

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE AND DEMONSTRATIVE DETERMINERS IN TRANSITIONAL
ICELANDIC: A CASE STUDY IN ODDUR GOTTSKÁLKSSON'S NEW TESTAMENT,
MATTHEW 1-17

by

JACKSON CRAWFORD

(Under the direction of Jared S. Klein)

ABSTRACT

In this paper I address the use of demonstrative determiners in the first known translation of the New Testament into Icelandic - that of Oddur Gottskálksson, published in 1540. This thesis is chiefly concerned with what identifiable semantic purpose these determiners serve in the language of Oddur, and what this can tell us about this transitional period between Classical Old Icelandic and the Icelandic of today. However, I argue that this translation is heavily influenced by the language of the Vulgate Bible, and so caution must be exercised in attributing all its forms to the spoken Icelandic of the period.

INDEX WORDS: Definite Article, Determiner, Icelandic, Oddur Gottskálksson, Norse, New Testament, Matthew

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DEDICATION

To my grandparents, June and Dorothy Crawford, for making possible my education,
by beginning it.

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1. Introduction

The topic of this thesis was chosen in consultation with Prof. Jared S. Klein. I was to look at determiners in the earliest known translation of the Biblical Book of Matthew into Icelandic, and to compare this to the Old English translation thereof, and to the Vulgate Latin translation, a version of which was the basis for the Old English translation, and probably of this Icelandic translation (see below).

The earliest Icelandic translation of the New Testament is that of Oddur Gottskálksson; this was, in 1540, the earliest book printed in Icelandic. I describe Oddur Gottskálksson's language as *transitional* Icelandic because of its 1540 date; 1550 is the year used to divide the Middle stage of the Scandinavian languages from the Modern stage by Einar Haugen (1976). Oddur Gottskálksson's New Testament might thus be characterized as a late specimen of Middle Icelandic or an early specimen of Modern Icelandic. Whichever one might choose to label it, this translation is, in 1540, a middle ground between the "Classical" Old Icelandic of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries, and the standardized Modern Icelandic of today.

In a letter which was printed with the translation, King Christian III of Denmark certifies that learned men have confirmed that Oddur's translation is in right concord with the Latin (Sigurbjörn Einarsson et al. 1988: xxii, 3). However, it is a point of controversy whether Oddur's translation may owe more to Luther's German (Ibid.: xxi - xxxii).

Because this point is important to any conclusions drawn in this paper, I will address it here in summary, with evidence gleaned from my own reading of the text.

The text of Luther's Bible does not "petrify" foreign names in the shape in which they are found in the Greek from which Luther was translating; rather Luther adapts a single form for the names that is close to their Hebrew shape. This is especially noticeable in the long lists of foreign names in the genealogies at the beginning of Matthew. Consider one verse:

Matt. 1.7 (Greek) Σολομών δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ῥοβοάμ, Ῥοβοάμ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἀβιά, Ἀβιά δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἀσάφ,

Matt. 1.7 (Luther) *Salomo zeugete Roboam. Roboam zeugete Abia. Abia zeugete Assa.*
 "Solomon begat Roboam, Roboam begat Abia, Abia begat Asaph."

Luther gives the Hebrew names distinct shapes (*Salomo, Roboam, Abia, Assa*) which he uses consistently through the text. Consider now the same verse in Oddur's Icelandic translation:

Matt. 1.7 (Oddur) *Salamon gat Róbóam, Róbóas gat Abía, Abía gat Assa.*

And the same verse in the Vulgate:

Matt. 1.7 (Vulgate) *Salomon autem genuit Roboam: Roboam autem genuit Abia: Abia autem genuit Asa:*

It would appear that Oddur, seeing *Roboam* as the object of *genuit* in the first clause, assumed its final *-m* to be an accusative marker, and so replaced it with a nominative-looking final *-s* in the next clause, where *Roboam* is the subject, the one begetting. But in the same clause, he finds *Abia* as an object, but this word lacks a clear Latinate-looking accusative marker, and so he does not modify its shape there or in the next clause, where *Abia* is the subject. But Oddur waffles about the shape of foreign names throughout the text; for instance, in the very next verse, Matt. 1.8, rendering *Ioram* from the Latin as *Jóram* both as subject and object of the verb *gat*. Such confusion about the shapes of these names would not have arisen from translating primarily from Luther, where these names are given one shape that they keep throughout the text.

Oddur also uses Icelandic present participles to translate Latin present participles in Latin constructions which might be more clearly translated as finite verbs, as they are in Luther's translation.¹

Matt. 8.9 (Vulgate) *Nam et ego homo sum sub potestate, habens sub me militis: et dico huic Uade et uadit, et alio Ueni et uenit: et seruo meo Fac hoc et facit.*

“For I also am a man under authority, having under me soldiers: and I say to this one, Go, and he goes, and to another, Come, and he comes, and to my servant, Do this, and he does it.”

Matt. 8.9 (Oddur) *Því að eg em maður höfðingjaskapnum undirgefinn, hafandi undir mér hernaðarsveina, og nær eg segi þessum: Far, fer hann, og öðrum: Kom þú, og hann kemur, og þræli mínum: Gjör þetta, og hann gjörir það.*

“For I am a man subject to authority, having under me soldiers, and when I say to this one: Go, he goes, and to another: Come, and he comes, and to my servant: Do this, and he does it.”

Matt. 8.9 (Luther) *Denn ich bin ein Mensch, dazu der Obrigkeit unterthan und habe unter mir Kriegsknechte; noch wenn ich sage zu einem: Gehe hin, so gehet er; und zum andern: Komm her, so kommt er; und zu meinem Knecht: Thu das, so thut ers.*

“For I also am a man subject to authority, and have under me soldiers; and when I say to one: Go thither, he goes, and to another: Come here, he comes, and to my servant: Do that, and he does it.”

It is difficult to understand why Oddur, were he translating from Luther's text, would introduce a present participle *hafandi* here when he could much more easily translate the German finite verb *habe* as an Icelandic finite verb *hefi*. Similarly in Matt. 15.30:

Matt. 15.30 (Vulgate) *Et accesserunt ad eum turbae multae, habentes secum mutos, clodos, caecos, debiles, et alios multos: et proiecerunt eos ad pedes eius, et curauit eos.*

¹ Oddur is not consistent about translating Latin present participles as Icelandic present participles. For instance:

Matt. 16.8 (Vulgate) *Sciens autem Iesus dixit: Quid cogitatis inter uos, modicae fidei, quia panes non habetis?*

“Knowing (this) however, Jesus said: What do ye think among you, ye of little faith, because ye have no bread?”

Matt. 16.8 (Oddur) *En er Jesús fornam það, sagði hann til þeirra: Þér lítiltrúaðir, hvar fyrir hugsi þér um það þó þér hafið eigi brauðin með yður haft?*

“But when Jesus perceived this, he said to them: Ye of little faith, why do ye think about it though ye have brought no bread with you?”

“And a great crowd came to him, having with them the dumb, the lame, the blind, the crippled, and many others: and threw them at his feet, and he cured them.”

Matt. 15.30 (Oddur) *og margt fólk dreif til hans, hafandi með sér halta, blinda, mállausa, vanaða og marga aðra og snörpuðu þeim fram fyrir fætur Jesú. Og hann læknaði þá.*
 “And many folk came to him, having with them the lame, the blind, the dumb, the crippled, and many others, and threw them before his feet. And he cured them.”

Matt. 15.30 (Luther) *Und es kam zu ihm viel Volks, die hatten mit sich Lahme, Blinde, Stumme, Krüppel, und viele andere und warfen sie Jesu vor die Füße, und er heilete sie.*
 “And many folk came to him, and they had with them the lame, the crippled, the blind, the dumb, and many others, and laid them before Jesus’s feet, and he healed them.”

Oddur also often translates Latin ablative absolutes as a sort of dative absolute, whereas the language of Luther often adjusts Greek genitive absolutes into more idiomatic German expressions:

Matt. 9.33 (Vulgate) *Et eiecto daemone, locutus est mutus: et miratae sunt turbae dicentes: Numquam apparuit sic in Israhel.*
 “And with the devil driven out, the mute one spoke. And the crowds wondered, saying: Never has such appeared in Israel.”

Matt. 9.33 (Oddur) *Og að út reknum djöflinum talaði hinn mállausi. Og fólkid undraðist það og sagði: Aldri hefir slíkt séð verið í Írael.*
 “And with the devil driven out, the mute one spoke. And the people wondered at that and said: Never has such been seen in Israel.”

Matt. 9.33 (Luther) *Und da der Teufelt war ausgetrieben, redete der Stumme. Und das Volk verwunderte sich und sprach: Solches ist noch nie in Israel ersehen worden.*
 “And when the devil was driven out, the mute one spoke. And the people wondered and said: Such has never yet been seen in Israel.”

Oddur’s use of *einninn* (Modern Icelandic *einnig* “also”) in Matt. 13.51 is one of his clearest Vulgatisms of this sort, translating Latin *etiam*:

Matt. 13. 51 (Vulgate) *Intellexistis haec omnia? Dicunt ei: Etiam.*
 “Have you understood all these things? They said to him: Yes.”

Matt. 13. 51 (Oddur) *Og Jesús sagði til þeirra: Hafir þér allt þetta undirstandið? Þeir sögðu: Einninn herra.*
 “And Jesus said to them: Have ye understood all this? They said: Yes, Lord.”

This use of *etiam* (“still, also”) to mean “yes” is frequent in the Vulgate, though such a use of *einninn/einnig* has no natural currency in Old or Modern Icelandic (see e.g. Cleasby and Vigfússon 1874: 122). Furthermore, Luther translates it, more naturally, as *ja*:

Matt. 13. 51. *Und Jesus sprach zu ihnen: Habt ihr das alles verstanden? Sie sprachen: Ja, Herr.*

And the Modern Icelandic translation of 2007 also uses a more natural *já*:

Matt. 13. 51. „*Hafið þið skilið allt þetta?*“
„Já,“ *svöruðu lærisveinarnir.*

Oddur would not have introduced this potentially confusing use of *einninn* if he were translating directly from Luther’s German. Only an attempt to remain faithful to the Latin Vulgate text, potentially at the cost even of clarity, would have produced this form in his Icelandic.² That the language of the 2007 Icelandic translation - in many ways rather conservative - should use *já* adds to the suspicion that Oddur’s diction was not motivated entirely by considerations of clarity to an Icelandic readership.

² Notably, at Matt. 17.25, Oddur does translate *etiam* as *já*:

Matt. 17.25 (Vulgate) Ait: *Etiam. Et cum intrasset domum, praeuenit eum Iesus, dicens: Quid tibi uidetur, Simon? Reges terrae a quibus accipiunt tributum uel censum? a filiis suis an ab alienis?*

Matt. 17.25 (Oddur) *Hann sagði: Já. Og er hann gekk inn í húsið, kom Jesús fram að honum og sagði: Hvað líst þér Símon, af hvorum taka jarðlegir konungar toll eður skattpenung? Af sínum sonum eður af annarlegum?*

“He said: Yes. And when he went into the house, Jesus prevented him and said: What does it seem to you, Simon, of whom do earthly kings take a toll or tax money? From their own sons or from strangers?”

However, that Oddur’s translation of *etiam* is here *já* does not invalidate the point that he would not reasonably have translated Luther’s *ja* of Matt. 13.51 as *einninn*. Only the Latin text presents an opportunity for Oddur to use *einninn* so unnaturally in his translation of Matt. 13.51.

2. Methods

In consultation with Prof. Jared S. Klein, a suitable selection of the text (hereafter referred to as "our corpus") was arrived at, comprising chapters 1-17 of the book of Matthew. My first task was to transcribe our corpus by hand, verse-by-verse, in Vulgate Latin (using the text of Wordsworth and White 1920), Oddur's Icelandic (using the text of Sigurbjörn Einarsson *et al.* 1988, with spelling standardized and modernized), and Old English (using the text of Liuzza 1994).

Having this triglossic transcription at my disposal, I then made a list of all noun phrases with occurrences of the definite article in Oddur's Icelandic, listing too the verse of occurrence and the corresponding noun phrase of the Latin and the Old English. I did the same for occurrences of *sá/sú/það* (when used as a determiner) and *þessi/þetta* (when used as a determiner). In an effort to elucidate their relationship to these determiners, I also made a chart for all the possessive genitives and possessive pronominal adjectives in our corpus. All of these charts, save the latter, are found in the Appendices, q. v.

Keeping in mind that it was my intent to analyze the Icelandic of Oddur's New Testament as *transitional*, and also its status as a translation and not necessarily as natural language, I selected two foils to compare its language to. One was to be a specimen of natural Old Icelandic prose, and another a specimen of natural Modern Icelandic prose. For the former my choice was *Egils saga* (in the edition of Bergljót S. Kristjánsdóttir and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, 1998, with spelling standardized and modernized), and for the latter the novel *Brekkukotsannáll* by Halldór Laxness (1957). I kept copies of these works at hand at all times

during the writing process, turning to them for comparison when a specimen of Oddur's prose seemed unusual. I also constantly checked Oddur's language against that of a recent Icelandic Bible (Hið íslenska biblíufélag, 2007), for the purpose of direct comparison of the same material in the language of today (though I was to find that even this was rather archaic compared to the everyday language of e.g. *Brekkukotsannáll*).

Noting the possible influence of Luther's German translation on Oddur's work, I also kept at hand a copy of Luther's translation for comparison (using the 1882 edition of the Ev. Luth. Central Bibel Gesellschaft), and a copy of the Greek Book of Matthew (using the edition of Legg, 1940) as well, for the influence that this, through Luther, might have had on Oddur's Icelandic.

After making some initial comments based on ideas that I had conceived while copying the text, and then writing the charts, I proceeded to go through the charts systematically, attempting to explain both dominant paradigms and irregularities. For this purpose I deemed that the optimal organization of the paper's chapters would be by the determiner in question, addressing particular questions that the use of each raised.

It should be noted that in cases where a tally is given of the number of occurrences of a particular use of a demonstrative, these uses are not necessarily mutually exclusive to each other, and e.g. *sá/sú/það* may both specify the head noun to an adjunct relative clause and be part of a locative expression.

3. The Definite Article

There are 397 occurrences of the definite article, both affixed and non-affixed, in our corpus.

The definite article of Oddur's Icelandic is more limited in range than the English definite article *the*. It is notable that for our corpus, Matthew 1-17, in the English *Authorized Version* ("King James Version") of 1611, there are 759 occurrences of *the*, almost twice as many definite articles as in our corpus in Oddur's Icelandic.

Oddur never uses the definite article in a verse where the Vulgate already has a demonstrative determiner (such as *iste/ista/istud, hic/haec/hoc, ille/illa/illud*); these are translated by *sá/sú/það* or *þessi/þetta* (see the chapters on these determiners below).

3.1 Functions of the Definite Article

Similar to the primary function of the English definite article, one of the roles of the definite article in Oddur's Icelandic is to particularize the noun that it specifies:

Matt. 1.6 *Jesse gat kónginn Davíð. En Davíð kóngur gat Salamon af þeirri sem var húsfriú Úríe.*

"Jesse begat the king David. But King David begat Solomon of that woman that was the wife of Urias."

Matt. 14.28 *En Pétur svaraði honum og sagði: Ef þú ert það, herra, þá bjóð mér að koma til þín á vatninu.*

"But Peter answered and said: If thou beest, Lord, then command me to come to thee on the water (i.e., on the water where you are walking, not on any body of water)."

This particularizing function may extend to the role of marking something already mentioned:

Matt. 9.2 *Og sjá, að þeir færdi til hans iktsjúkan mann, sá er í sæng lá. En sem Jesús leit þeirra trú, sagði hann til hins iktsjúka: Þínar syndir eru þér fyrirgefnar.*

“And behold, that they brought to him a man swollen with gout, who lay in a bed. But when Jesus saw their faith, he said to the gouty man: Thy sins are forgiven to thee.”

Matt. 12.11 *En hann sagði til þeirra: Hver maður er sá af yður sem hefir einn sauð, og ef hann fellur á þvottdögum í gryfju, grípur hann eigi hann og upp dregur?*

Matt. 12.12 *Hve miklu meir er maðurinn sauðnum betri? Fyrir því leyfist á þvottdögum gott að gjöra.*

“But he said to them: What man is that one among you who has one sheep, and if he falls on the Sabbath day in a hole, he does not grab him and draw him up?”

“By how much more is the man better than the sheep? Thus it is allowable to do good on the Sabbath day.”

This particularizing function often takes on the character of a marker of possession, acting like a possessive pronominal adjective, and often used in parallel to one:

Matt. 10.25 *Eigi er lærisveinninn yfir meistararannum, og ekki þjóninn yfir sínum herra.*

“The disciple is not above the teacher (i.e., his teacher, the particular teacher from whom he learns) and the servant is not over his lord.”

Contrary to the tendency in English, the definite article is used by Oddur with nouns that are proverbial instances of their referents. Consider the following verse, containing the familiar proverb “Man does not live by bread alone”:

Matt. 4.4 *Hann svaraði og sagði: Skrifað er að maðurinn lifir eigi af einu saman brauði, heldur af sérhverju orði sem fram gengur af Guðs munn.*

“He answered and said: It is written that man lives not by bread alone, but rather by every word that goes forth from God’s mouth.”

Here there is no particular man that is being referred to, and indeed the referent is every single instance of “man,” i.e. “mankind.” Notably, the Old English translation also specifies “man” with a definite article (*ne leofað se man be hlafe anum*), as does Luther’s German (*Der Mensch lebet nicht vom Brod alleine*).

Similarly in the formulation of the Golden Rule:

Matt. 7.12 *Því allt hvað þér viljið mennirnir gjöri yður, það skulu þér og þeim gjöra. Því að þetta er lögmálið og spámennirnir.*

“Thus all which ye want men to do for you, that shall ye do for them. For this is the law and the prophets.”

Again, the referent is no particular group of men, but all men, “men” as a concept embracing all instances of men.

Another use of the definite article that is contrary to Modern English practice (and in large part to Old English practice) is with abstract nouns:

Matt. 5.6 *Sælir eru þeir sem hungra og þyrsta eftir réttlætínu því að þeir skulu saddir verða.*

“Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness because they shall be sated.”

Matt. 5.9 *Sælir eru þeir sem friðinn gjöra því að þeir munu Guðs synir kallaðir verða.*

“Blessed are they that make peace because they will be called God’s sons.”

In Matt. 5.6, compare Old English *rihtwisnesse* “righteousness” without the definite article.

But abstract nouns do not require a determiner, and the same noun may appear twice in the same verse, unspecified and specified, apparently for semantic reasons:

Matt. 11.12 *En í frá dögum Jóhannis baptista allt til þess nú er komið, þolir himnaríki ofurefli, og þeir sem ofureflið gjöra, hrifsa það til sín.*

“But from the days of John the Baptist till this one now come, the kingdom of heaven endures violence, and those that do the violence (i.e. not any violence, but this particular violence just mentioned, the violence against the kingdom of heaven), grab it for themselves.”

Often, however, when abstract nouns do not have definite articles attached, they are otherwise specified, e.g. by a genitive noun or possessive pronoun:

Matt. 6.33. *Fyrir því leitið fyrst Guðs ríkis og hans réttlætis, og mun yður allt þetta til leggjast.*

“Thus seek first God’s kingdom and his righteousness, and he will provide you all this.”

One curious instance of the definite article is in the doxology of the Lord’s Prayer:

Matt. 6.13 *Og inn leið oss í freistni, heldur frelsa þú oss af illu. Því að þitt er ríkið, máttur, og dýrð um aldir alda, amen.*

“And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, power, and glory through ages of ages, amen.”

It is unclear why *ríki* “kingdom” should be definite, but not *máttur* “power” or *dýrð* “glory.” All three are definite in Luther’s translation, and Oddur is not ordinarily reluctant to specify abstract nouns with the definite article. In a sequence of nouns, all intended to be interpreted as definite, can the first be specified with the article, and the definiteness of the rest of the nouns in the sequence be simply understood? Or is “the kingdom” simply to be understood as “the kingdom of heaven”? There are not enough such sequences in our corpus to be certain.

3.2 *The Independent (Non-Affixed) Definite Article*

Of the 397 occurrences of the definite article in our corpus, 367, or about 92%, are of the definite article affixed to the noun that it specifies, and only 30, or about 8%, are of the independent (non-affixed) article. The independent article may thus be taken as the marked form of the article, and the conditions for its appearance outlined.

The independent definite article occurs chiefly (in 19 of its 30 occurrences) with adjectives used substantively (cf. Heusler 1921: 122). For example:

Matt. 9.28 *En er hann kom inn í húsið, gengu hinir blindu til hans. Jesús sagði til þeirra: Trúi þér að eg kunni að gjöra yður þetta? Þeir sögðu til hans: Að vísu, lávarður.*
 “But when he came into the house, the blind went to him. Jesus said to them: Do ye believe that I could do this for you? They said to him: Certainly, lord.”

Matt. 9.33 *Og að út reknum djöflinum talaði hinn mállessi. Og fólkid undraðist það og sagði: Aldri hefir slíkt séð verið í Írael.*
 “And with the devil driven out, the mute one spoke. And the people wondered at that and said: Never has such been seen in Israel.”

Matt. 17.10 *Og hans lærisveinar spurðu hann að og sögðu: Hvar fyrir segja hinir skriflærðu þá það Elías hljóti áður til koma?*
 “And his disciples asked him and said: Why then do the scribes (“the writing-learned,” cf. Luther’s *Schriftgelehrten*) say that Elias must come first?”

Within our corpus, no substantive adjectives occur with a definite article that is affixed. This is expected, as, in the Scandinavian languages, only nouns can take a suffixed definite article (Haugen 1976: 298).

The independent article also sometimes precedes a noun with a preposed adjective. For example:

Matt. 4.15 *Landið Sabúlon, landið Neftalím við sjávargötu hinumegin Jórdanar og Galílea hinnar heiðnu þjóðar.*

“The land of Zabulon, the land of Nephthalim along the sea across the Jordan, and Galilee of the heathen people.”

Matt. 5.35 *eigi heldur við jörð því að hún er skör hans fóta, eigi við Jerúsalem því að hún er borg hins mikla konungs.*

“Nor on the earth because it is the stool of his feet, nor on Jerusalem because it is the city of the great king.”

Matt. 7.13 *Gangið inn um hið þröngva hlið. Því að það hlið er vítt, og sá vegur er breiður sem leiðir til fortöpunar, og þeir eru margir sem á honum reika.*

“Go in through the narrow gate. For that gate is wide, and that way is broad, which leads to perdition, and they are many that walk on it.”

There are few such instances in the text of a noun occurring with an adjective and a definite article, but those that do occur show the separable article, with a few explainable exceptions that show the suffixed article. For instance:

Matt. 4.5 *Þá tók djöfullinn hann með sér í borgina helgu og setti upp á burst musterisins.*
“Then the devil took him with him into the holy city, and set him on the top of the temple.”

This is not a case of slavish devotion to the Latin original, which with the opposite word order (also followed by Luther) reads *sanctam ciuitatem*. Rather the explanation is probably to be sought in the use of the affixed definite article to make a proper noun of its referent - *borgina helgu* is not “the holy city” but “The Holy City,” i.e. Jerusalem, and no more general meaning is intended to be evoked³.

Another apparent exception is easier to clarify. The adjective (or quantitative determiner) *allur* “all” inflects only as a strong adjective and never as a weak (Kress 1982: 112), as here:

Matt. 8.32 *Og hann sagði til þeirra: Fari þér. En þeir fóru út og hlupu í svínin, og sjá, að öll svínahjörðin fleygði sér með ös mikilli í sjóinn, og þau drekkust í vatninu.*

³ Compare *herrann*, “the lord,” i.e. “God” in Matt. 9:38, below.

“And he said to them: Go. And they went out and leapt into the swine, and behold, that all the herd of swine threw themselves in a great crowd into the sea, and they drowned in the water.”

Note, however, the particular meaning of this construction, which English shares: “all the herd,” i.e. “all the members of the herd,” not “all herds.” Contrast this with the use of *allur* together with a plural noun, indicating “all generations” (not “all the generation,” i.e. “all the members of the generation”) where the definite article is not used in Icelandic (but may be used in the corresponding English translation):

Matt. 1.17. *Allir ætliðir frá Abraham allt að Davíð eru fjórtán liðir og frá Davíð allt til babyloneskrar herleiðingar eru fjórtán liðir, og frá babyloneskri herleiðing allt til Kristum eru fjórtán liðir.*

“All the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations and from David to the Babylonian captivity are fourteen generations, and from the Babylonian captivity to Christ are fourteen generations.”

3.3 The Definite Article as Marker of Possession

As mentioned above, the Icelandic definite article sometimes serves a possessive purpose, translatable in English by a possessive pronominal adjective and not by the English definite article. For example, consider:

Matt.15.11. *Það hvað er inn gengur í muninn, það saugar eigi manninn, heldur hvað er fram af muninum gengur, það saugar manninn.*

“That which goes into his mouth, that does not besmirch a man, but rather what goes out of his mouth, that besmirches a man.”

The mouth out of which, or into which, something is going, is of course the mouth of the man. Contrast this with the use of a possessive pronoun, such as in the following verse:

Matt. 6.29. *En eg segi yður það Salómon í allri sinni dýrð var eigi svo skrýddur svo sem eitt af þeim.*

“But I say to you, that Solomon in all his wealth was not so adorned as one of them.”

I initially hypothesized that the definite article was used instead of a pronominal adjective to indicate that a head noun was possessed by a noun not yet named in the discourse. Closer

reading undid this hypothesis, revealing instances of the article as a marker of possession even after the naming of the possessor:

Matt. 7.9 *En hver er þann mann af yður, sá, ef sonurinn biður hann um brauð, að hann bjóði honum stein?*

“But who is that man of you, who, if his son asks him for bread, offers him a stone?”

Matt. 8.3 *Og Jesús útrétti höndina, snart hann og sagði: Eg vil, vert hreinn. Og jafnsnart varð hans líkþrá hrein.*

“And Jesus stretched out his hand, touched him and said: I will it, be clean. And immediately his body became clean.”

Matt. 10.21 *Og bróðir mun selja bróður í dauða og faðir soninn. Og niðjarnir munu upp rísa í móti foreldrunum og þeim fjörræði veita.*

“And the brother will sell his brother in death and the father his son. And children will rise up against their parents and give them plots against their lives.”

That the underlined portions of 7.9 and 8.3 are *sein Sohn* and *seine Hand*, respectively, in Martin Luther’s German, and *filius suus* and *manum* (alone with no possessive pronominal adjective), respectively, in the Vulgate, suggests that Oddur is, for reasons of native Icelandic grammar, deliberately inserting the definite article as a marker of possession in some places in his Icelandic translation. Notably, the three examples just cited are of inalienable possession (of a body part or of a family member), but inalienable possession is in our corpus capable of being expressed with either a definite article or a possessive pronominal adjective:

Matt. 5.29 *Því ef þitt hægra auga hneykslar þig, þá kipp því út, og rek það frá þér. Því að skárri er þér að einn þinna lima farist, heldur en allur þinn líkami kastist í helvískan eld.* "Thus if thy right eye offend thee, then cut it out, and cast it away from thee. For it is better for thee that one of thy limbs be lost, than that all thy body be cast in the fire of hell."

Matt. 8.21 *En annar af hans lærisveinum sagði til hans: Lávarður, lofa mér fyrst að fara og greftra föður minn.*

"But another of his disciples said to him: Lord, let me first go and bury my father."

Matt. 9.18 *Og sem hann var þetta að tala við þá, sjá, að foringi nokkur gekk að og kraup fyrir honum niður og sagði: Herra, dóttir mín er ný sáluð; því kom og legg þína hönd yfir hana, og mun hún lifna.*

“And as he was talking about this with them, behold, that a certain prominent man walked up and knelt down before him and said: Lord, my daughter is newly dead; but come and lay thy hand over her, and she will come back to life.”

Matt. 14.31 *En Jesús rétti jafnsnart höndina út og greip hann og sagði til hans: Þú lítiltrúaður, fyrir hví efaðir þú?*

“And right away Jesus, extending his hand, caught him, and said to him: O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt?”

Noticeably, however, the instances where Oddur uses the possessive pronouns, and not the definite article, as markers of possession, are usually instances when the Latin also uses a possessive pronoun. As Latin can omit these when the context is clear (Allen and Greenough 2001: 176), there are numerous instances in the Vulgate where something is possessed by something else but is not explicitly marked as such:

Matt. 10. 24 (Vulgate) *Non est discipulus super magistrum, nec seruus super dominum suum.*

“The disciple is not above his teacher, and the servant is not above his lord.”

Matt. 14.31 (Vulgate) *Et continuo Iesus extendens manum, adprehendit eum: et ait illi: Modicae fidei, quare dubitasti?*

“And right away Jesus, extending his hand, caught him, and said to him: O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt?”

And these are often the places where Oddur inserts the definite article, rather than a possessive pronominal adjective:

Matt. 10.24 (Oddur) *Eigi er lærisveinninn yfir meistaranum, og ekki þjóninn yfir sínum herra.*

Matt. 14.31 (Oddur) *En Jesús rétti jafnsnart höndina út og greip hann og sagði til hans: Þú lítiltrúaður, fyrir hví efaðir þú?*

Whereas in those cases where the Latin has a possessive pronominal adjective, Oddur is able to translate e.g. *meus* as *minn*, *eius* as *hans* or *hennar*, etc. directly:

Matt. 5.29 (Vulgate) *Quod si oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te, erue eum et proice abs te: expedit enim tibi ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum, quam totum corpus tuum mittatur in gehennam.*

Matt. 5.29 (Oddur) *Því ef þitt hæggra auga hneykslar þig, þá kipp því út, og rek það frá þér. Því að skárri er þér að einn þinna lima farist, heldur en allur þinn líkami kastist í helvískan eld.*

"Thus if thy right eye offend thee, then cut it out, and cast it away from thee. For it is better for thee that one of thy limbs be lost, than that all thy body be cast in the fire of hell."⁴

Matt. 5.36 (Vulgate) *neque per caput tuum iuraveris quia non potes unum capillum album facere aut nigrum.*

Matt. 5.36 (Oddur) *Þú skalt og eigi sverja við höfuð þitt því að þú formátt eigi að gjöra eitt hár hvítt eður svart.*

"Thou also shalt not swear on thy head, for thou lackst the power to make one hair white or black."

Matt. 8.21 (Vulgate) *Alius autem de discipulis eius ait illi: Domine, permittite me primum ire et sepelire patrem meum.*

Matt. 8.21 *En annar af hans lærisveinum sagði til hans: Lávarður, lofa mér fyrst að fara og greftra föður minn.*

"But another of his disciples said to him: Lord, let me first go and bury my father."

Latin lacks the definite article completely, and Oddur frequently has to insert it in his Icelandic translation. But when the Latin does not explicitly state the possession, Oddur does not wish to insert the pronominal adjective. Instead, it would seem, he inserts something that he is accustomed to insert: the definite article.

Those instances in which he does insert a possessive pronoun - only 30⁵ - are typically in verses where he finds it necessary to avoid e.g. awkward Latin participial constructions and has to reword entire clauses. For example:

Matt. 7.29 (Vulgate) *erat enim docens eos sicut potestatem habens: non sicut scribae eorum et Pharisei.*

"For he was teaching them as one having power: not as their scribes and the Pharisees."

Matt. 7.29 (Oddur) *því að hans predikan var voldug og eigi líka sem hinna skriftlærða og faríseis.*

⁴ Where not otherwise specified, my translation of a passage follows Oddur's Icelandic.

⁵ I omit those instances where e.g. *propter me* is rendered *fyrir mínar sakir*. The substitution of the Icelandic idiom for the Latin idiom is so routine in the text as not to weigh heavily in this discussion.

“For his teaching was mighty and not as that of the scribes and the Pharisees.”

Other instances of superficially unmotivated insertion may be in imitation of Luther:

Matt. 9.5 (Vulgate) *Quid est facilius dicere Dimittuntur tibi peccata? aut dicere Surge et ambula?*

Matt. 9.5 (Luther) *Welches ist leichter, zu sagen: Dir sind deine Sünden vergeben, oder zu sagen: Stehe auf und wandle?*

Matt. 9.5 (Oddur) Hvort er auðveldara að segja: Þér eru þínar syndir fyrirgefna, eða að segja: Statt upp og gakk?

“Which is easier to say: To thee are thy sins forgiven, or to say: Stand up and walk?”

Matt. 9.18 (Vulgate) *Haec illo loquente ad eos, ecce princeps unus accessit et adorabat eum dicens: Filia mea modo defuncta est: sed ueni impone manum super eam, et uiuet.*

Matt. 9.18 (Luther) *Da er solches mit ihnen redete, siehe, da kam der Obersten einer und fiel vor ihm nieder und sprach: Herr, meine Tochter ist jetzt gestorben; aber komm und lege deine Hand auf sie, so wird sie lebendig.*

Matt. 9.18 (Oddur) *Og sem hann var þetta að tala við þá, sjá, að foringi nokkur gekk að og kraup fyrir honum niður og sagði: Herra, dóttir mín er ný sáluð; því kom og legg þína hönd yfir hana, og mun hún lifna.*

“And as he was talking about this with them, behold, that a certain prominent man walked up and knelt down before him and said: Lord, my daughter is newly dead; thus come and lay thy hand over her, and she will come back to life.”

There are other instances of insertion where the Latin uses a verb for which Oddur’s Icelandic lacks a direct equivalent, forcing him into circumlocutions that often involve possessive pronouns. This is little different than Oddur’s frequent insertion of subject pronouns that are so often lacking in the pro-drop Latin, as in:

Matt. 9.31 (Vulgate) *Illi autem exeuntes diffamauerunt eum in tota terra illa.*
“However, leaving that land they spread the news about him in all that land.”

(Oddur) *En er þeir gengu burt þaðan, báru þeir hans rykti út um allt það land.*
“But when they went abroad thence, they bore his fame out over all that land.”

Less often, Oddur may actually replace a possessive pronoun in Latin with a definite article in Icelandic:

Matt. 6.3 (Vulgate) *Te autem faciente elemosynam nesciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextera tua.*

Matt. 6.3 (Oddur) *En nær þú gefur ölmusu, þá lát þína vinstri hönd eigi vita hvað hin hægri gjörir.*

“But when thou givest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right doth.”

Cf.: Matt. 6.3 (Luther) *Wenn du aber Almosen gibst, so laß deine linke Hand nicht wissen, was die rechte thut.*

However, the majority of verses where the definite article is used to indicate possession, are those in which the Vulgate does not use a possessive pronoun. It is nevertheless notable that the clearest cases of the definite article used to mark possession are on body parts or family members - i.e., inalienable possession.

3.4 Mannsins son: Definite Genitives

Throughout our corpus, whenever a head noun (of whatever case) is possessed by another noun in the genitive case (and not by a possessive pronominal adjective or by a proper name), the genitive noun usually takes a definite article. This is true regardless of the relative word order of the two nouns involved, and regardless of the definiteness of the noun phrase. For example:

Matt. 4.16 *Lýður sá er sat í myrkrunum, hann sá ljós mikið. Og þeir sem sátu í þeirri byggð og daudans skugga, þeim er nú ljós upprunnið.*

“The people that sat in darkness, they saw great light. And those that sat in that area and in the shadow of death, to them has light now appeared.”

Matt. 7.15 *Vaktið yður fyrir falsspámönnum sem til yðar koma í klæðum sauðanna, en innra eru þeir glefsandi vargar.*

"Be watchful for false prophets that come to you in the clothes of sheep, while within they are ravening wolves."

Matt. 9.12 *En þá Jesús heyrði það, sagði hann til þeirra: Megendur hafa eigi læknarans þörf, heldur þeir sem vanmegna eru.*

“But when Jesus heard that, he said to them: The strong have no need of a doctor, but rather they that are sick.”

Matt. 12.34 *Þér nöðru kyn, hverninn megi þér gott mæla á meðan þér eruð sjálfir vondir? Því að munnur mælir af gnægð hjartans.*

“Ye kin of snakes, how can ye speak good while ye are yourselves evil? For the mouth speaks from the abundance of the heart.”

It is noticeable, however, that there is not *always* a definite article on the genitive noun. However, the genitive noun with a definite article affixed to it is the commonest construction, and most exceptions to this rule show that a possessive genitive noun⁶, though it may lack a definite article, is still normally specified by some kind of determiner in Oddur’s Icelandic.

In the Modern Icelandic translation of 2007, the same general pattern holds - that a genitive noun in a possessive relationship with another noun usually takes the definite article, and not the noun that is possessed; cf. *skuggalandi dauðans* in 4.16, *gnægð hjartans* in 12.34 (corresponding to the underlined words in the above citations from Oddur’s translation).

In Oddur’s Icelandic, this determiner may not be a definite article, but may rather be a possessive pronominal adjective, a quantitative determiner, or a different demonstrative determiner:

Matt.7.3 *En hvað sér þú ögn í auga bróður þíns, og að þeim vagli, sem er í sjálfs þíns auga, gáir þú ekki?*

“But why seest thou the mote in thy brother’s eye, and check not the beam that is in thine own eye?”

Matt. 8.30 *En þar var langt í burt frá þeim hjörð margra svína í gæslu.*

“But there was far away from them a herd of many swine in custody.”

Matt. 15.27 *En hún sagði: Satt er það, herra, en þó eta hundar af molum þeim sem detta af borðum drottna þeirra.*

“But she said: That is true, Lord, but still the dogs eat those crumbs that drop from their lords’ tables.”

There are cases in our corpus where a possessive genitive noun modifying another noun does not take any kind of determiner - as in English, proper names (including *Drottinn*, “(the)

⁶ I specify a “possessive genitive” noun because not all of the functions of the genitive in Icelandic are possessive. In particular, the genitive is the case of the object of the very common preposition *til* “to.” Also, certain objective genitive constructions behave differently from the possessive genitive in not requiring a determiner on the genitive (e.g. *dóms sekur*, “in danger of judgment,” Matt. 5.21).

Lord”) do not normally take determiners.⁷ However, it appears that, for the most part, a genitive common noun is obligated to be specified by a determiner⁸. Quite consistent patterns can be found in those that are not so specified.

“Men” normally does not have a definite article attached when genitive:

Matt. 17.22. *En sem þeir sýsluðust um í Galílea, sagði Jesús til þeirra: Eftirkomandi er það mannsins sonur man ofurseldur verða í manna hendur.*

“But when they dwelled in Galilee, Jesus said to them: In the future the Son of man will be sold into men’s hands.”

There is one exception (out of seven occurrences) in our corpus:

⁷ A curious instance (and the single instance in our corpus) in which a proper name takes a definite article:

Matt. 6.24. *Enginn kann tveimur herrum í senn að þjóna. Annaðhvort hann afrækir þann eina eða elskar hinn annan, elligar hann þýðist þann eina og forlítur hinn annan. Þér getið eigi Guði þjónað og hinum Mammon.*

“No one can serve two masters at the same time. Either he neglects the one and loves the other, or he serves the one and neglects the second. Ye cannot serve God and also Mammon.”

This is likely to be another instance of Oddur’s awkward handling of foreign names.

⁸ It appears that this also applies to the expression “for the sake of ___,” which takes a genitive noun with *sakir*, “sake”:

Matt. 5.10 *Sælir eru þeir sem fyrir réttlætisins sakir ofsóktir verða því að þeirra er himnaríki.* “Blessed are they that for the sake of righteousness are persecuted because theirs is the kingdom of heaven.”

Matt. 17. 20. *Jesús svaraði og sagði til þeirra: Fyrir yðvarrar vantrúar sakir. Því eg segi yður fyrir sann: Ef þér hefðuð trú svo sem mustarðskorn, mætti þér segja fjalli þessu: Far þú héðan og þangað, og mundi það fara. Og ekkert mundi yður ómáttugt vera.*

“Jesus answered and said to them: For your disbelief’s sake. For I say to you for truth: If ye had faith the size of a mustard seed, ye could say to this mountain: Move thou hence and thither, and it would move. And nothing would be impossible for you.”

However, it appears not to apply to the expression “a case of ___,” which takes a genitive noun with *sök*, “case”:

Matt. 5.32 *En eg segi yður: Hver hann forlætur sína eiginkonu (að undantekinni hórunar sök), sá gjörir það að hún verður hórdómskona. Og hver eð fastnar þá sem frá manni er skilin, sá drýgir hór.*

“But I say to you: Whoever puts away his wife (except for a case of adultery), he causes her to become an adulteress. And whoever attaches himself to a woman who is separated from a man, he commits adultery.”

Matt. 16.23. *En hann snerist við og sagði til Péturs: Far frá mér, andskoti, þú ert mér hneykslanlegur því að þú skilur eigi hvað Guðs, heldur hvað mannanna er.*

“But he turned against him and said to Peter: Fare away from me, devil, thou art offensive to me, for thou understandest not what is God’s, and what is rather men’s.”

This is a difficult exception to explain, because elsewhere in our corpus *manna* is used without a determiner both for referring to specific groups of men (Matt. 8.28) and for referring to men in general (Matt. 15.9). The treatment of *manna/mannanna* does not seem to have anything to do with the language of Luther, as Luther has e.g. *der Menschen Hände* where Oddur has *manna hendur* in 17.22, above.

The expression *um aldir alda*, “through ages of ages,” i.e. “for ever and ever,” that concludes the Lord’s Prayer at Matt. 6.13, lacks the article on genitive *alda*. However, this is a fixed expression found already in the Old Norse translation of *Elucidarius* (Cleasby and Vigfússon 1874: 763).

The nouns *himinn* (“heaven”), *veröld* (“world”), *himnaríki* (“the kingdom of heaven” - but not *ríki* “kingdom/realm”), *helvíti* (“hell”), and *jörð* (“earth”) appear without articles when genitive:

Matt. 4.8 *Og enn aftur flutti djöfullinn hann með sér upp á ofur hátt fjall og sýndi honum öll ríki veraldar og þeirra dýrð.*

“And yet again the devil took him with him up on a very high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and their riches.”

Matt. 11.25 *Á þeim sama tíma andsvaraði Jesús og sagði: Eg þrifa þig faðir, herra himins og jarðar, að þú duldir þetta fyrir spekingum og forvitringum og opinberaðir það smælingjum.*

“At that same time Jesus answered and said: I praise thee, father, lord of heaven and of earth, that thou didst hide this from the wisemen and the prophets and didst reveal it to the humble folk.”

Matt. 16.19. *Og þér mun eg gefa lykla himnaríkis, og allt hvað þú bindur á jörðu, skal á himnum bundið vera, og allt hvað þú leysir á jörðu, skal á himnum leyst vera.*

“And to thee will I give the keys of the the kingdom of heaven, and all that thou bindest on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and all that thou loosest on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.”

These all refer to unique, specific locations - there is only one earth, heaven, hell, etc.

Note however, that in one instance in our corpus, *himins* appears with a definite article affixed:

Matt. 16.3 *Og á morgna segi þér: Í dag verður hreggviðri því að himinninn er rauður og dimmur. Þér hræsnarar, himinsins ásján kunni þér að dæma, en að vita teikn þessara tíma kunni þér eigi.*

“And in the mornings ye say: Today there will be rough weather because the sky is red and dim. Ye hypocrites, ye can judge the face of the sky but cannot perceive the signs of these times.”

However, while this is the one exception to the syntactic treatment of possessive genitive *himins*, it is also the one exception to that word’s usual Biblical semantics - clearly referring here not to “Heaven” as “the home of God” but to “heaven” as “the everyday sky.” Just as its English cognate *heaven*, *himinn* has this dual meaning both in Old and in Modern Icelandic.

The noun possessed by the genitive noun may or may not take the article, but usually does not. The fact that it is so uncommon in Oddur’s text for nouns that are possessed to be definite, means that there is almost no trace of the common Modern Icelandic construction of the kind *penninn minn*, “pen-the my,” where, if specified by a possessive pronominal adjective, and if a concrete item, a head noun normally takes the definite article (see Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson 1993:192-3):

Matt. 2.6 *Og þú Betlehem á Júdalandi ert öngvaneginn hin minnsta á meðal höfðingjum Júda því að af þér mun koma hertogi sá er stjórna skal yfir fólk mitt Írael.*

“And thou Bethlehem in Judea art oppressed the least among the chiefs of Judea because from thee will come a leader who shall rule over my people Israel.”

Matt. 7.16 *Af ávöxtum þeirra megi þér þá kenna. Verða nokkuð vínber saman lesin af þyrnum elligar fíkjur af þistlum?*

"By their fruits ye can judge them. Are grapes gathered from thorns? Are figs gathered from thistles?"

Matt. 7.22 *Margir munu til mín segja á þeim degi: Herra, herra, höfum vér eigi spáð í þínu nafni, höfum vær⁹ og eigi í þínu nafni djöfla út rekið? Og í þínu nafni gjörðu vær mörg kraftaverk?*

"Many will say to me on that day: Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, have we not also driven out devils in thy name? And in thy name worked many miracles?"

Matt. 17.2 *Og hans ásján skein sem sól, en hans klæði urðu svo björt sem ljós.*

"And his face shone as the sun, and his clothes became as bright as light."

While Modern Icelandic would probably attach a definite article to the nouns in the underlined phrases, it is a feature of somewhat archaic style not to attach the article to such nouns. Thus, for instance, while even in the 2007 translation of the Bible, there are many head nouns specified by genitive pronouns and left without the article (including all those underlined in the above verses), this is seldom the case in the more colloquial Modern Icelandic of *Brekkukotsannáll*, which has e.g. *klukkunni okkar* ("our clock" - chapter 1), *í partinum okkar* ("in our part" - chapter 2), *skepnan mín* ("my creature" - chapter 5), and even has definite nouns in the vocative - *barnið gott* ("good boy" - chapter 1).

The lack of such constructions in Oddur's Icelandic is probably to be attributed to one or more of three sources - conscious archaism on Oddur's part, or simply the fact that this construction was not yet prevalent in the Icelandic of the sixteenth century, or an attempt to follow the wording of the Vulgate closely.

That the latter may well be the case can be suggested based on the way that he handles a particular form of inalienable possession - the possession of body parts. In Old and Modern Icelandic, the person to whom the body part belongs is indicated in the dative, not in the genitive.

(Old Icelandic) *Fór hann þá norður á Mæri og hitti þar Harald konung og gekk Ölvir til handa honum og fór norður til Þrándheims með konungi um haustið og komst hann í hina mestu kærleika við konung og var með honum lengi síðan og gerðist skáld hans.*
(from *Egils saga* chapter 4)

"He went then north in Møre and met there King Harald and Ölvir went to his hand (i.e., acknowledged his lordship) and went north to Trondheim with the king in the autumn and

⁹ The form of the pronoun "we" in the text alternates between *vér* and *vær*.

came to have great friendship with the king and was with him long after and was made his skáld.”

(Modern Icelandic) *Augun í mér* (example from Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson 1993: 192)
 “My eyes.”

Matt. 12.13 (Oddur) *Þá sagði hann til mannsins: Rétt út hönd þína. Og hann rétti hana út, og hún varð heil sem hin önnur.*

“Then he said to the man: Stretch out thy hand. And he stretched it out, and it was as hale as the other.”

The syntax in Oddur’s Bible is thus unlike that of both natural Old and Modern

Icelandic¹⁰, but like that of the Vulgate:

Matt. 12.13 (Vulgate) *Tunc ait homini: Extende manum tuam. Et extendit: et restituta est sanitati sicut altera.*

“Then he said to the man: Extend thy hand. And he extended it: and it was restored to health just as the other.”

That Oddur’s Icelandic more greatly resembles the Latin than either Old or Modern Icelandic on this point, might invite doubt as to the suitability of his translation for drawing conclusions about the development of Icelandic possessive constructions in general. On the other hand, however, he is not normally reluctant to insert definite articles (if nothing else) into his translation, and that he does not do so in this case may well indicate that the construction was not normal in the Icelandic of the time.

And there are instances of the definite article (or other determiners) specifying the head noun possessed by a noun in the genitive, but these are often motivated by other considerations. For instance, *herrann* “the lord” in Matt. 9.38 is specified by the genitive noun *kornskerunnar* “of the harvest.” But the definite article on *herrann* can be explained from the clear reference of *herrann* to the Lord, i.e. God, thus making it essentially a proper name:

Matt. 9.38. *Fyrir því biðjið herrann kornskerunnar að hann sendi verkmenn í sína kornskeru.*

¹⁰ Notably excepted from this remark is the Modern Icelandic Bible of 2007, which also uses pronominal adjectives in this way, rather than the dative constructions called for by the colloquial language.

“Thus request ye that the lord of the harvest send workmen to his harvest.”

Compare *borgina helgu*, “the holy city,” for the Holy City,” i.e. Jerusalem, in Matt. 4.5, above, p. 12.

There is also the expression, *í staðinn* + GEN. = “in the place of ____”:

Matt. 2.22 *En þá hann heyrði það Arkilaus ríkti í Judea í staðinn föður síns Heródis, óttaðist hann þangað að fara, og í draumi fékk hann undirvísan af Guði og fór í álfur Galílealands,*

“But when he heard that Archelaus reigned in Judea in the place of his father Herod, he feared to fare thither, and in a dream he received a command from God and fared into the region of Galilee.”

Another case to consider is the definite article on *vininn* “the friend” in Matt. 11.19, which may be motivated from its position in a sequence of nouns with the definite article, even though this puts it in the rare situation of being a definite noun specified by genitive nouns that are not definite (though one of those genitive nouns is a compound with *manna*, “men’s,” a genitive that does not normally take the article, and the other, *syndugra* “sinners,” is a substantivized adjective):

Matt. 11.19 *Mannsins son er kominn, át og drakk, og þeir segja: Sjáið ofátsmanninn og vínsvelgjarann, vininn tollheimtumanna og syndugra. Og spekin hlýtur svo að réttlætast láta af sínum niðjum.*

“The Son of Man has come, he ate and drank, and they say: Behold a glutton and a gulper of wine, friend of publicans and sinners. And wisdom must be so that it be justified of the children.”

The head noun may also be semantically motivated to be specified by the definite article or by another determiner:

Matt. 2.2 og sögðu: *Hvar er sá nýfæddi kóngur Gyðinga, því vér höfum séð hans stjörnu í Austurríki og erum komnir að tilbiðja hann.*

“and they said: Where is that one newly-born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and we are come to adore him.”

Matt. 13.18 *Af því heyrð þessa eftirlíking sæðarans:*

“Thus hear this parable of the sower:”

Matt. 13.19 *Þá er nokkur heyrir orðið ríkisins og undirstendur eigi, kemur hinn vonði og hrifur burt hvað sáð er í hans hjarta. Þetta er það hvað við veginn er sáð.*

“When someone hears the word of the kingdom and does not understand, the evil comes and takes away what is sown in his heart. This is that which is sown upon the road.”

Two verses from our corpus suggest too that certain nouns, namely *nafn* "name" and *laun* "reward," when possessed, do not govern a genitive noun with a determiner:

Matt. 10.41 *Hver hann meðtekur spámann í spámanns nafni, sá fær spámanns laun, og hver hann meðtekur réttlátan í réttláts nafni, sá fær réttláts laun.*

Matt. 10.42 *Og hver hann gefur einum að þessum vesalingum kaldan vatsbikar að drekka í lærisveins nafni, sannlega segi eg yður að eigi missir hann sín verðlaun.*

“Whoever receives a prophet in the name of a prophet, he shall receive a prophet’s reward, and whoever receives a righteous man in the name of righteousness, he shall receive a righteous man’s reward.

“And whoever gives one of these wretches a cold beaker of water to drink in the name of a disciple, truly I say to you that he will not fail to receive his due reward.”

However, there is limited data available from our corpus to support a conclusive statement; both *nafn* and *laun* otherwise occur with possessive pronominal adjectives or genitive proper nouns, but nowhere else in our corpus do they occur specified by common nouns in the genitive.

3.5. Selected Comparisons to the West Saxon Gospels

The West Saxon Gospels agree tolerably well with Oddur’s use of the definite article - in our corpus, 212 words have the definite article in both Oddur’s Icelandic and the West Saxon Gospels, so about half of the occurrences of the definite article in Oddur’s Icelandic have corresponding articles in the Old English¹¹.

This correlation is affected in some cases by differences (and errors) of translation in the two languages. Consider the different translations of Latin *pauperes euangelizantur* (“the poor are evangelized”) in Matt. 11.5:

¹¹ And 23 occurrences of the definite article in Oddur’s Icelandic have corresponding *pronominal adjectives* in Old English, a point relevant in light of the use of the definite article in the place of the possessive pronoun in many places in Oddur’s text.

Matt. 11.5 (Oddur) *Blindir sjá, haltir ganga, líkþráir hreinsast, daufir heyra, dauðir upprísa, og fátækum verða guðsspjöllin [sic] boðuð.*

“The blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise up, and the gospels are offered to the poor.”

Matt. 11.5 (OE) *blinde geseoþ: healte gað: hreofe synt aclænsode: deafe gehyraþ: deade arisað: þearfan bodiað:*

“The blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise up, the poor preach.”

Apparently the OE translator has taken Latin *euangelizare* as a deponent verb *euangelizari*. But Oddur has here used a periphrastic expression with the noun *guðspjall* “gospel,” which receives a definite article.

In many verses, the Icelandic and the OE closely agree in the placement of the definite article:

Matt. 1.22 (Oddur) *En allt þetta skeði svo að uppfylltist hvað sagt er af Drottni fyrir spámanninn, svo segjanda:*

“But all this happened so that it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, speaking thus:”

Matt 1.22 (OE) *Soplice eal þys wæs geworden. þæt gefylled wære þæt fram drihtne gecweden wæs. þurh þone witegan;*

“Truly all this happened, that that might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet:”

Matt. 12.13 (Oddur) *Þá sagði hann til mannsins: Rétt út hönd þína. Og hann rétti hana út, og hún varð heil sem hin önnur.*

“Then he said to the man: Stretch out thy hand. And he stretched it out, and it became as hale as the other.”

Matt. 12.13 (OE) *Ða cwæð he to þam menn aþene þine hand and he hi aþenede. and heo wæs hal geworden swa seo oþer;*

“Then he said to the man: Stretch out thy hand. And he stretched it out, and it was become as hale as the other.”

Matt. 13.38 (Oddur) *en akurinn er heimurinn, góða sæðið eru þeir ríkisins synir, en illgresið eru illskunnar synir.*

“But the field is the world, the good seed is the sons of the kingdom, but the weed is the sons of malice.”

Matt. 13.38 (OE) *Soplice se æcyr is þes middangeard þæt gode sæd þæt synt þæs heofonlican rices bearn. Se coccel synt soplice þa manfullan bearn.*

“But the field is this world, the good seed are the kingdom’s sons, and the weed are the sons of malice.”

In the last example, the Icelandic and the OE agree four times in inserting the definite article, but disagree about Latin *mundus* “world”: Oddur translates it as *heimurinn* “the world,” and the OE as *þes middangeard* “this Middle-earth.”¹²

In other verses, there are disagreements based on relatively simple matters of diction, such as the OE translator’s preference for using anaphoric pronouns when the Latin verb does not explicitly state a subject (a situation where Oddur sometimes prefers to restate the subject):

Matt. 5.11 (Vulgate) *Beati estis cum maledixerint uobis et persecuti uos fuerint, et dixerint omne malum aduersum uos mentientes propter me:*

“Blessed are ye when they have spoken ill of you and have persecuted you, and have said every bad thing against you, lying, on account of me.”

Matt. 5.11 (Oddur) *Sælir eru þér nær eð lýðurinn formælir yður og ofsóku veitir og talar í gegn yður alla vonsku, fyrir mínar sakir þá ljúgandi.*

“Blessed are ye when the people curse you and persecute you and speak against you all bad things, lying, on account of me.”

Matt. 5.11 (OE) *Eadige synt ge þonne hi wyriað eow and ehtað eow: and secgeað ælc yfel ongen eow. leogende for me;*

“Blessed are ye when they abuse you and persecute you, and say every evil against you, lying, on account of me.”

Matt. 7.25 (Vulgate) *et descendit pluuiia, et uenerunt flumina, et flauerunt uenti, et inruerunt in domum illam, et non cecidit: fundata enim erat supra petram.*

“And rain fell, and floods came, and winds blew, and attacked that house, and it did not fall: for it was founded upon the stone.”

Matt. 7.25 (Oddur) *Og er hríðviðri gjörði og vatsflóðið kom og vindar blésu og dundu að húsinu, og húsið féll eigi að heldur því að það var grundvallað yfir helluna.*

“And when the rough weather hit and the flood came and the winds blew and resounded against the house, and the house did not fall because it was founded over the stones.”

¹² However, this may be interference in the OE from a common poetic formula. Cf. *Riddle 40*, l. 42-3a: *Iceom micle yldra þonne ymbhwyrft þes oþþe þes middangeard*, “I am much older than this world or this Middle-earth,” Krapp and Dobbie 1936: 201, or *The Wanderer*, l. 62b-63: *Swa þes middangeard ealra dogra gehwam dreoseð ond fealleð*, “So this Middle-earth perishes and falls everyday,” Ibid.: 135.

Matt. 7.25 (OE) *þa com þær ren and mycele flod and þær bleowun windas and ahruron on þæt hus and hyt na ne feoll; Soðlice hit wæs ofer stan getimbrod;*
“Then there came rain and a great flood and there the winds blew and fell on the house and it did not fall. Truly it was built over stone.”

4. The Demonstrative *sá/sú/það*

The pronoun *sá, sú, það*, in origin the *so/to- pronoun of Proto-Indo-European, has several functions in Icelandic, which can be illustrated from our corpus.

It may function on its own, as a third person personal pronoun, essentially equivalent to English *he, she, it*:

Matt. 13.48. *Og nær það er fullt, draga þeir það að landi, sitja síðan og saman lesa hina góðu í keröld, en vondum snara þeir út.*

“And when it is full, they drag it to land, sit afterwards and collect the good in the net, but the bad they throw out.”

It may also function, with or without the aid of *er*, as a relative pronoun, essentially equivalent to English *who, which, that* in this sense:

Matt. 1.16. *Jakob gat Jósef, mann Maríu, af hverri eð fæddur er Jesús sá er kallast Kristur.*

“Jacob begat Joseph, husband of Mary, from whom was born Jesus who is called Christ.”

It may more rarely function as a subordinating conjunction, as English *that* also sometimes functions:

Matt. 4.12. *En er Jesús heyrði það Jóhannes var gripinn, fór hann til Galílealands.*

“But when Jesus heard that John was captured, he went to Galilee.”

However, in the context of this paper, only one of its functions, that of a demonstrative pronoun, will be considered. In this function it acts as a determiner to an associated substantive:

Matt. 10.2. *En þeirra tólf postulanna nöfn eru þessi: Fyrstur er Símon, sá er kallaðist Pétur, og Andrés bróðir hans,*

“But the names of those twelve apostles are these: The first is Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother,”

Matt. 10. 23 *En nær þeir ofsækja yður í þeirri borg, flýið í aðra. Sannlega segi eg yður að þér munuð eigi fullkomnað geta borgirnar í Írael þar til að mannsins sonur kemur.*

“But when they persecute you in that city, flee into another. Truly I say to you that ye will not get through the cities in Israel completely until the Son of man comes.”

As a determiner the word is not frequent in our corpus- 62 instances, compared to 397 of the definite article, about one-sixth as frequent. Semantically its domain is not always clear, belying a simple translation as English “that.” However, there are certain regular patterns in its use.

4.1 Functions of the determiner *sá/sú/það*

Whenever a noun is modified by a relative clause, that head noun to that relative clause is specified by *sá/sú/það*¹³. This is the most common use of the *sá/sú/það* determiner in our corpus, accounting for 28 of its 62 occurrences (about 45%):

Matt.13.24 *Aðra eftirlíking lagði hann þeim fyrir og sagði: Himnaríki er líkt þeim manni, sá er sáði góðu sæði í akur sinn.*

“He set a second parable before them and said: The kingdom of heaven is like the man who sowed good seed in his field.”

Matt.15.27 *En hún sagði: Satt er það, herra, en þó eta hundar af molum þeim sem detta af borðum drottna þeirra.*

“But she said: That is true, Lord, but still the dogs eat those crumbs that drop from their lords’ tables.”

Note especially that this rule applies no matter how specific the referent of the head noun, so that the determiner may even call for translation as the indefinite article in English:

Matt.9.32. *En þá þessar voru út gengnir, sjá, höfðu þeir til hans þann mann sem dumbi var og djöfulóði.*

“But when these were gone out, behold, they brought to him a man who was dumb and possessed.”

¹³ Occasionally too by the definite article:

Matt. 2.9 *Sem þeir höfðu nú kónginum heyrt, fóru þeir af stað. Og sjá, að stjarnan, sem þeir séð höfðu í Austurríki, gekk fram fyrir þeim, allt þar til hún kom og stóð þar upp yfir hvar sveinninn var.*

“Now when they had heard the king, they went out of that place. And behold, that the star, which they had seen in the East, went forth before them, all the way till it came and stood above where the boy was.”

In each of the above examples, the English translation calls for a different determiner of different specificity (from *that* to *the* to *a(n)*), so that it is seen that *sá/sú/það* as a determiner, far from consistently indicating deixis, can be translated by a range of English determiners including the indefinite article¹⁴. What these examples have in common then is not their semantics but their syntax: a noun that is the head of an adjunct relative clause is specified with *sá/sú/það*. This is consistent with what Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson (2006: 200-1) reports for the syntax of contemporary Icelandic, and it is also a common use for *sá/sú/það* used alone as a pronoun:

Matt. 5.6 *Sælir eru þeir sem hungra og þyrsta eftir réttlætinu*¹⁵ því að þeir skulu saddir verða.

“Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness because they shall be sated.”

Also common is the use of this determiner along with forms of *samur* “same,” accounting for 11 of the occurrences (about 18%) of the *sá/sú/það* determiner:

Matt. 8.13 *Og Jesús sagði til höfðingjans, Gakk héðan, verði þér eftir því þú trúðir. Og hans þjón varð heill á þeirri sömu stundu.*

“And Jesus said to the centurion: Go hence, and may it be unto thee as thou didst believe. And his servant was healed in that same hour.”

Matt. 9.26 *Og þetta rykti barst út um allt það sama land.*

“And this fame spread out over all that same land.”

¹⁴ Interesting as a possible exception is Matt. 12.22:

Matt. 12.22 *Þá varð til hans hafður djöfulóða maður sá er blindur var og mállaus. Og þann læknaði hann svo að hinn dumbi og blindi talaði og sá.*

"Then was brought to him a devil-possessed man that was blind and dumb. And he healed him so that the the dumb and blind man spoke and saw."

From the position of *sá* before *er*, this is an ambiguous case - it is either a rare example of a determiner postposed to a noun that also has a preposed adjective (reading the noun phrase as *djöfulóða maður sá*) or a rare example of an unspecified head noun to a relative clause (if the noun phrase is read as *djöfulóða maður* and *sá* is taken as a relative with *er*).

But this verse is exceptional in another respect, namely the agreement of the adjective *djöfulóða* with the noun *maður*. *Maður* is the nominative singular, which if definite should take a weak adjective *djöfulóði* or if indefinite should take a strong adjective *djöfulóður*. However, the ending *-i* is rare on adjectives in Oddur's text (Jón Helgason 1929: 66) - Matt. 9:32, above, is one of its few occurrences. By analogy with that verse, I propose that the *sá* of Matt. 12:22 be read as a postposed determiner to the noun *maður*, and the *-a* of *djöfulóða* as a weak ending.

¹⁵As seen on p. 10, Oddur's Icelandic allows a definite article on an abstract noun.

Matt. 12.50 Því að hver hann gjörir míns föðurs vilja, þess á himnum er, sá sami er minn bróðir, systir og móðir.

“For whosoever does the will of my father, who is in heaven, the same is my brother, sister, and mother.”

Matt. 13.44 Og enn þá er himnaríki líkt fólgnum fjársjád á akri, hvern eð maður fann og faldi hann. Og af þeim fagnaði, er hann hafði yfir honum, gekk hann burt og seldi allt hvað hann hafði og keypti þann sama akur.

"And also the kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hidden in a field, which a man found and hid. And for that treasure, which he had over him, he went away and sold all that he had and bought that same field."

This is in contrast to the pattern in the more archaic language of the Poetic Edda, where *samur* never occurs with *sá/sú/það* (cf. Kellogg 1988: 378-9) but rather with the non-affixed definite article:

Hávamál 77. Deyr fé, deyja frændur,
deyr sjálfur ið sama.
Eg veit einn að aldri deyr,
dómur um dauðan hvern.

“Cattle die, friends die,
you yourself die the same.
I know one thing that never dies,
the judgement on each one dead.”

Fáfnismál 4. Sigurður kvað:
Ættirni mitt kveð eg þér ókunnigt vera
og mig sjálfan ið sama.
Sigurður eg heiti, Sigmundur hét minn faðir,
er hefð þig vopnum vegið.

“Sigurð said:
My lineage, I say, is unknown to you
and myself the same.
I am Sigurð, Sigmund was my father,
‘tis I that fought you with weapons.”

Both the article and *sá/sú/það* are possible constructions with *samur* in *Egils saga*: *hinn sama kost* (“the same choice”) in chapter 3, *það sama haust* (“the same autumn”) in chapter 8, even *þetta sama ákall* (“the same invocation”) in chapter 9.

The *sá/sú/það* determiner is also closely associated with locative expressions, used with nouns of place and time and often with a preposition; 24 of its occurrences in our corpus (about 39% of the total) are of this sort, many following closely the Vulgate - for example, *á þeim degi* for *in illa die*, *á þeim sama tíma* for *in illo tempore*. Because of this, the close association with locative expressions must be treated with a grain of salt. Nevertheless, the examples abound:

Matt. 7.22 *Margir munu til mín segja á þeim degi: Herra, herra, höfum vér eigi spáð í þínu nafni, höfum vær og eigi í þínu nafni djöfla út rekið? Og í þínu nafni gjörðu vær mörg kraftaverk?*

“Many will say to me on that day: Lord, lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, have we also not driven out devils in thy name? And in thy name worked many miracles?”

Matt. 11.25 *Á þeim sama tíma andsvaraði Jesús og sagði: Eg þrísá þig faðir, herra himins og jarðar, að þú duldir þetta fyrir spekingum og forvitringum og opinberaðir það smælingjum.*

“At that same time Jesus answered and said: I praise thee, father, lord of heaven and of earth, that thou didst hide this from the wisemen and the prophets and didst reveal it to the humble folk.”

Matt. 14.35 *Og er hann þekktu þarsveitarmenn, sendu þeir út um allt það byggðarlag og færðu til hans alla vanfæra menn.*

“And when the local men recognized him, they sent out around all that region and brought to him all ill men.”

While substantivized ordinal numbers occur with the definite article (like other substantivized adjectives), substantivized cardinal numbers occur with *sá/sú/það*:

Matt. 6.24 *Enginn kann tveimur herrum í senn að þjóna. Annaðhvort hann afrækir þann eina eða elskar hinn annan, elligar hann þýðist þann eina og forlítur hinn annan. Þér getið eigi Guði þjónað og hinum Mammon.*

“No one can serve two masters at the same time. Either he neglects the one and loves the other, or he serves the one and neglects the second. Ye cannot serve God and also Mammon.”

Matt. 10.2 *En þeirra tólf postulanna nöfn eru þessi: Fyrstur er Símon, sá er kallaðist Pétur, og Andrés bróður hans.*

“But the names of those, the twelve apostles, are these: First is Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother.”

Matt. 15.36 *og tók þau sjö brauðin og fiskana. Og er hann hafði þakkir gjört, braut hann þau og gaf lærisveinunum. Hans lærisveinar gáfu þau fólkinu.*

“And he took those, the seven loaves and the fishes. And when he had rendered thanks, he broke them and gave them to the disciples. His disciples gave them to the people.”

Sá/sú/það seems also to have emphatic contrastive force. Compare the use of the definite article to the use of *sá/sú/það* in the excerpt below:

Matt. 7.25 *Og er hríðviðri gjörði og vatsflóðið kom og vindar blésu og dundu að húsinu, og húsið féll eigi að heldur því að það var grundvallað yfir helluna.*

Matt. 7.26. *Og hver hann heyrir þessi mín orð og gjörir þau eigi, hann er líkur þeim fávísa manni sem upp byggði sitt hús á sandi.*

Matt. 7.27. *Og er þeysidögg gjörði og vatsflóð kom og vindar blésu og dundu að því húsi, og það hrapaði, og þess hrapan varð mikil.*

“And when the rough weather hit and the flood came and the winds blew and resounded against the house, the house did not fall because it was founded over the stones.

“And each man who hears these my words and does them not, he is like the foolish man who built his house on the sand.

“And when the storm-rain hit and the flood came and the winds blew and resounded against that house, it crashed down, and its ruin was great.”

Matt. 7.25. and 7.27 are almost identical up to the mention of the house in question -

since these are two different houses, and they are being compared to one another, the use of the *sá/sú/það* determiner in Matt. 7.27 appears to be a deliberate use of the contrasted meanings of the determiner and *sá/sú/það* for emphatic contrast: both houses are *domum illam* in the Vulgate version of 7.25 and 7.27 (and both are *das Haus* in Luther’s translation).

4.2 *Sá/sú/það* in translation

Sometimes the presence of *sá/sú/það* is motivated by nothing more than a translation of Latin *ille/illa/illud*, a demonstrative usually (like *sá/sú/það*) translated as “that” in English. 19 of the occurrences of *sá/sú/það* as a determiner (about 31% of the total) translate a form of Latin *ille/illa/illud* (with the Icelandic substituting in two instances a determiner+noun for what is a lone pronoun in the Latin text); in reverse perspective, it is impressive that there are only 19 occurrences of *ille/illa/illud* as a determiner in the Vulgate text of our corpus and all but two of these are translated by Oddur with *sá/sú/það* as a determiner.¹⁶ Translations of Latin *ille/illa/illud* include the bulk of the occurrences of the *sá/sú/það* determiner that seem unmotivated by one of the other factors mentioned above:

¹⁶ The first exception is in one of the verses cited above. In Matt. 7.25, what Oddur renders as *húsinu* is in the Latin *domum illam*; his decision not to render this as *því húsi*, as he does in the parallel passage at Matt. 7.27, is apparently motivated by his need to show emphatic contrast with this construction in Matt. 7.27, as mentioned above.

The second exception is in Matt. 14.35, where Oddur substitutes *þarsveitarmenn*, “local men,” for the Latin *uiri loci illius* “men of that place.”

Matt. 8.28 (Vulgate) *Et cum uenisset trans fretum in regionem Gerasenorum, occurrerunt ei duo habentes daemonia, de monumentis exeuntes, saeui nimis ita ut nemo posset transire per uiam illam.*

Matt. 8.28 (Oddur) *Og er Jesús kom yfir um sjóinn í byggðir Gergesenimanna, hlupu tveir djöfulóðir í móti honum, komandi úr leiðum framliðinna, þeir eð mjög voru ólmir svo að enginn mátti um þann veg fara.*

“And when Jesus came over the sea into the regions of the Gergesian men, two possessed men ran to meet him, coming out of the graves of the dead, they who were very wild, such that no one could pass on that way.”

Twice in our corpus, Oddur translates a demonstrative other than *ille/illa/illud* with *sá/sú/það*. In the first such instance, the demonstrative in question is a form of *iste/ista/istud*, which he normally renders with *þessi/þetta*:

Matt. 10.23 (Vulgate) *Cum autem persequentur uos in ciuitate ista, fugite in aliam: amen enim dico uobis, non consummabitis ciuitates Israhel, donec ueniat Filius hominis.*

Matt. 10. 23 (Oddur) *En nær þeir ofsækja yður í þeirri borg, flýið í aðra. Sannlega segi eg yður að þér munuð eigi fullkomnað geta borgirnar í Írael þar til að mannsins sonur kemur.*

“But when they persecute you in that city, flee into another. Truly I say to you that ye will not completely get through the cities in Israel until the Son of man comes.”

And in the last verse of our corpus, he uses this determiner to translate an occurrence of deictic *eum*, notably in exactly the position where he would use *sá/sú/það*: as the head noun of a relative clause. Because the Latin word does not occur elsewhere in our corpus as a determiner, it is uncertain whether Oddur would have translated it with *sá/sú/það* if it had not occurred in this position:

Matt. 17.27 (Vulgate) *Ut autem non scandalizemus eos, uade ad mare, et mitte hamum: et eum piscem qui primus ascenderit, tolle: et aperto ore eius, inuenies staterem: illam sumens, da eis pro me et te.*

Matt. 17.27 (Oddur) *En svo að vér séum þeim eigi að hneykslan, þá far til sjávar og varpa út önglinum og þann fisk, sem fyrstur kemur upp, tak þú. Og er þú opnar hans gin, muntu finna eina stateram. Þá sömu tak og gef honum fyrir mig og þig.*

“But so that we be not offensive to them, go to the sea and cast out thy hook. And that fish that first comes up, take it. And when thou openest its mouth, thou wilt find a scales, and that same take and give him for me and thee.”

Oddur uses *hver* (“who” in an interrogative sense, but also “every”) together with *sá/sú/það* in the meaning “each” or “every”:

Matt. 7.19 *Og hvert það tré, sem eigi færir góðan ávöxt, mun afhöggvið verða og í eld kastast.*

“And each tree, which does not bear good fruit, is to be cut down and cast in the fire.”

Matt. 12.36 *En eg segi yður að af hverju því fáfengu orði, það sem mennirnir tala, munu þeir reikningsskap af gjalda á dómsdegi.*

“But I say to you that of each empty word, which men speak, they will pay the balance on Judgment Day.”

Matt. 13.52 *Þá sagði hann: Fyrir því, hver sá skriflærður sem til himnaríkis menntaður er, hann líkist þeim húsföður, sem framber af sínum thesaur nýtt og gamalt.*

“Then he said: Thus, each scribe who is learned about the kingdom of heaven, he is like the father that brought out of his treasure the new and the old.”

5. The Demonstrative *þessi/þetta*

Þessi/þetta is cognate with English *this*, German *dieser* (de Vries 1977: 609), and typically translated into English as “this” or “that.” In common with *sá/sú/það*, and like English “this,” it may occur on its own as a pronoun:

Matt. 5. 47 *Og þó þér látið kært aðeins við bræður yðra, hvað gjöri þér þeim meira? Gjöra þetta og eigi líka hinir heiðnu?*

“And though ye welcome only your brethren, what more do ye do for them? Do the heathen not also do this?”

Matt. 6. 33 *Fyrir því leitið fyrst Guðs ríkis og hans réttlætis, og mun yður allt þetta til leggjast.*

“Therefore seek first God’s kingdom and his righteousness, and all this will be added to you.”

Matt. 13. 51 *Og Jesús sagði til þeirra: Hafi þér allt þetta undirstandið? Þeir sögðu: Einninn herra.*

“And Jesus said to them: Have ye understood all this? They said: Yes, Lord.”

Its use as a lone pronoun is commoner than its use as a determiner of a noun, of which the latter is the only use considered in this paper. With only 30 occurrences in our corpus, it is the rarest determiner, and the one with the most clearly deictic (as opposed to merely syntactic) semantics. Its use is also highly consistent with that of its cognate, *þes/þeos/þis*, in the Old English gospels. Of the 30 noun phrases specified by the determiner *þessi/þetta* in the Icelandic corpus, 24 are also specified by *þes/þeos/þis* in the Old English (not counting 3 cases where a determiner *þessi/þetta* + noun in Icelandic is equivalent to a lone pronoun *þes/þeos/þis* in Old English). This determiner is however more common in the Old English text of our corpus (52 occurrences), but of those occurrences, 22 are paralleled by the Icelandic (whether as determiners or as a lone pronoun *þessi/þetta*).

5.1 Functions of the determiner *þessi/þetta*

Of the 30 instances where Oddur’s Icelandic has this determiner, it is overwhelmingly a translation for one of two Latin determiners: *iste/ista/istud* (in 9 instances) or *hic/haec/hoc* (in 12 instances), and only in 9 of its instances is it inserted where there is no determiner in the Latin. Moreover, all instances of *hic/haec/hoc* in the Vulgate text of our corpus, whether as a determiner or as a pronoun, are translated as *þessi/þetta* in Oddur’s Icelandic, whether as a determiner or a pronoun (there is a great deal of interchange between pronouns in the Latin and determiners in the Icelandic and vice versa). Similarly, all instances of *iste/ista/istud* are translated as *þessi/þetta*, except one (Matt. 10.23, described above) that is translated as *sá/sú/það*. In 4 of these latter instances, the Old English translator agrees in inserting *þes/þeos/þis*, either as a determiner or as a pronoun.

Matt. 14. 15. (Vulgate) *Uespere autem facto accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius, dicentes: Desertus est locus, et hora iam praeteriit: dimitte turbas, ut euntes in castella emant sibi escas.*

“Evening however having come, his disciples went to him, saying: This place is a desert, and already the hour has passed: release the crowds, that going into the towns they may buy themselves food.”

Matt. 14.15 (Oddur) *En af kveldi gengu hans lærisveinar til hans og sögðu: Þessi staður er í eyði, tíminn tekur að líða. Lát fólkið frá þér að það gangi í kaupúnin og kaupi sér þar fæðu.*

“But at evening his disciples went to him and said: This place is a waste, the hour passes by. Let the folk go that they may go into the towns and there buy themselves food.”

Matt. 14.15 (OE) *Soðlice þa hyt wæs æfen geworden him to genealæhton hys leorningcnihtas and him to cwædon; Ðeos stow ys weste and tima ys forþ agan forlæt þas mænegeo þæt hi faron into þas burga and him mete bicgean;*

“Truly when it was evening his disciples went to him and said: This place is a waste, and the time has passed. Let the crowd go that they may go into the cities and buy themselves food.”

In this verse, the translators of both languages have reworded a clause to prevent a predicate adjective from preceding the copula that joins it to the noun that it complements. Such

a construction would not be unknown in Icelandic or Old English, so it is not wholly clear why this rewording would be strictly necessary - indeed, Luther's text reads *Dieß ist eine Wüste*. However, the word order of Latin is freer than that of the Germanic languages, and it is perhaps a stylistic choice on the part of the translators to use less marked word order (though Oddur is not consistent in doing so; see e.g. the discussion of the relative ordering of the determiner and noun, below).

Once too, Oddur rephrases a Latin clause that has a present participle, and inserts a form of this deictic determiner:

Matt. 11.1 (Vulgate) *Et factum est, cum consummasset Iesus praecipiens duodecim discipulis suis, transiit inde, ut doceret et praedicaret in ciuitatibus eorum.*
 “And it happened, when Jesus had finished directing his twelve disciples, that he went thence, in order to teach and preach in their cities.”

Matt. 11.1 (Oddur) *Og það skeði er Jesús hafði lyktað þessar boðanir til sinna tólf lærisveina, gekk hann þaðan að kenna og predika í þeirra borgum.*
 “And it happened when Jesus had finished these directions to his twelve disciples, he went thence to teach and preach in their cities.”

The verses in which Oddur inserts a determiner *þessi/þetta* into his translation, and in which it is neither motivated by a determiner in the Latin nor also inserted in the Old English, are four in number. In two of them, the determiner is attached to *veröld* “world,” and in the other two, to a word for “generation” (the Danicism *slekti* or the native word *kynslóð*).

Matt. 12.39 (Vulgate) *Qui respondens ait illis: generatio mala et adultera signum quaerit: et signum non dabitur ei, nisi signum Ioniae prophetae.*
 “Who responding said to them: an evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign, and a sign will not be given to it, save the sign of the prophet Jonas.”

Matt. 12.39 (Oddur) *Hann svaraði og sagði til þeirra: Þetta vonða og hórúnarslekti leitar teikns, og því mun eigi teikn gefast nema teikn Jóna spámanns.*
 “He answered and said to them: This evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign, and to it will no sign be given, save the sign of the prophet Jonas.”

Matt. 16.4 (Vulgate) *Generatio mala et adultera signum quaerit: et signum non dabitur ei, nisi signum Ioniae. Et relictis illis abiit.*

“An evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign, and a sign will not be given to it, save the sign of Jonas. And leaving them behind he went away.”

Matt. 16.4 (Oddur) *Þessi vonða hórdóms kynslóð æskir teikns, og henni skal ekkert teikn gefið verða nema teikn Jóna spámanns. Og hann forlét þá og gekk í burt.*

“This evil generation of whoredom seeks a sign, and to it shall no sign be given, save the sign of the prophet Jonas. And he left them and went away.”

Notably, of 6 instances in our corpus of *kynslóð*, 5 are specified by *þessi/þetta*, and the only one that is not is vocative (Matt. 17.17). The only instance of *slekti* in our corpus is the one given here, but the semantic overlap with *kynslóð* is clear (and both translate almost identical Latin).

Matt. 13.39 *En óvinurinn, sá er sáði því, er djöfullinn. En kornskerutíminn er ending þessarar veraldar, kornskuðarmennirnir eru englarnir.*

Matt. 13.40 *Því líka sem nú verður illgresið útleisið og eldi brennt, svo man og ske í enda þessarar veraldar.*

“But the enemy, who sowed it, is the devil. But the time of the harvest is the ending of this world, the harvestmen are the angels.

“Thus likewise, as now the weed is collected out and burned in the fire, so will it also happen in the end of this world.”

It might be thought that here *þessi/þetta* served to emphasize that the end is of *this* world, i.e. not of the kingdom of heaven also. But only a few verses below these, “the end of the world” occurs without *þessi/þetta* modifying *veröld*:

Matt. 13.49 *Svo man og ske í enda veraldar að englar munu út fara og hina vondu mitt frá réttlátum skilja,*

“So will it also happen in the end of the world that angels will fare out and separate the evil from amid the righteous.”

And *upphaf veraldar* “the beginning of the world” occurs without any determiner in Matt. 13.35. If Oddur means particularly to emphasize the end of this world in Matt.13.39 and 13.40, it is peculiar that he would not also so emphasize it in Matt. 13.49 (especially since all three translate Latin *consummatio saeculi*). It is difficult to see a semantic or syntactic distinction, if there is one to be found.

There are two other instances of insertion, where the Old English agrees in also inserting

þes/þeos/þis:

Matt. 14.2 (Oddur) *Og hann sagði til sinna hirðsveina: Þessi er Jón baptista, hver af dauða er upp aftur risinn, og því gjörast þessi kraftaverk af honum.*

“And he said to his servants: This is John the Baptist, who from the dead is risen again, and thus are these miracles done by him.”

Matt. 14.2 (OE) *and þa sæde he his cnihtum þes is iohannes se fulluhtere þe ic beheafdode he aras of deaþe and forþan synd þas wundru gefremode on him;*

“And then he said to his servants: This is John the Baptist, whom I beheaded, he arose from death and thus are these miracles done by him.”

Matt. 17.9 (Oddur) *Og er þeir gengu ofan af fjallinu, bauð Jesús þeim og sagði: Þér skulu öngum þessa sjón segja þar til að mannsins son er upp aftur risinn af dauða.*

“And when they went down from the mountain, Jesus commanded them and said: Ye shall talk about this vision with no one, till the Son of man is risen up from death again.”

Matt. 17.9 (OE) *And þa hig of ðam munte eodon se hælend hym bebed and þus cwæþ nanum menn ne secgean ge þis. ær mannes sunu of deaþe arise;*

“And when they went down from the mountain, the savior commanded them and said thus: Say this to no man, ere the Son of man arise from death.”

5.2 The determiner *þessi/þetta* in translation

Otherwise the distribution of this deictic demonstrative is clearly patterned on that of Latin *iste* and *hic/haec/hoc* - suggesting that its meaning for Oddur was close to that of these Latin words, especially to that of the latter.

Indeed, *þessi/þetta* always precedes its noun in our corpus, except in three instances (which also hold to this reversed order in the Modern Icelandic translation of 2007):

Matt. 3.9 *og verið ei þess hugar, það þér segið með sjálfum yður að Abraham höfu vær fyrir föður. Því að ég segi yður að máttugur er Guð upp að vekja Abrahams sonu af steinum þessum.*

“And be not of this thought, that ye say among yourselves that we have Abraham for a father. For I say to you that God is capable of awakening Abraham’s son from these stones.”

Matt. 4. 3. *Og freistarinn gekk til hans og sagði: Ef þú ert sonur Guðs, seg að steinar þessir verði að brauðum.*

“And the tempter went to him and said: If thou art the son of God, say that these stones should change to bread.”

Matt. 17. 20. *Jesús svaraði og sagði til þeirra: Fyrir yðvarrar vantrúar sakir. Því eg segi yður fyrir sann: Ef þér hefðuð trú svo sem mustarðskorn, mætti þér segja fjalli þessu: Far þú hédan og þangað, og mundi það fara. Og ekkert mundi yður ómáttugt vera.*

“Jesus answered and said to them: For your disbelief’s sake. For I say to you for truth: If ye had faith the size of a mustard seed, ye could say to this mountain: Move thou hence and thither, and it would move. And nothing would be impossible for you.”

However, in each of these verses, the word order is also reversed in the Vulgate (but not in Luther or the West Saxon Gospels), and this is certainly the source of the reversed word order, though there are many other verses in our corpus in which the switched word order is found in the Latin but not in the Icelandic translation. The word order is strongly deictic in Latin, giving extra emphasis to the noun specified. The word order is not absent in natural Icelandic and is perhaps usable for stylistic relief; in *Egils saga* the normal word order is *þessi/þetta* followed by the noun, but the switched order is occasionally seen:

En nú er arfur þessi kominn undir óskylda menn okkur, og megum við nú eigi með öllu þegja yfir missu okkarri. (from *Egils saga* chapter 9)

“But now is this inheritance come under men unrelated to us, and we may now not remain silent about our loss.”

Konungur reiddist mjög við ræður þessar og mælti þó stillilega, sem hann var vanur jafnan, þá er hann frétti þau tíðindi, er mikils voru verð. (from *Egils saga* chapter 12)

“The king became very angry about these counsels, however he spoke calmly, as he always was wont to do, when he learned tidings that were of great worth.”

And in Modern Icelandic, Halldór Laxness switches liberally between the two word orders in *Brekkukotsannáll* and is even able to use the two word orders with different noun phrases in the same sentence:

Og það eitt sem kona þessi hefur gefið mér, fyrir útan líkama og sál, það er þetta nafn: Álfgrímur. (from *Brekkukotsannáll* chapter 1)

“And the one thing that this woman has given me, besides body and soul, is this name: Álfgrímur.”

In light of this propensity to use both word orders in both Old and Modern Icelandic, it is surprising that Oddur does not more often follow the word order of noun + *hic/haec/hoc* or *iste/ista/istud* that is common in the Latin text, but switches it 13 times in our corpus. The Modern Icelandic Bible of 2007 also makes use of this inverted word order, though only in 5 out of 28 occurrences of the determiner in our corpus. In one passage it alternates the word order in different verses, even though the word order alternation is not motivated by the Greek text from which it is translated:

Matt. 12.41 (HÍB 2007) *Níníve­menn munu koma fram í dóminum ásamt kynslóð þessari og sakfella hana því að þeir tóku sinnaskiptum við prédikun Jónasar og hér er meira en Jónas.*

Matt. 12.42 *Drottning Suðurlanda mun rísa upp í dóminum ásamt þessari kynslóð og sakfella hana því að hún kom frá endimörkum jarðar að heyra speki Salómons og hér er meira en Salómon.*

“The men of Nineveh will come forth in judgment with this generation and find it guilty because their minds were changed by the teaching of Jonas and here is more than Jonas.

“The queen of the Southern lands will rise up in judgment with this generation and find it guilty because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon and here is more than Solomon.”

Conclusions

The first conclusion of this thesis, though secondary to its main objective, was to show that the weight of the evidence appears to support the theory that Oddur Gottskálksson's translation was made from an edition of the Latin Vulgate. While it is possible and even probable that Oddur had access to, and influence from, other translations and editions in other languages, some of the peculiar traits of his Icelandic are best explained as the result of often attempting to render a Latin original "word for word" rather than "meaning for meaning." The clearest example of a Vulgatism was seen to be Matt. 13:51, where Oddur translates Latin *etiam* ("still, also") as *einninn* ("also") rather than with its idiomatic sense of "yes" in that verse.

Also, while it seems that the use of the article in place of a pronominal adjective for showing possession was a feature of Oddur's Icelandic, its use in his translation is largely to fill in the gaps left when the Vulgate omits possessive pronouns. Whether there might have been a native stylistic difference between a pronoun and a definite article used to mark possession (perhaps in showing alienable vs. inalienable possession) is thus obscured, as inalienable possession is expressed in both ways (*þína hönd* at Matt. 9:18, *höndina* at Matt. 14:31). However, most of the occurrences of a definite article used to mark possession are with body parts or family members, suggesting that this may have been a native stylistic alternative for expressing inalienable possession.

That being said, certain conclusions can be drawn about the Icelandic language of Oddur's time. The requirement of Modern Icelandic that a possessive genitive noun be definite (cf. Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson 1993: 192-3) is very much present in Oddur's New Testament

and puts its language closer to the Icelandic of today than to Classical Old Icelandic, where this construction is possible but not mandatory. The head noun will not necessarily be specified, but may be for semantic reasons (as *herrann kornskerunnar*, "the lord of the harvest," Matt. 9:38). There are also certain nouns that do not normally take a definite article when genitive - including *maður* ("man"), but also words for unique regions like *himinn* ("heaven"), *veröld* ("world"), *himnaríki* ("the kingdom of heaven"), *helvíti* ("hell"), and *jörð* ("earth").

Also, while the definite article is used more sparingly in Oddur's Icelandic than in Modern English, there are contexts in which it appears in Oddur's Icelandic and in which it would not appear in Modern English - for instance, with nouns in proverbial statements (as at Matt. 4.4: *maðurinn lifir eigi af einu saman brauði*, "man lives not by bread alone"), and with abstract nouns (*réttlætinu*, "righteousness," at Matt. 5.6).

Not unexpectedly, the detached definite article is used mostly with substantivized adjectives (*hinir blindu*, "the blind," at Matt. 9.28), or with nouns that are also modified by adjectives (*hinnar heiðnu þjóðar*, "the heathen people's," at Matt. 4.15). This is in harmony with what is expected for Old Icelandic and for formal Modern Icelandic.

Oddur does not normally attach the article to nouns that are in a possessive relationship with pronominal adjectives, which is the normal pattern in Modern Icelandic (which has e.g. *penninn minn*, "my pen"). However, he also does not use body parts with the dative of possession, and this is apparently the result of Latin influence.

As for the other determiners considered in this thesis, their use in Oddur's New Testament is clearly patterned after corresponding determiners in Latin - *hic/haec/hoc* and *iste/ista/istud* in the case of *þessi/þetta*, and *ille/illa/illud* in the case of *sá/sú/það*. However, that

both are used so consistently to translate these deictic determiners of Latin suggests that their own deictic value in the Icelandic of the time was close to that of the Latin words.

Furthermore, *sá/sú/það* has the clearly native function of specifying the head noun to an adjunct relative clause, regardless of whether there is any deixis implied (as at Matt. 9.32, *þann mann sem dumbi var og djöfulóði*, "a man who was dumb and possessed"). It is also consistently found in locative expressions of place and time, often translating the Latin directly (*á þeim degi* at Matt. 7.22 for Latin *in illa die*), and in constructions with *samur* "same" (for instance *þann sama akur* at Matt. 13.44).

In all, the most conclusive finding of this study has been to demonstrate that the Icelandic New Testament published in 1540 by Oddur Gottskálksson was probably translated from a Latin edition of the Bible, and that the diction and syntax of the Latin strongly influenced his use of determiners in the Icelandic. In spite of this influence, from the evidence available, it appears that the Icelandic language of 1540 was overall more similar to the Icelandic of today than to the Icelandic of the *söguöld*.

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NOTE: Most Icelandic last names are patronyms and thus Icelanders are customarily alphabetized by first name.

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NOTE: Most Icelandic last names are patronyms and thus Icelanders are customarily alphabetized by first name.

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Appendix 1. Table of Occurrences of the Definite Article in *Nýja Testamenti Odds*, Matt. 1-17

Icelandic	Verse	Vulgate	Old English
kónginn Davíð	I.6	Dauid regem	þone cyning Daudid
spámanninn	I.22	prophetam	þone witegan
skriftlærðum lýðsins	II.4	populi	folces
spámanninn	II.5	prophetam	þone witegan
hin minnsta	II.6	minima	læst
vitringana	II.7	magis	ða tungolwitegan
stjarna	II.7	stellae	se steorra
sveinum	II.8	puero	þam cilde
kónginum	II.9	regem	---
stjarnan	II.9	stella	se steorra
sveinninn	II.9	puer	þæt cild
stjörnuna	II.10	stellam	þone steorran
húsið	II.11	domum	þam huse
sveinninn	II.11	puerum	þæt cild
sveinninn	II.13	puerum	þæt cild
sveinsins	II.13	puerum	þæt cild
sveinninn	II.14	puerum	þæt cild
spámanninn	II.15	prophetam	þone witegan
vitringunum	II.16	magis	þam tungelwitegum
vitringunum	II.16	magis	ðam tungelwitegum
kveinunar	II.18	---	---
sveinninn	II.20	puerum	þæt cild
lífi sveinsins	II.20	pueri	þæs cildes
sveinninn	II.21	puerum	þæt cild
í staðinn föður síns	II.22	pro Herode patre suo	for ðæne her...
spámennina	II.23	prophetas	þone witegan
iðranarinnar	III.8	paenitentiae	þære dædbote
nú er öxin sett	III.10	securis	seo æx
viðanna	III.10	arborum	ðæra treowa
hveitinu	III.12	triticum	hys hwæte
agnirnar	III.12	paleas	þa ceafu
vatninu	III.16	aqua	ðam wætere
himnarnir	III.16	caeli	heofenas
röddin	III.17	vox	stefn
djöflinum	IV.1	diabolo	deofle
freistarinn	IV.3	temtator	costnigend
maðurinn	IV.4	homo	se man
djöfullinn	IV.5	diabolus	se deofol

borgina helgu	IV.5	sanctam ciuitatem	þa halgan ceastre
musterisins	IV.5	templi	þæs temples
djöfullinn	IV.8	diabolus	se deofol
djöfullinn	IV.11	diabolus	se deofol
borgina Naðaret	IV.13	ciuitate Nazareth	þære ceastre nazareth
borginni Kapernaum	IV.13	Capharnaum	capharnaum
landið	IV.15	terra	(OE skips this verse)
landið	IV.15	terra	(skips)
hinnar heiðnu þjóðar	IV.15	gentium	(skips)
myrkrunum	IV.16	tenebris	þystrum
dauðans	IV.16	mortis	deapes
sjónum í Galílea	IV.18	mare Galilaeae	ða galileiscean sæ
sjóinn	IV.18	mare	þa sæ
netin	IV.20	retibus	hyra net
skipið	IV.22	retibus	hyra nett
ríkisins	IV.23	regni	þæs rices
fólkinu	IV.23	populo	þam folce
fólkið	V.1	turbas	þa menigu
fjallið	V.1	montem	þone munt
réttlætinu	V.6	iustitiam	rihtwisnesse
sem friðinn gjöra	V.9	pacifici	þa gesybsuman
réttlætisins	V.10	iustitiam	rihtwisnyse
lýðurinn	V.11	(verb)	hi
spámennina	V.12	prophetas	þa witegan
saltið	V.13	sal	þæt sealt
fjallinu	V.14	montem	munt
ljósið	V.15	lucernam	hyra leohtfæt
ljóshaldinn	V.15	candelabrum	candelstæf
húsinu	V.15	domo	þam huse
lög málið	V.17	legem	þa æ
spámennina	V.17	prophetas	þa witegan
hinn minnsti bókstafur	V.18	iota unum aut unus apex	an i oððe an prica
eður titli			
lög málinu	V.18	lege	þære æ
hinna skriftlærðu	V.20	scribarum et Phariseorum	þæra w. & sundorhal.
og faríseis			
inna gömlu	V.21	antiquis	ealdum tidum
altarið	V.23	altare	weofode
altarinu	V.24	altare	þam altare
dómaranum	V.25	iudici	þam deman
dómarinn	V.25	iudex	se dema
þénaranum	V.25	ministro	ðam þene
hinn síðasta pening	V.26	nouissimum quadrantem	þone ytemestan feorð.
hinna gömlu	V.27	antiquis	ealdum
hórunar sök	V.32	fornicationis causa	forlegennysse þingum
hinna gömlu	V.33	antiquis	ealdum

borg hins mikla konungs	V.35	ciuitatis est magni regis	mæres cynincges cest.
hinu vonda	V.37	malo	yfele
hina aðra	V.39	alteram	þæt oðer
hinir heiðnu	V.47	ethnici	hæþene
hin hægri	VI.3	dextera tua	þin swyþre
ríkið	VI.13	---	---
myrkrin sjálf	VI.23	tenebrae	ða þystru
hinn annan	VI.24	alterum	oðerne
hinn annan	VI.24	alterum	oðrum
hinum Mammon	VI.24	mamonae	woruldwelan
lífið	VI.25	anima	seo sawl
fæðan	VI.25	esca	mete
líkaminn	VI.25	corpus	eower lichama
klæðin	VI.25	uestimentum	þæt reaf
klæðnaðinum	VI.28	uestimento	reafe
akursins	VI.28	agri	æceres
grasið	VI.30	faenum agri	æcyres weod
ögnina	VII.4	festucam	þæt mot
vaglinn	VII.5	trabem	þone beam
ögnina	VII.5	festucam	þæt mot
sónurinn	VII.9	filius suus	his sunu
mennirnir	VII.12	homines	men
lög málið	VII.12	lex	æ
spámennirnir	VII.12	prophetae	witegena
hið þröngva hlið	VII.13	angustam portam	þæt nearwe geat
klæðum sauðanna	VII.15	uestimentis ouium	sceape gegyrelum
vatsflóðið	VII.25	pluuia	mycele flod
húsinu	VII.25	domum illam	þæt hus
húsið	VII.25	(in verb)	hyt
fólkinu	VII.28	turbæ	þæt folc
hinna skriftlærðu	VII.29	scribae eorum et Pharisaei	hyra boce. & sundorh.
fjallinu	VIII.1	monte	þam munte
höndina	VIII.3	manum	hys hand
kennimanninum	VIII.4	sacerdoti	þam sacerde
höfðinginn	VIII.7	centurio	se hundredes ealdor
ríkisins	VIII.12	regni	þises rices
höfðingjans	VIII.13	centurioni	þam hundrydes ealdre
andana	VIII.16	spiritus	þa unclænan gastas
orðinu	VIII.16	uerbo	hys worde
loftsins	VIII.20	caeli	heofenan
mannsins	VIII.20	hominis	mannes
sína hina dauðu	VIII.22	mortuos suos	hyra deadan
sjónum	VIII.24	mari	þære sæ
skipið	VIII.24	naucula	þæt scyp
vindinn	VIII.26	uento	þam winde

sjóinn	VIII.26	mari	þære sæ
mennirnir	VIII.27	homines	þa men
sjóinn	VIII.28	fretum	þone muþan
framliðinna	VIII.28	exeutes	utgangende
djöflarnir	VIII.31	daemones	þa deofla
svínahjörðina	VIII.31	gregem porcorem	þas swina heorde
svínin	VIII.32	porcos	þa swin
öll svínahjörðin	VIII.32	totus grex	eall seo heord
sjóinn	VIII.32	mare	þa sæ
vatninu	VIII.32	aquis	þam wætere
hirðarnir	VIII.33	pastores	ða hyrdas
borgina	VIII.33	ciuitatem	þa ceastre
hins iktsjúka	IX.2	paralytico	þam laman
mannsins son	IX.6	filius hominis	mannes sunu
fólkið	IX.8	turbæ	seo maenigeo
tollbúðinni	IX.9	teloneo	tollsceamule
húsinu	IX.10	domo	huse
læknarans	IX.12	medico	læces
brúðgumabörnin	IX.15	filiu sponsi	þæs brydgum. cnihtas
brúðguminn	IX.15	sponsus	se brydguma
brúðguminn	IX.15	sponsus	se brydguma
fatinu	IX.16	uestimento	þam reafe
belgirnir	IX.17	utres	þa bytta
vínið	IX.17	uinum	þæt win
belgirnir	IX.17	utres	þa bytta
konan	IX.22	mulier	þæt wif
foringjans	IX.23	principis	þæs ealdres
spilmennina	IX.23	tibicines	hwistleras
ys fólksins	IX.23	turbam tumultuantem	hlydende menigeo
stúlkan	IX.24	puella	þys mæden
fólkið	IX.25	turba	þa menigeo
stúlkan	IX.25	puella	þæt mæden
húsið	IX.28	domum	ham
hinir blindu	IX.28	caeci	þa blindan
út reknum djöflinum	IX.33	eiecto daemone (abl. abs.)	ut adryfenum þam de.
hinn mállausi	X.33	mutus	se dumba
fólkið	IX.33	turbæ	þa menigeo
djöflahöfðingjann	IX.34	principe daemoniorum	deofla ealdre
evangelium ríkisins	IX.35	euangelium regni	rices godspell
fólkinu	IX.35	(otherwise expressed)	(otherwise expressed)
fólkið	IX.36	turbas	þære menigeo
kornskeran	IX.37	messis	rip
verkmennirnir	X.37	operarii	wyrhtyna
herrann	IX.38	Dominum	hlaford
kornskerunnar	IX.38	messis	ðæs ripes
þeirra tólf	X.2	Apostolorum nomina	þæra 12 apostola nam.

pöstulanna nöfn			
verkmaðurinn	X.10	operarius	se wryhta
húsið	X.12	domum	þæt hus
dustið	X.14	puluerum	þæt dust
landinu	X.15	terrae S´orum et G´orum	s. lande and gomorra
Sódome og Gómorre			
soninn	X.21	filium	hys sunu
niðjarnir	X.21	fili	bearn
foreldrunum	X.21	parentes	magas
borgirnar	X.23	ciuitates	israhela burga
mannsins sonur	X.23	filius hominis	mannes sunu
lærisveinninn	X.24	discipulus	se leorningniht
meistararum	X.24	magistrum	hys lareow
þjóninn	X.24	seruus	þeow
lærisveininum	X.25	discipulo	þam leorningnihte
þjóninum	X.25	seruus	þeow
húsföðurinn	X.25	---?	þæs hiredes fæder
sálina	X.28	animam	þa sawle
jörðina	X.34	terram	eorþan
manninn	X.35	hominem	mann
dótturina	X.35	filiam	dohtur
sonarkonuna	X.35	nurum	snore
mannsins óvinir	X.36	inimici hominis	mannes fynd
fjötrunum	XI.2	uinculis	bendum
guðsspjöllin	XI.5	(otherwise expressed)	(otherwise expressed)
fólksins	XI.7	turbas	þære menigeo
ofureflið	XI.12	uim	nead
lögmalıð	XI.13	lex	æ
mannsins son	XI.19	filius hominis	mannes sunu
ofátsmanninn	XI.19	homo uorax	ettul mann
vínsvelgjarann	XI.19	potator uini	win drincende
vininn	XI.19	amicus	freond
spekin	XI.19	sapientia	wisdom
borgunum	XI.20	ciuitatibus	þa burga
soninn	XI.27	Filium	þone sunu
faðirinn	XI.27	Pater	fædyr
föðurinn	XI.27	Patrem	þone fædyr
sonurinn	XI.27	Filius	sunu
sonurinn	XI.27	Filius	se sunu
axin	XII.1	spicas	þa ear
kennimennirnir	XII.5	sacerdotes	þa sacerdas
musterinu	XII.5	templo	þam temple
þvottdaginn	XII.5	sabbatum	restedæg
musterinu	XII.6	templo	þæt templ
mannsins son	XII.8	Filius hominis	mannes sunu
þvottdagsins	XII.8	sabbati	restedæges

maðurinn	XII.12	homo	mann
sauðnum	XII.12	oue	sceape
mannsins	XII.13	homini	þam menn
hin önnur	XII.13	altera	seo oþer
dóminn	XII.18	iudicium	dom
hinn dumbi og blindi	XII.22	caecus et mutus	blind and dumb
fólkið	XII.23	turbæ	þa menigeo
andskotinn	XII.26	Satanas	se deoful
andskotann	XII.26	Satanan	þone deoful
andanum	XII.31	spiritus	þæs halgan gastes
mannsins syni	XII.32	Filium hominis	mannes sunu
ávöxturinn góður	XII.33	fructum eius bonum	hys weastm godne
ávöxturinn vondur	XII.33	fructum eius malum	hys wæstm yfelne
ávextinum	XII.33	fructu	þam weastmme
tréið	XII.33	arbor	þæt treow
gnægð hjartans	XII.34	abundantia cordis	þære heortan willan
mennirnir	XII.36	homines	menn
kviði hvalsins	XII.40	uentre ceti	þæs hwæles innoþe
mannsins son	XII.40	Filius hominis	mannes sunu
drottningin	XII.42	regina	cwen
manninum	XII.43	homine	menn
þess manns	XII.45	nouissima hominis illius peiora	ytemestan wyrsan
hið síðara verra			
verra hinu fyrra	XII.45	peiora prioribus	wyrsan þonne þa ærr.
fólksins	XII.46	turbas	þam mænægum
húsinu	XIII.1	domo	huse
sjóinn	XIII.1	mare	ða sæ
allt fólkið	XIII.2	omnis turba	eall seo mænigeo
fjörinni	XIII.2	litore	þam waroþe
veginn	XIII.4	uiam	weg
sólin	XIII.6	sole	sunnan
þyrnarnir	XIII.7	spinæ	þa þornas
eyrunum	XIII.14	auditu	gehyrnesse
hjärtanu	XIII.15	corde	heortan
eftirlíking sæðarans	XIII.18	seminantis	þæs sawendan bigspe.
orðið	XIII.19	uerbum	wurd
ríkisins	XIII.19	regni	godes
hinn vondi	XIII.19	malus	deoful
orðið	XIII.20	uerbum	godes wurd
veginn	XIII.19	uiam	ðone weg
fyrir orðsins sakir	XIII.21	propter uerbum	for þam wurde
orðið	XIII.22	uerbum	þæt wurd
orðið	XIII.22	uerbum	þæt wurd
orðið	XIII.23	uerbum	þæt wurd
hveitið	XIII.25	tritici	þam hwæte
grasið	XIII.26	herba	seo wyrt

illgresið	XIII.26	zizania	se coccel
þénararnir	XIII.27	serui	þeowas
húsföðursins	XIII.27	patris familias	(þæs hlafordes)
illgresið	XIII.27	zizania	coccel
þjónarnir	XIII.28	serui	þa þeowas
hveitið	XIII.29	triticum	þone hwæte
illgresið	XIII.29	zizania	þone coccel
illgresið	XIII.30	zizania	þone coccel
hveitinu	XIII.30	triticum	ðone hwæte
fuglar loftsins	XIII.32	uolucres caeli	heofnan fuhlas
fólksins	XIII.34	turbas	þam weredum
spámanninn	XIII.35	prophetam	þæs witegan
fólkið	XIII.36	turbis	ða mænegeo
húsið	XIII.36	domum	his inne
líkingina	XIII.36	parabolam	þæt bigspell
illgresisakursins	XIII.36	zizaniorum agri	þæs hw. & þæs cocce.
mannsins sonur	XIII.37	Filius hominis	mannes sunu
akurinn	XIII.38	ager	se æcyr
heimurinn	XIII.38	mundus	þes middangeard
góða sæðið	XIII.38	bonum uero semen	þæt gode sæd
ríkisins synir	XIII.38	filli regni	þæs heofonl. r's bearn
illgresið	XIII.38	zizania	se coccel
illskunnar synir	XIII.38	fili (nequam)	manfullan bearn
óvinurinn	XIII.39	inimicus	se unholda mann
djöfullinn	XIII.39	diabolus	deoful
kornskerutíminn	XIII.39	messis	þæt rip
kornskuðarmennirnir	XIII.39	messores	þa riperas
englarnir	XIII.39	angeli	englas
illgresið	XIII.40	zizania	se coccel
mannsins son	XIII.41	Filius hominis	mannes sunu
eldsins ofn	XIII.42	caminum ignis	fyres ofen
hina góðu	XIII.48	bonos	þa godan
hina vondu	XIII.49	malos	þa yfelan
eldsins ofn	XIII.50	caminum ignis	þæs fyres ofen
timbursmiðsins son	XIII.55	fabri filius	smiþes sunu
ryktið	XIV.1	famam	hlisan
fólkinu	XIV.5	populum	þæt folc
konungurinn	XIV.9	rex	se cyning
fyrir eiðsins sakir	XIV.9	propter iuramentum	for þam aðe
stúlkunni	XIV.10	puellae	þam mædene
fólkið	XIV.13	turbae	þa gangendan mænig.
tíminn	XIV.15	hora	tima
fólkið	XIV.15	turbas	þas mænegeo
kauptúnin	XIV.15	castella	þas burga
fólkinu	XIV.19	turbam	þa menegu
grasið	XIV.19	faenum	þæt gærs

brauðin	XIV.19	panes	(þa hlafas)
lærisveinarnir	XIV.19	discipuli	(hi)
fólkinu	XIV.19	turbis	þam folce
sjáinn	XIV.22	fretum	þone muþan
fólkið	XIV.22	turbas	þa menegu
fólkið	XIV.23	turba	(hig)
fjallið	XIV.23	montem	þone munt
kveldið	XIV.23	uespere	æfen
skipið	XIV.24	naucula	þæt scyp
sjánum	XIV.24	mari	þam yfum
bylgjunum	XIV.24	fluctibus	?
vindurinn	XIV.24	uentus	strang wind
sjánum	XIV.25	mare	þa sæ
lærisveinarnir	XIV.26	(in verb)	(hi)
sjánum	XIV.26	mare	----
vatninu	XIV.28	aquas	þas wæteru
skipinu	XIV.29	naucula	þam scype
vatninu	XIV.29	aquam	þæt wæter
höndina	XIV.31	manum	(in verb)
skipið	XIV.32	nauculam	þam scype
vindinn	XIV.32	uentus	se wind
skipinu	XIV.33	naucula	þam scype
öldunganna	XV.2	seniorum	yldrena
fólkið	XV.10	turbis	ðam menegum
muninn	XV.11	os	hys muþ
manninn	XV.11	hominem	þone mann
muninum	XV.11	ore	hys muþe
manninn	XV.11	hominem	(hyne)
muninn	XV.17	os	þone muþ
magann	XV.17	uentrum	þa wambe
muninum	XV.18	ore	ðam muðe
hjartanu	XV.18	corde	þære heortan
hjartanu	XV.19	corde	þære heortan
manninn	XV.20	hominem	þone mann
manninn	XV.20	hominem	þone mann
djöflinum	XV.22	daemonio	deofle
brauðið	XV.26	panem	hlaf
barnanna	XV.26	filiorum	bearna
hundana	XV.26	canibus	hundum
sjánum	XV.29	mare	ða galileiscan sæ
fjallið	XV.29	montem	þone munt
fólkið	XV.31	turbæ	þa mænegu
fólksins	XV.32	turbæ	ðisse menegu
veginum	XV.32	uia	wege
fólkinu	XV.35	turbæ	se menegu
jörðina	XV.35	terram	þære eorþan

þau sjö brauðin	XV.36	septem panes	seofon hlafas
fiskana	XV.36	pisces	þa fixas
lærisveinunum	XV.36	discipulis suis	hys leorningcnihtum
lærisveinarnir	XV.36	discipuli	(hig)
fólkinu	XV.36	populo	þam folce
molanna	XV.37	fragmentis	þam gebrote
fólkið	XV.39	turba	þa menegu
kveldin	XVI.2	uespere	æfen
himinninn	XVI.3	caelum	þeos lyft
himinsins ásján	XVI.3	faciem ergo caeli	heofenes hiw
brauðin	XVI.8	panes	hlafas
brauðinu	XVI.11	pane	hlafe
súrdeigi brauðsins	XVI.12	fermento panum	hlafa beorman
borgarinnar	XVI.13	partes Caesareae Philippi	þa dælas cesaree phil.
Sesaree Filippi			
mannsins sonur	XVI.13	Filium hominis	mannes sunu
hliðin	XVI.18	portae	gatu
helvítanna	XVI.18	inferi	helle
mannanna	XVI.23	hominum	manna
manninum	XVI.26	homini	ænegum menn
heiminn	XVI.26	mundum	ealne middangeard
maðurinn	XVI.26	homo	se mann
mannsins son	XVI.27	Filius enim hominis	mannes sunu
dauðann	XVI.28	mortem	deap
mannsins son	XVI.28	Filium hominis	mannes sunu
röddin	XVII.5	uox	stefn
skýinu	XVII.5	nube	þam wolcne
lærisveinarnir	XVII.6	discipuli	hys leorningcnihtas
fjallinu	XVII.9	monte	ðam munte
mannsins son	XVII.9	Filius hominis	mannes sunu
hinir skriftlærðu	XVII.10	scribae	þa boceras
mannsins son	XVII.12	Filius hominis	mannes sunu
lærisveinarnir	XVII.13	discipuli	hys leorningcnihtas
fólksins	XVII.14	turbam	þære menegu
knéin	XVII.14	genibus	cneowum
djöfullinn	XVII.18	daemonium	se deofol
sveinninn	XVII.18	puer	se cnapa
lærisveinarnir	XVII.19	discipuli	hys leorningcnihtas
mannsins sonur	XVII.22	Filius hominis	mannes sunu
skattgjaldið	XVII.24	didragma	þæt gafol
skattpeninginn	XVII.24	didragma	gafol
húsið	XVII.25	domum	þam huse
þá eru synirnir frí	XVII.26	ergo liberi sunt filii	þa bearn synt frige
önglinum	XVII.27	hamum	þinne angel

Appendix 2. Table of Occurrences of Demonstrative *sá/sú/það* in *Nýja Testamenti Odds*, Matt. 1-17

Icelandic	Verse	Vulgate	Old English
sá nýfæddi kóngur	II.2	rex Iudaeorum	se iudea cyning
þeim tíma	II.16	tempus	þære tide
þeirri borg	II.23	ciuitate	þære ceastre
þeim dögum	III.1	diebus ... illis	þam dagum
þann tíma	III.13	tunc	þa
þeirri byggð	IV.16	regione	earde
þeim tíu borgum	IV.25	Decapoli	decapoli
þeim héruðum	IV.25	(otherwise expressed)	(otherwise expressed)
sú borg	V.14	ciuitas	seo ceaster
það ljós	VI.23	lumen	þæt leoht
þann eina	VI.24	unum	ænne
þann eina	VI.24	unum	anum
það hlið er vítt	VII.13	lata porta	þæt geat
sá vegur	VII.13	spatiosa uia	se weg
það port	VII.14	angusta porta	þæt geat
sá vegur	VII.14	arta uia	se weg
hvert það tré	VII.19	omnis arbor	ælc treow
þeim degi	VII.22	illa die	þam dæge
þeim vitrum manni	VII.24	uiro sapienti	þam wisan were
þeim fávísa manni	VII.26	uiro stulto	þam dysigan men
því húsi	VII.27	domum illam	þæt hus
þeirri sömu stundu	VIII.13	hora illa	þære tide
þann veg	VIII.28	uiam illam	þone weg
þeim djöfulóðum	VIII.33	(otherwise expressed)	(otherwise expressed)
þeir dagar	IX.15	dies	þa dagas
þeirri sömu stundu	IX.22	illa hora	þære tide
allt það sama land	IX.26	uniuersam terram illam	eall þæt land
allt það land	IX.31	tota terra illa	eall þæt land
þann man	IX.32	hominem	man
þeir sauðir	IX.36	oues	sceap
þeirra tólf pöstulanna nöfn	X.2	duodecim Apostolorum nomina	þæra twelf ap' naman
þeim sama	X.11	(otherwise expressed)	(otherwise expressed)
það sama hús	X.13	domus	þæt hus
því húsi eða borg	X.14	dome uel de ciuitate	ðam huse oððe of...
þeirri sömu borg	X.15	illi ciuitati	ðære ceastre
þeim mönnum	X.17	hominibus	mannum
þeirri stöndu	X.19	illa hora	þære tide

þeirri borg	X.23	ciuitate ista	þysse byrig
þeim börnum	XI.16	pueris	cnapu(m/n?)
þau kraftaverk	XI.23	factae uirtutes	gedone þa mægnu
þeim sama tíma	XI.25	illo tempore	---
þeim tíma	XII.1	illo tempore	---
þau fórnunarbrauð	XII.4	panes propositionis	offringhlafas
hverju því fáfengu	XII.36	omne uerbum otiosum	ælc idel word
orði			
þess manns	XII.45	hominis illius	þæs mannes
sá sami	XII.50	ipse	he
þeim sama degi	XIII.1	illo die	þam dæge
þeim manni	XIII.24	homini qui	þam men gelic þe
þeim fagnaði	XIII.44	gaudio	blysse
þann sama akur	XIII.44	agrum illum	ðone æcer
hver sá skriflærður	XIII.52	omnis scriba	ælc gelæred bocere
þeim tíma	XIV.1	illo tempore	þære tide
þann mikla múg	XIV.14	turbam multum	mycele mænigu
þær leifar	XIV.20	reliquas	þa lafa
allt það byggðarlag	XIV.35	uniuersam regionem illam	eall þæt land
þær kenningar sem	XV.9	doctrinas	?
þeir farísei	XV.12	Pharisaei	þa fariseiscean
það orð	XV.12	uerbo	þínur wurde
molum þeim	XV.27	micis quae	þam crumum þe
þeirri sömu stundu	XV.28	illa hora	þære tide
þau sjö brauðin	XV.36	septem panes	þa seofon hlafas
þau sjö brauð	XVI.10	septem panum	þæra seofon hlafa
þann fisk	XVII.27	eum piscem	þone ærestan fisc
þá sömu	XVII.27	illum	þone

Appendix 3. Table of Occurrences of Demonstrative *þessi/þetta* in *Nýja Testamenti Odds*, Matt. 1-17

<u>Icelandic</u>	<u>Verse</u>	<u>Vulgate</u>	<u>Old English</u>
steinum þessum	III.9	lapidibus istis	þysum stanum
steinar þessir	IV.3	lapides isti	þas stanas
þessum minnstu boðorðum	V.19	mandatis istis minimis	þysum læstum bebodum
þessi mín orð	VII.24	uerba mea haec	ðas mine word
þessi mín orð	VII.26	uerba mea haec	ðas mine word
þessa sína ræðu	VII.28	uerba haec	þas word
þessa tólf	X.5	hos duodecim	ðas twelf
þessum vesalingum	X.42	minimis istis	þyssa lytylra manna
þessar boðanir	XI.1	(otherwise expressed)	þys
þessari kynslóð	XI.16	generationem istam	þas cneorysse
þessa dags	XI.23	hanc diem	þysne dæg
þessum heimi	XII.32	hoc saeculo	þisse worulde
þetta vonda og hórunarslekti	XII.39	generatio mala et adultera	yfel cneorys & forliger
þessari kynslóð	XII.41	generatione ista	þysse cneorysse
þessari kynslóð	XII.42	generatione ista	þysse cneorysse
þessa vondu kynslóð	XII.45	generationi huic pessimae	þysse wyrrestan cneo.
þessa fólks hjarta	XIII.15	cor populi huius	þises folces heorte
þessa eftirlíking sæðarans	XIII.18	parabolam seminantis	þæs sawendan bigspell
áhyggja þessarar veraldar	XIII.22	sollicitudo saeculi istius	eornfullness þisse worulde
ending þessarar veraldar	XIII.39	consummatio saeculi	worulde ending
enda þessarar veraldar	XIII.40	consummatione saeculi	worulde ending
þessi kraftaverk	XIV.2	uirtutes	þas wundru
þessi staður	XIV.15	locus	ðeos stow
þessi lýður	XV.8	populus hic	þis folc
þessa eftirlíking	XV.15	parabolam istam	þis bigspell
þessi vonda hórdóms kynslóð	XVI.4	generatio mala et adultera	seo yfele cneoryss & unrihthæme.
þennan hellustein	XVI.18	super hanc petram	ofer þisne stan
þessa sjón	XVII.9	uisionem	þis
fjalli þessu	XVII.20	monti huic	þissum munte
þetta kyn	XVII.21	hoc genus	þis cynn