Instances of loanword/native word textual variation in the manuscript transmission of *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* and *Gísla saga Súrssonar*

**Matteo Tarsi**

1. Introduction

This article is concerned with intrastemmatic variation in two sagas of the Icelanders, *Egils saga* and *Gísla saga*. The point of departure for this research is a comprehensive investigation of the interplay between loan words and native words in Old and Middle Icelandic (Tarsi [forthcoming]). Here, the focus will be on a handful of case-studies which can accomodate a primarily philological nature and which involve elements

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1 Intraprostematic variation here is defined as the variation between a loanword and a synonymic native lexeme in a given locus of a text in different manuscript witnesses preserving that very same text. The core idea of the present article was presented at GLAC 22 (2016), the annual conference of the Society for Germanic Linguistics, with the title “Loanwords vs. Native Words in Old and Middle Icelandic: The coexistence and competition of (quasi-) synonymic couples in the texts and the lexicon”.

2 The research project *Loanwords and native words in Old and Middle Icelandic* (2016–2020) documents the coexistence and competition of loanwords and their respective native synonyms across all typologies of Icelandic literary prosa in the period before the rise of purist attitudes in Iceland (end of 16th/beginning of 17th c.). In 2018 the project was awarded a two-year grant from the University of Iceland Research Fund (Háskólasjóður Eimskipafélags Íslands). I wish to thank Andrew Wawn (University of Leeds) for having corrected my English and Dario Bullitta (University of Turin) for the fruitful discussion we had at the *XX Seminario Avanzato in Filologia Germanica* (16–18 September 2019) on a portion of what is presented here.

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to which of the two lexemes, loanword or native word,\(^3\) is the original reading. The methodological approach adopted throughout the analysis takes into consideration both internal and external elements concurring to the right evaluation of a textual variant. One caveat is in order at the outset, namely that variation of loanwords and native words is unrelated to any sort of purist attitude. This holds true both for the original composition of the texts under discussion and for their later copies, on which the present discussion is based.

2. A single case in *Egils saga*:

_buklari* ‘buckler’ and *skjöldr* ‘shield’

A passage in *Egils saga*\(^4\) describing Egill’s combat gear (*ÍF* II: 106\(^1\)) is particularly interesting, in that the text shows intrastemmatic variation:

\(^3\)The typological model adopted in the present research envisages four categories of native words, namely structural calque, semantic calque, neoformation and inherited word. Brief definitions of these terms are as follows:

**structural calque**: a word, usually a compound in the case of Icelandic, whose structure parallels the grammatical and semantic relationship between the constituents of the source word. A structural calque is a word-by-word (or morpheme-by-morpheme) translation of a source word.

**semantic calque**: this involves the reproduction of a previously unknown meaning in a word of native stock.

**neoformation**: a word which cannot be formally traced back to a foreign model, although it may reproduce the semantics thereof, and is limited to the lexical stock of a given language, i.e. it has been coined in that language.

**inherited word**: a lexical item which satisfies the following two conditions: 1) its formal evolution can be either documented or reconstructed in a given language or its direct ancestor; 2) its semantics are explicable in terms of internal reconstruction. The chronological time-limit for words under consideration is here fixed to PGmc. Words which are derived by means of internal process, usually have cognates in other Germanic languages and do not show an obvious link to any foreign source, are treated as inherited lexemes in this study.

\(^4\) *Egils saga* is preserved in three different versions: A, B and C, whose main witnesses are: AM 132 fol. (A version, *Möðruvallabók*, M, 1330–1370, Bjarni Einarsson 2001); Cod. Guelf. 9.10 Aug. 4to (B version, W, ca. 1350, Schwabe 2015); and AM 462 4to (K\(^1\) and K\(^3\), 1620–1670) and AM 453 4to (K\(^2\), 17th c.) (C version, Chesnutt 2006). These last two manuscripts are also known as Ketill’s books after Árni Magnússon’s maternal grandfather Ketill Jörundarson; K\(^3\) is a 17th-century addition to K\(^1\) with a hand different from that of Ketill. This addition was due to the loss of folia at different places (cf. Chesnutt 2006: xxiv). In addition to these main manuscripts, ten fragments have independent value. These have been gathered together in AM 162a fol. and are usually referred to by means of Greek
Instances of loanword/native word textual variation

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The loanword *buklari* is of particular interest, for it only occurs once in the whole text of M and is not found in any of the other fragments of the saga. It can thus be said that *buklari* is a hapax legomenon in the transmission of this saga. The question that arises is whether *buklari* can be considered an original reading in comparison to those others encountered and with particular reference to the C version, where the native word *skjöldr* is used instead.⁵

According to Jón Helgason’s stemma (cf. Chesnutt 2005: 229), the B and C versions derive from a lost exemplar, which in turn derives from the same manuscript as the A version. In order to shed light on the present case, it is notable, firstly, that W preserves a text which is somewhat shorter than the versions in M and K. This is an important feature of W, which consistently shortens the text of the saga (cf. Finnur Jónsson 1886–1888: xx). The portion of text under discussion has infact features similar to the two examples adduced by Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: xxi) to make his point. The *lectio* in W can thus be considered as spurious for it follows a general tendency encountered in the B version of the saga letters (α–κ). Of these fragments, the oldest is θ, from 1240–1260 (A version). The other fragments are grouped as follows: η (ca. 1450–1475), ι (15th c.) (A version); β (ca. 1350), γ (ca. 1300–1325), δ (ca. 1300), ζ (1250–1300), ι (15th c.) (B version); α (16th c.), ε (ca. 1400) (C version). Among other manuscripts, Stock. perg. 7 4to (ca. 1300–1325) has independent value and preserves a text of the B class (for further discussion about the manuscripts of *Egils saga* see Finnur Jónsson 1886–1888: i–xxix).

⁵ Olcel. *buklari* ‘buckler’ is first attested in a *pula* believed to be from the 12th century (*Skjald. AI*: 667). The word is thought to derive from Middle Low German (*bokeler*), where it is a loan from OFr. (*escut* bucler, maybe from medieval Latin *(scutum) buccularium* (cf. *IeW*, *AeW*, *ÍOb*, s.v. *buklari*). The word is not found in any other skaldic text, whereas its attestations in prosa are from the 13th century (cf. *ONP*, s.v. *buklari* and the remark by Gurevich 2017: 824). This suggests that either the word was inserted in the *pula* at a later time, or that the *pula* itself is somewhat younger.

Olcel. *skjöldr* ‘shield’ is attested from the 10th century and is a word of native stock. The word has well-attested cognates in other branches of the Germanic language family: Got. *skildus*, OE *scielde*, OS *skild*, OHG *scilt* ‘shield’. The Germanic lexemes all go back to PGmc *skeldu- ‘shield’*. 

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and thus does not constitute a stylistic departure. The lost exemplar \(a\), from which the B and C versions derive, can be said to have had a text which, if anything, was nearer to that of K. This is further confirmed by the fact that the same wording as in K, with the exception of the word \(\text{o}ll\), is preserved in the \(\delta\) fragment (ed. Kjeldsen 2005: 147), which contains a B class text (cf. Finnur Jónsson 1886–1888: 131 and apparatus). As for the reading \(\text{hjalm ok skjöld}\) in \(a\) (= K\(\delta\)), it may be noted that it has a particular rhythm when combined with the preceding \(\text{sverð ok kesju}\). It could thus be suggested that the word \(\text{hjalnr}\) was added in \(a\) for the sake of completeness, for Egill did indeed wear a helmet, but also for rhythmical (i.e. textual) reasons. However, the opposite could also have been the case; namely, that the word \(\text{hjalnr}\) was indeed part of the original text but was omitted from the A version. There are thus elements in favor of either interpretation, although the latter seems more plausible in light of a comparison with the description of Egill’s gear at the beginning of chapter 45, where, conversely, the shield is not mentioned.\(^6\)

We are thus left with choosing between \(\text{buklari}\) and \(\text{skjöldr}\). As we have no other A class witness to help shed light on this issue, relevant internal as well as external factors need to be considered. Firstly, it was noted that \(\text{buklari}\) occurs just once in the manuscript in which M is preserved, AM 132 fol. By contrast, the word \(\text{skjöldr}\) occurs forty-five times in M. Secondly, the word \(\text{buklari}\) occurs twice in the manuscript as a whole, once as a simplex (Egils saga) and once compounded with \(\text{targa} ‘\text{shield’}\) (Njáls saga), whereas \(\text{skjöldr}\) is used 197 times as a simplex and also twice in a compound with \(\text{targa}\) (Njáls saga) (see MvB, s.vv. \(\text{buklari}, \text{skjöldr}, \text{törgubuklari}, \text{törguskjöldr}\)). Thirdly, the word \(\text{buklari}\) occurs just three times in the whole corpus (cf. OlÍsl., s.v.): as the previously mentioned compound in Njáls saga, and as a simplex in Egils saga and Grettis saga, although in the latter saga it does not constitute a word pair as the buckler in question is never referred to as \(\text{skjöldr}\). However, data from OlÍsl. should be used with caution, for it treats the sagas as printed texts, not as manuscripts. Finally, it may be noted that \(\text{buklari}\) occurs frequently in narrative genres such as Kings’ and Chivalric sagas (cf. ONP, s.v. \(\text{buklari}\)), whereas it appears only once in skaldic poetry (see footnote 5).

When all this evidence is considered, the question arises as to which

\(^{6}\) Not far from the description under discussion (Ch. 43) Egill’s gear is listed again. There (Ch. 45) the word \(\text{hjalnr}\) appears in all the versions of the saga (M, Bjarni Einarsson 2001: 64\(^6\); W, Schwabe 2015: 226\(^5\); Chesnutt 2006: 55\(^6\)).
of the two readings, *buklari* or *skjöldr*, is more likely to be the original one. As has been shown, analysis of the textual tradition suggests that Egill’s gear had to be listed in that particular locus of the saga (*lectiones* of M and *a* (= Kð) but not W). Now, both *buklari* and *skjöldr* would have been meaningful choices. The loanword, albeit used anachronistically in the saga narration, was adopted in Icelandic before the purported date of composition of the saga. However, on closer scrutiny, *buklari* seems an implausible reading here, in the light of its infrequent use in the saga, in manuscript copies of the saga, and in the sagas of the Icelanders overall (cf. also the general comment on this topic in West 1973: 51). The present analysis suggests that *buklari* may have substituted *skjöldr* in that particular locus of *Möðruvallabók*. It can thus be proposed that *skjöldr* is the original reading.

3. A few cases in *Gísla saga*

*Gísla saga* includes a certain number of word pairs which alternate loanword and native word intrastematically. Also, the manuscript tradition of this particular saga has received much attention both in early and more recent times. Guðni Kolbeinsson and Jónas Kristjánsson (1979) provide

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7 That *buklari* was not in use in the North at the time when *Egil’s saga* takes place is reported by Hjalmar Falk (1914: 133), who is most probably the source of Sigurður Nordal’s footnote in his edition of *Egil’s saga* in *Íslensk fornrit* (*ÍF* II: 106 fn 1). Falk (1914: 133 fn 1) notes that the word is used anachronistically in *Grettis saga* but adds that *bukl* could have been acquired in Icelandic earlier than *buklari*. For the word *ímunbukl* ‘shield’ occurs in a *lausavísa* by Grettir Asmundarson.

8 *Gísla saga* is preserved in three different versions; S (longer version, Dan. *større*), M (shorter version, Dan. *mindre*), and B (fragmentary version, Dan. *brudstykke*). The main difference between S and M relates to the length of the introductory section. Scholarly debate about the relationship and origin of these three versions, and particularly of S and M, has long been part of discussion about this saga, and also, more generally, about philological practice itself (for an overview see e.g. Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson 2010 and Lethbridge 2013). The longer version (S) is preserved in two 18th-century paper copies of a lost vellum manuscript, the so-called Membrana Regia Deperdita (Loth 1960). These copies, AM 149 fol. and NKS 1811 fol., were directly and independently made from the Membrana Regia Deperdita in two different periods, the former ca. 1700 and the latter ca. 1780. Accordingly, they both have independent value. The main manuscript for the shorter version (M) is AM 556a 4to (last quarter of the 15th century). The B version is preserved as four vellum folia (2r–5v) under the shelfmark AM 445c I 4to (ca. 1390–1425).

9 E.g. Konráð Gíslason (1849), Finnur Jónsson (1929), Björn K. Póróifsson (1943, *ÍF* VI),
a revision of the stemmata proposed by Finnur Jónsson (1929) and Jón Helgason (1956), together with a reappraisal of critical *lectiones*, also with reference to Björn K. Pórðúlfsson’s edition. The outcome of such a reassessment is a set of stemmatic rules that seek to distinguish between original and spurious readings (Guðni Kolbeinsson and Jónas Kristjánsson 1979: 143–144, my translation):

1 If either M or B agrees with S, that reading is to be considered original.
2 If each version of the saga preserves a different reading, it is likely that S preserves a more original text than do M or B. Moreover, M preserves a more original text than B.
3 If M and B agree against S it cannot be determined which of the two readings is original, for M and B stand for a lost manuscript Y against S.
4 It should be noted that Y preserved a shortened text. Moreover B preserves a relatively shorter text than M. As a general rule, the more complete readings in S are to be regarded as original.
5 If the exemplars of S, AM 149 fol. and NKS 1181 fol., preserve different readings, these should be compared where possible to those in M and/or B, and the particular reading of S which is paralleled in M and/or B should be chosen.

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At this point, it is interesting to test this set of rules, and thus the stemma from which they are derived (Fig. 1, right), against the stemmata proposed instead by Finnur Jónsson (1929, Fig. 1, left) and Jón Helgason (1956, Fig. 1, middle). The purpose of the following test is to see whether the intrastemmatic variation between loanwords and native words can say something about the validity of the stemmata proposed for Gísla saga, i.e. whether it provides further evidence for one stemma over the others. The word pairs on which the present discussion focuses are AMBÁTT – ÞÝ ‘slave-woman’, BUFFEIT – KINNHESTR ‘buffet, slap’, FRIÀ – FIRRA ‘to free’ and KOMPÁNN – FÉLAGI ‘companion, fellow, comrade’. The three stemmata are reproduced here as they appear in Guðni Kolbeinsson and Jónas Kristjánsson’s article.

\[\text{AMBÁTT} \rightarrow \text{ÞÝ}^{10} \]

S (Loth 1960: 53–8)  
\[\text{enn Bothilldr het Þy hans eðr ambatt}\]

M (Finnur Jónsson 1929: 46–5)  
\[\text{enn ambattin het Bothilldr}\]

B  
\[\div\]

In the case of ambátt and þý, we can unfortunately use only two of three manuscript witnesses. However, the good news is that S and M have in common a considerable part of the text under discussion. If the comparison between S and M in this locus is tested against the three stemmata given above, the result will be the same, i.e. that þy hans is an addition in S. In particular, Finnur Jónsson’s view that M preserves a text nearer to the original than S yields that þy hans was later added to S. In Jón Helga-

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10 Olcel. ambátt ‘slave-woman’ is first found in Icelandic in a 9th-century kvæði by the skald Ælfróð Hornklofi. The word is undoubtedly a very ancient loan in Germanic, as it occurs already in Gothic (andbahts ‘servant’). The word is undoubtedly a Celtic loan in Germanic, as we know from Latin sources (Sextus Pompeus Festus, 2nd c. AD) that Lat. ambactus (< Gaul. ambaxtos, cf. Lewis/Short, s.v. ambactus and EdPCelt., s.v. *ambaxto-) was used by Ennius (3rd/2nd c. BC) instead of Lat. servus. Caesar in his Commentarii de bello Gallico (1st c. BC) also uses the word as a loan.

Olcel. þý ‘slave-woman’ is a secondary form of Olcel. þr ‘s.m.’ (< PGmc þegwijô-, cf. Got. þiwi), created analogically from the stem of cases other than the nominative singular, as is the case with meyja ‘maid’ in relation to meur (< PGmc *magwijô-, cf. Got. mawi). The word is thus an inherited lexeme in Icelandic. Other cognates of this word in the Germanic language family are OE þeów, OS theu, OHG diu ‘female servant’. Cf. also Got. þius, OE þeów (masc.) ‘servant’ and þwara ‘servitor, retainer’ (N KJ55, ca. 400 < PGmc *þegwa-).
son’s stemma, however, the three versions of the saga are put on the same level, for he cannot find enough elements that confirm Finnur Jónsson’s stemma. Jón Helgason argued that it was not possible to consider all the agreeing *lectiones* of B and S as secondary to that of M, as they were just as likely to be primary. In our case, we do not have B to compare with M and S. A shared portion of text between M and S ought to be considered original, and hence, the deviation of S from the *lectio* of M should be considered spurious. According to Guðni Kolbeinsson and Jónas Kristjánsson’s pentalogue, rules 1 and 4 must be taken into account. Rule 4 suggests that more complete readings in S are to be considered as original. As regards the question of loanword and native word, rule 1 applies in that M agrees with S and employs the word *ambátt*, and thus any agreement of either M or B with S gives an original *lectio*.

Following the given manuscript evidence, it is safe to assume that *ambátt* constitutes an original reading here. The question is whether S actually preserves the original *lectio* or whether the more concise reading of M is preferable. A major trend in *Gísla saga* scholarship has been to consider the longer version as secondary to the shorter version. In Björn K. Dóroldsson’s 1943 edition, the editor goes as far as calling M and S, E and Y respectively, i.e. eldri ‘older’ and yngri ‘younger’, thus classifying the two versions according to relative chronology of their witnesses. I want to focus here on a stylistic feature of the reading preserved in S, namely the synonymic dittology *þý hans eðr ambátt*.11 Synonymic dittologies are also found elsewhere in the text of *Gísla saga*. A comparison between M and S concerning synonymic dittologies which use the explanatory conjunction *eða* reveals that such a stylistic trait is not peculiar to either version of the saga. However, where the M version appears to have such a kind of dittology, the corresponding locus in S is, if not the same, regularly shorter.12 This clashes somewhat with the fact

11 A synonymic dittology is a figure of speech in which two words of similar or identical semantic content are linked by the coordinative conjunction *and* (OICelt. *ok*, Icel. *og*) or the disjunctive/explanatory conjunction *or* (OICelt./Icel. *eð(u)r*, *eða*) in order to convey a certain meaning, along with a pleonastic stylistic reinforcement. Synonymic dittologies are one of the chief ways in which loanwords and respective native synonym may be paired in a given text.


*hverr sterkastr eðr mestr atgjǫrvaðr er* (M, Finnur Jónsson 1929: 2321–22)

*hverr sterkastr var ok mestr atgervimaðr* (S, Loth 1960: 3313–14)

*og urðu því eigi tekin þau ræð sem dygði eða þorfr var á* (M, Finnur Jónsson 1929: 2720 and apparatus)
that the dittology þý hans eðr ambátt is preserved in S instead of M. This is not an isolated example, as S preserves the dittology sýruker ... eða stokkaker (Loth 1960: 13\textsuperscript{19}) whereas M has sýruker tvǫ (Finnur Jónsson 1929: 4\textsuperscript{10}). This last example, in particular, seems close to that of ambátt and þý, as it is the second element of the dittology to be added. Ultimately, it is impossible to establish which of the two readings is the original. It is possible, however, that it is the longer reading that has been augmented, and this may hold true also for the longer readings of M against those of S enumerated in normalized orthography in footnote 12.

**BUFFEIT — KINNHESTR\textsuperscript{13}**

\begin{tabular}{ll}
S (Loth 1960: 33\textsuperscript{24}) & Þorgrimr hleypr at honum oc gefr honum kinnhest \\
M (AM 556a 4to, f. 59v3, cf. Finnur Jónsson 1929: 24\textsuperscript{15} and apparatus) & Paa gengr Þorgrimr at honum ok slærr hann buffeit mikit \\
B (Jón Helgason 1956: 40\textsuperscript{12–13}) & þorgrimr hleypr at honum oc slærr hann kínne[st]
\end{tabular}

If Finnur Jónsson’s stemma is adopted in this case, the agreement between B and S on kinnhestr would require an evaluation of which of the two, buffeit mikit or kinnhestr, is more likely to have been the original reading, since B and S are witnesses of a lost exemplar Y. In the main text of his edition, Finnur Jónsson amends the text and substitutes buffeit mikit for kinnhestr. In fact, he notes elsewhere that “M kan være og er på sine

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\textsuperscript{13} OIcel. buffeit ‘buffet’ is first attested in Icelandic in Gísla saga, i.e. ca. 1250. The word is believed to be a loan from ME buffet (leW, ÍOb, s.v. buffet, and Eyvindur Eiríksson 1977: 46). The Middle English word is a loan from Fr. buffet, bouffet, itself a diminutive of buffe ‘blow, stroke’ (cf. OED, s.vv. buffet and buff). Fr. buffet ‘sideboard, side-table, refreshments (by metonymy)’ (= Eng. buffet) is a homophone.

OIcel. kinnhestr ‘slap’ is a neoformation attested since ca. 1200 in Icelandic. The word is only found in North Germanic (ODan. kinhæst, OSw. kinhäster). The semantic relationship between the constituents of this word is obscure and requires further etymological inquiry.
ster ændret af afskrivere” (Finnur Jónsson 1923: 454 fn 1). In choosing between the two, it is probable that Finnur Jónsson’s decision depended on the idea that *kinnhestr* had to be more original because it is an endogenous word. A purely speculative argument in favor of *buffeit* can be made, as was pointed out to me by Klaus Johan Myrvoll in 2016, whom I thank for having drawn my attention on this specific issue. The argument is that *buffeit* could be considered an original reading because a Middle English loan (OICel. *buffeit* < ME *buffet* < OFr. *buffet*, *bouffet*, Eyvindur Eiríksson 1977: 46) would be perfectly plausible for the period in which the saga is considered to have been composed (ca. 1250). In Jón Helgason’s approach, instead, the witness of B is crucial because the agreement of two versions over the third gives the original reading or, at least, the most original that may be surmised. According to Guðni Kolbeinsson and Jónas Kristjánsson’s method rule 1 applies and it yields the same result as Jón Helgason’s; the chief difference is that the agreement in Guðni and Jónas’ approach has necessarily to be between two versions, each of which has to be in a different branch of the stemma. Here, S and B agree against M, thus giving *kinnhestr* as the original reading. An *argumentum ad absurdum* can also be made in order to further verify this result. If *buffeit* mikit were the original reading, then *kinnhestr* had to be corrupted into the two other versions, S and B. This is clearly at odds with the philological principle invoked above for the similar case of *buklari* and *skjöldr*. Here, also, *buffeit* is not a plausible reading for exactly the same reasons as in the case of *buklari*. The M version of *Gísla saga* is in fact the only instance of this word in the whole Old Icelandic corpus (cf. *ONP*, s.v. *buffeit*).

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14 In the same portion of text there appears intrastemmatic variation between the verbs *hlaupa* (SB): *ganga* (M) and *slá* (MB): *gefa* (S). According to Guðni Kolbeinsson and Jónas Kristjánsson’s pentalogue, *hlaupa* can be said to be an original reading against *ganga* (rule 1). Jón Helgason’s stemma would yield the same result, whereas Finnur Jónsson’s would need us to weigh the two variants individually, i.e. as witnesses of two branches of the tradition. On the readings *slá* : *gefa*, rule 3 says that the most original reading cannot be determined. Jón Helgason’s stemma would automatically pick *slá* and so would Finnur Jónsson’s. If we accept the arguments of Guðni Kolbeinsson and Jónas Kristjánsson, then the reading *slá* could be considered the better choice by virtue of the fact that *slá* is *lectio difficilior* in comparison to *gefa*, given that both verbs convey the same general meaning, i.e. they are both meaningful variants.
In the present case, both Finnur Jónsson’s and Jón Helgason’s stemmata would yield *firra* as the original reading. According to Guðni and Jónas’ pentalogue, rule 5 applies in this case. Here, the two witnesses for S diverge in that 149 preserves the word *fría*, whereas 1181 employs *firra*. Without doubt, the original lectio appears to be *firra*, since it is shared by at least one witness for S and M. A linguistic criterion can also suggest a further element that would corroborate the present choice between variants, namely that OIcel. *fría* is a late loanword, whose first attestation is in *Halldórs þáttur Snorrasonar hinn fyrr* (14th c.), as preserved in the younger part of Flateyjarbók (GKS 1005 fol. from ca. 1450–1500). Moreover, in the manuscript tradition of that þáttur, the verb alternates with *frelsi gefa* in the oldest part of the same manuscript (from ca. 1387–1395), as noted by Veturliði Óskarsson (2003: 40–41). Such a loanword is not likely to have been part of the original text of this saga, which is thought to have been composed ca. 1250.

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**KOMPÁNN — FÉLAGI**

S (Loth 1960: 4323)  
M (Finnur Jónsson 1929: 368)  
B (Jón Helgason 1956: 552–3)

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15 OIcel. *fría* ‘to free’ is first attested in Icelandic in works from the 14th century. *AeW* and *ÍOb* consider the word to be a loan from MLG *vrīen* ‘s.m.’, whereas *leW* (s.vv. *préi*- and *fri*) claims that the word is native to Icelandic, along with the adjective *frír*. The relatively late first attestation of *fría* is suggestive of a loan rather than an inherited word.

16 OIcel. *kompánn* ‘companion, fellow’ is attested in Icelandic in works from the 13th century. The word is considered a loan from MLG *kumpān* ‘s.m.’, which in turn is borrowed...
An interpretation of this locus of the saga yields the same result with all three models examined in the present paper. In fact, as the reading felogum/felaugum (SM) is opposed to kumpanum (B), both Finnur Jónsson’s and Guðni and Jónas’ stemmata (rule 1) suggest that such oppositions are part of two different branches of the tradition, no matter whether M or S is considered closer to the original text. Jón Helgason’s main rule is rather that the agreement between any two out of three versions is decisive in establishing which variant reading is original.

4. Discussion and concluding remarks

In the present article, a text-critical method is used in order to evaluate intrastemmatic variation between loanwords and native synonyms in the manuscript tradition of two sagas of the Icelanders, Egils saga and Gísla saga. Whereas in the case of Egils saga, only one word pair of interest was identified, in the case of Gísla saga the text, albeit shorter, contains four examples of intrastemmatic loanword/native word alternation. The word pair buklari – skjǫldr in Egils saga was interpreted as a single substitution made in the text preserved in Möðruvallabók. In analyzing the material from Gísla saga, a comparison of different stemmata was carried out. The result is that in three out of four instances, the three

from OFr. compai(g)jn < Lat. companio, companium (JeW, s.v. kumpán, kumpán(n), kumpáni; AeW, s.v. kompánn, kumpán; ÍOh, s.v. kompóni, kumpóni). The Latin word, whose oldest attestation in from the Pactus legis Salicæ (ca. 503, Du Cange, s.v. companium), constitutes with all probability a structural calque of a Germanic word similar to Got. gahlaiba ‘fellow, companion’ and OHG galeipo ‘s.m.’. The Latin native word for ‘fellow, companion’ was socius.

Oicel. félagi ‘companion, comrade’ is attested since the 12th century in Icelandic sources. The word is a neoformation and has no cognates in the Germanic language family outside North Germanic (ODan. felegh, OSw. felegh, DR 68 runestone (11th c.) filaka) besides OE feólag(a), which is a North Germanic loan (OED, s.v. fellow).

17 Truth to be told, in Egils saga also Oicel. kápa (< Lat. cappa, likely via late OE *cápe < ONFr. cape, cf. OED, s.v. cape) and ólp(a) (< PGmc *welp-/wlep-, cf. ME wappen ‘to wrap, fold’ and NSaam. vuöl’po ‘womans coat’ < Old West Nordic, ÍOh, s.v. ólpa, olpa and Qvigstad 1893: 351) occur in intrastemmatic variation when compounded with Oicel. loð- ‘furred’ (cf. Oicel. loðinn ‘s.m.’, Got. liudan ‘to grow’, OE léodan ‘to spring, grow’, OS liodan ‘to grow’ etc., < PGmc *leud-/liud-). However, an intrastemmatic analysis of this word pair yields no conclusive result, as the locus corresponding to IF II: 232 is omitted in the C version (for the A version see Bjarni Einarsson 2001: 141–4, B version (+ W, locus preserved in AM 463 4to p. 96–97, MS from 1664, see also Schwabe 2015: 8).
stemmata yield the same result, although the choice between the two variants is based on a different classification of witnesses. In one case, that of *buffeit – kinnhestr*, the stemmata by Jón Helgason on one side and Guðni Kolbeinsson and Jónas Kristjánsson on the other give the same result, whereas Finnur Jónsson’s stemma cannot determine which of the two readings is to be considered original. Although in the case of the very limited phenomenon analyzed here the results given by the three stemmata are not too divergent, the classification proposed by Guðni Kolbeinsson and Jónas Kristjánsson certainly proves to be the better one. In fact, the phenomenon examined here invariably provides a positive test result for the pentalogue proposed by the two scholars.

Besides the more specifically philological considerations with which we have been dealing so far, some concluding remarks on the nature of the phenomenon under analysis are in order. On a general level, in documenting the phenomenon of coexistence and competition of loanwords and native words the former were all considered equally in the documentation phase, since priority was given to highlighting the contrast between loanwords and native words. Loanwords are a chiefly diachronic phenomenon, whereas on the synchronic plane all lexical material in a given language following its phonological and morphological rules is considered in much the same way, except when specific linguistic knowledge allows for an evaluation of a word’s provenance, e.g. when purist attitudes are part of a conscious language policy (Gusmani 1981: 14–15). The situation is different with integral borrowings, i.e. loans which preserve the phonological and in some cases also morphological structure of the source language. This latter case is often associated with learned use, or at least language use strongly influenced by the prestige of the source language in the recipient language community, in particular with reference to written language. This case is not represented here, nor are integral borrowings in the sagas of the Icelanders very common.

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18 This applies chiefly to written language. The problematics concerning integral borrowings in the spoken language, especially on the phonological level, are not addressed since the focus here is on written, rather than spoken, language.

19 Integral loans from Latin are very common in textual typologies which show a good deal of influence from a learned environment, chiefly religious texts and scientific treatises. Latin integral loans constitute more often than not nonce borrowings, i.e. foreign words which are inserted in the text in order to introduce their native denomination according to the general formula [Latin] þat er [Icelandic]. Other notable cases in which integral loans appear involve names of office, which are often in Latin in official documents, e.g. *diplomata* (legatus, notarius publicus, officialis, etc.).
In four out of the five cases listed above, the loanwords were adopted into Icelandic in medieval times, and can thus be said to be more or less contemporary with the written media in which they are recorded. In the case of *ambátt*, however, the situation is different, as the loanword is a borrowing from Celtic into Germanic (Lehmann 1986: s.v. *andbahts*). A methodological consideration then arises, as to whether cases such as that of *ambátt* should be treated differently from those of loanwords roughly contemporary with the sources in which they are recorded. The answer seems to be a negative one. From the overall excerpted data (Tarsi [forthcoming]) it appears that the native lexical strategies underlying the expansion of the lexicon do not differ with respect to loanword chronology. In order to exemplify this general principle, one may consider the typologies of native words corresponding to loanwords whose first attestation in Icelandic is in works composed before and after the twelfth century, i.e. before and after the oldest preserved Icelandic manuscripts. In the former group, which is unexpectedly much smaller than the latter, are words such as *ambátt* ‘slave-woman’, *biskup* ‘bishop’, *djöfull* ‘devil’, *harri* ‘lord’, *klæði* ‘clothes’, *kristinn* ‘Christian’, *messa* ‘mass’, *ormr* ‘worm, serpent, dragon’, *peningr* ‘coin, money, wealth’ all of which are found to alternate with native words, but also other loanwords such as *akkeri* ‘anchor’, *altari* ‘altar’, *eyrir* ‘ounce, money, property’, *kaupa* ‘to buy’, *kærr* ‘dear’ and a number of other loans attested in early skaldic poetry. The native equivalents of the subgroup *ambátt* – *peningr* relate to all the four typologies mentioned above:

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20 This consideration applies to the lexicon in general and not to specific lexical uses such as different registers used in a given text. This latter case could be that of *Egils saga* presented above, where a loanword, whose adoption is with all likelihood contemporary with the manuscript in which a version of the saga is preserved, is present where the original text possibly had the corresponding native lexeme.

21 The loanwords presented here do not include those which show a hyponymic relationship with a native word.

22 Such a chronological division is, of course, arbitrary. In fact, there is nothing, in principle, that prevents presumably (or certainly) old loanwords from appearing in works dating from the twelfth century onwards. A representative example is Olcel. *kirka* ‘church’, whose two oldest occurences in poetry and prosa respectively are in Einarr Skúlason’s poem *Geisli* and in the Old Norse translation of the *Elucidarius*. Both works date from the mid-twelfth century the word may well have been adopted upon the introduction of Christianity (999). Other similar cases include Olcel. *paradís* ‘paradise’ (see furthermore the discussion in Tarsi 2016: 89–90, “Olcel. *kristinn* 12th c.” read “11th c.”) and Olcel. *skrifa* ‘to write’ (Tarsi 2019).

23 Albeit classified under a single label here, the acquisition of these loanwords spans a lengthy period of time, from the PGmc period until the eleventh century (the conversion to
Tab. 1. A taxonomy of native words corresponding to loanwords attested in works composed before the twelfth century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>structural calque</td>
<td><em>guðþjónusta</em> (Lat. <em>officium divinum</em> / OSax. <em>thionost?</em>, = messa);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kennimannahöfðingi</em> (Lat. <em>princeps sacerdotum</em>, = biskup)²⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semantic calque</td>
<td><em>andskoti</em> (Lat. <em>adversarius</em>, = <em>djǫfull</em>); <em>fjándi</em> (OE <em>feond</em>, = <em>djǫfull</em>);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ormr</em> (= <em>dreki</em>); <em>óvinr</em> (Lat. <em>inimicus</em>, = <em>djǫfull</em>); <em>rétttrúadr</em> (Lat. <em>orthodoxus</em> &lt; AGr. <em>ὀρθόδοξος</em>, = <em>kristinn</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neoformation</td>
<td><em>peningr</em> (= <em>fé/goð</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inherited word</td>
<td><em>fót</em> (= <em>klæði</em>); <em>þý</em> (= <em>ambátt</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, all four strategies are represented also in this small group of loans. It would, of course, be possible to speculate about the productivity of neoformations in this period. Judging from the available data, it seems that the coinage of neoformations flourishes from the twelfth century onwards, whereas before that time a stronger adherence to learned models is found. This result may of course be biased by the extent of early data available and by the textual typology in which they appear, which leads to the prevalence of certain semantic fields over others where stronger adherence to models was called for.

References


Christianity). As a result, the borrowing languages from which these words derive are as varied (relatively) as the group of source languages for later loans.

²⁴ Icel. *kennimannahöfðingi* is a late-attested native neoformation. It is first found in Oddur Gottskálksson’s translation of the *New Testament*. However, OIcel. *höfðingi kennimanna* for Lat. *princeps sacerdotum* is found as early as ca. 1200 (see *ONP*, s.v. *höfðingi*).


ÍF = Íslenzk fornrit, 1933–: Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag.


Manuscripts  
Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Copenhagen  
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Summary

In this article, textual variation with reference to loanwords and respective native words is addressed. Examples are taken from two sagas of the Icelanders, *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* and *Gísla saga Súrssonar*. Whereas, in the former, only one significant instance is found, the latter saga provides a handful of cases worth investigating. In the case of *Egils saga*, the word pair *buklari – skjöldr* is analyzed, and the conclusion drawn is that *skjöldr* is the original *lectio* in the passage. With regard to *Gísla saga*, three different stemmata are compared and reevaluated in light of loanword/native word lexical pairs (*ambátt – dy*, *buffet – kinnhestr*, *fría – firra*, *kompánn – félagi*). In particular, the pentalogue developed by Guðni Kolbeinsson and Jónas Kristjánsson (1979) is applied to the cases under discussion and its validity confirmed against the stemmata provided by Finnur Jónsson (1929) and Jón Helgason (1956). In the concluding paragraph, it is conjectured that native lexical strategies underlying the expansion of the Icelandic lexicon do not differ with respect to loanword chronology and that the coinage of neoformations develops noticeably from the twelfth century on, whereas before that time a stronger adherence to learned models is identifiable. This latter result may, however, be somewhat distorted, due to the more limited degree of variation in text typologies before the 12th century as opposed to the flourishing of different Icelandic literary genres from the 12th century onwards.

**Keywords:** Textual variation, loanwords, sagas of the Icelanders, stemmatic method