MATTEO TARSI

Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík and the Icelandic language purism in the first half of the 18th century

A wordlist in ms. AM 1013 4to (fol. 37v)

1 Introduction

Icelandic language purism as a conscious policy, whose principal aim is to preserve the language, has its roots in the country's post-Reformation cultural milieu. After the initial initiatives of bishop Guðbrandur Þor-

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Abstract: This article examines aspects of Icelandic linguistic purism in the early 18th century, as revealed in a wordlist compiled by Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík (1705–1779) and preserved in ms. AM 1013 4to (fol. 37v). After a brief introduction (§ 1), there follows an overview of the development of Icelandic language purism from its late-sixteenth-century origins to the first half of the 18th century (§ 2). The description of Jón Ólafsson's life which follows (§ 3) highlights his genealogical links with Arngrímur Jónsson the Learned (1568–1648), a pioneering figure in the linguistic purism movement. The next section (§ 4) explores the wordlist itself and is divided into three subsections. The first (§ 4.1) summarises Jón's linguistic scholarship as a whole. The second (§ 4.2) presents a diplomatic edition of the list and an analysis of eight of its word pairs, which have been chosen for their relevance with respect to their formation and ideological background. The analytical approach adopted describes the words as single lexical units in accordance with the main tenets of loanword studies, and examines the list in the light of language policy and planning studies. The final subsection (§ 4.3) highlights the relationship between the wordlist and Jón Ólafsson's most important work, i.e. the Icelandic dictionary (ms. AM 433 fol.). The last section (§ 5) summarises the main points of the article and sets them within the context of pre-1750 Icelandic language purism. It will be argued that Jón Ólafsson's work is of paramount importance in the development of Icelandic purist attitudes, both lexically, because of its close relationship with the principles set out by Arngrímur Jónsson in his *Crymogæa*, and in terms of the later history of the movement.

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láksson in the late 16th century, the first phase of language purism develops thanks to the work of the humanist Arngrímur Jónsson the Learned at the end of the same century. These two churchmen were the first Icelanders to give written expression to purist judgments on their contemporaries' linguistic habits (see § 2). It was not until the 18th century, however, that their legacy was fully acknowledged by other scholars. This article is primarily concerned with the first half of that century. More specifically, Icelandic language purism will be explored as it appears in a wordlist prepared by Árni Magnússon's last scribe, Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík (1705–1779), found in ms. AM 1013 4to, fol. 37v (*Image 1*).[1]

The article will be organised as follows: firstly, an overview of Icelandic language purism from the Reformation up to the first half of the 18th century is provided (§ 2), along with a brief sketch of Jón Ólafsson's life (§ 3). The following section (§ 4) has three subsections: § 4.1 deals with Jón's linguistic scholarship in general, § 4.2 presents an edition and analysis of the wordlist, and § 4.3 investigates the relationship between the wordlist and Jón's voluminous dictionary (ms. AM 433 fol.). The concluding section (§ 5) will summarise the main points of the article and reflect on the importance of Jón Ólafsson's linguistic scholarship in the context of the history of Icelandic language purism.

2 The Icelandic language purism from the Reformation to 1750: a brief sketch

Purist attitudes towards the language are first identifiable in Icelandic writings during the second half of the 16th century, in the wake of post-Reformation cultural changes. Guðbrandur Þorláksson (1542–1627), bishop of Hólar, was a pioneering figure in the development of these attitudes, which at this time find clearest expression in religious works. Guðbrandur's opinion towards his mother tongue emerges clearly in the

present article; Andrew Wawn, for having commented usefully on the article and corrected its text; Margrét Eggertsdóttir (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum / Góðvinir Grunnavíkur-Jóns), for having provided me with the genealogical information on Arngrímur Jónsson in footnote 2. I also want to thank my supervisor, Jón Axel Harðarson (Háskóli Íslands), for having helped me when preparing the conference paper. Last but not least, I wish to thank the editors of the present journal as well as the two anonymous peer-reviewers.

[1] It should be noted here that in the folia following the list under discussion (38r–39r) another wordlist is to be found, which may be regarded as somewhat complementary, as it contains words common to Icelandic, German and Danish. However, strictly speaking, only the former wordlist belongs to language purism.

preface to *Ein ny Psalma Bok*, a collection of translated psalms published in 1589, where it is stated that "ecke þarf i þessu Efne wr o̧drum Tungumalum Ord til Laans ad taka, eda Braakad Mal nie Bo̧gur ad þiggia" [concerning this subject (i.e. religion), there is no need to borrow words from other languages, or to accept distortion or contamination of the language] (Guðbrandur Þorláksson 1589: 10, my translation; cf. also Árni Böðvarsson 1964: 186–187, Kjartan G. Ottósson 1990: 14–20 and 2005: 1998). However, it is not until the turn of the century that these ideas achieved a more coherent shape. In fact, with the arrival of Humanism in Iceland, the Icelandic language and Icelandic medieval literature began to attract the attention of native as well as foreign antiquarians (see Jakob Benediktsson 1987b). The main spokesperson for Icelandic humanism is Guðbrandur Þorláksson's closest collaborator and his aunt Guðrún's nephew Arngrímur Jónsson the Learned (1568–1648).[2] His activities are important for Icelandic language purism in two respects: 1) he develops what was to become an influential theory according to which the Icelandic language was to be regarded as the *Ursprache* from which all the Nordic languages stem (cf. Jakob Benediktsson 1987a: 47, Kjartan G. Ottósson 1990: 20 and 2005: 1998–1999); 2) he amends some of the translations of religious texts made during the Reformation, removing some of the distorting lexical and syntactic influence from other languages, chiefly German and Danish (cf. Jakob Benediktsson 1987a). Arngrímur's purist thinking emerges clearly in his *Crymogea*, a Latin account of his homeland, published in 1609 in Hamburg (see further Gottskálk Jensson 2003, 2008):

> Ad cujus puritatem retinendam, potissimum duo sunt subsidia. Unum in libris manuscriptis, veteris puritatis ac elegantiæ refertissimis. Alterum in commerciorum extraneorum paucitate. Vellem his tertium á modernis nostratibus adjungi. Ne scilicet scribentes aut loquentes vernaculè, Danizarent aut Germanizarent: sed ad lingvæ patriæ, per se satis copiosæ & elegantis, copiam & elegantiam anniteretunt, eamque sapienter & doctè affectarent: minus profectò in posterum mutationis periculum metuendum foret. [In order to preserve its purity help may be found primarily in two sources. The first resides in the manuscripts, which are rich in the [language's] ancient purity and elegance. The other relates to the paucity of foreign trade relationships. Accordingly, I would like [my] fellow countrymen to add a third, namely that they neither Danicise nor Germanise their writing or speech. Instead, I would like them to draw on the

[2] Arngrímur's great-grandparents were Jón Sigmundsson (1455–1520) and his second wife Björg Þorvaldsdóttir (1470–*after 1513*). They had three daughters, of which Guðrún (1500–*after 1570*) was Arngrímur's grandmother and her sister Helga (*around 1511–around 1600*) was Guðbrandur's mother.

> richness and elegance of our mother tongue, and to follow it with wisdom and erudition, so that the danger of future mutations would be less.] (Arngrímur Jónsson 1609: 29, my translation)

Another important figure in seventeenth-century Icelandic linguistics is Guðmundur Andrésson (1615–1654). His lexicographical scholarship is best represented in his *Lexicon Islandicum*, an Icelandic dictionary with Latin glosses published posthumously in 1683 in Copenhagen (Guðmundur Andrésson 1999[1683]). However, his purist attitudes also find expression in some passages of his *Discorsus oppositivus*,[3] where he comments on the Icelandic translation of the Bible by Guðbrandur Þorláksson and criticises poor lexical choices for which he proposes better translations (Árni Böðvarsson 1964: 188–189).

Among Guðmundur's contemporaries, the poet Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–1674) may also be regarded as another spokesperson for humanist linguistic purism. His writings, notably the *Passíusálmar* 'Hymns of the Passion', are largely free from the kind of Danish linguistic influence widespread in Iceland at that time. Hallgrímur also comments on the language of his contemporaries and regards the linguistic influences noted above as dangerous and humiliating for his mother tongue (cf. Árni Böðvarsson 1964: 190).

Another key figure in the history of the Icelandic language purism at this time is the antiquarian, philologist and manuscript collector Árni Magnússon (1663–1730), whose modern codicological legacy can be seen in the holdings and activities of the world's two principal institutes for Icelandic and medieval Scandinavian manuscript studies, Det Arnamagnæanske Institut in Copenhagen and the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in Reykjavík.[4] In the context of the present essay, Árni's importance lies primarily in his programmatic philological studies and in the knowledge of the Old Icelandic language that he acquired through them, which paved the way for his own language purism activities, which were primarily orthographical rather than lexical or syntactic. Among the orthographical changes he introduced in his *usus scribendi* are (Kjartan G. Ottósson 1990: 23–24): the use of etymological <y> in-

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[3] The *Discorsus oppositivus* (Guðmundur Andrésson 1948: 15–52) was written by Guðmundur Andrésson against the Stóridómur 'the Grand Judgment', a set of laws introduced in Iceland in the summer of 1564.

[4] I want here to thank Det Arnamagnæanske Institut in Copenhagen, and in particular Dr. Matthew J. Driscoll, for granting me permission to publish the image of ms. AM 1013 4to (fol. 37v). Moreover, I want to thank the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in Reykjavík for affording me the opportunity to pursue my research in a stimulating and friendly environment.

stead of the generalised <i>, which was due to phonetic convergence in Middle Icelandic (1350–1550) (cf. Stefán Karlsson 2004: 11); the use of <e> instead of <ö> as in *hver*, thereby following Old Icelandic usage (cf. Stefán Karlsson 2004: 15); the use of etymologically geminated <n> instead of <rn> as in *einn* 'one' or *sveinn* 'boy' (usually written <eirn>, <sveirn> from the 14th century onwards), but not, for example, in *örn* 'eagle' or in his own name, *Árni* (cf. Stefán Karlsson 2004: 21); the use of the middle-voice ending *-umst* instead of *-unst* or *-ustum*, which, again, were Middle Icelandic innovations.[5] Perhaps the most striking aspect of this orthographical "leap back in time" is that those archaisms that he adopted are now an integral part of Modern Icelandic orthography, after they became increasingly common among the spokesmen for purism in the 19th century. Probably only one other scholar, Rasmus Rask, two centuries after Árni, exerted as much influence with regard to Icelandic ortography, for it was he who reintroduced the use of <ð>, which had largely disappeared from Icelandic after the 15th century (see further Stefán Pálsson et al. 2012). It should be noted, however, that, according to Stefán Pálsson et al. (2012: 99) and also to Jón Helgason (1926: 243), <ð> occurred not infrequently in Jón Ólafsson's translation of Ludvig Holberg's *Nikolaii Klimii iter subterraneus* (ms. Lbs 728 4to). A brief examination of the manuscript reveals that a number of words are spelled (albeit inconsistently) with <ð>.[6] Jón Ólafsson's use of this letter is undoubtedly attributable to his familiarity with the oldest vellum manuscripts in Árni's collection, and also to the influence of Árni Magnússon's orthography. This influence must also have encouraged Jón's own work on orthography (see further Jón Helgason 1926: 71–87).

The next section will discuss the main protagonist of this article, Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík.

3 Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík

The overview of Jón Ólafsson's life presented in this section is chiefly based on Jón Helgason's doctoral thesis (Jón Helgason 1926) and to a lesser extent on essays by Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir (2001) and Veturliði Óskarsson (2003b). Moreover, Jón Ólafsson's autobiography, pre-

[5] For a detailed overview of this particular phenomenon see Björn K. Þórólfsson (1925: 70–71) and Kjartan G. Ottósson (1990–1991).

[6] To exemplify the use that Jón makes of <ð> in ms. Lbs 728 4to, the follwing occurencies of the letter might be cited (diplomatic transcription): *spatzeruðu* (p. 18), *lagaðr* (p. 64), *bragð* (p. 97), *ferðaðist* (p. 154), *við* (p. 272), *œttaðist* (p. 320), *stað* (p. 321).

served in ms. AM 437 fol. and recently published in Jón Ólafsson 2013 (pp. 221–298), will be considered and, where appropriate, quoted directly.

Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík was born on August 15th 1705 at Staður í Grunnavík í Jökulfjörðum in the Western Fjords. His parents were Ólafur Jónsson (1672–1707), the local pastor, and Þórunn Pálsdóttir (1681–1719). He was the first of three children, of whom only two survived, Jón himself and his first brother, Erlendur (1706–1772), later governor (sýslumaður) of the Ísafjörður district (Western Fjords).

Shortly after his father's premature death in 1707, due to the smallpox epidemic that ravaged the country 1707–1709, Jón Ólafsson's mother moved the family to her parents' farm in the parish of Melstaður í Miðfirði (Northwest Iceland).

In accordance with the terms of his father's will, Jón Ólafsson was given in foster-care to Páll Vídalín (1667–1727), Arngrímur Jónsson's grandson, at the age of seven in 1712. There, under the guidance of Árni Magnússon's brother Jón (1662–1738) among others, he received a basic education until he was ready to attend the episcopal school at Hólar, from which he graduated at the age of seventeen in 1723.

From that year, Jón Ólafsson worked as secretary to and copyist for his foster-father Páll Vídalín until 1726, at which time Árni Magnússon[7] himself was looking for a new copyist. Jón Ólafsson explains his first journey to Copenhagen as follows:

> Anleedning til den Reise var den: Assessor Arnas holdt alltïd nogen Islandske Skrivere. Den gang fattedes ham [...]. Men Paul Widalins Sönner, John den ældre og John den yngre, vare den gang her i Khafn, og lærte Chirurgien, hvilke dog gave sig til studia literaria atter ïgien. De omgickes familier tïdt hos S(a)l(ige) Arnas. Han erkyndigede sig hos dem, hvem var deres Faders Skrivere. Hvor paa Arnas skrev Paul Widalin til, og begiærte, at Jeg, hvis Jeg vilde der üdj samtykke, kom til sïg. Jeg var ung og nysgierig for at see fremmede folk og skikke, antog dette Tilbud; [...] [Jeg] reÿste mest for nÿsgiærigheds skÿld, at besee med det samme Khafns Tilstand, og tænkte at reise siden hiem efter par Aars tiid; men det faldt anderleedes üd. [The reason for the journey was as follows: Assessor Árni

[7] Páll Vídalín and Árni Magnússon were colleagues in the years 1702–1712, when Frederick IV of Denmark commissioned them to prepare a land register (jarðabók) and a census of the Icelandic population. The latter was finished in 1703 while the former was never completed, although most of the surveys had been carried out. The land register was published in eleven volumes in the period 1913–1943 under the name *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns*. A second edition was published in thirteen volumes in the period 1980–1990 (see the References for bibliographical information).

> used to employ some Icelandic scribe. At that time he was without one [...]. Páll Vídalín's sons, Jón the elder and Jón the younger, were then living in Copenhagen, where they studied medicine but later turned again to literary studies. They often frequented Árni's home. He asked them who their father's scribe was, whereupon Árni wrote to Páll Vídalín and suggested that I went to live with him, if I wished to. I was young and curious to see exotic people and manners and therefore I accepted the offer. [...] [I] travelled primarily out of curiosity but also to see how things were in Copenhagen. I expected to travel back home after a couple of years, but it all turned out differently.] (Jón Ólafsson 2013: 232, my translation)

From 1726 until Árni's death four years later Jón Ólafsson was employed by the renowned manuscript collector as secretary and copyist. Árni also made it clear from Jón's first days in the capital that he wanted him to attend the University of Copenhagen (Jón Ólafsson 2013: 233–234). Jón duly graduated in theology five years later in 1731 (Jón Ólafsson 2013: 237), but never became a pastor, as he was to spend all his life working on the Icelandic language and early Icelandic literature.

October 20th 1728 was a calamitous day in the history of Nordic Philology, and also in the lives of Árni Magnússon and Jón Ólafsson, for it was the day on which much of Copenhagen burned down and, with it, many manuscripts from Árni's private collection. From then on Árni Magnússon was no longer able to host Jón, for he himself had to move house several times, and was no longer able to store all his (still numerous) manuscripts under his own roof. The collection was therefore moved several times over the years before finding a permanent home in 1732 in the Round Tower, which then hosted the University Library.

Just over a year after the Great Fire, on January 7th 1730, Árni Magnússon died. However, Jón Ólafsson continued to work at the Arnamagnæan Collection thanks to a manuscript studies scholarship established through Árni's will. Jón was thus the first of many scholars who were able to study Iceland's literary and linguistic heritage as a result of Árni's generosity and foresight.

From 1728 to 1742 Jón lived with his younger brother Erlendur in Copenhagen. Both of them received the above-mentioned stipend and could help each other out whenever they were in straitened financial circumstances (cf. Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir 2001: 133). At this time, but also in later years, Jón loaned many books to other Icelandic students at the University but came to regret this subsequently when many of these volumes were never returned.

The year 1743 marks a break in Jón Ólafsson's life, as he sailed home

to Iceland and did not return to Denmark until 1751, although his original intention was to visit his relatives before returning to Copenhagen after two years. In the event, his host at Þingeyrar, Bjarni Halldórsson, the local governor (sýslumaður), asked him to translate some legal documents into Danish, the first of many such tasks which would serve to keep him away from Copenhagen for the next eight years. In 1748 Jón Ólafsson also fathered a daughter, Ragnhildur, with a local housekeeper, whom he did not subsequently marry.

Jón returned to Copenhagen in 1751 and never visited Iceland again. In the last period of his life he continued to work on Icelandic language history and philology. He died in Copenhagen in 1779.

4 The purist wordlist in ms. AM 1013 4to (fol. 37v)

Manuscript 1013 4to of the Arnamagnæan collection in Copenhagen, 77 pages long, is a paper volume written by Jón Ólafsson from 1735 onwards, according to the catalogue of the Arnamagnæan collection (Kålund 1894: 293–294). Kålund divides its content into five sections: Section 1 (fol. 1–15r) contains a copy of Árni Magnússon's observations on the origin of the Icelandic language, a work also to be found in ms. AM 436 4to (fol. 1r–5v); Section 2 (fol. 16r–30v) presents a list of Norse words, for which possible cognates may be found in Greek, according to Johan Peringskjöld's (1654–1720) *Annotationes in vitam Theoderici Regis Ostrogothrum*, a section of his *Vita Theoderici* (Peringskjöld 1699); Section 3 (fol. 31r–67v) features various wordlists, including the one under discussion in the present paper; Section 4 (fol. 68r–75v) presents an academic dissertation on the Icelandic language (*Emphasin Lingvæ Islandicæ peculiarem variis ostendat Exemplis*); Section 5 (fol. 76r–77r) includes excerpts from Otto Sperling's (1634–1715) dissertation on the origin of the noun *jul* 'Christmas'. Interestingly, these excerpts have the following caption: "ad Tractatum de Lingva nostra Septentrionali aliqvando conscribendo", that is '[intended] for the treatise on our Northern language, which I will write at some time or other' (cf. § 4.1).[8]

[8] In his *Indagator originis lingvæ islandicæ* (ms. AM 982 4to, cf. § 4.1), a linguistic manuscript from his elder years, Jón lists (fol. 116r) Lat. *jubilum* 'rejoicing' and puts it in relation with Icel. *jul* 'Christmas'. This is comparable to his notes from Otto Sperling's dissertation, although it is not certain whether he had them with him when writing the *Indagator* (cf. Jón Helgason 1926: 285–286).

After this brief description of the contents of the manuscript, we can now turn to the primary focus of the present article, the wordlist on fol. 37v. The next three subsections will concentrate on this work: § 4.1 will outline its place in Jón Ólafsson's linguistic works, § 4.2 presents a diplomatic edition of the list and an analysis of selected words, and § 4.3 examines the relationship between the list and Jón Ólafsson's dictionary (ms. AM 433 fol.).

4.1 The place of the wordlist in Jón Ólafsson's linguistic written production

According to Veturliði Óskarsson (2003b: 7–8), only three writings by Jón Ólafsson were printed during his lifetime: one on the origin of printing houses in Iceland (Jón Ólafsson 1740), a biography of Ögmundur Pálsson, bishop of Skálholt (Jón Ólafsson 1747), and, lastly, one of his *scripta philologica*, namely *Conspectus historicus Dano-norvegico-islandicus super historias veteres idiomate islandico conscriptas* (Jón Ólafsson 1756). Nevertheless, Jón Ólafsson's writings were extensive. He focused not just on the history of the Icelandic language, but also on other subjects such as literature, the natural sciences, culture and customs. He says of his writings:

> Jeg har altidens havt at bestille med adtskillige Skrifter, diversissimis materiis, for adtskillige folk, endten i afcopieringer eller Translationer, og noget af mit eget Hoved, hvilke Jeg agter ufornödent nöye at mentionere, thi de hör ikke just til antiqvitæter; men kandske vise mit habilitè, til saadane ting, eller contra. [I have always had to deal with a considerable number of writings on the most diverse subjects for many commissioners, for whom I either made copies or translations. I have also written something myself, which I think it unnecessary to mention, for this work does not only deal with [the study of] antiquities, although it may — or may not — reveal my ability in such matters.] (Jón Ólafsson 2013: 295, my translation)

For the sake of brevity, I will here focus just on his writings about the Icelandic language. The main aim of this overview is to enable the reader to understand the place of Jón Ólafsson's wordlist within the overall profile of his linguistic works.

Within the broader field of philological and linguistic studies, Jón Ólafsson may be said to have approached the history of the language from a lexicographical standpoint. The objective of much of his research

appears to be the investigation of the ultimate origins of the Icelandic language.

Jón Ólafsson's linguistic writings extend across his entire life. He began his major work, the dictionary, in 1734 and never finished it. It may be said that all his other writings relate to it. The dictionary (ms. AM 433 fol.) represents Jón's most substantial project, in that the text embraced all the lexicographical and etymological studies that Jón had undertaken during his life. Such writings include (cf. also Jón Helgason 1926) the aforementioned dissertation on the Icelandic language (ms. AM 1013 4to); a Norwegian-Icelandic wordlist (ms. AM 999 4to, edited in Svavar Sigmundsson 1979); preparatory studies for an Icelandic grammar (mss. AM 976 4to, Thott 1486 4to, Lbs 822 4to among others); various writings on the most disparate aspects of the history of the Icelandic language such as toponymy, etymology, glottonymy (ms. AM 436 4to and others); and another dissertation on the origin of the Icelandic language, augmented by a comparison between Greek and Icelandic words and bearing the title *Indagator originis lingvæ islandicæ* (ms. AM 982 4to). Lastly, during his final years, Jón developed an idea which can probably be associated with the erroneous belief that the more single syllable words a language contains the older it was likely to be (cf. Jón Helgason 1926: 98). This rather strange notion is discussed in Jón's *Contractismus* (AM 979 a–c 4to), where, starting in 1763, he produces the most bizarre etymologies by freely lengthening single syllable words as if they derived their present meaning from some earlier wordform, as in the following example: Icel. *kona* 'woman' < *karlvonandi*, an otherwise unattested compound meaning 'man-expecting' (for a more detailed account see Jón Helgason 1926: 311–313 and Veturliði Óskarsson 1994).

Accordingly, the wordlist in ms. AM 1013 4to (fol. 37v) may be viewed in the light of the numerous lexicographical studies that Jón had undertaken since his early years in Copenhagen. However, it should be borne in mind that the list under discussion not only reveals Jón Ólafsson's interest in lexicography and history of words, but also, and more importantly for the present analysis, his ideas about the Icelandic language. In fact, as he often points out in his dissertations on the history of the language (e.g. mss. AM 982 4to, fol. 2r; AM 1013 4to, fol. 69v), he regards Icelandic as one of Europe's oldest languages; accordingly, it is, or should be, used in its original "uncorrupted" form. As previously shown (§ 2), this view was rooted in Icelandic humanism and finds expression in the following statement by Arngrímur Jónsson:

> De lingua Islandorum res ipsa loquitur esse Norvegicam; veterem inquam illam et genuinam, ex veteri Gothica, qua integrà soli nunc utuntur Islandi; eamque propterea Islandicam nuncupamus. [Regarding the language of Icelanders, it is self-evident that it is Norwegian; I am referring to the old and original language, from Old Gothic, which Icelanders alone now use unchanged, and for this reason we call it Icelandic.] (Jakob Benediktsson (ed.) 1951: 25, translation from Gottskálk Jensson 2008: 10)

As Gottskálk Jensson (2003, 2008) has already written extensively about the origins and historical and cultural background of Icelandic purism and its relationship to Humanism, these matters need not be discussed further here. More important for the present discussion is where and in what form this purist ideology emerges from Jón Ólafsson's writings.

The first attempt to explore language purism is made by Jón shortly after his arrival in Copenhagen. In 1727 in fact he translates Barthold Feind's *Cosmographia* (ms. AM 958 4to), a German book on astronomy. In the preface (fol. 30v; cf. also Jón Helgason 1926: 37) he explicitly states that:

> Hófum vier viliad gefa Jslendskt ord yfer hveria glossu, ad siäst mætte ad þau være til i Tungunne, enn þö menn kunne iafnan best vid þau brükanlegu, þö framande sieu, helldur enn þau nyiu, þö þau utskÿre eins vel efned sem hin. [We wanted to give an Icelandic word for every technical term, in order to show that they can be found in the language (viz. Icelandic), though the commonly used ones are, no matter how strange, more often better known than the new ones, which however explain the topic as well as the other ones.] (my translation)

With this programmatic statement, then, Jón's purist activity had begun. Thereafter he puts this same idea into practice, as in his revision of *Sannur kristindómur*, a popular instructional book in theology (cf. Jón Helgason 1926: 21 and Kjartan Ottósson 1990: 24). However, even though he is not always consistent in following his own stated policy (as quoted above), it is nevertheless striking that a purist mindset of this nature could not only be part of the ideology of a learned Icelander at this time, but could also be put into practice, albeit inconsistently (cf. Kristín Bjarnadóttir 1994: 26). The present writer believes that Jón's purist attitudes can be best appreciated through his numerous wordlists and also in his reflections on language decay, notably in *Hugleiðingar um sótt og dauða íslenskunnar* 'Reflections on the sickness and death of the Icelandic language', a comment to the poem *Um sótt og dauða íslenskunnar* 'On the sickness and death of the Icelandic language' by Eggert Ólafsson (1726–1768). Before

turning to Jón's fol. 37v wordlist in the next section (§ 4.2), it may be appropriate to say something about the issues just mentioned.

Jón Ólafsson's short essay on the state of the Icelandic language entitled *De Causis Corruptelæ Lingvæ Islandicæ* 'On the causes of the decadence of the Icelandic language' (ms. Lbs 853 4to, fol. 35–44, edited in Gunnlaugur Ingólfsson and Svavar Sigmundsson 1998: 147–154) was written in 1759 and deals with the external causes of linguistic decay — the reasons behind unnecessary and potentially harmful mutations in languages, especially Icelandic. At the beginning of the essay, Jón deals with the problem from a positive perspective, identifying a number of instances where Icelandic had to borrow words, which nevertheless do not constitute a danger for the language itself. In fact, he states that (my translation) "it is not dangerous for any language to borrow words for imported goods, such as from Low German, or when the loanwords come from an obviously different language, for example Latin. What really threatens a language is unnecessary borrowing". In his lifetime such borrowing could readily be seen in the language of jurists and the clergy, as they deliberately made use of Danish words and syntactic structures and therefore distorted the assumed internal equilibrium of the laguage (on this specific topic see Kjartan G. Ottósson 1990: 32–35).

As noted at the beginning of § 4, the manuscript containing the wordlist to be discussed in the next subsection dates from 1735. If we assume that the list on fol. 37v was compiled around that year and compare it with the year when the above-mentioned essay was written (1759), it is clear that purism, especially in its lexical form, has long been a favourite topic for Jón (cf. also Jón's words in the preface to the translation of Feind's *Cosmographia*). From this it follows that, even if they are not directly mirrored in many writings of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, Arngrímur Jónsson's ideas found acceptance among at least some learned men and were transmitted from one to another.

4.2 The wordlist on fol. 37v : edition and analysis

As noted above, the fol. 37v wordlist is not just further evidence of Jón Ólafsson's linguistic scholarship, but also bears witness to his attitude towards the Icelandic language very early in his career. Moreover, the list clearly confirms the awareness of at least some Icelanders concerning the possible implications of German and Danish linguistic influence. It is indeed no coincidence that Jón Ólafsson, spokesperson of the Enlight-

ment, should be one of those native speakers, because higher education often meant greater exposure to foreign languages, notably (in the case of Icelandic at that time) influence from Latin and Danish.

The purist wordlist, the diplomatic transcription of which can be found in *Table 1* at the end of this section together with its facsimile (*Image 1*), is organised in five untitled columns and 40 unnumbered lines. The columns show the following contents (my numbering, from right to left): (1) German word, (2) Latin translation, (3) Danish word which corresponds to the German form, (4) Icelandic loanword, and (5) "pure" Icelandic synonym. Particular note should be taken of Dan. *stand* and *letferdighed* (lines 37 and 38), where neither a German nor Latin equivalent is given. It should also be noted that in the last two lines (39 and 40) a different order is followed: (1) Icelandic loanword, (2) Latin translation, (3) German and (4) Danish word. No "pure" Icelandic synonym is cited.

In the following discussion, eight pairs of native word(s) and loanword(s) will be analysed. These are (line numbers in brackets): *ætt*, *afspringur–slekti* (14), *botnleysa–afgrunnur* (11), *elding*, *snæljós–blis* (24), *gjarn*, *eftirsækinn–gírugur* (5), *ímyndan–innbyrlan* (2), *lauslæti*, *lausung–léttferðugheit* (38), *orðskviður–orðsprok* (9), *geisli*, *sólarstafir–strjálar* (25). These word pairs have been chosen to illustrate the main features of Jón Ólafsson's idea of a "pure" language. In my discussion I adopt a twofold approach. Firstly, the analysis of the single pairs will be based on the main tenets of loanword studies, with a special focus on word formation, for which I draw on Halldór Halldórsson's essays (1964a–b) on neoformations in the history of Icelandic; Werner Betz's essay (1974) on loanwords, calques and neologisms in German, where he presents his famous model of classification; and, finally, Roberto Gusmani's collection of essays *Saggi sull'interferenza lingustica* (Gusmani 1981–1983). More specifically, I refer to Gusmani's treatment of what he calls "homeonyms" (Gusmani 1981: 145–148 and 157–167), i.e. (quasi-)synonymic pairs consisting of a loanword and a native word.[9] Secondly, the final

[9] Discussing the adaptation process of a loanword to a given lexical structure (*naturalisation* in Gusmani's (1981: 21–24) terminology, my translation), Gusmani (1981: 157–167) lists two possible scenarios: A) the loanword denotes something for which the recipient language did not already have any term; B) the loanword overlaps partially or totally with the semantic scope of an already existing lexeme. It is with regard to this latter case that Gusmani talks of "clash between homeonyms", that is, a clash between lexemes which share a bigger or smaller portion of their semantic scope. When such a clash happens, there are two possible outcomes: B1) one of the two concurring terms is eliminated from the

paragraph of this section will present an overview of Jón Ólafsson's purist approach, and will be based on the theoretical framework of language policy and language planning studies (cf. Vikør 2007 and Ari Páll Kristinsson 2006, 2007).

Unless otherwise stated, the words are quoted in normalised orthography, i.e. following the current principles of Icelandic orthography, in order to prevent confusion between e.g. <ö> and /ö/, as the former stands in fact for /oụ/, for which nowadays <ó> is used (cf. *Table 1*). The main lexicographical sources are the following (abbreviations in brackets): *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog* (*ONP*), *Ordbog over det danske sprog* (*ODS*), *Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans* (*RitOH*), *Íslenskt textasafn* (*ÍT*), Finnur Jónsson's (1912–1915) *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning* (*Skjald*), Sveinbjörn Egilsson's (1931) *Lexicon poeticum* (*LP*), Chr. Westergård-Nielsen's (1946) *Låneordene i det 16. århundredes islandske trykte litteratur*, Alexander Jóhannesson's (1956) *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (*IeW*), Jan de Vries' (1962) *Altwestnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (*AeW*), Veturliði Óskarsson's (2003a) *Middelnedertyske låneord i islandsk diplomsprog frem til år 1500* and Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon's (2008) *Íslensk orðsifjabók* (*ÍOb*).

ætt, afspringur–slekti In line 14 of the manuscript Jón Ólafsson lists the following words (thus in the ms.): Ger. *geſchlecht*, Lat. *genus*, Dan. *ſlegte*, Icel. *slekte*, Icel. *ætt. afſpring*r. The meaning conveyed here is that of 'progeny, offspring', but also 'family' in a broad sense, i.e. 'a blood-related group of people'. Originally, Jón also intended to include Icel. *kyn* among the native synonyms, but then deleted the entry with a pen stroke, probably because he thought it fitted better in the next line (line 15) as a native synonym of Ger. *Art* 'kind, sort'. Both *ætt* and *afspringur* undoubtedly originate in the inherited Germanic lexicon. The former is widely attested (and from an early date) both in poetry and prose (cf. *LP*: 656 and *ONP* s.v. *[1]ætt*), not to mention runic inscriptions (for example Ög66,[10] cf. *Samnordisk Runtextdatabas*). Moreover, it is a

lexicon (*neutralisation*); B2) the two terms are somehow differentiated and they continue to live side by side in the lexicon (*polarisation*). Polarisation can happen on one or more levels (semantic, diaphasic, diastratic, diatopic etc.). A classical example of semantic polarisation can be found in the English words for animals and their meat, e.g. *ox* vs. *beef*, where the former is a native word and the latter a loanword.

[10] (Ög66, normalised text): Ingivaldr ræisti stæin þennsi æftiR Styfiald, broður sinn, svæin allgoðan, sun Spiallbuða i ætt, en ek ændi. [Ingivaldr raised this stone in memory of Styfjaldr, his brother, an excellent lad, the son of Spjallboði in family, and I ended (it).] (source: http://www.abdn.ac.uk/skaldic/db.php?id=15584&if=srdb&table=mss)

keyword in Germanic legal terminology, denoting lines of descent and hence family (cf. for instance Icel. *ættleiða* 'to adopt', i.e. 'to lead into the family'). It is etymologically related to the Icelandic verb *eiga* 'to owe' and is cognate with Got. *aihts*, OE *æht* and OHG *ēht*, all meaning 'possessions, goods' (cf. *IeW*: 46). The latter term, *afspringur*, is also attested very early in Icelandic, as it occurs in the *Ynglingatal* (cf. *LP*: 9), a skaldic poem from the late 9th century purportedly composed by Þjóðólfr ór Hvini (*Skjald* AI: 9), and in a *þula* from the 12th century (*Skjald* AI: 661). The word is a derivative of the verb *að springa af* 'to grow' (cf. also MnE *spring*, i.e. 'the season of nature's revival'). The loanword *slekti* is attested from the mid-sixteenth century (*RitOH* s.v. *slekti*). According to *ÍOb* (p. 891), it is a loanword from MLG *slechte* (thus also *IeW*: 1172 and *AeW*: 515).

botnleysa–afgrunnr Line 11 lists the following words with the meaning 'abyss' (thus in the ms.): Ger. *abgrund*, Lat. *abyſſus*, Dan. *afgrund*, Icel. *afgrun*nr, Icel. *botnleyſa*. While Icel. *botnleysa* is attested first in the late 18th century (*ÍT*), Icel. *afgrunnur* appears as early as the first half of the 16th century (*ONP* s.v. *afgrunnr*), most probably with MLG *afgrunt* as its source (cf. Westergård-Nielsen 1946: 2). While *afgrunnur* is a very regular loanword, showing both phonemic (MLG /nt/ > Icel. /nn/) and morphological (MLG *grunt* > Icel. *grunnur*) adaptation, both encouraged by the existence in Icelandic of the word *grunnur* 'base, ground', *botnleysa* is formally a derivative from the adj. *botnlaus* 'bottomless'. However, behind both substantives lies the same idea, as is also the case with AGr. *ἄβυσσος* (adj.), from which Lat. *abyssus* derives. These words all seek to describe something that is bottomless. Interestingly, Jón does not list as a native synonym an apparently more common word, i.e. Icel. *djúp*, which is widely attested in the same meaning from at least the second half of the 13th century (cf. *ONP* s.v. *djúp*). Given the partial formal similarity between the original Greek word, which Jón most certainly knew, and Icel. *botnleysa* it may be that in this instance Jón wanted to use a learned form by drawing from his own lexical repertoire a word whose structure vaguely calqued the Greek one.[11] The following equation shows the putative word formation path for this lexeme:

[11] According to Gusmani's (1983: 62–65) classification and terminology, this case would be labelled as an apparent calque. In fact Icel. *botnleysa* only apparently calques the structure of AGr. *ἄβυσσος*, for it is in fact an autonomous formation. Moreover, Icel. *botnlaus*, has allegedly been interpreted here as a calque of AGr. *ἄβυσσος*, although most probably it is an autonomous formation.

AGr. *ἀ-*, privative affix + *βυσσός*, n. 'depth of the sea' → *ἄβυσσος*, adj. 'bottomless' → *ἄβυσσος*, nominalised adjective (feminine) = Icel. *botn*, n. 'bottom' + *laus*, privative affix → *botnlaus*, adj. 'bottomless' → *botnleysa*, nominalised adjective (feminine).

elding, snæljós–blis In line 24 Jón lists words which denote a 'bolt of lightning' (thus in the ms.): Ger. *blitz*, Lat. *corruſcatio*, Dan. *blitz*, Icel. *blis*, Icel. *ellding, Snæliös*. The origin of the Icelandic loanword is not known. *ÍOb* (p. 65) is the only etymological dictionary listing it, albeit without discussing its origin nor giving the meaning found here. However, the formal equation between Ger. and Dan. *blitz* and Icel. *blis* stands, as affricates are generally adapted as fricatives in Icelandic. Thus, it can be mantained that the donor language for Icel. *blis* is either Danish (most probably) or German.

As for the Icelandic native synonyms provided by Jón it should first be said that they differ significantly in age. In fact, while *elding* is first attested in the 11th century, in a *lausavísa* by Þjóðólfr Arnórsson (*Skjald* AI: 380), *snæljós* is registered for the first time in the 18th century (*RitOH* s.v. *snæljós*), in *Sannur kristindómur*, a theological handbook which Jón revised before it was published (cf. § 4.1). Moreover, Icel. *elding* is a derivative from the verb *að elda* 'to light up with fire', of which it is a *nomen actionis*, while Icel. *snæljós* is a *karmadhāraya* compound, i.e. a determinative compound where the light of the bolt is compared to the colour of the snow.

gjarn, eftirsækinn–gírugur Line 5 lists words with the meaning 'avid, greedy' (thus in the ms.): Ger. *begierig*, Lat. *cupidus*, Dan. *begierlig*, Icel. *gïrugur*, Icel. *giarn, eptirſækenn*. The loanword *gírugur* is attested as early as the second quarter of the 16th century (*ONP* s.v. *gírugr*) and was certainly borrowed directly from an unprefixed Middle Low German form *girich* (*IeW*: 1013, *ÍOb*: 247), as the parallel forms in German and Danish show prefixation and/or different suffixation (cf. Ger. *begierig* and Dan. *begærlig*).

As native synonyms Jón provides two words, *gjarn* and *eftirsækinn*. While the former is attested very early in the sources (cf. *ONP* s.v. *gjarn*), the latter never occurs, except in this list. Icel. *gjarn* has cognates with similar meaning in other Germanic languages, f.ex. Got. *gairns*, OE *georne* 'avid, greedy' (see *IeW*: 357). Its root is Indo-European in origin (PGmc. **ger-* < PIE **ĝher-*) and is widely attested in the Indo-European

linguistic macrofamily (cf. Pokorny 2002: 440–441). Icel. *eftirsækinn* is derived from the verb *að sækja(st) eftir* 'to strive for sth' and never occurs in linguistic corpora such as *ONP* and *RitOH*, suggesting that it is probably an original coinage by the author.

ímyndan–innbyrlan Line 2 lists words with the meaning 'supposition, belief' (thus in the ms.): Ger. *Einbildung*, Lat. *opinatio*, Dan. *Indbildning*, Icel. *innbyrlan*, Icel. *Jmyndan*. Icel. *innbyrlan* is attested from the 18th century (*RitOH* s.v. *innbyrlan*). However, it is not a loanword but a nominal derivative from the verb *að byrla sér inn* 'imagine' which, according to *ÍOb* (p. 98), is modelled on Dan. *indbilde sig*. According to Gusmani's classification and terminology (cf. Gusmani 1983: 63–65), *innbyrlan* is an apparent calque which is instead an autonomous derivative.

The native synonym given here, *ímyndan*, whose first attestations are from the late 17th century (*RitOH* s.v. *ímyndan*), is a clear example of structural calque. In fact, its structure probably derives from Dan. *indbildning*, which in turn might be interpreted as a loanword or a structural calque from Ger. *Einbildung*. Icel. *innbyrlan*, however, well represents the purist linguistic ideology behind it, whose the main tenet is based on a lexeme's native-looking surface structure.

lauslæti, lausung–léttferðugheit In line 38 Jón records words bearing the meaning 'unreliability, falseness' (thus in the ms.): Dan. *letferdighed*, Icel. *lettferdugheit*, Icel. *lauſlæte, lauſung*. As noted above, the line is incomplete, as Jón does not provide any German or Latin equivalent for the Danish and the Icelandic words. Icel. *léttferðugheit* is attested from the mid-seventeenth century (*RitOH* s.v. *léttferðugheit*) and is most probably a loanword from Dan. *letfærdighed*, which in turn is an original formation (*letfærdig* + *-hed*) the first element of which, Dan. *letfærdig*, is a borrowing from MLG *lichtverdich* (cf. Westergård-Nielsen 1946: 201). The morphological alternation between MLG *-ig-* and Icel. *-ug-* is explained by taking into account that sixteenth-century Icelandic had already lexicalised the Middle Low German borrowing *ferðugur*, where the allomorph *-ug-* had been preferred to *-ig-*. This is probably due to the internal lexical influx of other adjectives formed with the same allomorph, e.g. *máttugur* 'powerful' (cf. *ÍOb*: 1083). In fact as Veturliði Óskarsson (2003a: 191) points out, forms with the suffix *-ug-* are the most common, whereas those formed with *-ig-* appear less frequently.

As native equivalents, Jón gives here two words, namely *lauslæti* and *lausung*. While the latter is the older of the two, first attested in the *gestaþáttur* of the *Hávamál*, one of the Eddic poems, the former appears in the written language in the second half of the 16th century (*RitOH* s.v. *lauslæti*). Though both words have a lexical segment in common, i.e. *laus-*, their formation process is very different. Icel. *lausung* is a de-adjectival nominal formation from Icel. *laus* 'unreliable, false', while Icel. *lauslæti* is a head-final *karmadhāraya* compound whose individual elements are in a semantic relationship with the head, *-læti* 'behaviour', specified by its tail, *laus-* 'unreliable, false'. The meaning of the compound is then inferable from the meaning of its constituent elements and the relationship between them, namely 'unreliable, false behaviour' > 'unreliability, falseness'.

orðskviður–orðsprok These two words occur in a gloss to the main content of line 9, where Jón collects different lexemes with the meaning 'language'. *Orðskviður* and *orðsprok* appear in a short comment on the native word for 'language', i.e. *tunga*. The comment reads: "rectius itaqve dicitur *orðskviður* qvam *orðsprok*" [therefore it is more correct to say *orðskviður* than *orðsprok*] (my emphasis). The two words are synonyms and both mean 'saying, proverb'. While Icel. *orðsprok* is attested first in the 17th century (*RitOH* s.v. *orðsprok*) and has clearly been borrowed from Dan. *ordsprog*, Icel. *orðskviður* is much older, as it occurs ca. 1200 in the *Icelandic Homily Book* (*ONP* s.v. *orðskviðr*). The word, whose etymology is not given in the three major Icelandic etymological dictionaries (*IeW*, *AeW*, *ÍOb*), is a *tatpuruṣa* head-final compound, where the tail determines its head in the same way as an attribute in the genitive case would do. The word has synonymic cognates in other old Germanic languages (OE *wordscwide*, OSax. *wordkwidi*). However, even though the Icelandic word could have been created independently of its Old English and Old Saxon equivalents, the possibility of a borrowing cannot be entirely ruled out, as the word first occurs in Icelandic in religious texts, whose lexicon draws extensively on the two languages just mentioned (cf. Tarsi 2016: 86–88). Judging from its phonemic and structural shape, Icel. *orðskviður* seems more likely to have been borrowed, if at all, from OE *wordscwide*, since the Old Saxon word does not feature the genitival ending of the first part of the compound. Also worthy of mention is Icel. *málsháttur*, as its semantic scope overlapped in Old Icelandic with that of Icel. *orðskviður* (cf. Jón G. Friðjónsson 2014: x–xii), whereas nowa-

days the words' difference in meaning can be explained by noting that *orðskviður* denotes a saying of a philosophical nature, whereas *málsháttur* implies a more down-to-earth way of thinking. Icel. *málshátt-tur* apparently also testifies to a foreign (learned) influence, namely from Latin. In fact, it seems to the present writer that its structure may be calqued, albeit somewhat freely, on Lat. *modus dicendi*, i.e. 'way of saying'. In short, it may be said that both words seem to reflect foreign influence: Icel. *orðskviður* most probably from a religious source, Icel. *málsháttur* from an otherwise unidentifiable learned source.

geisli, sólarstafir–strjálar Line 25 lists words meaning 'sun's ray' (thus in the ms.): Ger. *Strall*, Lat. *radius*, Icel. *pl. Striälar*, Icel. *geiſle, Solarſ tafer*. Strangely enough, Jón does not include any Danish equivalent, even though Dan. *stråle* must have been known to him, since it is the source of Icel. *strjáli* (cf. *ÍOb*: 973), which he quotes in the plural. According to *RitOH*, the oldest recorded example of Icel. *strjáli* is (ironically) from Jón Ólafsson's translation of Ludvig Holberg's *Nicolaii Klimii iter subterraneus* (Holberg 1948: 150). The translation, extant in its second version from 1749–1750 (Holberg 1949: x–xi), is some way removed from the language of Feind's *Cosmographia* (see § 4.1). In fact it reveals on many levels, not least in the lexicon (cf. Holberg 1948: 315–316), interference both from German, which was the language from which Jón started to translate the book (cf. Holberg 1948: xi), and Danish.

Turning now to the native synonyms that Jón provides, *geisli* and *sólarstafir*, it should first be noted that, as so often elsewhere in the list, Jón chooses two words one of which is old and very well attested in the texts, in this case *geisli*, while the other is either rarely or never attested, in this case *sólarstafir*. Icel. *geisli* is found in the meaning '(sun's) ray' in both prose and poetry from the earliest written sources (cf. *LP*: 178 and *ONP* s.v. *geisli*). The Proto-Germanic root of the word, **gaiza-* 'spear' (< PIE **ĝhaiso-* 'spear'), is well-established in the Germanic lexicon and a rich set of words can be traced back to it (cf. also Pokorny 2002: 410 and Kroonen 2013: 164). Although nowadays not discernible, Icel. *geisli* is a suffixated form of PGmc. **gaiza-*, namely **gaisilōn-* (cf. OHG *geisila* 'whip'). The Proto-Germanic suffix *-ilōn-* has a diminutive meaning as in Got. *Wulfila*, the renowned bishop of the Goths, whose name meant 'little wolf'. Icel. *sólarstafir* is instead attested in late sources (mid-nineteenth century, *RitOH* s.v. *sólarstafur*) and Icelandic etymological

dictionaries do not include it among their lemmata. Nevertheless, the word is nowadays used in the meaning assigned to it in the list by Jón Ólafsson. Structurally, the word is a *tatpuruṣa* head-final compound, where the tail stands in a genitival relationship to its head.

From the point of view of language policy and planning studies the list might well be considered as a prototypical example of early purism. Its purist aim emerges clearly in the title, where Jón judges as improper the borrowing of the very loanwords that he then lists. With an eye to the history of the purist ideology in Iceland, it may be confidently stated that Jón follows here the path established by Arngrímur Jónsson more than a century earlier. In his choice of native synonyms two tendencies emerge: firstly, he tries to find a well-established and attested common native word, and, secondly, he provides a word, often a compound, which rarely occurs in the sources. This is, for example, the case with *gjarn* and *eftirsækinn*.

In his article from 2007, Ari Páll Kristinsson gives a clear overview of the different objectives that language policy and language planning can aim for. Jón's list fits well with Ari Páll Kristinsson's (2007: 113–120) analysis. Four of Ari Páll Kristinsson's points (a–d) seem particularly applicable to Jón's list: a) prescriptivism; b) language standardisation/codification; c) language cultivation; d) readily-intelligible linguistic usage. The list belongs to prescriptive linguistics (a), in that it implicitly identifies those words which are to be retained and used and those others which are to be eliminated. Moreover, it is aimed at language standardisation/codification (b), because the purist words are intended to replace the loanwords in the language as a whole (cf. also Jón's aim when translating Feind's *Cosmographia*, § 4.1). Furthermore, the list relates to the wider movement of language cultivation (c), in that one of its aims is the improvement of the language. Finally, it could be also mantained that Jón's word choice seeks to help develop a more readily-intelligible language (d), in that the "pure" Icelandic words he lists are either well-established and therefore familiar or, if little-known, their semantics reveal the easily understandable relationship among the constituent elements (cf. Jón's statement in the preface to the translation of Feind's *Cosmographia*, § 4.1)

A last word might be said about what Ari Páll Kristinsson (2007: 116) calls "learned word formation". Even though called this, such word formation is not directly connected with either Latin or Ancient Greek, the

learned languages *par exellence*, as the "learned" side of this process resides rather in the fully-fledged use of the mother tongue and therefore in the revival of extinct linguistic units, whether larger or smaller, whether phonological, morphological or lexical. The history of the Icelandic language has often witnessed this revival, which in lexical terms appears as the re-semanticisation of previously extinct words. This is sometimes treated as a particular type of borrowing whereby a word is resurrected from an earlier stage of the same language and is then given another meaning that is usually somewhat metonymically contiguous to the original one (re-semanticisation). A good example of this "learned word formation" is Icel. *sími* 'telephone', which originally meant 'thread'. Even though Jón's list is not directly aimed at any "learned word formation" in the sense just discussed, it seems nevertheless remarkable that an otherwise unattested word such as *botnleysa* is instead listed as a native synonym meaning 'abyss'. As mentioned above, it is also striking that Jón does not include the most common native word for that meaning, namely *djúp*, which is in fact widely attested, e.g. in the religious literature (cf. also *ONP* s.v. *djúp*). As argued above, *botnleysa* appears somewhat to calque the structure, meaning and derivational process of the source word for Lat. *abyssus*, namely AGr. *ἄβυσσος*, which Jón may well have known. Here, I argue, is also a case of learned word formation, albeit different from the classical type. In fact, if this word is indeed Jón's own coinage, it may also be the case that he not only derived the word from the corresponding adjective, viz. *botnlaus*, by means of a productive derivation pattern, but that a classical linguistic source, i.e. AGr. *ἄβυσσος*, might also have influenced the word formation process. Moreover, I argue that since AGr. *ἄβυσσος* is used as a noun mainly in religious literature (cf. *LSJ* s.v. *ἄβυσσος*), the source for Icel. *botnleysa* cannot be elsewhere than in that literary typology. Finally, having AGr. *ἄβυσσος* as a source would also account for the choice of the suffix *-leysa* instead of *-leysi*, i.e. the gender of the Greek word is parallelled in the Icelandic word (see further § 4.3).

Table 1. Diplomatic transcription of the purist wordlist found in AM 1013 4to, fol. 37v.

	Germ. Danica, qvæ pravè in Lingvam iſlandicam introducta sunt					
1	fertig	ferdig	ferduglega		islandicè	fyllilega vel
2	Einbildung	opinatio	Indbildning	in*n*byrlan	rectius	Jmyndan
3	mercken	animadvertere	merken	at merkia		ſiä
4	Verſtand	ingenium	forſtand	forſtand		vit, næmi
5	begierig	cupidus	begierlig	gïrugur		giarn, eptirſæken*n*
6	verbieten	vetare	at forbyde	ad forbioda		ban*n*a
7	geringe	exiguus	ring	rjngur		litill
8	zweiffeln	dubitare	at tvifle	ad tvjla		ad efa
9	Sprache	lingva	Sprog	Sprok		tunga, rectius itaq*ve* dicitur ordsqvidr qvam ordsprok
10	Kunst	ars ſtudium	Konſt	Kunſt		ment iþrött
11	abgrund	abyſſus	afgrund	afgrun*n*r		botnleyſa
12	platz	locus ſpatium	Plads	pläts		rüm
13	Muſter	idea	munſter	munſtur		mynd
14	geſchlecht	genus	ſlegte	slekte		ætt. affspring*r*
15	art	modus vel genus	art	art		Kyn ed*r* Edle.
16	Klump	maſſa	Klump	Klump*r*		Kaka e*dur* Kóck*r*
17	Krafft	vis robus	Kræfte	Kraptur qvod jamdu[du]m uſu receptum eſt		Styrk*r*
18	beſtehen	conſtare	beſtaar	beſtanda		in*n*lykjast. er ſamſett
19	nehren	nutriri	at nære	at næra		ad föstra
20	unterhalten	ſubſtistere, nutriri	at underholde	at underhalda		ad alaſt, fædaſt
21	vergehen	corrumpere	at forgaa	at forganga		ad falla, þverra
22	verderben	corrumpere	at forderfe	ad fordiarfa		ad ſpilla
23	glantz	ſplendor	glands	glans		Skyn
24	blitz	corruſcatio	blitz	blis		ellding, Snæliös
25	Strall	radius		pl. Striälar		geiſle, Sol*ar*ſtafer
26	wenden	vertere	at vende	at venda		ſnüa
27	Kurtz	brevis	Kort	Kortr		ſtuttr
28	fort	citò	fort	fort		ſkiött
29	Jungfraw	virgo	Jomfru	Jungfru vel Jomfru		Mær
30	jagen	venari	at jage	at jaga		at ellta, fara epter
31	Rust	fuligo ærugo	Rust	Rust		Söt edur Rýd
32	Dåmpffe	exhalatio	en Damp	Dampr		gufa
33	Warme	calor	varme	varmr		velgia, hite
34	ſchrecklich	terribilis	ſkreckelig	ſkreckelig*r*		hrædeleg*r*, ogn*ar*leg*r*
35	gifft	infectio	greſſelig gifft	greſſeligr gifft		ibidem Eitur
36	schwim*m*en	natare	at ſvóm*m*e	at ſvimma		ad ſynda
37			Stand	Stand		Embætte
38			letferdighed	lettferdugheit		lauſlæte, lauſung
39	ſkræma	vulnus	Schram*m*e	en Skram*m*e		
40	trog	labrum	ein Trog	en trü		

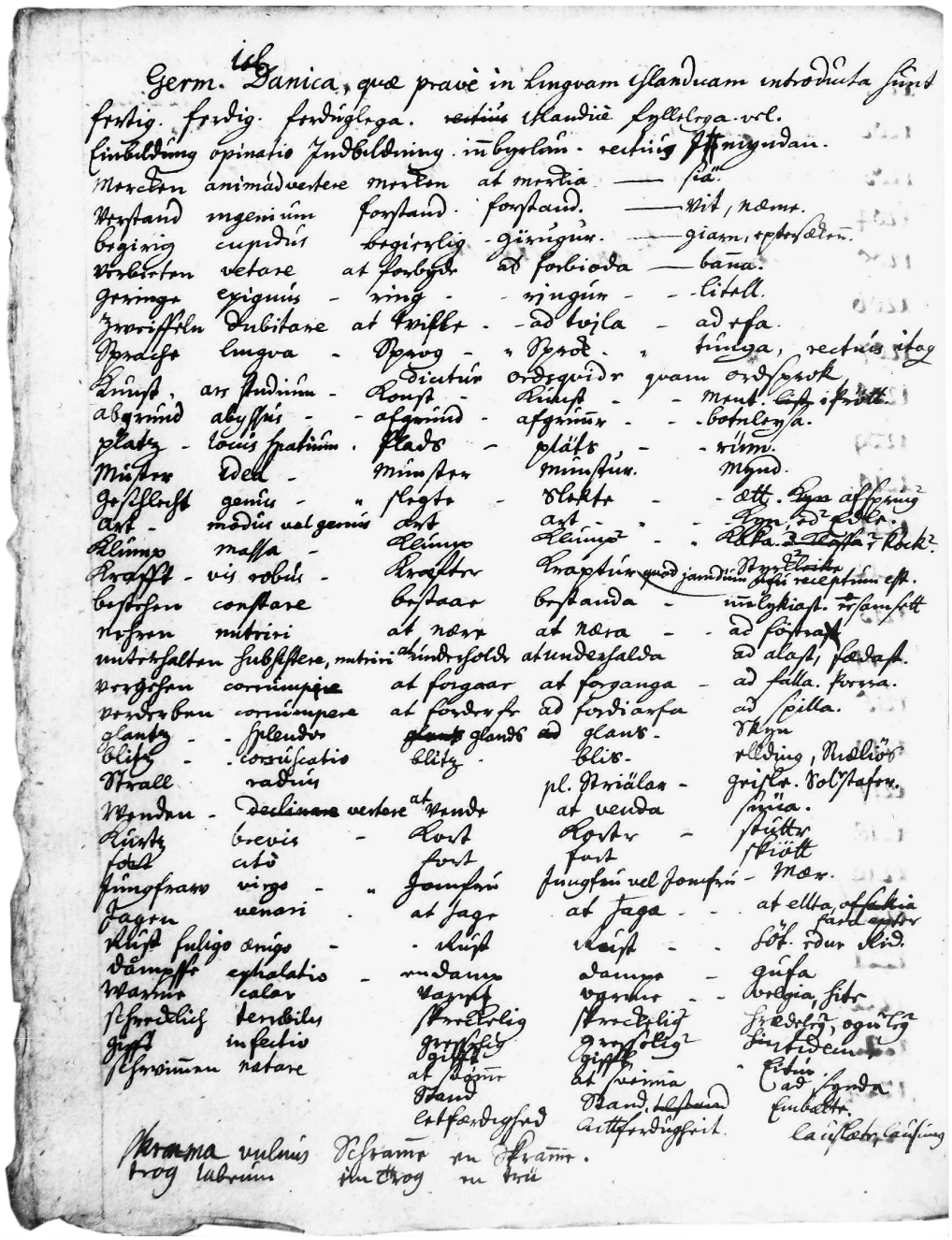

Image 1. AM 1013 4to, fol. 37v.

4.3 The wordlist and its relationship with Jón Ólafsson's vocabulary

As previously noted (§ 4.1), Jón's major contribution to Icelandic linguistics in the 18th century was the dictionary, as that work represents *de facto* the alpha and the omega of his entire linguistic scholarly output. Ms. AM 433 fol. is now part of the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen. Dr. Jakob Benediktsson registered every lemma on paper slips, which are now on deposit in the Department of Lexicography at the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, Reykjavík. In addition, a list of all the entries in Jón's dictionary is available online on the Institute's website (see *Orðabók Jóns Ólafssonar úr Grunnavík — Orðaskrá* in the References).

Because of its paramount importance in Jón's scholarly activity, it is important at this point to establish the nature of the relationship between the dictionary and the list. As it is not possible in the available space to provide an account of every word in the list, I will instead review the principles which seem to inform Jón's work.

Overall, Jón Ólafsson's dictionary contains a high percentage of lemmata which are also found on the list. Of these, the native words are the most numerous. The loanwords which do not appear in Jón's dictionary, but can be found in the list under discussion, are: *bestanda*, *blis*, *kortr*, *rúst*.

The dictionary contains all of the selected words analysed in § 4.2, with the exception of *blis* and *eftirsækinn*, although the verb from which this latter form derives, i.e. *að sækja(st) eftir*, is present (s.v. *sækja*). The meanings which Jón assignes to it in the dictionary are 'to strive for', 'to follow (after)' and 'to pursue'.

Jón sometimes reports in the dictionary that a word is of foreign origin,[12] whereas the definitions he gives are strikingly similar to the meaning inferable from the entries of the list. This does not, however, apply in the case of *snæljós*. When defining this word he writes: "lux nivis, vulgo latine ignis fatuus" [snowlight, in vernacular Latin will-o'-the-wisp]. However, right to the present day the word seems to have retained the meaning assigned to it by Jón in the wordlist under discussion, i.e. 'bolt of lightning', as confirmed in the *Íslensk orðabók* (s.v. *snæljós*), the Icelandic dictionary.

[12] For example he says about Icel. *gírugur*: "videtur advectum à Danorum gjerig" [it seems taken from [the language of] the Danes *gjerig*]. Moreover, when defining Icel. *sprok* he writes "a Germ. Sprache, sed forte a Svecis acceptum" [from German *Sprache*, but maybe received from the Swedes].

All in all, it may be said that the list accords very well with Jón Ólafsson's lexicographical scholarship, as it reflects closely the contents of the dictionary. It could also be suggested that the list served as a basis for further elaboration, i.e. for enriching the dictionary and reflecting on the Icelandic language and the foreign influences discernible in it. In fact, as Jón Helgason points out (1926: 120), a certain purist element is detectable in the dictionary, as its author often provides a native synonym for lemmata of foreign origin. However, following Jón Helgason's argument, this purist element seems to be associated to the younger parts of the dictionary, most probably to those written before 1743, i.e. prior to Jón Ólafsson's eight-years-long sojourn in Iceland.

5 Conclusions

This article has sought to present an example of language purism from the 18th century, in the form of a wordlist by Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík, Árni Magnússon's last scribe, as preserved in ms. AM 1013 4to (fol. 37v). The list consists of a comparison between loanwords of German and Danish origin and their corresponding native Icelandic synonyms. Its main aim was thus to provide more acceptable substitutes for the loanwords, which are seen as dangerous for the Icelandic language. After contextualising Jón Ólafsson's list in terms of his broader linguistic scholarship, there follows an edition of the list in accordance with the principles of diplomatic transcription, and also an analysis of a selection of words, which represent the list's most interesting entries in terms of word structure, i.e. how they are built up, and the ideology that lies behind them. In fact, as shown in § 4.2, Jón Ólafsson derives the native words from well-established Icelandic vocabulary, and, when necessary, resorts to word compounding. When doing so, the choosen word is either fairly attested or not found in any Icelandic sources. Unattested words of this kind, albeit not common in the list, are of particular interest. It has been argued that Icel. *botnleysa* 'abyss' is an independent coinage by Jón Ólafsson as it attested seldom and late in the sources (cf. *ÍT*). Moreover, it appears to calque, albeit chiasmically, AGr. *ἄβυσσος*, the source word for Lat. *abyssus*. Furthermore, some discussion is offered from the perspective of language policy and planning studies. It is argued that the list accords well with some of the roles for which language planning is intended (Ari Páll Kristinsson 2007: 113–120), namely: prescrip-

tivism, language standardisation/codification, language cultivation, and readily-intelligible linguistic usage. In addition, it is suggested that Icel. *botnleysa* may be seen as a form of learned word formation, which itself is one of the many possible roles and objectives of language planning. Icelandic has in fact not infrequently been subject to archaistic tendencies not just in the lexicon but also in its morphology (see Kjartan G. Ottósson 1987). In the final section of the present paper the relationship of this wordlist to Jón Ólafsson's major linguistic work, the dictionary, is outlined. The list accords in almost every respect with the dictionary and it is not unlikely that it may have prompted Jón to collect some words that he later added to the dictionary, which not infrequently carry a purist colouring (cf. Jón Helgason 1926: 120).

Overall, it may be said that the list bears powerful witness to the purist Icelandic language activities of an intellectual élite. However, if the list is to be dated to the second quarter of the 18th century, that is to Jón Ólafsson's first and most fruitful period of intellectual production, then it follows that conscious purist activity in Iceland can be seen as already well developed by that time. Of course, the pioneering activities of first Arngrímur Jónsson the Learned in the 17th century, then of Árni Magnússon, and even more of Jón Ólafsson, paved the ideological and practical way for a later and more programmatic purism, which duly flourished in the last quarter of the 18th century, thanks to the establishment of the Icelandic Society of Learned Arts (*Hið íslenzka lærdómslistafélag*) in 1779, and then further secured its position during the Icelandic independence movement in the 19th century.

If the nature of the purist activity in the late 17th and early 18th centuries is examined overall, three kinds of purism are identifiable: orthographical, morphological and lexical (cf. Kjartan G. Ottósson 1990: 20–24). Setting the first two aside, as they are not the focus of the present discussion, the importance of Jón's work lies chiefly in its contribution to the development of lexical purism in Iceland. Last but not least, the list also testifies to two further facts, namely that a) the ideas of Arngrímur Jónsson were at least partly acknowledged by at least some of the men involved in cultural heritage matters; and b) that there was an even more conscious use of the inner potential of the Icelandic lexicon. The outcome of this is widely discernible in Jón's linguistic writings, especially those from the period prior to his sojourn in Iceland between 1743 and 1751.

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Landsbókasafn, Reykjavík

Lbs 728 4to
Lbs 822 4to
Lbs 853 4to

Jón Ólafsson from Grunnavík and the Icelandic language purism in the first half of the 18th century: A wordlist in AM 1013 4to (fol. 37v)

Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi 131, 2016

ERRATA CORRIGE

> : correct as

p. 93 Icel. *geisli* … namely **gaisilōn-* > **gaisilan-*

p. 93 The Proto-Germanic suffix *-ilōn-* > **-il-*