THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. THE PHONOLOGY OF THE ELIS SAGA. A DISSERTATION

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649249435

The University of Chicago. The Phonology of the Elis Saga. A dissertation by $\,$ Jessie Louise Jones

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JESSIE LOUISE JONES

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. THE PHONOLOGY OF THE ELIS SAGA. A DISSERTATION



839.68 E430 J77

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. FOUNDED BY JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER.

(183)

THE PHONOLOGY

OF THE

ELIS SAGA

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTIES OF THE
GRADUATE SCHOOLS OF ARTS, LITERATURE, AND
SCIENCE, IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.
(DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES)

BY

JESSIE LOUISE JONES

CHICAGO

1897.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Elis saga is the Old Norwegian version of the French chanson de geste, Elie de Saint Gille. The translation was made by the abbot Robert, at the direction of the king Hakon Hakonson, probably in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

The principal manuscript is the one known as A, in the library of the University of Upsala. The only edition of the saga is that of Eugen Kölbing, Heilbronn, 1881, upon which the present work on the phonology is based. In the introduction to this edition is found a full discussion of the manuscript question.

The principal French manuscript is fr. 25516 in the Bibliothèque Nationale ed. by Gaston Raynaud, Paris, 1879. This is also a copy or version, made in the thirteenth century, of an older work. The original, upon which both French and Norwegian versions are based, dates, probably, from the twelfth century.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Ark. = Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi.

B. = Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur,

herausgegeben von H. Paul und W. Braune.

Barl. = Barlaams ok Josaphats saga, Keyser and Unger. Christiania,

El. = Elis saga ok Rosamundu, Eugen Kölbing. Heilbronn, 1881.

Fritzner = Fritzner, Ordbog over det Gamle Norske Sprog. Kristiania,

1883.

Grd. = Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologie.

Hom. Ll. = Homiliebokens Ljudlära. Elis Wadstein, Upsala, 1890.

Kahle = Altisländisches Elementarbuch, Heidelberg, 1896.

Kluge = Kluge's Etymologisches Wörterbuch.

Lit. Zt. = Litteratur-Zeitung.

Noreen Gr. = Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik. Adolf Noreen,

Halle 1892. Skr. Hum. Vet. = Skrifter utgifna af Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i

Upsala. Sv. Lm. = Bidrag till kännedom om de Svenska Landsmålen ock

Svenskt Folklif.

Tüb. Br. . = Tübinger Bruchstücke der älteren Frostuthingslög, E. Sievers.

Letters italicized in the text of Kölbing, to indicate the abbreviations of the ms., are enclosed in parenthesis.

t. = times, m. t. = many times.

PHONOLOGY.

PART I.

VOWELS.

CHAPTER I.

VOWELS IN SYLLABLES WITH CHIEF ACCENT AND STRONG SECONDARY ACCENT.

- § t. Germanic d
 - 1) = a, e. g. barns 237, bar 3515, gras 328.
 - 2) \(d\) (usually written without accent):
 - a) When final, e. g. d (prep.) 514, bra 321.
 - b) By compensatory lengthening; c.g. ass 128, mál 237.
 - c) Before consonant combinations: before tt((ht), c.g. mattugr 72⁷; before cacuminal I + consonant, e.g. hálsi 42⁷. According to Noreen, Gr., § 111, 3., a. 3., this lengthening is rare in Norwegian dialects.

Since the quantity of the vowels is for the most part not indicated in El. this question cannot be determined with certainty. However the accent, when it is used, usually marks a long vowel (cf. Chapter III), so it is probable that this is a case of such lengthening. The example given is the only case where the accent is written. Other examples without sign of lengthening are: forms of halfr, e.g. 787, forms of hialpa, e.g. 7010, forms of hialmr, e.g. 1015. Wadstein, Hom. Ll., p. 121, gives several instances of such lengthening in Hom.

Note. In a foot-note on the page referred to, Wadstein suggests, that, as the only Modern Norwegian dialects where this lengthening is known are Saetersdalen and Telmarken, the presence of a few such cases in Hom. might

indicate that the ms. originated in one of those places. With equal reason we might refer the ms. of El. to one of these places.

2) e by i-umlaut.

The regular representation of this umlaut in El. is e; e. g. bernskr 15^{10} , forms of brenna, e. g. 80^4 , degi 8 t. e. g. 12^1 , gengit 80^{13} , hendr 10 t. e. g. 94^2 . It is also represented by as 13 times, as follows: forms of aellztr 38^3 , 78^{15} , forms of aerfd 8^{14} , 4^9 (\sim erfda 1^{10}), aerfingi 3^1 , aendilongu 31^6 (\sim endilongu 112^5 , enda 30^{11}), aefter 20^{13} , 41^{14} (pt), (\sim eftir 15t. e. g. 80^{10}), haefer (hafa) 23^7 (\sim forms of hava with e. m. t. e. g. 70^{11}), aelli 3^6 , aengiar 34^9 , -om 36^{17} (\sim engium 78^3 , 23^{18}).

This e > oe by w-umlaut: e. g. oexi 3711, 738.

- 4) > o (an) by n-umlaut:
 - a) When the umlaut-producing n has been lost. 110 cases occur in El. where d was followed by an n which has disappeared. In all of these cases umlaut occurs: bond (n. pl.) 5 t. e. g. 30¹⁴, 38⁶, fogr (n. s. f.) 33¹¹, 74⁴, hond 10 t. e. g. 30¹⁴.
 - b) When the umlaut-producing n remains. Of 247 cases occurring with n retained after d, 236 have umlaut and 11 do not. Examples with umlaut are: olln 12 t. e. g. 64, 79 (aniln 3 t. e. g. 2412), ollum 17 t. e. g. 11012, 1131, (anilnm 6 t. e. g. 938), fogrum 343, 9511 (fangrom 724), gaungom 208, hongs 778, hvossum 438, samm 88. samm is corrected to sam by Cederschild, Lit. Zt. III 14. col. 502.

The 11 cases without umlaut are as follows: havom 20⁵, 62³ (~ hovum 20⁵, 38⁵), akavom 5³, ambun 25⁶, ambuna 6⁵ (~ au(m)bun 109¹⁴), almosor 2⁸, 3⁵, kastalum 68¹⁵, spitalum 2², skinandom 87⁴, biorblandodu 61¹.

The question as to the n-umlaut of d in the Norse languages has received much attention of late, two theories having come into especial prominence, namely, those of Axel Kock and Elis Wadstein. The literature bearing on the two theories just named is as follows: Kock, Ark., IV, X, XII, and B., XIV, Svenska Landsmål, XII; Wadstein, B, XVII, Sv. Lm., XIII, Skr. Hum. Vet., III., Hom. Ll., pp. 42 ff., 142.