæði hafa hljóð, hvárt sem kippt er eða hrundit lyklinum; en átta þeir, er síðar eru ritaðir, hafa hálft hljóð við hina: sumir taka hljóð, er þú kippir at þér; sumir, er þú hrindir frá þér.
- Þessir hljóðstafir standa um þvert: *a, e, i, o, u, y, ę, ɔ, ai, ei, ey*. Þessir eru tólf málstafir: *b, d, f, g, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t*. Þessir eru [átta] málstafir ok hafa hálft hljóð við hina: *ð, þ, z, v, c, h, x, q*.

77-78. *Þessar ... til*: the MS reading of this passage is certainly corrupt: by stating that 'these combinations [i.e. the combinations of consonants and vowels previously referred to] are wider than those which are written above', it implies a diversification between two identical things, which does not make sense. In other words, *þessar hendingar* has here the same value as *þær, sem fyrr eru ritaðar*; accordingly, the entities involved in the first expression can be neither larger nor smaller than those referred to in the second one. Both FJ and EM tried to remove this incongruity by operating on the comparative *meiri*. The former emended it to its opposite *minni*, while the latter put the negative *eigi* in front of it, which, according to him, had been omitted by the scribe. Both solutions, however, are inadequate, because they do not eliminate the comparison between two identical objects, which is the real cause of the inconsistency in this passage. Moreover, EM interpreted his *eigi meiri* as 'not more' ("Diese vereinigungen ... sind hier nicht mehr als die, von denen oben geschrieben ist", p. 167; italics mine) and explained the passage as a comparison between the circular and the rectangular figures (p. 164n1). This is quite unacceptable: first, because the adjective *meiri* basically denotes size, not quantity (for the latter concept, *fleiri* is the only appropriate term); and second, because the notion of *hending* 'connection, conjunction, combination' is completely alien to the function of the circular figure. My own impression is that the author did not intend to make a comparison, but simply to state that, while the combinations of consonants and vowels which he describes in the figure are the smallest that can be made, larger, i.e. more complex, combinations (consisting, for example, of two or more consonants linked together

These combinations are often wider; but those which are written above are the smallest of those which occur in writing, because here only one vowel and one consonant are in contact, and (this) makes as many combinations as written above in the disposition of the letters. Here there are eleven vowels crosswise on the page and twenty consonants lengthwise; the latter are placed as keys in a hurdy-gurdy, and the vowels as strings. There are twelve consonants which have a sound both when the key is pulled and when it is pushed; but the eight which are written last have half a sound as compared with the former: some take a sound if you pull towards you, some if you push away from you. These vowels stand crosswise: *a, e, i, o, u, y, ę, ɔ, ai, ei, ey*. These are twelve consonants: *b, d, f, g, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t*. These are eight consonants and have half a sound as compared with the former: *ð, þ, z, v, c, h, x, q*.

with one or more vowels) exist within the reality of language. A formulation of this kind can be achieved, for example, by simply adding an *opt* 'often' before *meiri* and changing the conjunction *ok* into the verb form *eru*. It goes without saying that, after this emendation, the second half of the passage (from *en* onwards) can no longer be read as the second term of a comparison, but as a new independent sentence introduced by the conjunction *en* 'and, but' (see translation). Such an interpretation seems to be further borne out by the presence in the MS of a full stop (i.e. of a pause mark) before *en*, which is not as a rule found in the Cod. Ups. when a comparison is involved (see A. Grape 1962-77 II p. 198 for references). All this does not prove, of course, that the wording suggested here is an exact replica of the original; but logic, at least, is safe. Finally, it must be pointed out that a view very close to the present one was expressed by O. Brenner (1888 p. 279); however, he suggested a rather cumbersome emendation and, above all, fell into the same error as EM with regard to the meaning of *meiri*.

80-88. *Hér standa ...* (to end): for a discussion of this final passage, see § 3.1.3 below.

86. *a, e, ... ei, ey*: the position of *y* and *u* is inverted in the MS (cf. note to the rectangular figure above).

87. The addition of *átta*, although not indispensable, is suggested by the fact that the number of the first group of consonants has been specified.

3. COMMENTARY

3.1. THE COMPOSITION OF THE TEXT

Thanks to its simple and orderly structure, the text of SGT can be divided without hesitation into three main sections: (1) an introductory section containing general remarks about the different kinds of sound with special regard to their source of production and their degree of 'significance' (i.e. their ability to transmit a signifying message); (2) a section dealing with the classification of letters, where particular stress is laid on the grouping of consonants according to the position they may assume within a word; and (3) a final section which has the practical purpose of illustrating, by comparing human speech with the sound produced by a musical instrument, the way in which the two main categories of letters, the vowels and the consonants, combine with each other. The last two sections are both introduced by an illustrative figure, which in a certain sense creates a boundary between each section.

3.1.1. *The Introductory Section*

The opening of SGT reflects a pattern which is quite traditional. Following a practice consecrated by time — its origins can be directly traced back through the earliest Latin grammarians to the philosophers of ancient Greece — the initial paragraphs of most grammatical works written during the Middle Ages were devoted to a more or less extensive discussion about the various kinds of 'voice' (*vox*). Although grammarians were not primarily concerned with phonetics, such an approach to the description of language and its correct usage was considered quite natural at that time, since, in fact, everything which can be referred to as a linguistic phenomenon is bound to be concretely externalized through the medium of voice. However, the term 'voice' was used in a very broad sense, because it could denote not only the sound proper to human

speech, but also that of animals and even of inanimate things; in short, everything which could be perceived through the organ of hearing. In other words, it was accepted practice, at least in traditional grammatical terminology, to use 'voice' as a synonym of 'sound' (*sonus*). In order to single out the object of grammatical concern, a general distinction was drawn between 'articulate' and 'confused' voice, whereby the voice of man was separated from all other kinds of voices or sounds. This can be seen, for example, in a passage of Probus' *Instituta Artium* (written presumably in the fourth century A.D.) ⁽¹⁾:

Vox sive sonus est aer ictus, id est percussus, sensibilis auditu, quantum in ipso est, hoc est quam diu resonat. nunc omnis vox sive sonus aut articulata est aut confusa. articulata est, qua homines locuntur et litteris comprehendi potest ... confusa vero aut animalium aut inanimalium est, quae litteris comprehendi non potest.

Later grammarians established more sophisticated differentiations. Priscian (early sixth century), for example, distinguished between 'articulate' and 'inarticulate' voice according to whether rational intent was involved or not, and between 'literate' and 'illiterate' voice in terms of the possibility of being represented in writing ⁽²⁾. However, the term 'voice' continued to be used indiscriminately for all kinds of sound. Only in the later Middle Ages, under the direct influence of the rediscovered grammatical doctrines of the ancient Greek philosophers (especially Aristotle), Western grammarians began to make a clear distinction between 'voice' and 'sound', using the first term only to designate a subspecies of the second, viz. the sound produced by animals through the emission of air from the mouth. It is clear, therefore, that the classification of sounds made by the author of SGT originates from this later stage of grammatical tradition. This can be seen in the fact that he uses 'sound' (*hljóð*) as a general term and 'voice' (*rödd*) only with reference to animals and men.

The three main classes of sound mentioned at the beginning of SGT are presented in a strictly hierarchical progression following a growing order of 'significance'. The first kind of sound to be mentioned is that of inanimate things, such as the whistling of the wind, the roar of the sea-waves, the din made by stones when falling or by metals when struck. Whether the author intended to make a further distinction between 'independent' sounds (such as those of natural elements) and sounds which require the presence of an external agent, cannot be inferred directly from the text of the treatise. What is certain, however, is that,

⁽¹⁾ H. Keil 1857-80 IV p. 47.

⁽²⁾ See *ibid.* II pp. 5-6.

within this class of sounds, a prominent position is held by music, which, although produced by inanimate things (the musical instruments), always implies the rational intervention of man. The second and higher position is held by the voice of animals in all its varieties. Men are sometimes able to give a sense to these voices, but this is regarded as quite exceptional. The third and most significant kind of sound is represented by the human voice. Owing to his far-reaching power of articulation, man is able to produce, through the use of voice, many different types of sounds. Yet the pre-eminent characteristic of the human voice is that of being the medium of speech, i.e. of the conscious communication of thought. For this function to be accomplished in an adequate way, it is therefore necessary, in addition to the flawless conformation of the speech organs, that the voice be backed up by "memory, sense, and discernment" (l. 17), in a word, by consciousness.

The descriptive scheme followed by the author of SGT is basically the same for each of the three sound classes. He first describes the agent(s) producing the sound under discussion and then specifies the name of the sound itself. With regard to the latter, however, a slightly different pattern is followed for each class. No general denomination is given for the first class (in fact, the kind of sound described in this passage can be referred to simply with the term 'sound', i.e. *hljóð*, in its restrictive meaning); the author only indicates the names of the different kinds of sound mentioned as examples. For the second class, both the general denomination (*rödd*) and the names of some particular sounds produced by animals are specified. The author, at any rate, prefers to resort to verb infinitives rather than to nouns. For the third class, no less than three names are mentioned (*hljóð ok rödd ok mál*; ll. 15-16), of which, however, only the third one is suitable for designating the proper function of the human voice. It is, in fact, the only one on which the author concentrates his attention, as he specifies the requisites which are necessary for the sound produced by man by means of the voice to be called 'speech'. Finally, for each kind of sound the degree of significance is considered. Accordingly, while the sound of inanimate things is described as *vitlaus* 'irrational', the voices of animals are said to be *skynlausar* 'senseless', although a sharp distinction between the two attributes is hardly possible. No specific attribute is used in the description of human speech ⁽³⁾; nevertheless, its distinctive character is well highlighted when the author says that "each word is accompanied by memory, sense, and discernment", and also by the considerations which follow.

The short paragraph coming after the classification of sounds evidently has no direct link with the specific content of this initial part of the

⁽³⁾ See, however, Restored Text n. 15.

treatise. On the contrary, it may be regarded as a sort of introduction to matters which were to be dealt with in the two next sections. In particular, the first part (from *Muðrinn* to *gera*) may be said to be a prefiguration of the arrangement of the letters in the circular figure⁽⁴⁾, while the second contains a clear reference to the comparison of language with the sound of musical instruments, i.e. to the rectangular figure. The bipartite structure of this paragraph accounts, moreover, for the separation operated by W's scribe, who, as observed in n. 25-26 to the Restored Text, saw fit to postpone the second part until after the description of the circular figure.

3.1.2. *The Circular Figure and the Classification of the Letters*

The second section brings us to the central subject of the treatise: the classification of the letters and the description of their correct use. The aspects which principally concern the author in this section are the orthographic representation of letters, the position they may assume in a word, and, finally, their names, i.e. the names of both the individual letters and of the classes and subclasses into which they may be divided. There are also brief and sporadic remarks on the phonetic value of some letters.

The letters are first arranged in a circular figure made up of five concentric circles. These, in turn, are divided into twelve squares each in which the single letters are placed. The first circle at the centre is divided into simple quadrants and therefore contains only four squares.

3.1.2.1. *The Non-Final Letters*

The first circle contains those letters which, according to the author, can only precede other letters. The first and most immediate inference that may be drawn from this statement is that the letters in question cannot be used in word-final position. This appears immediately obvious for both 'q' and 'h'; the former, which occurs only in the notation of the consonant

⁽⁴⁾ In this connection, mention should be made of EM's fanciful interpretation of this passage (pp. 152-55). He pictured the letters in the circular figure as players engaged in a *knattleikr* match, a very popular game in medieval Iceland. In spite of his efforts to seek out analogies, there is nothing in the circular figure that in any way reflects the dynamics of *knattleikr*. Furthermore, as EM, himself, noted (p. 151), the text refers to the mouth and the tongue as the playing field of words, not of letters.

cluster *kv*, is always followed by 'u' (or 'v'), while the latter represents a phoneme which is found only at the beginning of words⁽⁵⁾. As for 'v', the internal evidence of SGT shows that its function is that of denoting the nonsyllabic variant of *u* in prevocalic position (see § 3.1.2.3d below). If this is borne in mind, there is no difficulty in accepting, also for this letter, the impossibility of occurring in the final position. For 'p' the evidence is more indirect. This letter was used in the earliest Icelandic writing to denote the dental spirant in all its occurrences. From about the second quarter of the thirteenth century, it began to be restricted to the initial position, while medially and finally it was gradually replaced by another letter, 'ð'. (The latter appears in SGT among the so-called 'sub-letters'; see § 3.1.2.5a below.). There is no doubt, therefore, that the inclusion of 'p' among the letters of the first circle can be regarded as a direct consequence of this new orthographic tendency, at least as far as the word-final position is concerned.

It is much more difficult to establish whether, in the author's mind, the four letters in question were intended to be used in both the initial and medial positions or in the initial one only. The text of the treatise is not entirely explicit on this point. While, on the one hand, it states that these letters must always precede other letters (and, consequently, that they may never be used in word-final position), it does not, on the other hand, exclude that they may in turn be preceded by other letters, in other words, that they may also occur in the medial position. Actually, inasmuch as they represented phonetic segments which could occur at both the beginning and in the middle of words, at least two of these letters, viz. 'q' and 'v', were susceptible of being used also in word-medial position⁽⁶⁾. As regards 'p', it might be assumed, in view of the general orthographic tendency referred to above, that the author intended to restrict its use to the initial position as an exclusive notation of the unvoiced variant of the dental spirant; however, the possibility cannot be excluded *a priori* that he might also have admitted its use in medial position, at least after consonants (see § 3.1.2.5a below). The only letter which presents no problems in this connection is 'h', which, as mentioned above, occurs only in word-initial position.

Thus we must resign ourselves to the idea that, in spite of the author's opening generalization, the first circle contains in reality two different sets of letters, each with its own positional characteristics. All of these letters have in common the impossibility of occurring in word-final position; yet,

⁽⁵⁾ If not otherwise indicated, the term *word* is used here in the sense 'uncompounded word'.

⁽⁶⁾ E.g., 'q(v)' in *myrkvi*, *skvaldr*; and 'v' in *svar*, *tveir*.

while two of them, 'h' and 'þ', can be regarded as purely initial letters (with some reservations for 'þ'), the remaining two could, theoretically at least, be used in both the initial and medial positions (7).

The only conceivable alternative to the above conclusion is that the author of SGT also intended to limit the use of 'v' and 'q' to the word-initial position only. Yet such an assumption, in addition to not being corroborated by the internal evidence of the treatise, is in contrast with the general Old Icelandic scribal practice. True, we know of an orthographic convention, dating back to the very beginning of the Icelandic manuscript tradition, which limited the use of 'v' (both Caroline and insular) to the notation of consonantal *u* in word-initial position, while 'u' was to be written elsewhere (8). This was, clearly enough, a purely orthographic distinction, probably based on a foreign model and characteristic of the time when [u] and [u̥] were still positional variants of one and the same phoneme (9). However, there is no reason to think that such a rule has any bearing on SGT, where the author seems to make a clear distinction between *u* (vowel) and *v* (consonant). As regards 'q', no specific investigation has yet been made on the use and the distribution of this letter in Old Icelandic manuscripts; it seems quite improbable, in any case, that a manuscript exists where initial 'qv' can be systematically contrasted with other notations (i.e., 'kv' or 'cv') in word-medial position. A marginal question which could arise in this connection is whether the author of SGT meant that 'v' should also be written for the voiced allophone of *f* in those places where this phoneme formerly contrasted with [u̥], i.e. in word-medial position between vowels and between *l* or *r* and a vowel. As is well known, forms like *hava*, *sjálvir*, etc., occur or are even the rule in many Old Icelandic manuscripts. But it is rather unlikely that this falls within the province of the rules set forth in SGT. However ambiguous the passage on the letters in the first circle may be, there can be little doubt that the author's intention was to avoid the use of 'v' in non-initial position as much as possible. Moreover, since he classified 'f' among the consonants which could occur in all positions (see § 3.1.2.2 below), it is highly probable that he preferred to write 'f' in word-medial position whenever etymology and tradition required it. Finally, it is in this context of ambiguity that we must seek the reasons for the addition of the sentence *er heita höfuðstafir* in W's version (see

(7) This view was also held by O. Brenner (1888 p. 275) and EM (p. 143). The former, however, explained the distribution of the four letters on the basis of a principle which was quite different and closely connected with his vision of SGT as an introduction to the *Háttatal* (see § 1.2 above).

(8) See H. Benediktsson 1965 p. 26.

(9) See *ibid.*

Restored Text n. 27a). The intention of W's compiler was no doubt to provide these letters with a specific label not existing in the original version of SGT in order to distinguish them, even in name, from the letters represented in the fifth circle (the so-called 'sub-letters'; see § 3.1.2.5a). The reasoning which could have determined the choice of the label *höfuðstafir* can be reconstructed tentatively as follows: the scribe of W, interpreting the phrase *fyrir öðrum stöfum* in the restrictive meaning 'at the beginning of a word', directly associated these letters with another type of letter which had the same positional characteristics and which he already knew by the name of *höfuðstafir*, viz. the capital letters. In other words, he generalized the concept of *höfuðstafir* by extending it beyond the traditional meaning 'initial letter at the beginning of a sentence' (10) to that of 'initial letter in general' (11). This procedure led him to the unhappy result of mixing up two quite different notions: that of 'capital' (which refers exclusively to the shape of the letters) and that of 'initial' (which only concerns their position in the word). It seems, however, that he soon became aware, himself, of the inadequacy of this term and felt therefore that an additional specification (*upphaf ok* '(at the) beginning and') was necessary, which, by stressing the word-initial character of these letters, made the label *höfuðstafir* more acceptable (12). All this notwithstanding, it must be admitted that it is tempting to accept the term *höfuðstafir* as a 'neutral' name for letters which cannot appear in word-final position (as opposed to the *undirstafir* which do not occur in the initial position). This is especially so, because in SGT it is impossible to confuse the letters in question with other *höfuðstafir*; in fact, no specific name is used for the small capitals in the fourth circle (see § 3.1.2.4). This would explain, for example, why W's addition was accepted by FJ in his restored text (63:24 and p. 91n58,1).

3.1.2.2. The Simple Consonants

The second circle contains twelve consonants (*málstafir*). No conditions are set down concerning their position in the word: they may come both

(10) Cf. FGT: *t vers upphafi* (Cod. Worm. 88:22 and *passim*).

(11) The word *höfuðstafir* also occurs in scaldic terminology, but without orthographic implications. It denotes the 'chief letter' of a verse, i.e. the letter which, placed at the beginning of the first stressed syllable in the latter half of a verse, carries the alliteration. However, this is not likely to have influenced W's scribe in his choice, since *all* the letters (vowels included) which occurred at the beginning of a word could have constituted the *höfuðstafir* of a verse.

(12) EM (pp. 143-44) arrived at more or less the same conclusion, although he exaggerated as usual in dwelling on the faults of "unser kleriker".

before and after other letters, i.e. they may occur in all positions: initially, medially, and finally.

This group of letters does not present any particular problem. The only point which may awaken some perplexity concerns the relationship of 'k' with the sub-letter 'c'. In the description of the fifth circle, 'c' is said to be in its right place when it stands at the end of a syllable. Accordingly, since 'c' has the same phonemic reference as 'k', the meaning might be inferred that the two letters in question were in complementary distribution. However, this would be in open contrast with the inclusion of 'k' among those letters which may occur in *all* positions. Therefore, in order to avoid this contradiction, we must assume that the author meant to propose 'c' in final position simply as an alternative writing for 'k' (see also § 3.1.2.5a below).

3.1.2.3. *The Vowels*

The author of SGT devotes most of his discussion to the third circle, i.e. to the paragraph on vowels (*hljóðstafir*). It is the only section in this part of the treatise where an internal classification of the letters is made. He distinguishes three kinds of vowels on the basis of graphic structure: simple vowels, ligatures, and digraphs.

3.1.2.3a. *Simple Vowels*

The first class to be mentioned is that of simple vowels. It includes six uncompound vowel symbols — 'a, e, i, o, u, y' — which the author simply calls *stafir*, i.e. 'letters', with no particular attributes.

3.1.2.3b. *Ligatures*

The second class is that of ligatures (*límingar*), i.e. compounded vowel letters deriving from the combination of two simple vowels. The author explains this particular graphic structure observing that each of these letters represents "every part of the sound of those (letters) it is made of." (ll. 35-36). Nothing, however, is said about the way in which these 'parts of sound' are actually combined. This is the point which must be investigated most thoroughly in the present discussion.

The passage concerning the ligatures is perhaps the most difficult in the whole SGT both in terms of reconstructing the text and in terms of theoretical interpretation. Moreover, its correct restoration is a matter of

the utmost importance, because, as we will see below, it furnishes the principal clue to the dating of the treatise. Numerous and puzzling questions arise about the shape and the value to assign to the three symbols represented and briefly commented in this passage. The elements which have to be investigated and related to one another in order to provide a reliable answer are chiefly three: (1) the orthographic representations of these letters as they appear in the several places in both versions of SGT where they are dealt with (i.e., in the two figures of U and in the texts of both U and W); (2) the overall grapheme inventory resulting from the circular figure in U and described in the text of both versions; and (3) the graphic development of certain vowel symbols in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Icelandic manuscripts in relation to the phonemic changes which occurred in the Icelandic vowel system during the same period.

The circular figure contains the symbols 'av', 'æ', and 'ǣ', if we follow the usual order of reading. The very fact that the text explicitly refers to these letters as 'ligatures' entitles us, as a first step, to discard the symbol 'av' which is clearly not a ligature. It originated in all likelihood from the miscopying of some scribe, but we will never be able to know with certainty what its original shape was like; at any rate, from a purely graphemic point of view we can consider it an equivalent of the ligature 'ǣ'. The second symbol is the one commonly used, along with 'ǣ', to denote the palatal umlaut of *á*. The third symbol will be dealt with later.

The text of U has 'æ', 'ǣ', and 'ǣ'. The first of these three symbols has been discussed above. The second, as just mentioned, will be left out for the moment. With regard to the third, it can be noted that its second component is actually an insular 'v'; therefore its graphemic value is identical to that of 'ǣ', of which it is a simple graphic variant.

In W we find the following symbols: 'æ', 'ai', 'ǣ'. As already observed (¹³), the second two symbols are very similar and therefore tend to be confused. At any rate, the interesting fact here is that the text of W is the only place where the ligature 'ai' (or 'ǣ') is contrasted with a ligature 'ǣ'.

Finally, in the rectangular figure the first two ligatures are represented by the abbreviated forms mentioned in the text of the treatise itself (U 90:21-23 and W 92:20-21), viz. 'ǣ' and 'ǣ' respectively, while the third symbol is still 'ǣ'.

In brief, therefore, the graphemes under discussion, if mere graphic variants are disregarded, are three in all: 'æ' (with the variant 'ǣ'), 'ǣ' (with the variant 'ǣ'), and 'ai' (with the variants 'ǣ', 'ǣ', and 'av').

(¹³) See n. 92:4 to the transcription of W.

The crucial question to be answered now is the following: how many and what phonemes are denoted by these three ligatures?

There seems to be no doubt about the number of the phonemes involved. Although there is some fluctuation in the form of the ligatures in the four places mentioned above, three different symbols consistently emerge. If we consider that it is nowhere suggested in SGT to use different symbols for the same phoneme within a class of letters, nor to use the same symbol for more than one phoneme, we can deduce that the number of different phonemic entities involved is precisely three.

Now, reviewing the internal evidence provided by the treatise, we must try to determine *which* phonemes are denoted by the three ligatures. The circular figure contains eleven vowel symbols (as previously noted ⁽¹⁴⁾), the empty square is ideally reserved for the *skiptingr*, and the same is true of the rectangular figure. Yet, the text, which is perfectly concordant in the two versions, reads: "In the third circle there are twelve letters, which are called vowels." (l. 32). Thus, while the author depicts, on the one hand, only eleven vowels, he also states that twelve exist. The inconsistency is clearly due to the fact that he gives the *skiptingr* a status of its own which is independent of that of any other letter in the circle. Grouping these twelve letters in accordance with the classification provided by the author in his commentary, we obtain the following scheme:

- (i) six simple vowel letters: 'a, e, i, o, u, y';
- (ii) three ligatures: 'æ, æ, ai';
- (iii) two digraphs: 'ei, ey';
- (iv) one 'variable' (*skiptingr*): 'i'.

Thus, if we bear in mind that the vowel *i* is mentioned twice (once as a simple vowel and once as a phoneme possessing several positional variants) and that diphthongs are regarded by the author as individual phonemic entities, we can safely conclude that the vowel inventory accounted for in SGT actually consists of eleven vowel units. Nine of these vowels are specified in the treatise in an unmistakable way. They are graphically represented by the simple letters 'a, e, i, o, u, y', by the ligature 'æ' (or by the equivalent loop-symbol 'æ') and by the digraphs 'ei' and 'ey'. The two remaining units, i.e. those which require further investigation are denoted by the two ligatures which take the basic forms 'æ' ('æ') and 'ai'.

In attempting to establish the phonemic values underlying these two ligatures, we must begin from the following premise. Whatever the period in which SGT was composed, the author must have known the diphthong

⁽¹⁴⁾ See note to the circular figure in the Restored Text.

au and therefore included it among the other vowel units. This leads us to believe that one of the two problematic ligatures (we will later see which) is the symbol intended to denote this diphthong. Otherwise, we should have to imagine that the author accidentally left this diphthong out, an unpardonable oversight, indeed, for a grammarian. On the other hand, it is equally unlikely that he intended to propose the same notation for the diphthong *au* as for another vowel phoneme; this would contrast sharply with the general character of the treatise, where, as noted above, each symbol is always supposed to represent the same phonemic value ⁽¹⁵⁾.

Once we take for granted that one of the two ligatures is the notation for the diphthong *au*, we only have to establish what phonemic value lies behind the other ligature. Among the vowel phonemes which have existed in Icelandic from the beginning of the manuscript tradition up to the end of the thirteenth century (i.e. up to the time when the notation of vowels reached a relative stability), those which have not yet been mentioned in connection with SGT's vowel inventory are: φ and \emptyset , i.e. the *u*-umlauted *a* and the *i*-umlauted *o* respectively, both short and long. If we keep the fact in mind that the short varieties of these two vowels merged in ca. 1200 into a single phoneme, \ddot{o} ⁽¹⁶⁾, there is every reason to believe that this \ddot{o} is the third vowel phoneme for which SGT provides a notation in the form of a ligature. True, the phoneme \emptyset still survived for some decades in the long vowel system; but the fact that its short correspondent had merged into \ddot{o} inevitably also influenced its notation in the sense that many scribes began to use the same symbols for long \emptyset as for \ddot{o} . At any rate, we can safely exclude that \emptyset was denoted in SGT by any vowel ligature (or, for that matter, by any other vowel symbol). For one thing, this would

⁽¹⁵⁾ Nor would it be advisable to resort in the present case to L. Larsson's theory (1889), according to which the Icelandic diphthongs assumed, for a certain period (first half of the thirteenth century) and in some Icelandic regions, a virtually monophthongal value, to the extent that the symbols originally employed for the diphthongs were sometimes used to denote simple vowels (viz. 'ei' for *e*, 'ey' for \emptyset , and 'au', or its ligature 'ai', for φ) and vice versa ('e' for *ei*, etc.). If this were to apply to SGT, there would clearly be no need to give the diphthong *au* a notation of its own, since it could be represented equally well by the same symbol as φ . The inapplicability of this hypothesis to the case in question is immediately evident. The alleged monophthongization, according to Larsson, affected the whole diphthong subsystem; therefore, an analogous outcome should also be expected for the other two diphthongs, *ei* and *ey*. Instead, the fact that an independent notation is provided in SGT for both of them shows that the author thought of them as diphthongs and did not confuse them with any other vocalic entity; we must assume, therefore, that the same was true of the diphthong *au*. Furthermore, it would also have been quite unsuitable for a grammarian, whose principal aim was to standardize a particularly heterogeneous scribal practice by providing universally valid rules, to take such a peculiar and anomalous situation as a model.

⁽¹⁶⁾ See, for example, H. Benediktsson 1959 p. 295.

contrast with the repeatedly mentioned principle of biunivocality inherent in the orthographic system proposed by the author. For another, it seems to be disavowed by the general scribal practice of the period in which \bar{o} survived after the merger of ρ and ϕ ; according to this practice, all the symbols (apart from simple 'o') which could be used to denote both \bar{o} and $\bar{\phi}$ belonged to the marked 'o'-type (i.e., ' ρ ', ' ϕ ' or combinations of them), while the ligatures ' $\bar{\alpha}$ ' and ' \bar{a} ' were, as a rule, reserved for the notation of \bar{o} only (¹⁷).

The above reasoning also leads us to an extremely important conclusion: since no independent symbol is available in SGT for the phoneme ϕ , we must infer that this phoneme was altogether absent from the vowel inventory of the author, which is equivalent to saying that the treatise was written not only after the merger of short ρ and ϕ , but also after long $\bar{\phi}$ had merged, along with $\bar{\rho}$, into the phoneme $\bar{\alpha}$, i.e. not before the middle of the thirteenth century (¹⁸). Such a conclusion seems to be further supported, as we will see below (§ 3.5), by other elements deriving from the analysis of the orthographic system described in the treatise.

In fact, any hypothesis which includes a separate notation for the vowel ϕ in the grapheme inventory of SGT is bound to produce irremediable contradictions. This is the case, for example, with the notation proposed by D. A. Seip (1954 p. 96). Seip, in effect, echoed the traditional view on the phonemic value of the ligatures in SGT. He posited the following correspondences for the three ligatures: ' $\bar{\alpha}$ ' = $\bar{\rho}$; ' $\bar{\alpha}$ ' = ρ ; ' $\bar{\alpha}$ ' = ϕ . Aside from not providing a notation for the diphthong au , this interpretation clearly derives from an erroneous chronological evaluation of the graphemic-phonemic relationships involved. The symbol ' $\bar{\alpha}$ ' is nowhere to be found as an independent notation of ϕ , at least while this vowel was contrasted with ρ . It began, on the contrary, to be used for both original ρ and ϕ after the two phonemes had merged in the short vowel system (¹⁹). In other words, the equivalence ' $\bar{\alpha}$ ' = ϕ could not have existed in an orthographic system where it was still necessary to account for the opposition between (short) ρ and ϕ . If, on the other hand, the merger of the two vowels had already taken place when SGT was written, there was

(¹⁷) See H. Benediktsson 1965 p. 64 ff.

(¹⁸) On the development of ρ and ϕ (both short and long) in the earliest stages of Icelandic, see, aside from the already mentioned works by H. Benediktsson, F. Jónsson 1919. A more comprehensive outline (but mainly concerned with phonetic aspects) can be found in S. Bergsveinsson 1955.

(¹⁹) Seip himself cited as a source of evidence (thus contradicting himself) a MS, AM. 162 A.2, fol., which was written about the middle of the thirteenth century, that is to say at a time long after the merger of ρ and ϕ . Actually, in this MS the ligature ' $\bar{\alpha}$ ' is used for both original ρ and ϕ , or for the resulting phoneme \bar{o} , while long $\bar{\phi}$ is denoted by 'o' throughout (cf. H. Benediktsson 1965 p. 65).

no reason for the author to keep on differentiating between them in writing. In both cases, therefore, the equivalence proposed by Seip appears inadequate (²⁰).

In the light of these considerations, we may affirm that two of the three vowel ligatures represented in SGT have a monophthongal value, while the third one stands for a diphthong. The fact that a diphthong is denoted by a ligature instead of by a digraph (as in the case of the other two diphthongs, *ei* and *ey*, which will be dealt with later), is absolutely normal and not surprising in itself. In the first place, the term *lausaklofi*, used in SGT in connection with the symbols '*ei*' and '*ey*', does not necessarily have to be understood in the phonological sense of 'diphthong'; it can also mean 'digraph' (²¹). Secondly, the two components of '*ei*' and '*ey*' are written separately only because "in writing it is impractical to bind these letters together." (II. 39-40). In other words, the nature of the opposition between *límingar* and *lausaklofar* is not phonological (umlauted vowels vs. diphthongs), but graphic (ligatures vs. digraphs) (²²). Therefore, there is nothing to prevent the fact that at least one diphthong could be written in the form of a ligature. On the contrary, this is perfectly in line with the general behaviour of the medieval scribe, who constantly busied himself in applying every possible device in order that "the writing may become less and quicker, and the parchment last longer." (²³). Nor could our author have ignored this categorical rule; therefore, what mainly concerned him here was whether two vowel symbols could be linked together easily or not.

We must now try to answer a question which has been thus far left open:

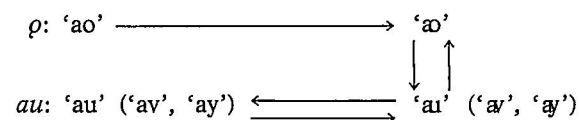
(²⁰) The same phonemic values assigned to the three ligatures by Seip were, before him, taken for granted by JS (p. 49n7) and O. Brenner (1888 pp. 273 and 277). The other editors do not seem to have been at all aware of the problem, limiting themselves to the choice of a more or less suitable shape for each of the symbols involved. An exception, however, must be made for RR; there is reason to believe — chiefly on account of his transcription of the ligatures from the circular figure in U (p. 290) — that he both intended to include a specific notation for the diphthong *au* and to assign one of the ligatures (in all likelihood, ' $\bar{\alpha}$ ') the value \bar{o} . This would fully agree with the present interpretation; however, the evidence is too scanty to enable us to ascribe this intention to RR with absolute certainty.

(²¹) The general idea suggested by the term *lausaklofi* is that of a set made up of two parts, which, although joined together, maintain their individual characteristics. As a grammatical term, *lausaklofi* means, according to the accurate definition in J. Fritzner's dictionary, "Diftong som skrives med flere Vokaltegn"; hence, not every diphthong, but only a diphthong written with more than one vowel symbol.

(²²) The same view was expressed by K. L. Lyngby in 1861 (p. 315), yet none of the later commentators seem to have known it or at least to have taken it into consideration.

(²³) From FGT, Cod. Worm. 88:2-3 and 90:5 (transl. H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 231).

which of the two problematic ligatures stands for the vowel δ and which for the diphthong au ? The problem is practically insoluble. As many manuscripts show, the two symbols in question were confused in Old Icelandic scribal practice from the very beginning, in the sense that the symbols originally meant to denote the diphthong au were very frequently used for the vowel ρ (later, δ) as well⁽²⁴⁾. The reasons behind the confusion become clear if we review the principal stages in the development of these notations. The subject is exhaustively outlined in H. Benediktsson 1965 (pp. 70-71) and can be summarized in the following diagram:



Following the directions indicated by the arrows, we can observe all the possible changes which each of the two notations could have undergone in the course of time. The internal arrows show the development of the symbols used for the vowel ρ , while the external arrows have the same function with regard to the diphthong au . Pairs of parallel arrows pointing in opposite directions indicate that the two symbols involved were often used in free variation: junction alternated with separation on the horizontal plane, and the opening of the second component with the closing of the same on the vertical plane. The crucial point in the whole development is certainly the interchangeability of the ligatures 'æ' and 'ai', which gave rise to an irreversible overlapping of the two graphemes⁽²⁵⁾. This situation was particularly characteristic of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but its effects extended over a much longer period during which the Icelandic vowel system underwent some important changes which made the already unstable graphemic-phonemic relationships still more complicated. In particular, as a result of the merger of ρ and δ in the short subsystem, all of the symbols previously denoting ρ were used for the new vowel phoneme δ , irrespective of its origin. It may be observed marginally that the only symbol among those mentioned above which maintained a univocal value was the digraph 'ao',

⁽²⁴⁾ The inverse occurred much more seldom (see L. Larsson 1889, esp. p. 148).

⁽²⁵⁾ The diagram is obviously partial. It does not account for the fact that the symbols 'ao' and 'æ' proceeded concurrently with a third symbol, 'o', which had had the same value as the former two, from which it seems to derive, from the very beginning; and it also disregards the parallel development of the symbols for the vowel δ ('eo', 'ø', etc.), which was later to merge with ρ .

invariably denoting the vowel ρ . All of the others were virtually interchangeable.

Now that the complexities of the graphemic-phonemic relationships involving the two ligatures in question have been outlined, it seems certain that the most objective attribution of each of them to one or another phonemic value is the one which accounts most explicitly for their original value. Accordingly, we can assign the ligature 'æ' to the vowel δ and the ligature 'ai' to the diphthong au . It should be noted further that, once the ligatures 'æ' and 'æ' are replaced by the loop-symbols ϵ and ρ , respectively, this notation has the considerable advantage of exactly corresponding to the one in the rectangular figure in U⁽²⁶⁾.

Finally, the results of the present discussion provide a better understanding of the passage where the author admits, for the writing of ligatures, the possibility of using more abbreviated symbols, in which one of the two components, viz. the 'a', is replaced by a simple diacritic mark (the subscript loop). The symbols in question are only two: 'ε' and 'ρ', corresponding to 'æ' and 'æ', respectively; no abbreviated notation is mentioned for 'ai'. The reason for this different treatment is easy to understand if we remember that, while the first two ligatures denote monophthongs, the third one stands for a diphthong: while the first two, owing to the nature of their phonemic reference, tend to be replaced by uncompounded symbols (although of the 'marked' type), it is useful to retain the complex notation for the third, so that the diphthongal value is made evident by the graphic form itself. In fact, no abbreviation of this kind has ever been used for the ligature 'ai' in Icelandic writing⁽²⁷⁾.

⁽²⁶⁾ If the present analysis is correct, the alleged disagreement between the circular and the rectangular figures, due, according to Seip (*loc. cit.*), to the fact that the two figures dated from different periods, is shown to be inconsistent. Seip was of the opinion that the orthographic situation of the ligatures in the rectangular figure reflected a later stage of the language than the one resulting from the analysis of the corresponding symbols in the circular figure. He felt that this was true because the rectangular figure contained no symbol for δ (Seip: δ), which "stemmer med isl. skriveskikk omkr. 1300, hvor δ og ϵ er falt sammen". He observed, further, that the rectangular figure, unlike the circular one, also contained a symbol for the diphthong au , which nevertheless, "mot teorien", was written 'æ'. It is not clear what 'theory' Seip was referring to, but it is presumable that he was persuaded that the author of SGT wanted all the diphthongs to be denoted by *lausaklofar*.

⁽²⁷⁾ O. Brenner (1888 p. 277) suggested an entirely different explanation. It can be summarized as follows: no abbreviated notation is proposed for the third ligature because the original of the treatise probably had no ligature for the vowel represented here. Brenner's view proceeds from a very idiosyncratic evaluation of SGT (see § 1.2 above) and of this passage in particular. At any rate, he assigned to the vowel in question the value δ , so that his view cannot be accepted for the reasons outlined above.

3.1.2.3c. *Digraphs*

The third class of vowel letters is that of the 'digraphs' (*lausaklofar*); it consists of two units, each of which has the value of a diphthong. The meaning of the term *lausaklofi* and its function in SGT have already been illustrated in the preceding paragraph in connection with the orthographic representation of the diphthong *au*. Therefore, it will suffice here to restate the relationship between this class of letters and the ligatures in more detailed terms. Like the ligatures, the digraphs are compounded letters, i.e. letter combinations made up of two simple vowels. The only relevant difference, for the author, is that while the components of the ligatures are merged into new independent letters, those of the digraphs are written separately because their particular shape precludes joining them together easily. The fact that they denote diphthongs is therefore quite independent of their graphic form.

3.1.2.3d. *The 'Variable'*

As an appendix to the classification of the vowel letters, the author of SGT devotes some remarks to the special nature of the letter 'i'. He points out this letter's ability to assume different sound values according to the phonetic environment and therefore calls it a *skiptingr*, or 'variable'. He mentions four positions of 'i': between consonants, before a vowel in word-initial position, before a vowel in postconsonantal position, and after a vowel as a component of a *lausaklofi* ⁽²⁸⁾. Of course the analysis is incomplete in that it does not account for all of the possible positions of this vowel. However, it allows the author to identify three different phonetic values: a specifically vocalic one (on the basis of which the letter has been included among the simple vowels), a consonantal one and, finally, what could be called, in order to distinguish it from the preceding one, a semivocalic value, equal to the unstressed element of a diphthong.

We must remember here that the sentence order in this passage has been modified as explained in n. 44-45 to the Restored Text above. However, this emendation does not affect the threefold distinction just mentioned, which remains essentially unchanged even if the text of the two manuscripts is followed. The only difference consists in the attribution of the position between consonant and vowel to the consonantal variant

⁽²⁸⁾ Concerning the value of the term *lausaklofi* in this particular context, see Restored Text, n. 46.

rather than to the 'semivocalic' one. If we follow the un-emended texts of U and W, the cluster *i* + vowel in the forms *björn*, *bjór*, and *björg* (hereafter referred to as *bjór*-type, as opposed to *jór*-type in the forms *já*, *jörð*, and *jór*), should be regarded as a special kind of *lausaklofi*, viz. as a rising diphthong, in which the first component is represented by the semivowel [j]. This way of considering the vowel *i* in prevocalic position is not at all senseless in itself; there is an analogous conception in a passage in FGT, where some examples of semivowels in prevocalic position are associated in a single series with other examples where the same semivowels occur in postvocalic position ⁽²⁹⁾. However, while only a simple distinction between the syllabic and nonsyllabic variant is made in FGT, the author of SGT goes further in that he distinguishes between consonantal and nonconsonantal value within the nonsyllabic variant. While this differentiation offers a more exhaustive phonological analysis, it also creates some interpretative difficulties vis-à-vis the paragraph in question. What makes the readings of the two manuscripts unreliable lies not so much in the inclusion of the *bjór*-type in the class of the *lausaklofar* as in its diversification on the articulatory level from the *jór*-type. This difference of treatment has no parallel in Old Icelandic grammatical literature, nor is it supported by any historical evidence. Therefore, whether the cluster *i* + vowel is thought of as a sequence of consonant + vowel or as a rising diphthong, forms like *jór*, on the one hand, and *bjór*, on the other, must be regarded as instances of one and the same combinatorial variant of *i*. Hence the necessity to emend the text in order to restore the formal homogeneity and logical consistency which the passage in question must have had in the original and which, probably due to the incompetence of some copyist, was lost in a later stage of manuscript transmission ⁽³⁰⁾.

This discussion of the different articulation of the vowel *i* according to its phonetic environment cannot be concluded without considering the relationship of this vowel with another vowel traditionally sharing the same characteristics, viz. *u*. In spite of their similarities in combining with neighbouring phonemes, these two vowels are treated by the author of SGT in quite different ways. Contrary to what he does with regard to *i*, he does not mention any positional variant for *u*; instead, he uses a separate symbol, 'v', for what is traditionally considered the consonantal variant of *u*. This is clearly a sign that he kept this variant quite separate from the vocalic one, or, in other words, that he thought of it as a totally independent phoneme. True, it could be objected that he was able to

⁽²⁹⁾ Cod. Worm. 86:23. See H. Benediktsson's commentary on this passage (1972 pp. 154-64).

⁽³⁰⁾ Cf. Restored Text, n. 44-45.

make a graphic distinction between vocalic and consonantal *u* in virtue of the availability of two different symbols for *u* in the Latin alphabet, and that the same possibility did not exist for *i*; therefore, no separate symbol was proposed for *i* in prevocalic position. This may be countered by saying that he could easily have resorted to some other expedient for the notation of consonantal *i*, analogous, for instance, to the one elaborated by the author of FGT, who, long before, had suggested, whether successfully or not, "write an *e* where most men write an *i*, when it is made to stand for a consonant" ⁽³¹⁾ (e.g. *earn* instead of *iarn* 'iron'). The conclusion which can be drawn from the above considerations is, therefore, that the real reason for the use of a separate symbol to denote the nonsyllabic *u* in prevocalic position is that, at the time when SGT was composed, this variant had become too distant from its syllabic correspondent to be still regarded as belonging to the same phoneme and consequently denoted by the same symbol. The situation was probably different for *i*, since all of its variants continued to be represented by a single letter ⁽³²⁾.

3.1.2.3e. General Remarks on Vowels

The last two paragraphs in the section devoted to vowel letters deal with some general aspects of vowels taken as a whole. In the first paragraph the author points out the possibility which a single vowel or diphthong has of representing a 'full word', i.e. of possessing an independent semantic function. Thus, for example, *á* and *í* are two of the most frequent prepositions; *ó*, or *ú*, is the negative prefix which, placed at the beginning of certain words, has the function of indicating their opposite meanings; and so on. While these reflections are interesting at the level of linguistic curiosity, they are, of course, quite irrelevant as far as phonology and orthography are concerned. However, considering that the characteristic in question applies mainly to long vowels and excludes short ones, it would perhaps not be entirely unfounded to regard this passage as a kind of informal introduction to the next paragraph. The subject dealt with in the second paragraph, the matter of vowel quantity, is much more in keeping with the treatise's aim. It is not,

⁽³¹⁾ Cod. Worm. 86:24-25 (transl. H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 225).

⁽³²⁾ This state of affairs, at least insofar as the occurrence of *i* and *u* in heavy stressed (*hochtonige*) syllables is concerned, is confirmed by the results achieved by E. Mogk in his essay of 1909, which was based principally on the evidence of scaldic poetry.

however, an absolute novelty, and the analogy with the corresponding section of FGT is immediately evident. It may be said that our author puts into a few lines material which the author of FGT distributes over more than half a page with a great many illustrative examples ⁽³³⁾. Stressing the possibility for any given vowel to 'change the whole discourse' (i.e. to change the meaning of a word or the sense of a sentence), according to whether it is pronounced short or long, the author of SGT recommends, for clarity's sake, to mark long vowels with a superscript stroke. Although the choice of technical terminology seems quite independently arrived at (see § 3.3 below), the close correspondence between the concepts involved leads to the supposition that there is a direct dependence of this paragraph upon FGT ⁽³⁴⁾.

3.1.2.4. The Geminate Consonants

The fourth circle contains twelve capital letters, each of which "is put alone in place of two (identical) consonants" (ll. 59-60). These letters have an exclusively graphic function (they are only used "for the sake of writing"). Accordingly, their use is not compulsory, and it is presented, instead, as a convenient alternative to the use of double minuscules. The notation of geminate consonants by means of majuscule letters (i.e. small capitals) is one of the most characteristic features of early Icelandic writing, and it is widely agreed that this orthographic device was invented, or at least raised to the level of a general rule, by the author of FGT ⁽³⁵⁾. Therefore, the connection between the two treatises, although not so evident here as in their treatment of vowel quantity, is once more borne out.

Several pertinent remarks about the way in which the geminates are represented in each of the two versions of SGT have already been made (Restored Text, n. 58). It was also pointed out that a few of these letters, in open contradiction with what is clearly stated in the text, are written in the form of double minuscules. The reasons for this evident incongruity are to be sought in some objective aspects of graphic economy. Although medieval Icelandic scribes were familiar with the use of majuscule letters to denote geminate consonants, its application was nevertheless irregular

⁽³³⁾ Cod. Worm. 85:29/86:18.

⁽³⁴⁾ Cf. G. Lindblad 1952 p. 171.

⁽³⁵⁾ See H. Spehr 1929 p. 147, A. Holtsmark 1936 pp. 32 ff., E. Haugen 1972 p. 46, and H. Benediktsson 1972 pp. 26-27 and 89-90. Cf., more or less explicitly against this view, G. T. Flom 1924 pp. 11-12 and D. A. Seip 1938 pp. 359-60.

and by no means equally extended to all consonants. Among the majuscules of which we have very few or no examples are precisely the four letters which are replaced in U's version by double minuscules, viz. 'b', 'd', 'f', and 'p'. It was practically impossible to apply 'b' and 'f' due to the rarity itself of the geminates they were supposed to stand for; in addition, majuscule 'f' was not readily distinguishable from the corresponding minuscule, and this also applied to 'd' (if we compare it with minuscule uncial 'd') and to 'p' ⁽³⁶⁾. It may be assumed, therefore, that at a certain point during the manuscript transmission some scribe, in view of these difficulties, decided to restore the traditional notation to these four geminates. It is not clear, however, why the same treatment was also applied to 'g'; this letter, in addition to denoting a rather frequent geminate, was not likely to be confused with the corresponding minuscule. In the absence of an objective reason, we may only suppose that the symbol in question was not sufficiently familiar to the scribe who operated the change. All the more puzzling, in this respect, is the case of 'p' in W's version. This letter, which, as noted above, was unfit to denote *pp* because of its similarity with the corresponding minuscule, is replaced in U by 'pp'. Accordingly, we should expect it to be left out by W's scribe like the other double minuscules (see Restored Text, n. 58). But this is not the case: it regularly appears in W as a majuscule. Although justifiable as an analogical adaptation, the treatment given to this letter by W's scribe is quite inexplicable from the point of view of textual criticism.

3.1.2.5. The Non-Initial Letters and the Abbreviation Marks

In the fifth and last circle we find two quite different sets of symbols: the so-called 'sub-letters' (*undirstafir*) in the first four squares, and the 'tittles' (*tittlar*), or abbreviation marks, which fill all of the remaining squares with the exception of those left empty in the upper left-hand quadrant. Belying appearance, the symbols belonging to the two groups do have something in common: they never occur in word-initial position ⁽³⁷⁾. Consequently, their inclusion, on the part of SGT's author, in one and the same circle is justified to a certain extent, together with their inclusion under a single, but subdivided, heading in the present commentary.

⁽³⁶⁾ Cf. H. Benediktsson 1965 pp. 81-84.

⁽³⁷⁾ Cf. EM p. 155.

3.1.2.5a. The 'Sub-Letters'

The first three letters in the fifth circle — 'ð', 'z', and 'x' — are called *undirstafir*. This term, which only occurs in SGT, can be translated as 'sub-letters' ⁽³⁸⁾. There is also a fourth letter, 'c', which — the author suggests — should be used in the same way as the first three. As with the letters belonging to the first circle, the instructions given by the author for the use of these letters are far from consistent and exhaustive.

It is said that the first three sub-letters can only be used "after a vowel in each syllable" (II. 65-66), and, immediately below, 'c' is defined as a letter whose only correct place lies "as (for) the other sub-letters, at the end of a syllable" (II. 67-68). Linking these two statements together, we are led to infer that the characteristic position of the sub-letters as a whole (i.e., 'c' included) was *after a vowel at the end of a syllable*. But a rule like this, apart from not accounting for several letter combinations which were universally accepted in Old Icelandic scribal practice, is also in obvious contrast with certain features of Icelandic phonemic structure. Therefore, we must keep the two definitions quite distinct and consider the first group of letters separately from the letter 'c'. However, this does not eliminate all of the problems, as the following considerations will demonstrate.

A close analysis of all the possible combinations of the phonemes (or phoneme clusters) denoted by the first three letters with other phonemes shows clearly that the author only wanted to consider the most frequent cases. Thus, when he says that the sub-letters must be preceded by a vowel, he only generalizes what happens most of the time. His statement is applicable without conditions only to the 'x', which is never preceded by a consonant. It is easy, on the other hand, to find 'z' in the postconsonantal position (*unz*, *elztr*, etc.), although it is perhaps more frequently preceded by vowels (*bezt*, *sízt*, etc.). The question is incomparably more complex with regard to 'ð'. The dental spirant occurs with considerable frequency in both postvocalic and postconsonantal position, especially after *r*. Yet the rule in SGT only accounts for words such as *maðr*, *leið*, and the like, while it excludes forms like *orð*, *harðr*, etc., since in the latter instances the 'ð' would be preceded by a consonant. Two different conclusions may be drawn from this: either the author meant that 'ð' should be written after vowels and 'þ' after consonants (but not in word-final position, because that would contrast with his classifying 'þ' a non-final letter); or, being principally concerned with formulating a general rule, he disregarded the fact that the

⁽³⁸⁾ Cf. H. Benediktsson 1965 p. 78.

postconsonantal position was as characteristic of the dental spirant as the postvocalic one. The first hypothesis could perhaps be supported by the evidence of those manuscripts (mostly dating from the thirteenth century) in which 'ð' and 'þ' alternate in non-initial position; yet this never seems to depend upon whether the preceding letter is a vowel or a consonant. In any case, this assumption would be insufficient to determine which of the two letters the author intended to use in word-final position after consonants. The second hypothesis seems more reliable, especially if we bear in mind that the same kind of carelessness has already been noted in connection with the letters of the first circle. It is very likely, therefore, that the condition 'after a vowel' was introduced by the author without reflecting a great deal on the actual distribution of these letters in the syllable; in point of fact, the only condition necessary to their use is that they be preceded by another letter, no matter whether vowel or consonant.

Whatever its correct formulation should have been, the rule, which is stated in terms of syllables in general, is of course expected to apply to both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words. In this connection it must be remarked that no comprehensive theory of syllabic structure was available at that time, so that the division of words into syllables was mainly a matter of individual sensibility⁽³⁹⁾. However, it seems that there was at least one rule of thumb, which is first observable in scaldic poetry, according to which all the consonants following a vowel, in simple words, were assigned to the preceding syllable⁽⁴⁰⁾. In any case, if the rule described in SGT led to the writing of monosyllables like *tīð*, *reið*, *liðr*, it seems reasonable to assume that the same spelling should also be used in such corresponding polysyllabic forms as *tīðir*, *reiðar*, *liðir*, and the like. Regarding the 'c', the author probably wanted to restrict its use to the word-final position as an alternative to 'k' (see § 3.1.2.2 above), irrespective of the letter which preceded it. If this was really his intention, however, he should not have involved the other *undirstafir* in this rule, since, as the above examples show, they could also occur before other letters in the same syllable. At any rate, whether he admitted the use of 'c' also in word-medial position is bound to remain an open question. In

⁽³⁹⁾ The notion of syllable inherited from the Latin grammatical tradition (see, for example, the definition in TGT, ed. B. M. Olsen 1884, 50:1-3, which is a direct translation from Priscian) was obviously not sufficient in this respect.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Cf., for example, the following passage from the *Háttatal* (ESS.I p. 598) dealing with the rhyme (*skothending*) between the words *jörð* and *fyrðum*: *jörð*, *fyrð*, *þat er ein samstafa í hvárum stað ... 'jörð, fyrð* -; that is, one syllable in each place ...' In fact, this rule became official in modern times and still applies in present-day Icelandic writing (see S. Einarsson 1945 p. 3).

connection with this problem it has been argued that the distribution of 'c' vs. 'k', in those manuscripts in which the so-called palatal rule was no longer observed, tended to model itself upon the distribution of 'ð' vs. 'þ'⁽⁴¹⁾. This view is quite defensible. Nevertheless, we should not underestimate the fact that, while the distribution of the two symbols denoting the dental spirant could be guided, at least to a certain extent, by phonetic considerations (unvoiced allophone in word-initial position, voiced allophone elsewhere), no comparable point of reference was available for the distribution of 'k' vs. 'c', both of which, after the palatal rule had been abandoned, could be used to denote the phoneme *k* in all positions. Furthermore, the evidence of thirteenth-century manuscripts containing this characteristic is far from conclusive: some seem to confirm 'k' in initial and medial positions and 'c' finally; others, 'k' in initial position and 'c' elsewhere⁽⁴²⁾.

As regards the grouping criterion, it is important to stress the analogy between the sub-letters and the letters in the first circle. In both cases the letters are grouped according to a negative criterion, i.e. with regard to the positions where they *cannot* occur rather than to those where they must be used. As the letters contained in the first circle do not occur in final position, so the sub-letters cannot be found in the initial one; other combinations are not excluded, at least for some letters.

3.1.2.5b. The 'Tittles' and Their Values

The 'tittles', or abbreviation marks, appearing in the circular figure are for the most part known from the Latin manuscript tradition, although in some cases the relationship between symbol and sound value is slightly modified in view of adaptation to the vernacular. Some of the most common abbreviation marks, however, are absent from the figure. One example is the superscript tittle standing for vowel + r (usually 'er, ir') or vice versa ('re, ri'), so warmly recommended by the author of FGT⁽⁴³⁾; a second is the semicolon for 'ep' (or 'eð'), particularly frequent in the abbreviation of *með*. The figure contains the following tittles:

(1) ʒ: 'eð'. This is the common Tironian nota, used in Latin writings for 'et' (both as a conjunction and as a simple combination of 'e' + 't') and in vernacular texts, where it, too, could assume the value of a conjunction (*ok*) or represent the combination of *e* + dental spirant (in competition, therefore, with the semicolon, which, as noted above, had the same

⁽⁴¹⁾ H. Benediktsson 1965 p. 79.

⁽⁴²⁾ See G. Lindblad 1954 pp. 198-99.

⁽⁴³⁾ Cod. Worm. 89:22-23.

function). This form began to replace the earlier variant (without cross-bar) around the middle of the thirteenth century ⁽⁴⁴⁾.

(2) ʒ : 'ur'. This abbreviation had two main variants, both written above the line: the '2'-like sign above and a sign resembling a tilde (~). Neither of the two, however, has much to do with the sign in the figure in U, so that its original shape cannot be restored with absolute certainty.

(3) ʒ : 'us'. This title was also written above the line (slightly shifted, as a rule, to the right of the letter preceding). As for its shape in U, the only irregularity consists in a small slanting stroke attached to the lower part of the main stroke.

(4) ω : 'ar'. This symbol, a kind of superscript *omega*, had two principal values, 'ra' and 'va', many examples of which can be found in the Codex Upsaliensis itself. Its use for 'ar' was much less frequent, the usual abbreviation of this letter combination being a superscript 'r'; however, this does not justify emending the manuscript reading as suggested by previous editors, all of whom agree on 'ra'.

(5) — : 'an'. The shape of the symbol in U is most singular, and we can only imagine what abbreviation mark the author was referring to by basing our conjectures on the value he assigned to it. Fortunately, all the editors substantially agree on this point, recognizing in the strange drawing a distortion of the abbreviation mark *par excellence*, viz. the superscript stroke. Apart from other secondary uses ⁽⁴⁵⁾, this sign was used in almost all the abbreviations where a nasal consonant (*m* or *n*) was involved. It stood most often for 'n' after a vowel, and this is certainly why the author of SGT indicated its value by 'an', i.e. by one of its most frequent combinations. An interesting remark was made by FJ (p. 91n57), who pointed out that the nasal stroke could sometimes have the form ʃ, which does bear, with some modifications, a certain resemblance to the symbol represented in the figure in U. Such a variant, however, seems to be quite unknown in Icelandic manuscripts; the source mentioned by FJ ⁽⁴⁶⁾ also describes it as an abbreviation which occurred above all in Latin documents. Finally, a resemblance of the symbol in question with an abbreviation standing for the word *amen* has also been noticed ⁽⁴⁷⁾, but such a value appears rather unlikely in the present case.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ See H. Benediktsson 1965 p. 21.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ See *ibid.* p. 93.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ W. Wattenbach 1878 p. 59.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ D. A. Seip 1954 p. 102.

3.1.2.6. The Names of the Letters

A final paragraph must be devoted to a subject which has intentionally been thus far neglected: the names of the letters. With the exception of the vowels, the names of which traditionally coincide with their sound values, all the letters represented in the circular figure in U are provided with names. Some of them clearly derive from a pre-existing pattern, either Latin or indigenous. Others, on the contrary, have no parallel outside of SGT, so that it may be assumed that they were coined by the author himself. Particular attention will be paid in the present section to the names of the latter kind, so much more so in that no effort was made by the author to explain or justify their peculiar forms.

Two of the letters contained in the first circle have Latin names, viz. *há* and *kú*. *Þorn* is the traditional name, of Anglo-Saxon origin, corresponding to the symbol 'þ' ⁽⁴⁸⁾; it is also mentioned in the same form by the author of FGT, who nevertheless, in conformity with his principles, suggests changing it to *þe* ⁽⁴⁹⁾. As for *vend*, this is the primitive name of the letter 'v' (i.e., insular 'v'), directly comparable with Old English *wen* ~ *wyn(n)*. There can be little doubt that the name (which was replaced later by *vaff*) came to West Scandinavia, together with the corresponding symbol, from Anglo-Saxon England, where it had continued, from as early as the seventh century, to represent on parchment the shape and value of the old rune þ ⁽⁵⁰⁾. It is important to observe that in TGT *vend* is said to be the name of 'v' "in the Norse language" (*i norraenu máli*) when this letter assumes a consonantal value ⁽⁵¹⁾.

The names assigned to the simple consonants have no parallel outside of SGT. Each consonant is placed at the beginning of its own name before a vowel and then repeated after it. This is clearly a device to epitomize in the form of the name itself the positional characteristics of these consonants in connected speech ("Each of them can stand both before and after (other letters) in discourse," ll. 29-30). As shown in the critical note to the circular figure (Restored Text), an internal classification of these names on the basis of the supporting vowels is partially possible; on the whole, however, it may be said that the vowels vary from one name to the other without any apparent criterion.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Concerning the adoption of this letter from Anglo-Saxon script, see H. Spehr 1929 pp. 29-32.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Cod. Worm. 89:27-29.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ See W. Keller 1906 p. 12.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Ed. B. M. Olsen 1884 42:16-19.

The treatise shows, as could be expected, a complete dependence on FGT regarding the geminate consonants. Therefore it is opportune to refer directly to the latter, where a whole section is devoted to the discussion of the relationships existing between the sounds and names of the consonants⁽⁵²⁾. The author of FGT observes that the sound of most consonants can be extended when they are preceded by a vowel in the same syllable. Hence, in conformity with the general principle stating that "the pronunciation of each consonant in connected speech will always be what is left of the name when the vowel is removed"⁽⁵³⁾, he suggests that the name of each geminate should be made up of a vowel (*e*) followed by two occurrences of the same consonant, as indicated in the recapitulating list at the end of the section. It is precisely in this form that the names of the geminate consonants appear above the corresponding letters in U's circular figure.

Regarding the names of the non-initial letters, it may be said that they basically follow the Latin pattern, with the obvious exception of the letter 'ð'. However, the pattern is more or less distorted in the different cases, and therefore it is necessary to examine each letter separately.

með. It is probable that, at the time when SGT was composed, the letter 'ð' did not yet have a specific name (later it was called *eð* or *stungið* *d* 'crossed d', as it still is in Modern Icelandic). The author may therefore have limited himself to indicating only one of the many instances where this letter occurred, choosing for this purpose one of the simplest and most frequent words, the preposition *með*. In view of this, the emendation to *eð*, first suggested by RR (p. 290n6, where, to be precise, we read *ed*) and generally accepted by the later editors, is superfluous.

pet. The name assigned to the letter 'z' is bound to raise some exegetical difficulties. Unfortunately, it has no parallel in the Icelandic grammatical literature in our hands, so that all speculation has to be based primarily on internal evidence. To begin with, it may be observed that the model from which the name ultimately derives is certainly the Greek-Latin one (*zeta*). As for the reasons which may have led the author of SGT to change it to its actual form, they are probably to be sought in his desire to 'vulgarize' it in some way. Having said this, we still have to answer the most ticklish question: why was the initial 'z' replaced by 'p'? The following remarks may serve to dispel some of the initial perplexities. The letter 'z', which occurred in Icelandic words only after other letters, was placed in the initial position in the Latin name. It is therefore conceivable that the author of SGT, deeming it unnatural to write a 'z' in that position, thought he should replace it with another letter. This does not

⁽⁵²⁾ Cod. Worm. 87:17/88:16.

⁽⁵³⁾ Ibid. 87:22-24 (transl. E. Haugen 1972 p. 23).

explain, however, why he resorted to 'p' for this purpose. In order to find an adequate solution, we must first consider exactly which phonemes were involved in the consonant cluster denoted by 'z'. The graphemic situation of the letter 'z' happens to be one of the most complex and unstable in the history of Icelandic writing. The only certain thing which can be said about its phonemic value in the earliest period, i.e. from about 1150 down to the end of the thirteenth century, is that it stood for a combination of dental + s, in which any of the three dentals contained in the consonant inventory of Icelandic — viz. *d*, *t*, and *þ* — could occur⁽⁵⁴⁾. It therefore seems quite natural that the author of SGT resorted to one of these three consonants in the attempt to replace the initial 'z'. Under these circumstances, the choice of *þ* was automatic: *þ* was the only consonant combining the two phonetic features [dental] and [spirant] contained in the first and second members, respectively, of the clusters denoted by the letter 'z'. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that this occurrence in SGT is not an isolated one: examples of 'þ', alone or combined with other consonants, in place of 'z' can also be occasionally found in other Icelandic manuscripts of this period⁽⁵⁵⁾. Considering all this, the emendation to *zet*, suggested without explanation by RR (pp. 290-91) and later also by JS (p. 365), seems precipitate, to say the least, and therefore unacceptable.

ecs. There are no particular problems concerning the name of the letter 'x'. The consonantal elements are clearly specified (the spelling 'c' for 'k' comes directly from the Latin pattern). As for the supporting vowel, it may be assumed that an *e* was introduced in place of *i* in order to make the name of this letter conform to those of the other *undirstafir* (perhaps following FGT⁽⁵⁶⁾). However, it cannot be excluded that the vowel *e* may go back directly to an early branch of the Latin grammatical tradition⁽⁵⁷⁾. *cé*. For the last letter the Latin name was adopted without any change.

3.1.3. The Rectangular Figure and the Combination of Letters

In the final section of SGT the letters or sounds compounding language are compared to the sounds produced by musical instruments. The

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Cf. H. Benediktsson 1965 pp. 74-75.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ See A. Noreen 1923 § 43 Anm., and K. Gíslason 1846 p. 98 for some examples. The same phenomenon is also observable in certain MSS of the Old Swedish laws (see H. Pipping 1914 pp. 17-18, with bibliographical references. Pipping's view on the name of the letter 'z' in SGT is perfectly concordant with the one in the present discussion).

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Cod. Worm. 88:15.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ See W. Schulze 1904 passim, esp. pp. 761-63 and 775.

author's purpose is to provide a concrete description of the way in which consonants and vowels combine with each other to form minimal sound sequences. The description is preceded by a rectangular figure, where the two phoneme classes are arranged on perpendicular lines in such a way that at each intersection one vowel meets with one consonant. The functioning of the figure is intended to recall that of a string instrument quite widespread in Western Europe at the time SGT was written: the 'symphony' or hurdy-gurdy. A brief survey of this instrument's early history and mechanical characteristics will throw some light on both the figure and the cultural environment of the whole treatise⁽⁵⁸⁾.

In its primitive form, and with the name *organistrum*, the hurdy-gurdy was already known in continental Europe from ca. 1000 A.D.⁽⁵⁹⁾ As an instrument particularly suited to accompany plain-song, the organistrum was used in churches and monasteries until well into the thirteenth century, at which point it was definitively replaced by the organ. Owing to its large size (five to six feet in length) and to the way in which it functioned (see below), it required two players. However, once it left the church, its dimensions were considerably reduced, and it soon became a popular instrument which could be transported and handled easily by a single player. It also changed its name: in France, where its use was most widespread, it was called *symphonie* (or, less formally, *chifonie*)⁽⁶⁰⁾. It was known by the same name in England until at least the sixteenth century; the term *hurdy-gurdy* made its first appearance in the eighteenth century and has been retained, although it is often used improperly to designate the street organ. In Germany, too, the French name must have been rather widespread in earliest times, but it was soon replaced by other local names, which are continued in the present-day forms *Radleier*,

⁽⁵⁸⁾ More or less extensive studies on the hurdy-gurdy (French *vielle (à roue)*, Ital. *ghironda*, Span. *zanfonia*, Germ. *Radleier*, Dan./Norw. *lire*, Swed. *lira*, Russ. *v'el'*) have been published in almost all the major European languages. Two of them deserve to be mentioned here as particularly accurate and exhaustive; these are the works by J. Rühlmann (1882 pp. 66-86) and F. W. Galpin (1910 pp. 75-83). As regards the knowledge and diffusion of the instrument in medieval Scandinavia, no detailed information is available. The contribution of H. Panum in vol. XXV of *Nordisk Kultur* (1934 pp. 58-60) is quite insufficient and contains several inaccuracies.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ We find it mentioned for the first time in a short musical treatise dating from the first decades of the eleventh century (see M. Gerbert 1784 I p. 303). The treatise, generally ascribed to the French abbot Odo of Cluny (ca. 879-942), seems, instead, to have been written, according to G. Tintori 1971 p. 644, by Odo of St. Maur-des-Fossés, who died in ca. 1030.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ The present name, *vielle (à roue)*, came into use in the first half of the sixteenth century (see the entry *vielle* in *Grand Larousse de la langue française* 1971-78 VII p. 6474).

Drehleier, etc. In Old Norse sources, the name of the hurdy-gurdy is known in two principal variants: one is the variant occurring in SGT, i.e. *simphónie*; the other is *simphón*, which is found for the most part in literary works dealing with foreign subjects⁽⁶¹⁾. Thus, the French origin of the name used by the author of SGT is unquestionable, but it is difficult to determine whether the word was borrowed directly from French, or whether other languages — particularly Low and High German — acted as intermediaries⁽⁶²⁾.

The mechanism of the hurdy-gurdy consists of two fundamental contrivances: a rotating wheel, which, as it is moved by a crank placed at one end of the instrument, rubs the strings and sets them in vibration; and a series of keys which have the function of stopping the strings at various points in order to obtain different notes. In this connection it is important to observe that while the former contrivance remained practically unchanged in the course of time, the stopping one underwent substantial alteration during the development from organistrum to symphony. In the organistrum, the contrivance consisted in revolving bridges which were raised against the strings by means of turning rods. In the symphony, the revolving bridges (and, consequently, the unwieldy turning rods) were replaced by small tangents fastened on sliding rods, which had to be pulled or pushed against the strings in order to stop them at the required point⁽⁶³⁾. This is precisely the type of action described by the author of SGT in comparing the consonants to the keys of the hurdy-gurdy. It must be noted, however, that what is stated with regard to those consonants which only combine with a following or preceding vowel (ll. 83-85) cannot be directly applied to the keys of the hurdy-gurdy, because all of them presumably worked in the same way. The statement should, instead, be thought of as a practical accommodation deliberately introduced by the author in order to complete his simile.

As regards the description of the figure, two points deserve to be examined carefully. The first concerns the initial passage, where, in a sort of mathematical proportion, letters, as a whole, are said to be to language

⁽⁶¹⁾ E.g., in *Göngu-Hrólfr's Saga* (*Fornaldar sögur*, ed. 1829-30 III p. 359); in *Hjálmþér and Ölvir's Saga* (ibid. p. 464); in the *Saga of King Sigurðr Jörðalafari* (*Fornmanna sögur*, ed. 1825-37 VII p. 97); and in the *Strengleikar* (ed. 1979 p. 4).

⁽⁶²⁾ Oddly enough, F. Fischer (1909 p. 74) and A. Jóhannesson (1956 p. 1153) mention, in addition to the learned Latin name *symphonia*, the Middle Low German and the Middle High German forms (*simfēnie* and *symphonie*, respectively), but not the French one which is the starting point for both of them.

⁽⁶³⁾ A clear illustration of both contrivances can be found in F. W. Galpin 1910 p. 80.

what keys are to sound in certain musical instruments. The terms of the proportion are evidently incommensurate, because, as is also evident in the ensuing description of the instrument, sound is not produced by the keys alone, but by the combined action of keys and strings. Indeed, this incongruity could lead us to suspect that the original of the treatise contained an *ok strengir* 'and strings' immediately after *lyklar* and that the two words were omitted by some scribe in the course of manuscript transmission. There is, however, another possibility to consider, namely that the author's attention, in this introductory remark, was particularly absorbed by the action of consonants. In fact, just as the keys are the 'active', i.e. dynamic, parts of the instrument, which by their movement reach the strings and produce notes, so the consonants, in the author's conception of speech structure, are the dynamic components of language, in that they have to be joined to vowels, i.e. to the static components, in order to obtain minimal sound sequences. This characteristic also seems to emerge in the name itself which the author gives to the consonants, *málstafir*, whereby they are qualified as 'letters of discourse' or 'letters of language' *par excellence*.

The second point has to do with the internal structure of the section under discussion. FJ (p. 96n61,14-24) was of the opinion that the whole passage from *Hér standa* (U 92:11; l. 80 in the present edition) to the end of the treatise should be regarded as a later addition appended in order to provide a clearer and more exhaustive description of the figure. According to him, it was, in any case, only a repetition of what was written in the preceding part. Thus, he thought it should have been put between brackets in order to keep it distinct from the rest. FJ's proceeding was soon criticized by O. Brenner (1888 p. 280), who, stressing that the final part was much more intelligible than the initial one, objected that the latter, instead, should have been bracketed. EM (p. 151) went even further. Starting from the same premise as Brenner, he maintained that only the second part of the description should be attributed to the author of SGT (whom, as we will see in § 3.6 below, he identified with no less than Snorri Sturluson), while the first part was presumably added by a 'later re-elaborator' (probably one of Snorri's less diligent disciples; pp. 155 ff.). EM's argument in favour of a direct connection of the adverb *hér* in *Hér standa* with the rectangular figure is not at all convincing: since *hér* is immediately preceded by the phrase *í stafasetninginni*, which means precisely 'in the disposition [i.e., in the table] of the letters [written above]', there is no need to refer it *directly* to the figure. Moreover, the same adverb is also used with reference to the rectangular figure in the preceding part of the description (*því at hér er í hending ...*; l. 78); but EM, as noted above, considered the latter an interpolation.

It would seem that the reasoning of both FJ and EM was based on the

presumption that when similar concepts are repeated at a short distance in one and the same text they must originate from different authors. Actually, no support can be found for such a principle in any theory of textual criticism to date. Moreover, even though it is certainly true that the whole passage from the words *Hér standa* to the end of the treatise does not add anything essential to the information given in the preceding description and provided by the figure itself, it must be admitted honestly that it is not a mere repetition of the foregoing. The only real repetition concerns the passage *eru þeir* [i.e., the consonants] *svá settir, sem lyklar í simphóníe, en hljóðstafir sem strengir*. (ll. 81-82); this concept had already been expressed, with more or less the same words, in the initial part of the description (ll. 71 and 74-75). All the rest is intended to provide further details about the rectangular figure, with special regard to the number and the nature of the letters involved and to the relationship of the different types of consonants with the vowels. Thus, in spite of EM's efforts to show the contrary, the passage in question seems to be the natural continuation of the commentary to the rectangular figure. For this very reason it does not deserve to be separated from the rest as a banal repetition of the preceding passages, and it is even less correct to consider it a later addition.

3.2. THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

From the very first reading, the SGT gives the impression of being a basically original work. Such an impression is principally due to the particular way in which the subject matter is presented, which has no parallel in other grammatical writings of the time, all of which were more or less dependent on the traditional theories of Latin grammarians. It is also borne out by the use of certain technical terms which cannot be traced back to any pre-existent pattern known at present (see § 3.3 below). This is particularly true of the second section of the treatise, where the author develops the central points of his orthographic theory; yet also in the introductory and final sections, which, as shall be shown below, show traces of a more traditional learning, the exposition of the material is so individual that it is hard to identify specific sources⁽⁶⁴⁾. Not

⁽⁶⁴⁾ The statement in ESS.II (pp. v and 45n1) that SGT is the result of the merger of two earlier treatises — one of foreign provenance, originating in the writings of Isidore of Seville, and the other Icelandic, viz. FGT — is clearly based on the assumption that the original version of the treatise is better preserved in W than in U. As can be seen from the footnotes passim in ESS.II, the references to both

only is it intrinsically difficult to find sure points of contact between SGT and the grammatical doctrines current during the Middle Ages, but also the search for possible sources must be carried out separately for each of the three sections into which the treatise is divided.

As observed in § 3.1.1 above, the distinction between the various kinds of sound or 'voice' was quite a traditional one and already occurred in the earliest Latin grammarians. We also saw, however, that, because of the well-defined scheme of classification and the appropriate choice of terms to designate each type of sound, this section of SGT cannot be directly related to any grammatical writing based on such traditional Latin authors as Donatus and Priscian, whose works were known, appreciated, and widely commented throughout the Middle Ages. On the contrary, it seems to be influenced by that type of learning which, after the rediscovery of Aristotelian thought, spread all over Western Europe in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries⁽⁶⁵⁾. It therefore seems reasonably safe to assert that the classification of sounds to be found in SGT has its most distant origins in Boethius' commentary on Aristotle's work *Peri hermēneias* (*De interpretatione*)⁽⁶⁶⁾, which was the starting point for all writings on logic and rhetoric in the later Middle Ages. Around the middle of the thirteenth century, these tenets of Aristotelian doctrine were principally represented by Petrus Hispanus' introduction to the *Summulae logicales*⁽⁶⁷⁾. This writing, however, does not offer sufficient material for comparison with SGT. A more extensive example of the tradition can be found, instead, in Roger Bacon's *Summulae dialectices*, written during approximately the

Isidore (except for the description of the *symphonia*, which is inappropriate anyway, by the editors' own admission) and to FGT only concern those parts of W which are not found in U and which, as we have seen (§ 1.4.4), must be regarded as later additions.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ See, for example, G. L. Bursill-Hall 1971 pp. 23-31. It is impossible, at least on the basis of our present knowledge (see *ibid.* p. 33), to say whether it also shows traces of the teachings of the Modistae, whose doctrines began to assume a pre-eminent position in grammatical studies in the second half of the thirteenth century. It must be remembered, however, that phonetic facts, as such, did not fall within the most immediate and specific interests of the Modistae, who were above all concerned with the description of the logical and formal structures of language (i.e., of the Latin language). In the matter of 'sound', they apparently accepted the teachings of Aristotle (inherited through Boethius and his late-medieval commentators) without any appreciable change. (For a brief survey of this subject, see, again, Bursill-Hall 1971 pp. 66-80). Aside from this, it cannot be excluded that the author of SGT was acquainted in some way with the works of the earliest Danish Modistae, such as Martin of Dacia and John of Dacia, whose treatises seem to have been written in ca. 1270 and 1280 respectively (see *ibid.* p. 32).

⁽⁶⁶⁾ More exactly, in the introduction to the first book and in the chapters "De signis" and "De nomine" (see J.-P. Migne 1891 cols. 393-426).

⁽⁶⁷⁾ See I. M. Bocheński 1947 pp. 1-2.

same period as the work by Petrus Hispanus and probably dependent upon it to some extent⁽⁶⁸⁾. Among Bacon's comments on the classification of sounds, the following passages are particularly relevant to the introductory section of SGT⁽⁶⁹⁾:

Sonus alius vox alius non-vox; sonus non-vox est ut sonus campane, collisio lapidum, fragor arborum, strepidus pedum; sonus vox idem est quod vox. ... Alio modo [i.e., proprie] dicitur vox sonus prolatus ab ore animalis, ... naturalibus instrumentis formatus, que sunt hec, pulmo, guttur, dentes, lingua, palatum, labia. ... Vocum alia significativa, alia non-significativa. Non-significativa est per quam nichil auditui representatur, ... vox significativa est per quam omne animal interpretatur aliquid omni vel alicui sue speciei ... Nullum etiam animal interpretatur alicui individuo alterius speciei nisi improprie, ... Similiter cantus galli nichil proprie nobis significat tanquam vox significativa, ... Vocum significativarum alia significativa ad placitum, alia naturaliter. Vox significativa naturaliter est que ordinatur ad significandum, ut ... omnis vox ferarum vel sonus. Vox significativa ad placitum (est) que ex institutione humana aliquid significat, ...

In spite of their difference in descriptive method, the two texts show fundamental agreement on several central points: the importance attached to the degree of 'significance'⁽⁷⁰⁾ of each sound or voice, and the stress put on the inadequacy of the voice to serve as a means of communication between different animal species, in particular between man and other animals. Even in the examples, in which Bacon's text is not actually particularly rich, some correspondences can be noticed, such as the one between Bacon's *collisio lapidum* and *fragor arborum* and the expressions (*er*) *grjót hrynr* and *er viðir brotna* in the first paragraph of SGT. This is, however, of secondary importance, because the examples refer to phenomena of such a universal nature that they may have come into the author's mind quite independently of any external suggestion. Correspondences of this kind can also be found with the writings of some traditional Latin grammarians: the passage, for example, on the sound of musical instruments (ll. 7-8) can be compared with the following quotation from Diomedes' *Ars grammatica*, written in the second half of the fourth century⁽⁷¹⁾:

quidam etiam modulatam vocem addiderunt tibiae vel organi, quae, quamquam scribi non potest, habet tamen modulatam aliquam distinctionem.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ See R. Steele 1940 pp. xv and xx.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 232-34.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Concerning the particular sense given to the word 'significance' in the present context, see § 3.1.1 above.

⁽⁷¹⁾ H. Keil 1857-80 I p. 420.

On the whole, therefore, the affinity between the two texts does not go far beyond their overall structure. Consequently, we do not have sufficient elements to prove that the author of SGT actually knew Bacon's work and, even less, that he may have used it as a source for his introductory remarks on the distinction between sounds. The only certain thing is that both texts are representative of one and the same tradition ⁽⁷²⁾.

The section dealing with the classification of the letters does not entail, on the part of the author, much more than a summary knowledge of the essentials of traditional grammar, e.g. of the basic division of letters (and sounds) into vowels and consonants, the distinction between short and long vowels, etc. There can be little doubt that the author of SGT, like all other learned men of his time, knew the works of the two highest authorities in the field of Latin grammar, Donatus and Priscian, either directly or through some of the numerous commentaries on them written in the later Middle Ages. However, there is not one single passage or sentence in this section of SGT which implies a direct connection with these works. On the contrary, everything which does not seem to be the original product of the author's mind can probably be traced back to the previous Icelandic grammatical tradition, of which, apart from the precious testimony of FGT, we unfortunately know very little. Some of these traditional elements have already been pointed out and discussed briefly in the section devoted to the analysis of the text. Here I will mention the following three points: the distinction between the syllabic and nonsyllabic variant of *i* (§ 3.1.2.3d); the specification of the distinctive function of vowel quantity and subsequent advice to mark long vowels by means of a superscript stroke (§ 3.1.2.3e); and the use of majuscules, as an alternative to double minuscules, to denote geminate consonants (§ 3.1.2.4). As remarked in the above-mentioned paragraphs, all of these items correspond more or less exactly with analogous points in FGT. For the last two, in particular, the links with FGT are so close that their direct dependence on the latter can hardly be excluded. As regards the first point, the correspondence with FGT is only partial, because, as we have seen, SGT makes a further distinction within the nonsyllabic variant between consonantal and nonconsonantal value; moreover, while in SGT the distinction concerns only the letter 'i', in FGT it also affects the 'u'. There are two additional instances in which SGT shows a tangible

(72) The situation in the introductory section of TGT, where the same subject is dealt with in much greater detail, is considerably different in this respect. Here the links with the above-mentioned philosophical writings are much more evident, as shown particularly by some passages which are virtually nothing but faithful translations from P. Hispanus' and/or Bacon's works.

connection with the previous Icelandic grammatical tradition: in its mention of the possibility of replacing the vowel ligatures 'æ' and 'ø' with loop-symbols ('e' and 'o' respectively), and in its use of the term *titull* in the sense of 'abbreviation mark'. Here, too, a parallel with FGT can be drawn; yet, unlike the preceding three, neither of these items has to be necessarily regarded as directly dependent on FGT. As far as the symbols 'e' and 'o' are concerned, there is evidence that they already existed in Icelandic writing before they made their appearance in FGT ⁽⁷³⁾. Furthermore, they are only presented in SGT as an alternative writing of ligatures, while in FGT, the author of which must have also been familiar with the use of vowel ligatures, no other type of notation is mentioned. As for the particular usage of the term *titull*, it is by no means certain that it originated with the author of FGT ⁽⁷⁴⁾. At any rate, it is reasonable to suppose that, even if its first appearance in an Icelandic work was in FGT, it soon became part of the most current grammatical terminology. All of the other features which characterize the central section of SGT have no parallels in Icelandic grammatical literature, nor, for that matter, in any other medieval theory of orthography known to date. Although they have been discussed above in the paragraphs devoted to the examination of this section, it may be useful to recapitulate them here in brief outline. They are: (1) the grouping of simple consonants according to their positional characteristics, which determines their distribution into three different classes: non-final consonants, non-initial consonants, and consonants occurring in all positions; (2) the names of the consonants belonging to the last-mentioned class together with the name of the letter 'ð'; (3) the division of vowel symbols into three classes: simple vowels, ligatures, and digraphs (and, in particular, the differentiation between the last two); (4) the attribution of an independent sound value, neither vocalic nor consonantal, to the *i* in the diphthong *ei*; and (5) the use of 'c' as an alternative to 'k' in word-final and, perhaps, word-medial position. The circular figure itself is an outstanding peculiarity of SGT. As is well known, it was not the habit of ancient and medieval grammarians to elucidate their theories by means of illustrative figures. This was, instead, a characteristic feature of technical and scientific writings, and can be found, for instance — to mention a field with which the author of SGT was to all appearances quite familiar — in musical manuscripts, especially in those concerning the construction of musical instruments. It may be reasonably assumed,

(73) See H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 26 and, for more detailed information, H. Benediktsson 1965 pp. 57-59.

(74) See H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 198.

therefore, that the idea of illustrating the classification of letters by means of a diagram was suggested to the author by his acquaintance with musical disciplines. This view seems to be further corroborated by the fact that the final section of the treatise, based precisely on a musical simile, is also provided with an illustrative figure. Finally, another important element of originality which characterizes SGT in its full length consists, as already mentioned, in the presence of a set of technical terms which are not present in other early Icelandic grammatical writings and for which no certain source can be found. The importance of this element is such that it deserves to be treated separately (see § 3.3 below).

The primary contraposition between vowels and consonants, which was only implicit in the classification of letters, becomes particularly evident in the final section of the treatise. Here the author resorts, as we know, to a simile, which, in addition to expressing the opposition between the two major classes of letters, has the function of illustrating their mutual relationship. In this connection it is interesting to compare the text of SGT with the following passage in Priscian ⁽⁷⁵⁾:

Multa enim est differentia inter consonantes, ut diximus, et vocales. tantum enim fere interest inter vocales et consonantes, quantum inter animas et corpora. animae enim per se moventur, ut philosophis videtur, et corpora movent, corpora vero nec per se sine anima moveri possunt nec animas movent, sed ab illis moventur. vocales similiter et per se moventur ad perficiendam syllabam et consonantes movent secum, consonantes vero sine vocalibus immobiles sunt.

Both similes have in common the idea that one of the two antithetical elements has to make a movement in order to reach the other so as to form minimal sound sequences. But the angle from which this relation is viewed is quite different in the two descriptions. Although in both cases the vowels appear in a prominent position in that they are able to perform their action without the intervention of consonants ⁽⁷⁶⁾, it is only in Priscian's simile that they also have the capacity to move, while in SGT such a characteristic is shifted to the consonants. Furthermore, while Priscian's principal aim is to emphasize the difference between vowels and consonants together with the predominance of the former over the latter, the author of SGT is merely concerned with giving a practical illustration

⁽⁷⁵⁾ H. Keil 1857-80 II p. 13.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ This is not explicitly stated in the text of SGT. It is evident, however, that the strings of the instrument described there can produce sounds, namely the lowest notes, independently of the action of the keys. This is so because the strings are not set in vibration by the keys but by the wheel revolving underneath (see § 3.1.3 above).

of the way in which the two classes of letters combine with each other ⁽⁷⁷⁾. The comparison between the process of sound production in speech and the mechanism of a musical instrument is certainly not foreign to classical and medieval linguistic thought; however, it only occurs sporadically in traditional grammatical writings. The best known example is perhaps the comparison of the tongue with a plectrum, which can be found, for instance, in the text by Bacon cited above in connection with the classification of sounds ⁽⁷⁸⁾:

vox est sonus ab ore animalis prolatus, plectro lingue formatus, id est, plectro quod est lingua, et dicitur 'plectrum' quia sicut in musicis instrumentis plectro temperantur corde ad faciendam consonanciam, ita linguam habemus ad faciendum voces quasi plectrum.

There is no doubt, however, that the simile goes back to a much earlier stage of the tradition; this is demonstrated by the fact that it already occurs in two grammatical works of the ninth or tenth century, viz. in the commentary to Donatus' *Ars minor* by Remigius of Auxerre ⁽⁷⁹⁾ and in the *Commentum Einsidlense in Donati artem maiorem*, also attributed to Remigius ⁽⁸⁰⁾. Bacon himself mentioned Boethius as his direct source; if this indication is reliable ⁽⁸¹⁾, there is every reason to believe that the original formulation of the concept in question belongs to one of Aristotle's numerous reflections upon the physiology of speech organs. A still more relevant example of musical simile can be found in a work by Robert Kilwardby (second half of the thirteenth century), who, in his commentary to Priscian's *Ars Maior*, related the way in which different sounds (in particular, different vowels) are produced through the organs of speech to the mechanism which draws different notes from a flute (*fistula*) ⁽⁸²⁾:

Utrum autem ex collisione instrumentorum vocalium et ex diversitate arteriarum et partium conformantium ad vocem generetur diversitas vocum vel solum ex percussione aeris ad vocalem arteriam et ex modulatione quae est in arteria fit

⁽⁷⁷⁾ The question of the combination of letters is treated by Priscian elsewhere, viz. in the chapters "De ordine literarum" and "De syllaba" (H. Keil 1857-80 II pp. 37-43 and pp. 44-53, respectively), with intentions and methods quite different from those in FGT.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ R. Steele 1940 p. 233.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ See W. Fox 1902 p. 17.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ See H. Hagen 1870 p. 219.

⁽⁸¹⁾ Actually, the equation 'tongue = plectrum' does not seem to appear in modern editions of Boethius, at least not explicitly (see, for example, J.-P. Migne 1891 in the chapters indicated in n. 66 above).

⁽⁸²⁾ MS Cambridge UL Kk 3 f. 41r. I owe this information to Prof. Jan Pinborg, University of Copenhagen.

diversitas vocis litteralis, sicut in fistula cuius partes non colliduntur. Sed primum istorum apparet verius, quia in fistula et in viela et ceteris instrumentis secundum Philosophum II. De anima est vox solum secundum similitudinem. Unde diversitas vocum quae apparet in fistula generatur de diversa modulatione flatus et digitorum applicatorum foraminibus fistulae.

Thus we see that the use of musical images and concepts to explain certain linguistic facts more effectively was a fairly deep-rooted, if not widespread, practice in the medieval grammatical tradition. However, no other comparison can be found which is as definite and detailed as the one in SGT. The rectangular figure in SGT has some affinities with illustrations contained in certain medieval musical manuscripts⁽⁸³⁾. The resemblance, however, is rather broad and does not imply a direct connection between these manuscripts and SGT.

If we now try to sum up what has been observed thus far concerning the theoretical foundations of SGT, we find, leaving its technical terminology aside, that elements of originality combine in almost equal proportion with those which, more or less explicitly, show a dependence upon traditional learning. Nevertheless, even when the influence of tradition is most evident, the descriptive method is almost always extremely individualistic. As noted above on more than one occasion, this marked tendency on the part of SGT's author to reason autonomously is connected to some extent with his multiform educational background. This included, in addition to specific training in grammatical disciplines, an uncommon familiarity with music and musical instruments, together with an adequate knowledge of the logical and rhetorical thought of the time. A more complete evaluation of this point will be given after a careful examination of the technical terminology used in the treatise.

3.3. THE TECHNICAL TERMINOLOGY

As noted in the preceding paragraph, the technical terminology of SGT is characterized by a considerable degree of originality. It shows, in particular, a basic independence from the current patterns of contemporary grammatical learning, which, as we know, was entirely based on the classical grammatical tradition. A convenient way of examining the terminology consists, therefore, in a direct comparison with the vocabulary used in other early Icelandic grammatical works. Particularly relevant in this respect are FGT and the first part of TGT

⁽⁸³⁾ See, for example, the edition of Boethius' *De musica* in J.-P. Migne 1882 cols. 1167-1300.

(viz., the section specifically devoted to grammatical questions and, therefore, conventionally named *málfræðinnar grundvöllr* 'foundations of grammar').

While, as could be expected, the terminological apparatus referring to the most general grammatical concepts — such as the names of the basic speech units (*stafr*, *samstafr*, etc.), or certain expressions connected with the notion of 'distinction' (*grein*, *gera mál*, *skipta máli*, etc.) — is fundamentally the same in all three treatises, the most conspicuous differences between SGT and the other two treatises concern the denominations of the various classes of letters and some terms relating to the physical realization of speech sounds. In most cases the author of SGT simply uses terms which differ from those of FGT and TGT but express the same grammatical concepts. However, some of his terms have no counterpart in the other two works. Conversely, when the same term appears in SGT and in one or both of the other treatises, the correspondence may be only partial, i.e. limited to one or a few instances, another term being more frequently used for the same concept in the other treatises. In some cases the correspondence is only formal, in the sense that the same term occurs in all three treatises, but with different meanings. This complex terminological relationships can perhaps be clarified by the diagram on the next page.

In order to understand the diagram correctly, a brief commentary is necessary for each of the items involved.

'Vowel'. The term *hljóðstafr* occurs in all three treatises, but only as a secondary variant in FGT and TGT. The more usual term in the last two is *raddarstafr*, which is clearly modelled on the Latin *vocalis* (*littera*). In FGT we also find the shortened form *rödd*, which appears in a passage where the author seems more interested in the phonic aspect than in the graphic one⁽⁸⁴⁾. *Hljóðstafr* is used twice in FGT: once in the elliptical form gen. sg. *hljóðs* (with the second component, acc. pl. *-stafr*, understood)⁽⁸⁵⁾ and once in full⁽⁸⁶⁾, where the term is used in connection with the five basic vowels taken over from the Latin alphabet. The alternation of *raddar-* and *hljóð-* as the first component of the word for 'vowel' in FGT could easily be interpreted as an indirect influence of traditional Latin grammatical terminology, where, as we have seen in § 3.1.1 above, *vox* (Icel. *rödd*) and *sonus* (Icel. *hljóð*) were frequently treated as synonyms. Further support for this view seems to come from the occurrence of the word *rödd* with the meaning 'sound', i.e. as an

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Cod. Worm. 85:28-29.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Ibid. 84:20 (cf. H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 209n84:20).

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Ibid. 84:24.

MEANING	SGT	FGT	TGT	LATIN EQUIVALENT
'vowel'	hljóðstafr	raddarstafr, ródd, hljóðstafr	raddarstafr, hljóðstafr	vocalis
'consonant'	málstafr	samhljóðandi, samhljóð(i)	samhljóðandi	consonans
'(vowel) ligature'	límingr	—	diptongus, tvíhljóðr, límingarstafr	diphthongus
'(vowel) digraph'	lausaklofi	—	—	—
'variable'	skiptingr	—	—	—
'sub-letter'	undirstafr	—	—	—
'to pronounce'	leiða	kveða (at)	framflytja, framfæra	profero, pronuntio
'pronunciation'	-leiðingar, atkvæði	atkvæði	framflytning, framfæring	pronuntiatio, prolatio
'short'	styttr	skammr	skammr	brevis
'long'	dreginn	langr	langr	longa

alternative to *hljóð* (⁸⁷). The fact remains, however, that no term for 'vowel' having *sonus* as a lexical basis can be found in any Latin grammatical text. Moreover, if, as has been hinted (⁸⁸), the term *raddarstafr* cannot be considered, at least from a strictly morphological point of view, a proper calque on the Latin *vocalis*, this is even less so for *hljóðstafr*, which, in addition to not reflecting the morphological pattern of the corresponding Latin term, does not even preserve its semantic structure. Perplexity concerning the attribution of a Latin matrix to the term under discussion becomes even stronger when we consider the peculiarity of the context in which it appears in TGT. *Hljóðstafr* occurs only once here (⁸⁹) and refers explicitly to the five (simple) vowel symbols of the runic alphabet (which is called *norraent stafróf* 'Norse alphabet'). The most immediate implication of this fact is apparent to everyone: although the hypothesis of a coinage based on the Latin pattern cannot be excluded *a priori*, it is nevertheless legitimate to assume that the term in question already existed in a local, pre-Christian grammatical tradition; in other words, that it belonged to runic terminology. Such an assumption seems, in fact, to be further supported by the contextual situation of two of the terms which will be examined below.

'Consonant'. FGT and TGT agree in their use of the term *samhljóðandi*, which closely corresponds, in both semantic and morphological structure, to the Latin model. A shorter variant of this term, *samhljóð(i)*, also occurs once in FGT (⁹⁰). The form, which is a hapax when considered within the context of the earliest Icelandic grammatical texts, was to become current in Modern Icelandic. *Málstafr* is the only term for 'consonant' used in SGT. It also occurs once in FGT (⁹¹), but in a quite different sense, viz. as a synonym of *stafr*, or of the uncompounded (and by far the most common) word for 'letter'; moreover, it is not used as a technical term, but occurs as a common word in one of the many illustrative sentences. The question whether *málstafr* was supposed to contrast in some way with the term *bókstafr*, which can also be found once in FGT as a (non-technical) variant of *stafr* (⁹²), is not of immediate relevance to the present discussion and, in any case, cannot be solved simply on the basis of the evidence provided by FGT (⁹³). Instead, what is important to point out here, in view of the suggestion which will be made

(⁸⁷) Ibid. 84:31. See also H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 62.

(⁸⁸) F. Albano Leoni 1975 p. 16.

(⁸⁹) Ed. B. M. Olsen 1884 42:20.

(⁹⁰) Cod. Worm. 85:13. Concerning the form of the nom. sg., see H. Benediktsson 1972 pp. 50-51.

(⁹¹) Ibid. 86:16.

(⁹²) Ibid. 90:19.

(⁹³) See E. Haugen 1972 p. 50 and H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 52.

at the end of this section, is that the situation of *mǫlstafr* in FGT is singularly analogous to that of *hljóðstafr* in TGT: both occur in contexts where reference is explicitly made to runic letters.

'(Vowel) Ligature' and '(Vowel) Digraph'. The distinction between *límingar* and *lausaklofar* belongs exclusively to SGT. It has no parallel at all in FGT, where no ligature occurs and no specific name is used for the diphthongs, which are invariably denoted by digraphs. In TGT, as will be shown below, the two notions seem to be confused. The usual term for 'diphthong' in TGT is *diptongus*, i.e. the Greek-Latin form in a slightly simplified spelling. Its equivalent in Icelandic (or, in the words of the author himself, in "the Norse tongue") is said to be *tvíhljóðr* ⁽⁹⁴⁾. The term, however, is only used once in the treatise, immediately after the first occurrence of *diptongus*, and then only by way of explanation. Although the author of TGT, quoting directly from a late Latin source ⁽⁹⁵⁾, defines *diptongus* as "the conjunction of two vowels in one and the same syllable, both of which retain their own power [i.e. their own phonetic value]" ⁽⁹⁶⁾, it clearly appears from the general context, and from the examples as well, that by this term he means both real diphthongs and monophthongs ⁽⁹⁷⁾. The only necessary condition for it to be applied is that two vowel letters, not necessarily denoting two distinct vowel sounds, combine in the same syllable, either by juxtaposition (as in Latin) or by fusion (as usually happened in runic writing). In other words, the concept of 'diphthong', as described in TGT, covers both those of 'vowel digraph' and 'vowel ligature', and, like them, has a purely graphic reference, whether the entities involved in writing correspond to real diphthongs on the articulatory level or not. As a variant of *diptongus*, TGT contains *límingarstafr*, but only in one instance. It seems to be used as a specific designation for the runic 'diphthongs' (i.e., for the combinations of vowel symbols in the runic alphabet), which, with a single exception (þ| = 'ei'), are written in the form of ligatures. The connection, on both the formal and semantic level, between this term and *límingr* in SGT is evident. Nevertheless, the two terms are not directly comparable, because, while in SGT *límingr* is clearly used in complementary distribution with *lausaklofi* (i.e., they are mutually exclusive), there is no apparent contrast in TGT between *límingarstafr* and *diptongus*; on the contrary, the former seems to be included in the general meaning of the latter, to judge from

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Ed. B. M. Olsen 1884 47:30.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Ibid. p. 47n10.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ *Diptongus er samanlíming tveggja raddarstafta í einni samstöfu, þeirra er báðir halda afli sínu.* (cf. ibid. 47:31-33).

⁽⁹⁷⁾ As when, for example, he contrasts the 'diphthong' 'æ' in *mær/sær* with the simple vowel 'e' in *mér/sér* (ibid. 49:52-53).

the fact that the runic *límingarstafr* are also referred to as *diptongi* and are actually subsumed under the same class as the Latin diphthongs. At any rate, the impossibility of a total identification between the terms *límingr* and *límingarstafr* depends exclusively upon their different distributional relationship with the specific term for 'diphthong' in SGT and TGT respectively. Their basic meaning is, in any case, 'vowel ligature', and they are too similar in form not to be regarded as mere stylistic variants of one and the same word. Once this has been established, the fact which must be particularly stressed is that *límingarstafr*, of which *límingr* is therefore to be considered an abbreviated form (cf. the alternation *raddarstafr* ~ *rödd* for 'vowel' mentioned above), occurs in TGT only with reference to runic letters, and this may lead us to believe that this term, too, like *hljóðstafr* and *mǫlstafr*, belonged to the Scandinavian grammatical tradition of the pre-Christian period ⁽⁹⁸⁾.

'Variable'. Although both FGT and TGT distinguish between various sound values of 'i' according to the phonetic environment, neither of them uses any specific term to emphasize the special nature of this letter (which, in conformity with the Latin grammatical tradition, is associated in this respect with the letter 'u'). In view of this, as well as of the situation of the combinatorial variants of nonsyllabic *i* and *u* in prevocalic position at the time of composition of SGT (see § 3.1.2.3d above), we may assume that the label 'variable' (*skiptingr*) was coined by the author of SGT himself.

'Sub-Letter'. Since the concept of 'sub-letter' is peculiar to SGT, it is not surprising that the term *undirstafr*, by which this concept is designated, has no parallel at all in the other two treatises. As regards its origin, it is quite unlikely that it could have existed in runic terminology, because none of the four letters belonging to this class had an equivalent in the runic alphabet: 'z', 'x', and 'c' were typical Latin letters, while 'ð' was imported from Norway. It is therefore conceivable that this term, like the preceding one, was invented by the author of SGT.

'To Pronounce'. In rendering this concept, SGT differs from both FGT and TGT. It is important to observe, however, that, while TGT is completely dependent on the Latin model (both *framflytja* and *framfæra* may in fact be regarded as calques on the Latin *profero*), both the term used in SGT (*leiða*) and the one in FGT (*kveða at*, alternating with the simple form *kveða*) ⁽⁹⁹⁾ are native words; they also occur in non-technical

⁽⁹⁸⁾ Cf. B. M. Olsen 1883 p. 79.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ The use of one or the other variant in FGT depends mainly on the syntactic context (see F. Albano Leoni 1975 pp. 14-15).

usage and therefore are surely antecedent to the influence of Latin grammatical terminology⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

'Pronunciation'. Two terms are used for this concept in SGT: the plural *leiðingar*, which occurs only once in the compound *orðaleiðingar* (l. 56); and *atkvæði*, occurring once in the introductory section (l. 18) and once in the classification of the letters (l. 61). While the former, which is clearly a deverbative from *leiða*, is peculiar to SGT, the latter is also found in FGT, where it has an immediate parallel in the verb phrase *kveða at* (see above). On the basis of the evidence produced by SGT, the following semantic differentiation between the two terms can be made. *Leiðingar* is used with reference to the way in which sounds are actually produced; it is no coincidence that the corresponding verb *leiða* is accompanied, in both its occurrences, by adverbs of manner, viz. *seint* 'slowly' and *skjótt* 'quickly'. It corresponds, therefore, very closely to the notion of 'articulation'. *Atkvæði*, on the other hand, denotes the inherent phonic structure of words, i.e. the segments of the spoken chain viewed as significant linguistic units. This use of *atkvæði* is much the same as the one in FGT⁽¹⁰¹⁾. The term occurs for the second time in SGT in precisely one of the passages which appear to be influenced to some extent by FGT, viz. the passage on geminate consonants. Furthermore, the phrase in which it occurs bears a strong resemblance to one in the corresponding section of FGT (*með svá miklu atkvæði* 'with such a long sound')⁽¹⁰²⁾. The terms used in TGT (*framflytning*, *framfæring*) are simply nominalizations of the corresponding verbs meaning 'to pronounce' (see above), and, therefore, can be traced directly back to a Latin model. 'Short' and 'Long'. Finally, there is a remarkable terminological difference between SGT and the other two treatises regarding the designation of vowel quantity. FGT and TGT agree with each other, and with Latin terminology as well, in using the adjectives *skammr* (Lat. *brevis*) and *langr* (Lat. *longa*) for 'short' and 'long' (vowel) respectively. Both of these attributes are expressed in SGT by means of verbal adjectives: the past participles *styttr* (< *stytta* 'to shorten') and *dreginn* (< *draga* 'to draw, to stretch'), respectively. Aside from being quite unusual, these terms also appear somewhat misleading in that they describe vowel quantity as something depending on the arbitrariness of the speaker rather than as a feature inherent in each vowel phoneme⁽¹⁰³⁾. The only aspect

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ See, however, for FGT, H. Benediktsson 1972 pp. 60-61.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ See H. Benediktsson 1972 pp. 58-60. The closest equivalent to *leiðingar* in FGT is *hljóð* (see *ibid.* pp. 61-64).

⁽¹⁰²⁾ Cod. Worm. 87:28 (transl. H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 231).

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Equally peculiar is the definition of vowel quantity, in SGT, in terms of articulatory speed, whereby long vowels are referred to as those which are

which might seem favourable, were we to apply SGT's terminology, lies in the formal connection between *dreginn* and the infinitive *draga*, which is used in the treatise with the meaning 'to draw a sign' (l. 54), referring to the practice of marking long vowels with a superscript stroke in order to distinguish them from short ones. But this is clearly a mere coincidence, caused by the semantic polyvalence of the verb *draga*, which in the second use means not 'to stretch, to lengthen' but 'to draw a line (with the pen)'⁽¹⁰⁴⁾.

The general conclusion which may be drawn from this review of the differences and similarities in terminology between SGT and the other Icelandic grammatical treatises derives principally from an examination of three of the terms under discussion. As has been pointed out, *hljóðstafr* in TGT and *málstafr* in FGT, together with *límingarstafr* in TGT (corresponding to *límingr* in SGT), occur precisely and exclusively in those contexts which have something to do with runic letters. If we discount pure coincidence, it may be reasonably inferred that these terms already existed in Icelandic before the adoption of the Latin alphabet, in other words in runic tradition, and that, before being definitively replaced, they went on being used for some time alongside the terms fashioned upon Latin models. In this case, SGT would seem to have preserved the old terminology better than the other treatises, since it used it regularly. If this interpretation is accepted, the same reasoning may be extended to additional terms not to be found in the other treatises, terms which have been previously considered, more or less explicitly, inventions of SGT's author, i.e. *lausaklofi*, *skiptingr*, and the adjectives denoting vowel length *styttr* and *dreginn*. This does not mean, of course, that SGT is older than the other treatises, but simply that it displays a greater independence from the Latin tradition.

We thus see that an examination of technical terminology confirms the same general tendency to originality which has already been attributed to SGT in many other circumstances. This enables us to formulate a judgement concerning the overall character of the treatise which is more definite than the one expressed at the end of the preceding section. SGT seems to represent an attempt at definitive disengagement from the Latin grammatical tradition: on the one hand, through the partial recovery and positive re-evaluation of a native tradition and, on the other hand,

pronounced slowly and, conversely, short vowels as those which are pronounced quickly (cf. the foregoing remarks on the complementation of the verb *leiða*). Here a direct parallel can be drawn with scaldic terminology concerning variation in syllabic length, as occurring in the commentary to the *Háttatal* (see E. O. G. Turville-Petre 1976 p. xviii).

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ For the same concept we find the expression *merkja með stryki* in FGT (Cod. Worm. 86:2-3).

through the addition of new elements, which were partly drawn from 'new' philosophical experiences (such as the rediscovery of Aristotelian thought) and partly elaborated by the author himself. In brief, it may reasonably be thought of as a compendium of the elementary grammatical learning of the time enriched by a number of personal and original contributions.

3.4. THE PHONEME INVENTORY UNDERLYING THE ORTHOGRAPHIC SYSTEM OF SGT

Although endowed with an extraordinary originality, the author of SGT was still a child of his age, and the theoretical grounding of his scholarly knowledge was deeply rooted in medieval grammatical tradition. For this reason, we do not expect that he furnish direct information (and, in fact, he does not) concerning the phonetic value of the single letters which make up his orthographic system. Like any other medieval grammatical work specifically dealing with letters and sounds, the principal aim of SGT did not consist in giving a detailed description of the sounds belonging to the language under investigation, but rather in indicating an appropriate and consistent way of representing those sounds in writing. It is not surprising, therefore, that, insofar as phonetic evidence is concerned, SGT does not enable us to know much more than which letters denote vowels and which denote consonants. Actually, all the information which SGT provides on this subject is limited to the following three points: (1) vowels may be either short or long; (2) some consonants can be articulated so strongly that they equal, in practice, twice their normal value, that is to say, they may also occur as geminates; and (3) one letter, viz. 'i', which usually represents a vowel, loses, in certain contextual situations, its primary vocalic value and assumes a consonantal one. True, a further point should be mentioned, in connection with vowel ligatures and digraphs, which explains that certain vowel phonemes (including both simple vowels and vowel clusters) consist in a combination of the sound of other vowels. Yet we have already seen (§ 3.1.2.3b) how vague and misleading this statement proves to be; in any case, it is of no help in establishing the actual phonetic value of the vowels in question, and it may therefore be left out of consideration without much damage. Finally, it should be observed that none of the above points adds new information to what had already been described, in even greater detail, in the earlier Icelandic grammatical tradition, i.e. in FGT.

It is clear, therefore, that, in order to set up the phoneme inventory behind the orthographic system of SGT, we must resort to various types of external evidence, including, for example, our knowledge of the standard values of letters in the Latin alphabet and of the predominant trends of Icelandic scribal practice at the time that SGT was presumably written (i.e. in the second half of the thirteenth century); and, especially, we must depend on what has been called "comparative evidence" ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾, in other words on a comparison of relevant data furnished by SGT with those deriving from the study of the earlier and later stages of development in the Icelandic language and in the languages most closely related to it.

3.4.1. Vowel Inventory

All of the evidence, both internal and external, which converges around the complex of graphemic-phonemic relationships accounted for in SGT points unequivocally to a vowel inventory consisting of eight qualitatively distinct units. It may be informally represented as follows:

i	y	u
e	ö <æ, ɔ>	o
æ <æ, ɛ>	a	

(The symbols used by the author are added in angle brackets beside the corresponding phonemes when they differ from the phonetic symbols which are used here or when more than one symbol is supplied for the same vowel). Six of these vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and *y*, (or the set of vowels referred to as '(simple) letters' in the description of the third circle), participated in the quantity correlation, i.e., they occurred in both the short and the long variety. Of the remaining two, one (*ö*) was always short, and the other (*æ*) always long. This is equivalent to saying that the vowel inventory under discussion was composed of two subsets, one short and one long, of seven units each. If we arrange these vowels into a distinctive-feature system, trying, as far as possible, to make the internal relationships of each subset coincide, we come up with the following

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ H. Benediktsson 1972 pp. 117 and 126.

diagram (the slanting stroke is used to indicate the short vs. long feature) ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾:

	FRONT		BACK	
	UNROUNDED	ROUNDED	UNROUNDED	ROUNDED
HIGH	i/ <i>ī</i>	y/ <i>ȳ</i>		u/ <i>ū</i>
MID	e/ <i>ē</i>	ö		o/ <i>ō</i>
LOW	æ		a/ <i>ā</i>	

To complete the picture of SGT's vowel inventory, three diphthongs must be added: *au*, *ei*, and *ey*. For the sake of simplicity, and in agreement with the treatment given these vowel clusters in the treatise, we will not split them into their constituents, but consider them as indivisible, if composite, entities. Seen in this perspective, the primary distinctive feature was no doubt front vs. back, which, characterizing both members of each diphthong in the same way (either both front or both back), allows us to make a fundamental distinction between the diphthong *au* (back) and the other two (both front). Rounding, on the other hand, was relevant only insofar as it distinguished *ei* (unrounded) from *ey* (rounded), and here, too, only where the second member was concerned ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾, while tongue height had no relevance at all for the diphthongs as such ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. Thus, the diphthong subsystem of SGT may be illustrated by the following diagram:

	FRONT	BACK
	UNROUNDED	ROUNDED
	ei	ey au

It goes without saying that all three diphthongs were falling. Actually, the system is essentially the same as the one generally accepted for the earliest

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Contrary to the assumption in H. Benediktsson 1959 (pp. 296-97), the present arrangement clearly implies that short *o* was still a mid vowel and, consequently, that the primary tonality feature in the short subsystem was, as in the long one, front vs. back. There is, in fact, no tangible evidence that short *o* had become, already at this time, a low vowel.

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Lip position in the first member was determined, at least in some varieties of Icelandic, by that of the second member. This is shown by such notations as 'eo_y, ø_y' for the rounded diphthong *ey* (see, for example, K. Gíslason 1846 p. 26). The same also applied to the back diphthong *au*, for which spellings like 'ou, ou' were not infrequent (see *ibid.* p. 25).

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ This also seems to be supported by the notation of the front diphthongs, oscillating between 'ei' and 'æi' and between 'ey' and 'æy' respectively (the Cod. Worm. provides abundant evidence of this peculiarity).

attested stage of Icelandic (i.e., for the period around 1150) and also supported by the evidence of FGT ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾; the only difference lies perhaps in the disappearance of the so-called 'rising diphthongs', which, at the time SGT was written, had definitively turned into combinations of consonant + vowel (cf. § 3.1.2.3d above) and for which, in any case, the setting up of a separate subsystem does not seem sufficiently justified ⁽¹¹⁰⁾.

3.4.2. Consonant Inventory

The most detailed piece of information, and practically the only significant one, furnished by the author of SGT about consonant letters concerns their position in the word. In spite of its importance as the basic criterion for the whole system of letter classification set forth in the treatise, this aspect is actually not particularly helpful in establishing the value of the underlying phonemes. On the other hand, the consonant system of medieval Icelandic, as compared with the vowel system, shows, on the whole, a relatively simple and regular development. Therefore it is possible, when a minimum quantity of specific data is available, to reconstruct its fundamental outlines at any given time with sufficient reliability. This is in fact the case for the consonant inventory in SGT, which may be set forth within a system of distinctive features such as the following:

	LABIAL	DENTAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOP	p/b	t/d	k<k,c,q>/g	
FRICATIVE	f/v	þ<þ,ð>		h
SIBILANT		s		
TRILL		r		
LATERAL		l		
NASAL	m	n		

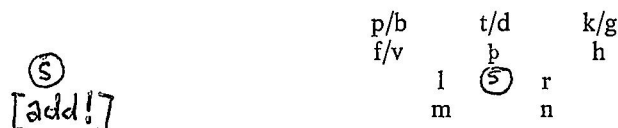
(The slanting stroke indicates that the pairs of consonants involved entered into voice correlation ⁽¹¹¹⁾. The notation used by the author of

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ See H. Benediktsson 1972 pp. 163-64.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ See *ibid.* pp. 164-65.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ The term 'voice' is used here in a purely conventional sense. There are good reasons to believe (mainly on the basis of consonantal features in Modern Icelandic) that, at least as far as stops are concerned, the opposition in question consisted not so much in the absence or presence of voice as in a different degree of articulatory power. In other words, the relevant distinctive feature was in all likelihood tense vs. lax, voicing being only a concomitant feature.

SGT is given in angle brackets for those consonants which could be denoted by different symbols according to their position in the word. As regards the point of articulation, it should be observed that the labial feature covers both bi-labial and labio-dental consonants, just as the dental feature includes, in addition to pure dentals, both interdental and alveolar consonants.). A simpler variant of the above diagram could be obtained by shifting the *h* into the column of the velars ⁽¹¹²⁾. In doing this, a feature would be eliminated which had to be set up for a single consonant. We could go even further and place the nasals *m* and *n* at equal distance from the central column and, finally, arrange the liquids *l* and *r* in a single row ⁽¹¹³⁾, above *m* and *n* respectively. The resulting diagram would be much more symmetrical than the first one, but it would also be devoid of any definite phonological reference:



All of the consonants, except the fricatives *v*, *ɸ*, and *h*, took part in the gemination correlation.

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that the consonant system under discussion is situated precisely half-way between that of the earliest attested stage of Icelandic (as described, for example, in FGT) ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ and that of Modern Icelandic ⁽¹¹⁵⁾. It differs from the former in the presence of a voiced element in the series of fricatives, viz. *v* (formerly only a positional variant of *f*), and from the latter in the absence of *j* (which, as pointed out in § 3.1.2.3d above, was still regarded as a combinatorial variant of the vowel *i* at the time SGT was written).

3.5. DATING SGT

Unlike the other three Icelandic grammatical treatises, SGT does not contain any direct historical reference which could constitute a dependable, if approximate, starting point towards a chronological

⁽¹¹²⁾ On this possibility, see H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 169.

⁽¹¹³⁾ As in E. Haugen 1972 p. 48.

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ See H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 168.

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ See the diagram in K. Arnason 1980 II p. 120, apart from the phoneme referred to as /g₂/, the inclusion of which is, by the author's own admission (p. 117), merely tentative and, in any case, not supported by convincing arguments.

evaluation of the treatise itself ⁽¹¹⁶⁾. Instead, we must rely exclusively on the internal evidence provided by the treatise, in other words on the relevant data which emerge from an analysis of the orthographic theory expounded therein. Other elements which have, so to speak, a completing function will also prove to be of some help.

Certainly, in establishing a higher limit, or *terminus post quem*, for when SGT was written, the most valuable clue lies in the phoneme inventory to be inferred from the system of vowel symbols proposed by the author, and, in particular, in the phonemic values behind the vowel ligatures. As shown in § 3.1.2.3b above, this inventory is related to a stage of development in the Icelandic vowel system in which the phoneme *ø* had already disappeared, or, more precisely, in which the merger of *ø* and *ē* into *æ* had already occurred. From this it follows that SGT cannot antedate the time in which this merger took place, i.e. approximately the middle of the thirteenth century. The validity of such a limit also seems to be confirmed by other elements inherent in the orthographic system described in the treatise. The following features are particularly indicative in this respect:

(a) the distribution of the symbols 'k' and 'c' in the notation of the voiceless velar stop. This subject has been treated in § 3.1.2.5a above; here it is only relevant to recall that the so-called 'palatal rule', a heritage of the first adaptation of the Latin alphabet to Icelandic ⁽¹¹⁷⁾, was no longer observed in SGT; another was introduced in its place, according to which the use of one or the other symbol depended exclusively on the position of the phoneme *k* in the word, irrespective of its phonetic environment. As the investigation of several manuscripts has shown ⁽¹¹⁸⁾, the first clear traces of the application of this rule date from about the middle of the thirteenth century.

(b) the presence of the letter 'ð'. Although a regular use of this symbol is attested in Icelandic manuscripts already from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, it was not very widespread until the middle of the same century ⁽¹¹⁹⁾. True, it has been claimed that it was the author of

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ For FGT see H. Benediktsson 1972 pp. 23-24. As far as TGT is concerned, our knowledge of its author and his life is itself sufficient to grant us an almost certain knowledge of when it was written (see B. M. Olsen 1884 pp. xxxv-xxxvii and F. Jónsson 1927 p. 7). For FoGT, see B. M. Olsen 1884 p. xliii.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ See H. Benediktsson 1965 pp. 30-32.

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ G. Lindblad 1954 pp. 197-99.

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ The earliest MS containing 'ð', the codex AM.279a, 4to (hand I), is from about 1210 (cf. H. Spehr 1929 p. 25 and H. Benediktsson 1965 p. 43). Yet, as Spehr observed, the orthography of this MS shows too many traces of Norwegian influence to be regarded as indisputable evidence of Icelandic writing. Thus, the earliest certain source for the use of the letter 'ð' on Icelandic soil is to be considered hand III of the Reykjaholtsmáldagi, written between 1224 and 1241.

SGT himself who introduced the use of the letter 'ð' into Icelandic (and, on this sole basis, the treatise has also been dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century) ⁽¹²⁰⁾. But, as correctly pointed out by FJ (p. xxix), there is not a shred of evidence in SGT which allows such an inference; on the contrary, the totally unemphatic way in which this letter is mentioned together with the other *undirstafir* leads us to believe that it had long been in current use when the treatise was composed.

(c) the shape of the Tironian nota, which shows a bar across the vertical stroke. This feature was introduced into Icelandic writing in about the middle of the thirteenth century (see § 3.1.2.5b above). It must be admitted, however, that this point is not as probative as the preceding ones; the abbreviation might well have appeared in the original of SGT in its primitive shape (without cross-bar), and then have been modified in the course of later transcriptions (by U's scribe, for instance).

Finally, another useful chronological indication, of an extra-linguistic nature this time, can be drawn from the analysis of the introductory section of the treatise. As shown in § 3.2 above, the classification of sounds set forth by the author of SGT has some connections, although they are only indirect and rather vague, with thirteenth-century logical and rhetorical doctrines. Since the writings of this type with which SGT shows the closest affinity date precisely from the middle of the thirteenth century, it seems reasonable to infer that the treatise, too, was not written before that time.

All of the elements mentioned above seem to indicate a time around the middle of the thirteenth century or slightly posterior, and can therefore be put together to establish a *terminus post quem* for the composition of SGT, which can thus be placed at approximately 1250.

The criteria which can be adduced in determining a lower chronological limit, or *terminus ante quem*, are considerably less well-defined. Two points may be useful. The first again involves one of the elements which have been brought in above for the determination of the *terminus post quem*, viz. the distribution of the letters 'k' and 'c'. The second concerns the use of majuscules for the notation of geminate consonants. The rule governing the distribution of 'k' and 'c' according to position in the word — which, as noted above, was already in use by the middle of the thirteenth century — was gradually abandoned towards 1300, and 'c' was replaced by 'k' in all of its occurrences ⁽¹²¹⁾. It must therefore be assumed that SGT was written before the definitive disappearance of this rule. As

⁽¹²⁰⁾ See § 1.3 above, n. 20.

⁽¹²¹⁾ The use of 'c' was only maintained for a while in the notation of the geminate *kk*, i.e. in the clusters 'cc', 'ck', and 'cq' (before consonantal *u*), and in a few other cases (see G. Lindblad 1954 pp. 198-99 and H. Benediktsson 1965 pp. 78-79).

for the use of majuscule letters to denote geminate consonants, this practice, which can be traced back to the author of FGT (see § 3.1.2.4 above), began to become increasingly rare in the third quarter of the thirteenth century and had practically disappeared at the beginning of 1300 ⁽¹²²⁾. Accordingly, SGT, which still mentions this type of notation but slightly prefers the more traditional system of double minuscules, is likely to have been composed before this practice became totally extinguished.

Although relevant, these two criteria are clearly insufficient to determine a *terminus ante quem* with a reasonable degree of precision. Therefore, it is perhaps not reckless, nor too precipitate, to assert that what has been said in this connection about FGT ⁽¹²³⁾ can also be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to SGT: namely, that the only fully certain *terminus ante quem* for the composition of SGT is represented by the date of the oldest manuscript in which it is preserved (i.e., the Codex Upsaliensis), which, as previously mentioned (§ 1.4.1), can be traced back to the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

It seems extremely difficult to bring SGT's actual date of composition any closer to one or the other of the two limits set up above. The only useful consideration which can be made in this respect derives once more from observing the phoneme inventory underlying the notation of vowels set up by the author of the treatise. As stated above, the merger in the Icelandic vowel system of *ø* and *ē* into *æ* took place in the middle of the thirteenth century. Now, experience in historical linguistics shows that, between the moment in which a certain linguistic change occurs for the first time and the date by which it becomes fully internalized by the community of speakers (and, consequently, registered in grammars), a certain period of time is bound to elapse. Accordingly, in respect to the change under examination, it seems likely that it was well into the second half of the thirteenth century before it became fully established and therefore ripe for being taken into account by an orthographic treatise. In other words, it may be reasonably assumed that SGT, which presents, precisely, the first official codification of this linguistic fact, was not written before one or two decades after the middle of the thirteenth century, i.e. not before 1270.

A comparison with TGT in this connection is particularly significant. In a passage dealing with the nature of the 'diphthongs' (i.e., vowel sounds denoted by ligatures) in Icelandic ⁽¹²⁴⁾, the author of TGT states that forms like *løkr* ('brook') and *øgr* ('terrible') are preferable to *lækr* and

⁽¹²²⁾ See H. Benediktsson 1965 pp. 82-84.

⁽¹²³⁾ H. Benediktsson 1972 p. 25.

⁽¹²⁴⁾ Ed. B. M. Ólsen 1884 49:50-55.

ægr, respectively, because they “seem to sound sweeter” (*þegra þykkir hljóða*). The passage as a whole is, indeed, not entirely perspicuous; yet, whatever its precise meaning may be, one thing is clear: at the time TGT was composed the two pronunciations still coexisted, that is to say, there was still oscillation between *ð* and *þ*, and the more archaic pronunciation was apparently considered, at least by TGT’s author, the preferable one. In other words, the merger of *ð* and *þ* to *æ*, although in an advanced stage of development, had not yet been definitively established. This obviously leads to an important consequence with regard to what is generally believed to be the chronological relationship between SGT and TGT. While there is no doubt that SGT was posterior to FGT and prior to FoGT (traditionally dated ca. 1150 and ca. 1350, respectively), it cannot be asserted with equal certainty that it was also prior to TGT. In fact, there are good reasons to believe that TGT was written at some time between 1245 and 1252⁽¹²⁵⁾. But, as we have seen above, only a very early dating of SGT could lead us to trace its time of composition back to this period. It is, instead, much more likely that it was written considerably later, when certain linguistic features, both phonological and purely orthographic, to which it bears witness had become quite widespread. The view that SGT and TGT were virtually contemporaneous is, after all, not completely new: it had already been expressed by FJ (p. xxx), chiefly because of certain correspondences between both the structure and the technical terminology of the two treatises⁽¹²⁶⁾. The same FJ referred to the introductory section of SGT as an ‘echo’ of the first chapter in TGT (*ibid.*), which suggests that he, too, was privately convinced that SGT was later than TGT.

Thus, if we sum up the various elements which have emerged from the above discussion, it is possible to conclude that the most likely time of origin of SGT is to be placed between about 1270 and 1300, or within the last three decades of the thirteenth century.

In conclusion, mention may be made of the datings of SGT proposed by previous scholars. The very first editors, S. Egilsson and J. Sigurðsson, maintained, largely on the assumption that it had been the author of SGT to introduce the letter ‘ð’ into the Icelandic alphabet, that SGT’s origins should be traced back to ca. 1200⁽¹²⁷⁾. Such an early dating was first challenged by J. Hoffory⁽¹²⁸⁾, who, because of the rules furnished by the

⁽¹²⁵⁾ See B. M. Olsen 1884 pp. xxxv-xxxvii.

⁽¹²⁶⁾ Cf. F. Jónsson 1933 p. 4, where this opinion is reaffirmed.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ See, respectively, SE p. 249 and ESS.II pp. v and 44n1 (cf. B. M. Olsen 1884 p. xxix). This standpoint has been re-proposed in recent times by A. Holtsmark (1960 col. 416), but without discussion; at any rate, this is an isolated case.

⁽¹²⁸⁾ In a letter cited in K. Müllenhoff 1883 pp. 209-10.

treatise with regard to the distribution of ‘þ’ and ‘ð’, asserted that “älter als 1215 kann also der tractat nicht sein, aber wohl etwas jünger.”⁽¹²⁹⁾. From then onwards, the second quarter of the thirteenth century has generally been regarded as the most likely date for SGT⁽¹³⁰⁾. The only notable exception is represented by the dating advanced by FJ (see above), which is closer than any of the others to the one proposed here. After having explained the reason why, according to him, SGT could in no way be prior to the third decade of the thirteenth century, FJ concluded that the point in time which best accounted for both the type of learning reflected in the treatise and its elements in common with TGT was the mid-thirteenth century (p. xxx). Another opinion concerning the dating of SGT which deserves to be examined more closely because of its indirect implications, is the one occurring in S. Egilsson’s previously mentioned edition. It reads, translated into English⁽¹³¹⁾:

The second orthographic treatise, ..., I think, was originally written about 1200 by a different author than the one of the first treatise. This man must have had the latter before his eyes and copied out the chapter ... [ref. to Cod. Worm. 92:16/93:10 and to the corresponding passage in FGT] literally; however, another man took up this treatise much later, adding remarks about sounds and comparing language to the sound of musical instruments.

Egilsson’s remarks obviously refer to W’s version only, as comes out still more explicitly in his subsequent discussion. Nevertheless, the following consideration should be attentively borne in mind. The idea that SGT is the final result of successive elaborations effected at different times, and that it therefore goes back to a much earlier date than the currently accepted one (and, particularly, than the one proposed here), although not inadmissible in itself, cannot be demonstrated on the basis of the concrete data at our disposal. Therefore we must accept the text of SGT as we

⁽¹²⁹⁾ *Ibid.* p. 210n.

⁽¹³⁰⁾ See, for example, S. Nordal 1931 p. 13. EM’s position in this regard can only be indirectly inferred from his discussion of the authorship of SGT. As will be seen more clearly in the next section, Mogk ascribed the paternity of SGT, which he considered a mere introduction to the Háttatal’s commentary (cf. § 1.2 above), to Snorri himself. Now, we know that Snorri wrote the Háttatal in 1222-23 and the commentary some time later (see J. de Vries 1964-67 II pp. 229-31). Accordingly, since Snorri died in 1241, the SGT should necessarily have been written in the period included between these two dates. This, however, would only apply to the original draft of the treatise. As regards those sections which, according to Mogk, were added by a ‘later re-elaborator’ (p. 158), it is not clear whether the latter ostensibly operated while Snorri was still alive (since he was supposed to be one of his disciples) or after Snorri’s death. At any rate, the period in question coincides roughly with the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

⁽¹³¹⁾ SE pp. 249-50 (the translation is my own).

actually know it from the two extant versions, i.e. in what can be called, if one likes, its 'definitive' form. It seems necessary to insist on this point, all the more in that the above argument could apply equally well to any text which does not explicitly contain the authentic signature of its author — a far from infrequent case in the ancient and medieval manuscript tradition.

3.6. THE QUESTION OF THE AUTHOR

The only Old Icelandic grammatical treatise which has come down to us with the name of its author is TGT; it was written by Óláfr Þórðarson, the famous scald and Snorri's favourite nephew. The other three are anonymous. This, of course, has not prevented scholars from making conjectures about the identity of their respective authors⁽¹³²⁾. Yet the attempts which have been made so far — especially in connection with the authorship of FGT — show what an arduous, if not to say impossible, undertaking this is. However, as has been pointed out correctly⁽¹³³⁾, knowledge of the author's name is a fairly marginal datum, the lack of which, although regrettable, does not, in a case like this, seriously endanger our understanding and full appreciation of the work. At any rate, the search for a possible candidate entails an effort which is out of all proportion to the actual benefits which may derive from it, not to mention the fact that such a search very often comes down to little more than guess-work. This, together with the fact that the relevant evidence furnished by SGT is even more scanty than that of the other treatises, explains why the question of the author has been kept in the background, if not totally ignored, by most previous commentators. Finally, it goes without saying that every hypothesis which can be put forward about the authorship of an anonymous work is necessarily conditioned by the dating of the work itself. Since the various suppositions to date concerning the

⁽¹³²⁾ For FGT, see the survey in H. Benediktsson 1972 pp. 202-203. As regards FoGT, the names of Bergr Sökkason, abbot of the monastery at Munka-Þverá (SE pp. 250-51; cf. B. M. Olsen 1884 pp. lxxvii-lxxx) and of the monk Árni, the natural son of Bishop Laurentius Kálffson (EM pp. 132-34), have been proposed; in either case, however, the candidate in question is also supposed to be the author of the Prologue to the four treatises in the Codex Wormianus, the re-elaborator of W's version of SGT, and the copyist, as well, of the Codex Wormianus (cf. ESS.II pp. iv and 191n1, and S. Nordal 1931 p. 16). Concerning the authorship of SGT, see below.

⁽¹³³⁾ E. Haugen 1972 p. 4 and, still more incisively, H. Benediktsson 1972 pp. 189 and 202.

authorship of SGT start from different chronological premises, it follows that they are not directly comparable.

The only concrete attempt to give a name to the author of SGT was made by EM (pp. 145-49), who maintained that Snorri composed at least a first draft of the treatise. His arguments in favour of this thesis were principally two: (a) the style of the treatise, which, especially in the introductory section, shows some similarities with other parts of the Edda, and (b) the alleged utilization of SGT on the part of Óláfr Þórðarson (the author of TGT), who "in Snorris sinne die wissenschaftlichen pläne des oheims fortsetzte" (p. 146) and "sich fast überall bei seinen arbeiten Snorri zum vorbild nahm" (p. 149). The first argument was decidedly insufficient and could easily be rebutted by F. Jónsson (1898 p. 327). As for the second point, it must be noted that EM assumed that certain parts of TGT were based on SGT mainly because he was not able to indicate a common source for both treatises. EM's assertions, however, were only intended to apply to a few sections of SGT, because, as already observed (§§ 1.2 and 1.5.1 above), he was of the opinion that the text of SGT as preserved in the Codex Upsaliensis was the result of a later elaboration, which was actually more or less contemporaneous with Snorri's work (see § 3.5 n. 130)⁽¹³⁴⁾. In any case, leaving aside value judgements on the validity of EM's reasoning, the dating of SGT which is maintained in the present work, like the one already proposed by FJ (see § 3.5 above), leads to the exclusion of Snorri (d. 1241) as the author of SGT or any parts thereof. Other scholars dealing with SGT have either limited themselves to noting its anonymity⁽¹³⁵⁾ or have only faced the problem vaguely and indirectly. Thus, F. Jónsson's reference to SGT's introductory remarks on sounds as an echo of the initial chapter in TGT (cf. § 3.5 above), and more precisely, his picturing SGT as "et lærd arbejde, opstået i en skole som Olaf hvitaskalds" (1898 p. 327) could lead to assume that he might have considered SGT the work of a disciple or collaborator of Óláfr Þórðarson⁽¹³⁶⁾. S. Nordal, on the other hand, echoing EM's position,

⁽¹³⁴⁾ The point of departure of EM's reasoning concerning the authorship of SGT is very likely to be sought in O. Brenner 1888. At the end of his discussion of SGT's aim (p. 280), Brenner put forward the hypothesis that the treatise could have been written, on Snorri's behalf, by the same person to whom Snorri entrusted the writing of the commentary to the Háttatal (i.e., by one of Snorri's collaborators), while Snorri himself could, at the most, have jotted down the two illustrative figures.

⁽¹³⁵⁾ See, for example, ESS.II pp. v and 45n1.

⁽¹³⁶⁾ It may be interesting to note, in this connection, that in a passage in Þorgils saga skarða mention is made of a priest by the name of Þorsteinn tittlingr, who "hafði verit til kennslu í Stafaholt með Óláfi Þórðarsyni" (*Sturlunga saga*, ed.

wondered whether Snorri could have had anything to do with SGT, and thought it possible that the treatise could have been written by one of Snorri's scribes (1931 p. 13).

Concerning the intellectual make-up of SGT's author, there has been general agreement among scholars that he was a man of clerical education. The only exception is represented by EM, whose position in this regard is indissolubly linked to his viewpoint about the author's identity. The connection with the ecclesiastical milieu has been arrived at because of the author's familiarity with music and musical instruments (in particular with the *simphónie*, which, as mentioned in § 3.1.3 above, was a typical church instrument) and also through his apparent acquaintance with contemporary philosophical theories concerning language. This, however, does not seem to warrant maintaining, as has been done⁽¹³⁷⁾, that he was actually a clergyman. The origins of this widespread opinion doubtless lie in the excessive weight initially attributed to W's version in studies on SGT. However, while the re-elaborator of W was almost certainly a cleric (or a monk, as EM so eagerly maintained) — and the clearly devotional tone of the statements at its beginning and end bear this out — we have nothing entitling us to believe the same about the author of the treatise. True, music was an art which, in medieval Iceland, was cultivated almost exclusively within religious communities. But it is equally true that the learned men of this time had almost always received their education within the walls of a cathedral or monastic school. Therefore, it would not be surprising that a layman, too, could refer to an object such as the *simphónie*, traditionally belonging to the ecclesiastical world. This is all the more so in that the description of the instrument in SGT is a very simple one, having the sole pretense of providing a practical illustration of the way in which letters combine into syllables⁽¹³⁸⁾. The same applies to the author's knowledge of logical and rhetorical writings. Thus the assumption that he was a clergyman, although very likely, is not absolutely inevitable.

In a brief review of the teaching of grammar in medieval Iceland and the schools in which it was imparted, B. M. Ólsen (1884) observed that "Hvis vi kendte forfatterne til de øvrige grammatiske afhandlinger [i.e., of FGT, SGT, and FoGT], vilde vi utvivlsomt finde, at de enten havde studeret eller undervist ved en eller anden sådan skole." (pp. xx-xxi). It is indeed quite probable that the identity of SGT's author lies hidden behind one of the many names of clerics and conventuals — especially those who figure

1953-54, III pp. 296-97).

⁽¹³⁷⁾ B. M. Ólsen 1884 p. xxxii and, repeatedly, F. Jónsson 1886 p. xxx, 1898 p. 328, and 1920-24 p. 917.

⁽¹³⁸⁾ It could be noted further that, at the time SGT was written, the *simphónie* was in all likelihood already in decline as a church instrument (cf. § 3.1.3 above).

as headmasters or school-teachers — mentioned in contemporary historical sources, pre-eminently in the later sagas of the Icelandic bishops. Since the manuscript containing the older version of SGT, and the one which is also closer to the original, seems to come from south-western Iceland (see § 1.4.1 above), it could be reasonably assumed that the author of SGT also operated in this region. This would inevitably lead to associating him with the episcopal see of Skálholt or with one of the educational centres which gravitated around it. In this connection it may be useful to recall that Óláfr Þórðarson ran a school at Stafaholt at the beginning of the second half of the thirteenth century. Although excluding, for chronological reasons (see § 3.5 above), that SGT could have been written by Óláfr himself or by one of his collaborators, it would not be theoretically impossible that the treatise was the work of one of Óláfr's later disciples. This would substantiate to some extent FJ's standpoint referred to above. Another prominent figure in the field of education, who operated mostly in this region during the second half of the thirteenth century, was Árni Þorláksson. His name was principally linked with the diocese of Skálholt, where he was first coadjutor of Bishop Sigvarðr Þéttmarsson (1267-68) and then bishop himself (1269-98)⁽¹³⁹⁾. As a young cleric, Árni had been a pupil of the abbot Brandr Jónsson (later bishop of Hólar) at Þykkvabær. It is probable that he went on attending personally to the teaching at Skálholt's cathedral school even when he was bishop; no school-teacher is explicitly mentioned as being in his service.

The fact remains, however, that it is impossible to say what itineraries the text of SGT followed in the earliest stages of manuscript transmission. Nothing assures us that the original of the treatise was not written in quite another place, all the more in that staff exchanges, and cultural relationships in general, between the various educational centres of the country were particularly frequent and intense. Furthermore, it seems that cultural activity in this very period was, all in all, more lively in the north than in the south of Iceland. Historical sources give three teachers operating in northern Iceland during the period in question. The first was a 'private' teacher (i.e., a teacher not directly dependent upon Hólar's episcopal see), namely the Rev. Þórarinn Egilsson kaggi, the great-uncle and first preceptor of Laurentius Kálfsson (the future bishop of Hólar). We know that he ran a school at Vellir í Svarfardal up to the time Laurentius reached the age of ten, i.e. until about 1277, after which he

⁽¹³⁹⁾ Before being assigned to Skálholt, he had also acted, for a period of three years (ca. 1264-67), as plenipotentiary supervisor of Hólar's episcopal see which had become vacant after the death of Bishop Brandr Jónsson (*Byskupa sögur*, ed. 1953, I pp. 291-93).

died⁽¹⁴⁰⁾. The second, the Rev. Óblauður Hallvarðsson¹ was in charge of teaching at Hólar's cathedral school under the bishop Jörundur Þorsteinsson, to whom he was closely related. He was the second teacher of Laurentius Kálffsson, and it is precisely in this function that we hear of him in the saga of Bishop Laurentius⁽¹⁴¹⁾. Since Laurentius was not much older than ten when he entered the episcopal school at Hólar, it may be inferred that Óblauður was active there around 1280. The third was Laurentius Kálffsson himself. As soon as he was ordained priest (1288), he was appointed *skólameistari* at Hólar by Bishop Jörundur, thus coming to occupy the post which had previously belonged to his master⁽¹⁴²⁾. He maintained this office for three years. Later (1311-1315) he also taught in several monasteries (Þykkvabær, Munka-Þverá, and Þingeyrar)⁽¹⁴³⁾. As can be seen, he kept on with his school-teaching activities until shortly before he was consecrated bishop (1324).

In conclusion, we must take up once more a topic touched upon in § 1.4.1 in the discussion of one of the manuscripts containing SGT. This is the question concerning the name *Gunnarr* which appears in the Codex Upsaliensis immediately after the end of the treatise. As we saw there, this name seems to originate from the exemplar from which the text of SGT was copied. While it must be excluded that *Gunnarr* is the name of SGT's author (since, as was pointed out, U's model could not be the original of the treatise), the *Gunnarr* in question could, on the other hand, be the owner — and therefore, very probably, the copyist, too — of that very exemplar, i.e. of the manuscript denoted as *a* in the two diagrams in § 1.4.4 above. In other words, he could be the scribe of the archetype of the two extant versions of SGT. In fact, this name is the only direct clue which might enable us to come reasonably close to finding the author of the treatise. If we knew something more about *Gunnarr*, we could perhaps draw much more convincing conclusions about SGT's place of origin and cultural environment.

⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ *Byskupa sögur*, ed. 1953, III pp. 2 and 6-7.

⁽¹⁴¹⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 7-8.

⁽¹⁴²⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 8 and 10.

⁽¹⁴³⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 58-63.

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INDEXES

INDEX OF WORDS AND TOPICS

Words occurring in SGT are printed in italics. Reference numbers, also italicized, indicate the lines of the Restored Text. Other references indicate pages, including footnotes. As regards alphabetical order, the same criteria have been followed as in the Bibliography.

- accidentia* (Lat.): 2; *see also* Attributes.
Ættartala Sturlunga: 12.
amen (Lat.): 100.
 Anglo-Saxon letters: 101.
 Archetype: 18.
 Article, suffixed: 50, 51.
atkvaði: 18, 61; 116, 120.
 Attributes (of letters): 4.

bókstafr: 117.
brevis (Lat.): 116, 120.

 Capital letters: 83, 95; *see also* Majuscule letters.
capitales, litterae (Lat.): 58.
 Caroline 'v': 82.
 chifonie (French): 104.
 Codex Regius (of Snorri's Edda): 21.
 Codex Upsaliensis: 5-8, 10-14, 16, 17, 21-23, 129, 133, 136.
 Codex Wormianus: 1, 2, 10, 14-17, 21, 22, 124, 132.
 consonans (Lat.): 116.

diphthongus (Lat.): 116.
 Diphthongs: 86-94, 111, 118, 119, 124, 129.
 Rising — 93, 125.
diptongus: 116, 118, 119.
 Discourse: 59, 95.
draga: 54; 120, 121.
dreginn: 53; 116, 120, 121.
Drehleier (Germ.): 105; *cf* Radleier.

ed: 102.
 Edda: *see* Snorri's Edda.

 First Grammatical Treatise (FGT): 1-5, 9, 14, 16, 22, 24, 43, 69, 94, 95, 99, 101-103, 107, 110, 111, 114-118, 122, 125-127, 129, 130, 132.
 Fourth Grammatical Treatise (FoGT): 1, 2, 5, 22, 127, 130, 132.
framfæra: 116, 119.
framfæring: 116, 120.
framflytia: 116, 119.
framflytning: 116, 120.
 French: 104.

 Geminata correlation: 126.
ghironda (Ital.): 104.
 Greek philosophers: 4, 77, 78.
 Greek uncial 'k': 35, 43, 67.
grein: 32, 33, 37, 53; 115.

hættir ('metres'): 7.
Háttalykill: 7.
Háttatal: 4, 5-8, 23, 50, 98, 121, 131, 133.
 Headings: 7, 8, 21.
henda: 25.
hending: 73, 77, 78, 79; 8.
 High German:
 Old — 73;
 Middle — 105.
hljóð: 2, 3, 4, 7, 15, 31, 36, 39, 67, 70, 76, 83, 84, 88; 79, 115, 117, 120.

- hljóðsgrein*: 1, 2 (*grein hljóðs*), 9, 15; 7, 8.
- hljóðstafr*: 32, 35, 41, 42, 45, 53, 56, 65, 71, 73, 78, 80, 82, 86; 84, 115-119, 121.
- höfuðstafr*: 58, 82, 83.
- Hurdy-Gurdy: 104, 105; *see also* Organistrum, *simphón(ie)*, Symphony.
- Icelandic:
- alphabet 9, 10, 130.
 - language 1, 3, 9, 10, 87, 88, 103, 121, 123, 125-127.
 - writing 3, 91, 95, 103, 111, 127, 128; *see also* Orthography.
- Modern — 12, 98, 102, 117, 125, 126.
- Icelandic bishops, sagas of: 135.
- Insular 'v': 30, 32, 38, 59, 82.
- knattleikr: 80.
- kveða (at): 116, 120.
- langr: 116, 120.
- Latin:
- alphabet 3, 94, 101-103, 115, 119, 121, 123, 127.
 - grammar 3-5, 10, 98, 108, 110, 115, 117, 119, 121.
 - grammarians 77, 78, 107-109.
 - language 108.
 - writing 99, 100, 103.
- lausaklofi*: 38, 46; 89, 91-93, 116, 118, 121.
- leiða*: 54, 56; 116, 119-121.
- leiðingar*: *see* *ordaleiðingar*.
- límingarstafr*: 116, 118, 119, 121.
- límingr*: 34, 36; 84, 89, 116, 118, 119, 121.
- lira* (Swed.): 104.
- lire* (Dan./Norw.): 104.
- Lögsögumannatal*: 12.
- Logic: 108.
- longa* (Lat.): 116, 120.
- Loop-Symbols: 86, 91, 111.
- Low German, Middle: 73, 105.
- lykill* (*f simphón(ie)*): 26, 70, 71, 74, 75, 81, 83; 106.
- lykkja*: 37.
- Majuscule letters: 10, 66, 67, 95, 96, 110, 128.
- mál*: 7, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 30, 70; 79.
- gera* — 25, 30, 48, 72; 115.
- skipta* —i 56; 115.
- málstafr*: 29, 42, 43, 44, 60, 61, 63, 71, 72, 79, 81, 82, 87; 83, 106, 116-119, 121.
- Manuscripts containing SGT:
- AM.158, 8vo. 16.
 - AM.166a, 8vo. 16.
 - AM.242, fol. *see* Codex Wormianus.
 - AM.753, 4to. 16, 68.
 - AM.913, 4to. 16, 68.
 - DG.11 (4to) *see* Codex Upsaliensis.
 - Ny kgl. sml. 1878a, 4to. 16.
 - Papp. 4:o nr 49 (Stockholm, Royal Libr.) 16, 68.
 - R:683 (Uppsala, Univ. Libr.) 14, 16.
- Marginal signs: 58.
- Metrics, scaldic: 5-8.
- Minuscules, double: *see* Majuscule letters.
- Modistae: 108.
- Monophthongization: 87.
- Music: 79, 114, 134.
- al instruments 3, 77, 79, 80, 103, 106, 109, 111, 113, 114, 134.
 - al manuscripts 111, 114.
- músika*: 71; 72.
- músika*(list): 72.
- músi*: 72.
- Mythology, early Scandinavian: 1.
- Nasal stroke: 100.
- Norwegian writing: 127.
- Old Swedish laws: 103.
- ord*: 17, 18, 19, 24, 44, 48, 49, 50, 60.
- ordaleiðingar*: 56; 116, 120.
- Organistrum: 104-106; *see also* Hurdy-Gurdy, *simphón(ie)*, Symphony.
- Orthography, Icelandic: 2, 3, 7, 9, 10.

- Palatal rule: 99, 127.
- Parts of speech: 2, 4.
- Poetry, early Scandinavian, scaldic: 1, 5, 6, 94, 98; *see also* Metrics.
- profero* (Lat.): 116, 119.
- prolatio* (Lat.): 116.
- Prologue (to the four Grammatical Treatises): 132.
- pronuntiatio* (Lat.): 116.
- pronuntio* (Lat.): 116.
- Prose Edda: *see* Snorri's Edda.
- Quantity correlation: 123.
- raddarstafr*: 115-117.
- Radleier (Germ.): 104; *cf* Drehleier.
- rega*: 71, 72, 77 (*regustreng*); 72, 73.
- Rhetoric: 2, 108.
- Rhyme: 8, 98.
- rödd*: 10, 12, 13, 15; 78, 79, 115; (= *raddarstafr*) 115, 116, 119.
- Runes: 4, 58, 101, 117-119, 121.
- samhljóðandi*: 116, 117.
- samhljóð(i)*: 116, 117.
- samstafr*: 42, 66, 68; 115.
- samstöfun*: 63.
- Scaldic poetry: *see* Poetry.
- Semivowels: 92-94.
- Significance: 77-79; 109.
- simphón(ie)*: 26, 75, 82; 105, 134; *see also* Hurdy-Gurdy, Organistrum, Symphony.
- Skáldatal*: 12.
- skammr*: 116, 120.
- skipting*: 46.
- skiptingr*: 41; 86, 92, 116, 119, 121.
- skothening*: 98.
- Small capitals: *see* Majuscule letters.
- Snorri's Edda: 1, 4-9, 12, 14, 20-23, 50, 133; *see also* Háttatal.
- söng*: 8; 72.
- sonus* (Lat.): 78, 117.
- Sound: 2-4, 78, 79, 84, 108-110, 112-117, 122, 133.
- Speech, human: 77-79, 113.
- stafa*: 78.
- stafasetning*: 70, 80; 6, 8.
- stafr*: 7, 24, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 38, 40, 41, 48, 54, 58, 59, 64, 65, 66; 62, 84, 115, 117.
- streng*: 26 (*hörpu*—), 76 (*regu*—), 82; 106.
- stryk*, merkja með —i: 121.
- stungið 'd': 102.
- Stylistics: 2.
- stytt*: 53; 116, 120, 121.
- Syllable: 2, 4, 84, 97, 98, 102, 118.
- symphonia* (Lat.): 105, 108.
- symphonie* (French): 104.
- Symphony: 104, 105; *see also* Hurdy-Gurdy, Organistrum, *simphón(ie)*.
- þe: 101.
- Third Grammatical Treatise (TGT): 1-5, 9, 14, 22, 98, 101, 110, 114-121, 127, 129-133.
- Tironian nota: 43, 99, 128.
- titull*: 69; 96, 111.
- Trivium: 10.
- tvíhljóðr: 116, 118.
- Umlauted vowels: 10, 87-89.
- undirstafr*: 64, 68; 96, 98, 103, 116, 119, 128.
- vaff: 101.
- v'el' (Russ.): 104.
- Versification: 4; *see also* Metrics.
- vielle à roue* (French): 104.
- vocalis* (Lat.): 115-117.
- Voice: 77-79, 108, 109.
- Vowel quantity: 94, 95, 110, 120.
- vox* (Lat.): 77, 115.
- wen ~ wyn(n) (Old English): 101.
- zanfonía (Span.): 104.
- zeta (Greek-Latin): 102.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Absalon, Archbishop: 72.
Aristotle: 78, 108, 113.
Árnrgrfmur Jónsson the Learned: 15.
Árni Laurentiusson, monk: 132.
Árni Magnússon: 15-16.
Árni Þorláksson, bishop of Skálaholt: 135.

Bacon: *see* Roger.
Bergr Sökkason, abbot of Munka-Þverá: 132.
Boethius, Manlius Severinus: 108, 113, 114.
Borgarfjörður: 12.
Brandr Jónsson, abbot of Þykkvabær and bishop of Hólar: 135.
Brynjólfur Sveinsson, bishop of Skálholt: 12, 13.

De la Gardie, Count Magnus Gabriel: 14.
Diomedes: 109.
Donatus: 108, 110, 113.

England: 101, 104.
Europe: 104, 108.

France: 104.

Germany: 104.
Greece, ancient: 77.
Guðbrandur Þorláksson, Bishop: 15.
Gunnarr (presumable owner of an early copy of SGT): 12, 13, 136.

Hispanus: *see* Petrus.
Hólar: 135, 136.
Húnavatnssýsla: 15.

Iceland: 12-15, 80, 134, 135.
Isidore of Seville: 107, 108.

Jörundr Þorsteinsson, bishop of Hólar: 136.
John of Dacia: 108.
Jón Jónsson (*alias* Jonas Rugman): 14.
Jón Egilsson murti: 13.
Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík: 14.
Jón Sigmundsson, lawman: 15.
Jonas Rugman: *see* Jón Jónsson.

Kilwardby: *see* Robert.
Kristína, Queen of Sweden: 13.

Laurentius Kálfsson, bishop of Hólar: 135, 136.

Index of Proper Names

149

Martin of Dacia: 108.
Munka-Þverá, Monastery of: 136.

Norway: 119.

Óblauðr Hallvarðsson, school-teacher at Hólar: 136.
Odo of Cluny, Abbot: 104.
Odo of St. Maur-des-Fossés: 104.
Óláfr Þórðarson hvítaskáld: 5, 15, 132, 133, 135.

Petrus Hispanus: 108, 110.
Plato: 4.
Priscian: 4, 78, 98, 108, 110, 112, 113.
Probus: 78.

Remigius of Auxerre: 113.
Reykjaholt: 9, 12.
Robert Kilwardby: 113.
Roger Bacon: 108-110, 113.
Rúgstaðir: 14.

Scandinavia: 101, 104.
Sigvarðr Þéttmarsson, bishop of Skálaholt: 135.
Skálaholt: 135.
Snorri Sturluson: 1, 6, 8, 12, 13, 23, 106, 131-134.
Stafaholt: 135.
Stephanus, Stephanus Johannis: 12, 13.
Sturlungs: 9, 12.
Sweden: 14.

Þingeyrar, Monastery of: 15, 136.
Þórarinn Egilsson kaggi: 135.
Þorlák, priest (one of Codex Upsalensis' owners): 13.
Þóroddr Gamlason rúnameistari: 4.
Þorsteinn titlingr: 133.
Þykkvabær, Monastery of: 136.

Vellir í Svarfaðardal: 135.
Verelius, Olof: 14.

Worm, Christian, Bishop: 15.
Worm, Ole: 12, 15.

FACSIMILES

Codex Upsaliensis 88-92

(Scale: ca. 1:1,3)

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STAMPATO A FIRENZE
NEGLI STABILIMENTI TIPOLITOGRAFICI
«E. ARIANI» E «L'ARTE DELLA STAMPA»
DELLA S. P. A. ARMANDO PAOLETTI
DICEMBRE 1982